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CROATIAN IDENTITY, LANGUAGE POLICY AND ANGLICIZATION

Emotional responses of citizens
to the linguistic landscape of Zagreb

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Ana Srzić

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Univ.-Prof. Dr. Małgorzata Fabiszak



Figure 1. At Dolac Market: *Licitarska srca* - traditional gingerbread hearts, and the *Šestine* umbrellas are the symbols of Zagreb. *Croatia* is a Latin exonym for *Hrvatska*.

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Introduction

In my thesis, I shall analyse the linguistic landscape of Zagreb of which English holds a large part and look into how Zagrebians emotionally respond to this aspect of their everyday lives. For the past several years, English has been present in Croatia in informal but also formal discourses, such as political speeches, business, advertising, the written and spoken media. Its omnipresence has become an on-going theme of public discussion in our society. It is, of course, not only a Croatian problem. Some countries are trying to preserve their national languages from the immense influence by introducing or adapting their language policies, while others, like the Croatians, are still only discussing the issue pleading for a law to finally resolve it. However, the process of internationalization and Anglicization is impossible to stop, and it is even questionable whether imposing such legislation would not be a somewhat draconian measure.

Croatists, that is, Croatian philologists, keep reminding their fellow citizens to use the norms and lexicon of their official language, which is Croatian, instead of English variants, in order to preserve it in the long run. After thoroughly deliberating on a domain and methodology of my case study, I have chosen linguistic landscape because it most vividly shows the extent of English and its presence in ever-changing social life. Language is alive and shaped by its speakers, and discrepancy from the norm can best be seen, aside from spoken communication, in linguistic landscape.

In my thesis, I shall first tackle the subjects of Croatian identity, language policy and anglicization while providing the cultural and historical context. I shall determine the reasons for code-switching in English and explain why a native language conforms to it, by revealing the background ideology. Secondly, I shall explain the notion of linguistic landscape and its significance in modern life. Also, I shall focus on English that is used in advertising as a tool to draw the attention of people, and present the Croatian case of language commodification.

In the second part of this thesis, an empirical study is presented based on emotional responses of Zagrebians regarding the linguistic landscape of their city. I have taken them on a 'walking tour' interview in the centre of Zagreb to find out about their perception of the subject. Hopefully, the results I have gathered here can substantially reflect the **voice** of Croatians on their language, culture and their foreign influences.

Linguistic landscape as a stimulus for interviews is interesting, because it has a potential for strong emotional responses, and although some acknowledged researches in the field have called for the study of the LL reception, only a few of them have yet been conducted.

Chapter 1: Language and Identity in Croatia

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I shall explain the concepts of ‘Croatian identity’, ‘language policy’, and ‘anglicisation’, and how they become intertwined resulting in a political issue.

The notion of identity is an abstract one, and is not so easy to determine as it may seem at first sight. Hall (199: 300-301) states that identity emerges in a “process of identification ... that happens over time, that is never absolutely stable, that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference”. Curtin (2009: 224) argues that identity exists only in a dialogic relationship to the Other. Croatian identity can thus be interpreted as the unification of its history and culture, of which language holds the most important segment, mentality and emblems that makes it distinct from others.

Language policy is a set of activities that institutions use to monitor or change language practices or ideology (Struna 2014). One of the reasons for introducing a language policy is the influence of globalization and English as its dominant language. The process of languages becoming more like English is called anglicisation. Other languages become threatened by it as they conform to its norms and in the end, if there is no language planning introduced in the long term, they may become extinct.

1.2. Croatian identity

According to the writings of Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, Croatian history dates back to 626 when Croatian people came from White Croatia, the area of today’s southern Poland (Pavličević 1998). They settled in the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (former Illyria) and established two independent principalities. They were united in the Croatian Kingdom by King Tomislav who was crowned in 925. Littoral Croatia had been, along with the Frankish Kingdom, the first permanent and organized country in Central Europe. After the extinction of the Croatian dynasty Trpimirović, the Parliament chose rulers of other countries as the Croatian kings, thereby creating a union first between Croatia and Hungary (1102-1300 and 1307-1526), and then Croatia and Austria (1527-1918). As a bulwark of Christian Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries, the Croatian Kingdom was

crucial to stopping further penetration of the Ottoman Empire to the west, whereas the Venetian Republic occupied most of the Croatian coast. Croatia's state lost much of its historic territory, which was annexed to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia preserved its sovereignty with a special status within the Habsburg Empire until its collapse in 1918. After it ended legal links with Austria and Hungary in 1918, it was without the consent of Parliament involved in the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom Yugoslavia). This was the first time Croatia was placed in the Balkan political framework, and forcibly ceased to exist as a state. Despite plebiscitary support to the pro-Western peasant-democratic coalition, the Second World War in Croatia was led between two radical movements - Ustasha under the auspices of the Axis and Communists (partisans) on the side of the Allies. From 1945, Croatia was one of the six states of socialist Yugoslavia led by dictator Marshal Tito. Democratic people's movement known as the Croatian Spring, which fought for the Croatian political rights in Yugoslavia, and opposed the violent merger of Croatian language with Serbian into Serbo-Croatian in 1967, was quelled by the Yugoslav regime in 1971.

After the democratic elections, the Republic of Croatia led by Franjo Tuđman declared its independence in 1991, followed by the majority of Yugoslavian member states. Using the former federal army and local rebels, Serbia and Montenegro attacked Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991 in order to maintain the conquered territories in the rump Yugoslavia (Pavličević 1998). The war ended in 1995 with the Croatian victory and liberation of its occupied territories. Croatia became a full member of NATO on April 1, 2009 and the European Union on July 1, 2013.

The Croatian language belongs to South Slavic languages, which are part of the Indo-European language family. Already before coming to their present homeland, the Croats started to develop language peculiarities according to which three dialects: Chakavian, Shtokavian and Kajkavian can be distinguished (Težak-Babić 1992). At the end of the 9th century, the Croats received a literary language with the Slavic liturgy - Old Church Slavonic and the Glagolitic script. Literacy was rapidly expanding, and in religious and secular texts, the features of folk language were quickly penetrating, mostly Chakavian dialect. From the beginning of the 14th century, in legal writings of medieval Croatian Glagolitics, the use of folk language started to prevail, whereas Church Slavonic elements became sporadic. Among the first Croatian written monuments is the Baška tablet, written around 1100, which is considered as the most important one, because it positioned the Croatian language in the field of literacy. A rich Croatian medieval literature developed (hagiography, short stories, novels,

spiritual poetry and mystery plays). Along with the Glagolitic, two more scripts were used: Croatian Cyrillic (Bosančica) and Latin. It is an important period in the development of Croatian culture, literature and language. Significant works were written through which the Croatian literary language has preserved its continuity since the 11th century to the present day, in its thesaurus and phraseology (Težak-Babić 1992). With the entering of Shtokavian dialect in Croatian literature at the end of the 15th century in the literary works of Šiško Menčetić (1457-1527), Džore Držić (1461-1501) and other highly influential authors of Dubrovnik that wrote in the folk language, the Croatian present literary (standard) language gained its form. One of the most important Croatian literary works of the time is “Judita” (1501), an epic poem written by the “father of Croatian literature”, Marko Marulić. The first Croatian grammar was published by Bartol Kašić in 1604. He also translated the complete Bible (1622-1638), although Bible translations into Croatian started to appear in fragments already in the 14th century. In 1756, Andrija Kačić Miošić, a Croatian poet and Franciscan monk published his influential work, “Pleasant Conversation of Slavic People”, which played a key role in the victory of the Shtokavian dialect as the standard Croatian language.

In the northwestern part of Croatia, Kajkavian dialect was used in literature, but was mostly abandoned by the middle of the 19th century when the Croats were united in one literary language in Shtokavian dialect by Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872). He proposed the Czech model in which every sound had a special sign and among other novelties, he introduced diacritic signs č, ž, and š. Other important figures of the time were grammarian and writer Adolf Veber Tkálčević (1825-1892) and lexicographer Bogoslav Šulek (1816-1895) who pursued linguistic purity. Šulek created a Croatian scientific terminology, and due to his resistance to Germanization and Latin loanwords, he replaced them with Croatian words. If they did not exist, he invented new ones or borrowed them from the Slavic languages, mostly from Czech and Russian, adapting them to Croatian. Tkálčević with his articles and grammars and Šulek with his dictionaries have both made the language capable of practical use in school, administration and science, and because of their merits, later generations are indebted to them. Following the creation of Kingdom Yugoslavia in 1918, the Serbian literary language considerably expanded at the expense of Croatian. The suppression of the Croatian literary language lasted until the creation of the Independent Croatian State in 1939. After the Second World War, in 1945, The Communist Party of Yugoslavia having an internationalist orientation was against many national characteristics and introduced its own words. Most of those were foreign words, common in the Serbian literary language. In 1967, eighteen Croatian cultural institutions and prominent literary authors signed the Declaration on the

Status and Name of the Croatian Literary Language seeking that the Constitution of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia enters a provision that will establish the equality among the four literary languages: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian. Their demand was rejected and the Declaration was severely condemned. The Croatian Spring (MASPOK) was quelled and many people were imprisoned as the enemies of the regime. Although Croatia became independent in 1991, there have still been some political and cultural circles that tried to deny the individuality of the Croatian language. In the second half of the 2000s, those circles counted on their political project of a new Yugoslavia or as they euphemistically called it, the Western Balkans, which meant a new form of unitarism between Croatian and Serbian.

1.3. Language policy – national vs. international

“But remember that words are signals, counters. They are not immortal. And it can happen - to use an image you’ll understand - it can happen that a civilisation can be imprisoned in a linguistic contour which no longer matches the landscape of... fact.”

— Brian Friel, “Translations”

“Translations” is a three-act play written by Irish playwright Brian Friel in 1980 that discusses the issue of anglicising Irish place names as a foundation for colonization and cultural imperialism by the British. Croats have always sympathized with the Irish, because they have also been in the position of the suppressed – they find the Irish-British dichotomy to be similar to the historical conflict between the Croats and the Serbs.

What is the perception of the Croatian language today by its speakers when the language has opened up to the West? Although Croatists have been persisting on the usage of the Croatian lexicon instead of borrowing from our neighbour’s language, Serbian, Croatian has met another challenge – the code of globalization. Native Croatian speakers, especially those in their 20s and 30s are code switching to English and code mixing on a daily basis with their compatriot peers in everyday speech and on social networks. This tendency is also evident in the LL, from which one can draw the conclusion that for some the Croatian language is ‘uncool’, and cannot transfer ideas in full or express identities of speakers/writers and the atmosphere only English can bring about. Language awareness is related to one’s sense of national identity and avoiding their language in expressing themselves, unless they are

communicating with foreigners, may seem as if the person is anational, i.e. ashamed of the cultural area they come from.

As defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997), linguistic landscape research is based on language planning and language policy. Unfortunately, the current Croatian government (the leftist coalition SDP-HNS-IDS-HSU) and the previous one (rightist HDZ in post-election coalition with HSLS, HSS and SDSS-the Independent Democratic Serb Party), have still not adopted the law on Croatian as the official and state language. It is only stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. Grčević (2012: 5) points out that Croatian politicians have explicitly regulated the language rights of national minorities in Croatia, but that they consistently refuse to explicitly regulate the rights of Croatian as the official or state language. If they did, there would be less confusion with names of towns and villages, e.g. *Pula-Pola*, *Brijuni-Brioni* in Istria, where the Italian minority lives and to whom the Croatian standard nomenclature has conformed. Before it was dissolved by the current government, the Council for Standard Croatian Language Norm proposed in 2008 the establishment of a professional body for formal standardization of toponyms. Although the proposal was justified, it has not been realized yet. Grčević (2012: 5) states that

The recognition of Croatian as an official language in the EU and the decision by the international body for norms ISO Registration Authority are two internationally relevant acts that show that bodies and institutions of Croatia can lead a positive explicit language policy regarding Croatian language. However, there are no relevant indicators that a planned explicit institutional language policy is conducted in favour of language that is prescribed as the official in the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. Moreover, one can see negative attitude towards instruments that could be used to implement such policy. This is specifically reflected in the abatement of Council for Standard Croatian Language Norm, in rejecting the proposal by Croatian Labour Party to regulate the rights of Croatian language, in the way foreign films are translated on national television, and in relation to the Croatian Istrian toponyms in the Law on Counties, etc.
[translation: A.S.]

The author argues that the Croatians need the Council for the Norm and a law on language, which “would not be directed against linguistic variants and linguistic freedom, mistakes or ignorance, but would rather permanently secure the rights of the Croatian language in Croatian country, which most other independent European languages have in their countries”.

Activities [...] clearly show that all around us language policies are being implemented, and that it is possible that within our ranks, partners for conducting foreign language and political interests are being sought. In that case, even if we wanted to become an oasis in which we would linguistically float without a steersman, calmly and undisturbedly, as waves and winds carry us, we would not be able to do so (Grčević 2012: 6). [translation: A.S.]

Finally, in December 2013, Draft Act on Public Language Use was proposed by Croatian cultural institution *Matica Hrvatska*. Some prominent leftists that are not aware of similar regulations in other countries (or if they are, which is less likely, they are deliberately hiding the facts) have ridiculed the proposal and stated that it is “unutterably stupid and evil to punish the wrong use of language” (Baretić 2013).

Legislation regarding language of trade services in Croatia knows only the Companies Act, which in Article 20 stipulates that a company must be in the Croatian language and in Latin script, and can also use Arabic numerals. In theory, it sounds acceptable, but here is an example of how it functions in practice, provided by probably the most eminent Croatian philologist, academic Stjepan Babić (2009: 104):

(...) in my neighborhood, there is a food kiosk called Food Factory, a low-grade diner. I wanted to ask the owner who had given him the permission to use such a name, but he did not want to talk to me because he obviously felt I was provoking him. I am using this name only as a symbol for other similar names. I asked a member of the Constitutional Court how I could sue the kiosk, or whatever it was, and he replied that I could not sue, but only report it to the Ministry of Justice or the Commercial Court. So, I am passing by the facility almost every day and looking at this provocation, but I can not do anything. In March, the kiosk was removed, but there are other stores with similar English names: Second Hand Shop, Bike Shop, etc.

Babić (2009: 106) argues against foreign words in the names of companies, shops and commercial advertising in general, because they violate the law. He is, however, against sanctioning in the name of the Croatian language, because standard language, as he writes, cannot be the same as traffic signs. Babić notes that he is against privileges that some entrepreneurs obviously have. Each company should be registered according to the law, and nobody can obtain a permit if it is not aligned with it. In the meantime, in 2013, the Croatian government amended the Act by adding to the aforementioned article that aside from the Croatian language and Latin script, companies can be named in the official languages of the EU member states. By doing so, they have pushed out the Croatian language even further. English as the official language of the UK as an EU member state will thus become all the more present in Croatia.

What most philologists did not see in their critiques of the Companies Act not being implemented, before it was amended, is that it did not mention linguistic landscape, that is, the language of public signs. Therefore, the Act on Public Use of the Croatian Language is necessary, because it would finally cover this issue. However, it seems that it will not be passed during the current government’s mandate.

Babić (2009) argues that even in communist Yugoslavia, language policy was implemented better than it is today in Croatia as an independent country. Croatian philologists had to be extremely careful in promoting and developing the Croatian language, and its name was officially called by the regime *hrvatsko-srpski* and *hrvatski ili srpski* (“Croato-Serbian” or “Croatian or Serbian”). They tended to preserve the Croatian lexicon, which was obviously different from Serbian, whereas Yugoslavian unitarists, according to the politics of the time, promoted words that conformed to Serbian.

Today, when Croatia is a democratic and independent country, its politicians are avoiding the implementation of a language policy, either because they do not want to acerbate those who might find it nationalistic or they themselves consider it to be a nationalistic measure. Or because they have nothing against if some other language minimises the status of Croatian.

Language policy is closely related to national awareness, which in European case can best be recognized, for instance, in the protection of the French language. The French saw Anglicization as threatening and hence they introduced Toubon Law in 1994, which insisted on the use of French in official government publications, advertisements, and in other contexts (Gorter: 2006). However, the same laws cannot be applied in every country, or as Backhaus (2009: 157) points out, “Examining language laws in a total of 77 sovereign and 104 regional states, one of Leclerc’s study’s main conclusions is that linguistic landscape legislation is a highly complex matter and there are no unified practices that could be identified worldwide”.

The most recent language policy in Croatia approves establishing companies in languages of the other EU member states. Although, it seems that it is a very loose regulation. Now, if owners of stores decided to put commercial signs all over the country in, for instance, the Klingon language, they would be allowed to do so, because there is no article regulating linguistic landscape. If Klingon was to be introduced in the LL, the informational function of the signs would decrease, but the symbolic one would definitely grow - to use Landry and Bourhis’s (1997: 25) terminology. It would certainly provoke a public debate and politicians would most likely announce a more defined language policy.

In order to promote and develop the Croatian language, Croatian philologist Stjepan Babić and the literary magazine *Jezik* (“Language”) established an annual award in 1993 for the best newly-coined word, ‘Dr. Ivan Šreter Award’ (*Vijenac*, 26 March 2009). It is named after a Croatian physician who was sentenced to prison in Communist Yugoslavia in 1987 for having used the distinct Croatian *umirovljeni časnik* to refer to himself as a retired officer, rather than Serbian/unitaristic *penzionisani oficir* (Grčević 2002). During the Croatian War of

Independence, he was taken captive by the Serbian troops, and is believed to have been executed.

One of the main conditions for the Croatian accession to the EU was the efficiency of its judiciary system. The goal has been achieved due to spectacular arrests of “small fish” and one large – the ex-prime-minister, only to prove that we are worthy of finally being recognized as a Western country and not the Balkans. However, because of the problems from the past that have remained unsolved, we cannot move forward and preserve the essence of this country – its national identity, which is based on language and culture, without arousing any controversies.

The Draft Act on Public Use of Croatian Language begins with the following paragraph:

The Croatian Parliament, beginning with the facts:

- that the Croatian language is one of the fundamental national values and an important part of Croatian national independence and national identity
- that all the attacks and attempts to exterminate the Croatian language in the past have always been attempts of denationalization and the disintegration of the Croatian people,
- that in the process of globalization, it is important to protect national distinctiveness,
- that the Croatian culture is part of the European culture, and the protection, welfare and development of the Croatian language are particularly important for the preservation of the Croatian and the total European cultural heritage,
- that the promotion and protection of the Croatian language are obligations and duty of all public and social institutions and all Croatian citizens, brings this law on public use of the Croatian language: [translation: A.S]

Introducing a balanced language policy is more complex than it seems. One needs to take into account the world we are living in and not only the protection of one's official language. Regarding the language of public signs in the proposed law, it has some inconsistencies, which could be resolved at a discussion in the Parliament. It defines in which cases Croatian should be used, but also in which it is not necessary. Thus Article 11 stipulates that it does not need to be in personal names, bilingual publications - magazines, books and computer programs (except for their descriptions and instructions), accepted scientific and technical terminology, scientific and art works, scientific and educational activities of schools with foreign language teaching, bilingual schools, courses in foreign languages for which special regulations are formed, brands of manufacturers and commodities, names of companies and labels of the country where goods and services are produced.

Article 13 states that “(1) Signs and notices on public services (including public transport) shall be written in the Croatian language, except for cases specified in Article 11, (2) Alongside the signs and notices in the Croatian language, signs and notices in a foreign

language can be used in cases and to the extent determined by the relevant Ministry of Public Administration.” However, Article 24 stipulates that “(1) The provisions of this Act shall apply to the names of trades, shops, catering (sports, entertainment) and other facilities at their first pre-registration. (2) Pursuant to the provisions of this Law, within two (2) years, the names of cultural, sports, entertainment and other events, promotions and other similar happenings will be regulated.” The latter is somewhat contradictory to the last provisions of Article 11.

The writers of the proposed Act can take a look at our neighbours’ model, which seems to be consistent and more defined: the Act on Public Use of the Slovenian Language from 2004. It has stipulated that business premises, public advertising of products and services, cultural events, establishments, public warnings etc. should be in the Slovenian language. In their case, for instance, if an advertisement is specifically targeting foreign nationals, foreign languages may also be applied, but they “shall not be more prominent than Slovenian” (Article 23, Paragraph 1). International words may be included only if they are understandable for the local people (Article 18, Paragraph 2). Inspection is stipulated, therefore, if a legal entity or an individual entrepreneur does not obey the law, they must pay an envisaged fine (Article 31). Article 14, Paragraph 1 states that “All private legal entities and persons engaged in business activities on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia shall do business with customers in the Slovenian language. When their business is targeting foreign nationals, in addition to the Slovenes, foreign language can also be used.” That the law is not discriminative towards foreign brands is recognized in Article 15, which stipulates that “The labeling of the products (...) must be in the Slovenian language providing the consumer with the necessary information regarding the characteristics and conditions of sale and intended use of the product. Additionally, they shall apply understandable symbols and images. This provision does not apply to foreign-language brand names and trademarks.”

Also, Article 16 protects the Slovenian people who sign business contracts with foreigners - they must be written in Slovenian. Article 17, Paragraph 1 prescribes that a company name shall be entered in the official record in the Slovenian language in accordance with regional laws. From the aforementioned article, the discrepancy between the Slovenian law on language and the Croatian Companies Act is obvious. While the first defines the Slovenian language as obligatory for naming companies, the recent amendments of the latter, in 2013, have allowed companies to be named in the languages of the EU member states.

In the Slovenian case, there can be a translation of a company’s name into a foreign language, but only together with the name in Slovenian and the translation item can not be

graphically more emphasized than the Slovenian name (Article 17, Paragraph 2). The Minister of Culture issues instructions for determining the adequacy of a business name that may be entered in the court register or other official record (Article 19). Article 18 determines the details more than the Croatian Draft Act - the language of the names of crafts, pubs and other business premises: “(1) crafts, stores, restaurants, bars and other business premises that are not designated by the registered name, company’s name or the name and surname of the owner is named in Slovenian.” Paragraph 2 of the same article states that the names of crafts, stores, restaurants, bars and other business premises can use words in a foreign language if it relates to an internationally used term for a particular type of business, in case of foreign brands or trademarks, or short phrases, which make an integral part of the company’s image, that are understandable to most consumers.

Regarding public advertising of products, services and business presentations, Article 23 stipulates that if an advertisement is specifically targeting foreign nationals, foreign languages may also be applied but shall not be more prominent than Slovenian. Article 24 covers public events and determines that names, descriptions and presentations of cultural, professional, educational, economic, sport, entertainment and other public events are to be in Slovenian, and additionally in a foreign language when it comes to international events aimed primarily at foreign participants. The Slovenian legislation model offers an alternative to the present linguistic chaos in the streets of Zagreb and, more generally, in Croatia.

Article 18 of the aforementioned law allows a certain use of foreign words in the linguistic landscape - if it is an international word for a specific type of business, a foreign brand or a trademark, or a short phrase understandable for most locals. It is a smart and moderate legislative model, which encourages sign owners to use their mother tongue in presenting their country and its commercial aspects. If necessary, they can use foreign words, but they are secondary and the Ministry of Culture is in charge of deciding on their appropriateness.

One of the arguments against such a law is that people have the right to name their stores the way they please because it is private ownership. However, they are put in public space and are thus addressed to the residents of a city. According to the Unesco Declaration on Cultural Diversity (Unesco 2002), all persons have the right to express themselves and to create and disseminate their work in the language of their choice, and particularly in their mother tongue. The regulation seems fair, but in certain contexts, it can be contradictory.

Bachaus (2009: 159, 160) explains the case of Quebec that introduced *The Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101) in 1977 as a reaction to growing complaints by the Francophone majority about the predominance of English. The Charter concerned language use in public

life, including legislation and the courts, civil administration, health and social services, instruction, work, commerce, business and, of course, linguistic landscape. It prohibited the use of all other languages except French in signs and posters, commercial advertising and on traffic signs. Owners of private businesses from the Anglophone community and others who had signs in English took their cases to court. After the ruling by the Supreme Court stating that the provisions did not comply with the Canadian constitution, the Charter was gradually modified. Finally in 1993, *Act to Amend the Charter of the French language* (Bill 86) was passed permitting the use of another language in addition to French, on condition that the latter was “markedly predominant”. Arbitrariness was limited with additional regulations included in the Charter:

Art. 2. Where texts both in French and in another language appear on the same sign or poster, the text in French is deemed to have a much greater visual impact if the following conditions are met:

- (1) the space allotted to the text in French at least twice as large as the space allotted to the text in the other language;
- (1) the characters used in the text in French are at least twice as large as those used in the text in the other language; and
- (2) the other characteristics of the sign or poster do not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French.

As opposed to the Canadian province of Quebec, there are no laws in Japan that regulate language use on signs or in any other domains of public communication (Backhaus 2009: 162). However, due to increasing number of foreign residents, businessmen and tourists in the late 1980s, the Metropolitan Government (1991: 16 cited in Backhaus 2009: 162) introduced the *Tokyo Manual about Official Signs*, a document of sign writing:

In order to keep up with internationalization, we make it a principle to use Japanese together with English. To make place names, etc., easily understandable to small children and foreigners who can read Hiragan, we further make it a principle to add Hiragana to Japanese-English information about names.

