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THE EFFECT OF ANGLICIZATION ON THE SHAPING OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE
CITY OF PULA

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Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

For decades, globalizational processes have been at the forefront of both sociological and linguistic research. This paper aims to combine these two perspectives into a sociolinguistic analysis of the degree of anglicization of the public space of the city of Pula. Through a quantitative linguistic landscape analysis and qualitative ethnographic research through semi-structured interviews, the paper aims to compare the degree of anglicization of Pula's linguistic landscape with the attitudes of Pula's citizens towards not only the English language, but also towards Anglo-American culture in general, in order to see whether a possible high degree of anglicization can be ascribed to a wider process of cultural homogenization brought about through globalizational effects. Furthermore, this paper takes into account the importance of the tourist industry for the city of Pula, and aims to see whether Pula's anglicization is a permanent feature of Pula's identity or a seasonal one. Lastly, this paper aims to ascertain whether there exists a unique Pula identity, different from the national and Istrian identities, and how this identity reacts to the anglicization of Pula's public space.

KEYWORDS: *linguistic landscape, Pula, tourism, globalization, identity, English*

INTRODUCTION

With more than 50,000 inhabitants, Pula is a medium-sized city located in the south of the Istrian peninsula in the Republic of Croatia. It is a city of immense history. During its 3000-year existence, it has seen the coming and going of various cultures, rules and regimes, all bringing something characteristic to the formation of Pula's culture and identity: the Romans, Venetians, the French under Napoleon, Austro-Hungarians, as well as the Italians under the rule of Fascism. It was incorporated into the Socialist Republic of Croatia under Yugoslavia, and is now part of the Republic of Croatia. All of these factors have played a crucial role in the formation of Pula's extraordinary diversity. Moreover, as we will see, openness, multiculturalism and multilingualism are promoted as some of the core features not only of Pula, but of Istria as a whole. These features are promoted as not only declarative, but as lived, as part of Istria's everyday life, which can purportedly be seen in the formation of a multicultural and hybrid Istrian regional identity and in the implementation of bilingual official signage. However, a new language has increasingly been gaining importance throughout Pula's public space, and that is English. The increasing prominence of the English language is best evidenced through the names of both private and corporate foreign businesses and through their use in accompanying promotional and informational material. Although corporate foreign businesses indeed do make up a considerable portion of the overall businesses in Pula's public space, I believe that the anglicization by way of foreign and corporate businesses does not reflect the level of the cultural anglicization of the public space of Pula. That is why this paper focuses on English language use of exclusively local businesses whose owners are themselves citizens of Pula and are as such part of the reality of the everyday life of Pula. I have chosen not to take into account the anglicizing effect of foreign and corporate businesses as they serve more as a marker of economic globalization, i.e. of the implementation of the *Western* business model, especially in the context of a post-communist country, and as marker of a liberal market economy. with a deregulated cross-border flow of people, goods and capital. Consequently, as far as globalization is concerned, this paper will focus on the concept of cultural globalization, which can be most broadly defined as "the diffusion of cultural values and ideas across national borders" (Daghrir, 2013, 19), moving away from the effects of economic globalization. As such, the general aim of this paper is to see if the anglicization of the linguistic landscape of Pula can in any way be interpreted as a marker of cultural anglicization of its citizens. A more specific aim of this paper is to establish whether a certain Pula identity can be defined and what would be its defining characteristics, and also how this identity reacts to the anglicizational effect of

both the crucially important tourism industry and to a possible cultural homogenization brought about by globalizing processes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Defining the concept of identity

As we will see, when this paper deals with the concept of identity it takes an expressly constructivist and reflexivist stance. As such, Giddens' theory on identity in late modernity is extremely useful. According to Giddens, many of the beliefs and customary practices that used to define identities in traditional societies (such as those of organized religion) are now less and less influential. In this *post-traditional* society, people have to make a whole range of choices, not just about aspects such as appearance and lifestyle, but more broadly about their life destinations and relationships. They are offered a plethora of guidance on such matters by experts of various kinds and by the popular media (for example, in the form of lifestyle news, makeover shows, and self-help books), although ultimately the individuals are required to make these choices on their own. (Buckingham, 2008, 9) Here we can see how, through reflexive self-awareness and the use of one's social and cultural capital, the notion of identity transforms from a deterministic, situated and rooted characteristic of the individual and the community, to something we can define as the construction of identity or identity as a project. Furthermore, Giddens sees identity in late modernity as something that is constantly changing and malleable, rather than fixed (Buckingham, 2008, 9). Although this gives the notion of identity its proper reflexive and constructive potential, Giddens nonetheless refers solely on self-identity, i.e. the identity of the individual. However, as we will see in the next parts of this paper, the notion of identity as a construct in late modernity need not be reserved for individual identity, but can be applied to the notions of ethnic, national and other social and communal identities. This notion of the construction of social identities is very well defined in Castells' theory of the three types of identity where:

“...history, geography, biology, institutions, memory, power and religion all play a certain part in the development of basically three different types of identity, namely legitimising identity, developed by the dominant institutions of society to reproduce and rationalize their privileges, resistance identity, emerging from actors within

marginalized cultures in response to dominate discourses and power relations, and project identity, “where social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure” (1997,8)

As such, we will see how, especially in the context of globalizing processes and the tourism industry, ethnic and local identities can become, through awareness and manipulation of their authentic characteristics, reflexively redefined or reconstructed to better suit the needs of a certain social discourse. As we will see, an example of such an occurrence is the Istrian identity, which has become a both a politicized project and resistance identity to suit the framework of both a pro-European and globalizing discourse and resisting the nationalist Croatian discourse. That was accomplished by manipulating the historical multiculturalism and regional self-awareness.

Consequently, this paper holds that the concept of identity, both in the case of regional identity and individual identity, does not carry the function of a grounding, predetermined and defining social structure or institution, but is transformed into what Goffman defines as *the presentation of the self* (1956). What this means is that social agents are aware of the potential and implied meaning of the social and cultural capital at their disposal and employ it based on their interest and to attain what they perceive as their goal identity. From a linguistic perspective, an example of identity construction through language use can be perceived in the importance of English in displaying a cosmopolitan and modern identity, thus appealing to foreign and globalized audiences (Takhtarova, 2015).

Defining Globalization

There have been countless debates and discussions on the conceptualisation and definition of the process of globalization. Moreover, following my literature review it became perfectly clear that these debates extend far beyond the sole definition and also relate to the potential effects of globalization on other global and local social processes. However, as with all the theories and phenomena analysed within this paper, despite and because of their complexity, I will focus on outlining the characteristics and constituent parts that served as the theoretical framework for this paper's formulation of hypotheses and empirical research. The first thing we will be dealing with is analysing the most important aspects of globalization. According to Tomlinson, the main problem with defining and conceptualising globalization is that the process is in itself multidimensional. Globalization is heavy with implications for all spheres of social existence, the economic, the political, the environmental and the cultural (Tomlinson, 1996, 23). Following this logic it is best to define a certain type of globaliation on the basis of the effects that the process of globalization has on a particular part of the social structure or social reality. (Tomlinson, 1996, 23).

Globalization vs Americanization

As it was mentioned in the introduction, instead of focusing on the effects of economic or political globalization, this paper will focus on the concept of cultural globalization. Consequently, a prominent trend within the concept of cultural globalization is that of equating the process of globalization with the process of *americanization*. Francis Williams defined americanization as "the propagation of American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry and capital around the world." (Williams in Ritzer et al., 2003, 36). In addition, George Ritzer and Todd Stillman define americanization in the domain of culture as the dominance of American consumer and media culture on the world sphere (Ritzer et al., 2003, 36). In other words, the process of globalization becomes identified with American culture and equated with a perceived process of American cultural hegemonization. A good description of this equation is the one by columnist Thomas Friedmann:

"Globalization has a distinctly American face: It wears Mickey Mouse ears, it eats Big Macs, it drinks Coke or Pepsi and it does its computing on an IBM or Apple laptop, using Windows 98[...]. In most societies, people cannot distinguish any more between American power,

American exports, American cultural assaults, American cultural exports and plain vanilla globalization. They are now all wrapped into one. Many societies around the world can't get enough of it, but others see it as a fundamental threat” (Friedmann in Daghrir, 2013, 20).

Moreover, as we will see in the presentation of the results of the interviews, although the questionnaire does not use the term globalization, the respondents made numerous remarks about the concept of globalization, specifically regarding the use of the English language and culture, which proves the perception of a strong link between the process of globalization and the spread of American culture.

Although the dominance of American culture cannot be understated, I believe that the equation of globalization with americanization or any single culture allows for a misconceptualization and altogether erroneous definition of globalization. According to this view, globalization can be interpreted as a neo-imperialistic targeted encroachment of one culture upon all other cultures. In response to such an interpretation we could use some of the more neutral definitions of globalization. One of them is given by Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King - “all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society.” (1990, 8). Another definition is by Anthony Giddens: “Globalization can be defined as the intensification of social relations throughout the world, linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are formed as a result of events that occur many miles away and vice versa.” (1991,64). Although these two definitions highlight a crucial aspect of globalization, that of global interconnectedness and the nullification of physical distances thanks to advanced telecommunication technologies, resulting in what Marshall McLuhan defines as the *global village* (1962), it omits another equally crucial factor of globalization, and that is the liberalisation of the flow of information, which allows cultures which have previously been globally silenced because of their global (ir)relevance, or even because of geographic isolation, to globally promote themselves. Globalization as such is not to be regarded as a hegemonizing tool of a single nation, it should be perceived as more of a process of global cultural levelling in which every culture is equally allowed to establish some form of cultural influence on the rest of the world. Melita Varga proposes a similar idea when she says that it is important not to equate globalization with americanization (2012, 274). According to Varga, a good argument against equating globalization and americanization is the emergence of a broadly conceived Asian culture, which is becoming a significant global cultural influence (2012, 274). Despite such a definition of globalization, the influence of American culture on other cultures is evident.

As we will see, one of the many signs of the dominance of American culture is the acceptance of English as the global *lingua franca*. However, this cultural domination should not be regarded solely as a result of globalizing processes, but as a result of the dominance of the United States on other social aspects: political economic, etc. Globalization should then be regarded as a facilitator of the spread of American influence, proving once again the complicated interconnectedness of the various aspects of the globalization process.

Effects of Globalization and the Local Response

As it was already noted, the discussion about the conceptualization of the process of globalization is indeed varied, with different definitions focusing on different aspects of the process. As we shall now see, a similar phenomenon is taking place regarding the definition of the effect and influence which the process of globalization exerts on the cultural level. The first theoretical conceptualisation concerning the effect of globalization proposes a view of similar to the aforementioned equation of globalization and americanization. This paradigm proposes that globalization as a process ushers an era of cultural *homogenization*, of a single global culture, created on the premise of Western cultural hegemony, destroying local and authentic cultures and identities (Tomlinson, 2003). According to Tomlinson:

“Globalization, so the story goes, has swept like a flood tide through the world’s diverse cultures, destroying stable localities, displacing peoples, bringing a market-driven, ‘branded’ homogenization of cultural experience, thus obliterating the differences between locality-defined cultures which had constituted our identities.” (2003, 269).

