

Snapshots of the Balkans through Ethnographic Investigation of the Linguistic Landscape

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This paper investigates the linguistic landscape of Dubrovnik and Kotor on the Southeastern Adriatic coast, and Mytilene in the north Aegean attempting a theorization of its findings at the intersection of (socio)linguistics, ethnography, and semiotics, which has gained ground as the platform of choice in linguistic landscape (LL) research. I argue that the influx of both tourists and refugees, despite the obvious differences between the two groups, has had radical consequences for the LL which have so far attracted virtually no attention in the relevant literature. And yet, tourism and the arrival of new populations have considerable and lasting effects on the LL which can only be adequately investigated by systematic ethnographic studies of the semiotic means employed in inscribing it. Nevertheless, ethnography, as a methodological sociolinguistic tool, cannot substitute or supersede cognitive aspects of language. If doing LL research means doing semiotic landscape research, then we also have to consider semiosis and higher-order indexicality qua categorization. I understand ethnographic LL research as contributing to a better comprehension of the dynamic indexical relation between language and physical space (turned into place through human agency). Just as a certain accent and particular morphosyntactic choices may index the place of origin of a speaker, a specific LL may index populations and their socioeconomic relations at a certain historical moment. Focusing on these dynamic indexical relations may have far-reaching consequences for superdiversity as a way of making sense of language-in-society.

KEYWORDS Linguistic landscape (LL), ethnography, Balkans, tourism, refugees

Introduction

By focusing on the linguistic landscape (LL) of Dubrovnik and Kotor, and Mytilene, this pa-

per attempts a theorization of its findings at the intersection of (socio)linguistics, ethnography, and semiotics (cf. Canakis 2012, 2014, in press, forthcoming a, b; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016) – a merger which has gained ground as the platform of choice in second wave LL research (Blommaert & Maly 2014; Blommaert 2016; Stroud & Jegels 2014; Kitis & Milani 2015; Stampoulidis 2016). Specifically, the focus is on the LL of Dubrovnik and Kotor, two traditional tourist destinations on the Adriatic, which have been significantly transformed due to the influx of recreational, thematic, and business tourism, and on the LL of Mytilene as it has developed over the last decade both due to the reciprocated tourist flux from Turkey (as opposed to simply towards it) and, more recently, due to the refugee crisis.

My argument is that the influx of tourists and refugees, despite the obvious differences between the two groups, has had remarkable consequences for the LL. And yet, reasonable as it may appear to co-examine the effects of tourism and refugee fluxes in the LL in tandem, it has so far attracted no attention, to the best of my knowledge, despite a long-standing interest in the effects of tourism (cf. Torkington 2009), migration (cf. Lin 2003), and humanitarian crises (cf. Knight 2015; Kitis & Milani 2015; Stampoulidis 2016) in the LL around the world. To begin with, both tourists and refugees characteristically inscribe their presence in the LL in –obvious and non-obvious but often indelible– ways, despite the transient character of many of the relevant signs. This presence may be registered in the form of ‘more’ or ‘new languages’ (or, more precisely, alphabets –as it takes special knowledge to tell apart, e.g. written Arabic, Farsi, (Pakistani) Urdu, Pashto or, indeed, Ottoman Turkish) as well as through acts of direct and indirect reference in previously available linguistic varieties. Be that as it may, tourism and the arrival of new populations have considerable and lasting effects on the LL that can only be investigated adequately by systematic ethnographic studies of the semiotic means employed in inscribing it.

In this work, I focus on data collected over a period spanning more than ten years (July 2006 to October 2016). In the first section, I embark on a brief discussion of methodological and theoretical issues pertaining to LL research. In the second section, I focus on the case studies, devoting a subsection to each. The last section features conclusions on theoretical issues, predominantly on the relevance of the LL as a locus of ethnographic research for the *in situ* investigation of higher-order indexicality (Silverstein 2003; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016; Canakis forthcoming a).

On theory, methodology, and data: How space becomes place through human agency

LLs are formed, among other things, by discourses currently circulating in (and about) certain spaces. These spaces become *places* via human agency and subjectivity –the defining

characteristic of agency. In turn, these places are embodied and may well be inscribed and, of course, contested (cf. Lefebvre 1991; Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Yannakopoulos & Giannitsiotis 2010). As people occupy space and turn it into place, aspects of the discourses they produce find their way on walls in the form of written signs and eventually come to stand in an *indexical relation* (cf. Jakobson 1990; Fillmore 1975; Silverstein 1976, 2003; Caton 1987; Hanks 1990; Ochs 1990, 1992; Duranti 1997, 2003; Canakis 2007) to the places in which they were created and the place which they had an active role in constructing at a certain historical moment (Canakis 2012, 2014, in press, forthcoming a, b). Higher-order indexicality (Silverstein 2003) is dependent on categorization in a dynamic give-and-take (Canakis forthcoming a), which justifies the time-honored view of language as the most complex semiotic system available, and is in dialogue with both the structuralist and the anthropological tradition still informing current work in linguistics as a discipline.

Although research on LLs has sustained an interest in issues of bilingualism and multilingualism in public space, with a special focus on linguistic diversity and vitality (Spolsky & Cooper 1991; Landry & Bourhis 1997; Gorter 2006; the contributions in Shohamy & Gorter 2009 and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni 2010; Grbavac 2013; Canakis 2014), there is a growing interest in more experimental approaches dealing with the symbolic (cf. Shohamy & Waksman 2009; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016). At the same time, as LL research is coming of age, the focus shifts towards largely ‘monolingual’ urban spaces (Canakis 2012, 2014, in press, forthcoming b; Grbavac 2013; Papen 2012), in an effort to show the usefulness of LL in investigating aspects of public discourse –social and cultural beliefs on current issues. According to Grbavac (2013: 501), ‘linguistic landscape research can lead to various conclusions about speech community and its social and political implications, about prevailing cultural beliefs; it mirrors different social issues.’ More recent work has taken this ethnographic perspective still further (Blommaert & Maly 2014; Stroud & Jegels 2014; Blommaert & De Fina 2015; Kitis & Milani 2015; Blommaert 2016) to such an extent that specialists in the field have started talking of ‘second wave LL research’. This point is also made in the recently launched journal *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* (Barni & Bagna 2015; Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015). According to Blommaert & Maly,

[while] earlier quantitative LL research yielded useful indicative ‘catalogues’ of areal multilingualism, it failed to explain how the presence of the presence and distribution of languages could be connected with populations and communities and the relationship between them, or with the patterns of social interaction in which people engage in the particular space. (Blommaert & Maly 2014: 3)

This position can be meaningfully related to Shohamy’s argument that

[o]ver the years it became clear that LL is grounded in a number of diverse disci-

plines which focus on multiple dimensions of public spaces; these include: sociology, law, language policy, language learning, tourism, geography, psychology, economics and architecture, to name just several of a longer list. (Shohamy 2015: 153)

Shohamy & Waksman (2009: 316) claim that ‘the broad repertoire of LL text types as situated in the public space can be conceptualized within the discourses of existing human culture [and] as such they are part of meaning construction that serves various social functions and is subject to various discourse forces.’ The LLs focused upon here will be the ‘ecological arenas’ (Shohamy & Waksman 2009) in which we shall investigate immigration and tourism. The data have been collected at various intervals between 2006 and 2016, a time span which is crucial as it covers significant changes in all polities under investigation.

