



morepress

morepress.unizd.hr

SPONDE

RIVISTA DI LINGUE, LETTERATURE E CULTURE TRA LE DUE SPONDE DELL'ADRIATICO

ČASOPIS ZA JEZIKE, KNJIŽEVNOSTI I KULTURE IZMEĐU DVIJU OBALA JADRANA

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGES, LITERATURES AND CULTURES BETWEEN THE TWO ADRIATIC COASTS

2/1 | 2023

THE NAMES OF ACCOMMODATION AND FOOD SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE HISTORICAL CENTRE OF ZADAR

IVANA BILANDŽIJA

Dubrovnik

UDK: 81'272(497.5Zadar)

Original research paper

Primljen / Ricevuto / Received: 23. 1. 2023.

Prihvaćen / Accettato per la pubblicazione /

Accepted for publication: 5. 5. 2023.

This paper analyses the linguistic landscape of the Zadar peninsula, starting from the assumption that the linguistic landscape of the old town, as a frequently visited tourist destination, is driven by tourist demand, and affected by globalization. The research is based on a corpus of 582 photographs collected between June and September 2019. The paper uses a quantitative approach to examine a part of the corpus, i.e., 197 names of accommodation and food service establishments, since it is the category often found to be the most revealing of the attitudes of entrepreneurs towards language choices. This approach aims to determine the distribution and role of foreign languages, as well as the standard and regional Croatian forms, in the chosen context. Due to the long Venetian dominance and the fact that Zadar was part of Italy from 1918 until the Italian capitulation in 1943, particular emphasis is placed on the use of Italian in the linguistic landscape of Zadar's historical centre.

KEYWORDS:

Zadar, linguistic landscape, globalization, commodification, tourism

1. Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to document the linguistic landscape (LL) of the historical town centre of Zadar and to analyse its predominant features, namely, to define the relationship between the presence of the standard variety of the Croatian language, along with its regional varieties, and the foreign languages. The studies of LL focus on the analysis of written language in a public space. Although not representative of the linguistic landscape of Zadar as a whole, the old town peninsula was chosen for the analysis due to the linguistic diversity of public signs, resulting from the fact that it is not only the historical but also the municipal, commercial, and business centre of the city, frequently visited by inbound visitors. This paper presents the names of accommodation and food service establishments, such as bars, hotels, and restaurants, due to a specific connection between the concept of LL and the significance of tourism for the town centre's development. The interdependence of the two domains is evident from the way in which the LL of the peninsula is a projection of its focus on the service sector. The LL analysis of a predominantly tourist area enables the retrieval of information concerning its providers (hotel, restaurant, and bar owners) and recipients (residents, tourists). For instance, when choosing names and languages for promoting their businesses to the target customers, providers are often motivated by economic interests.

2. The Linguistic Landscape and the City

In the world of globalization, the city is a multilingual reality, a linguistically heterogeneous and potentially conflicting space. As such, it presents a rich object of sociolinguistic analysis. In the past two decades, the notion of linguistic landscape opened a vast area of study, which has extended from sociolinguistics to a multitude of social sciences, offering a variety of perspectives for analysis.

The concept of LL initially emerged in the seventies in the field of language planning and language policy, however, the term was officially coined only thirty years later in the studies of Canadian linguists Landry and Bourhis (1997) to identify how French-speaking students perceive the language of public road signs in Canadian provinces. The concept was further applied by Ben-Rafael and Shohamy (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006:) in the analysis of the power relations between the three dominant languages in Israelite territory – Arabic, Hebrew, and English, as well



as by Peter Backhaus (2007) in the study of multilingualism in the city of Tokyo and Thom Huebner (2015) in the analysis of linguistic contact and code mixing in the Bangkok area. The heterogeneity and diversity of Zadar's linguistic landscape have been analysed by Oštarić (2018, 2020, 2022), whose research focused on the period between 2011 and 2018, while Ćosić and Mahnić-Ćosić (2001) studied the names of companies in Zadar's linguistic landscape.

The notion of LL signifies the totality of linguistic signs that mark the public space of a given area. Examples of such signs are road signs, billboards, commercial signs, signs denoting names of locations (streets, squares, parks, etc.), and institutions. Ben-Rafael adheres to the principles set by Landry and Bourhis and concludes that the LL provides the "readers" with information on the "visibility" of languages and their importance concerning the symbolic construction of the urban space. From such a standpoint, the LL is seen as an indicator of multilingualism and the vitality of languages on a given territory. In short, LL examines the presence of linguistic signs in a public space, i.e., the use of language in written form within a constrained public space.

Since the LL comprises a multiplicity and variety of texts, it is necessary to classify its constituent elements according to the agents who issue them. Ben-Rafael distinguishes between *top-down* signs, issued by administrative institutions in strict accordance with the law, and *bottom-up* signs, used by private entities that enjoy a certain degree of autonomy within the legally permitted limits (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14). This paper focuses on the latter, *bottom-up* category, since texts that are part of the LL of a given city attest, among other things, to the degree of the business owners' openness to foreign languages and cultures. Moreover, the *bottom-up* signs reflect the symbolic distribution of languages in the domains of use and provide information on the status of each of the coexisting languages in the community repertoire (cf. Costa 2015).