According to Ivan Cifrić, it appears that the *Cultural West*, or to be more precise the U.S., has established two forms of mechanisms to establish a global culture modelled on the West. Cifrić refers to these two mechanisms as *hard power* and *soft power* (Nye in Cifrić, 2008, 774). He defines hard power as the mechanism which refers to economic growth, new scientific facts and technology, all of which serve the purpose of positioning the system on a global level and establishing global stability. However, what precedes this demand for global stability is the production of instability, which this potential hegemony strategically produces of its own accord. On the other hand, there is the mechanism of soft power, which refers to the system of values, the belief in shared norms, to pop-music, TV culture, fast food, and the overall lifestyle which serves to promote the western civilizational model of modernization and to lay the foundation of a potential “new empire” (Nye in Cifrić, 2008, 774). Thus globalization

seemingly produces two methods of coercion, one which would serve as the constant reminder of actual western and U.S. military and political domination, a mechanism so extreme it resembles the Weberian notion of power (Walliman et al., 1977), and the other which quietly and pleasantly weasels its way into other cultures, or as Smandych imagined it: “a power that seduces and reassures” (Smandych in Cifrić, 2008, 774). A specific example of cultural homogenization is the research on the homogenization and global uniformity of tastes in Hollywood films by W. Wayne Fu and Achikannoo Govindaraju (2010). In their research they diachronically analysed global box-office statistics to ascertain whether audiences interpret foreign programs in ways indigenous to local cultures or contexts, or whether they simply devour the content’s meanings as originally intended for home audiences (2010, 215). What is important to note is that the researchers have taken into account the cultural distance of the recipient cultures, defined to signify the degree of cultural difference between countries in exchange (Hoskins et al. in Fu, 2010, 217). The study has discovered that the closeness of the recipient culture to the source culture (i.e. the U.S.) is directly proportional to the taste in Hollywood movies. Moreover, the diachronic research has discovered that the respective countries’ similarities in Hollywood tastes have increased over the data duration, with those markets with a culture more different from that of the United States showing a greater extent of homogenization of taste over time (2010, 232). From such a perspective the effect of globalization on culture can be perceived as a one-way imposition of Western culture, with a passive and unreflexive acceptance by the members of the recipient cultures. This however negates the reflexive capabilities of social agents. By analysing the process of globalization from a reflexivist perspective we will see how the cultural effects of globalization can be and are negotiated by the members of smaller cultures and how globalization can be a facilitator of self-reflective cultural awakening. According to Manuel Castells, at a worldwide level, the percentage of those who consider themselves primarily world citizens, i.e. cosmopolitan, is 13%; that of those who consider themselves primarily of a national identity understood as nation-state is 38%, and the remaining – therefore, the first majority – consider themselves firstly as having as a local or regional identity, with the highest percentage, 61%, occurring precisely in Southern Europe (2010, 90). It is important to note that this process of localization, although a form of opposition to globalizing forces, can itself be perceived as a symptom and product of globalization. This is due to the fact that globalization, as a process of free flow of information, allows for an unprecedented level of cultural interaction. In relation to this, Anita Sujoldžić says that identity, cultural or other, emerges only in relation to the *Other*, defined predominantly by what one is *not* or what one *lacks*, as a counterpoint to the discourses and

meanings which are dominant in a given society (2009, 1335). As such, through globalizational processes individuals can become reflexively and relationally aware of their own culture. An example of this is the active opposition to Western, American, or globalized cultural aspects in general by the propagation of cultural aspects of the recipient culture. An example of such a reaction relevant to this paper is the purported negative effect of the English language on other languages and the resulting reaction. Due to its importance in global trade, politics and culture, English has become the global *lingua franca*, with many people ascribing it greater linguistic prestige than their mother tongues. However, due to this, various language preservation movements have started in several countries to counter the influence of English. An example of such a movement is the Toubon Law (*Loi Toubon*) in France, which is a law of the French government mandating the use of the French language in official government publications, in all advertisements, in all workplaces, in commercial contracts, in some other commercial contexts, in all government-financed schools, and some other contexts (Takhtarova et al., 2015.). According to Takhtarova, the law can largely be considered to have been enacted in reaction to the increasing use of English in advertisements and other areas in France. (2015, 455) However, such movements go beyond language policy and legislation, with public authorities such as the *Académie française* and the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* proposing alternative words for anglicisms, examples of which are words such as *courriel*, a substitution for e-mail, or *céderoms réinscriptibles* for CD-RW (Takhtarova et al., 2015.) However, the realization of localization does not have occur solely by way of active opposition to globalizing cultural traits. Choi and Park alternatively define this process of localization as *cultural pluralism*, according to which globally distributed cultural products can be avoided or adapted based on local autonomy, which can facilitate cultural diversity (2014, 172). Furthermore, according to Jette Rygaard, the model of cultural imperialism exaggerates the external determinants and underestimates the internal dynamics in the dependent society, wrongly assuming that audiences are passive and that local creativity and resistance or simple satisfaction or ignorance are of little significance (2003, 292). Similarly, Tomlinson argues that cultural movement always involves translation, mutation and adaptation as “the receiving culture bring its own cultural practices to bear, in dialectical fashion, upon cultural imports, pointing to the cultural resilience and dynamism of non-Western cultures, their capacity to indigenise Western cultural imports, give them different cultural meanings and actively appropriate them” (1996, 27). In other words, members of recipient cultures do not passively receive cultural products, they reflexively analyse, adapt and appropriate them through their own cultural framework. Through this, recipient cultures start to shape the process of

globalization itself. Something which is evident in the global importance of the process of *glocalization*, defined as “the product of converging globalizing and localizing forces, resulting in the adaptation of globalized products to local cultural traits” (Ritzer, 2003, 193-194). An example of this adaptation can once again be drawn from the English language. Although we have previously established the perceived hegemonizing and destructive effect of the English language on other languages, we can also conclude that English as the lingua franca of the globalizing process is as much its victim as its marker. According to Rudolf Filipović, members of the recipient culture do not learn English passively. On the contrary, it becomes deep-rooted and sometimes adapted to the receiving language that even when the equivalent exists people do not use it. What actually happens is that receiving European languages borrow English words, adapt them and consequently they become an integral part of their vocabulary (Filipović, 1996). As such, the English language undergoes a process of *nativization*, which Kachru defines as: “the linguistic readjustment a language undergoes when it is used by members of another speech community in distinctive sociocultural contexts and language contact situations” (1992, 235). Thanks to this, the English language has diversified into numerous varieties, some of which are Sino-English, Euro-English, etc. Consequently for this part we can conclude that there are several ways in which localization can occur: direct cultural opposition or cultural translation.

Cultural Effect of Tourism as a Product of Globalization

The city of Pula is Istria’s largest city and the county’s greatest urban and industrial centre (Vojnović, 2012, 113). This status has resulted in Pula’s more varied economic makeup, compared to other Istrian towns such as Poreč or Rovinj. The tourism industry is nevertheless an integral part of the economy and, as we shall see, proves to be a major component in the identity of the city of Pula. Pula can thus be regarded as a tourist destination. It is important to note that the phenomenon of tourism is a varied one, resulting in numerous types of tourism. However, when dealing with tourism it is important to ascertain exactly what type of tourism is promoted in the city of Pula. Nikola Vojnović outlines two major resources through which Pula’s tourist industry can be defined. The two resources are 1) Pula’s coast, which, at 88 km, is the longest among Istria’s cities, and 2) Pula’s extensive and extremely rich historical and cultural heritage. Based on this, Vojnović defines two types of tourism in Pula: recreational summer tourism and cultural tourism (Vojnović, 2012). However, these two types of tourism

are of course geographically divided, with most of recreational tourism being limited to the sea and the beachfront in the southern part of the city (Vojnović, 2012, 116), mainly in the resort neighbourhood of Verudela, the island of Veruda, Lungo mare, and Zlatne Stijene. On the other hand the attractions pertaining to cultural tourism reside within the historic centre of the city of Pula which, according to Bruno Milić, despite numerous and significant changes during the town's lifespan has retained its historical and cultural integrity, and has, to this day, maintained its status as the centre of the city, not just geographically but also administratively and culturally (Milić, 2006, 208). Since the empirical research will deal with the linguistic landscape of the centre of Pula, in establishing the theoretical framing of the effect of tourism we will deal only with cultural tourism. The concept of cultural tourism can be best defined as:

“that activity which enables people to experience the different ways of life of other people, thereby gaining at first hand an understanding of their customs, traditions, the physical environment, the intellectual ideas and those places of architectural, historic, archaeological or other cultural significance which remain from earlier times. Cultural tourism differs from recreational tourism in that it seeks to gain an understanding or appreciation of the nature of the place being visited.”
(ICOMOS Charter for Cultural Tourism, Draft April 1997 in Csapo, 204)

It is important to note that tourism must not be thought of as disconnected from the process of globalization. In many ways tourism can be regarded as a symptom of globalization. However, what separates the two concepts is the fact that, while cultural globalization as we previously defined it was mainly a consequence of the free flow of information empowered by globalization, tourism as a mass industry on the other hand is enabled by the free flow of people across the globe, also empowered by globalizational processes. This is why the effect of cultural tourism on local cultures closely resembles the effect of cultural globalization. On the one hand, cultural tourism is seen as the facilitator and empowering factor in the preservation of local cultures and cultural characteristics. According to Nataša Urošević, it helps us confirm the importance of our own cultures while improving intercultural communication, respecting other cultures and deepening mutual understanding and solidarity among different ethnic, national, religious and linguistic entities. Furthermore, many local communities are now actively trying to identify and develop their tangible and intangible cultural assets as the means of developing comparative advantage in an increasingly competitive tourism marketplace, and to create local

distinctiveness in the face of globalization (Urošević, 2012, 67-76). Here we can see that, through tourist-host interaction and strategies of establishing competitiveness, local communities develop a reflexive self-awareness of their own culture, heritage and identity. However, even here we can see the crucial problem of cultural tourism regarding local culture, which is the negotiation between establishing an authentic experience while being able to appeal to the tastes and interests of tourists, which can result either in the neglect of local culture or, in an attempt to showcase local culture, in cultural commodification. In relation to the former, according to Angelina Jelinčić, because of the lack of knowledge about the local culture, because of their financial supremacy and stereotypical requests and wishes, tourists often encourage a mass production of products which cannot be characterized as anything else other than kitsch or trash, resulting in the closing down of traditional workshops and crafts (Jelinčić, 2006, 172), resulting similarly in the homogenization of tourist destinations. The commodifying of culture, on the other hand, refers to the transformation of a cultural characteristic into promotable goods and products. As such, culture must become efficient, manageable, reliable, and repeatable (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikainen, 2014, 519). Another way of describing the commodification of culture is by *staged authenticity*, as in the case of an authentic Sami reindeer farm, completely ignoring the reality of reindeer being by nature un-domesticated animals (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikainen, 2014, 523).

When we transpose the problem of authenticity to the linguistic domain, the main point of contention becomes negotiating the conveying of a certain authentic identity by using the national or local language, or language patterns, and conveying the air of accessibility and linguistic competence by using the language of the visitor or, more often, English as a lingua franca, an example of which is the study by Heller et al. (2014) on linguistic commodification in the multilingual tourist sites of francophone Canada, Switzerland, and Catalonia.

Operational Concepts of Linguistic Landscape Theory

Since the first aspect of this paper's empirical research is the content analysis of the linguistic landscape of the city of Pula, this part will deal with the existing theoretical concept of the linguistic landscape theory. The findings of previous studies will be outlined and compared to the results of the present study.