The data consists primarily of photographic material of LL ‘signs’, understood as ‘any piece of written text within a spatially defined frame’ (Backhaus 2007: 66), and the variables to be examined include –among other things– the date on which the sign was photographed; the area surveyed; whether it is a government or a private sign; the type of establishment where it appears; the type of sign and the type of discourse in urban space; the number of languages on the sign and their order of appearance; the font and size of the text; visibility of the sign and mobility of the text carrier; number of scripts and their relative order of appearance (cf. Grbavac 2013: 506). Such details will be shown to be of interest in the appropriation of public space by LL agents.

The innovative aspects of this project are that:

1. it investigates aspects of the LL in urban spaces which are not generally thought of as multilingual (cf. Landry & Bourhis 1997 on the bilingual experience in Canada)
2. it does so with a focus on citizenship and its interplay with dominant discourses on ethnicity and nationhood as they emerge in view of tourism and forced migration flows, and
3. it envisages a dialogue between the latest developments in sociolinguistic LL research and social scientific work on citizenship in the Balkans.

Snapshots of the Balkan LL Dubrovnik

Conducting research on the LL in Dubrovnik since 2006, means –inadvertently– chronicling the stabilization of a relatively recent national Croatian state in what is an old-world city. All the more so, since Dubrovnik epitomizes Croatia as the indisputable epicenter of tourism on the Eastern Adriatic since the 1960s, while also being emblematic of the *domovinski rat*, ‘the homeland war’, during which the city was sieged (1991-1992) and damaged by Serbian

and Montenegrin JNA forces. Moreover, recent accession to the EU (as its 28th member, since 1 July 2013) has reshuffled the cards of Croatian identity, coinciding as it did with a flailing local economy –despite a thriving tourist industry– and a global crisis which has brought new war refugees at its borders, less than two decades since the influx of ethnic Croatian refugees from ex-Yugoslav lands.

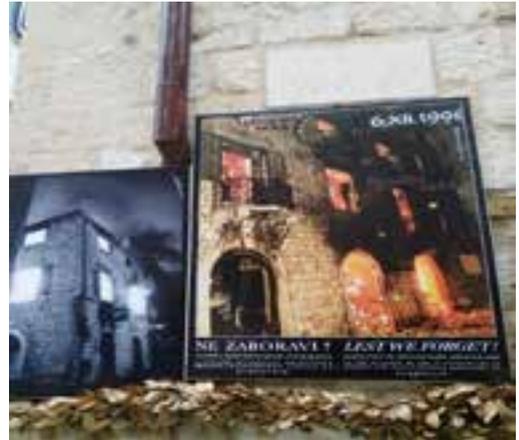
In the midst of these new affordances and limitations, Dubrovnik finds itself in a balancing act between novelty and tradition, always clinging proudly to the achievements of the Republic of Ragusa and Croatia's *antemurale christianitatis* status, underscored as it has been by an obvious enhancement of religious feeling since Independence (as is the case with other Republics of former Yugoslavia, cf. Lampe 1996; Ramet 1996). At the same time, Dubrovnik, as many other urban centers in the area, is a border town and its ties with towns such as Trebinje, Neum, Mostar (in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Herceg Novi, Kotor, and Budva (in Montenegro) are obviously implicated in its livelihood. For although clearly the destination *par excellence* on the Eastern Adriatic, it is still marketing itself given its advantageous position to the aforementioned tourist attractions outside of Croatia, as it is geographically isolated from the capital and the rest of the country.¹

Tourism is not news for Dubrovnik –and neither are refugees. And yet, tourists are no longer mostly Western or Central Europeans and refugees are not ethnic Croats from other parts of the country or neighboring Yugoslav Republics. Indeed, citizenship in Croatia has seen significant transformations since the 1990s (Štiks 2006, 2100; Ragazzi & Štiks 2009; Ragazzi & Balalovska 2011; Shaw & Štiks 2013)— and all of this has found its way on city walls, directly or indirectly.

Identity and heritage issues loom big in Croatia, where the *domovinski rat* 'homeland war', has shaped the lives of its citizens as it did in most other Yugoslav Republics. Dubrovnik, as a martyred town bombarded and besieged for nearly two years, capitalizes on this, putting up official signs documenting the destruction of Stari Grad monuments (see Pictures 1-3 and Picture 4 for a semiotically loaded message in Latin), marketing videos of the siege in 1991, issuing exhortations that people should not forget (Picture 2-3), putting up larger-than-life billboards expressing allegiance to local 'war-heroes' (Picture 5-6), publicly displaying military equipment (cf. Pictures 7-8 where the earlier picture bears no plaque), and using a variety of other semiotic means, such as renaming streets (e.g. former *Dalmatinska* currently *Kardinala Stepinca*) and making heavy use of the national flag (cf. Picture 5).



Picture 1: Bombed sites during siege



Picture 2: 'Don't forget!'



Picture 3: 'Don't forget!'



Picture 4: Commemorative plaque in Latin



Picture 5: '[A. Gotovina] Dubrovnik is with you'



Picture 6: Pro Gotovina billboard on Čilipi route



Picture 7: Port of Gruž, Dubrovnik 2008



Picture 8: Port of Gruž, Dubrovnik 2016

And yet, as much as such items may underscore the hard feelings harbored towards neighbors, one should bear in mind that all of the Southern Croatian Litoral is a border area given its very narrow width, which is why the attractions of Dubrovnik include at least parts of Montenegro Bosnia and Herzegovina (cf. Pictures 9-10). Therefore, heritage and identity constitute hard currency here and monuments and heritage sites, 'a key mechanism in defining community, ethnic or national identity and re-inscribing the [...] landscape' (Marschall 2004: 95), are hard to miss in Dubrovnik. The LL in Dubrovnik testifies against one reading of Rivera's (2008: 613) claims that Croatia 'has omitted the war from representations of national history,' although her claim that 'the state has managed Croatia's "difficult" recent past through covering and cultural reframing rather than public acknowledgement' can hardly be countered. This state of affairs, however, is not surprising given the representation of Croatia as 'victim' favored by a succession of state officials (Kearns 1996; Razsa & Lindstrom 2004; Jovic 2011).



Picture 9: Stari Grad Dubrovnik



Picture 10: Stari Grad Dubrovnik

Appropriating and successfully marketing the illustrious Ragusan past, Dubrovnik, whose modern history has been shaped by tourism, war, and (more) tourism, has emerged as a deft player in a balancing act between tradition and modernity, as poignantly illustrated by the recent appropriation of fixtures of popular culture, such as *Game of Thrones* (Pictures 11-12) and *Star Wars* (Pictures 11, 13-14), since they were partly shot on location in Stari Grad.² The LL of the Old Town and surrounding areas dutifully records this process over time while offering a mediated view of its present.



Picture 11: Pile Gate Dubrovnik



Picture 12: Stari Grad Dubrovnik



Picture 13: Filming *Star Wars*, Stradun, courtesy of Srećko Kržić (March 2016)



Picture 14: Filming *Star Wars*, Stradun, courtesy of Srećko Kržić (March 2016)

Concentrating on the LL of Dubrovnik for over a decade, the abundant signage in many major European languages –signage whose density indexes a significantly larger city– emerges among the most important features of the local LL. One may be tempted by such ubiquitous signs as SOBE, ZIMMER, ROOMS³ (Picture 15) to think that ‘the order of (linguistic) things’ is accurately documented in signs featuring Croatian, German, English, often followed by Italian and, more rarely, French (cf. Picture 16, where French precedes English but is misspelled).