The manual stipulated that “the size of the English text should be half that of the corresponding Japanese text” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 36 cited by Backhaus 2009: 163), and concerning the order of the languages on signs, the Japanese text always precedes the English text (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 43, 45 cited by Backhaus 2009: 163).

Backhaus (2009: 167) argues that the case of Quebec “is more than just a symbolic way of expressing the demographic and political power of the French-speaking population; it is directly related to its ethnolinguistic vitality and hence, in the long run, its very survival in Quebec.” The situation in Japan is, however, different because it regards different linguistic

ecology. Japan is a monolingual country with Japanese being a dominant language even for the 1.7 percent of the non-Japanese nationals who come from Asian neighbouring countries and have been living in Japan for several generations (2009: 167). Because there is no threat to the national language, government agencies have no problem in promoting English: “Though linguistic heterogeneity in Japan is no doubt on the rise (Coulmas and Heinrich 2005), the role of the Japanese language as the one language of Japan is for the most part uncontested.” (2009: 167). Also, because of the complex writing system in Japan, which foreigners cannot read let alone understand, the need for the Romanization of the city’s LL has been necessary.

Kloss (1969 cited by Bachaus 2009: 168) distinguishes between language planning actions that regulate the use of a language (status) and those that fix or modify its form (corpus). In these two cities, the status planning actions are applied regarding regulations on language use and non-use, in domains where the use of other languages is permitted and on their visibility. Corpus planning in Quebec includes determining rules and standards for place names and other geographical terminology by the *Commission de toponymie* that are obligatory on public signs. Corpus planning in Tokyo is applied in setting up rules for transliteration and translation of Japanese toponyms, orthographic rules for Romanizing Japanese terms etc.

Backhaus (2009: 166) concludes there are differences between Tokyo and Quebec in language policies due to their different political systems: Canada is a federal state whereas Japan is centralized. Their regulations have different legal status: linguistic regulations in Tokyo are only administrative recommendations and guidelines that are not legally binding and only relate to the domain of official signs. Their effect on the LL is therefore much weaker than in the case of Quebec, where the laws are introduced by the provincial government. They are legally binding for everyone intending to post signs on Quebec territory, including private owners, and legal action may be taken against them in the case of their violation. But the key difference is in the linguistic ecologies of the two urban spaces. Quebec was concerned with protecting French and implementing legal restriction for all other languages, because of the power of English spoken in a large surrounding territory, which posed a threat to French. Linguistic landscaping in Tokyo has encouraged the use of languages other than Japanese - English and lately, Chinese and Korean, without the fear of losing their official language (Backhaus 2009: 170). However different the motivations of their language policies may be, they both introduced order in their LLs and have given priorities to their languages in relation to the status of English.

1.4. Anglicization

In the past, the status of English in Croatia differed from the status of other foreign languages, because of their political and cultural prestige (Vilke 2007: 7). German and Hungarian languages were dominating the cultural, political and educational life for centuries in Croatian areas that were parts of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, along with Latin, which was the language of the Church and science. The Croats struggled to obtain for their language the official status, which was finally realised in the 19th century with the cultural Illyrian Movement. From 1867, German was intensely spoken by the high class as a form of resistance to the increasing Hungarization that was imposed on Croats.

French became the language of communication among the educated classes of society throughout Europe and the medium for advanced revolutionary political ideas, culture and science. It can be seen in the works of Croatian literary authors from the second half of the 19th century (e.g. Gjalski, Kovačić, Šenoa, Kumičić) who often used French expressions. According to Vilke (2007: 9), French, German and Latin were parts of the curriculum of every respectable secondary school in Croatia until the Second World War. However, German was learnt more than French, and at the universities, the German language department was established before the departments of other languages (Schneeweis, 1960).

Vilke (2007: 9) mentions how Miroslav Krleža, one of the greatest Croatian writers, mocked the elite living in the beginning of the 20th century who had often used German expressions. She compares it to the present 'elite' by pointing out that the latter does not speak any foreign language, but nevertheless tends to use incorrect and broken English.

Before 1945, English appeared only sporadically. Natalya Wickerhauser taught English at the Women's High School in Zagreb, and Alexander Lochmer taught English at the Nautical School in Bakar at the end of the 19th century (Filipović, 1972). Both of them were not only teachers, but also prominent linguists. Lochmere wrote the first textbook of English phonetics for the Croats, a grammar of English and an English-Croatian dictionary, which was published in 1906. In addition, he was the first instructor of English language and Literature when it was introduced at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Zagreb in 1898. The Department of English spawned a number of eminent English scholars after World War II, and among them was the leading figure of the English studies for the next six decades, Professor Rudolf Filipović.

After the war, the first and compulsory foreign language was Russian, which lost its priority in 1948 due to political reasons (splitting with the Soviet Union), and students could then equally choose between English, German, French and Russian. In the 50s and 60s of the 20th century, the number of students of English increased. Although German lost its predominance after the war, the number of students learning it increased again, because of the Croatians going to Western Germany seeking for work.

Rudolf Filipović organized the first institutionalized course of English language, known today as the Centre for Foreign Languages in Vodnikova Street in Zagreb. He introduced an alternative approach to learning foreign languages, with tape-recorders playing the voices of native speakers, which existed together with the official school system and its traditions. The method spread and more and more teachers and experts were exposed to its influence, which were also applied at courses of German and French. During the sixties and seventies, Department of English at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb began cooperating more with the Ministry of Education, British Council and other institutions. The result of these joint efforts was the arrival of distinguished international experts to seminars for teachers of English, a number of scholarships for the training of teachers in English-speaking countries, donations of books and magazines, etc. All this had a favorable effect on the teaching of the English language which, despite political restrictions, achieved a high level of expertise (Vilke 2007: 12). Today, English is learnt at schools more than German or any other language: 93% of pupils in elementary schools are learning English, whereas German is being learnt by 31% of them. In high school education, 99% of pupils learn English and 63% German (Enter Europe 2011).

After enduring forty five years of communism in Yugoslavia, Croatia proclaimed its independence, which provoked the Yugoslav i.e. the Greater-Serbian aggression, a war that lasted from 1991 – 1995. English was the language of turning to the West and sending a message to the world of what was happening. It related to Croatia's tendency to be recognized by Europe as a free and independent country. It was especially seen in popular culture, for instance, in Croatian anti-war songs sung in English and their videos played on MTV. Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 8) argue that

Because language is [also] a symbol expressing social attachments, aspirations, and values rather than just a method in communicating referential content, it provides clues to the social forces underlying contact among the groups. Language is not just the medium for the message; it is regularly, part of the message itself.

Croatia entered the EU in July 2013, after having experienced great human losses but also victory in the war. It seems that today, in the era of globalization in which English has become ever more present, the Croatians once again fear of losing their identity. According to Ethnologue, Croatian is a living language that is not even the least endangered. However, without language planning, its future may become uncertain. Cenoz and Gorter (2009: 63) draw upon Crystal (2000) in comparing linguistic diversity with biodiversity. Or, as Krauss (1992: 8) poetically argues:

Surely just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the pandas or California condor?

According to the author, 50 percent of languages could die in the next 100 years, and in the long term, 90 percent of the world languages could disappear. Giles *et al.* (1977) defined the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as “the structural factors that affect a group’s ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity within multilingual settings.” The concept can be interpreted in a subjective or objective way. The former refers to the “group members’ cognitive representation or perception of the relative vitality of different groups” in a multilingual environment (Giles *et al.* 1977). The ‘objective ethnolinguistic vitality’ is based on sociocultural factors that are divided into four types of categories: demographic, political, economic and cultural. The scholars stated that the demographic factor is crucial when looking at the vitality of a language, but the vitality of a language is a complex construct also related to other factors. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 28) point out that the in-group language displayed on public signage symbolizes “the strength or vitality of one’s own language group on the demographic and institutional control front relative to other language communities within the intergroup setting”. In other words, when the in-group language is absent in the public sphere, it may show that the language has little status within society (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 28). The authors (1997: 28) argue that group members can consequently “devalue the strength of their own language community, weaken their resolve to transmit the in-group language to the next generations, and sap their collective will to survive as a positively distinctive ethnolinguistic group”.

Considering the demographic factor, Croatia is a small country with a large mortality rate. According to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, in 2012, the death rate was 12.1, while the birth rate was only 9.8. It means that if Croatians do not change their demographic policy, in 200 years they will no longer exist. They also have a high unemployment rate, which was

23.3% in March 2014 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2014). Although the figures are being debated, around 150 000 people have emigrated from Croatia in the last five years seeking work, according to Žabčić (2014).

1.5. Anglicization, Globalization and refashioning the self

To be able to understand the impact of Anglicization on other languages in contemporary society, one should first elaborate on the notion of globalization. Giddens (1990: 64) determines globalization as “the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. According to Kubota (2002: 13),

globalization implies increased local diversity influenced by human contact across cultural boundaries as well as speedy exchange of commodities and information...cultural homogenization influenced by global standardization of economic activities and a flow of cultural goods from the centre to the periphery and increased nationalism as a form of protection.

Mignolo (2000: 236 cited by Pennycook 2007: 25) states that globalization at the end of the 20th century was mainly occurring through transnational corporations, the media and technology, which was “the most recent configuration of a process that can be traced back to the 1500s, with the beginning of transatlantic exploration and the consolidation of Western hegemony”. Pennycook redefines and expands Mignolo’s categories that determine the process of globalization and also its relation to the notion of Empire. According to him (2007: 26), each design-era can be conceptualized in terms of its economic, political, cultural and ideological goals, and this is how they are chronologically listed: Discovering/Christianizing, Enlightening/Civilizing, Developing/Conceptualizing, Universalizing/Capitalizing, and Globalizing/Corporatizing design-era. He explains this last design-era that we live in as the time in which nation-states have been disposed from their political autonomy. “It is the corporization of many levels of society – from business to institutions that had formerly been seen as part of the state (education, health, transport) – that predominates within a new neo-liberal politics for the world” (Pennycook 2007: 26).

Appadurai (1996: 19) is “convinced that the nation state, as a complex modern political form, is on its last legs”, which means that current globalization demands new ways of thinking about the processes. Referring to Appadurai’s image of ‘global cultural flows’ – “ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes”, Pennycook (2003: 523, 524) adds ‘linguascapes’, meaning that some languages are no longer tied to locality or

community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with these other scapes. However, it does not imply homogenization of the world, but for him, it is rather an uneven process.

Fairclough (2006) pinpoints four approaches to globalisation: objectivist, rhetoricist, ideologist and social constructivist. In my opinion, one cannot escape one's own ideology; therefore, this thesis may incline towards an ideologist position. It is focused on "how discourses contribute to achieving and sustaining the dominance or hegemony of particular strategies and practices, and the social forces who advocate them and whose interests they serve" (Fairclough 2006: 17). In these postmodern times, however, one cannot be certain if today's social and economic movements are happening due to historical ideologies, or simply chaos. Many scholars, such as Bell (2000: 393) and Fukuyama (1992), claim that we are living in a post-ideological age, in which all-encompassing ideologies have failed, and we have reached the end of history. However, we must not abandon the philosophical search for the causes of particular phenomena. In Croatia, in my opinion, a certain ideology has been transferred from the past, but is now, in today's economy, in conflict with itself.

Phillipson (1992) states that the English language is imperialistic and imposed on other languages in contact in the interest of capitalism. Previously, it was implemented in colonial settings such as India, Pakistan and African countries, and today in neo-colonial settings such as Europe. Attitudes towards English can be seen in urban areas: "LL is used as an arena of negotiations, rejections and protest in situations when anti-globalization groups resist the presence of the English signs posted by big corporations as symbolizing their dominating powers and is viewed as a form of colonization." (Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 322).

Then again, cultures cannot be bound up within national borders, due to migration and the fact that the world has been interconnected through economy, popular culture and the media. English serves globalists, i.e. the structures of power and their promoters the same as it does to subcultural activists, who cherish the free flow of information enabled by the common language and media platforms (Srzić 2011: 1). Informal English and its slang are used by graffiti writers worldwide who use text and images, presenting a broader domain of social semiotics (Pennycook 2009: 303). The scholar (2009: 306) opposes the idea of determining the language of a sign and defining its separate identity, since "in the context of globalization and multilingualism, it is not so clear that signs are in a specific language at all". However, in the context of democracy and pseudo-democracy, Croatian linguist and lexicographer Bašić (2005) explains globalization and the future of Croatian:

Globalization is not the acquisition of our time. It is a fact several thousand years old. Today we have oil pipelines; yesterday it was silk roads or wine roads. Yesterday, it was Latin, today there is English. Croats have been participants of

these processes for hundreds of years and they are still here. Yes, they are reduced to alarmingly small number, but they are still here. I believe that even without the help of genetic institutes they will survive if they put their state and institutions at the service of their well-being. The current crisis and distrust that the Croatian citizens have of the Croatian state and its institutions have been caused by immature and incompetent politicians that have, without the democratic institutions knowing about it, traded with national values, people and territory from Bosnia to Savudrija Bay. It is our task to participate in the building of democratic institutions. It is our obligation to exclude those who are reckless and incompetent. Modesty and community service is the obligation of all of us. Croatia will be the way we build it. I believe the Croatian language is that national value that should not be traded with. It is the guarantee of true freedom that we mentioned at the beginning of this interview. We should leave with confidence the establishing of its norm to linguists who are not burdened by a Faustian contract on the Croatian language. The number of anglicisms and all the other “isms” in it will be as many as it is necessary for it to function normally and be recognized as the Croatian language. With the help of linguists, it will be determined by the people’s genius, if we encourage them to approach the language freely and to try to form it, play with it and be its master. [translation: A. S.]

We cannot predict the future status of the English language on a global scale, but only observe the micro world to analyse those significant novelties (Srzić 2011: 1). Many Croatian language purists oppose the unselective use of Anglicisms in formal use, but because of the current lack of language policy they can only advise otherwise. One of the features of standard Croatian language is word coinage. If there is no Croatian expression that might replace the English word, the latter can be used, but written in italics. Due to the rise of technology and related English terminology, Croatian philologists have coined new words, but most people seem embarrassed to use them. On the other hand, a speaker that has high language awareness employs auto-censorship regarding English terms (Srzić 2011: 3). It is, of course, justified in case of a written form in which the rules of standardized language should be followed, whereby using expressions from dialects or foreign languages can be done for stylistic purposes only.

But what about the fact that English creates identities (Pennycook 2007) in countries where it is not the mother tongue? Copyrighters often avoid the prescribed norms thus sending an indirect message that they are not concerned with the local, but the global. Code-switching in English is often used in hedging, for instance, when avoiding domestic taboo words and using their English counterparts instead (Srzić 2011: 3). Cursing in English has been borrowed from popular culture, mostly from Hollywood movies, which are subtitled in Croatian and not dubbed, and thus they easily ‘enter one’s ear’. Preisler (1999: 259 cited in Pennycook 2007: 2) argues that “there is far less variation in the forms of ‘English from above’ (the promotion of English by the hegemonic culture for purposes of “international communication”) than in ‘English from below’ (‘the informal – active or passive use of

English as an expression of subcultural identity and style’).” Appadurai (1996: 206) names it ‘vernacular globalization’ that indicates “globalization processes ‘on the ground’”. English is often used by Croatian youth in mimicking the speech of typical American teenagers, that is, when making a parody of their stereotypical image (Srzić 2011: 3). Pennycook draws upon Rampton’s (1999: 421 cited in 2003: 514) work on

‘crossing’ - ways in which members of certain groups use forms of speech from other groups – or ‘styling the Other’ – ways in which people use language and dialect in discursive practice to appropriate, explore, reproduce or challenge influential images and stereotypes of groups that they *don’t* themselves (straightforwardly) belong to.

Hill (1999: 543) states that “these phenomena extend beyond such networks of young people, ramifying outward through mass-media tokens of styling that are exploited in youth-oriented marketing, and turning up in geographical and social space as well as in the space of genre and register.”

The Croatian media have borrowed expressions from Hollywood lifestyle, e.g. *celebrity* and *event*, which are also often heard in the spoken language, although Croatian words for those notions already exist (*slavni* and *događaj*) (Srzić 2011: 3). I would agree with Cameron (1997: 49), who argues that “sociolinguistics traditionally assumes that people talk the way they do because of who they (already) are, whereas the postmodernist approach suggests that people are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk”. Pennycook (2004: 16) supports this claim and defines the tendency as “refashioning the self”.

Walcott (1997: 99, cited in Pennycook 2004:16) argues that “language is made to perform, to work in the service of revising and altering the wor(l)d.” In his elaboration of Butler’s notion of performativity (1997), Pennycook (2007: 6) states that identities are formed in the linguistic performance rather than pre-given. Pennycook (2003: 528) defines it as “the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity”.

Rather than criticising the language for being hegemonic, the scholar (2007: 5) uses the term global Englishes “to locate the spread and use of English within critical theories of globalization”, so as “to understand the role of English both critically in terms of new forms of power, control and destruction and in its complexity in terms of new forms of resistance, change, appropriation, and identity.” Elaborating on the example of hip-hop sub-culture and the English slang used worldwide, Pennycook (2007: 47) explains the dynamics of the global Englishes and the transcultural flows by introducing terms such as ‘transculturation’ and ‘transidiomatic practices’. They refer to “the constant process of borrowing, bending and

blending of cultures, to the communicative practices of people interacting across different linguistic and communicative codes, borrowing, bending and blending languages into new modes of expression”.

‘Transmodality’, another Pennycook’s term, implies “that meaning occurs in multiple modes” since “there is no such thing as language in isolation” (2007: 50). ‘Transtextuality’ and ‘transsignification’ refer to a form of social semiotics that includes the pretextual history, the contextual relations, the subtextual meanings, the intertextual echoes, and the posttextual interpretations (2007: 53). Pennycook (2007: 55) explains ‘translation’ and ‘translingualism’ as the process of “making meaning across and against codifications”.

For him (2003: 527, 528), English is a sedimentation of semiotic (re)constructions, which means that it is used to perform, invent and (re)fashion identities across borders. How it is used to create some ‘other’ identities in Zagreb, I shall explain in the next chapters.

1.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have explained the concepts of language and identity, language policy and Anglicization and how they are intertwined in the Croatian case. In the empirical part, I shall apply them to analyse the presence of English on public signs in the Croatian capital. That is, the linguistic landscape, the concept I shall explain in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Linguistic landscape

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter I shall present the notion of linguistic landscape as defined by various scholars. Secondly, I shall discuss linguistic landscapes in some Eastern European post-communist countries on the basis of literature and compare them to Zagreb's. The following section of this chapter will deal with research questions and methods of investigating linguistic landscape, how data is collected and analysed. I shall compare researches done in the past with my own and present my objectives of this study.

2.2. Linguistic landscape – definition of the term

Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) define linguistic landscape as the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region”. Coulmas (2009: 14) determines it as “writing on display in the public sphere”.

Although it is relatively new as a research domain, linguistic landscape is actually old as writing itself. Coulmas (2009: 13) reminds us of ancient civilisations and their monumental inscriptions, which changed the way people saw the world, their attitude towards language that in many ways changed the organisation of society. Along with other examples, he mentions a 3,700 years-old stela of black diorite in which the Codex Hammurabi is inscribed. It marks the reign of Hammurabi, the ruler of Babylon, which was one of the world's first metropolis (Coulmas 2009: 15). Another LL landmark of antiquity is the Rosetta Stone dating from the late period of Egyptian civilisation, which was subject to intrusion of other empires, notably the Achaemenid Persians and Macedonian Greeks. The ruling Ptolemaic dynasty at the time was Macedonian, and Alexandria was the cultural center. Greek was the official language of government and court, whereas Egyptian was used in temples as the fundamental part of tradition. “The decade preceding the coronation of Ptolemy V was marked by unrest and rebellions motivated partly by resentment against Greek rule. The decree on the Rosetta Stone bears witness to these tensions. (...) it was given in two languages and three scripts: Egyptian rendered in the formal hieroglyphic on top and the cursive demotic underneath, and Greek in the alphabet that had been in use since the seventh century BCE.” (Coulmas 2009: 17-18). The hierarchy of languages, Egyptian occupying twice as much space on the stela

than Greek suggest a meaningful order. Another Coulmas's (2009: 19) example is the Roman Empire, where the target audience determined whether an inscription was written in one, two or several languages. According to the author (2009: 20), those landmarks "testify to the effectiveness of writing as an instrument of control". They were erected by kings and put in prominent places, but there were also people from lower classes who stated their discontent, profanity or humour, thus inventing graffiti. "The subversive potential of writing to undermine authority was recognized as soon as literacy had caught on as a learnable skill. Graffiti, the writing on the wall, is its most eloquent testimony" (Coulmas 2009: 19). These paradigmatic 'writings on the wall' appear in the Bible and are written by the hand of God, for instance, King Belshazzar of Babylon sees a warning on his palace in Aramaic stating that his days are numbered and his empire is going to crumble (Daniel 5:25 cited by Coulmas 2009: 20).

According to Spolsky (2009: 26), the term "linguistic landscape" was first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in a study reporting on the perceptions of Francophone highschool students on public signs and ethnolinguistic vitality in Canadian provinces. The study of public signage is, however, older: Masai (1972) observed Tokyo as a monolingual area in which he analysed the presence of English in the LL. The term was later used by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) in the study of signs in Israeli communities, in which they observed and counted them. Their "work showed the differences between Arab areas and non-Arab areas, as well as the effect of Hebrew hegemony and globalizing English in both" (Spolsky 2009: 26).

Spolsky (2009: 25) states that one of the main topics of linguistic landscape research is the choice of language in public signs in bilingual or multilingual urban space, which is why he considers 'cityscape' to be a more appropriate term than 'landscape'. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) identify public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings as the elements that form linguistic landscape.

Spolsky and Cooper (1991) established the taxonomy of signs that they came across in the Old City of Jerusalem as: 1) street signs, 2) advertising signs, 3) warning notices and prohibitions, 4) building names, 5) informative signs (directions, hours of opening), 6) commemorative plaques, 7) objects (postbox, police call box) and 8) graffiti. The authors (1991) related the taxonomy with major functions of signs: "information and symbolic assertion, with building signs and commemorative plaques on the symbolic end and warning notices and informative signs on the informative end".

Regarding the reception of LL, various emotional responses can be engendered and provoked, because languages and images on signs possess ideological values. They can even result in political tensions and conflicts in bilingual and multilingual settings. It has been the case in, for instance, the Croatian city of Vukovar, which had been razed to the ground during the Serbian war aggression and whose citizens have been protesting against the Serbian Cyrillic that has been put on official signs. Coulmas (2009: 14) emphasizes the power that those 'writings on the wall' emanate:

It is a genie let out of the bottle. In the long run it cannot be controlled, although it can take a long time for the masses to appropriate it. Writing embodies the dialectics of power and resistance. A potent tool to secure institutional authority, it can also be turned against the powers that be and challenge authority. If a linguistic landscape is to be established as a legitimate field of sociolinguistic inquiry, this two-fold potential of writing in public spaces has to be dealt with.

Hanauer (2009) wrote that the beauty of the linguistic landscape is that it is a living entity that evolves and reflects the here and now of discursive positioning and the power relations within a social arena. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 10) state that "everywhere about us in our day-to-day world we see the discourses which shape, manage, entice and control our actions". It is perhaps most evident in advertisements and commercial signs that are present in the streets of urban areas.

Shohamy and Gorter (2009) expand the notion of linguistic landscape to other literacy objects, such as icons, images and logos in addition to languages inscribed in public signs. They (2009: 3) explain how this research domain reflects on modernity in urban localities:

[...] we noted that the public space offered new and exciting ideas, it showed us that examining language in public space provides different information about multilingualism, it showed us that it often defies formal and explicit policies, the new words are continuously being invented in public spaces, hybrids and fusions of local and global varieties and constantly create new ones to communicate with passers-by.

Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 3) point out that linguistic landscape is divided into two categories: 'bottom-up' and 'top down' signs. The former are introduced by private people, that is, shop keepers, while the latter by governments and big corporations. Ben-Rafael (2009: 49) disagrees and is posing a question whether "insisting here on the notion of below makes much sense in an era where huge international corporations seem able to overpower any directive 'from above'." He argues that these kinds of questions are essentially empirical and should be answered by individual LL analyses. Anyhow, 'top-down' signs reflect the official hierarchy of languages and dominance of a majority over minority, at least in the sense of quantity, but 'bottom-up' signs are more interesting to observe from a linguistic point of view, because of their somewhat subversive tendencies. Colloquial and innovative style that

some signs contain can also be found, for instance, in on-line social media. Shohamy and Gorter (2009: 3) concluded that

By observing language in space, especially in the cyber space, we discovered that a linguistic revolution is taking place, one that includes “talking back” to the linguistic procedures allowing mixtures of languages, new linguistic rules, new spellings, new syntax, inventions of words combined with additional representations, those of sounds and images, and all displayed publicly.