When dealing with linguistic landscape Landry & Bourhis define the notion as: “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (1997, 25). Furthermore, according to Ben-Rafael et al. (2006, 14) linguistic landscape can be defined as referring to any sign announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location (2006, 14). As we have seen, linguistic landscape can be conceptualised in various ways. Because of this vagueness, linguistic landscape is defined not only by its physical aspect of actual signage or by its geographical aspect as a certain territory under linguistic scrutiny, it is also defined, and what is even more important for this paper, by its goal. As such, Landry & Bourhis also define linguistic landscape as the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region (1997, 23). A crucial part of the linguistic landscape theory is its conceptualisation of public space. Public space is not seen simply as a neutral territory but as a form of linguistic and ideological battleground in which, through language use, people promote or oppose various language ideologies. According to Shohamy and Waksman: “as regards public space, *lived* spaces are battlefields of ideological conflicts and tensions. Public space is not neutral, it is rather “a negotiated and contested arena” (2009, 314). As such, this linguistic/ideological conflict can occur between two minority cultures as is the case of linguistic *superdiversity*, occurring when a minority culture encroaches upon a territory or living space of an existing and already established minority (Blommaert, 2013, 4-6). Of course, linguistic landscape research is often carried out in multilingual areas, proving indeed fruitful in the case of the city of Pula. Other than the linguistic clash between two minority cultures or, even more common, the linguistic clash between the dominant and the minority culture, there is another type of linguistic clash. This type of linguistic conflict specifically regards the case of Pula, where we wish to compare private with public signs. This can be described as the *top-down vs bottom up* conflict. Ben-Rafael describes the difference between top-down and bottom-up flows of LL elements as the difference between LL elements used and exhibited by institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local or central policies, and those utilised by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits. The main difference between these two wide categories of LL elements resides in the fact that the former are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies (Ben-Rafael, 2006, 10). As we wish to conduct research in the city of Pula, the bottom up linguistic landscape can, through its use of language, display an oppositional identity to that

of the institutional top-down practice, with an exemplary case being the one about the small seaside tourist town of Dingle in Ireland (Moriarty, 2013). I believe that this concept of identity promotion through linguist landscape rests on three crucial concepts of the linguistic landscape theory. The first one is the concept of *indexicality* (Curtin, 2009, 224). Language contains both literal and implied meaning. Indexicality broadly refers to the implied meaning of language and language use. Through indexicality and through the awareness of the implied meaning of the use of certain languages, creators of signs can project their desired identity via reflexive and targeted language use. A sign can thus be regarded as indexing a certain identity. (Curtin, 2009, 224) The second concept, which is very closely tied to the first one, is the concept of the various functions of language in the linguistic landscape. As such, we must turn to Roman Jakobson, who described several of the functions of language. According to Jakobson, one of the most basic and important functions of language is the *referential* function. Jakobson described the referential function, or alternatively called the “denotative”, “cognitive” function as set toward the referent, orientated towards the context. (1960/1987, 66) We can describe such a function as the most direct function of language, as language use for the simple function of directly conveying objective information. Translated into the context of the paper, it is the form of language use to convey direct and useful information about the bussines, such as the content, type of bussines, etc. Another function is the emotive function, which denotes the emotional factor of a certain message, which Jakobson describes as the function “focused on the addresser, aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about” (1960/1987, 66). Still another function is the phatic function of language, which Jakobson describes as the “messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works (“Hello, do you hear me?”), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention” (1960/1987, 68). As such, the phatic function is an extremely social one. The last useful function for the context of the paper is the poetic function. Jakobson describes this function as the one which focuses on the message for its own sake (1960/1987, 69). This function is most widely used in poetry and commercial slogans (1960/1987, 70), and that is why it is important for the context of this paper. Here we can see that these three functions (phatic, emotive and poetic) can be very easily and usefully combined to give insight into the interconnectedness of the subjective and highly individual, but also the social nature of language. Furthermore, all of these functions focus on something different from the content of the message itself. Later authors have also dealt with functions of language. In his introductory book to sociolinguistics, Trudgill says that “two aspects of language behaviour are very important from a social point of view: first, the function of language in establishing

social relationships; and, second, the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker” (2000, 2). Here we also see that the function of language as not just focusing on denoting direct and useful information but also as a purposeful and conscious tool of conveying information about oneself, about one’s social identity. Finally, we can connect all of the previously mentioned concepts to John Edwards, who usefully organizes functions of language into two main categories when he says that “the essence of the distinction between the communicative and the symbolic functions lies in a differentiation between language in its ordinarily understood sense as an instrumental tool, and language as emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point” (2009, 55). Based primarily on Jakobson and Edwards, this paper uses two functions/terms to analyse the linguistic landscape of Pula: 1) REFERENTIAL, as the function of language focused on conveying direct and useful information, and 2) SYMBOLIC as the function of language focused on conveying certain notions of individual and social identity. When we translate this theoretical grounding to the context of the linguistic landscape of Pula as a tourist destination and possibly globalized town, we see that Marta Galgoczi-Deutsch’s work is useful to further elucidate the matter. According to Galgoczi-Deutsch, the informational function of signs in a tourist setting can refer to any signs which provide any kind of information. The symbolic function on the other hand refers to signage which provides no valuable information other than the establishment of the identity of any entity which the sign pertains to, e.g. the name of an establishment (Galgoczi-Deutsch, 2011). Another instance of symbolic signs are the ones with slogans such as Nike’s *Just do it!*. However, this paper takes a somewhat modified approach. Through the research into the linguistic landscape of the city of Pula it has become evident that, in many cases, it was impossible to define a sign as solely symbolic or informational, with many signs having to be divided into their constituent symbolic and informational parts, an interaction which will prove very important in further analysis. This makes it necessary for us to regard every sign as potentially multifunctional. This in turn brings us to the last theoretical concept, that of *symbolic construction of public space*. When talking of the concept, Ben-Rafael states that identity markers of communities would imprint themselves strongly on the linguistic landscape and finally, that different languages vary in attractiveness to different audiences (Ben-Rafael, 2006, 4). In other words, the individual identity construction, influenced by identity awareness, of every individual member of a community, in turn constructs the shared identity of the community, which can be analysed through linguistic landscape research.

The Case of Istria: Identity and Sociolinguistic Background

From an ethnic and cultural perspective, the history of Istria is a fascinating one. Throughout its history spanning almost 3,000 years, Istria has changed many rulers and regimes. From the Illyrians to the Romans, then the Venetians, the French, from the Austrians to fascist Italy, followed by the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and finally to the contemporary Republic of Croatia. All of these regimes represented not only a new ruler or a new political system, but also new cultures and ideologies, all of which, to various degrees, played a role in forming not only the heritage but also in forming the idea of an Istrian identity and Istria's unique linguistic reality. According to Olga Orlić, all of these regime changes and the migrational processes connected with them, especially the post-war transition from Italian to Yugoslav rule resulted in the creation of a culture in which members of different cultures lived together and coexisted, with differing, most often not overly harmonious relations, thus laying the foundation of the multicultural society of Istria. All of the migrations and demographic changes throughout the history of Istria are taken into account when forming the discourse of Istrian multiculturalism, although the most important and the most pronounced form of coexistence is the one between the Croatian and Italian communities (Orlić, 2008, 50). This last part of Orlić's citation is very important because it in a way signifies the discrepancy between Istrian identity as a politicized project identity and the reality of Istrian identity. An important thing to take into account when dealing with the construction of Istrian identity is the political background of its construction. As a political construct, the concept of Istrian identity emerged as in opposition to centralist nationalising forces during the nineties, with stronger nationalising forces resulting in a stronger regional opposition in Istria. The rhetoric of openness and inclusive multiculturalism in the defining of Istrian identity was thus an active project of constructing an oppositional project identity which would oppose the closed nationalistic identity coming from the centre (Orlić, 2008). However, when analysing the attitudes of the citizens of Istria, this image of Istrian identity as a multicultural identity begins to lose its validity in favour of only two dominant cultures. Rather than through multilingualism and multiculturalism, a true authentic Istrian identity is better described by the notion of bilingualism and biculturalism constructed through the interaction between Croatian and Italian cultures. Istrian identity is perceived as the sole privilege of Croatian and Italian communities, with all other communities being perceived as the cultural Other (Orlić, 2008). Despite the construction of a multicultural Istrian identity, this dual cultural exclusivity is evident also in the definition of Istrianness by the regionalist party IDS:

“Istria is a multicultural and multilingual region. The centuriesold pluriethnic coexistence in Istria has resulted in the creation of an ethnic character which presents itself in Istria’s pluriethnic authenticity. Istrianity is the awareness of the Istrian Slav and Latin population’s common belonging to a shared multicultural Istrian reality. Istrianity is a specific awareness of regional belonging which refers to the processes of identification of the Istrian to a shared territory and historical fate. Istrianity expresses the complex cultural heritage of the Istrian region and its cultural values, which refer to the Istrian-Slavic and Istrian-Venetian culture.” (original source in Croatian, English translation by author)

Furthermore, we can see that in Sujoldžić’s work respondents do not regard the Italian community as a separate minority at all. According to her, both Istrian Croats and Italians mostly consider the minority status of Italians as anomalous and perceive them as indigenous local people who automatically count as Istrians (Sujoldžić, 2009).

When we translate this bicultural coexistence to a linguistic perspective we can see many examples of a superior status of the Italian language, both in legislative cases and in the minds of Istrians. Standard Italian carries a great deal of prestige among the citizens of Istria, greater even than standard Croatian. Especially in the case of Pula, along with standard Italian, the Istrian Italian dialect, the Istrian Croatian dialect, and the Pula vernacular all hold a greater level of symbolic prestige, meaning social solidarity, than Standard Croatian, which is seen as imposed from the centre. Furthermore, the superior status of Italian is also evident in the legislative aspect, which results in a great number of Italian street names (Crljenko, 2008, 81), and, what is even more important, in all official signage being bilingual, given the status of Italian as the second official language in both Istria and also specifically Pula.

METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this paper, two methods were used in conducting empirical research. The first is the analysis of the linguistic landscape of the city of Pula. The research has been conducted in the very centre, namely the two streets and three squares that form a ring around Pula's historic military *Kaštel* fort. The streets are Ulica Sergijevaca, Kandlerova ulica, while the squares are Trg Portarata, Forum and Giardini. These streets have been chosen for analysis because they represent the historic centre and thus the most important part of the city for tourists, but they also represent the centre of Pula's public life with numerous shops, cafes, restaurants, etc, thus being the nexus of both the globalizing and touristic effects on culture. It is important to note that this study analyses only private signs as the language use of public signs is always bilingual (Croatian and Italian), as defined by law. Linguistic features (e.g. languages used) and semiotic features in cases of multilingual signs (e.g. the order of the texts in different languages, the size of the font of the texts in different languages) are also taken into account. The signage was analysed in several ways. The first analysis focused on the signage with regards to their division between the symbolic function and the referential function. It is crucial to note that this distinction between these two functions is not used to differentiate between signs. As it was mentioned in the linguistic landscape chapter, this paper regards signs as multifunctional. As such, one single sign can, through various instances of language use within it, carry out both a symbolic and referential function. An example of this is the sign shown in figure 3., where the name of the restaurant on the sign carries out the symbolic function, while the words PIZZA-PASTA-GRILL carry out the referential function of the sign by presenting the dishes on offer. Consequently, the distinction between the symbolic function and the referential function does not pertain to individual signs, but instead pertains to individual instances of language use which carry out one of the denoted functions within the analysed signs. The second analysis divided the signs by the type of establishments that the signs pertained to. Thanks to a post-season follow-up survey of functioning establishments, the signage was also analysed in regards to the division of signage pertaining to establishment operating solely during the summer season and those that operate all year round.