However, a more careful look shows that this state of affairs is more representative of the hey-day of Dubrovnik as a purveyor of holidays to Mitteleuropa in the 1960s and 1970s than it is today, with English occupying first or second place (Picture 17), when it does not stand alone (Picture 18). Another traditional local designation along with *SOBE* 'rooms', i.e. *APARTMAN* 'apartment' (Picture 19), is also very common, as it appears on a sign distributed by the local tourist authorities. More recent signs have expanded their repertoire to cover a variety of European (and non-European) languages as in the administrative sign (Picture 20), where the order of choice is Croatian, English, German, Italian, French, Spanish, (faulty) Russian, Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian (although commercial signs, as in (Picture 21), may favor a somewhat different order).



Picture 15: Dubrovnik, Lapad



Picture 16: Dubrovnik, Lapad



Picture 17: Dubrovnik, Boninovo



Picture 18: Dubrovnik, Stradun



Picture 19: Dubrovnik, Montovjerna



Picture 20: Dubrovnik, Stari Grad, City Walls



Picture 21: Stradun



Picture 22: Lapad Promenade

This point is amply documented in the LL of *Stari Grad*, the Old City, and Lapad, a popular part of town offering easy access to organized beach facilities. First, and most tellingly, in restaurant menus – restauranteurs being, apparently, the quickest to react to changes in the tourist industry, the staple of the town’s economy in modern times. For instance, as soon as a Turkish development company undertook to rebuild a hotel destroyed during the siege on the city in the 1991-1992, and Turkish Airlines starting flying directly from Istanbul, some menus on *Stradun*, Stari Grad’s promenade, started featuring Turkish; and they started featuring Greek too as soon as Cypriot visitors became more visible as passengers on the cruise boats and Croatia Airlines and Aegean Airlines connected Athens and Dubrovnik with direct flights for the first time since Yugoslav times.

A notable change in the LL occurred when Dubrovnik became a favorite with Russian

tourists, after 2008 (Picture 22), which is of special interest to us, as presence of the Cyrillic alphabet in Croatia is semiotically tricky for, despite its differences from it, Russian Cyrillic readily alludes to Serbian Cyrillic, which has been a point of bitter controversy during Yugoslav times (Bugarski 1997: 46-50; Greenberg 2004: 42; Canakis 2011: 21) and is now virtually extinct in this part of Croatia. Script in the former Yugoslav has been a confessional matter (cf. Bugarski 2012: 227), interwoven with (then) ethnic (and now) national and local identity. This is a fact that has to be co-estimated with the notable shift from digraphia to a progressively Cyrillic-only policy in Serbia and Republika Srpska (cf. Bugarski 1997, 2012; Radović 2013; Ivković 2015).

Road signage is another point to consider. Since independence in 1991 (a process which can be traced at least as far back as the Croatian Spring in the 1970s), Croatian administration has systematically favored a purist language (Bugarski 1983: 66; 2001: 84; 2004a, 2004b), known in and out of the country as *novohrvatski* 'new Croatian' or (*hrvatski*) *novogovor* '(Croatian) newspeak' (Greenberg 2004: 48-50; Alexander 2006: 415; but cf. Grčević 2002: 151, quoted in Rice 2010: 35, for a different view). Since common words such as 'airport' have changed, this is often manifested in road signage; e.g. the former Serbo-Croat internationalism *aerodrom* (still in use in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina and of course still in the mouths of most Croats) is now officially *zračna luka* (a translation loan, literally 'air port'; Picture 23). However, characteristic as such instances may be of the Croatian LL, there are other elements that give the local LL its flavor. Brown background is not only used for sights, as it does in all of ex-Yugoslavia and other parts of Europe, but hotels too. Moreover, hotel signs are to be found side by side with regular road signage (Picture 24), thereby indexing that the city officially considers tourism its major industry.



Picture 23: Dubrovnik, Boninovo



Picture 24: Dubrovnik, Gruž

Appropriation of heritage is especially obvious in Stari Grad, where mediaeval-style hanging banner-signs, put up by the city, advertise both monuments (Picture 25) and businesses (Pictures 26-27). Croatian is the language of choice on these banners, probably since the Italianate terms used in Dubrovački, the local dialect, render recognition of the intended message rather easy, e.g. in Picture 27, where *Konoba* 'tavern' is followed by the name which is *in se* croaticized Italian, *Lokanda Peskarija* (cf. it. *Locanda Pescaria*), the loan is more obvious in writing than it would have been when spoken, as locals adapt Italian loans to Croatian stress and tone patterns (cf. [lókanda peskárija]).



Picture 25: Dubrovnik, Stradun



Picture 26: Dubrovnik, Stradun



Picture 27: Dubrovnik, Stari Grad



Picture 28: Dubrovnik, Onofrio's fountain

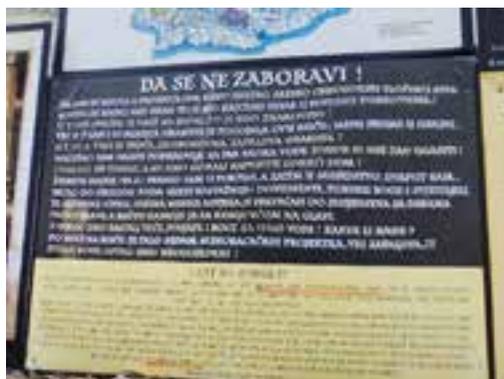
Probably the most striking aspect of the LL, is the appropriation of *glagoljica*, the Glagolitic alphabet (cf. Appendix I), as the Croatian ‘national script’ (cf. Greenberg 2004: 41-42 and Brozović 1995: 29 quoted therein). Glagolitic is the oldest known Slavic alphabet, the earliest version of Cyrillic and reached the Croatian coast several centuries after having been introduced to Bulgaria and other Slavic speaking territories. Therefore, while it is accurate that *glagoljica* is the oldest Croatian script, it is doubtful that a case can be made for it as a ‘national’ Croatian script.⁴ This testifies to both the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm 1983) and the extensive commodification of heritage (Marschall 2004) that characterizes Dubrovnik and encompasses other semiotic means –ranging from frequent use of the coats of arms and flag of the Republic of Ragusa (a version of which bears the Latin logo *LIBERTAS*), marketing of the necktie (*kravata*) as a ‘traditional’ Croatian garment, the promotion of *linđo* music, and *karaka* tourist boats to the (very same) man in ‘traditional’ (read: Renaissance Ragusan) costume who has been standing year in year out at Onofrio’s Fountain since 2006 (Picture 28).

The ubiquitous presence of the Croatian flag (also known as *sahovnica* ‘chessboard’, due to its red and white checkered coat of arms) is an element of the Croatian semiotic landscape visitors cannot fail to register. It is also worth noting that the new flag bears a controversial coat of arms, drawing its origins from the period of NDH (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* ‘Independent State of Croatia’ between 1941 and 1945), Pavelić’s quisling state during the Nazi occupation. The very mention –howsoever inaccurate– of the term *Independent* as a modifier of *Croatia* during that period has certainly played a role in the adoption of this, otherwise semiotically lethal, coat of arms for the ‘thousand-year-old dream’ of an independent Croatian State (and to put things right, this is certainly not an idea shared exclusively by foreigners). The best proof I can think of in support of the point that Croats are ambivalent about (the omnipresence of) their flag, is the work of a Croatian artist in a European contest for ‘Europe 2020’ posters, which I saw in an exhibition Athens in 2008. The poster was provocatively titled ‘Croatia: Still untouched by modern dentistry’⁵ and featured a mouth with bad teeth, in red and white, unmistakably alluding to the national flag.