“Bottom-up” signs in the urban sphere often reflect spoken, informal language, which can be found in advertisements and viral marketing. The language is subversive in relation to the prescribed, formal one, especially in written form, although in time it loses its cutting edge. Dal Negro (2009: 214) makes a distinction between values that commercial signs offer in different localities: in alpine villages they are locally oriented, to the past and sincerity, whereas in urban contexts they share values of international and future orientation, as well as sophistication.

Garvin (2011: 37) notes that LL research has expanded in the last decade and refers to a variety of questions regarding social issues such as: power relations among language groups; economic motivations; self and group representation; ethnic group vitality; language choice; contact and change; effects of immigration, tourism, and globalization; identity construction; and mediations of knowledge and culture. According to her (2011: 37), linguistic landscape has informational and symbolic functions, and it can be understood as connective, reflective and dynamic.

Ben-Rafael (2009: 42) explains the significance of LL as another representation of cultural life that fits in the architecture, but is its only segment that can be shaped and changed by people whenever they please:

LL, we have seen, constitutes the decorum of the public space. As such, it carries socio-symbolic importance as society’s markers and emblems. Together with the architecture and the flows of passers-by, LL is a major ingredient of the picture perceived by both residents and visitors of a given locality describing its “personality” and distinguishing it from other places. It is from this combination of elements-architectural aspects, the density and general characteristics of passers-by and the overall set-up of LL items-that the place is remembered to visitors and perceived to locals in their images of the town or city. Among the three elements that make up this urban landscape, however, LL is in fact the only element that is shaped and at will re-shaped by actual actors.

Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 327, 328) expand the scenery of LL and call for its incorporation as an educational setting:

The main idea is the need for students to be aware and *notice* the multiple layers of meanings displayed in the public space. In that way, each building, each site, each sound, a billboard, an outdoor moving screen, a mall, a homeless person sitting in the corner of the street *is* actually an LL text that has to be critically

“read”. In other words, all those visible “texts” need to be processed as “tips of icebergs” to a deeper and more complex meaning which are embedded in histories, cultural relations, politics and humanistic interrelations.

My empirical study will show how much the LL is taken for granted or critically read by the citizens of Zagreb in this time of globalization. Their responses will reflect their language awareness, which can position them either as those who highly regard the ethnolinguistic vitality of Croatian or as indifferent passersby, or perhaps as proud representatives of cosmopolitan and neo-liberal way of life.

2.3. Linguistic landscape in context

Overall linguistic landscape of a city is transforming along with the change of a political system, thus becoming the materialization of its ideology. Sloboda (2009: 182) has compared state ideologies and linguistic landscape of (post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia and concluded that the transition from the communist socialism to a Western-European type of democracy in Czechoslovakia was carried out through semiotic landscape, through the renaming of streets and other landscape objects. She argues that state ideology can concern not only place names but also the design or language of a sign.

Interestingly, one of the main squares in the center of Zagreb with Croatian National Theatre as a landmark, which was built by Viennese architects F. Fellner and H. Helmer in 1895, is named after the Yugoslavian dictator – *Trg maršala Tita* (Marshal Tito Square). The name has caused a number of protests by Zagrebians who are insisting that it should be renamed into, e.g. *Kazališni trg* (Theatre Square) (Croatian Information Centre 2013). Sloboda (2009: 174) cites Voloshinov (1929) that ideology is a *quality* of the sign, that the sign is ideological. Medvedev (1928: 17, referred to in Sloboda 2009: 174) points out that it is also vice versa, that there is no ideological creation outside signs, i.e. outside materiality, but that ideology is, so to speak, ‘among us’.

Sloboda (2009: 176) writes that landscape signs can not only *index* ideology, but also *perform* it, so interaction with them can lead to the acquisition of particular ideological social practices by individuals. At the Marshal Tito Square, besides other cultural and educational institutions, stands the University of Law in front of which protesters have been leaving notes with the names of students who were killed by the Yugoslavian communist regime. Today, Croatia resembles the Czech Republic and Slovakia regarding linguistic landscape filled with commercial advertising, which according to Sloboda (2009: 182), Belarus lacks. However, the

name of the square from the communist era, which is so difficult to change reminds us of a contemporary situation in Belarus where streets carry the names of Lenin, Marx, Communism, the Soviets etc. It probably has to do with the fact that Croatia is, “in terms of unimplemented change of political and social elite, more similar to Belarus and Russia than to Estonia, Poland or the Czech Republic” (Raspudić, 2014).

At Marshal Tito Square, it is interesting to see a historical café in Viennese style named *Kazališna kavana* (Theatre Café), which used to be named *Kavkaz* (figure 1). Old photographs of Croatian literary authors and intellectuals hang on the walls, which can be seen from the storefront. It is located beside *Hemingway lounge bar* (figure 2), which is attended mostly by Zagreb jet-setters, although students from a nearby university gather in both venues. The names of the signs can be read as metaphors depicting different geographical localities and their related ideologies. Theatre Café’s previous name was *Kavkaz*, which has still remained in the collective consciousness of Zagrebians. It referred to Caucasus, a region whose mountain range serves as the border between Europe and Asia, which used to be ruled by several empires in history, then by the Soviets and today by three countries, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Croatia had a similar destiny in historical periods and was often divided by foreign powers. The name was directly associated with the Eastern Bloc, although Yugoslavia broke from the Soviet Union in the 1948 Tito-Stalin split (Langley 2006: 30). The name of *Hemingway bar* belongs to an American literary icon – and Americanization can be seen today in Zagreb on almost every commercial sign.

Gottdiener (2003: 335) argues that “[...] signs are an example of how, along with material culture, several ideologies enter in the material form together.” Blommaert (2005, cited in Sloboda 2009: 183) mentions *simultaneous layering* of different indexicalities or contexts that originate in different historical periods. Sloboda applies the term historical simultaneity of capitalism and communism for the exemplary case of *McDonald’s* in *Lenin Street* in Minsk. It would be unimaginable in the Soviet times, but can be seen in today’s Belarus. The term can be applied in the case of *Trg maršala Tita* and its accompanying *Hemingway bar*. “Thus the position of *openess* in the state ideology-outwardly (transborder exchange and cooperation) as well as inwardly (sociopolitical and economic regimentation)-has significant consequences for the character of a country’s LL” (Sloboda 2009: 186). The author (2009: 175) supports Huebner’s argument (2006) that LL can be viewed as an index, that is, a “window” to the character of society.



Figure 1: “Kavkaz” at Maršal Tito Square



Figure 2: “Hemingway Lounge bar” at Maršal Tito Square

Language policies across the globe aim to preserve their national languages from becoming extinct in relation to English and its prestige. It is essential for their ethnolinguistic vitality, but stands in discordance with tourism, which tends to preserve and promote the authenticity of a country and thus strengthen the state economy. Croatia is a tourist country and the industry has an important share in its total GDP - 14% (*Hrvatska.eu: turizam*). Speaking English is crucial even for ordinary people who rent their apartments and rooms on the coast, and not just for Zagreb as the centre of economic, cultural and scientific developments (Srzić 2011: 6). Although tourists are coming from all over the world, English is the most frequently used language between the Croatians and their guests. Croatian tourist boards order translations to German, Italian, Spanish, French, Russian etc. from interpreters, but English language is the most present in advertising Croatian destinations. However, partly because of the need for foreigners to understand public signs, products and tourist offers, the usage of English has become excessive.

In the name of the most popular film festival in Croatia, *Zagreb Film Festival*, Croatian affixes have been lost as if the language has conformed to English (Srzić 2011: 6). Because of international target audience besides the locals it has only one - English version. The same has happened with other festivals in Croatia: *Fantastic Zagreb Film Festival*, *Zagrebdox*, *Motovun Film Festival*, *Vukovar Film Festival*, *INmusic Festival* etc. Within the LL, the ads for film festivals can be seen on cinemas during the editions with large titles, on billboards, posters, banners and on temporary stalls placed in the busiest squares where they would be most visible. Spolsky refers to Kelly-Holmes (1998 cited in 2009: 35) as she argues that Western media and marketing experts are teaching eastern European citizens “the language of the marketing, its processes and rituals, how to interpret advertising, the symbolism of consumption, and how to participate in the process of consumption”.

Although English as an international language and lingua franca is essential for tourists and their hosts to understand each other, sometimes the language is introduced for other purposes. Kelly-Holmes (2000, cited in Splosky 2009: 35, 36) states that “foreign languages are used in European advertising not for their communicative function, but for their symbolic value”. She argues that it is unimportant whether the reader/viewer understands the foreign word in an advertisement so long as it calls up the cultural stereotype of the country which the language is associated with. Ben-Rafael (2009: 50) points out that “some business LL items (such as supermarkets) as well as top-down items in general (post offices, police stations or schools) target particularly people who reside in the area while other LL items-shops of fashion textile or delicatessen-are more oriented toward a less strictly local public of customers”. He sets out the following examples: Italian restaurants will use Italian tokens as markers, fashion stores French, whereas jeans stores will use American symbols. Kallen (2009: 274) writes that “some of the LL in the tourist’s destination will be directed at tourists; some will be directed at a much wider audience that may include the tourist; and other parts will be addressed to an internal audience only. In different encounters, then, the tourist will fulfill the roles of *addressee*, *audience*, and *eavesdropper*, respectively.” All of these discourses, he argues, will leave a lasting impression for the tourist and make up a *representation* of the country or region.

I believe tourists would want to see the features of Croatian culture, the language being one of them. Besides the standard, the Croatian language has three dialects: Kajkavian, Štokavian and Čakavian - indicating the three different words used for the word “what” in each of them: *kaj*, *što* and *ča*, and also many local vernaculars. The Croatians should safeguard and promote those varieties in the LL, but it seems they are forgetting them while promoting English lexemes and forms instead.

The old perception of the English as a colonial and imperial force versus the firm national identity that establishes its own language in the postcolonial context shifts towards international contact via lingua franca, and indirectly, conformity not anymore to cultural, but transcultural imperialism (Srzić 2011: 6). I argue that “English becomes the language of cosmopolitans - citizens of the world - and a historical ideology it may have once been related to has evolved into the ideology of capitalism, which successfully ‘conquers’ the world via commercial propaganda” (Srzić 2011: 6).

2.4. Investigating LL

Gorter (2006) calls for the focus on psychological aspects of LL passersby, which I shall be applying in this thesis. Huebner and Spolsky (2009) also believe that the future studies on the subject should reflect on individual readership of the linguistic landscape. Gorter and Cenoz (Gorter 2006: 87) pose questions that may bring some new findings in individual studies: “How is the linguistic landscape perceived by L2 users?, What is the role of the linguistic landscape as an additional source of language input? What attitudes do these L2 users have towards the linguistic landscape?”

The case study I am conducting in this thesis is inspired by Rebecca T. Garvin’s dissertation (2011) in which she analyses the visual perceptions of public spaces in transition by the citizens of Memphis. After I long deliberated on the feasibility of a similar task in the case of Zagreb and since most quantitative studies on the topic did not answer the questions that I found to be most interesting, Garvin’s study reassured me that it was possible to investigate LL from citizens’ perspectives. Quantitative studies indirectly present the power relations that may be read from disproportional representations of languages, and they are more frequently carried out than those in which readers are asked to comment on the influence LL has on them. Objectives of most LL studies, such as by Ben Rafael *et al* case of Israel (2008), Backhaus’s research of multilingualism in Tokio (2003) or Huebner’s study of language dominance in Bangkok (2006) was to present data of multilingual signs collected at a certain location to find out which language was predominant. Scholars with positivist approach collect their data by taking photographs and notes on the site and count the signs, which are afterwards presented statistically in tables or diagrams.

It is already clear that in the case of Zagreb Croatian will still be prevailing in the LL compared to English. Therefore, it would be futile to research it. My goal is to find out what is the opinion of Zagrebians about the rising presence of that foreign language in their surroundings. Hence, I have found ethnographic qualitative research to be the optimal method for obtaining authentic results from the field by presenting recipients’ views on the signs that are posted by sign-makers/owners.

Gilinger *et al* (2011: 264) argue that LL should not be seen as a static phenomenon, nor can it exclusively be expressed in a set of numbers referring to certain variables without any reference to the people who are responsible for those signs and those who read them. In their research, they discussed social issues in four European towns regarding minority languages on

signs. They conducted interviews, researched newspaper articles, internet discussions and websites and took photographs. At the end, they qualitatively analysed the viewpoints given by the locals.

I have already mentioned Garvin's research, which has provided some interesting results. Namely, the participants of her interviews gave a variety of responses in relation to the LL of Memphis, which were based on their backgrounds and values. Some respondents who had been living there all of their lives found multilingualism, which had become ever-present in the LL due to the immigration of minorities, somewhat threatening. They did not understand the new languages and hence the LL of their neighbourhood that was not addressing them anymore became somewhat remote. The presence of English had represented their American identity, and they were afraid that the language might soon become forgotten. It is ironical, because most world countries feel their own languages are threatened by the dominance of English. In my opinion, the respondents of the study seemed a bit hesitant to speak openly. They tried to be politically correct, probably because of the risk of sounding too judgemental or even xenophobic. Other interviewees were the members of minorities who were, on the other hand, enthusiastic to see their language and languages of others in the streets of the city they now lived in. It seemed as if their belonging to the place was finally inscribed in the public space and thus symbolically legitimized.

In addition to the qualitative analyses of interviews, Garvin also applied quantitative analyses. Interestingly, it was not for counting the signs, but in order to analyse emotional responses given by the readers to find out which of them prevailed and in which cases.

In my research, I shall also take photographs of signs that are representative for this topic and analyse them both qualitatively and quantitatively. I shall contact respondents who are interested in being interviewed on the site about their linguistic landscape, and who can provide rich answers to my research questions. Interviews will be tape-recorded on a smartphone and then transcribed. I shall code them according to Garvin's emotional categories and translate them. I shall analyse the results quantitatively and qualitatively for each respondent and at the end, compare them and reach a conclusion regarding the subject matter.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the concept of linguistic landscape, which is as old as literacy, and have mentioned some significant studies of this rather new research domain. I

shall be investigating how global English present in the LL of the Croatian capital has been influencing the identity of its citizens on a conscious and unconscious level. That is, their statements on the perception of signs and ethnolinguistic vitality will reflect or, even more, generate their language awareness. Interviewees will be faced with both commercial and official signage, that is, 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' signs and their answers will provide context for looking into this sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Chapter 3: The linguistic landscape of Zagreb

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I shall explain why commercial signs occur in English and in other foreign languages in the first place and their similarity with advertisements. Secondly, I shall provide information regarding the population of Zagreb and Croatia to see whether English is actually a necessity in the LL. Also, I shall deal with the issue of identifying languages on commercial signs in relation to language contact. I will then discuss the usage of English on signs in various post-communist countries in Europe and compare the present LL of Zagreb with that before the era of globalization. At the end, I shall open the issue of reception of English on signs, and discuss whether it can be interesting for the readers or just clichéd.

3.2. Advertising in English and in other foreign languages

Mihajlić (2010) explains the Croatian word *reklama*, which means commercial: “It derives from the Latin verb *clamar* which means to shout or *reclamare* that means to resonate. The characteristic of advertising is excessive praise of a product or offered service in order to attract the attention of customers. Advertisement contains mostly untrue or partly true characteristics”. Gieszinger (2000: 85) argues that advertising is a form of non-personal communication intended to inform and influence a dispersed audience.

‘Bottom-up’ signs of linguistic landscape often use language that is closely related to that in advertisements. “Shop signs, sometimes called “shop-front advertisements” [...] are similar to advertisements in newspapers and magazines” (Edelman 2009: 142). Huebner (2009: 81) concludes that the language of billboards shares many of the register characteristics of print ads. Regarding the usage of English in advertising worldwide, Presler (1999: 244) argues that it is impossible to explain the status of English in, and impact on, Danish society (reflected, for example, in advertising and other areas of the Danish media) without understanding the informal function of the English language, and its sociolinguistic significance, in the Anglo-American-oriented subculture.

I (Srzić 2011: 7) argue that “English is used for practical reasons, but also to draw the attention of possible customers by e.g. using puns, intentionally misspelled words that may activate the sense of familiarity or equality, and the use of informal *you*”. English sounds

modern and therefore products advertised in English or carrying English names should also activate the sense of modernity in one's mind (Gerritsen *et al.* 2007: 313).

Younger generations, i.e. teenagers, adolescents, but also those in their 30s are more proficient in English than elderly people in countries where it is not their native language. Hence, they may be the target audience of advertisements written in English (Srzić 2011: 7). Teenagers especially, since they are the generation that can be raised to consume and bring profit. Since English is learnt not just in schools or at language courses, but also via popular culture, Internet and business, some countries are using it more than others. For instance, in Finland, English is no longer a foreign, but the second language, because 60 percent of the people use it (*Les Européens et les langues* 2001, cited by Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 1). Thus, the target audience of advertisements spreads with the usage of language.

Unlike English, German is used in advertisements to present efficiency and technological supremacy, e.g. in an ad for Audi: *Vorsprung durch Technik*, and French for its sophisticated 'touch': *J'adore Dior* (Gerritsen *et al.* 2007: 300). These languages are used in advertisements even in countries where most people would not understand them, but when they appear with associating images, a reader will instantaneously grasp their meaning from the context (Srzić 2011: 7). It creates a specific atmosphere, which the audience is expected to identify with. Who wouldn't want to look like a beauty in a Dior ad? Or enjoy their dinner in a traditional Italian ambient with all the tastes, scents, views and sounds of the Mediterranean? One may not be in a restaurant eating food that a skilled chef has prepared for them, but if they buy, for instance, Barilla pasta, with Italian instructions and the Italian flag that implies 'made according to the Italian recipe', everybody can have a taste of Italy for a few minutes. "Foreign languages other than English are used in advertising to form an association with an ethno-cultural stereotype, whereas English is used to form an association with a specific social stereotype, i.e. modernity." (Gerritsen *et al.* 2007: 300).

According to Kelly-Holmes (2000 cited by Kuppens 2010: 116), foreign languages in advertisements are used not for their communicative, but symbolic value. Kuppens (2010: 116) supports the claim by stating that it is not important if the audience understands the text of an ad or a commercial, as long as they recognize the connotations: "Very telling in this respect is that Martin (2002a), Piller (2000), and Masavisut et al. (1986) report advertisers' practices to even use 'invented' or 'nonsensical' English in advertisements, i.e. meaningless words or sentences that only *sound* English—and can thus activate certain values with the consumers".

In addition to the cultural reasons for English being used in ads, there are also purely linguistic reasons. For instance, it is introduced when there is no word to describe a product in the target language, if there is no equivalent word for the product (e.g. *bluetooth*), or if the word is much longer or more complicated than the English word (Gerritsen et al. 2007: 270). In the study conducted by Gerritsen et al., more than 80 per cent of the ads in European countries included English. The products that were most advertised in the language, such as television and radio broadcasting, mobile phones, hotels/travel, make up/skin treatment and digital cameras can all be associated with internationalism, future orientation, success and elitism, sophistication, fun and youth. The data showed that English was rarely used to form an association with speakers of English such as the British or the Americans, with the exception of the advertisement for Burberry, which included free tartan scarves and umbrellas. Also, the study proved that the use of English in advertisements is unrelated to the status it has in a given country (Gerritsen et al. 2007: 276). Therefore, it is not the case that the more English leans towards a second language the more frequently it would be used in ads. It implies that the English language no longer belongs only to the English, Americans or any other native speakers, but that it has become globally domesticized. Advertisements in English are not only displayed on billboards in the streets, in shop windows, but they literally enter every home via television, Internet, newspapers, magazines and products on our shelves. Curtin (2000 in Curtin 2009: 228) names the usage of English worldwide in LLs “vogue or display English”, because it emanates the sense of modernity.

Successful world brands usually do not translate products’ slogans and names to native languages - although in some countries they *are* translated and transliterated (Curtin 2009: 228), thus becoming universal and memorable just like the name of the brand. For instance, MacDonald’s slogan *I’m lovin’it* may not be understood by every person in Croatia, but it tends to make the food chain even more recognizable (Srzić 2011: 9). Kuppens (2010: 116) calls it the *larger marketing strategy*, which is the primary reason for using English in advertisements. That way, it is a lot more practical and cheaper for companies. Also, in some multilingual countries, such as Switzerland, English presents a neutral language among the local ones (Cheshire and Moser 1994, cited in Kuppens 2010: 116). The second are *creative-linguistic reasons* – either because there is no equivalent word or expression in the host language (e.g. Masavisut et al. 1986; Gerritsen et al. 2000, cited in Kuppens 2010: 116), or when the equivalent is considered taboo (Takashi 1990, cited in Kuppens 2010: 116). Friedrich (2002, cited in Kuppens 2010: 116) states that English words are popular because they are shorter than the equivalents in the host language and because they (are believed to)

attract the attention of the consumer (e.g. Bhatia 1987, cited in Kuppens 2010: 116). The third reason is the already mentioned *cultural connotations* associated with English.

In Croatia, who would use diacritic signs such as *č, ć, š, ž, đ, dž* to write above their shops, bars, hair salons? Some would consider it to be unrefined, and prefer to name their hair salons *Glamour* or *Tiffany* rather than use a traditional Croatian name (Srzić 2011: 9). Almost every club or pub in Zagreb has an English name: *Saloon, Gallery, Hemingway, Attack, Bikers Beer Pub, The Best* etc., or if not, it tends to have an English spelling: *Gjuro*, instead of *Đuro*.

“The prominence of English in posters, billboards, electric displays and shop signs is now one of the most noticeable manifestations of the global spread of the language” (Crystal 2003: 94, cited in Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 13). Kuppens (2010: 117) refers to Cheshire and Moser (1994) when stating that English is a ‘bicultural’ language, as it symbolizes values that are stereotypically associated with the USA (e.g. freedom) or Great Britain (e.g. class and traditionalism), as well as ‘general’ values such as youth, prestige, modernity, globalization, cosmopolitanism, and internationalism.

There are, however, some bright examples in Croatia that resist the clichés of anglicisation and use alliteration, assonance and diacritic signs to create imaginative concepts, e.g. a hair salon in Zagreb named *Kuća četki* (Hairbrushes’ House) or gallery *Dučan metafora* (Metaphor Shop). In the overwhelming presence of English, the usage of a native language for marketing purposes seems to be somewhat subversive. It may seem paradoxical, but it actually aligns with the basic postcolonial idea of resistance through indigenous language (Srzić 2011: 10). Or as Phillipson (1992, cited in Kuppens 2010: 117) argues, the high incidence of English in advertising is an example of ‘linguistic imperialism’: “the US dominant position in the production of commodity culture enables it to force English onto other, seemingly defenseless cultures.”

3.3. Croatia and Zagreb in figures

One can perhaps conduct a case study on linguistic landscape of a city without providing a context that includes the overall picture of a country. However, I find that in Croatian case it is necessary to co-relate them, because the LLs are depending on the country’s lack of language policy. A study conducted in 2006 by Vrcić-Matajia and Grahovac-Pražić elaborated on the usage of English in the LL of Gospić, which is situated in the Lika-Senj County in Croatia. The results showed that the situation is quite similar to that in Zagreb.

Zagreb as the capital and the largest city of Croatia often sets the trends, for it is the political, educational and economic centre. Other parts of the country may serve as a corrective of those trends while balancing between modern and traditional values, which can be recognized in the results of elections.

According to the last official census conducted in 2011, the population of the Republic of Croatia is 4 284 889, of which 90.42% declared themselves as Croats, 4.36% as Serbs, 0.73% as Bosniacs, 0.42% as Italians, 0.41% as Albanians and 0.40% as Roma, while the share of other national minorities is lower than 0.40% each. There are 86.28% that declared themselves as Catholics, 4.44% as Orthodox, 3.81% not religious and atheists, 2.17% as not declared, 1.47% as Muslims, 0.76% as agnostics and sceptics, 0.34% as Protestants, 0.30% as other Christians, 0.01% as Jews, etc (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Other significant figures for Croatia are that of transcultural inflows, which can be most exact in the numbers of tourist arrivals. In 2012, Croatia was visited by 11.835.160 tourists, of which 10.369.226 were foreigners (*Putovnica.net*, 12 February 2013).

The City of Zagreb has the total of 790,017 people, 93.14 % of Croatian nationality, 2.22% of Serbs, 1.03% of Bosniacs, 0.54% of Albanians, 0.02% of Bulgarians, 0.01% of Austrians, etc. (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2011). The wider Zagreb metropolitan area includes the City of Zagreb and the separate Zagreb County bringing the total metropolitan area population up to 1,107,623. It is the only metropolitan area in Croatia with a population of over one million people.

Zagreb has a rich history dating from the Roman times to the present day and is located in the continental and central Croatia, at the crossroads of Western Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans. Its population by religion is the following: 83.11% of those declared as Catholics, 6.3% not religious and atheists, 3.45% not declared, 2.28% of Muslims, 2.02% of Orthodox, and 0.04% of Jews. Regarding tourism, in 2012, 675 707 tourists visited the city (Ministry of Tourism 2013). The figures on the national and the capital city level are proportional. According to them, Croatia and the City of Zagreb are not so multicultural, which is reflected in the LL of Zagreb. Namely, there is only Croatian and English with a few other foreign languages that bring about specifically aimed cultural stereotypes. Hanauer (2007, cited in Garvin 2011) states that in the beginning of the EU membership, there is not much migrant cityscaping, but later the landscape of an urban space tends to reflect the needs and identities of migrant population. It seems that the LL of Zagreb as mostly monocultural area is aimed at 'modern' locals and tourists.