The second part of the research was conducted in the form of qualitative ethnographic research, using semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Initially, the respondents were to be divided into three groups: 1) establishment owners, 2) employees, 3) citizens of Pula/potential customers. However, during the research only one member of the employees group was available for interviewing. Consequently, as the sole member of the employees group, the respondent proved analytically inconsequential. Furthermore, there was nothing in the respondent's answers that

could be attributed to its status of employee, differing very little from other respondents that belonged to the citizens group. I opted instead to focus on an inter-generational analysis dividing the respondents into age groups: 1) 18-30, 2) 31-55, 3) 56+, resulting in twelve respondents in total (four in the 18-30 group, five in the 31-55 group, three in the 56+ age group). The research employed two sampling methods, the non-probability method to establish a useful inter-generational sample, and the volunteer method. The interview, as we already noted, is a semi-structured interview with follow-up questions after most of the prepared questions. The interview was divided into five areas: 1) Knowledge of English and learning factors, 2) Interest in English and Anglo-American culture, 3) Knowledge and level of language use of other foreign languages, 4) Importance of English language use in professional life and reasons for potential English language use in forming the identity of a business, 5) Attitudes towards the level and effect of anglicization of Pula's public space. Finally, since the research was conducted using semi-structured interviews, the research will not employ quantitative methods of measurement, employing rather individual data and responses as examples or counterexamples for the hypotheses and research areas.

Research Goals and Hypotheses

The aim of this study is to 1) empirically research and analyse the level of anglicization (English language use) and 2) compare it with the attitudes towards English and Anglo-American culture in general. Based on Gradečak-Erdeljić's work on the linguistic landscape of Osijek, which connected a wider cultural globalization of the people of Osijek with the anglicization of Osijek's linguistic landscape (2014), this paper will compare and try to establish if the potential anglicization of the city of Pula is followed by an increased interest in Anglo-American cultural products, with the hypothesis that the people who do or would use English to construct the identity of their business will show a greater level of interest in Anglo-American culture. Through the comparative analysis of permanent and seasonal businesses, we will also find out if the potential anglicization of Pula's centre is a permanent characteristic (which would lead us to conclude that it is part of the permanent identity of the city of Pula), or if it is a symptom of the effect of the tourism industry. Furthermore, through a comparative analysis with other foreign languages in multilingual signs we aim to find out 3) if the use of English is in any way emphasized over other foreign languages. Also, through the analysis of the symbolic and the referential function of signs we aim to study 4) how Pula's private businesses negotiate the aforementioned effects of cultural globalization and tourism, with the first hypothesis being that

the symbolic signage will employ language in a form that promotes the culture and authenticity of Pula and Istria, while referential signs will emphasize the use of foreign languages for communicational purposes. Based on Sujoldžić's work which found that the citizens of Pula more than other Istrians employ a hierarchy of identities in which the local (*Puležan*) identity comes first, followed by Istrian identity (Sujoldžić, 2009, 1340), the aim of this paper is to 5) establish if there is awareness towards a certain identity of the city of Pula and see how people construct that identity, how they define it, especially in comparison to Istrian identity. Through the analysis of linguistic landscape, we aim to establish if the linguistic landscape of Pula denotes an opposition to the top-down linguistic practices that emphasize the use of bilingual signage (Croatian & Italian) as a marker of Istrian identity, comparing the results of the research with the attitudes attained through our interviews. The hypothesis of this paper is that the younger generation will define a more open concept of Pula's identity away from Istrian identity, also showing a more positive attitude towards the potential anglicization of Pula.

RESULTS

Linguistic landscape research

Symbolic vs referential function of signs

In this first analysis of the linguistic landscape of Pula, we can see that three languages clearly dominate the linguistic landscape. The most prominent language used is clearly Croatian with 40% of instances of monolingual symbolic language use. However, the research clearly shows the high level of prestige also awarded to the English language with a third of all instances of monolingual symbolic language use (32,4%). Furthermore, although still far greater than other languages, instances of Italian monolingual symbolic language use can be considered to be quite low (15,3%), especially in relation to instances of Croatian and English language use,

	Symbolic function	Referential function
Croatian	45 (40,5%)	30 (30,3%)
English	36 (32,4%)	32 (32,3%)
Italian	17 (15,3%)	1 (1%)
French	4 (3,6%)	1 (1%)
Spanish	1 (0,9%)	0
Latin	5 (4,5%)	0
Istrian dialect	3 (2,8%)	0
Multilingual	0	35 (35,4%)
TOTAL	111 (52,8%)	99 (47,2%)
	210	

Table 1. The linguistic distribution of symbolic and referential language use

with English having twice as many instances. The next language is Latin with 5 instances of monolingual symbolic language use, or 4,5%, which I believe can be regarded as relatively low, especially when taking into account the importance of Roman architectural and historical

heritage, especially for Pula's tourism industry. After that come French and Spanish with 4 (3,6%) instances and 1 (0,9%) instance respectively. French here can be used as a good example to emphasize the scarcity of Latin symbolic language use, especially when taking into account the far greater importance of ancient Roman heritage and its impact on Pula and comparing it to French which, except for the short period of Bonapartist rule, can be defined as a distant culture. Finally, we come to the last instance of language use, or rather a set of dialects. Except for the aforementioned Spanish, the language which has the least presence in the linguistic landscape of Pula is, interestingly, the set of Istrian dialects (both Croatian and Italian) with only three instances of monolingual symbolic language use (2,8%). Turning to referential language use, interestingly enough, Croatian is not the most prominent language here. With 30 instances (30,3%) it comes just behind English, which is the most prominent language in monolingual referential language use with 32 instances (32,3), I find this result very important and interesting, the reason for which might be twofold. It could be a marker of the overwhelming importance of tourism in Pula's linguistic landscape and as such be used as a touristic *lingua franca*, but such a great use of English could also be perceived as a marker of expected multilingualism and impact of the English language and Anglo-American culture by the citizens of Pula. Another very interesting finding is the astoundingly low presence of Italian monolingual referential language use, which amounts to only one instance. Such a low presence is indeed very interesting when we take into account the *top-down* strategies of retaining the importance of the Italian language by way of bilingual public signs, and what is even more important, when we take into account the promotion of individual Istrian bilingualism. Although no multilingual signs were used for the symbolic function, the presence of multilingual referential language use amounts to 35 instances (33,6%), exactly equalling Croatian language use. A higher level of multilingual signs, of course, falls in line with the linguistic strategies of other tourist destinations around the world. Based on the order of languages on multilingual signs we can conclude that the most prevalent languages are precisely the ones which dominate monolingual language use: i.e. English, Croatian and Italian. Other languages like German, French, Spanish and Russian are also sporadically used, which can be explained again by the status of Pula as a tourist town. Also, according to the order of languages used, the first and thus most prominent language is Croatian. As for the second most prominent language, the matter becomes very interesting. Although English is used several times as the first language in multilingual signs, seven times out of the thirty-five multilingual signs, with several times even appearing in bilingual signs with only Croatian and English, it is actually not the language that most commonly follows Croatian. Interestingly or maybe expectedly

Italian is the language that most frequently follows Croatian in multilingual signs, with nine times appearing in bilingual signs containing solely Croatian and Italian, and nine times following Croatian in multilingual signs with three languages or more for a total of eighteen times being the next language behind Croatian out of thirty-five multilingual signs. However, the importance of English language is evident in some multilingual signs where it is not the second language. This importance is established by way of semiotic strategies, giving the English language a greater degree of visibility as we can see in figure 1 and 2.



Figure 1. Example of the semiotic visibility of English

Permanent vs seasonal businesses

As was expected, the combined instances of symbolic and referential language use of permanent businesses was almost exactly double that of seasonal businesses (144 compared to 65), proving that, despite the great importance of tourism in Pula, the majority of businesses still operate all year round, not only on a seasonal basis.

	Permanent businesses		Seasonal businesses	
	Symbolic function	Referential function	Symbolic function	Referential function
Croatian	33 (37,5%)	26 (41,2%)	11 (37,9%)	4 (11,1%)
English	23 (28,4%)	17 (27%)	13 (44,8%)	15 (41,7%)
Italian	15 (18,5%)	1 (1,6%)	2 (6,9%)	0
French	3 (3,7%)	1 (1,6%)	1 (3,4%)	0
Spanish	1 (1,3%)	0	0	0
Latin	4 (4,9%)	0	1 (3,4%)	0
Istrian dialect	2 (2,5%)	0	1 (3,4%)	0
Multilingual	0	18 (28,6%)	0	17 (47,2%)
TOTAL	81 (56,3%)	63 (43,7%)	29 (41,4%)	36 (58,6%)
	144		65	

Table 2. Distribution of language use between permanent and seasonal businesses

For permanent businesses, Croatian dominates the linguistic landscape with 37,5% of symbolic language use and 41,2% of referential language use. The second most prevalent language is English with 23 instances or 28,4% of symbolic language use and 17 instances or 27% percent of referential language use. For seasonal businesses the situation becomes reversed. Namely, English is the most prominent both for symbolic and referential language use. For symbolic language use, English is only slightly more employed than Croatian with 13 instances compared to 11. However, the real difference in language use is evident when turning to referential

language use, although such a difference should not have been unexpected. English is more than three times as prevalent as Croatian in the referential language use of seasonal businesses. We can see that such a great prevalence is clearly the reason for the slightly greater number of referential English language use evidenced in Table 1. The third most prominent language is Italian with 15 instances or 18,5% percent of symbolic language use, and, as it is shown in table 1, that makes up almost the entirety of the instances of Italian monolingual language use, with only two other instances of Italian monolingual symbolic language use coming from seasonal businesses. Although far less prevalent, a similar situation can be seen with French, which is used only once for seasonal symbolic language use, while the other 3 instances of symbolic language use and the one of referential are used by permanent businesses. Latin is another example of this with four instances being used by permanent businesses and only one by a seasonal business. Also, the Istrian dialects are used more for permanent businesses, although the margin is very small when taking into account that the Istrian dialects are used a total of three times. As far as multilingual signs are concerned, although they clearly dominate in the domain of referential language use by seasonal businesses with 47,2% or 17 instances, we can see also that the distribution of multilingual signs is almost completely even, with multilingual signs employed by permanent businesses being even more prevalent with 18 instances. Part of the reason for this is probably fewer seasonal businesses, which to a degree undermines the importance of this disparity. However, an interesting finding is that 15 out of the 18 permanent multilingual signs are either bilingual (Croatian and Italian) or feature other language with Croatian and Italian being the first and the second language respectively. Lastly, we see another disparity in the distribution of language use between permanent and seasonal businesses. As we can see in Table 2, permanent businesses employ a greater degree of symbolic rather than referential language use, while seasonal tourist aimed businesses employ a greater degree of referential rather than symbolic language use. Although both these disparities aren't stark and quantitatively dramatic, I believe they do point to an interesting finding which affects not only seasonal but also permanent businesses. Namely, through my research I have found that a great number of businesses, especially seasonal tourist-oriented businesses completely omit symbolic language use, employing only referential language use use, as we can see in Figure 2, or stylistically emphasize the referential over the symbolic function as seen in Figure 3. This, however, can also be seen in the signs of permanent businesses (Figure 4).