Last, graffitied slogans and other signs with explicit or implicit nationalist content –which often pertained to the tense relations with Serbia until the recent past (cf. Pictures 1-4, 30) are also hard to miss and are probably of the same order with use of the national flag. In 2006-2007 the public waste bins on the promenade connecting Lapad beach to Babin Kuk bore the inscription *Srbi su zli* ‘Serbs are evil’ (cf. Picture 29), whereas a larger than life picture of Ante Gotovina and the inscription *Dubrovnik je s tobom* ‘Dubrovnik is with you’, along with large Ragusan and Croatian insignia in the background, is still among the last things you see on your way to Čilipi airport (Pictures 5-6). My understanding of the semiotic state of affairs in Dubrovnik is that it is striving to balance the local, the national, and the commercially cosmopolitan in its LL, a balancing act that is anything but incommensurate with the manifest diversity of local sensibilities.



Picture 29: Lapad-Babin Kuk promenade



Picture 30: Dubrovnik, Stari Grad

With realty prices in Stari Grad allegedly going for approx. 9,000-10,000 per square meter as early as 2009 and four and five star hotels having almost completely replaced more affordable accommodation, Dubrovnik self-consciously caters to upmarket tourism. It is no surprise that locals were worried about the consequences of the recent refugee crisis: specifically, the possibility of people straying off the ‘Balkan route’ (cf. Papataxiarchis 2016c), towards the west and the Adriatic, on their way to Central Europe. The experience of the screeching halt in the tourist industry experienced during the siege in 1991-1992 (Wise 2011; Wise & Mulec 2012), despite the publicity and profit from unavoidable ‘dark tourism’ (Lisle 2000, 2007), make locals justifiably weary at a time of heightened financial insecurity in Europe.

Kotor

If Dubrovnik capitalizes on the experience of war, the coastal town of Kotor –some 90 Km to the South, in neighboring Montenegro– virtually unscathed as it is by the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, has emerged dynamically as a favorite tourist destination in the last decade, capitalizing not only on a diverse heritage (cf. Hall 2003), but also on ‘green’ and ‘eco-tourism’ (Vitic & Ringer 2008),⁶ while also aggressively marketing its coast as an elite, indeed a glamorous, destination (Vujačić (2013).

The latter development has gone hand in hand with the influx of Russian tourists and capital, leaving an indelible imprint on Montenegro’s coastal LL. Cyrillic script has had rather limited currency in recent Montenegrin history, even in Yugoslav times – despite the official status of South Slavic Cyrillic along with Latin (Greenberg 2004: 41-42) – especially on the coast, around Boka Kotorska, where a catholic population presumably feels closer to the Latin alphabet, as a non-referential indexical relation between them is afforded by the confessional character of choice of alphabet in all of ex-Yugoslavia (Bugarski 2012: 227).

If sociopolitical and economic developments are crucial in understanding any LL in historical perspective (cf. Blommaert & Maly 2014), the LL of Kotor has to be considered vis-à-vis the postwar situation in ex-Yugoslav lands (Bieber 2003), and its recent independence (in June 2006), while co-estimating its traditional status as a major affordable holiday destination for Yugoslavs from the landlocked Republics (as local tourism has been the seasonal staple of Montenegrin economy along with livestock farming), especially when compared to the steeper prices in neighboring Croatia. Its present status as a (still affordable) holiday destination on the Adriatic –even though catering to megastars like Madonna, who are nowadays more likely to veer south of Dubrovnik– and the influx of Russian capital have had the fastest effect on the LL, regardless of the permanence/transience and the mobility/fixedness of these signs.

For anyone who visited the area for the first time in 2006 –less than two months after the declaration of Independence and just after USAID started pouring in, has kept on returning on a regular basis since then, and last visited in April 2016– the change of the Montenegrin Litoral is radical, making places like Budva hardly recognizable (cf. Pictures 31-32). For the change in the physical landscape of the area has had a direct impact on the LL. These changes range from the construction of Montenegro’s busiest International Airport, and one of the fastest growing ones in the region, in Tivat (cf. Pictures 33-34) to a glamorously reconstructed entry point at the Albanian border in 2010, high rise buildings in coastal and hinterland urban areas, and they are the result of an unprecedented boom in real estate transactions which brought the country the biggest foreign investment per capita in Europe as of 2008 (Werner 2013: 46).



Picture 31: Budva, September 2006



Picture 32: Budva 2010



Picture 33: Tivat Airport



Picture 34: Tivat Airport

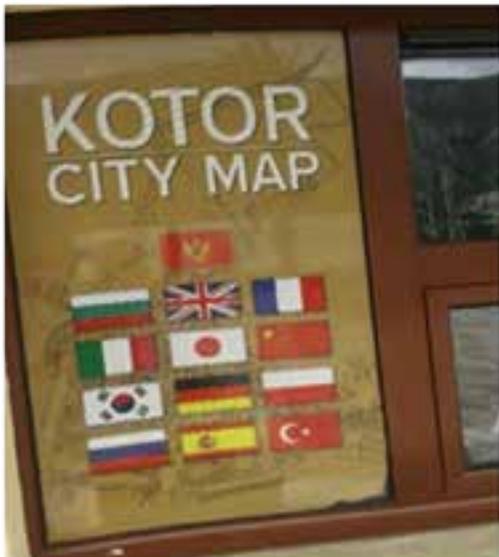
These developments are inscribed in commercial and official signs in the LL of Kotor and Boka Kotorska. The presence of Russian at Tivat airport, for instance, is not limited to the holiday industry since, as soon as passengers reach the conveyor belt for their luggage (Pictures 35-37) they can see billboards and pick up leaflets providing information on travel as well as real estate development in Montenegrin, Russian, and English, (often advertising building 'legalization' services). The ubiquitous monolingual LL signs in Russian may hurt local sensibilities, but as research in other tourist destinations suggests (Torkington 2013: 85), tensions between local identity and highly visible foreign presence due to tourism are balanced in favor of the welcome income entailed by such visibility. This is certainly key to the synchronic study of the surprisingly diverse LL in Boka Kotorska (as semiotically indexed by Picture 38) –and even more so in nearby Budva. Considering these factors while focusing on LL tokens in the area is a prerequisite for an ethnographic approach. And indeed, looking at LL material collected between July 2006 and April 2016 one can document the significant sociopolitical and economic changes in the area (cf. Džankić 2010, 2011).



Picture 35: Tivat Airport, baggage claim area



Picture 36: Tivat Airport, baggage claim area



Picture 37: Tivat Airport, baggage claim area



Picture 38: Stari Grad Kotor

We will limit ourselves to a few more examples. In (Picture 39), the smaller sign on the lower part, *IZDAJE SE SOBA (može po krevetu za radnike) sa upotrebom kuhjine, internet, TV [...]* advertises a room specifying that it '(may be rented by the bed for workers) with use of kitchen' and other amenities, could have been seen in central Kotor even in Yugoslav times, as seasonal workers in tourist destinations are no novelty. However, the bigger sign in capitals on the upper part reads *RADIM MAGISTARSKE, DIPLOMSKE, SEMINARSKE I PRAKTIČNE RADOVE ZA STUDENTE EKONOMIJE, UDG, MENADŽMENTA, FPN-a, TURIZMA [...]* 'I do MA theses, BA, Seminar and Practice theses for students of Economics, UDG [University of Donja Gorica], Management, FPN [Faculty of Political Science], Tourism [...]', one of many tokens of the same

ad in central Kotor in April 2016 (cf. Picture 40), presupposes an increased demand for higher education, and puts Kotor on a par with other urban European centers, where MAs are often required as proof of higher education and are often written by a booming, albeit infamous, industry of paid professionals.