3.4. Identifying the language of signs

Crystal (2004, cited in Edelman 2009: 151) writes that the brand name has featured in advertisements since the nineteenth century. Piller (2003, cited in Edelman 2009: 151) states that in multilingual advertising, the product name is the element that is most frequent in a foreign language. According to Varga (2012: 275), the streets and squares of Zagreb have become filled with stores from various European and world countries, e.g.: Tissot (Switzerland), Skiny (Germany), United Colors of Benetton (Italy), Terranova (Italy), Ecco (Denmark), Accessorize (Great Britain), Intersport (France), McDonald's (USA), Office Shoes (UK), Helios (Austria), Reiffeisen (Austria), Bipa (Austria), Lisca (Slovenia), Stiefelkönig (Austria), Gerry Weber (Germany), Polzela (Slovenia) and many others. Edelman (2009: 145) argues that determining the language of a product's proper name is not an easy task. Because of genetic relatedness and language contact, many names 'belong' to more than one language. He refers to Bade (2006: 193, cited in 2009: 145) who states that proper names present special problems not only for theories of language but also for indexing and language identification.

As far as etymology is concerned, the Croatian language also contains Latin and Greek lexical elements, Christian terminology of Western and Eastern tradition, and orientalisms (Katičić in Klaić 2012: 8). That is, some words are of German, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Italian, Armenian, Mongol, Hungarian, French, and English origin. Therefore, I find pejorative attitude towards linguistic purism to be insubstantial, because the notion is used only as a guideline but never as the final objective, since it is so far-fetched and actually impossible. Pennycook (2009: 306) argues that in contexts of globalization and multilingualism, it is not so clear that signs are in a specific language at all, as he rejects the notion of discrete languages as separate identities. In my opinion, some proper names are difficult to trace linguistically. Nevertheless, most loanwords can be etymologically identified as they are adapted in other languages according to their related norms. English words can often be seen in the LL of Zagreb in their original orthographic convention, as unadapted foreign words and syntagms, even when their synonyms already exist in Croatian.

3.5. Comparative perspective

In this section, I shall discuss the usage of English on commercial signs in some post-communist European and Asian countries and compare it to the Croatian case. Also, I will compare the present LL of Zagreb to the previous one that was analysed in a study conducted in the time before globalization.

In Croatia, small stores and traditional crafts are having a difficult time to compete in the market; therefore advertising signs are an important tool for making profit. Varga's (2012) study showed that the number of crafts has declined, while those who remain in the market record a reduced demand for services partly because of globalization, and mostly because of poor government policy. Seferagić (2008: 363, cited in Varga 2012: 275) points out that globalization acts as a supervising process that shapes society, social relations and social actors. He argues that within globalization, each society defines itself, its place in the world and its 'personality'. Cifrić (1998: 88, cited in Varga 2012: 275) states that "we can say that smaller socio-cultural communities and societies have found themselves in the overall entropic climate, carried out by globalization and transition integrations". Rađa and Cikoja (2009: 60, cited in Varga 2012: 275) try to determine the position of Croatia in the contemporary world: "In the post-communist period and after the Homeland war, Croatia as a country in transition is trying to find its place in international political, economic, and technological trends, while at the same time preserve its identity in the pursuit of being accepted, because the war greatly slowed down that path". According to Renko and Sredl (2004: 303-304, cited in Varga 2012: 277), since 1989, in the area of Central and Eastern Europe, hundreds of new global brands and services have appeared.

These are deodorants, tampons, condoms and other products related to health and hygiene, as well as financial services used by nearly 400 million consumers. Eastern Europe is one of the 10 fastest-growing markets. An interesting fact is that consumers in the area only 10 years ago lived in shortage of goods and information. With globalization, comes the globalization of media and export of popular culture - MTV, fast food, movies from the west, brands and advertising that shape people according to the same consumer ethics worldwide.

[translation: A. S.]

Regarding English in LL on a lexical and syntactic level, Grahovac-Pražić and Vrcić-Matajia (2006: 9), who studied the case of commercial signs in the Croatian town of Gospić, stated that the unselective use of Anglicisms often speaks for itself about the user's language culture. They advise that English or any other borrowings should be used in a way not to obstruct the system of Croatian language.

Slobodanka Dimova in her study “English Shop Signs in Macedonia” from 2007 analyses 346 stores in that country. The results show that 54% of commercial signs are in Macedonian, 36.9% in English and 17.1% in Italian and Spanish. Dimova concludes that the language used in advertising depends on the type of services of stores. All the signs of Internet cafes were in English (100%), as well as 89% of bars, 48% of boutiques, and 33% of restaurants. Unlike the signs of butcher shops, bakeries, barbers and pharmacies that had very few signs in English.

Špela Mežek in her study “English in Slovenia: Status, Functions and Features” from 2009 analyses the status of English in commercial signs, working places, higher education and advertising. The author found 41.1% of commercial signs in Slovenian language, whereas 17.3% of them were in English. The rest of the signs on stores were a combination of Slovenian and English or Slovenian and some other language (Mežek 2009, cited in Varga 2012: 283). If there was not a law regulating the language of those domains, which has, however, made certain compromises, English would very likely be even more frequent.

In his study “English as a Trademark of Modernity and Elitism” from 2010, Hasanova analyses commercial signs in Uzbekistan. The popularity of English in that country began in the early ‘90s when the language was beginning to appear in advertising. Of 97 commercial signs analysed, 55.6% were in English, 24.7% in Russian, and 17.5% in Uzbek. “English language, which was during the Cold War and the Soviet Union a ‘language of Western imperialism’, today is viewed as the attribute of education, modernity, prestige and elitism” (Hasanova 2010: 3, cited in Varga 2012: 283). Dimova states that the size of a city, diplomatic affairs, role of the city in commercial affairs, foreign trade and tourism have the main role in the presence of English in advertising signs (2007: 19, cited in Varga 2012: 283).

When seeing those results, one can ask oneself if it is necessary to introduce a language policy in Croatia, since the presence of English in LLs is a global trend and it only means that we have adopted capitalism and now belong to the West. However, must a language be submitted to the terror of advertising? Do the language norms and the question of appropriateness need to be exempted when profit is concerned, which plays with informality to achieve its goal?

An interesting study was conducted in 1938-1939 by Jurkić, “The Philologist Walk through Zagreb” that analysed the linguistic landscape of Croatia’s capital. He found many words, mostly in German, but also French and English instead of Croatian ones that existed at the time but were not put on display. He considered it to be “snobbish borrowings”. Jurković argued that when using them, one should implement the norms of the Croatian language and that foreign nouns should be formed into adjectives the same way they are formed from Croatian nouns (Jurkić 1938-1939: 141). He criticised the influence of the German syntax and

the wrong use of cases and prepositions in Croatian, i.e. the illiteracy of their creators, illogicality and mixing of terms. He was especially critical towards colonization, which he found to be more than that - incursion and invasion (Jurkić 1938-1939: 189). He categorized the analysed signs as: (I) Business proper names – foreign (e.g. *Maison Rosy, Ivette, Mariette, Baby*) and Croatian (e.g. *Ruža, Pepica, Zlatka, Tonka*), (II) Business names borrowed from dictionary of natural sciences – international (e.g. *Delphin, Albatros, Oliva, Lotos, Trifolium* (for dairy plant!) and Croatian (*Slon, Lav, Ris, Runolist, Cvijeće, Mjed*), (III) Business names borrowed from mythology and history, geography and astronomy – international and foreign (*Isis, Afrodita, Minerva, Borneo, Star, Gold-Star, Amerika, Universum*) and Croatian (*Vila, Zmaj, Zrinjevac, Vis, Velebit*), (IV) Other business names – foreign and international ones that have a substitute in Croatian dictionary, or have a foreign form (*Fidelio, Elit, Beauty Cult, La Boheme, American Shoe, National, Mutual etc.*) and Croatian (*Preporod, Igla, Preslica, Stas, Sirana etc.*). (V) Cafes and cinemas – “Among large and medium-sized cafes in the city’s commerce centre, there are only five that have Croatian names: *Gradska, Kazališna, Velika, Zagreb* and *Medulić*. The others are: *Astoria, Carlton, City, Corso, Esplanade, Europa, Mignon, Splendid, Trilby, London*. Most of the cinemas [...] have foreign names: *Palace Balkan, Urania, Luxor, Capitol, Olimp, Astoria, Central, Union, Croatia*. Croatian are: *Jadran, Građanski, Tomislav, Dom*” (Jurkić 1938-1939: 192).

(VI) Inns, smaller cafes, taverns, bars – as the author pointed out, one would expect that the people who owned those places would have been less inclined towards cosmopolitan language patchworks and use Croatian names. He found the opposite examples: *Astoria, Central, Eden, Elite, Luxor, Bohem, American* etc. Jurkić concluded that he had presented the chaos, superficiality and ignorance that were present in business language displayed in the streets of Zagreb. He criticized misspellings in Croatian, foreign words that could have been replaced with words from potent folk or literary language. According to him, the business signs were often meaningless and they did not say what was supposed to be said. The author called for revision of the linguistic landscape of Zagreb: “The interests of the Croatian language itself and education of our citizens demand it, and on the other hand, moral, educational policy and political interests of the City. And above all, the visage of Zagreb, which needs to present its significance in front of the foreign world: that it is a Croatian city” (Jurkić 1938-1939: 192). [translation: A. S.]

The present-day study by Varga (2012) analysed 731 commercial signs conducted in the center of Zagreb, of which 13% were of crafts (N=93) and the rest 87% (N=638) of other shops. “Traditional crafts are the symbol of longevity of Croatian economy and important

segment of local, regional and national identity of Croatian society. As it was expected, in advertising signs of various crafts, the most frequent is Croatian, 84% (N=78), while 16% is in a foreign language.” (Varga 2012: 288). The author states that after Croatian on commercial signs of crafts, the most frequent is English in combination with Croatian and other languages. As for the rest of the shops, the picture is quite different. 40% of them have commercial signs in a foreign language, or are in Croatian combined with a foreign language (N=225), which is the reflection of globalization and the penetration of foreign companies, banks, branded shops, and connection into one unified and global market. Among the foreign languages, as it was expected, English was the most frequent; Varga, however, does not provide the percentage.

3.6. Is English in LL original or clichéd?

Every now and then, advertisers and sign owners come up with original linguistic solutions to attract the customers’ attention, for instance, by using bilingual word puns and rhyming.

A hotel in Croatia seems to represent a new trend of coinages on the local market: *Golly & Bossy* (Srzić 2011: 10). The word play means ‘naked and barefoot’ in Croatian, but it is written with *y* instead of *i* and the repetition of letters, which are the orthographic conventions of English. The capital letters in succession of words in the title can only stand for personal names in Croatian, which is obviously not the case here. With the English ampersand &, it insinuates the owners’ foreign surnames and plays with the connotation of partnership and progressive entrepreneurship. Interesting names are important in product marketing, and hence the hotel with its modern architecture and fashionable design, located in an attractive location (Split – the centre of Dalmatia, the region with a long seacoast) should also have a resounding name. “People understand figurative language by first analyzing the literal meaning of a sentence before they infer the intended figurative meaning by deriving an interpretation that makes the utterance adhere to the principle of cooperative communication” (Gibbs *et al.* 1993: 387, cited in Abass 2007). The Croatian-English name signifies that it is intended for young guests or older generations who feel young. It also implies that one can finally feel carefree in a hotel as if they are at home. Thus it signals a liberal note – you can walk around naked and barefoot. English is introduced to attract foreign tourists, but also domestic ones, and the modern hospitality concept seems to have been taken from youth hostels, and turned

into a service for wider and more demanding audience. In Croatian, when one says that some people are *goli i bos*, it means they are poor. Thus, the name contains several meanings: it suggests that one needn't have much money to be a guest in their hotel and have a good time in Split. Low price and comfortable accommodation implying warmth (regarding temperature in the hotel or easy-going and tolerant staff), and free spirit can have a powerful effect on the customer, even if it is only the name of a hotel. "In place of a context designed to suppress latent ambiguity, the pun is a product of a context deliberately constructed to *enforce* an ambiguity, to render impossible the choice between meanings, to leave the reader or hearer endlessly oscillating in semantic space" (Attridge 1988: 141 cited by Abass 2007). Gibbs (1994: 1, cited by Abass 2007) states that human cognition is fundamentally shaped by various poetic or figurative processes and as such, metaphors, puns, and other tropes are not "linguistic distortions of literal mental thought, but constitute basic schemes by which people conceptualise their experiences and the external world."

Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8 cited by Huebner 2009: 75) argues that advertising has multiple functions: to express feelings and emotions (the expressive function), to offer advice and recommendations or to persuade (the directive or vocative function), to inform, report, describe or to assert (the informational function), to create, maintain and finish contact between addresser and addressee, e.g. small talk (the interactional or phatic function), and to communicate meaning through a code which could not otherwise be communicated (the poetic function). Abass (2007) quotes Redfern (1982: 269) as he argues that puns are a way to navigate through the confusion of other ads thus providing "a recipe for mass-produced boredom". Word play is employed for defamiliarization or *ostranenie*, as V. Shklovskij (1917) would remark. It is the same tool that is used in fiction by writers. For Russian formalists, form was more important than content, and since the theory was carried out in the period when avantgarde and modernism were emerging, it may be concluded that some copywriters or owners of a service/product use an avantgarde technique to cut the ties with traditionalism, or at least with the expected story, denomination or slogans, which are not exciting anymore to the audience (Srzić 2011: 12). "Redfern points out that wordplay, with its distortions, bifurcations and re-creations, introduces variety and refreshment into saturation and puns are no exception" (1982: 269, cited in Abass 2007).

Although entrepreneurs introduce English to attract customers, it can have the opposite effect on them. For instance, a hairdressing salon named *Hendy* in Zagreb shows lack of professionalism due to its misspelling (Srzić 2011: 13). The old Latin saying *Nomen est omen* comes to mind; it indicates that they are not so handy with scissors. Just a name can plant a

seed of doubt in a potential customer's brain. Kay (1992: 542, cited in Curtin 2009: 228) argues that English is "designed to be seen rather than read, the visual appeal of the foreign words taking precedence over their accuracy and appropriateness" so as to "convey a mood as much as a message". Kelly Holmes (2000) defines it as language fetishization, when the symbolic value of a displayed language is greater than its communicative function. Also, employing misspelling can be a tool for achieving subversiveness (Srzić 2011: 13). Its tendency is to change the established 'truths' and values, to play with current events known from popular culture, or to present a satire of some sort. It needn't be pointed at a political system or situation, but at least towards the rules of a language. Analysing, for instance, the contemporary language of social networks, it is clear that disobeying language rules is – modern. "Similarly, another category of puns used in advertising is slang and when these puns are used, the advertiser is stressing the contemporaneity of a product" (Kolin 1977: 30, cited in Abass 2007). In Zagreb, a franchise store that sells underwear, *Women' Secret*, is written without the *s* after the apostrophe. The proper name is not written properly suggesting that their female customers needn't think about the rules, but instead, act according to their own needs (Srzić 2011: 13). McQuarrie & Mick (1992: 425, cited in Abass 2007) make a point that "The manner in which a statement is expressed may be more important than its prepositional content".

Many advertisements employ intertextuality, and the reader/viewer is expected to recognise the source. In addition to the name of *Zagreb Film Festival* on a cinema sign, a baby carriage is drawn, which has become the Festival's logotype. A recognizable image with the name is what makes a brand. The logo is an intertextual reference to Sergei Eisenstein's film from 1925 "The Battleship Potemkin", which can only be understood by those who have seen it or have seen some other film that has also used it as a reference. "Advertising simultaneously treats its consumers as intelligent (they must see the joke, make the connection, seize the allusion) and gullible, in that the satisfaction afforded by the former exercise will assist the ulterior aim of selling the product (Redfern 1982: 275 cited in Abass 2007).

Cook (1992/2002: 21) compares ads to literary texts that contain bricolage - borrowing and interweaving of other texts, e.g. as in *Ulysses*: "In many ways, at every level, ads are **parasitic** upon their situation and other discourses". According to Goldman and Papson (1994: 43, cited in Kuppens 2010: 119),

The creativity, humor, and reflexivity that are typical of intertextual advertisements, constitute an exciting way of appealing to advertising-literate

viewers who ‘see through’ classic advertising strategies. If viewers recognize the intertextual references, the advertisement may function as ‘a source of ego enhancement’. By positioning the viewer as the holder of the necessary cultural capital, the advertiser ‘appears to speak to the viewer as a peer’.

In the week before Valentine’s day in Zagreb, a seller put a doll in the shop-window and stuck a piece of paper in its hand saying: *You make me feel*. It was not clear what the plastic representation of a woman was trying to say, as it was implied, to her partner. Does he/she make her feel happy, alive, bad, sick, like she could fly, or fly away from their love nest? Customers might not even have noticed the slogan, but the sentence can echo in one’s head because of its ambiguity (Srzić 2011: 13). Although it may have been written by an unskilled writer or a bad English speaker, it made one ponder about Valentine’s Day being advertised in a foreign language. Proctor et al. (2002, cited in Kuppens 2010: 119) argue that the vagueness of advertisements makes the audience vulnerable to manipulation and confusion. In another shop window in Zagreb of a franchise that sells accessories for women, *Accesorize*, there is a slogan in English: *be super vain!* The phrase is formulated as imperative, expressing one of the Seven Sins in a topsy-turvy manner, as if it is one of the Ten Commandments (a paradigmatic example of linguistic landscape) (Srzić 2011: 14). The text obviously imitates urban language. Due to its informality, it is accessible to youth as the target audience who understand English much better than their parents who will provide them money to spend in the store. “Language as a whole is able to make specific references about things and in advertising language, colloquialisms are constantly used in order to do this and these are seen as “distance reducing devices” (Vorlat 1976: 299, cited in Abass 2007). For those selling the product, it is desirable to be vain, to be the easiest target, to possess an unstable identity. Cook (1992/2002: 11, cited in Abass 2007) rationalizes advertisements by stating that

in a world beset by social and ecological problems, advertising can be seen as urging people to consume more by making them feel dissatisfied or inadequate, by appealing to greed, worry and ambition. On the other hand, it may be argued that many ads are skilful, clever and amusing, and that it is unjust to make them a scapegoat for all the sorrows of the modern world.

Vorlat (1976: 291, cited in Abass 2007) points out that advertising is “essentially a persuasive speech act”, which can be recognized in imperatives in Croatian: *kupujte kod nas* (buy at our place), *razveselite najmlađe* (surprise/cheer up the kids), *budite u trendu* (be trendy) etc. Hearing a pun, a potential customer may feel less irritated by its formulaic speech, its persuasiveness, because it is less obvious and imposed. Wright et al. (1983: 266, cited in Huebner 2009: 79) makes a distinction between hard sell and soft sell. The former is persuading potential customers to “buy now”, “do it today” or “come this weekend”, while

the latter is asking to “remember the name”, “ask your family” or “plan to visit” sometime in the future. According to Short and Wenzhong (1997: 495, cited in Huebner 2009: 79), a criterion for determining which ad is hard- or soft-sell is the amount of inferential work that viewers have to perform in order to understand the advertisements: “... the more inferencing to be done, the more indirect, and hence soft sell, the advertisement is likely to be”.

Gieszinger (2000: 85, cited in Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 16) states that our attitude to a discourse type can be indicative of our personality or social and ideological position. The author (2000: 85, cited in Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 16) explains, “In this respect, advertising is one of the most controversial and of all contemporary discourse types, partly because it is relatively new, but also because it is closely associated with the values of the competitive high-growth market economy in which it thrives”.

Commercials, ads and popular culture are important parts of capitalism, often presented as the society of spectacle (Debord 1999), which uses sexuality as a powerful tool that arouses the addressee’s instincts. Recently, a slogan in a shop window in Zagreb that was written in English caught my attention. The shop sells macrobiotic food and is called *Bio&Bio*, and its sign said: *Organic is orgasmic!* It was written in English for the purpose of hedging - in Croatian it would keep the similar word play - *Organsko je orgazmično!*, but it would have appeared somewhat vulgar. In Croatian it would sound as if the shop does not sell macrobiotic goods, but sexual appliances. English code-switching is often used in hedging when avoiding domestic taboo words, and it is applied for commercial purposes the same as it is in everyday language (Srzić 2011: 15). A bar in Zagreb is named *Spunk*, which would probably be forbidden if a Croatian word was used instead. Language creations can be provocative and subversive, and in this case, only those who understand its meaning can be amused with this profound selection of words, while others may walk by it unaware of what it says. In regard to intergeneric intertextuality, Stam et al. (1992: 203, cited in Kuppens 2010: 119) point out that “the self-referential humor signals to the spectator that the commercial is not to be taken seriously, and this more relaxed state of expectation renders the viewer more permeable to the commercial message”. Subversiveness, which opposes consumerism, is also being exploited for consumerist purposes. According to Baudrillard (cited by Lechte 1994: 262), advertisements employ parody only to enhance its message:

It is that in the discourse of consumption, there is an anti-discourse: the exalted discourse of abundance is everywhere duplicated by a critique of consumer society – even to the point where advertising often intentionally parodies advertising. Everything ‘anti-’, says Baudrillard, can be recuperated; this is what consigns Marx to another, by-gone era. The society of consumption is also the society of the denunciation of consumption.

Kuppens (2010: 130) gives an example of a Dutch commercial in American English, which was used to create a parody, because the copyrighters knew that audience would identify the language with “hyperactive hard-sell advertisements, dialogic sports commentary, and syrupy Hollywood drama”. The language was chosen because it referred to popular culture, and the American popular culture is the most represented in global media. Thus the ‘imperialist’ language can be recycled like a consumerist object and turned into a mockery (Srzić 2011: 16). Kuppens (2010: 130) explains that “English seems to be used in these advertisements because it is the language of specific media genres—genres, however, that are parodied and mocked, and whose conventions are subverted”.

Phillipson (2006: 80, cited in Hult 2009: 101) draws the conclusion that English may be linked with discourses of the world economy (as a *lingua economica*), discourses of the cultural values of English-speaking countries (as a *lingua cultura*), and discourses of popular culture (as a *lingua emotiva*). Although true subversiveness in advertising is rare, English can serve to send the information of subjugated to a wider population. Thus Pennycook (1994: 262) remarks, “It becomes important to acknowledge [English] . . . not merely as a language of imperialism, but also as a language of opposition.”

Therefore, I would say, a language cannot be blamed for being used for commercial purposes, because any language might have been in its place if history had been different (Srzić 2011: 16). Any commercial sign, advertisement or a commercial tends to manipulate the audience. English is practical in that sense, because of its lexical richness and implications of youth, modernity, progressiveness and internationalism. It is a language that may create issues among communities, but it can also bring individuals together in subverting the implied ideologies at least by humour and intertextuality.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the ambiguous nature of English in the modern world. It is both an economic necessity that possesses values, which people willingly share and a threat to national languages. I have provided both a synchronical comparison of the LL of Zagreb with results obtained in other countries, as well as a diachronical one with its earlier representation. Owners of Croatian shops often choose English words instead of Croatian ones, and it is arguable whether it is a reflection of their cosmopolitanism or simply provincialism. In the following chapter, I shall provide photographs of representable signs occurring in English,

Croatian and some other languages in the centre of Zagreb and analyse them, before presenting the emotional responses of their readers.

Chapter 4: Empirical study

4.1. Introduction

Realising that signs in English will be most frequent in the commercial zone of the city, I walked through the centre of Zagreb to observe and take photographs of them. I gathered my data by photographing signs that caught my attention in almost every street in the narrower city centre. Most of them were written in English and Croatian, and some of them were in other foreign languages.

4.2. Analysing the LL of Zagreb vistas

Only after having spent a few hours photographing the centre of the Lower Town of Zagreb and the Upper Town, have I realized to what extent English is present in the linguistic landscape. It is almost equal to Croatian, but in some cases it even has priority over the latter. My starting point was at Marshal Tito Square, since there are bilingual sign-posts in Croatian and English, mostly for tourists, which indicate direction to important cultural institutions and interesting sites (figure 3). It is obvious that language planning was applied when inscribing those official signs; appropriately, the Croatian version is put above the English with larger letters and a font that stands out, thus providing a symbolic hierarchy.



Figure 3: bilingual signs for tourists at Maršal Tito Square

Regarding commercial signs, I came across other foreign languages, such as French (for sweet delicatessen in figures 4, 5 and 6), Italian and Spanish, but they are rare in comparison to English.



Figure 4: French for *čokolada*



Figure 5: French apposition beside the name of Kraš, the most famous Croatian chocolate factory



Figure 6: French for waffles, a Belgian product

Among 107 official and commercial signs that I have photographed, I have noticed that English is most frequently used for hairdressing salons, fast food restaurants, bars and clothing shops (Table 1 and figures 7, 8, 9 and 10). It is paradoxical, but it seems that English is being emphasized mostly by those who are less educated.