Figure 2. Example of sole referential language use employment



Figure 3. Example of greater emphasis on referential function in seasonal businesses



Figure 4. Example of greater emphasis on referential function in permanent businesses

Linguistic landscape by type of business

As we can see in table 3, the businesses in which Croatian is the most prevalent language are restaurants, administrative businesses such as accounting and law firms, cafes and pubs, jewellers and opticians, and, interestingly, the one tourist agency which employed a Croatian symbolic language use, but English referential language use. English on the other hand is most prevalent in fashion related businesses, souvenir shops, exchange offices, lodging, and what I, for lack of a better or more suitable term, have termed as alternative shops, i.e. one shop with Asian and Buddhist products, and two seasonal shops which sell local and international spices. From this we can again confirm that tourism has great influence on the anglicization of the linguistic landscape of Pula. However, although this is not prevalent, many other business types use English both for symbolic and referential function. Such businesses where English is widely but not prevalently used are restaurants, cafes and pubs (in which case it is interesting to note one jazz club that uses an Italian name, but through semiotic stylization emphasizes its American identity (Figure 5, the reasons for this will be explained later, in the presentation of the interview results), and galleries and health and wellness-related businesses, in which case it shares the same level of presence as Croatian. Italian is used in four types of businesses, namely fashion-related businesses, restaurants, cafes and pubs, and jewellers and watchmakers. Multilingual signs are prevalently used only in restaurants, mainly because of the multilingual menu signs. Other businesses are exchange offices, souvenir shops, and, interestingly, in administrative businesses. However, all administrative businesses which employ multilingual signs employ the top-down form of bilingual sign (Croatian and Italian).



Figure 5. Italian name, American identity

	Fashion		Restaurant Food		Souvenirs		Admin. Law		Galleries		Cafes Pubs		Lodging		Health Wellness		Jewellers Opticians Watchmakers		Exchange		Alternative shops		Books		Tourist agency	
	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R
Croatian	4	4	10	3	4	1	5	7	3	2	7	1	/	/	4	5	7	6	/	/	/	/	/	1	1	/
English	9	4	4	5	5	11	2	1	2	3	4	3	1	/	4	5	/	1	1	2	2	3	1	/	/	1
Italian	5	/	5	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	4	1	/	/	/	/	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
French	/	/	1	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Spanish	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Latin	/	/	1	/	1	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Istrian dialect	/	/	1	/	1	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Multilingual	/	1	/	14	/	5	/	6	/	1	/	1	/	/	/	2	/	3	/	2	/	/	/		/	/
	18	9	22	21	11	17	8	14	7	6	16	6	1	/	11	12	10	10	1	4	2	3	1	1	1	1

Table 3. Distribution of language use based on business type

Interview results

Knowledge of English

The first part of the interview aimed to determine the respondents' attitudes toward their own perceived level of knowledge of the English language. As such, respondents were free to define their knowledge in any way they wanted, however, the questionnaire did employ the use of several informal categories, just to help with the uniformity of the answers. The categories were: basic knowledge, enough for a short conversation, enough for a longer conversation, and enough to understand Anglo-American cultural and linguistic idiosyncrasies such as slang, etc. Here we see a stark intergenerational divide, and a regression of perceived knowledge as the respondents were placed in older age groups. Out of the four members of the youngest age group (18-30) two of them ranked their knowledge in the top category while the other two ranked their knowledge as enough for a longer conversation, with one of them attending a course in Britain: *"Učila sam engleski u školi, osnovnoj i srednjoj. A osim toga provela sam jedno ljeto tri tjedna u Engleskoj, to je bila neka vrsta ljetne škole engleskog"* (respondent 18-30). However, this should be taken with a grain of salt as one of the respondents later said that they actively seek out Anglo-American cultural products, among which are books and TV-series, so we might conclude they were selling themselves short. Although their responses varied, the second age group overall ranked their knowledge of English language as comparatively lower than the previous age group. Out of the five members of the group, two of them ranked their knowledge as enough for a longer conversation, while the other three ranked their knowledge as enough for a short conversation. The last age group (56<) ranked their knowledge as the lowest among the three age groups. With one ranking their knowledge as enough for a short conversation, and the other two as basic knowledge. As far as business owners are concerned, the ones that have chosen to employ English language in the definition of their identity have shown a varied degree of knowledge with one ranking its knowledge in the top category, the second one ranking it as enough for a longer conversation, and the last one as enough for a shorter conversation. An interesting finding in this part of the interview is the fact that there is an intergenerational agreement that the respondents have learned more during their spare time than through formal education: *"Pa u školi sam naučio, ono, neke osnove forme ali to bi samo uhvatio čisto kroz medije. Znači više kroz medije. Puno više."* (respondent 18-30), *"E sad, ne znam čemu je to razlog, zbog čega ja u školi nisam dobio dovoljno dobre temelje da... Možda nisam slušao, ili nisam bio dovoljno zainteresiran"* (respondent 31-55).

Interest in Anglo-American Culture and English Language

As American culture is widely available in various media today, including the TV, the Internet and radio, a high degree of interest has been as active consumption of Anglo-American cultural products, as opposed to passive consumption by way of TV or radio. As such, through our research very few respondents have expressed an active interest in Anglo-American culture. However, the ones that did are predominantly among the youngest age group. For example, one of the respondents expressed a great interest in the formation of the American culture:

“Pa mislim, za sve imam interes, pogotovo jer ima razlike između engleske i američke kulture. Baš puno razlike. I baš kad se tome pristupa volim vidjet odakle šta polazi, jer ima i različite kulturne utjecaje, u Americi crnci. Mislim općenito, pošto je puno veća sredina, više je, kako bi rekao, imigranata. Pa to je zemlja, mislim ono, koja se temelji na jednakosti svih... imigranata. Barem se temeljila. A u Britaniji koja ima, onako, puno dužu tradiciju i koja puno duže postoji i kolonijalna je sila i nekako ima tu, kako bi rekao, baš je ono epitom kulture. Kolijevka moderne zapadne kulture bi po meni bila Britanija, zato jer uvijek kad čovjek ramzišlja ono o Britaniji uvijek dobiješ neki dojam da je sve to jako fino, jako civilizirano. Takvu su sliku projicirali barem i drže još uvijek koliko toliko.” (respondent 18-30)

Another respondent emphasized the importance of American culture and English language on the media industry and academic interest as the reason for her active interest in Anglo-American culture:

“Pa aktivno. Pa, da. Zato što, mislim, više sadržaja se nudi na engleskom nego na našem jeziku. Najviše što se tiče neke popularne kulture, ali i nekih znanstvenih radova koji su mi potrebni za faks. I najviše te serije što gledam, knjige, i tako. Sve po malo. Znači, najviše nešto što bih vezala uz zabavu, slobodno vrijeme.” (respondent 18-30)

The third respondent, the owner of a café with an English name also expressed an active interest in Anglo-American culture, however was not as specific as the previous two respondents: *“Pa da, većinom. Volim najviše pogledat engleski, filmove s engleskim jezikom.” (respondent 18-30)*, while the last respondents in this age group expressed a low interest or even indifference toward Anglo-American culture:

MM: Kužim. Što se tiče samog interesa, da li aktivno tražiš, recimo filmove baš na engleskom ili da li te baš zanima američka kultura i tako engleska?

I: A ne, to ne. Svejedno, šta dođe. (respondent 18-30)

As far as the youngest age group is concerned it is also interesting to note that some of them use English language in their free time, many times interspersed with Croatian.

I: Pa da, da. I tu smo mi prijatelji. Svi kužimo engleski, svi pričamo engleski. Mislim, engleski razumijemo pa se znamo zezati ponekad, ono. Ubacujemo riječi sigurno neke, ono.

MM: Kužim, znači to ono baš u frazama...

I: Da, u slengu nekom. (respondent 18-30)

The second age group, expressed a less active interest in Anglo-American culture with only one respondent expressing a positive interest in American culture:

I: To dok sam mlađi bio sam samo o tome i razmišljao. Znači, meni su i čarape imale američku zastavu. Znači živio sam u tom američkom stilu. To ja, uvijek sam bio vezan za tu vrstu kulture.

MM: Kužim, kužim. Šta te recimo onako najviše zanima kod američke kulture, koji neki aspekt?

I: Neon life, ono. (respondent 31-55)

It is important to note that the last excerpt was taken from an interview with the owner of the only jazz club in Pula, so the answer should not be too surprising. However, apart from this expression of positive interest, all the other respondents expressed very little to no interest, with one respondent, who interestingly named his business *Poola*, expressed a rather critical and even negative view of the English culture:

A inače moram reći da ja nisam anglo i englezofil, u smislu da, ono, kao neki ljudi koji izuzetno cijene, ili neki ljudi koji dolaze iz tih krajeva. Ja mislim da puno loših stvari, puno zla i u povijesti i još uvijek dolazi od tamo, tako da ne bi na neki način mistificirao te zemlje kao neki princip ili kao neki primjer nečega prema čemu treba stremiti. Mislim, oni su, ono, radili... imperijalizam, kolonizirali i istrebljivali narode cijele, i šta ja znam. Tako da, ne bi se trebali ponositi baš sa svojom poviješću. I dan danas postoje stvari koje su, onako, dosta upitne. Ako razmotriš stvari sam sa sobom i pogledaš činjenicama u oči, vidiš da nešto ne štima. Tako da, to je ustvari dvostruka oštrica. Ali u krajnosti je to sve jedno te isto, dvije krajnosti jedne te iste stvari. (respondent 31-55)

As far as the last age group is concerned, the respondents again, maybe expectedly, showed little active interest in Anglo-American culture, with one interesting exception:

“Pa šta se tiče britanske kulture...volim pogledati, evo sad sam baš pogledala... ove emisije o vrtlarstvu, ali baš britanske. Zanimljiva mi je ta njihova fascinacija sa vrtovima. A sad te kriminalističke, to ne gledam. A američku kulturu ne pratim i iskreno me baš i ne zanima.” (respondents 56<)

Attitude towards the importance of English language as a tool of identity formation

In this part of the interview I have found that the attitudes on the importance of the English language are almost uniform, and as such there is not much discrepancy along generational lines. Consequently, I will be presenting the results of this part of the essay in a more generalized form, focusing and setting apart only the answers of business owners on the reasons behind their use of English or some other language in the formation of their businesses' identity. The first thing we can see is that almost all of the respondents perceive English as a language of global prestige and importance, with many respondents noting its importance specifically in a tourist destination such as Pula.

"Da, naravno. Mislim da je ono, praktički za svaki aspekt života ti treba engleski. Pogotovo sada, u doba globalizacije. Zapravo šta god radiš je poželjno da znaš engleski, a pogotovo u nekim multinacionalnim kompanijama, u turizmu, u znanstvenoj zajednici." (respondent 18-30)

"Pa gledaj, sve što ono, cijela baza podataka i što se bilo koje teme tiče, većina je toga na engleskom jeziku, engleski je ono, internet jezik, neslužbeni. Ali to je jezik kojim se komunicira, i jedna velika većina stanovništva mislim da barata engleskim jezikom, i komunicira. To je, ajmo tako reć', jedan novi esperanto, engleski jezik, tako da, sve što je, ono, u bilo kojem segmentu društva ili društvenih aktivnosti ja mislim da je najveći izvor informacija na engleskom jeziku. I engleski jezik je u biti danas postao, barem ja tako mislim, neizbježan, jer, mislim možeš bez engleskog, naravno, ljudi žive bez toga. Ali ako želiš biti na nekom, recimo na mom poslu, na međunarodnom tržištu, kakvu karijeru, ili ako se želiš maknuti iz, ono, domicilne sredine, u kojoj djeluješ, onda bih rekao da je engleski jezik ono, maltene neizbježan. Nprocjenjiv. Mislim, moraš baratati s njime, i to na nekoj normalnoj razini, da možeš komunicirati s ljudima. A da ne govorim o izvorima informacija, o knjigama koje se pišu na tim jezicima. A i prevode na kraju krajeva knjige koje su na nekim drugim jezicima u originalu pisane, a kasnije se prevode na engleski zbog toga što većina ljudi bolje razumijeva, barata s engleskim." (respondent 31-55)

"Da, pogotovo u turizmu je najvažniji da. Danas svako zna engleski. Koja god nacija, uvijek engleski." (respondent 18-30)

It is also important to note that some of the respondents, again across generational lines, saw this as a symptom of a more general globalizational homogenization.