Picture 39: Kotor, City Center



Picture 40: Kotor, City Center

On the other hand, local identity issues remain and may even suffice *in se* in accounting for LL tokens. For instance, the use of the three extra characters of the once proposed –but never officially accepted– ‘Montenegrin’ alphabet (Greenberg 2000: 639; 2004: 91, 103-104), illustrates this point (and puts knowledge of and about the language of the area investigated in sharp relief): recent independence of an ex-Yugoslav Republic which has been traditionally a satellite of Serbia, a population often referred to as *Serbs* and a language typically called *Serbian* until the (very) recent past are at work here. Montenegrin identity is certainly not a creation of the first decade of the 21st century, as there has been a state of Montenegro long before it ever formed part of Yugoslavia.⁷ And yet, current tokens of Montenegrin identity formation are part and parcel of the procedures that led to (and followed) the demise of Yugoslavia –and, significantly, a response to the staunch state-promoted nationalism of its stronger neighbors: Croatia and Serbia. After all, the construction of ‘identity often involves introspection [...] a look into the past, an inspection and discovery of the Self, in order to determine who we are and where we come from’ (Marschall 2004: 95).

Montenegro’s small size and its position, wedged as it is between Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia, make it a border state. Therefore, an investigation of the LL of any area in Montenegro should take into consideration scholarly work on borders, physical and figurative (cf. Green 2005, 2012a, 2012b) and the special conditions this position

creates for everyday life and the public space it is lived in. To live in Kotor, especially when employed in the tourist industry, means to be in close contact –often on a daily basis for a good part of the year– with the Dubrovnik area in Croatia, the Trebinje and Mostar area in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Ulcinj/Ulqin area by the Albanian border, which has a majority Albanian population. Moreover, locals and visitors may take daytrips to *Skadar* ‘Shkodër’, in Albania, ‘for shopping’ (Picture 41), Međugorje, in Croatia, for pilgrimage, and Mostar and Trebinje, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to name just a few places (see Canakis in press). After all, local travel agents, much like their Croatian colleagues in Dubrovnik, sell packages for nearby destinations outside of Montenegro as part of the advantages afforded by a visit to Boka Kotorska. Moreover, populations in ex-Yugoslavia being anything but geographically defined, the presence of other communities is also marked in the LL, as in (Picture 42), where the upper marble plaque at the left-hand entrance of Kotor’s cathedral reads ‘In memory of the First Croatian King, Tomislav, 925-1925 (sic), The Croats of the City of Kotor’. Still, while distances are short, differences among these destinations are anything but negligible; they are both registered in the collective imaginary and put in relief in the respective contemporary LLs.



Picture 41: Kotor, City Center



Picture 42: Stari Grad Kotor

Another point which is nicely illustrated in the LL of Kotor is the political economy of signage. In the old city, Stari Grad, the historical center, bilingual signs abound and the same is true of surrounding areas just outside the city walls. And yet, a more careful look reveals that use of, e.g. English or Montenegrin only (cf. Pictures 38, 45), the order in which two or more languages appear (cf. Pictures 43-44, 46-47), or font size (cf. Picture 43, 46 vs. 44) are significant in identifying the population the sign is primarily targeting –and this despite the well documented symbolic use of English and other major languages in the world’s LL. For instance, Picture 43, shot inside a relatively new shopping mall, where English precedes Montenegrin, indicates that the expected clientele is foreign rather than local. Picture 44, shot at the Mall’s

parking lot, features a reverse order plus Russian as a third language; however, the first thing one reads, and in a larger font at that, is *Shopping Center Kamelija*, which identifies the type of business in English and its appellation as an internationalism which is transparent to most people who can read the Latin alphabet, although ostensibly written in Montenegrin (cf. *Ca-mellia* vs. *Kamelija*).



Picture 43: Kotor, Shopping Center Kamelija



Picture 44: Kotor, Shopping Center Kamelija

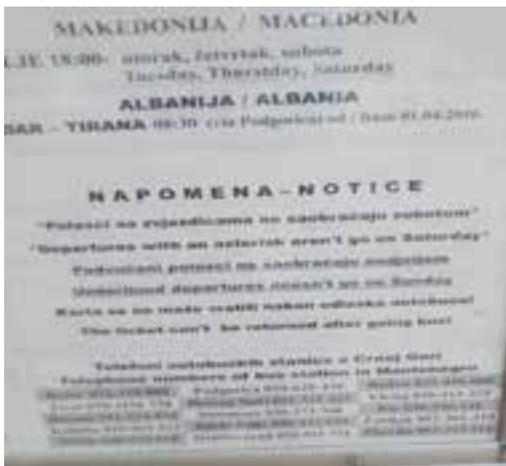
On the contrary, in Pictures 45-47 we see administrative signs targeting primarily (if not exclusively) locals. In Picture 45, shot at Kotor's bus central station, people are warned that it is 'necessary to buy a ticket at the counter' only in Montenegrin, and only in Pictures 46-47 do we find English as a second language. In the former, English appears after Montenegrin in an ordinary pointer about where one should board the bus, and in the latter in a notice regarding international travel. The assumption is that only locals need to be warned about ticket sales policy, presumably because it is not uncommon for other buses in the area to have a ticket collector. And yet, this is only part of the educated assumptions one may make: in view of commercial signs such as in Picture 48, exclusively in English and clearly intended for tourists only, it is safe to assume that local bus transport is not primarily targeting foreigners, given a significant number of businesses dealing exclusively with foreign visitors. On a different note, given the pace of development in the area, it is also safe to assume that it will not be long before the bus station is itself gentrified and I would be then surprised to see anything but consistently bilingual administrative signs.



Picture 45: Kotor Central Bus Station



Picture 46: Kotor Central Bus Station



Picture 47: Kotor Central Bus Station



Picture 48: Kotor, City Center

In a similar vein, in Picture 49 a bakery and burek shop is advertised in Montenegrin only and the same is true of the shoe store advertising 'really low prices' (Picture 50). In the former, the multimodal commercial sign chooses to address locals in Montenegrin and everyone else through the image of bakery goods. In the latter, the sign elaborates and lets the clientele know of a 'pay for 2 get 3 [pairs]' offer. Significantly, and in contrast to many other stores in the area, it does not expect foreign clientele or local clientele with a taste for exclusive foot-

wear (actually abounding in its immediate vicinity). And yet, the shop sign uses linguistic and non-linguistic means, such as the Italian name *UNO* superimposed on an Italian flag, to attract prospective customers for whom Italian shoes spell out prestige (even if what they are most likely to buy is manufactured locally).



Picture 49: Kotor, City Center



Picture 50: Stari Grad Kotor

Indeed, even signs for cultural and leisure services seem to respect the largely implicit local/foreign divide, so well-known to locals in Southern European resort towns. In Picture 51 we have an advertisement for a (nowadays cross-border) day trip to nearby Trebinje in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a performance, or a screening of *The Great Gatsby*; whereas in picture 52 the local Culture Club advertises screenings of American and Italian classics, as 'films for all times', only in Montenegro. Indeed, the screenings are free of charge and are to be held in *Kino Boka*, which is spelt in Latin script on the poster, yet chooses to advertise itself only in Cyrillic (Picture 53).



Picture 51: Stari Grad Kotor



Picture 52: Stari Grad Kotor

It may be that, since this is the program for April, still a cold month and hardly the beginning of the season, a monolingual sign is justified. And yet, since this is not an isolated sign, it is probably a safe guess that the Culture Club does not intend this as a service to everyone. After all, the same Culture Club has another poster out in the same area, advertising a variety of events (exhibitions, concerts, performances, film screenings, literary evenings, etc.) for the month of April (Picture 54), again only in Montenegrin.