Table 1 Languages on signs

Table 1	Croatian	English	French	Italian	Spanish
Cinemas	2	1			
Coffee/bars	2	6			1
Hairdressers		5			
Clothing and jewellery stores		12	2		
Fast food and other restaurants	1	9		1	
Pastry shop	2		4		
Cosmetics		1	1		
Souvenir shops	1	2			
Number of signs: 53	8	36	7	1	1
100%	15%	67%	13.2%	1.8%	1.8%

In the table, I have entered the categories of signs that have appeared most often. I have left out those that have appeared in small numbers, such as signs on a museum, gallery, pharmacy, a furriery, on festival banners, CD shops, etc. Also, I have omitted from the table the number of names of the streets, signposts and memorial plaques, i.e. official signs, since they are all written in Croatian, as I expected.



Figure 7: coffee bar 'The Cup', fast food store 'Mini Me'



Figure 8: a misspelled hairdressing salon - ‘Hendy’



Figure 9: hairdressing salon ‘GO-CUT’ next to pastry shop ‘Cukerač’, which is in the old Zagreb dialect, of German etymology – *zucker*. In the Croatian standard, sugar is *šećer* (< Turkish *şeker* < Persian *šākūr*).



Figure 10: hairdressing salon named “Royal - professional” written with special penmanship; apposition in English “best hair salon” and “royal treatment every day” written below in Croatian as a slogan; additional, but probably the most important information, which is written in English: “Fast and fabulous blow dry and haircut from 150 kn”.



Figure 11: *frizerski studio* (hairdressing salon) ‘D&D’ and Vintage Studio ‘Izi’ – since there is no existing Croatian variant for the latter notion, it is a justifiable usage of foreign words, although *starinska odjeća* (antique clothes) could have been used instead.



Figure 12: food bar enjoy – in English and the lower case letter in the name – it may be intentional, for achieving informality, or unintentional, i.e. incorrect usage.



Figure 13: “Anglocrobatic” *green je in* – the use of rhyme



Figure 14: flattering potential customers in English and using stylistic devices: parallelism, rhyme (good-food), repetition (good), assonance, alliteration, anaphora (the repetition of good), and antanaclassis (two different meanings of 'good').



Figure 15: 'Pizza-cut Duck' and a logo with a duck



Figure 16: Bosnian-English bricolage in the name of the restaurant, with a quasi-quotation, that is, slogan in English and 'telephone ordering' in Bosnian/Croatian language

In general, most of the signs I have come across are unimaginative, but there are some exceptions, e.g. the Bosnian-English bricolage 'Jazz-ba Chevap' (figure 16). *Dez ba* is a Bosnian interjection when two people meet, similar to English 'how do you do' expression. In

this case, it is transliterated into English while associating the Bosnian ethnic food with a feature of American culture – jazz, thus achieving a more sophisticated and international connotation.



Figure 17: 'ZFF - Zagreb Film Festival' instead of 'ZFF - Zagrebački filmski festival'



Figure 18: 'Cigar Shop', 'Daily News', 'Tobacco shop' - written in English



Figure 19: ‘Design shop’, ‘Fresh’, ‘T-shirts’, ‘Notebooks’, ‘Posters’, ‘Coasters’...



Figure 20: CityBox, dustbin with an ashtray - “the new urban advertising medium” – it seems advertisers are not so inclined to be represented in the trash medium, although the sign says “million views each day”.



Figure 21: hemp store with a Croatian-English name, a slogan in English and information on discount in Croatian



Figure 22: English in the name of a franchise store



Figure 23: no information in Croatian on discount on another store



Figure 24: 'Posh bar'



Figure 25: 'Lemon' bar & club could have been 'Limun' *kafić i klub* in Croatian

In the Upper Town, at medieval Grič, English is rarely used, but probably because there are only few commercial shops in the area. I have found only one foreign name of a private store – 'Molokai bar'. Several years ago, there used to be 'Indy's' bar, and 'Tolkien's house' pub, but they are not there anymore. Due to the fact that the Upper Town location is ancient and authentic, the most prevalent language is Croatian, that is, the old Zagreb dialect – *purgerski*, which contains many adapted German loan words. The dialect is spoken by the older generation of Zagreb, while the younger ones are trying to preserve it by organising cultural events such as 'Fuliranje'. The official signs of the streets have recently become bilingual; it seems that the town has introduced a language policy that tends to safeguard the 'old' spirit of Zagreb and there is a German version beneath the Zagreb dialect (figure 26, 27).



Figure 26: the name of the street written in the old Zagreb dialect and German version below



Figure 27: bilingualism: old Zagreb dialect in archaic Croatian ortography, which was used before the introduction of diacritical signs and the norm of one sign for one phoneme by Ljudevit Gaj in 1830, and German version below, also written in an old typography



Figure 28: Old Zagreb dialect and German having a symbolic function, whereas English here has informational function (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25).



Figure 29: memorial plaques are all written in Croatian in the old typography; (on the top, the coat of arms of the noble Zrinski family).

The Croatian-German bilingualism is not only a linguistic, but also a political statement that the nation has belonged to that cultural circle. However, a hundred and fifty years ago, German was considered in Croatia to be the language of the Habsburg absolutism. About 2000 lexems from the Austrian part of the Monarchy have entered the Croatian language (Glovacki-Bernardi 1989). Matasović (2008) explains the beginnings of the language contact between the Goths as the first Germanic people and the ancestors of Slavs in the 2nd and 3rd century B.C. Several dozens of words from Gothic and Old High German language entered the Slavic languages (from that period, we have the word *hiža* in Kajkavian dialect from the Germanic **hūzan*). After those long first contacts, Croatian and German were connected again in the 12th century when German artisans came to Croatia. After Tatars demolished Zagreb, in 1242, King of Hungary and Croatia, Bela IV invited German artisans to help rebuild the town. In the 16th century, Croatian and German once again came into contact, in the time when Croatian-Hungarian throne was taken over by the Habsburg dynasty. That was the time of wars with the Ottoman Empire, and in the east of Croatia, Military Frontier was established and its official language was German. After the peace treaty in Srijemski Karlovci, in 1699, the area obtained back from the Turks was inhabited by the Germans. They also arrived in larger Croatian towns, such as Varaždin, Osijek, Vukovar and Zagreb. From that time and before, words such as: *cigla* (< *Zigel*) and *kugla* (< *Kugel*) entered the Croatian language (Glovacki-Bernardi 1989). During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, newspaper 'Der kroatische Korrespondent' was issued in Zagreb, in German. Its citizens, *purgers* (of german *Bürger*), called their city *Agram*, which is a German exonym for Zagreb. Although the official language of Zagreb Municipality was Latin until 1848 (apart from 1786 - 1790), the language of educated upper class in the 18th and 19th century was German. From

1749 to 1860, theatre plays were performed only in German. At official ceremonies, speeches were held in German, writers wrote in German, the language of commerce was German, while Croatian was spoken in private. The number of Germanisms increased, but they were refused by the standard Croatian language, thanks to anti-German Illyrians and other Croatian philologists. Some German words were accepted in Croatian language and today they do not feel like foreign ones, e.g. *škare* (< *Scherre*). Although there is a standard word *nožice*, Croatian speakers use it only exceptionally and in some dialects. But the fact that the standard did not accept German words that entered the Croatian language was not an obstacle for them to be adopted and adapted in the local speech, and have thus become domesticated (Glovacki-Bernardi 1989). In 1849, German became the official language until the fall of absolutism in 1860 when Croatian finally became official - in schools, on stage and in newspapers.



Figure 30: memorial plaque in Croatian explaining how and when Croatian language finally became official in Croatia

At medieval Grič, one of the two hills from which Zagreb has developed (the other being Kaptol, of the Zagreb diocese), English is rarely used and when it is, it only serves to provide basic information for tourists.



Figure 31: the Croatian Museum of Naïve Art written in English, Croatian and German

English is rarely present in the names of shops, except for ‘Experience Croatia’ (Figure 35), but is still used in their appositions or additional descriptions, e.g. ‘souvenirs’ and ‘bar’. Restaurants and galleries have Croatian names: ‘Prasac’, ‘Lav galerija i *caffè*’, ‘Didov san’.



Figure 32: Lav galerija i caffè – the latter apposition is in Italian - *caffè* instead of Croatian *kafić*, but since it is an international word, it is easier for tourists to comprehend its meaning, and it also sounds more refined



Figure 33: restaurant ‘Prasac’ (Pig) - the owner said he did not want to name it in English, because he wanted to cherish Croatian language and also promote locally grown food



Figure 34: Caffe Bar 'Tituš' – international apposition with the name of Croatian comediographer Tituš Brezovački (1757 - 1805) who wrote mostly in the Kajkavian dialect; written in the old typography



Figure 35: 'Experience Croatia' as a logo with a Glagolitic letter (the old Croatian script) in the centre – associating with authentic Croatian products presented in English for tourists



Figure 36: Strossmayer Promenade has become a paraphrase of French Montmartre – 'Strossmartre'

In the Lower Town, however, i.e. the narrower and wider city centre and the outskirts, English is not used so much for communicative, but symbolic purposes. It is both in the

names, appositions and their additional information. I have not found any *kafić*, only ‘caffe bars’, slogans such as ‘good food for good people’ and descriptions, e.g. ‘since 1967’ instead of *utemeljeno 1967.*, ‘sale’ instead of *rasprodaja*, etc. If English was to be used like in Grič, it would not be so excessive, as one can notice descending from the Upper Town and seeing English all over again.



Figure 37: descending from the Upper Town: ‘Hemingway lounge bar’ (a Croatian franchise) and ‘Papa’s – true American bar’



Figure 38: there is a nice Croatian word for it: ‘Riznica’. Also, for its apposition: *galerija nakita*.



Figure 39: for some shop-owners, being urban and modern means using English



Figure 40: 'Devil' clothing store – the name could be read as a statement against the norms; an example of hedging in English - it would cause disapproval in Croatian.

In the following empirical study, I shall present respondents' attitudes towards their linguistic landscape. The data will show if the residents of Zagreb are satisfied with the current situation; whether they consider the signs in English to be excessive or not. It would also be interesting to interview sign-owners regarding the selection and personal preferences of particular languages for advertising their stores. However, I find that it would only show language awareness of some of them and the lack of it in others, whereas the 'audience' of the signs may display a variety of emotions from indifference to activism.

4.3. Methodology: postmodern interviewing

Sign-owners have established a one-way communication and similarly to advertisements, there are only indirect responses from the audience. Although customers are direct users, they have been put in a passive, if not submissive role. They should answer only by paying them for goods and services. While it is clear from the results of Varga's (2012) study that Croatian still holds predominance over other languages in the LL, the presence of English is rising each day. There has not been a study on the opinions of local 'users' about their linguistic landscape, if they have been receiving it consciously or unconsciously, nor if it has aroused their language awareness. Therefore, based on Rebeca Garvin's (2011) research, I have decided to conduct a similar empirical study.

The method I have selected is interviews, because I find it to be the most open-ended one, from which I can obtain more results than from other data collection techniques. After having provided theoretical framework, I have photographed the LL of Zagreb's centre as evidence and additional resource for qualitative analyses. In the following section, I shall present the answers obtained from participants' focus on the LL on our walking tours in the centre of Zagreb. Johnstone (2000, cited in Garvin 2011: 54) argues that participant

observation is an important method of ethnographic qualitative sociolinguistic research. Denzin (1997:11, cited in Garvin 2011: 54) defines ethnography as “a form of inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and those written about”.

According to the postmodern viewpoint, the ultimate truth we seek to attain in our studies is always questionable, since it is defined by our values, perceptions and ideologies. As Arendt (1958, cited in Garvin 2011: 54) argues, “the ‘subjectivity’ of the researcher is perceived as the individual creative processes and insights from her own life that she brings to the interview which will contribute to the overall ‘objectivity’ of the work.” Garvin (2011: 55) explains her position prior to the interviews:

The role of the researcher in any interview will always be problematic due to the condition that the researcher has a form, has an appearance subject to interpretation by the interviewee. And at the same time, the researcher’s questions, responses, and interpretations are subject to her or his own history, background and previous experiences.

I certainly tried to obtain a neutral position in the interaction with the respondents, but sought to find out about their positions on the topic, such as their values that might have been implied in their statements. Although I knew the participants before I conducted this study, I had not discussed the issue with them, since I wanted to obtain as objective results as possible without influencing their opinions. I made a selection of five people from 21 to 58 years of age with various types and degrees of education, whose professions are in some way related to this topic. Also, I have chosen them according to what I considered to be their different senses of national identities and language awareness. If I had chosen participants whom I had never met before and whose profession was not connected even slightly with the subject matter, I believe the responses would not have been as interesting and clever as the ones I have obtained from my respondents. I only became aware of some facts regarding the linguistic landscape during the interviews with them.

According to Collins (1998 cited in Garvin 2011: 57), postmodern interviewing is viewed as conversation. I initiated the talk and then let the participants express their views and emotions without any inhibition in relation to the LL, which functioned as stimulus.

I have applied similar research design that has been carried out by Garvin in which the answers are coded according to emotional responses and then both qualitatively and quantitatively determined. I conducted structured interviews at the main square in Zagreb, which I later statistically analysed, based on Garvin’s research, but I have also included unstructured ‘walking tour’ interviews, in which the participants provided more open-ended

commentaries on the LL. I have also conducted quantitative analyses for that and compared the responses of the first and second parts of the interviews.

As it is showed on the map (Figure 41), the ‘walking tours’ differed in those five interviews, because each time the participants and I spontaneously decided on which directions we should take from the main square. Thus they did not always comment on the same signs.

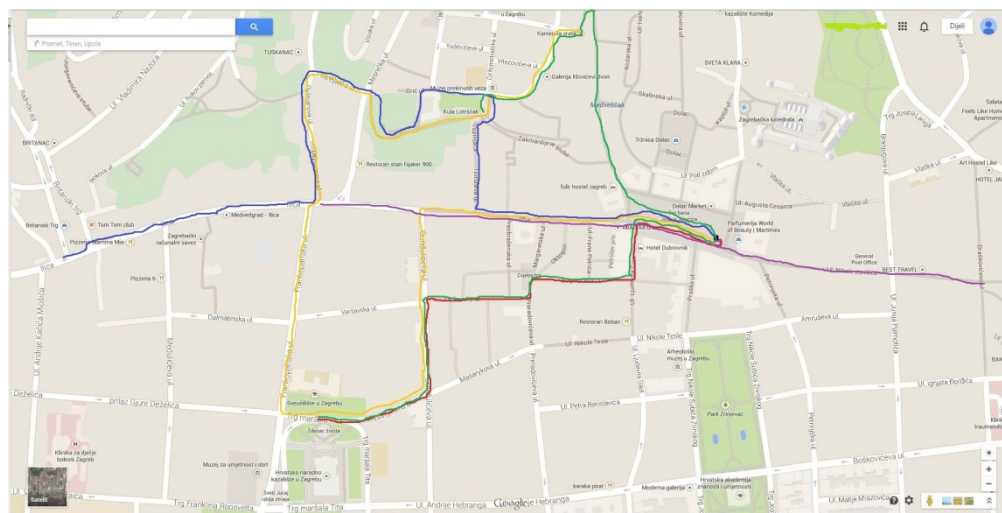


Figure 41: Walking tours: Participant 1 - red, Participant 2 - green, Participant 3 – yellow, Participant 4 – blue, Participant 5 - purple

My research questions are:

1. How is the LL of Zagreb perceived by the locals?
 - a) What emotional responses does it produce?
2. Can a ‘walking tour interview’ obtain substantial results in LL study?
 - a) What are the participants’ views on the LL before and after the interview?
3. Is there an alternative to the current language policy regarding LL and should it be changed?
4. How do the respondents position themselves towards their language and do they feel they can make a difference in relation to the current trends?
5. Other questions that have certainly come up in the moment of interviewing initiated either by the interviewer or the interviewees.

4.4. Results of Individual Interviews

All of the respondents are native speakers of Croatian and hence they answered in their mother tongue, so that we could obtain a free flow of conversation. The questions with which I started each interview were similar to Garvin’s but adjusted to the context of Zagreb and

translated into Croatian. After having conducted an individual ‘walking tour’ interview, which I recorded, I transcribed the answers and translated them to English. I have used Garvin’s codification for responses and a similar research structure, which I have further expanded. Due to the fact that the answers are translated, a spoken sentence in Croatian has been written as two or more sentences in English, and thus the number and type of statements provided were coded in relation to the original, Croatian responses. Here are the questions I posed to each of them:

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?
2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?
3. What was your initial thought of the linguistic changes?
4. Do you like visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?
5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?
6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?
7. What does it mean to you now?
8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?
What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and whom are they intended for?
9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?
10. Do you feel connected to this place?
11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?
12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding signs? If yes, why?

Based on Garvin’s research (2011), I have categorized the responses of the structured interview as following: Q – for explicit statements elicited directly by interview questions, S – for statements stimulated by direct observation of the LL, and C – for statements generated by conversation.

Participant 1

The first interview was conducted on February 15, 2014. Participant 1, aged 36 has been living in Zagreb all of his life. He has an MA degree in English Language and Literature and Linguistics and has been working as a translator, mostly subtitling films and television shows from English to Croatian. His educational and professional profile was the reason for selecting him as one of the participants, due to the fact that he works with both English and Croatian ‘live’ languages - standard and colloquial, but also because of his direct and open

approach in communication with other people. We met at Ban Jelačić Square, which is the main square in Zagreb that served as the starting point for all of the interviews. It has got lots of official and private signs on facades, roofs and large commercial banners.

Some of my participants have brought to my attention the symbolic value of the square. Namely, its central figure - Ban Jelačić, whose monument represents Croatian freedom, the fight against Hungarian hegemony and Magyarization. It was removed in Yugoslavia and then, after 45 years, brought back to its place when the Croats won their independence. Also, *Manduševac* is there, a famous Zagreb fountain built in the place of a natural spring. According to the legend, a girl Manda scooped (*zagrabiti*) water for a thirsty knight, and the city was named after her deed.

Step 1: Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?

I feel a slight thrill (Q/S)... Because I like that variety, multilingualism (Q). I am Always glad to see it, because it is not so often and therefore when I see it, I am glad (Q).

2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?

As a child, when I was five or six (Q). It was always present in Zagreb, but perhaps not so much in English, but foreign signs were present: Hungarian, German, Russian etc. (C). English has become more present in the last twenty years (C).

3. What was your initial thought or reaction to the linguistic changes?

I think that signs are more and more aggressive, intrusive (Q). They tend to instantaneously attract attention of consumers or whom they are intended to, and I think there is more kitsch present than it used to be, while on the other hand, that colorfulness is nice because they were drab before, only in one colour (S). They are more vivid now, but also overfilled and stuffed (S).

4. Do you feel at home visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?

I always feel comfortable coming to the square if it is accessible at all, when they are not digging or putting a large commercial tent (Q/S). To me, squares are in general the nicest parts of cities (Q). In Zagreb, Cvjetni trg (Flower Square), Zrinjevac Park and Maksimir Park are to me the most pleasant parts of the city (C).

5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?

Yes, sure (Q). Stores and shops in English 'stay in the ear' more; they have catchier names in English and have some cultural or pop-cultural connotations (Q). In foreign languages, the names are more imaginative than in ours, so they stay more remembered.

I go to both, of course, with Croatian, bilingual or multilingual signs. However, I remember better those that are named in a foreign language (C).

6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?

Yes (Q). This is the part of the city where I experienced significant, emotional and intimate moments with my parents as a child (S). It hasn't changed. The square may be wider and the pavements have been renovated since, but I think the basic architecture stayed the same; it hasn't changed significantly (S). However, the inside of stores, offices, boutiques have rapidly changed (S).

7. What does it mean to you now?

It is the starting point in the centre when I have some obligations to do and where I meet my friends (Q). The centre is very important to me for orientation and doing business, and aside from my neighbourhood I find it to be the most important part of the city (S/C).

8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area? What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and to who are they intended?

Because they are located in the centre, the target audience is not only the locals, but also every tourist and foreigner (Q). Foreign signs are more frequent in the centre, and it should be that way, because every city presents itself to tourists and visitors with their centres (S). I think the signs need to be highlighted in clear typography and their native languages (S). They are the target audience more than we are as the locals (C). *Varteks & više* is weird; I think it should have been in Croatian, and if it is necessary for foreigners, they could have written it in English as well (S/C).

9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?

English, definitely (Q). German has lost its dominance, but it is probably in the second place (Q).

10. Do you feel a connection with this place?

/

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

Very much (Q). Through language, I experience culture, through culture, people, so language is my starting point. The more I know it, I feel more at ease in that place, and life becomes more enjoyable (Q). If all of the signs were in a language I did not understand, I would feel isolated, but it depends on the script and language (C). If it is in a language I understand... If it is in English and I know it, I feel very comfortable, but I

am gladder to see a sign in my own language (C). I find English to be my second language and the language of the world, of everybody (C).

12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding the signs? If yes, why?

They should be more systematic in colours and highlighted [official bilingual signs intended mostly for visitors] (Q/S). For instance, brown colour on a public sign is not visible, it should be put higher and be more present (S). The hierarchy of languages are fine, mother tongue is and should be the first, but there should be a place for three most spoken languages of the area, so that people can have basic information, besides English, and in every town (C). There cannot be full equality because there are so many languages in the world, but from where tourists mostly come; English, French, German would cover many speakers so that they can understand what the signs are all about (C).

The following table (see Table 2) presents the number of explicit statements collected and analysed as answers to pre-determined interview questions with Participant 1. The statements are presented as either provided by a question from the interviewer (Q), stimulated spontaneously by the LL (S), or generated from the dialogic interaction in conversation (C).

Table 2 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded for Participant 1</i>				
Participant 1	No. of explicit statements analysed	Elicited by questions (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	37	17	10	10
Percentage	100%	46%	27%	27%

Step Two: Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 1, of the 37 explicit statements analyzed, 26 had emotional/evaluative content and 11 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 3) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements that were analyzed. The statistics can vary if we take into account that classification can be interchangeable; some statements were both topics with referential content, emotionally neutral and personally evaluative. However, the numbers show that the

responses were mostly positive regarding linguistic landscape and its context, i.e. surrounding.

Table 3 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 1</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
26	12	4	/	/	10	
100%	46.1%	15.3%	0%	0%	38.4%	

Step Three: Interview obtained on a ‘walking tour’ through the centre of the city

As we moved from the main Zagreb square, I asked Participant 1 to comment on public signs. Here are his statements:

1. I find “Kobaje” great on that wooden house over there, because it is our jargon. I like it when a private owner puts some word play, humour, multiple-meanings (P).
2. I don’t like these brown signs, they should be more conspicuous (N). They should put languages that are most present in the EU (N).
3. The Flower Square has lost its appearance more than Jelačić Square, it’s a lot more kitsch than it used to be, it had more spirit before (N).
4. “Café de Paris” - These local corners at which the locals feel most pleasant should have an air of history of that locality, e.g. the Upper Town, Grič... German expressions would be more impressive than French in this case, because of the association with the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. People who have been living in Zagreb for generations would feel more comfortable seeing words such as *fijaker*, *špancir*, and other words that are more convincing. They would be a lot more tasteful than English or French signs (N).
5. This part of the city has lost the most in its spirit, because it has become so busy (N)...
6. [Do you think the signs are too obvious?] – Yes, Sberbank’s green is too flashy, the letters on the cinema Europa are like we are in Hong Kong (N).
7. [What do you think about “ZFF”?] – It’s a good excuse to name Zagreb Film Festival, because everybody is pleased that way. It should be an alternative name, as a translation. If it is presented outside the country, it should be both in Croatian and English (N). It is a good name for those who are not native speakers of Croatian (P).

8. I think that the conservative standpoint of our linguists is the key problem (PE). Croatian is completely different from English, it is automatically limited with its vocabulary (T/T). It should be given more space for creating new Croatian words, and not just three words a year by a board of 80 year-olds, because that's is almost meaningless (N). Neologisms, new lexems should be introduced.
9. New words are created spontaneously by the people, but linguists should be more tolerant in selecting synonyms and informal expressions, they shouldn't insist on that only two or three adverbs are used as the norm. If there are five of them, they should all be used, if the people say *zbilja*, it should not be limited in the standard language by considering it to be only a noun if it is listed in all the dictionaries also as an adverb. Polysemy, synonyms, more possibilities should be left and thus the language will be more preserved. Terms are copied from English because there are no synonyms of that notion in Croatian. In the discourse of technology, it is not always possible to do so, because we don't have our own industry, but we should tend to use our own expressions (T/T). The contests for new Croatian word has brought *uspornik*, which I like more than the old *ležeći policajac* [speed bump, of which literal translation of the latter would be 'policeman lying down'] (P). Linguists should permit more words as the norm, as standard, that would gain popularity in everyday speech and it would reflect on the language of public signs (T/T).
10. "Kavanica" [Little caffe] is nice, I don't see any English sign beside it, they have tried to draw the attention of passers-by with the name in the local Croatian diminutive (P).
11. [On Tommy Hilfinger store]: There is enough space for *rasprodaja* next to "sale", it wouldn't hurt them (N).
12. "Jazz-ba chevaps": nice, funny, good word play (P). The slogan isn't right; the name is catchy, but the rest is only in English. It should provide us with information in both Croatian and English. It is obviously for young clientele, but nevertheless (N)...
13. Valentine's Day *is* an Anglo-Saxon holiday, but it wouldn't hurt if the sign was bilingual and not only in English (NEUTRAL).
14. The amount of signs is decreasing as we are moving away from the centre (T/T). This is a 'grey zone' - the sign is in Latin: "Argentum" (T/T).
15. Croatian has room for improvement regarding nouns. There are less nouns than in English, and hence the problems occur. We tend to use descriptive notions or foreign words or loanwords (N).