Da će, na kraju neki meta jezik, da će zavladatai. Pošto je, ono, doba globalizacije, i ovaj, i ne znam, univerzalnosti s te strane, šta ja znam, postoje neke Coca-Cole i McDonaldsi koji su rasprostranjeni, američke ambasade po čitavom svijetu... Tako da ja ono, imam osjećaj da je na jedan način cijeli svijet postao toliko globaliziran da će jedan jezik u biti postati, biti taj koji će, kojim će se pričati. A možda je to i dobro, pa će se svi ljudi bolje razumijevati, nemam pojma. (respondent 31-55)

I have interviewed two business owners who employed English symbolic language. Both gave similar answers, which strays away from the hypothesis that interest in Anglo-American culture would be a factor in shaping the identity of a business, stating that it was more about the interesting nature of the name itself.

“Pa, kao prvo, to mi se činilo onako neki malo, ovaj, ajmo reć' duhoviti pomak. Čini mi se to vizualno-akustični, znači nije ono... Mislim, mi smo iz Pule. Volimo naš grad i Pula nam je nekako prirasla srcu, i željeli bi nekako naglasiti da je to pulska galerija, a opet da ne bude ono dosadno, kao „galerija Pula“, ili „052“, ili tako nešto. A onda smo se dosjetili da bi možda mogli napraviti tu neku dosjetku, neku foru, pa da se ona onako, za naše ljude sa nekim laganim delayem čita. A za neke ljude koji, ono, su sa engleskog govornog područja i koji dobro barataju, oni odmah skontaju. Tako da nam se to činilo možda onako malo neobično, zanimljivo, i u biti da, to je to”
(respondents 31-55)

I: Aha, Cookie?

MM: Da.

I: Prvo, zbog interijera, jer je smeđe-krem. Drugo, zato što mi je fora ime. Treće, pošto sam mislio da će biti ljudima fora ime, a bio sam i u pravu. Izgleda ti, kao kava izgleda ovaj interijer unutra. Smeđe, krem, bijelo, kužiš. Na kraju, kako se kaže, hm, privukao sam pažnju. To, na kraju krajeva, s tim. I onda mi je bilo fora, jer veća im je fora Cookie, nego Kolačić, recimo. Jer ovako kad kolačić, ili keks, ili tako nešto, onda bi ljudi već mislili da imam neki, da prodajem neke kolače, nešto. A ovako je, ne znam, nešto između.

MM: Ono, pola fraza, pola ime.

I: To je to, da. (respondent 18-30)

Of the other business owners, one, the owner of the aforementioned jazz club, regarded the keeping of the existing clientele as more important than establishing a strictly and solely American identity, thus keeping its previous, more local name *Fiorin*. The other owner, who employs no symbolic language use, but employs English as a sole language of information stated that this use of English is not to establish a certain global or modern identity, but rather as information for tourists which she couldn't be bothered to take down after the summer season ended.

Ja: Može. Pa me zato zanima kako to da koristiš u biti većinom engleski...

VI: Jer je baš ovo namijenjeno turistima.

Ja: Aha.

VI: Našim ljudima ne treba. Ono, ne diraj, ne stavljaš na glavu, ne slikaj, ne radi ovo, ne radi ono i tako. Nažalost.

Ja: Kužim. Znači engleski koji je tu ovako, tu je baš iz potrebe da ne bi bilo...

VI: Da, da. (respondent 31-55)

The owner of the last business, which is a restaurant opened before the advent of mass tourism in Pula, employs a chakavian form in naming it *Dva ferala*. The business was named for its proximity to Pula's seafront and main fishing port.

As far as the other respondents are concerned, the responses varied greatly. Despite the previously established importance in the English language, some of the respondents express a low level of importance for English as a tool of identity formation, concentrating more on fitting the context of the business and, as we have seen, the catchiness of the name.

I: Pa, mislim, bilo bi mi prihvatljivo engleski, ali ne znam, sad ne razmišljam o tome. Moguće je da bi i na engleskom bilo, da. Zašto ne. Opet, to ovisi na koju vrstu mušterija bi ciljalo. Recimo, ako bi radila nešto za domaće ljude, onda bi to ipak bio neki naš naziv.

MM: Dobro, a da li bi onda možda rekla da korištenje engleskog jezika kod imidža i promocije samog obrta, da li pomažu uspješnosti tog obrta?

I: A ne znam. Mislim, ja mislim da ne, zapravo. Ne previše, zato što, ne znam, ako neki turist dođe ovdje i vidi na hrvatskom, sigurno će lakše, više će zapamtiti naziv, jer će mu biti čudan i zanimat će se šta to znači, nego da vidi nešto na njegovom jeziku, što će mu možda samo proći ovako, neće ni registrirati. Ovisi, da li recimo taj turist želi nešto što mu je posebno, ili recimo doživjeti tu neku drugu kulturu. U svakom slučaju mislim da se treba opredjeliti za jedno od toga, da se nikada ne može uključiti sve, jer bi se onda izgubio taj neki poseban štih obrta. (respondent 18-30)

Da, pa čak i firme neke koje se bave neznam čime. Mislim da da. Ono svi vole taj ovaj engleski jer misle da će biti prihvaćeniji mada meni to ne djeluje baš tako. Više se probijaš kvalitetom, a ne imenom. (respondent 31-55)

An interesting finding in this part of the questionnaire is also the connection between tourism and the use of English language, giving their answers within the framework of Pula as a tourist city more than within a general globalizing framework. Consequently, many people have said that they would opt for English language and Anglo-American identity if their business were tourist-oriented.

Ja: Evo, recimo ovako, da li bi išao prema hrvatskom ili možda više prema nekom stranom nazivu?

AM: *Prema stranom.*

Ja: *A zašto?*

AM: *Hm... da ga mogu razumijeti stranci i naši. (respondent 31-55)*

“Pa sad zavisi da li je neki obrt koji je orijentiran više prema vani, mislim ako gledam da su turisti ciljana publika. Ako je obrt koji najbolje funkcionira i oslanja se na sezonu, onda će biti nešto što će ustvari, kako bi rekao, rezonirati sa turistima koji dođu ovdje, na engleskom. Nećemo dati ime na talijanskom. Iako standardno je u Istri isto budući da ima dobru vezu sa Italijom, da je takva stvar posrijedi. Ali ovako gledano, gledat ću, ustvari, kombinirat oboje, iako više naglasak, naravno ako ti želiš da ti obrt uspije ne možeš se ti samo oslonit samo na temelju svog osobnog iskustva, mora imati neki hook, mora... to je sad čisto promocije” (respondent 18-30)

Attitudes on the anglicization of the linguistic landscape of Pula

In this part of the interview the aim was to find out how the respondents perceive the anglicization of Pula, i.e. if they have noted a rising level of English language in the public space of Pula. As such we can see that the opinion is quite uniform, with all respondents noting a strong presence of the English language. There are however some interesting findings in this part of the interview. The first is that, despite the divided attitude towards the importance of English as an identity constructor both in tourism and in a general sense, many have ascribed the anglicization of the linguistic landscape, with special focus on symbolic anglicization, to the phenomenon of tourism rather than globalization.

I: Pa dobro, mislim, ne znam da li sam baš obraćao pažnju na te stvari ali mislim da, mislim da da. Pogotovo u zadnjih, šta ja znam, pet godina. Mislim da je to počelo više uzimati maha čisto zato jer se baš počelo više radit baš u smjeru turizma. Mislim imamo primjeru u Uljaniku Burger Place, ono svi nazivi su na engleskom...

MM: A da li ti se onda čini da taj engleski aspekt možda se gubi van sezone? Da li misliš da je to nešto baš tipično sezonu pa se onda malo gubi ili...

I: Da, da, da. Definitivno. Na tome bi se možda i trebalo i radit zato jer onda baš, a mislim neću reć da izgleda licemjerno, ali baš u jednom periodu se totalno preokrene lice grada di stvarno realno turisti određuju kako grad izgleda i kako se grad ponaša. Znaš ono, određuje ritam i poduzeća i manjih obrta i restorana, samom svojom prisutnošću i cijeli je drugačiji mot. Kada prođe sezona, kada turista više nema, mislim skoro pa uopće, mislim ima ali ono tih nekih casual putnika i to, vrati se na onaj neki stari sistem ono, pulski. (respondent 18-30)

I: Pa je, da. Mislim, što više ima turista, što je više razvijen turizam, to je normalno da ima više engleskog. Engleski je prvi jezik koji će se naglasiti u turističkim sadržajima, jer se uvijek nekako smatra da većina ljudi zna engleski jezik, barem malo.

JA: A koji obrti ti ovako, ti se čini da možda više koriste engleski nego nekad?

I: Pa čak mi se čini da, recimo, više ti privatni, mali obrti koriste engleski, jer se žele nekako probiti... (respondent 18-30)

It is not surprising then that the majority of respondents have noted that during the summer season the level of English language use increases. Furthermore, as for the greater visibility and dominance of the English language compared to other foreign languages, opinion was also uniform on the matter, with most respondents confirming that English does enjoy a greater degree of visibility and use compared to other foreign languages.

MM: Aha. A ti se čini možda se engleski baš naglašuje ili se koristi možda, recimo ovako, čak i tokom sezone se koristi nekako jednako sa talijanskim, njemačkim, pošto su oni...

I: Pa mislim da ne, ipak više engleski.

MM: Baš engleski?

I: Da jer mislim, gle, ni svi odavdje ne znaju talijanski. Njemački, hmmm, znaju oni uglavnom koji se bave ugostiteljstvom, najviše. Ili netko tko je radio vani, ali opet mislim da ima, da je to najmanje zastupljen jezik u stvari koji ljudi znaju ovdje. (respondent 31-55)

I: Da ali malo! U Puli malo. U Puli, zato jer u Puli su talijanski i njemački recimo onako jako rašireni. (respondent 18-30)

In this last excerpt, however, we can already see a hint of the second, however scarce, opinion, the one which emphasizes the importance of Italian for the Istrian context. Namely, according to surprisingly few respondents the English language is used on the same level as Italian.

To sad sve ovisi. Baš u Puli vjerojatno engleski i talijanski prevladavaju, jer ima zapravo najviše Talijana, a i talijanska manjina je. A engleski, nekako se računa na to da će svi razumjeti. (respondent 18-30)

The definition of a Pula identity

The aim of this last part of the paper was to ascertain whether the citizens of Pula feel that they belong to a certain characteristic and unique identity, and if they do what constitutes it and how the anglicization of Pula affects this identity. It is important to note that all of the respondents had a sense of a certain identity characteristic to Pula. However, their opinions greatly varied when it came to a definition of what constituted that identity. However, there was one opinion that was shared by all respondents, and that was that Pula's identity is in no way shaped and does not lean towards a national, Croatian identity. Furthermore, it is important to note that this variation cannot be explained along generational lines, as members of different age groups often shared opinions. Interestingly, most of the respondents defined a Pula identity as different from Istrian.