Picture 53: Stari Grad Kotor



Picture 54: Kotor, City Center

These and many other examples from the LL of Kotor show that, as many other tourist destinations in the wider area, it is caught in a balancing act between the local and the global, being increasingly dependent on an international population for its livelihood while still only ten years away from national independence.

Mytilene

Greek LL has received virtually no attention before the onset of the economic crisis (Kitis 2011; Canakis 2012; Zaimakis 2013; Knight 2015; Kitis & Milani 2015; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić 2016; Stampoulidis 2016). Although it is not uncommon for LL research to focus on social strife and resistance as aspects of changing notions of citizenship (cf. Tsitselikis 2006), this tendency is likely to overlook mainstays of the urban Greek LL, such as the ubiquitous presence of the Latin alphabet and English as its most frequent carrier (cf. Canakis 2014), or the notable peculiarities of cities such as Komotini, in Thrace, whose Muslim Greek population documents its presence in the LL (cf. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) on Israel) and areas, such as Chalkidiki, which have become major vacation hubs for speakers of BCMS⁸ and Macedonian (cf. Torkington (2009) on English in the Algarve). Moreover, despite the recent emergence of Lesvos in world news due to the humanitarian crisis which broke out after the war in Syria and led to an unprecedented visibility (Papataxiarchis 2016a, 2016b), nothing is known about its diverse LL.

Mytilene, the capital of Lesvos and administrative seat of the North Aegean district, is a border town with a population of approximately 27.500 (based on the 2011 census). It has been among the first locations in the country to have experienced industrialization, boasts an international airport, and has been the seat of the University of the Aegean since 1984. Its proximity to Turkey has resulted in regular boat service to Ayvalık, which, over the last few years, has been used not only by Greeks to cross over to Turkey but also by a steadily growing number of Turkish tourists, following a bilateral agreement which has significantly decreased the fee for a Schengen visa. Its proximity to the Turkish coast, in actual and symbolic terms, has, in turn, been the main reason why refugees from the Middle East and Asia have opted for Mytilene as the entry point par excellence. Mytilene, whose border town status has been established at least since the treaty of Lausanne and the exchange of populations in 1923, has reestablished close ties with coastal towns across the sea, notably Ayvalık, at the turn of the new millennium (cf. Green 2010 for an examination of political, economic and, social relations).

Having had the opportunity to observe the LL of Mytilene closely since 2000 has been instructive in how language in public space is, unavoidably, interdependent with actuality; notably with major sociopolitical and economic issues, trends, and stakes. As Blommaert & Maly put it, in their defense of ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis (ELLA) as a way of

historicizing LL research, features of the sociolinguistic situation ‘can be read off literacy artefacts’ (2014: 2). In fact, LL research ‘can detect and interpret social change and transformation on several scale-levels, from the very rapid and immediate to the very slow and gradual ones, all gathered in a “synchronic” space’ (Ibid.: 2). What is more, and needs to be stressed here as it relates to all LL research, is that entrenchment of LL types (and even tokens), given time and high frequency, come to stand in an indexical relation to the place they are found in (cf. Canakis 2012, 2014).

Diversity is not a novelty in the LL of Mytilene, which is regularly punctuated by political slogans, often directly indexing its large student population and the advocacy groups they participate in. Administrative and commercial signage, characteristically in the Greek and Latin alphabets, has been visible ever since my first visit in 2000. However, there have been notable changes since 2008. The reradicalization of Greek society,⁹ Greek youth in particular, after the killing of adolescent Alexandros Grigoropoulos by police in December 2008 in Athens, and subsequent resistance against inefficient austerity measures following the economic collapse in 2010 have given new momentum to the part of the population most ravaged by dire prospects for the future: ‘the young’. It goes without saying that, joblessness being no news to Greek youth even in the pre-crisis era, such LL tokens hardly constitute a novelty. What is new, then, is i) the frequent appearance of radical slogans relating to issues of (mostly non-heteronormative) gender and sexuality alongside progressively vociferous protests signs regarding a variety of other issues; ii) the burgeoning presence of Turkish in commercial signage, a result of more favorable terms for travelling in the EU for Turkish citizens; and iii) the ubiquitous presence, since summer 2015, of administrative and commercial signs in the Arabic script.

The intensification of public debate on LGBTQ rights, a concomitant of deliberations on thorny issues such as marriage and cohabitation agreements for same-sex couples in the EU and in the Greek parliament as well as intensified violence against LGBTQ-identified people since 2010 in Greece, has resulted in an interesting development: although anti-LGBTQ signs in the Greek LL are uncommon, there has been a proliferation of signs targeting intolerance –homophobia and transphobia in particular– most likely in response to intolerant discourses circulated through the media and the press. I.e., sexed-signs (cf. Milani 2014) in the Greek context are crucially intertwined with citizenship (Canakis 2012; Milani 2015) and claims for non-precarious citizenship (Butler 2009).

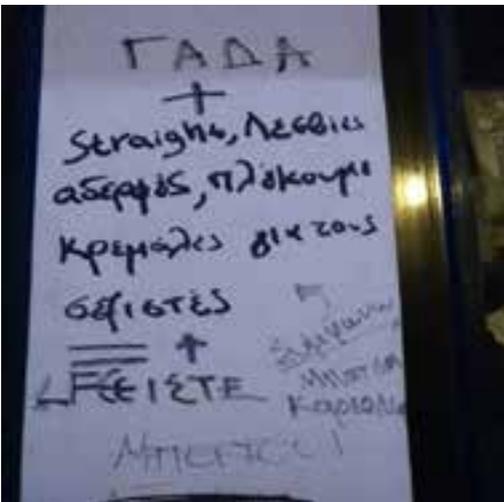
Despite its distance from major urban centers, Mytilene is not lagging behind, as the local LL features both locally produced messages (Pictures 55, 57, 59-60) as well as a variety of stenciled graffitied messages or stickers appearing in other places, such as Athens (Canakis 2012, forthcoming b), at the exact same time (Pictures 56, 58). I find locally produced and disseminated signs, such as those by *Omada Emfilou Mitilinis* ‘Mytilene Gender Group’ (cf. Pictures 55, 59), most interesting for, although they are demonstrably in synch with wider developments in large urban centers, they are still independent and informed by local concerns and events.



Picture 55: Mytilene, 'Bimbos, sluts, and blondes, are chasing sexists'



Picture 56: Mytilene, 'I won't be afraid'



Picture 57: Mytilene



Picture 58: Mytilene



Picture 59: Mytilene, University Campus



Picture 60: Mytilene, University Campus

Progressively larger numbers of Turkish visitors have had the consequence of gradual yet conspicuous presence of Turkish in Mytilene (Pictures 61-63, 67-72). A presence all but erased since the end of Ottoman rule on Lesvos in 1912, due to Greek nationalist language policies. In fact, Turkish is not only to be found along Greek or/and English (Pictures 62-62, 68, 70-72, 76-78) but, nowadays, it is even possible to find Turkish-only commercial signs obviously put up by local business (Pictures 61, 67, 69). In Picture 61, *dondurma*, Turkish for 'ice-cream', is almost erased, but i) the name of the business spelled in Turkish fashion (cf. *Maskotiça* vs. e.g. *Maskotitsa*), ii) the prestige index *1976 dan ber* 'since 1976', and iii) names of various local delicacies in Turkish indicate that the owners are targeting the Turkish market (uncannily, in a way that reminds Greek travellers to Ayvalık, 'on the other side', of the many specialty food stores advertising their fare in Greek –often exclusively in Greek). Once inside the store, one finds ice cream tubs bearing a sign in which Greek, English, and Turkish appear in this order (cf. Picture 62, *ρόδι, pomegranate, nar*).