16. “Totalna rasprodaja” [Total Sale] - Even *totalna* is not strictly a Croatian word, it should be *potpuna* (T/T).
17. “Chocolat” – The owner has the right to name their store whatever they like (NEUTRAL). The ambient is such that they can choose whether to use a more refined and pretentious sign, if they believe middle class comes here that prefers this kind of offer. The Croatian National Theatre is here, Hemingway bar, multicultural people, bohemes... In this area, we have more bilingual signs than in the suburbs, even more than in the narrower centre of the city (T/T).
18. It is a bit contradictory that we are here on the most beautiful square named Maršal Tito Square and Hemingway bar is in front of it. I don’t have a standpoint regarding Tito, but it is not appropriate. There can be a square named after him, but not this one (N). It is a cultural milieu and hence “Chocolat” and “Hemingway” are a lot more logical (P). Some propose Theatre Square, but I would call it after some composer or writer who contributed to the cultural heritage of the country (PE). I like the name Hemingway bar because there are writers that surpass their cultural background, and he liked to drink, so a bar can be associated with him. He is part of the global cultural scene and it fits here in front of the Croatian National Theatre, it could serve as a local gathering point (P). I have never been there, so I don’t know how it looks like inside (PE).

Step Four: Categorical Content Analysis:

The second part of the interview, the so-called walking tour, had only one question: “How would you comment on the signs that you see as we walk by?”, and was hence based on statements stimulated by either LL (S) or generated during conversation (C). Therefore, the coding introduced in the first part was not necessary in this case. The number of emotional/evaluative statements of the second part of the interview is 24, while 7 topics/themes (T/T) had referential content.

Table 4 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 1</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
24	7	12	2	/	3	
100%	29.1%	50%	8.3%	/	12.5%	

Summary of Results with Participant 1

Participant 1 has shown “a slight thrill”, as he said, in the beginning of the interview, in relation to foreign languages in linguistic landscape. He expressed his fondness for multilingualism in LL, because he considered it to be rare. However, he concluded that there had always been foreign signs in the LL, but that English had been present for the last twenty years. He described the public signs as both kitsch and colourful, since a variety of them were present. For commercial stores, he stated that those that are called in English have more catchy names, possess some cultural or pop-cultural connotations and that in foreign languages the names were more imaginative than in Croatian. Hence, they were more memorable. Because they were located in the centre, the target audience was not only the locals but also tourists, and for him, that was the reason for signs in foreign languages, both official and private. He considered foreigners to be the target audience more than the citizens of Zagreb. However, when he read commercial sign “Varteks & više”, he considered the combination to be “weird” and stated that it should have been written in Croatian, and if it was necessary, translated into English. When asked what the most important language was there, he responded “English, definitely”. If all of the signs had been in a language he had not understood, he would have felt isolated, he said, but it depended on the script and language. He felt comfortable because he knew English, it was his second language, but concluded that he was nevertheless gladder to see a sign in his own language.

In the second part, while looking at mostly commercial signs, he concluded that other foreign languages besides English should have also been present. He reacted positively when he saw private signs in Croatian more than he did when seeing English. He suddenly realized that there was abundance of English names, slogans and information that had to be translated for locals and even foreigners to whom English was not the first language. He concluded that German would have been a lot more fitting if it had been used instead of other foreign languages, because the older generation in Zagreb would understand it, and because of historical and cultural heritage related to it. He positively reacted to the Zagreb jargon that was used for a private sign, but also towards word play and humour expressed in Bosnian-English combination on the other. He found some English names, e.g. “Hemingway bar” as a positive example, because the writer’s literary work surpassed his descent. Owners have the right to use whatever names they like, he said. However, he concluded that Croatian should be promoted and used more, and that Croatian linguists should be more flexible in their selection

of norms. According to him, that would motivate people to use Croatian synonyms and neologisms more than English lexems, which would reflect on owners' choices of names for their stores.

In the first part of the interview, Participant 1 gave 46.1% of positive answers towards the LL and its surroundings, 15.3% were negative answers, 38.4% were personal evaluative, and there were no indifferent/neutral or uncertain answers. In the second part, in the "walking tour interview", he provided 50% of negative answers, 29.1% were positive, 12.5% were personal evaluative and 8.3% were indifferent/neutral. The results clearly show that even an Anglicist and Linguist is excited to see foreign signs at his domestic location in theory more than in practice. That is because people are mostly unaware of public signs and the lack of presence of their own language in their surroundings. The beginning of the interview shows the openness and flexibility towards foreign languages on signs. Participant 1 speaks English excellently and finds it to be 'his' language. However, the interview has clearly raised his language awareness, since his statements show that he would be a lot more satisfied if he saw Croatian signs more, especially on locations that are old, historic and authentically Zagrebian.

Participant 2

The second interview was taken with Participant 2 on February 20, 2014. She has been living in Zagreb since she was 8, when she moved with her mother from Sisak, a town in Croatia that is 59 kilometres away from Zagreb. She is 32, graduated Croatology and Sociology at the University of Croatian Studies and has been working as a journalist on a commercial television. We also met at Ban Jelačić Square where we conducted the following interview and from where we started our 'walking tour'.

Step 1: Results and Analysis of Explicit Statements

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?

For instance, *Bečka kavana* [Cafe Vienna] and then it says *caffè since 1913* (S). If I did not understand that, I would probably be frustrated and disappointed that it was not in Croatian. Since I do understand it, I don't have any feelings towards it (Q).

2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?

Probably since 2000, but they have proportionally appeared more often, so I have not realized how many of them are, they have appeared in doses (Q). If they had appeared all at once, I would have probably been in shock, but since it entered little by little, I have grown accustomed to it. One has become acclimatized (Q).

3. What was your initial thought of the linguistic changes?

In the European context, it is logical. In some other countries of the European Union it is probably more intense, but that is something we have chosen (Q).

4. Do you like visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?

I have a feeling that here we have more Croatian signs and names [at Ban Jelačić Square] than in shopping malls, so I find this still to be Croatized (S). Look, you have here some traditional things, *Mala kavana*, *Harmica*, bookshops, *Nama*, that has always been here. Well, there was once a *Benston* sign [Croatian cigarettes] here, and not *Alianz* nor *American Express*, but you still have some of our brands (S).

5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?

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6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?

In *Anić Holding*, you remember when military-style jackets were worn? This was the only place in Zagreb where you could buy one. I came from Sisak and I didn't know any other shop that sold it (S). My Mum and I would come here when I was a child on Saturdays to the Dolac market and then we would sit in *Mala kavana* [Little cafe] (S). Many things have stayed the same; there used to be *Varteks*... [Croatian fashion company store] (S).

7. What does it mean to you now?

For me, it is presently the most non-depressive part of the city (Q/S). Towards *Kolodvor* (the Railway Station), you can see people in a hurry, either going there or coming from it. It is a bit creepy, there is a lousy atmosphere, but here you can see foreigners, they bring life into it, they are admiring all the time, people who have gone outside for a walk or have taken a break from work. Here you can see people who are not here because of work but pleasure. Either you go to the Dolac market or to buy some flowers, or to the Cathedral, or you are here at the Manduševac fountain with your kids (S). *Cvjetni trg* (Flower Square) is for young elite idlers with their sunglasses on having coffee that lasts for five hours (S). A barista once told me that coffee should be sipped in a few minutes, that it was not a social thing that lasts for three hours, and if you *are* having one, then it is only an excuse for chit-chat (C). That part of the centre is reserved for some other people.

8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area? What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and to who are they intended?

There are Croatian and foreign languages (Q/S); there will never come a time when everything is going to be in a foreign language. There are exactly as many of them as it is profitable for those advertising and selling something here, having their shops and cafe bars (S). They won't put anything in a foreign language that Mrs Štefica [some old lady without higher education] will not understand when passing by. *Intersport*, a granny will understand, *Müller*, she will know what kind of assortment is there, *Retail for Rent* (...), probably those who would rent it know what *Space for Rent* means (S). It could be written only in English because the profile of the [intended] people knows it. It would be rare if a ruffian with loads of money who didn't know English rented a store here. Today, even blacmarketers know a bit of English and understand this (S). Will in ten years things be in English – probably (S). It depends on the awareness of people of who their target population is. The person who has put this sign, if he was more socially and economically aware about the target audience, would put a sign only in English (S).

9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?

English (Q/S). Croatian goes without saying (Q/S). Except for the Tourist Center, I haven't seen any polyglotism besides English (S). I don't think there is any point in putting German, I don't think it could even happen (S).

10. Do you feel connected to this place?

Yes (Q). Probably that much that I would even adapt to it if Chinese appeared here. That could happen, that in 20 years we will have to know some basic Chinese sign, because it would probably be imposed, some symbol of theirs (Q).

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

I have that sense of belonging here (Q). If Chinese signs appeared, my impressions wouldn't change. (Q). Because it enters slowly, they don't shock you and you slowly get accustomed to it without really being aware of it (Q). Of course, it would be repulsive if they removed all of the signs in Croatian and put them in some other languages; people would be protesting, but surely they wouldn't protest if tricked in obtaining something new in their surroundings once a month. It is done discretely, perfidiously and subtly (Q).

12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding signs? If yes, why?

I would be the happiest girl if there weren't any signs at all (Q). Then I wouldn't have any problems shooting here, since this is a professional obstacle at my TV station, all of this needs to be blurred (S), these are all ads. Twenty years ago, even 9 years when I started working, it wasn't like that. Today, there are signs on signs, advertisement on

advertisement, I wish less of them were here (S). Maybe even intimately, when I am having a walk and I want to look at the architecture and I can't see anything but consumerism, around every corner there is some brand, commercial awaiting for me, something is being forced upon me (S), *Peko, Tisak...* You cannot look anywhere without something entering your view. You cannot even see this building over here (S).

Table 5 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded for Participant 2</i>				
Participant 2	No. of explicit statements analysed	Elicited by questions (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	35	15	19	1
Percentage	100%	42.85%	54.28%	2.85%

Step Two: Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 2, of the 35 explicit statements analysed, 25 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 10 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 6) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analysed.

Table 6 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2</i>					
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
25	6	7	4	1	7
100%	24%	28%	16%	4%	28%

Step Three: Interview obtained on a 'walking tour'

Walking from Ban Jelačić Square to the rest of the centre, and at the end, to the historic Upper Town, I let Participant 2 comment on public signs. Here are her transcribed and translated statements:

1. *Gavrilović*, a Croatian sign and *American Stake & Grill* across the street, both meat industry (T/T); there will be more and more of it; the first will shut down because they are already slowly going downhill and have moved their production to Bosnia. They will shut down and something else will appear instead in English (PE). Let us not fool ourselves. Our companies will either crumble or stagnate, foreign investors will come and there will be more and more foreign languages (N).
2. [*Kobaje* in our dialect, is that a better solution than *sausages*?] – If you put *sausages* instead, some granny would not understand it, but is it also written in English? (Neutral) – [It is vivid what is sold in the kiosk, so a tourist can comprehend it].
3. [What do you think about these official signs for tourists?] – That is alright. It would be grotesque if it was the other way around, English and then Croatian (P).
4. This is all in English, *fry & dip, nuggets*... It is probably owned by a foreigner, and if not, then it is sad (N). There is a way to use both Croatian and English. *Fry & Dip* is understood only by a speaker of that language, it is a culinary term in the language, I haven't even heard of it (PE). The man missed the point, because it is not understood even by a person speaking English, because he/she doesn't know this (N).
5. [*Oranž?*] – Some kind of Swahilli. It is either an 'orange' or '*naranča*', but *Oranž*?! It would only be more grotesque if it was named *orandža* (N).
6. *Ice cream*, that's something most of us knows what it means (Neutral). There are some words that are semi-international, that everybody understands, but one should put an icon of some sort so that everybody can understand (T/T).
7. *Pop-corn* – our population knows what to expect from it, and here it has sense (P).
8. *Keep calm and parla italiano* – combination of Italian and English, what is that (N)?!
9. There isn't a translation for this [a hair product], but when they see the brand, they know what it's about. (Neutral)
10. When you compare this square [Flower Square] to Ban Jelačić Square, here you have younger, more urban people that know foreign languages and here are more of those signs: *Vip*, this man here has only *kokice*, no *pop-corn*, *Bonita* - nothing in Croatian, *Millenium* is over there (T/T)...

11. *Café de Paris*, I didn't hope to see this. – [Does that irritate you?] – It surprises me, I haven't noticed other languages up till now (PE). It probably has something to do with Latin structure (Uncertain)...
12. *Bonbonniere Kraš* – they could have written it in Croatian [cursing] (N)! If it said *bombonjere*, everybody would understand, locals and foreigners (T/T).
13. [Up here we have *Fresh meal*] – There are pictures here so it is clear what it is about, the menu is in Croatian, *freshanje je krenulo* (Uncertain)...
14. Over there we have *The Cup, Mini Me, Freywillie* (T/T)... – [When I am drawing your attention to the signs, you are becoming more aware of them, right?] – Yes.
15. [*Soundset*, what is that?] – Probably like 'sunset' (Neutral)...
16. *Zagreb Film Festival*, a foreigner would understand if it was written *filmski*, because of the stem 'film' (N).
17. [*Kavanica, zagrebačka...*] – That's not on the Flower Square, this is dislocated, there you cannot find that, because it is not really cool to sit in something that is *Kavanica*, but in *Café de Paris* or *Vip*, it is something completely different (T/T).
18. As foreign investors enter the country, Croatian disappears (T/T). – [But these are local owners.] – They couldn't write this in Bosnian [*Jazz-Ba Chevaps*] because then it would sound brutal and yokel, but this is urban and cool and sounds funny, and if it wasn't written like that, it wouldn't make a point (T/T). – [You like this word play?] – To me, it is not really funny, I think I would rather like to see something that is either completely in Croatian or completely in English than this, because you can expect this kind of food in there – you won't get Bosnian or chevaps from Banja Luka, but some innovation *a la McDonald's*. It actually tells you that you won't get anything authentic, because it is not originally spelled (N).
19. *Green Point*, look at this offer, they have mixed *tortillas*, *food from wok*, national dishes, they have forgotten to put something Turkish, there is *ayurveda coffe*, and this is, like, *natural food*? Where is, for instance, pilchard (N)? [Croatian healthy food]
20. Why have they put *Žiraffa* with two f's (N)? [it is spelled *Žirafa* in Croatian; it shows the tendency of Anglicanization.]
21. *Sapunoteka* – suffixes 'teka' are used in Bosnia, in Croatian it should be *Sapunerija* [soap-works] (N)!
22. Regarding Maršal Tito Square, people consider that he was not a person in Croatian history that deserves this location, close to ban Jelačić, that Tuđman deserves it more. It

is questionable whether he should be here. In relation to Hemingway bar, it *is* a jumble, like everything else in the city (N).

23. What is *waffla* (N)?

24. I think that in Radićeva Street there are remains of Croatian crafts, but I am not sure if we shall find signs in Croatian (Uncertain)... I haven't noticed what there is.

25. This is interesting: *Apetit* [restaurant *Apetit*]; in standard Croatian it would be called *Tek*, this is an international word found in our regions, e.g. Dalmatia. I think they should use words that are understandable for most people, when it is possible, like this one, and that way, we wouldn't get insulted and they [tourists] would understand (P).

26. Why writing *Since 1890*, why couldn't that be written in Croatian, *Utemeljeno 1890.*? It's like in a Levis commercial (N).

27. *Happy day srijeda šišanje* (Neutral).

28. *Bad Blue Boys* [football fans from Zagreb, supporters of club Dinamo] have been named in English instead of *Loši plavi dečki* because it had to sound tough, they have watched too many American movies (T/T/Neutral/N).

29. There are lots of Internet words: *Europa.hr*, *Vip Internet caffè*, it is not reserved to the language of Internet and webpages anymore, but it seems even dogs can be called that way (N).

30. You should interview older people to see if they understand these signs. [Participant 2 took over the interview and spontaneously asked three elder women about the subject] Do you ever get confused with signs in English? – *It irritates me because it is not ours, signs on stores* [an elderly lady at the Flower Square, in her 60s]. – But if there were none, tourists wouldn't understand what they meant. – *When we come to a foreign country, we manage. "Restoran" can be understood by everybody* [the 2nd lady]. – Have you ever been so confused by a sign in foreign language that you entered in a wrong store? – *No, I speak English, but it bothers me. I think our children don't learn Croatian enough, our students, it is awful... It is alright when it is used for tourists, but shops shouldn't be written in English...* [the 1st lady]. – You are more aware of that than we are; we as young people have grown accustomed to it (T/T).

– *It is because we have not been raised to love our country, to value the place where we are living, how can I explain... I immediately get upset...* [The 2nd lady] – *Look at our politicians, they are always throwing in some English expressions, Milanović* [the prime minister of Croatia] *even throws in Latin ones... He misses the point in everything he says, he doesn't know what his job is, my friend is a university professor, her husband*

taught literature at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences... She is a sociologist, they are both bittered with the situation; when was the last time our flag was hanged?

[The 1st lady] – *In Germany!* [the 2nd lady]

– *Labels on clothes, on products, there is nothing in Croatian, I am more bothered by signs on stores... They should have translations according to the Law on Consumers.*

[The 1st lady] – *It wouldn't bother me if the usage of anglicisms would have some meaning, but those are all superficial information, formed half-primitively and linguistically below standards, but found in newspapers. They are counting on masses and brain washing. What does language purism mean when they [philologists, i.e. politics] couldn't agree on the norms for years?* [3rd lady]

31. In this street you don't have anything in Croatian except for public notary. *Fry & Dip* – I bet that elder lady who speaks English doesn't know what this means (N).
32. *Jockey* – We don't have standard Croatian words for men's underwear except *pumperice*, they are either *speedo* or *bokserice* [boxer shorts], so we [as nation] have 'lost our shirt', because it is either *Fry & dip* or *bokserice* (N)!
33. *Le prase* – *handmade*; [French article, Croatian noun meaning 'pig' and additional information in English for a handmade jewelry store] Can you even guess what assortment this store offers (N)?
34. *Yoga studio* (Neutral).
35. *Krolo, since 1981* (Neutral).
36. *Galerija Crocrodeal* [word play with prefix 'Cro' for Croatian and English 'deal', and Croatian word for alligator - *krokodil*, selling Croatian art] (Neutral).
37. *Croata* – Tie shop, a sign with Glagolitic script, there is no English, which is alright, but now we shall come across with some idiocy (P).
38. *Domaće Delicije* – a foreigner would understand that, but it is written in many languages. We are so pathetic that we shall even try to translate *pršut* and *kulen*. [Croatian sort of smoked and cured meats] (N).
39. School for learning English is written in Croatian: *Naučite engleski 4x brže*. The owner, who is Irish, is more Croatized than it is expected of him (P).
40. Ski board shop *Why can't my boyfriend ski?* (Neutral).
41. *Probajte originalni belgijski waffl* [Try an original Belgium waffl] – Why don't they have *palačinke* [pancakes]? This is troubling; *Waffl House, Chai, Tea* (N).
42. *Souvenirs Croatia* – this is OK; it is intended for them [tourists]. English here has a cultural function (P).

43. *Molokai bar* – it has an exotic name, there we used to have *Tolkien's* and *Indy's bar* (Neutral).
44. Look, there is Chinese! [Museum of Broken Relationships written in many languages] – English is domineering, it is 10 times larger than Croatian. In the size of Croatian inscription, there is Italian, German, French and Chinese signs (N).
If there was more commercial business here, there would probably be more English, let us not fool ourselves (T/T).
45. [If I were to ask you would you *now* change something regarding public signs, what would you answer? What do you think about the law that has been proposed?] –Under ideal conditions, it would be nice if everything was in Croatian, but that won't happen, it can only be worse. If we say now that this is bad, in 10 years we can shoot ourselves. Not all *caffe bars* need to be called in English (PE). If I stay at this job, I am prepared to fight for something and I would be happy if I could constructively try to fight against it, but I won't let that be the reason to be frustrated, to cover my eyes with my hands while I am walking down the street. What you cannot change, accept it for now... The law would be great, but it is not in the interest of the political and economic elite, and hence it will never be passed, because we are a small and pity nation with low self-esteem (N). Some 18-year-old whipper-snapper wouldn't mind these signs, for him, it would be cool, but somebody with more experience is bothered by it. There will always be something that will bother somebody. Franjo Tudman Square will bother some leftists... When you look at Zagreb from up here, who would even think that down there it says *Fry & Dip, Café de Paris*? From up here, it looks Zagreb-like, up here nothing has changed, the roofs are the same, but down there (T/T)... [Would you apply the language 'policy' of the Upper Town in the Lower Town?] – Yes, I would introduce other languages only where it is necessary for a tourist to have languages he/she may understand, like at Tourist Centre, Souvenir Shop (PE)... But it really isn't necessary that we name *caffe bars* and hairdressers in English (N).

Step Four: Categorical Content Analysis:

From the transcribed and translated 'walking tour' interview with Participant 2, of the 59 explicit statements analyzed, 47 had emotional/evaluative content, while 12 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 7) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements.

Table 7 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
47	6	23	10	3	5	
100%	12.7%	48.9%	21.2%	6.38%	10.6%	

Summary of Results with Participant 2

Participant 2 was more relaxed as an interviewee than the previous participant, perhaps because of her experience working as a journalist. Due to her professional curiosity she even took over the role of interviewer and asked three elderly ladies about their opinions on the subject. They explicitly showed their discontent with the omnipresence of English that has replaced Croatian in public use. At the beginning of the interview, Participant 2 associated English signs with foreign companies and owners and the crumbling Croatian industry, and stated that they would appear more often in the future. In the first part of the interview, set at Ban Jelačić Square, 54% of her statements were elicited by linguistic landscape, which means that she tried to analyze it without much help and input from the interviewer. It was probably because she could relate to the interviewer's role that seeks to obtain as many specific answers as possible. She considered English to be more appropriate than Croatian in advertising a store for rent and that the bilingual sign was unnecessary, because it was intended for those who understood English. Participant 2 concluded that she was bothered by commercial signs in general both professionally and privately.

In the 'walking tour' interview, she gave open and often sarcastic remarks on the usage of foreign names and information on signs, e.g. *Café de Paris* and *Fry & Dip*. The latter sign especially annoyed her, because she did not understand it, although she speaks English very well. She automatically supposed that other people did not comprehend it, partly because the syntagm belonged to the English culinary terminology. Most of her answers were negative (48.9%, and indifferent/neutral 21.2%) towards the LL, and she concluded that Croatians were pathetic in conforming that much to English and other foreign languages. She expressed approval of the usage of international words such as for restaurant *Apetit*, when they are also used in either Croatian standard or dialects. Thus, foreigners could understand them and the locals would not be offended by them. She positively responded to advertising in Croatian and the usage of Glagolitic script in the case of *Croata*, a shop selling *kravata*, generally known as

a necktie, a product that the Croats have invented. Also, she was affirmative towards an Irishman, whom she had known, who advertises his school for English language courses only in Croatian. Participant 2 recognized what *Ice cream* stood for and said that most people knew what it meant. She added that if an international word was put instead of a Croatian one (*sladoled*), then an icon should be put next to it so that everybody would understand it. She was upset and even cursed when she saw foreign word *Bonbonniere* (in French) instead of the loan word *Bombonijere* (from French). She was critical towards the offer of Belgium waffles, and considered that pancakes (*crêpes*) should be sold instead, although they originated from France, but have been present in Croatian gastronomy for centuries. She considered *Jazz-Ba Chevaps* as a non-authentic offer, something similar to McDonald's - due to its 'bicultural' name, and not the 'real' *čevapi*, by associating them with American English. Language awareness that was awakened in the interview has also resulted in a larger cultural awareness. The international offer in food stores that omitted Croatian victuals upset her, and she called for the inclusion of local food such as pilchard. We finished our interview at the belvedere of the Upper Town, which contributed to the larger picture of the city and its contrast between historic and modern appearance, but also their different mentalities. Participant 2 concluded that the law on Croatian Language would be appropriate, but that it would never be passed because it was not in the interest of the political and economic elite. According to her, the reason for that is that we are a small and pity nation with low self-esteem. If she could change anything regarding the LL, she would arrange other languages only where it was necessary for a tourist to have languages he/she may understand. For instance, at a tourist centre or a souvenir shop, and not in the names of caffe bars and hairdressers, which are now mostly written in English.