MM: A ti se čini da recimo naginje više prema nacionalnom identitetu, ili možda prema istarskom, ili je ipak neki baš svoj odvojeni identitet?

I: Svoj odvojeni. (respondent 31-55)

“Pa čak nije ni istarskom, a niti nacionalnom. Bože, baš ne. Čudan mi je ovo grad oduvijek bio. Ono kao pa da, malo kao sami za sebe nekako. Mislim podržavaju, sve podržavaju daleko od toga, ali ono ti si dio onog što jesi, ne možeš to promijenit, ali da vole bit drugačiji malo da, to im je nekako ono, šta ja znam, vidljivo.” (respondent 31-55)

Along similar lines some of the respondents saw the expression of an Istrian identity through Italian language and culture, also dismissing the connection between Istrian and Pula identity in that context.

“Moram reć da u Puli to nisam primijetio. Nema toliko patriotizma u tom smislu, čak je Pula u više tom nekom istarskom modu... čak nije ni to! Čak je Pula izdvojena čak i od Istre ponekad. Pul je jedan specifičan entitet na ovim prostorima jer ima Istrijana, hvala bogu, istarska, neću reć pokrajina jer je to neki širi pojam tu spadaju i Medulin i područje oko Vodnjana. Istrijani ovdje, pogotovo u Puli koliko sam ja primijetio, baš oni gorki Istrijani više čak prema Italiji naginju što po meni nije komponenta Pule, ovdje ja nisam na to toliko osjetio. Ja ne naletim ovdje na te, kako bi rekao, žestoke Istrijane. Nema koliko ih ima recimo u Pazinu ono, Poreč, Rovinj. Tamo je malo izraženiji, ali ono, mislim općenito da je to tako klima koja onda automatski, možda čak je to i dobro gledano od turizma zato jer nisu toliko...” (respondent 18-30)

MM: Aha. Znači, misliš da je onda više talijanski više ostao među starijima?

I: Da, da, da. Mislim, talijanski je nestao kako ljudi umiru, stariji. (respondent 31-55)

However, there are some, albeit few respondents who identified a Pula identity with a broader Istrian identity. Again, also across generational lines:

“Pula, to jest Istra, je republika svoja posebna, to je multikulturno dosta, kužiš, tu ima više.” (respondent 18-30).

Ha... zasebni. Pa više to u Puli nema zasebnog identiteta. Pula ono što je bila, bila je vojni grad, industrija. Turizam je jako mlad ovdje. Više to bi trebalo nagingati istarskom ipak nego direktno pulskom. (respondent 55<)

An interesting result of the interview is that many of the respondents, mostly those that perceived the Pula identity as autonomous and unique from all other types of identities, have defined the Pula identity not as a symptom of cultural heritage but as more of a type of mentality, one which is defined by a widespread passivity and indifference.

Pa inertni su. To, ja ne znam, ja Puležane razlikujem od drugih tako da jednostavno ne vode brigu o svom gradu, evo. To, da su inertni i da ih baš briga za sve. To je jedina razlika. A nemaju neki identitet, neki, da su neki da se osjećaju kao Puležani. Ne, ja nikad nisam čula da je netko rekao „Ja sam Puležan. Ja sam ponosan Puležan“, ja to nisam nikad čula. Kao kad netko kaže „Ja sam Purger, i Zagrepčanin“. Znači, tu nema ništa što bi se baš nešto posebno. Istrijan, šta ja znam sad. Ne, ne, nema. Ja nisam to osjetila, sad šta ja znam. (respondent 31-55)

Pa onaj identitet koji ja poznajem je sadržan u mentalitetu ljudi. Mislim općenito ne samo... dobro Pula je specifična baš zbog te multikulturalnosti koja je prisutna jer imaš iz cijele bivše Jugoslavije i nako postoji puno jača stopa tolerancije, a onda gledamo političku opredijeljenost, će uvijek biti negdje prema lijevo. I onda tako ti ustvari izgleda slika Pule, diktira... taj mentalitet ustvari diktira kako će izgledat Pula. Pula, kad gledaš izgled Pula, Pula ima tu neku tradiciju starih rimskih građevina, ali je zapravo jako socijalistički grad. Ima socijalističku vibraciju, ima socijalistički nastrojene ljude koji i dalje imaju taj neki gotovo nesvjesno, pa čak i mladi u generaciji su to preuzeli, ono, od roditelja, a nisu ni svjesni. (respondent 18-30)

Here we can see the last defining aspect of a Pula identity, and that is its perceived multiculturalism, which is often perceived as different from Istrian.

“Da, mislim da da. Mislim da čak niti ne pokušava naglasiti posebno nešto istarsko, nego onako, relativno je za sebe. U Puli je zapravo mješavina ljudi s više područja Hrvatske, ali i stranaca, tako da i to puno utječe. Sviđa mi se zapravo što su se svi ti utjecaji na kraju spojili u jedan poseban identitet.” (respondent 18-30)

“Ma mislim da Pula je uvijek bila poseban grad. Možda i najneobičniji u cijeloj Hrvatskoj. Znači prvo je bila austro-ugarska luka, tu su bile sve nacije. Znači to je grad multietnički. Tu je jako puno kultura pomiješano. Osim toga iz bivše Jugoslavije puno je došlo muslimana ovdje raditi, znači opet je Pula multinacionalna zato što su se opet omiješale druge nacije. Znači uvijek je Pula voljela tu raznolikost.” (respondent 55<)

Interestingly however, there were respondents who, while clearly disconnecting the Pula identity from the Istrian identity, regarded the Italian language as something which defines the Pula identity: *“Pa mislim da ne. Mislim, talijanski sigurno ulazi u kontekst identiteta, jer ima puno Talijana. Da.”* (respondent 18-30)

“Pa naravno da je bliži. Jer, kao prvo, puno Talijana živi u Puli, ili je živjelo, još uvijek postoje talijanske škole, gdje ljudi idu i talijansko stanovništvo nije u njima getoizirano, nego je miksano sa hrvatskim. A na kraju krajeva, ne samo hrvatskim. Jer je Pula jedan grad koji ima puno lica i puno identiteta, i to je, Pula je ajmo reći pristupačna, nije nasilna i nije naciji bila orijentirana nikada. Tako da su, naravno, i onda kroz vrijeme su... kako su Talijani dugo vrijeme bili ovdje, mislim jako dugo, kad su još uvijek ovdje i imaju oni svoju kulturu, svoj tu centar i tako dalje...to se miksalo sve s našim stanovništvom i tako se na neki način tu stvorio neki hibrid koji se protkao u pulski identitet.” (respondent 31-55)

The last interesting piece of information of this interview is that, again across generational lines, with no discerning differences, the respondents have expressed a great degree of openness towards the English language and do not perceive it as an endangering factor but as a factor of further enrichment of the Pula identity.

DISCUSSION

By analyzing the linguistic landscape of Pula we can conclude that English indeed does have a significant effect on the formation of public space in the city. As we can see, both the symbolic and the referential language use hold practically the same percentage with 32,4% and 32,3% respectively. For the symbolic function it is surpassed only by Croatian, while for referential function it can be regarded as the predominant language since it is closely surpassed only by multilingual signs. Such a dominance of English referential language use might be the sign of two things. On the one hand, a sign of the greater effect of cultural globalization and symptomatically the sign of expected multilingualism and impact of the English language and Anglo-American culture on the citizens of Pula. On the other hand, it could be a marker of the overwhelming importance of tourism on Pula's linguistic landscape and as such be used as a touristic lingua franca. As we can see in Table 2, the reason for English being the most prevalent referential language is the extreme monolingual use of the English language by seasonal (tourist focused) businesses. We can see that it is used almost three times as much as Croatian, and only two instances less than multilingual signs, in which it also dominates, at least in seasonal signs, thanks to not only the order of languages but also thanks to stylistic semiotic strategies which give it greater visibility. Furthermore, it is also worth noting at this stage that there are no instances of monolingual Italian referential language use by seasonal businesses. As such, we can see that English is given a dominant status within tourist language use, not only at the expense of the main minority languages but also at the expense of the dominant language. As for the neglected minority languages, another example of such an occurrence can be seen in the aforementioned research of the linguistic landscape of the small Hungarian tourist town of Hodmezovasarhely by Marta Galgoczi-Deutsch in which, to cater to the informational needs of tourists, the town's multilingual signs forego the use of minority language, instead opting to use the most important tourist language, English, after the dominant language, in this case Hungarian. (Galgoczi-Deutsch, 2010). However, in Pula we can see a more extreme version of such an occurrence. Not only is Italian as the main minority language neglected, but also Croatian as the dominant language. As such, implicitly, seasonal businesses isolate their clientele to only tourists, effectively dividing Pula's services, but also the very experience of the city of Pula to the tourist and native experience. Here we can see a partial confirmation of one of this paper's hypotheses. Namely, the hypothesis was that, because of the

dual effect and demands of the tourism industry for both the presentation of authenticity and “making tourists feel at home” (Galgoczi-Deutsch, 2011), the signs which serve a referential function would make use of English and other foreign languages to facilitate communication, while symbolic language use would employ a language in a form that promotes the culture and authenticity of Pula and Istria. Consequently, we can confirm that the sign languages in Pula indeed emphasize the use of English for tourist purposes.

However, what is interesting here is the predominance of the English language for symbolic language use. This occurrence clearly negates the initial hypothesis. Based on English closely rivaling Croatian for the most dominant symbolic language in Pula we can conclude that the citizens of Pula regard the English language as a language of great prestige, enough for a third of local businesses to construct their promotion and identity around it. Furthermore, we can see that this anglicization of the linguistic landscape is a permanent feature of Pula’s linguistic landscape identity, as the majority of English symbolic language use is employed by permanent businesses. Based on this data alone we could make a strong case for the strong homogenizing effect of cultural globalization, or at least cultural americanization, as we have described it earlier in the theoretical section of the paper. However, the results of the interviews present a different conclusion and reason for this high presence of the English language. I believe that when we take the results of all the parts of the interviews and analyse them comparatively, we can come to the conclusion that there is a clear disconnection between the importance and the attitudes towards Anglo-American culture and the importance and the attitudes towards the English language. In other words, as we can see from their answers, all the respondents, regardless of age group, noted a great level of importance of the English language both in the context of globalizational processes and the tourism industry, which is also supported by the fact that almost all of the respondents except for the oldest age group, reported an intermediate to top-level knowledge with understanding of cultural intricacies such as slang. Expectedly, members of the youngest age group reported the highest level of language knowledge. However, this declared importance of the English language is clearly not supported by interest in Anglo-American culture. As was hypothesized, the youngest age group showed the greatest level of interest in Anglo-American culture with three respondents out of the four describing it as an active interest. All the other respondents noted a low or even no interest in Anglo-American culture. This interesting disconnection between language and culture can be seen in the example of the business owner using an English form of the name of the city (*Poola*) which, without research into the reason behind such naming would lead to the conclusion that the

owner wanted to present its business and the city as a whole as one that is modern and globalized. However, as we could see from the answer, the naming was more linguistically focused as a play on words, with no cultural motivation. Furthermore, the owner itself showed a critical if not negative attitude toward Anglo-American culture, directly stating he should not be mistaken for an anglophile. As such, at least for permanent businesses, this high symbolic use of the English language should not be viewed as a homogenizing encroachment of the Anglo-American culture, but as the active and reflexive use of one's cultural capital, in this case the English language, according to the subject's own needs and motivations, which need not be, and as we can see, for the most part are not connected to any cultural motivation. A similar conclusion was proposed by Lepannen and Nikula, according to who the spread of English in Finnish society should not be seen as a one-directional process of English cultural encroachment, but as a process in which English is taken up and used by Finns in a variety of ways, to serve their own purposes (2007, 368). This is further exemplified if we take into account the fact that, of the analysed businesses, only two can be regarded as directly taken from Anglo-American culture: the aforementioned jazz bar, and a pub nearby. Although the pub does employ an English name, the jazz bar does not, opting instead for the Italian *Fiorin*. As we could see, this was done for practical reasons (not to lose the existing clients). We can conclude then that the naming of a business is much more complex than simply connecting a name to a certain culture, a more reliable marker of cultural anglicization or americanization is the importing of cultural products of which in the center of Pula there are only two, which makes sense if we take into account the relatively low level of cultural interest.