Picture 61: Ice-cream store



Picture 62: Ice-cream store

But there are also less obvious –and in my opinion more interesting– manifestations of the presence of Turkish visitors which go beyond this (or Picture 64) and whose interpretation calls for inferential procedures. The sign reading *SMOKED TURKEY*, right above a platter of cold cuts in a hotel breakfast buffet in town (Picture 64), is such a sign. Note that the sign is placed right above one of two platters of cold cuts (the one to its left being a platter of ham). As a regular visitor of this hotel since 2014, I know the sign first appeared after Spring 2016, when Turkish but also Arab and other foreign visitors had already become a significant part of the hotel's clientele.



Picture 63: Hotel breakfast table



Picture 64: Hotel breakfast table

It is significant that, unless we reason like this, the *smoked turkey* sign makes no sense since it is the only foodstuff that bears a name tag. Things are different in Picture 63, where the owners of this family-run hotel proudly advertise the apples they offer at breakfast as organic produce, in which Turkish as a third language suggests itself given the specific *chronotope* (Blommaert & De Fina 2015). Last, the sign over the smoked turkey plate along with the one on organic apples is part of the same setting; placed just a couple of feet apart– it connects Turkish visitors and the Turkish language with other populations and languages: Arab and non-Arab Muslims who came to Lesvos as immigrants or refugees during 2015-2016 and a significant number of other foreigners who arrived on a variety of missions as a result of this and who spoke primarily English. Therefore, a set of pictures in a small central Hotel is also an indirect index of the interplay of tourism with forced immigration –and the reason why a quantitative, only superficially contextualized approach to the LL, can hardly be said to exploit the full potential of the LL (cf. Blommaert & Maly 2014: 3).



Picture 65: Mytilene, Social Security, Headquarters (IKA) - Arabic on a sign



Picture 66: Mytilene, Refugee welcome center



Picture 71: Car rental agency



Picture 72: Damas, closed since August 2016



Picture 73: Damas, advertising its fare in Arabic



Picture 74: Bus tickets from Athens to Idomeni



Picture 75: Graffiti in Arabic script



Picture 76: Multilingual store signs

However, looking at commercial signage carefully, we may notice another telling detail in the LL of Mytilene: while Greek, English, and Turkish figure prominently in souvenir and specialty food stores (cf. Picture 77), we have yet to find such a store advertising its fare in Arabic. This is understandable, since speakers of Arabic in Mytilene hardly qualify as a major population targeted by the tourist industry. On the other hand, Arabic was indeed common, and with good reason, in fast food restaurants and the several mini markets which opened – and thrived– during the period of the refugee crisis and sold canned and fresh food as well as socks, caps, gloves, underwear, etc. Nevertheless, it has progressively disappeared from such businesses (Picture 78) since summer 2016.



Picture 77: Souvenir shop advertisement



Picture 78: Mini market advertisement billboards

Tourism and the refugee crisis may have superficially similar effect on the LL, but the LL tokens they occasion do not have the same trajectories. Tourism, immigration, and the refugee experience as forms of dislocation and border-crossing have occupied social scientists and led to lines of inquiry that are worth exploiting in LL research. Rösler (2016), for instance, investigating tourism and refugees from the viewpoint of the cultural geographer, writes about tourists, making special reference to ‘destination weddings’ and refugees on islands such as Lesbos and Kos. Concentrating on the destination-wedding industry on Kos and the glamorous videos shot on these happy occasions, he notices that

[t]here is one thing missing from the videos [...]. These videos lack any indication of the thousands of arriving refugees who make the dangerous nighttime journey from Turkey, attempting to cross Europe. It is as if these visitors exist in a parallel world with far less champagne and dancing. They, now, command the beaches by night while, by day, weddings go on uninterrupted. (2016: 10)

Talking of Lesvos, Rösler remarks that

the mechanisms that made the island appealing for refugees have also shaped its popularity with tourists; two groups having much in common no matter their circumstances. [...] [And yet], as violent confrontations between locals and refugees attest, the two groups are not always seen as similar, nor are they treated the same. They are subject to different rules and welcomes, making their experiences very different as well (ibid: 13).

In this section, I have tried to show how the presence of refugees and tourists is also differentially inscribed in the LL. If mobility *qua* border-crossing and travel-bookings are a common denominator, what differentiates the two groups is much more poignant. In the case of Lesvos, the opportunity presented by the refugees (and the NGOs) may have been god-sent for the travel industry during crisis, and yet the swift establishment of Arabic (script) in the LL was almost as swiftly erased –for, while there is more and more talk of a ‘sustainable’ tourist industry, one has yet to come up with the concept of ‘sustainable’ refugee fluxes. Therefore, the perceived similarities of tourists and refugees vis-à-vis mobility are just as superficial as is their impact on the LL.

Conclusions

In this paper, I approached the LL of three Balkan coastal towns: Dubrovnik in Croatia, Kotor in Montenegro, and Mytilene in Greece, while highlighting the importance of the long term involvement afforded by an ethnographic approach which characteristically yields fine-grained and historicized results. I have theorized my findings at the intersection of sociolinguistics, ethnography, and semiotics, which has gained ground as the platform of choice in second wave LL research, and I have argued that the influx of tourists and refugees, despite obvious differences between the two groups, has had radical consequences for the LL which can be adequately investigated by systematic ethnographic study of the semiotic means employed in inscribing it.

Tourism is a driving force in the LLs of all three locations examined. Yet, while all three are border towns (functionally, if not strictly geographically), only in the LL of Mytilene do we find evidence of refugee presence. This is not to say that Dubrovnik and Kotor lack such populations, but those are predominantly BCMS-speaking people who were relocated after the latest war in ex-Yugoslavia, while both areas remain largely unaffected by the current refugee fluxes. The importance of a historicized ethnographic perspective –a periodization and historicization of the LL– lies in identifying precisely these common and diverging trajectories while

drawing on extralinguistic information as a resource in sociolinguistic scholarship. In order to approach these three LLs sensibly, one needs to focus on a (succession of) chronotope(s) and position oneself with respect to it.

And yet ethnography, as a methodological sociolinguistic tool, cannot substitute or supersede cognitive aspects of language. If doing LL research means doing semiotic landscape research, then we also have to consider semiosis and indexicality *qua* categorization (keeping in mind that categorization, itself, rests on categorical perception; cf. Stjernfelt 1992). The kind of indexicality which interests us here is 'higher order indexicality'. Silverstein defines indexical order as 'the concept necessary to showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon' (2003: 193) and claims that

[a]n illuminating indexical analysis [...] has to take account of the dialectical plentitude of indexicality in microcontextual realtime, and has to situate itself with respect to the duplex quality of language use, always already both 'pragmatic', i.e. presuppositionally/entailingly indexical, and metapragmatic, i.e., in particular, ideologically informed (ibid: 227).

I understand the merits of ethnographic LL research as contributing to a better comprehension of the indexical relation between language and physical space (turned into place through human agency). Just as a certain accent and particular morphosyntactic choices may index the place of origin of a speaker, a specific LL may index populations and their socio-economic relations. This, in turn, has consequences for the sociolinguistics of superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton 2011) as a way of making sense of language-in-society.