Participant 3

The third interview took place on March 1, 2014. Participant 3 is a female aged 35 whose parents came with her from Dalmatia (south Croatian region located on the Adriatic coast) to Zagreb when she was three years old. Although she has been living in the capital almost all of her life, her idiolect varies; sometimes she speaks with a Dalmatian accent, and sometimes it is Zagrebian, depending on her interlocutors. She has secondary school education in sales, but possesses a strong inclination towards reading and learning new knowledge and skills. A year ago, she was promoted and since then has been working as a sales manager for a foreign cosmetics company. I have chosen her as one of my interviewees also because of her strong patriotic awareness and quick wits.

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?

I don't know, when I look at that, I feel like a foreigner, like I don't belong here (Q/S).
(...) Frankly, I don't like it, I think that each country should have its own, how shall I put it... credibility (C). In Germany, there should be German signs. It doesn't mean that we don't respect those products, we do, but they should be written in mother tongue. I don't like that at all. I think that we have adopted more of that from other languages, than from our own, and we have a beautiful language.

2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?

They have always been present, but in time they have spread (Q). There is, for instance, no more Serbian language as much as it was in communism, but now there are more languages from other countries. I think it has metastized in Croatia, that is what I am noticing (Q).

3. What was your initial thought of the linguistic changes?

Unfortunately, that is only a thought that would even be bad for me. Personally, I think they should remove them and put our language, Croatian, instead. But unfortunately, my reaction cannot do anything. There should be many people, eminent individuals, Croats who respect their language and the people, because they have put so much at stake and shed their blood for it. Unfortunately, it hasn't been done yet, which doesn't mean that it won't (Q). (...) The signs could be in Glagolitic script, for instance, if it was for me to decide (C). It should also be learnt at school, but we have neglected it, which is a shame (C).

4. Do you like visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?

Yes, I do like it, because here I have [a statue of] *ban* Jelačić, which wasn't here for years (Q). I like it because I feel this is my Zagreb, Croatia, but when I look closely, we actually are surrounded by foreign names... When one focuses on that, sees that it is a sort of hypocrisy, it is not that Zagreb and Croatia that I wish they were. I would be gladder to see Croatian names, regardless if somebody considers it to be unrefined or ugly, but that is my language and I am proud of it. And I think that every person who lives in their country should cherish their language and home, whoever they are, whatever culture it is, because it is the people's foundation.

5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?

Yes, I won't lie, but it is because nobody has given me any choice. I like buying at Tommy Hilfiger, Adidas, but nobody has given me a choice of language re those brands, nor for coffee bars with foreign names. It is a kind of manipulation in a perfid way (Q). I

respect every nation; one should learn as many languages as possible, but it is basic that you respect your language and work with it, because you originate from it (C). Or else, you don't love yourself. We are afraid to be ourselves, but we don't see that foreigners would gladly own every part of our country and that they would like to change our language, because they don't understand it (C). For me, it is terrible that at work, I have that situation with my boss who has been living in Croatia for 8 years and who doesn't have the slightest intention to learn Croatian, because he doesn't feel like it. But he demands that I know English. I mean... I don't know if I could set that condition, for instance, in England? To come and say: "You know what, I have founded a company, you are my workers and you must know Croatian" (C). That is the issue that should be touched upon. I am not against learning a foreign language, on the contrary, but I don't like the fact that a foreigner sets condition for a job on the basis of not knowing language in my homeland. So I was brave enough and told Roy [her boss] that it was time for him to learn Croatian, that my language is wonderful and that he might fall in love with it, at which he said that he didn't intend to do, but specifically demanded that I knew English. The English fought for their language to be the most influential in the world. Hats off to Italians that they don't want to learn English, as we Dalmatians would say, out of *dišpet* [obstinacy]; when you are in their country, you need to know Italian (C). I am not saying we should be radical, because that is not good, but you should respect the language and the people, and it is not OK to set the condition to somebody to know some other language in their own country in order for them to be qualified. If you don't like it, then go away, somebody else will work instead. I am especially sensitive to the issue of Cyrillic that they are so explicitly trying to introduce, and only a fool can not see what's happening, or a person who has interest in that situation (C)... I remember how many religious people were here when I was a child, the Communist Party was in charge and the Serbs. Unfortunately, it can also be seen now. I wouldn't chase away anybody, but I would give them the condition to respect this ground and the language or else leave. Somebody would call me a fascist because of that, lock me up or behead me, but I think every country except ours functions that way more or less. We don't know how to fight for ourselves, we only fight at football or at war, then we are all united, and in all other situations we are against ourselves, we believe others more than ourselves.

6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?

I grew up here and there are lots of sights here, Manduševac, the Cathedral, *ban* Jelačić and hence I am sorry to see foreign words from countries that are not related to our

homeland in any way (Q). I think we should really be proud of our culture.

7. What does it mean to you now?

I have memories... I want it to develop even more, so that foreigners get to know our culture even better. It has started with the tourist promotions of our writers, eminent figures, but it should be more of that. It even says a lot about how in our history school books there is not much about our culture (Q)...

8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area? What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and to who are they intended?

That they are hypocrites (Q), that they live here not because they love their country, but because they currently have good lives here. They would probably do the same in some other country; if they would consider that Chinese is *in*, they would put Chinese signs. I personally wouldn't, but we are a very suggestible people, we don't have our own attitude, but like the wind blows, as individuals consider it is in their interest, not in the interest of everybody. That is why I like the Swiss, they take care of their people, themselves, they don't interfere with others. Nordic countries as well, Finland is one of the countries that invests the most in education. I don't know if they have bilingual signs, but it is an example of a regulated country (Q). I don't like bilingual signs in Istria (C); I cannot come to Switzerland or Finland, and say, hey, it's nice here, but you should adjust to my needs. People would look at me as if I was crazy. If I go to another country, I must obey their rules.

9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?

Croatian (Q). To most people, it is insignificant. They can't even grasp that we have foreign signs, because they are not aware that they are being manipulated, they don't possess a system of values towards their country and language, or else they would mind it.

10. Do you feel connected to this place?

Yes, of course I feel connected to it, I am at the main square, where historically significant events occurred. I am walking on a holy ground of Croatian people (Q)! [laughing]

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

Very much (Q). We have lots of dialects and vernaculars, which I think is fantastic, I love all of them, although half of them I cannot understand. My roots are Dalmatian, I especially love that region, but I adore my Zagreb the same (C). We should cherish that values, I don't like when people lose their dialects when they come to Zagreb. We won't

cherish that, but we do it with foreign terms, which I think it's awful. I used to do it too, but now I am trying to avoid it. If you say something in Dalmatian, everybody will say: "Go where you came from", as if you don't belong to that people. That is what's missing, we don't love ourselves enough and our language, and if you don't love your language, you don't love yourself. Nobody is speaking literary/standard language, because one should be specifically concentrated on it, we draw our accents with us (C). Why would I be ashamed of Dalmatian?

12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding signs? If yes, why?

The first thing I would change is the unjust implementation of the law in Vukovar, and I really hope and believe that Cyrillic will be removed from that heroic town. If we let this to happen, then we shall capitulate (Q). Regarding the Homeland War, a 15-year old kid doesn't have a perception on why these people fought, they don't get it what cross we have carried to get here today, and we should tell that truth, that we are a worn out nation because we don't respect ourselves enough (C). It is sad that in Serbia turbo-folk music [Serbian folk-pop music] is not listened to as it is in almost every Croatian bar, although we have terrific musicians. We should change things from the start; language is one thing that opens our eyes and should alarm us that something is wrong in our country, because as much as we think we are free, liberated, we are still in chains.

Table 8 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded for Participant 3</i>				
Participant 3	No. of explicit statements analysed	Elicited by questions (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	26	13	1	12
Percentage	100%	50%	3.8%	46%

Step Two: Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 3, of the 53 statements analysed, 43 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 10 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 9) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analysed.

Table 9 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 3</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
43	8	25	/	1	9	
100%	18.6%	58%	/	2.3%	20.9%	

Step Three: Interview obtained on a 'walking tour'

Walking from Ban Jelačić Square to the rest of the centre, and finishing the tour at the historic Upper Town, Participant 3 commented on public signs. Here are her transcribed and translated statements:

1. It really annoys me that in our “Nama”, when you go there to shop, they have labels that are not in Croatian; everything is in English, Italian (N)...
2. Terrible... if an elderly lady who had not learned English read this, she would seem stupid. But why would she be (N)?
3. [“Oranž?”] – What kind of language is that (N)?
4. When you look at it, as we go along, there are more signs. Look, our “Vincek” [a famous Zagrebian pastry shop] is in Croatian, I appreciate that (P).
5. Why must it be “Farmacia” when we have the word *ljekarna* (N)?
6. How do you read this? (T/T) – [Delmod.] – I think the shop owners don’t even have a clue what these signs mean. Let’s ask them! I’ll ask them. Hello, excuse me, whose word is “Delmod”? – *German*. – And what does it mean? – *It’s a brand, a surname of... I suppose somebody’s name... – It is a famous brand in Germany and Austria* [the second shop assistant].
7. “Franja tea & caffe” - Hat’s off to “Franja”, but why couldn’t it be *kava i čaj* [instead of tea & caffe] (Uncertain)?

8. In ten years, children will remember these words, not the Croatian ones, that's the problem (N).
9. ["Bahelle Beauty"] – Let's go inside and ask them... Hello, can we ask you something?
– *Yes?* – We are working on a study, we are interested in your sign, whose name is it and what does it mean? – *It's... I don't know... like, some kind of a tree.* – The owner is a foreigner or? – *No, ours, why?* – Well, we are working on this study, and lots of people don't know what this means. – *Yes, I don't know in which language it is...* – (...) They haven't got the faintest clue where they are working (N)...
10. "Utemeljeno 1936." [Since 1936], I like this (P).
11. "Verdi" (Neutral).
12. "Saldi, saldi" ['Sale' in Italian] (Neutral).
13. "Best hair salon Royal". I don't understand this (N)...
14. This is terrible... Here is "Galeb", but why does there have to be "shop" beside it (N)?
(...) Hello, we would like to ask you, why is "shop" written next to "Galeb"? – *I don't know, I haven't put it. One of our owners has.* – Are the owners from Croatia? – *Yes. What does it say, I haven't seen it, where is it?* – Here. – *No, I haven't even noticed it.* – Thank you, goodbye. – *You're welcome, bye.*
15. "Dancing Bear", why does it have to be a bear that dances, and not just "Prodavaonica CD-a" [CD shop] (N)?
16. "Royal Bride" – if it is in English, it might as well be in Cyrillic (N).
17. I like this one [memorial plaque dedicated to a famous Croatian poet, Ivan Gundulić] (P)!
18. "Jazz-Ba Chevaps" and look what's written in English! [*Does that bother you?*] – It irritates me so much (N)!
19. "Aquarius" (Neutral/T/T).
20. Why a "smoothie", and not "prirodni sokovi" [natural juices] (N)?
21. "Mercury" (Neutral/T/T).
22. My favourite store "Tommy Hilfiger", and "Sale, Sale" is everywhere (Uncertain)!
23. "United Colours of Benetton" (Neutral).
24. "Dinara" bakery, it's nice, but then again, "Delikates" (Uncertain).
25. "Persona" (laughing) (N)!
26. I like this: "Gradska ljekarna Zagreb" [City Pharmacy Zagreb], isn't that wonderful (P)?
27. Those people don't have a clue where they are working... "Some kind of a tree..."?! [for "Bahelle Beauty"] (N)
28. "Krznarija" [furriery] (Neutral).

29. “Čokolaterija” [chocolate store], I like that one. And they have wonderful chocolates here (P)!

30. “Garden” (Neutral).

31. “Harisa”, let’s ask them... Excuse me, what does Harisa mean? – *It’s a mixture of spices, a paste.* – Which language does it come from? – *I am not sure, northafrican... It’s a pungent spice, usually in a tube...* – Is the owner from Croatia? – *Yes.* – Why did you name it “Spice Store” and not “Dućan sa začinima”? – *I don’t know, you must ask somebody else that.*

– (...) We have learnt something today (PE).

32. Shall we ask the shop assistant what does “True Style Never Dies” mean? Better not, there’s a cop over there, he will think we are here to provoke (N).

33. What is “Inglot”? (T/T) Let’s ask them! (...) What does the name of your shop mean?

– *That’s the surname of the person who established the company. (...) The owner of this franchise is a Croat.*

34. “Melodija”, it can’t be nicer than that (P).

35. “Chantelle” (Neutral).

36. “Lega, lega” – What do “coasters” mean? Let’s ask them! – *Lega lega has three shops in Croatia: here, in Osijek and in Dubrovnik. Because of tourists and a small shop window, the offer is written only in English. In Dubrovnik, there is a larger shop window so it is written both in Croatian and English, and in Osijek [less tourists], it is written only in Croatian. In Dubrovnik, everything is in English. The whole Croatia is based on exclusive tourism, it irritates me. Here in the store everything is in Croatian regarding the prices, but the rest is in English. It has come a time when one must know English in Dubrovnik, but it would be nice if they learnt a bit of Croatian. It really bothers me. There is no such thing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because they are preserving their culture [shop assistant].* – In Međugorje is the same, and foreigners manage (N)...

37. This is in French, what does it mean? – *It is from an old French literature, it is hard to define... It’s a bit funny and means something like, when you are in love, everything is pinky, red roses, but it is actually a dog’s arse [shop assistant].* – Is your boss from Croatia? – *Yes, from Čiovo.* – So, he’s our Dalmatian man! Why couldn’t it be in Croatian? Didn’t it intrigue you when you first came here to work? – *Yes...* – Have you noticed signs in foreign languages in Zagreb? – *I haven’t...* – Well, it seems Croatian is not cool anymore... Say hello to your boss; this is a survey for abroad, not for Croatia. In other countries, there is no such thing... – *In other countries there is not much of the things we have here...* – It all depends on our attitude towards it (N)...

38. “Pan-Pek” (Neutral)...
39. “Chocolate” (Neutral).
40. Maršal Tito Square... I hope it will soon be changed into, I hope, Franjo Tuđman Square... This makes me wanna jump and remove the plaque like it is done in Vukovar (N)!
41. What’s so authentic in “Hemingway bar” that it is called that way? Nothing, it’s just a name that sounds nice. It’s terrible. Is there a Hemingway’s book in there, a biography? No, there’s no such thing (N).
42. This square reminds me that we are still living in socialism (N)...
43. [At the Upper Town] This is wonderful (P)! [Zrinski's memorial plaque written in Croatian and designed with an old font] Since we are using English for stores, why wouldn't a memorial plaque be translated to English? Our history... Those stores are less important and there we have everything that comes to our mind, but we hide the Croatian history... If we are going to be equal. I have seen a variety of languages in the centre, so I would also put our history into all possible languages so that they see our culture and history, and to present them our language (PE).
44. “Gospodska Vulica”, a Croatian name and a Germanism; we have bilingualism here. It is a part of history and I approve that, let there be known what Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was doing in Croatia. This [the sign] should be restored because it is a part of our history (P).
45. “Museum of Broken Relationships”, English has a priority here because of tourists, since everybody understands it (T/T).
46. I would like to live here, everything started from here (P).
47. I like the inscription in Latin on the church (P)... I am not a hater of languages, but let's put things in their order (PE).
48. What does “Venti per una” [a title of an exhibition on a museum] mean (T/T)?
49. I fancy these bilingual signs, “Jezuitska ulica” (P).
50. Souvenir shop “Souvenir”, but it has a Glagolitic letter (P).
51. Everywhere should be like here in the Upper Town (P).

Step Four: Categorical Content Analysis:

From the transcribed and translated ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 3, of the 52 explicit statements analyzed, 48 had emotional/evaluative content, whereas 4 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 10) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analyzed.

Table 10						
Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
48	13	20	9	3	3	
100%	27%	41.6%	18.7%	6.25%	6.25%	

Summary of Results with Participant 3

In the first part of the interview, Participant 3 stated that she felt like a foreigner, like she didn't belong there, upon seeing signs in languages other than Croatian. She concluded that the issue has "metastized in Croatia", and that a person who read them but did not understand them would seem stupid in front of others, which she considered to be unfair. Also, she described putting signs in a foreign language as "a manipulation in a perfidious way" and "hypocrisy". She was passionate about her language and the dialects, although most of them she did not understand, but considered to be hers, because they all belong to Croatian. Participant 3 supported learning other languages, but disliked being forced to speak English instead of Croatian, for instance, at work. She drew a parallel between the signs in Cyrillic in Vukovar and the abundance of inscriptions in English in Zagreb. She seemed to have been more aware of the presence of languages in her surroundings than the first two interviewees. Namely, she showed a negative attitude towards that kind of linguistic landscape from the beginning of the interview, unlike the first two who were more opened at the beginning and then critical upon seeing the amount of signs in foreign languages, especially in English. Although she does not possess a university education, and the first two do (and have both graduated in the field of philology), her awareness probably originates from patriotic affiliations, her temperament and the tendency to learn new knowledge. The first two participants were more tolerant towards new languages in the beginning of the interview, but then later, they realized that Croatian seemed to have become less valued compared to English. In our 'walking tour' interview, she noted that the labels on clothes that could be found in Croatian stores such as "Nama" were written only in English. She positively responded to Croatian commercial inscriptions: "Vincek", "Gradska ljekarna Zagreb", etc. Because she worked in sales, she wanted to see whether other traders were aware of the signs on their shops. It seems that most of them did not even understand what those names meant or

where they came from, but hedged by saying that the owners of the shops had chosen the signs, while they were only working for them. Participant 3 was dissatisfied that her ‘colleagues’ did not care to know what their shop names signified. She expressed her irritation by the signs in English, which she approved only for the purposes of tourists understanding significant information that was presented publicly. Accordingly, she even suggested that memorial plaques should be translated to English in order for Croatian history to be promoted among foreigners and not only the locals.

Participant 4

I met with Participant 4 on March 7, 2014. He is 21, a student at the second year of Faculty of Economics and Business. He has been living in Zagreb all of his life. I have chosen him to participate in the interview because of his age, educational background, i.e. future profession, but also his patriotic orientation. A few days before we met, the city administration ordered the removal of commercial signs and banners from the facades and roofs at the Ban Jelačić Square, which had been present there for years and covered the architecture. The new regulation stipulates that commercial signs on the main square can only be put on the street level of commercial facilities.

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?

Frankly, I don’t have a special opinion... I am used to it; I have been learning English, so I find it normal to see it. I understand them and don’t have any special opinion about it (Q).

2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?

The first time I saw it, I would say, maybe “Avenue Mall” and “West Gate” [shopping malls] (C). I think “Avenue Mall” is one of the first names in English that appeared and was easy to remember (C).

3. What was your initial thought of the linguistic changes?

I haven’t really noticed it, I haven’t thought about it. It’s usual for me to see it. When I was younger and saw it when it first appeared, it was ordinary (Q).

4. Do you like visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?

Well, frankly, no, I’m not the type. I can’t wait to get out of a store (Q). But I like visiting this part of the city, especially the Upper Town (C).

5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?

Yes, I do (Q). I don’t see it as a problem; I don’t notice it at all (Q).

6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?

Meaning? The fact that it is the centre of the capital has a meaning for me, that I was born here and that it connects the Lower and the Upper Town (Q). For me, it is nice and interesting. I'm not here very often, maybe more often at the Upper Town. I like it more now that they are removing the banners and commercial signs (Q/S). Yes, these ads are pretending to cover the facades under restoration, but they actually aren't. I like the fact they are removing them, it's a sign of revolt (C)!

7. What does it mean to you now?

/

8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area?

What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and to who are they intended?

I think that for a consumer society it is more attractive to see foreign language, maybe we are badly branded in Croatian language (Q). To be specific, "Leggiero" is popular, "Green Gold", I mean, not just because of the names, it is one of the things... People like saying, "let's go to 'Leggiero'" more than to "Mala bečka kavana" [Little Viennese Cafe] (C).

9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?

I think that... Which should be or is (Q)? I think it is Croatian, but maybe both English and Croatian should be... Because of tourism, people should be given a chance to understand (C). I think those languages would suffice, and if many tourists from other countries arrived, other languages could be introduced as well, but for now it is OK that they are only on the screen of the Tourist Board (S/C).

10. Do you feel connected to this place?

I do (Q).

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

I don't know, maybe... I know that I am from here, so I am sure of it, but if I came to another town in Croatia where everything was in another language, I would probably not feel the same (Q). For instance, there are lots of signs in Italian in Pula, and I find that bilingualism a bit weird. I was born here, so if it was written in Chinese, I would still know it. In Pula it is weird, but I agree with that because there are lots of people who speak Italian (Q).

12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding the signs? If yes, why?

These brown ones are OK, if they were a bit larger. They seem alright, the fact they are in English and Croatian is acceptable (S). If it's not too conspicuous... It depends on the brand, I think, the simpler it is, the more acceptable it will be (C).

Table 11 <i>Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded for Participant 4</i>				
Participant 4	No. of explicit statements analysed	Elicited by questions (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	21	11	3	7
Percentage	100%	52.3%	14.2%	33.3%

Step Two: Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 4, 23 statements had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 2 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 12) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analysed.

Table 12 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 4</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
23	7	1	3	3	9	
100%	30.4%	4.3%	13%	13%	39.1%	

Step Three: Interview obtained on a 'walking tour'

Walking from Ban Jelačić Square to the rest of the centre, then to the Upper Town and to another square, Britanac [the British Square], Participant 4 commented on public signs. Here are his transcribed and translated statements:

1. ["Gavrilović"?] – I think people would enter there more if the sign was in English (N/PE). – [Even the locals?] – Possibly, yes (U). They have succumbed to accept foreign words more than domestic ones (T/T). They probably find them more acceptable (PE).
2. ["Fry & Dip"?] – Probably most of the population will not understand it, but those who consume it, will (PE). Older people probably don't eat here. This way, they will attract tourists (P). I find it OK (P). I doubt that it would be acceptable in Sigečica [his neighbourhood] (PE). But if it was meant to be understandable for people, I find it acceptable (P).
3. ["Oranž"?] – I don't know (U)... I am relating it to a kind of branding, so I find it OK (P).
4. ["City box"?] – I don't even know what that is (U). – [Dustbin.] – I haven't even noticed it (PE).
5. ["Pop corn"?] – It's intended for us, because everyone knows what that is (P).
6. ["Dressing Room"?] – If the brand exists abroad, I think it's OK, but if it is our store, I don't find the name attractive (PE).
7. "Geox" is a foreign brand, and I consider the sign to be fine, but if a local owner opened it, I wouldn't like the foreign name (P/PE).
8. ["Basement?"] – It's attractive to people (P). It's in the city centre (T/T).
9. ["Take me Home - Croatian Design Shop?"] – Considering it is for tourists, it is OK (P).
10. ["Museum of Broken Relationships"?] – Croatian is reduced in relation to English, considering that the inscription is the largest in English, I don't find it acceptable (N). If they were equal, then maybe (PE). But because there are lots of tourists in the Upper Town, it is alright that it is written in several languages (P).
11. ["Gospodska Vulicza, Herrenstrasse?"] – If it is because of mainting the tradition, aluditing to it, I find it alright, if it was used to be called that way (P). If it was written in English, it wouldn't feel the same, it wouldn't make sense, hence the German (PE).
12. [Restaurant "Prasac"?] – It's great in Croatian (P). Maybe tourists would find it more understandable if it was written in English and it would attract them more (PE)...
13. ["Molokai bar"?] – If it is refurbished that way and designed, it's alright, it would be dumb if it was called differently (P).
14. ["Strossmartre?"] – Alright (P).
15. ["Papa's?"] – If they have American food there and it's designed that way, I find it OK (P).
16. ["Hemingway"?] – It doesn't have any connection to Hemingway (N)...

17. [“Kino Tuškanac”?] – For me, it’s acceptable that it is in Croatian, concerning that it’s a cult cinema, there’s no need for it to be changed (P).
18. [“Velvet”?] – It’s more refined this way than if it was named “Baršun” [in Croatian] (P). Maybe foreign words are not more refined, but they seem to be because they aren’t ours, they are not usual (PE). Maybe some people don’t know the real meaning and because of that they find it even better (PE).
19. [“Thesaurus”?] – (...) If I would choose a name in Croatian, I wouldn’t call it “Riznica” (PE). It is also weird in English, it’s a difficult word that probably most people don’t understand (N).
20. [“Madmoiselle Antique”?] – Because it is related to fashion, I find French to be acceptable (P).
21. [“DTR Always Find...”] – I doubt that foreigners would enter here, and it doesn’t make any sense that there is an English sign on a store intended for elder women (N).
22. [“Walk&Wok”?] – Interesting word play (P).
23. [“City Style”?] – I don’t know (U); plain, nothing special (Indifferent).
24. [“D&D”?] – Well, it’s not necessary for tourists and foreigners, it’s superfluous, unnecessary, and doesn’t sound so glamorous in English (N). (...) English is for native speakers, and this is absolutely unnecessary (N).
25. [“Caffe bar Ilički trg”?] – It’s good that it is in Croatian because it’s local, intended for us (P).
26. [Is there something that should be changed re linguistic landscape?]
 - Personally, I would change... some basic things should be in Croatian, and the rest (PE)... It’s OK that they are in English, that is, bilingualism, but concerning the overall population, it’s not acceptable. But, people have the right to name their store the way they please. Croatian should be preserved, but not like that [forbidding signs in foreign languages], or else, it would be discriminatory.