We have seen that despite the high level of presence of the English language in the signs of everyday, permanent businesses, there is no valid reason to connect this to a globalizing homogenization process. However, we must look at this high presence of English language also through the tourist perspective. As such, we can see that English dominates the symbolic language use of seasonal businesses. I have previously noted that such a result negates the paper hypothesis that authentic language forms would be employed for individual, identity forming purposes. However, this English prevalence should be interpreted as a marker of a far more interesting and occurrence. As was noted earlier, languages which would be perceived as authentic to Istria are of course Istrian dialectal varieties, Italian, and to some extent Latin as a marker of Pula's ancient Roman heritage. However, Italian was employed only twice by seasonal businesses, while Istrian and Latin only once respectively. Furthermore, referential language use in seasonal businesses is more prevalent than symbolic, which is an interesting

result if we take into account the prime function of cultural tourism as the promotion of authentic local culture and identity. We can interpret such a result as a neglect towards promoting any kind of identity, be it authentic or modern. Instead of promoting a certain authentic identity, through the greater use of referential language, seasonal businesses, and as we have seen to some extent permanent businesses, focus more on conveying the function of their business, the services they provide and the product that they sell. As such it would seem that in Pula the commercial side of tourism, i.e. providing specific tourist products and services, matters more than conveying a certain identity, leading, as one respondents said, to Pula being homogenized to the point of becoming a standard tourist destination, neglecting totally Pula's identity. The results of the interview partly support such a conclusion since many, albeit not all, respondent said they would employ the English language as an identity constructor if their business was focused on tourism, since they believe tourists would respond better to a familiar language and identity. Such a neglect of Pula's cultural heritage is also exemplified in Nataša Urošević's research on the tourism industry in Pula in which "insufficient strategic thinking of the cultural tourism development, insufficient use of resources of cultural heritage and creative industries in tourism" (2012, 73) was cited as one of the important problems of Pula's tourism. As such, if we take into account the previous differentiation of Pula's tourism as being divided between recreational and cultural tourism, it would seem that the cultural aspect of Pula's tourism serves only a supporting role in the overall industry, with recreational tourism which homogenizes destinations taking the main role. Also in connection to Pula being a tourist destination, as we have seen, at 35% multilingual signs represent the highest percentage of signs employed for the referential function. When comparing this result to the work of Grbavac, in which Mostar, with 38% of multilingual signs, was defined as a city with a very high level of multilingualism (2013, 510), we can see that the same definition could apply to the linguistic landscape of Pula. The high presence of multilingual signs is in many studies interpreted as a marker of a city being adapted to the needs of its tourism industry, with the presence of multilingual signs being directly proportional to the preparedness of the city. However, the high presence of multilingual signs in the specific context of Pula should not be connected only to the needs and effects of the tourism industry. As it presented in Table 2, permanent multilingual signs are actually more numerous than seasonal ones, and while a few of them do belong to multilingual restaurant menus designed for the needs of tourists, the majority of permanent multilingual signs actually belong to businesses which have no connection to the tourism industry, pertaining instead to the everyday life of the average citizen of Pula, such as the signs of law offices, administrative and finance businesses, dentists, and jewellers, opticians and

watchmakers. Furthermore, almost all of the permanent signs are either bilingual (Croatian and Italian) or, in the case of restaurant menus, emphasize Croatian and Italian before all other. If we connect that to one of the paper's research questions we would conclude that the citizens of Pula do not oppose the top-down linguistic strategy of official public signage, and consequently define the Pula identity as connected to Istrian identity. As we said earlier, Istrian identity is reflected in its promoted multiculturalism, which in reality comes down to the coexistence of two major cultures, the Italian and the Croatian culture, creating through this coexistence what Pamela Ballinger calls a hybrid Istrian Identity. However, through the results of the interviews we can see that the definition of a Pula identity is far more complex than that. Firstly, we can see that all respondents defined the Pula identity as disconnected from Croatian identity. Following Fulvio Šuran's research, we can still connect the Pula identity to Istrian as both can be perceived along Šuran's concept of "nationally weaker identities", which in the case of Istrianity he defines as an identity which does not belong to any nationalist paradigms or identities, an identity which is constructed through its heterogeneity and pluriethnicity, and can consequently be defined as a pluriidentity. However, although the citizens of Pula do emphasize the mixing of various cultures and multiculturalism as a crucial aspects of the Pula identity, an aspect without which it simply would not exist, we can see that a majority of respondents defined the Pula identity as disconnected from Istrian identity. Furthermore, we can see that the respondent who rejected Istrian identity did, however define the Italian language and the coexistence of Italian and Croatian language as a part of the Pula identity. Taking this into account we can see that the Pula identity is not only nationally weaker, but also more local than that, rejecting the regional identity, interpreting aspects of the regional identity as part of a characteristic reality of life in Pula. As such, the following of top-down practices should not be interpreted as having the same function of promoting an Istrian identity, but as the rethinking of a cultural characteristic as part of Pula's everyday life. Furthermore, with this act of cultural and linguistic appropriation and redefinition in mind, we must conclude that the use of a variant of Istrian dialects for the symbolic function should be regarded as a better linguistic marker of Istrian identity, than Croat and Italian bilingualism, at least in the case of Pula. Since we can see in Table 1 that there are only three instances of Istrian dialect use, we can conclude that such a result is a much better indicator of the disconnection between the citizens of Pula and the Istrian identity. Furthermore, an interesting finding is that many respondents did not define the Pula identity by way of cultural heritage but by way of a certain mentality defined by a certain passivity and indifference, but also sense of opposition to the national centre, which was in a way mentioned before with the concept of "nationally weaker identity". Such a concept of

a Pula identity is tied in with Kalčić's research on the subcultures of the city of Pula which mirrors this specific Pula identity. According to Kalčić, it is difficult to define a notion of a dominant culture within Pula (Kalčić, 2012, 72). Furthermore, the culture of Pula has been, if it ever even has been a part of the Istrian culture and the ethnologically defined regional identity (Kalapoš in Kalčić, 2012, 84-85). Furthermore, according to Kalčić, Pula's historic multiethnic and multicultural *melting-pot* is also enriched by the historic echoes of it being a navy port and by centuries of military mentality. Furthermore, also according to Kalčić, what defines this identity is its secondary geographical position and its recent, practically global urbanity atypical to Istria, Croatia and Yugoslavia. In comparison to other urban centres in Croatia, where pride in its own city is evident, Kalčić defines nihilism, the negation of absolutely everything, even themselves, as specific to Pula ("Ne'am ja pojma svirat, nisam ti ja nikakav gitarist."; "Nisam ti ja neki veliki punker, ja sam ti običan alkoholičar!"; "Ovaj tu pored mene? Ma mrzim ga, ne mogu ga smisliti, a svaki dan smo skupa, radimo skupa i najbolji mi je prijatelj! Tip je zadnja tapija!") (Kalčić, 2012, 73). Taking this long-lasting political, but also mental isolation of a Pula identity into account it is not surprising that the division of the Pula and Istrian identity occurred across generational lines, denying the hypothesis that older generations would define Pula through a traditional Istrian paradigm while younger generations would define the identity as an open identity. Furthermore, since we can see that this open, unique and specific identity is not part of a globalizational process, but rather part of the historic multiculturalism of the city, it is also not surprising that none of the respondents had negative attitudes towards the effect of the English language on the Pula identity, displaying either a neutral attitude believing it had no real effect, or even positive attitude believing it could serve as a factor of enrichment of the Pula identity.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we can see that English indeed does have a significant effect on the shaping of public space in the city of Pula, however, this anglicization should not be thought of as part of a homogenizing effect of the process of cultural globalization or Americanization. Namely, although the youngest age group did show a high degree of interest in Anglo-American culture and cultural products proving one of this paper's hypotheses, the other respondents, who as owners and financially capable clients are mainly responsible for the shaping of the linguistic landscape through business signage, have shown practically no interest or even negative attitudes towards the Anglo-American culture. Consequently, without taking into account the effect of tourism, the anglicization of the linguistic landscape of Pula should in part be regarded as a consequence of the division and separate perception of the Anglo-American culture and the English language, whereby one could hold the English language as a valuable cultural capital while holding a negative attitude towards the culture it stands for. Therefore, the naming of a business should be regarded as an active and reflexive use of one's cultural capital, in this case the English language, according to the subject's own needs and motivations, which need not be, and as we can see, for the most part are not connected to any cultural motivation. However, the effect of tourism clearly must not be understated as we have seen that a great factor in the anglicization of Pula is clearly the tourism industry. However, a more interesting result is the apparent neglect of the promotion of an authentic identity through symbolic language use, concentrating more on commodity and product promotion through the emphasis of referential language use leading to the homogenization of Pula into a standard tourist destination, rather than a unique one. This is evident through the low use of "authentic" language varieties such as the Istrian dialect. However, this low use of Istrian dialectal varieties can be the result of the perceived disconnection between a Pula identity and the Istrian identity and heritage. It can be concluded that the Pula identity can be described as an extremely complex identity. We can see that the Pula identity is not perceived as being part of the Croatian national identity, even opposing it, with the Istrian identity being a similar victim of such a disconnection. The Pula identity can only be defined as an extremely local and insular identity, with the only factors of the Pula identity formation being the shared reality of the everyday life in Pula, excluding outer identificational influences. This insular nature of the Pula identity is evident through the appropriation of the features of the Istrian identity, such as bilingualism of Croatian and Italian, which is taken from the Istrian paradigm and reinterpreted as something

characteristic of Pula. However, Pula's multiculturalism goes beyond these two languages and cultures, and this extreme multiculturalism and the mixing of cultures is regarded as the defining characteristic of the Pula identity, thus creating an extremely interesting case of what I can only define as *insular openness*, which would mean that the citizens of Pula regard only the reality of the life in Pula as a valid identity constructor, however, since multiculturalism is part of that reality it created a mentality which is either active in its cultural acceptance or accepting in its passivity. It is no surprise then that all of the respondents showed a great degree of openness from the perspective of a Pula identity, regarding the English language as a factor of enrichment of identity, thus denying the hypothesis that the younger generation would display a greater degree of openness and acceptance towards the English language. Since the degree of openness in Pula is not defined by cultural interaction characteristic to globalizational processes, but by the reality of everyday life in Pula, it is shared by all respondents across age groups. However, being an extremely complex identity, one that is largely defined by mentality, not cultural heritage as a marketable commodity easily represented by language strategies, we can maybe connect the neglect on identity promotion for tourism purposes as a symptom of such a complexity, however that is something which must be given further analysis and research. Also when offering these conclusions, we must take into account that it was done on an extremely small sample, so the research would profit from another, more comprehensive study. Furthermore, the research on linguistic landscape should be expanded to other parts of Pula, which would provide a more rounded picture of the linguistic landscape situation.

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