Last, my own positioning vis-à-vis these three LLs is not the same. I have had a long lasting relationship with Mytilene (from 2000 to the present) and was a permanent resident there for over five years (2001-2006). Dubrovnik is the place I know best compared to Kotor; and knowledge of the local variety of Croatian (and a network of social relations with locals since 2006) grants me a kind of access in Dubrovnik that I have to try harder to achieve in Kotor. Therefore, my positioning in each case conditions my categorization and inferences as well as the indexical relations I perceive. This positioning has specific (yet not always obvious) advantages and disadvantages, including as it does the very chronotope in which I conduct my research –in itself, both an empowering and a limiting factor.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to Vassiliki Galani-Moutafi for her help with bibliographical information.

NOTES

1 Indeed, to reach Dubrovnik by car from the north, one still has to go through an 8km stretch of Bosnia and Herzegovina before reentering Croatian territory. To this effect, a bridge (Pelješki most) which will, eventually, connect the Pelješac Peninsula and the Croatian mainland, avoiding the Neum Corridor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been under construction since 2007. Construction was, however, halted in 2012.

2 For Star Wars shootings in Dubrovnik see,

https://www.google.gr/search?q=Dubrovnik+Star+Wars&espv=2&biw=1517&bih=708&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi1jOnkb_PAhWIShQKHe-NBSYQsAQI-GQ&dpr=0.9. For a telling advertisement of Dubrovnik *qua* King's Landing, see <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/maps-and-graphics/game-of-thrones-filming-locations-guide/>. The following excerpts deserve attention for our purposes:

For Game of Thrones fans, Dubrovnik is King's Landing, capital of Westeros, and its constant presence since series two has only heightened the appeal of a city that already creaks under the weight of tourist numbers. There are recognisable locations galore in the heart of the crowded Old City, including St Dominika Street, used for numerous market scenes, Stradun, along which Cersei Lannister takes her walk of penance, Minceta Tower, the highest point in Dubrovnik, and Fort St. Lawrence. [...]

A couple of sights in Croatia combined to create this great city - including Dubrovnik's Minčeta Tower (that's the House of the Undying) and the gardens of Lokrum Island. [...]

Other key Croatian sites include Diocletian's Palace in Split, which becomes the former slave city of Meereen, Trogir, which appears as Qarth, "greatest city that ever was or will be", and Kastel Gomilica, otherwise known as Braavos.

For a complete guide to visiting Dubrovnik, see [telegraph.co.uk/dubrovnikguide](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/dubrovnikguide)

3 This slogan has inspired self-deprecating portrayals of Croats and Dubrovčani in particular, as time honored holiday purveyors to ex-Yugoslavia, Mitteleuropa --and, more recently, far beyond; cf. the recent pop song of the same title <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pv1FkUFFJ5c> (last accessed 30 September 2106) by the Montenegrin group *Who See*, as well as a painting by Dubrovnik artist Ivona Vlašić. Such (arte)facts manifest an awareness on the part of the locals that is, unfortunately, often lost on visitors.

4 Cf. <https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glagoljica> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glagolitic_alphabet (last accessed September 30, 2016).

5 Apparently alluding to the impertinently irreverent faux travel-guide book *Molvanîa: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry* (2004).

6 Since June 2008, foreign cars entering Montenegro are required to pay a new green tax and acquire a stamp at a cost of 10 euro.

7 A variety of 19th and 20th century buildings owned by foreign embassies in the old capital of Cetinje, testify to this.

8 This acronym stands for “Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian” and corresponds to what many linguists still call *Serbo-Croatian* or (in ex-Yugoslav contexts) *Croato-Serbian* (Canakis 2011).

9 This radicalization process is to be understood as polar, for while the majority of the Greek public was progressively moving towards “the left” (as evidenced by the latest parliamentary elections) it also gave an unprecedented percentage of its vote to the extreme right *Xrisí Avgí*, a party catering to the brand of xenophobic nationalism (cf. Sotiris 2015) which has by now become a staple of European political life and has effectively crossed the Atlantic.

10 Although the presence of immigrants and refugees goes further back. According to Trumbetta (2012: 21), these newcomers have been a part of the everyday experience of locals on Lesvos since 2008-2009.

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APPENDIX I: The Glagolitic alphabet <http://www.omniglot.com/writing/glagolitic.htm>

Ⲁⲁ	ⲂⲃⲄ	ⲅⲆⲇ	ⲈⲉⲆ	ⲇⲈⲉ	Ⲋⲋ	ⲌⲍⲎ
ⲀⲁⲂ	ⲂⲃⲄⲅⲆ	ⲅⲆⲇⲈⲉ	ⲈⲉⲆⲇⲈⲉⲆ	ⲇⲈⲉⲆⲇⲈ	ⲊⲋⲌⲍ	ⲎⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓ
Azъ	Buky	Věst	Glagol	Dobro	Jestъ	Zivite
A	B	B	Г	Д	Є/Є/Є	Ж
[a]	[b]	[v]	[g]	[d]	[c]	[ʒ]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ⲓⲔ	ⲕⲌⲍ	ⲎⲏⲐ	ⲑⲒ	ⲓⲔⲕ	ⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ
ⲀⲁⲂⲃ	ⲂⲃⲄⲅⲆⲇ	ⲅⲆⲇⲈ	Ⲉ	ⲊⲋⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ
Dzělo	Zemlja	ize	i	Ojerenъ	Kako	Ljude
S	3	10/11	11	Tvъ	K	Л
[dz]	[z]	[j]	[i]	[da]	[k]	[l]
8	9	10	20	30	40	50
ⲐⲑⲒ	ⲓⲔⲕ	ⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔ	ⲕⲌⲍ	ⲎⲏⲐ
ⲀⲁⲂⲃⲄⲅⲆⲇⲈⲉⲆ	ⲈⲉⲆⲇⲈ	ⲊⲋⲌ	ⲍⲎⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔⲕ	ⲌⲍⲎⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎⲏⲐⲑ
Mystla	Nalъ	Onъ	Polci	Raci	Stvo	Tvъdo
M	H	O	П	P	C	T
[m]	[n]	[o]	[p]	[r]	[s]	[t]
60	70	80	90	100	200	300
ⲕⲌⲍ	ⲎⲏⲐ	ⲑⲒ	ⲓⲔⲕ	ⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔⲕ
ⲀⲁⲂ	ⲂⲃⲄⲅⲆⲇⲈ	ⲅⲆⲇⲈⲉ	ⲈⲉⲆⲇⲈ	ⲊⲋⲌⲍ	ⲎⲏⲐ	ⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎⲏⲐⲑ
Uksъ	Frusъ	Xъrsъ	Onъ	Stъ	Ci	Onъsъ
Y	ϕ	X	ω	ш	ц	ч
[u]	[f]	[x]	[o]	[ʃ]	[ts]	[tʃ]
400	500	600	700	800	900	1000
ⲗⲘⲙ	ⲎⲏⲐ	ⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ	ⲒⲓⲔⲕ	ⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑ
Ⲁⲁ	ⲂⲃⲄ	ⲅⲆⲇⲈⲉⲆⲇⲈ	ⲉⲆⲇ	ⲊⲋⲌⲍ	Ⲏ	ⲏ
Ša	Erъ	Ery	Erъ	Jatъ	Jo	Ju
ш	ъ	ь	ь	ъ	ѣ	ю
ш	[s]	[r]	[e]	[a]	[o]	[u]
ⲐⲑⲒ	ⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ	ⲏⲐⲑⲒⲓⲔⲕⲌⲍⲎ
[c]	[z]	[x]	[c]	[t]	[v]	[v]
A/Я	IA	X	IK	ϕ	V	
[c]	[z]	[x]	[c]	[t]	[v]	

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