Step Four: Categorical Content Analysis:

From the transcribed and translated ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 4, of the 46 explicit statements analyzed, 44 had emotional/evaluative content, while 2 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 13) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analyzed.

Table 13 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 2</i>						
No. of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
44	20	7	1	4	12	
100%	45%	16%	2%	9%	27%	

Summary of Results with Participant 4

Participant 4 did not have an opinion on the LL prior to the interview. It is interesting how he as a younger person did not relate the choice of language in a local landscape to an ideology, although he usually shows patriotic sentiments, e.g. on social networks. He analysed the signs only in relation to what he thought sounded/looked good, that is to say, attractive to him as a potential customer. However, he was glad to see most of commercial advertisements and signs having been removed from the facades and roofs at the main square. He considered English signs to be a better choice than Croatian, because they were “more attractive” and firms were “badly branded” in Croatian language. Comparing his responses to of other participants, he had the most positive reactions towards the LL (in the 1st part, P: 30.4%, PE: 39.1%, and in the 2nd part, P: 45%, PE: 27%). He even suggested changing the name of a prominent Croatian brand into English, because he considered that people “have succumbed to accept foreign words more than domestic ones”. However, he did not like the fact that Croatian inscription was smaller than the English on a museum. He stated that English was necessary for tourists, and as it is seen from his replies, even if it was just a name of a commercial store. On the other hand, he disliked the usage of English in the case of a local store intended for elderly women and some other “unnecessary” solutions in English. Participant 4 positively reacted to a phonetically “interesting word play” - “Walk&Wok”, unlike to some other plain language solutions. At the end of our tour, he concluded that basic information should be written in Croatian so that people could understand the signs, but added that owners had the right to name their stores the way they pleased. Croatian should be preserved, he said, but not by forbidding signs in other languages, otherwise it would be discriminatory.

Participant 5

I met with Participant 5 in the centre of Zagreb on April 18, 2014. She is 58 years old and has been living in Zagreb ever since she arrived from Makarska, a town at the seaside in Dalmatia, at the age of 19 to study journalism at Political Sciences. She married in Zagreb and has two children. Today, she is a renowned journalist that covers political and cultural issues. She is favoured by many but also criticised by her oponents for her patriotism and public support to late president Franjo Tuđman (thanks to whom Croatia has won its freedom and independence). I have chosen her for my study, because she has covered the story of the proposed language policy initiated by the *Matica Hrvatska* institution, and because of her politically moderate viewpoints.

1. How do you feel when you see signs in languages other than Croatian?

Well, I feel like I belong to a new, globalized world, and then again, I am nostalgic for the authentic, traditional features of the people I belong to (Q).

2. When was the first time you noticed new languages present on signs in this area?

With the arrival of world brands, from McDonald's to Zara, to all of these world brands. With the fall of communism, opening to the West and coming of the world to us (Q).

3. What was your initial thought of the linguistic changes?

In the beginning, since we wanted that consumer society, it was positive, very positive. We wanted that opening to the West very much, but in time the perception has changed (Q).

4. Do you like visiting or shopping in this area? If yes, why? Or, if no, why not?

Yes, I do, because it is one of the most beautiful parts of the city. Here, there are also exclusive stores (Q)...

5. Do you go into stores and shops that advertise in languages other than Croatian?

Yes (Q).

6. Does or did this place have a special meaning or memory for you?

Well, I have a dear memory, when I came to Zagreb to study, then it was the main place for gathering, meeting. And it looked completely different, from stores to coffee bars. Now, it is a completely different picture. Then, there really weren't any signs in a foreign name and there were restaurants and self-service shops with a typical socialist design. And today all of that is totally different (Q). [...] Yes, it was gloomy, that's a good expression, not pretty, grey. With the arrival of Universiade to Zagreb [1987], the style of living started to change, people began to spend time in the streets, and so on... Universiade brought some kind of opening and it is interesting that it wasn't written *Univerzijada* with a letter *U*, but with *Y*, due to political reasons [Y as the first letter of the English name for

Yugoslavia and also youth] (C). The letter *U* was avoided because of *ustaša* [Croatian nationalists], it was practically a forbidden letter of the alphabet in Yugoslavia, that is, Croatia (C). [Do you like how it all looks today?] – I like it, but it is a bit too consumeristic, too touristy (S/C).

7. What does it mean to you now?

It means memory of my youth, today, going out and socialising, it means a lot to me. It is the center of the city and I love it (Q).

8. What do you think the languages on the signs say about the people groups in this area? What do they say about the people putting these signs and about their products and services, and to who are they intended?

They mean that we have become a part of the global market, and that many people don't think about it, especially in these times of crises and recession it is important to have work, and we, consumers, spend money less and less, and just look at all those lovely shop windows more and more, and what can be noticed is that the number of stores and some brands that have been here since the 1990s have been reduced, today they are being closed down, which is sad (Q). [...] Foreign stores are closing down as well, we had shops that were here for years, e.g. *Divas* with foreign clothes, exclusive, unique, different, quirky, alternative... which has shut down. It was the city's brand and it has closed down (C). *Nara Camicie* as well; now some *Paramount* shop with Italian shoes has opened... And there is, of course, less and less Croatian crafts and Croatian shops.

9. Which language do you think is the most important in this area?

Well, English is prevailing instead of Croatian that should be the main one. But unfortunately, it is English (Q). We are now looking at *Bečka kavana Aida*, *Caffè Since...* (S).

10. Do you feel connected to this place?

I do feel connected, yes (Q).

11. How do you think language affects your sense of home or belonging to a place?

Language is one of the most important features of belonging to a people, to a nation (Q). Croatia's case is specific, due to the fact that until 1990 it was not an independent country. It had created and developed its existence and identity through language. The preservation of language in Croatia is all the more emphasized, because it was an essential part of our identity and the historical fight for the language was a very long one. But unfortunately, today, it is losing battle with English language that has become a new Esperanto, we could call it that, and the best example is the name of that inn *Beertija*, which is written in

English (Q). It is the authentic Croatian slang word, a colloquial word [*birtija*, meaning low pub] that has suddenly turned into *Beertija* [containing the English word *beer*].

– [I have also seen *Gost&ona*, instead of *Gostiona* as another ‘Anglocrobatic’ example]

– And those are unfortunately the examples of, I would say, grotesqueness (C).

12. Does anything need to be changed here regarding the signs? If yes, why?

Primarily, I think that order should be introduced, so that it is clear when foreign languages are used. Of course, isolating in today’s world is meaningless, unnecessary and harmful, I would say, but on the other hand, one should respect their autochthonism, tradition, history and everything else. Even foreigners that come to this city perceive us besides other things, based on that. That is why I think that it should be regulated by rules, a law on language, the way some other small countries in Europe have done. Because we, small nations, should especially be sensitive towards it and safeguard that uniqueness (Q).

Table 14

Explicit Statements Analyzed and Coded for Participant 5

Participant 5	No. of explicit statements analysed	Elicited by questions (Q)	Stimulated by LL (S)	Generated during conversation (C)
Number	19	13	2	4
Percentage	100%	68.4%	10.5%	21%

Step Two: Analysis of Categorical Content

From the transcribed interview with Participant 5, of all of the statements analysed, 13 had emotional/evaluative (E/E) content and 6 were coded as topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 15) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analysed.

Table 15 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 5</i>						
Number of E/E statements	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative	
13	3	5	/	2	3	
100%	23%	38.4%		15.3%	23%	

Step Three: Interview obtained on a ‘walking tour’

Walking from Ban Jelačić Square to Jurišićeva Street and then to *Britanac* (the British Square, thus renamed after WWII - some residents refuse to call it that way, and call it by its old name *Mali plac* instead, “Little square”), Participant 5 read and commented on official and commercial signs. Here are here transcribed and translated statements:

1. “Información Turística”, “Paul & Shark”, “Martimex”, “Chanel”, “Marquise”, “City Box”, “Fine Jewellery”, here is “Kraš”, it is authentically Croatian, but “bonbonniere” isn’t in Croatian, it is in a foreign language. “Croatia Osiguranje – utemeljeno 1884”; that’s Croatian (T/T, 10). – [Yes, but *Croatia* is a Latin exonym for *Hrvatska*].
2. “Müller”, “MacDonald’s”, “Patrizia Pepe”, “Firenza”, “Eventim”, “Accessorize”, “Renny” [Croatian souvenir shop] (T/T, 7)... These people are speaking in English, they are tourists, students.
3. “Chill” (T/T) , “DETEER” – look how it’s written, it is the abbreviation of a Croatian factory and they have written it like this (N)...
4. “Baby House” (T/T), that’s also... “Soundset” – it’s a local radio (T/T), “Iskon free”, “Babylon”, “You know that (...) only coffee is 100% Arabica”, “Wiener osiguranje”, look, there is “Galeb”, it’s a firm from Omiš (P)! “Rossi, Since 1930...” (T/T).
5. [Tekstil Stanić “Family”?] – It’s a Croatian firm, well, that is completely unnecessary, and I would remember this more as Stanić than I would as “Family” (N).
6. “Pošta” [post office] – here I used to go to the post office. It is still called “Pošta”. When there were no mobile phones, I used to come here and call my mother on the phone, I used to hang out in the telephone booth all the time (P).
7. “Estetic Uvema” – that’s also a Croatian firm (T/T).

8. “Skinny”, “Triumph”, “Fashion Store”, “Amelie”, “Lush”, “Fresh”, “Home”, “Paramount”, “Outlet”, “Ilirika”, “Spar” (T/T, 11).
9. [What do you think about the ‘language policy’ at the Upper Town where bilingual signs have been introduced in the old Zagreb dialect and German?] – It is a tourist part of the city, which tells us how we used to live. It gives information to tourists that we were part of the Habsburg Monarchy and that German was frequently spoken in Zagreb. Today, there is a lot of slang in Croatian that originates from German (T/T). That policy is really exclusively intended for tourist purposes and they have put it intentionally, unlike this kind of monstrous misuse (N)! – [But, is that also a form of servility?] – It needn’t be servility, we are showing a part of our history, we really were a part of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and that is our history. Therefore, acknowledging our history is not servility. It is focused on tourist purposes and has that concept, and it presents the historic centre of the town through language (P).
10. [Now that you have seen the signs, do you think language on public signs should be regulated?] –Yes, it needs to be regulated. The Draft Act on Language is only an initiative that now needs to be discussed about. (...) It meant greatly to Croatia when Croatian was recognized as an equal language of the EU (T/T).
11. There used to be an antique shop here, it’s no longer here... It is no longer here (N).
12. [What about international words such as “Farmacia” etc.?] – It is part of the tradition, it is the influence of Latin in these areas, and from the Church. Latin was used for a long time (P).
13. Through language, we fought for our identity, Croatian language had to be called Croatian-Serbian, Serbian-Croatian, Serbian or Croatian, it couldn’t be called just Croatian. The Declaration on the Croatian language was severely condemned by the Communist Party, people were persecuted and ended up in prison (T/T).
14. [Is it better to choose our standard Croatian lexems in public space or international words?] – Croatian, but international words can be used, for instance, “Apetit”, if it is written in Croatian, and not with two p’s and in other ways, because we have that word already in our dialects (T/T).

Step Four: Categorical Content Analysis:

From the transcribed and translated ‘walking tour’ interview with Participant 5, of the 45 explicit statements analysed, 8 had emotional/evaluative content, while 37 were coded as

topics/themes (T/T) with referential content. The table below (see Table 16) shows the number and types of emotional/evaluative (E/E) statements analysed.

Table 16 <i>Number and Type of Emotional/Evaluative Responses for Participant 5</i>						
No. of statements	E/E	Positive	Negative	Indifferent/Neutral	Uncertain	Personal Evaluative
8		4	4	/	/	/
100%		50%	50%			

Summary of Results with Participant 5

Being the eldest among the interviewees, Participant 5 was the only one aware of the time before the fall of communism. She has a clear memory that signs in foreign languages appeared with the new era for Croatia, in the 1990s. People wanted that consumer society, she said, because all the shops and inns were in a typically socialist design, the streets were gloomy, not pretty and grey. It started to change with Universiade in 1987 when the city was spruced up to be representative for foreign athletes and international media. Today, she finds it sad that many companies, foreign but also Croatian brands are shutting down because of recession. She liked to shop in those exclusive stores that are no longer there. However, she stated that the present image of the centre looked too consumeristic, too touristic. Unfortunately, she noticed, English was prevailing in the streets instead of Croatian, which should be the main one. She offered a “grotesque example” of a bar named “Beertija”, which had changed the authentic slang word used in Zagreb into a new Croatian-English coinage. Her nostalgia, however, did not prevail over the awareness of contemporary cultural processes. Her opinion is that the public usage of languages should be regulated with a language policy that would take into account the world we are living in. She said that closing and isolating towards the global market would be unnecessary and even harmful, but that authentic and traditional values, and language as the main feature of a culture, should be saved. In the second part of the interview, mostly answers with referential content have been obtained, since she read the signs out loud mostly without additionally commenting on them. It, however, does not mean that her perception of them was positive, on the contrary, but the interviewer marked them primarily as T/T in order to achieve objectivity. Participant 5 was

glad to see Croatian words on signs in Jurišićeva Street, where most of them are in English. She was nostalgic when she saw *Pošta*, the post office, for she remembered how she used to go there as a student to call her mother in Makarska. Participant 5 ironically remarked that it had still remained its Croatian name. She considered the ‘top-down’ sign-policy in the Upper Town to be a positive example, because German on the bilingual signs provided information for tourists that Croatia had been a part of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and because German expressions were still present in the dialect. Participant 5 has provided political context and sustainable arguments in her responses, probably due to her professional background but also life experience.

Discussion

Most of the interviews conducted in this study have shown that a demanding reader would be more intellectually satisfied if they saw an imaginative sign written in their own language. Four out of five respondents have provided such claims. The youngest interviewee who considered English to be a better choice in the LL than Croatian regarded the first to be more catchy and modern, and was intended for foreigners and the locals who understood it. Nevertheless, he found the usage of the English language to be unnecessary in some cases, when the target audience of signs would not have understood the meaning or if they, simply, sounded tedious and unimaginative. The empirical study has proven that the LL can arouse strong emotional responses, as it is seen in the answers provided by Participant 2, 3 and 5. It may only be a coincidence, but the most emotional replies were given by female respondents. It has also shown that a ‘walking tour’ interview can offer substantial results in the LL study, because it delivers not only personal opinions and emotions, but also facts of collective memory, such as the responses of the eldest one, Participant 5. The replies given by Participant 1 and to a certain degree by Participant 4 have shown that views on the subject matter can differ before and during/after the ‘walking tour’ interview. It may also be a coincidence, but those participants were males. The female respondents, mostly Participant 3 and 5 have thus provided more determined and consistent responses. Overall, the ‘walking tour’ method has proven that it can be used in education, for it offers the immediate context and undoubtedly raises language awareness. Although all of the respondents have called for an alternative to the current chaotic situation in the LL, Participant 2 has responded that nothing would actually be changed, because the government and entrepreneurs would never let a law on language to be passed. Participant 3 vigorously stated that because of her views

towards the Croatian language and culture, the government might even imprison and decapitate her. It was obviously a figure of speech, a hyperbole, but it says a lot about her opinion on the current politics. The data has shown that the need for a language policy is not called for by some narrow-minded nationalists, but well educated and informed people who are opened to democratic processes.

Conclusion

Many countries in the world fear that their national languages might be in the process of reducing or even disappearing before the emergence of English. The English language is given priority due to the fact that economy, and cultural economy for that matter, does not recognize national borders. Native languages thus stand in the way of the free flow of interchangeable goods on the market (Srzić 2011: 18). However, as Garvin's study has showed, native English speakers also fear for their language in relation to that of minorities in multicultural areas.

Linguistic landscape can thus be seen as the signature of civilisation in a particular time period. English, which is omnipresent, is regarded as modern and used worldwide in urban areas, in order to advertise and 'sell' modern ideas, products and services. It is reflected from spoken language and vice versa. Although it is practical to use English words if there are no counterparts in the mother tongue, most speakers are hesitant to apply the latter even if they exist, and especially if they are newly coined words. The reason for that is that they have been accustomed to English expressions on a daily basis, mostly from popular culture. By using colloquial English and slang, speakers express their education and 'cool' identities. Although that may be subversive, since it violates the norms of one's standard language, unimaginative usage loses its cutting edge. Linguistically, puns are interesting to observe, because they can have a strong effect on a reader and a possible customer - they are intended to bring about certain emotions, reminiscence or critical opinion. To use intertextuality, humour and subversiveness is well accepted by the audience, and if it is packed in an international language such as English, the product can also be advertised to foreigners and even outside the country. The scholars have proved that the extent of advertisements in English in European countries does not depend on the status it has in each of them. That might not be the case in, for instance, North Korea, in which the English language is not used by its population (except for some tourist guides) nor are there any advertisements written in English. From that blatant case, it is obvious that language **is** related to ideology. The English language used to be associated with British colonial and imperial idea, but in time has become inseparable from American consumerism, owing to the fact that the latter country won its supremacy over the first in geopolitics. As the most widespread international language and lingua franca, it is now used for creating cosmopolitan atmosphere. However complex the issue of English language may be, one must also acknowledge it as a medium for the voice of the suppressed. Language

itself cannot manipulate, but only be used for benevolent, or some other purposes. It has become intertwined with advertising, which seems to dictate the social dynamics, and the same principle has been distributed worldwide. Croatia is no exception in this globalizing process and the dilemma whether to advertise one's product, store or craft in a local or foreign language should be thought through with the awareness of the connotations implied in the advertising languages. They are selected according to the target audience, but also according to the product itself; it may be presented as modern, Western and shared by many, or as local, special and unique (Srzić 2011: 18). Because it is moulded according to individuals' goals, language use can elude those fixed categorizations. In order to bring order, many nations have introduced language policies, which differ from country to country, dependent on their political and historical contexts. Hence, the selection of legislative should be given to philologists who are aware of the global trends and ethnolinguistic needs of a particular language.

The signs in the Upper Town of Zagreb have showed that English need not be so aggressive if it is used for informational purposes, as opposed to its symbolic function that is often imposed and commercially exploited in the Lower Town, at the expense of Croatian. Language policy is necessary, not only because some other countries have introduced them, but because of the state of current Croatian language on which English has an immense influence. It is a question of protecting one's culture, the same as it was with the imposition of the Serbian language that tended to push out the distinctiveness of other neighbouring languages, especially Croatian. Limitless and unwise usage of English is causing contempt among the people. Countries should protect their cultural heritage regardless of, or, better to say, because of globalization processes. It is a new challenge for each of them, and some have shown a focused attitude towards it, for instance, Slovenia, France and many others. However, it seems that even in the countries that have set forth language regulations, linguistic landscape presents a problematic issue, because the open market and profit as the ultimate objective have power over national legislatures. It is difficult to introduce a law that would oblige a native language on commercial signs, even if it means allowing foreign brands to be advertised in their original forms. Nonetheless, I believe it is possible, because it creates a framework for order in the public space, regardless of the fact that it also relates to a private ownership. A new law on the public use of Croatian should be a moderate one – the native language needs to have priority over English, but it must allow foreign brand names, their original slogans and trademarks. However, it should prescribe the obligatory use of Croatian regarding important information for the locals. Also, it can allow short foreign phrases and

international words that most of them understand, especially if the latter already exist in the dialects and are to be written in the Croatian orthography. It will make a small, but meaningful difference. Some may find the selection of language in a linguistic landscape a banal issue, but it is actually a key indicator that is going to position a country as a truly independent one in these postmodern times.

English is used in linguistic landscape and in advertising because it is inclusive - it includes foreigners as well as locals who understand it. Croatian would then seem to be exclusive, but what about the people who live in Croatia and do not understand English? They feel isolated in their country as if they are not belonging to that elite group of 'modern' and 'cool' 'Anglocrobatic' speakers. As if it is not difficult enough for them to compete on the job market, the knowledge of English makes us compete with one another in our everyday lives. We are surrounded by facades and walls covered with that foreign language, which supports marketing manipulations. Some solutions may be funny and smart, because English holds a strong potential for word play and broader pop-cultural intertextuality than Croatian does. However, Zagreb has shown that those cases, which attract more demanding readers, are quite rare.

To conclude, the Act on Slovenian Language in Public Use may serve as a model to our proposers, since the Slovenes are our closest neighbours that shared with us the hardships living in communist Yugoslavia and have become the EU members before us. The law, which contains some compromises regarding the LL, has not impeded with their trading processes and entrepreneurship on the borderless market. It seems they have solved their issue with national self-consciousness, if they ever had any. The time has come for Croatia to prove itself primarily before its people but also others that it has become a truly sovereign and regulated country, which is able to persevere. Some critics find that a language regulation would be a draconian measure, since foreign influences are adopted by speakers who decide on their own on their language use. However, the Croatians should finally free themselves from the imposed masochism due to the unresolved political burden and introduce a legislative that would also bring order in the linguistic landscape of Croatia. It would indirectly encourage people to reflect in Croatian, and thus enrich, develop and safeguard it in the long run.

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APPENDIX A

Zusammenfassung

In meiner Masterarbeit widme ich mich der Präsenz der englischen Sprache in der Sprachlandschaft von Zagreb und der Rezeption dieses Phänomens bei den Bürgern. Da die Erforschung der Sprache in der öffentlichen Sprachlandschaft (eng. *linguistic landscape*) mit der Sprachpolitik des jeweiligen Landes verbunden ist, stelle ich die jetzige Legislative Kroatiens zu dieser Frage dar. Trotz der Kritik und Appelle von renommierten Philologen hat man in der Gesetzgebung Kroatiens die Wichtigkeit der Erhaltung der eigenen Sprache vor dem Ansturm und Allgegenwart des Englischen als Sprache der Globalisierung vernachlässigt. Die Masterarbeit beginnt mit einer Darstellung der Geschichte der kroatischen Literatur als Basis seiner Kultur, in der die kroatische Sprache kontinuierlich entwickelt wurde, durch die Geschichte auf viele Herausforderungen traf und heute vom Prozess der Anglisierung betroffen ist. Da diese einen unermesslichen Einfluss auf alle Sprachen der Welt und ihre ethno-linguistische Vitalität ausübt, stelle ich in dieser Arbeit Beispiele von einigen Sprachpolitiken dar. Viele Nationen, denen das Aussterben der ungeschützten Sprachen und Dialekten bewusst ist, haben Sprachpolitiken mit dem Ziel eingeführt, ihren Wert und Besonderheit aufzubewahren und zu fördern. Obwohl das Erlernen der englischen Sprache zweifelsohne eine Notwendigkeit in der Ausbildung bleibt, die in der Entwicklung einzelner Kulturen willkommen ist, gibt es einige Unstimmigkeiten in der Gesellschaft in Bezug auf die Begrenzung ihrer öffentlichen Nutzung. Neben seiner Rolle in der Verständigung von Nicht-Muttersprachlern, befördert Englisch als *lingua franca* den Fluss des Kapitals und der Konsumgüter, sowie den Einfluss der Populärkultur. Da die Sprache der öffentlichen Schriften bisher am stärksten quantitativ erforscht worden ist, um die Dominanz einzelner Sprachen im öffentlichen Raum fest zu stellen, wende ich in meiner Arbeit qualitative ethnographische Forschungsmethoden an. Dabei versuche ich, die Haltung der Bürger zu diesem Thema zu erforschen, vor allem ihre Wahrnehmung der Identität und Ideologie, die mit der Frage der Sprache untrennbar verbunden sind.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Identität, Sprachpolitik, Anglisierung, ethnolinguistische Vitalität, Globalisierung, *linguistic landscape*, kulturelle Hegemonie, Geschichte, Interviews mit Bürgern

APPENDIX B

Curriculum vitae

I was born on 25 May 1982 in Makarska, Croatia. After finishing elementary school, I attended the X. gymnasium, a general-programme secondary school in Zagreb. In 2000, I matriculated at The University Centre for Croatian Studies in double-major programmes of Croatology and Sociology. In 2001, I enrolled at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, where I graduated in Comparative Literature and English Language and Literature. One of the scientific fields that particularly interested me was filmology at the department of Comparative Literature. Thus I wrote a thesis on the subject of “Roman Polanski's Films as Psychological Studies“. I obtained the title of professor, i.e. the diploma, which aligns with Bologna MA degree. Working as an interpreter and a film critic, I wanted to further my knowledge in the field of English language and culture, and also, to study abroad. In 2010, I was accepted for admission to the MA study of English Language and Linguistics at the University of Vienna, which I am currently graduating from.