3. Globalization, Commodification and Language

Globalization is a set of phenomena that have emerged over the past two decades and have led to the economic, social, and cultural integration of different areas in the world. The rapid technological progress has contributed, among other things, to the growth of international trade and investments abroad, leading to the development of mass culture and mass consumption (Holy 2018: 15). One of the main criticisms levelled against the phenomenon is the tendency of glo-



balization towards cultural homogenization, which results in the depreciation of local peculiarities (Branca 2012: 9). Therefore, when discussing globalization in a cultural context, one almost always refers to a kind of growing hegemony of Western countries, particularly the United States (Branca 2012: 11). Another effect of today's globalization is *commodification*, i.e., the transformation of goods without inherent commercial value into commodities for market exchange (Heller, Pujolar and Duchêne 2014: 545). One of the goods that have been given economic value in the age of globalization is language. The development of tourism and marketing, along with subsequent profit orientation, has left a mark on the identity of various locations worldwide, transforming the urban space in order to adapt it to the needs and expectations of the tourist as a consumer of goods and services. In contemporary marketing, language is one of the main assets in developing and launching products on the market, whereas, in the tourism sector, language allows for an individual approach to the user of a service (Heller 2010: 108). Heller, Pujolar and Duchêne (2014: 551-553) cite three key aspects of the linguistic commodification process. The first is reflected in the fact that language, seen as an economic good, is endowed with a symbolic function that transcends its essential communicative function. In this sense, language acts as a means of transmitting the given country's identity, history, culture, and way of life to those unfamiliar with it. Secondly, in the tourism sector, language represents a practical skill used in promoting a destination to visitors from linguistically heterogeneous areas more successfully. Finally, the process of linguistic commodification is subject to the conditions set by the market, whereby it aims at satisfying the needs of the tourists determined by various factors, such as age, ethnicity, and purchasing power. The following chapters will elaborate on the different aspects of globalization and linguistic commodification phenomena to answer the hypotheses set in the paper.

4. The City of Zadar: History and Tourism

Situated in Northern Dalmatia, Zadar is not only a popular tourist destination but a city with a history spanning over three thousand years, dating back to the ancient times of the Liburnians, an Illyrian tribe. However, the Chakavian dialect spoken in the city has been marked the most by the Republic of Venice (cf. Marković 2019), characterised today by many (mostly) lexical elements of Venetian origin, and often considered an identity marker of both the local speech and the LL



of the city. Furthermore, due to the long Venetian dominance and the fact that Zadar was part of Italy from 1918 until the Italian capitulation in 1943, a Venetian dialect called Zaratino, alongside Italian, is still spoken in the city (cf. Škevin and Jazidžija 2017, 2018a, 2018b). The event that marked the birth of tourism in Zadar was the launching of the Trieste–Zadar–Kotor line by the Austrian Lloyd shipping company in 1838 (Jadrešić and Jurić 1985: 85). The names of the hotels, restaurants, and cafés of the time, such as Vaporetto, Colonna, Birraria Vecchia, Città d’Ancona, Roma, Nuova Italia, and others, provide evidence of the close historical, cultural, and linguistic ties between Italy and Croatia (Jadrešić and Jurić 1985: 93). For the abovementioned reasons, a particular emphasis was placed on the use of Italian language in the LL of the historical centre during research and analysis. The analysis of tourist trends by nationality from 2018, i.e., a year prior to the research, showed that inbound tourists form a significant majority of the total number of tourists visiting the city: German-speaking tourists, i.e., visitors from Germany and Austria, account for 27% of the total number of tourists, whereas domestic tourists (11%), Slovenia (5%), Poland (5%), Slovakia (5%), Italy (5%), France (4%), Hungary (4%), UK (3%) and the remaining states found in the statistic results (31%) follow with lower percentages (TZSD 2018: 6).

5. Method and Hypotheses of Research

A corpus of 582 photographs of public signs was collected between June and September 2019. Due to the multiplicity and variety of the corpus, the elements were classified, according to the agents who issue them, as *top-down* and *bottom-up* signs (cf. Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14). This research concentrated on the bottom-up category, or, more precisely, on 197 names of restaurants, bars, hotels, and other hospitality service establishments, because it is a category often found to be the most revealing of the attitudes of entrepreneurs towards language choice when choosing a business name. The amount and uniformity of data proved suitable for a quantitative approach to the corpus. The names were categorized according to the language to measure and statistically and graphically present the frequency of a given language in the area of the Zadar peninsula. The numerical explanation and presentation of data allow for an objective view of the multilingual landscape of the area.

The aim of this study was to verify whether the residents are inclined to use words of foreign origin when choosing a name for their business (bar, restau-



rant, store, or hotel), and taking into consideration the fact that the businesses owned by local residents are predominantly service-oriented, whether the LL of the town centre was linguistically adapted to the tourist needs and expectations.

6. *Bottom-up* Category Analysis: The Names of Accommodation and Food Service Establishments

The collected corpus is presented in the form of tables. Each table (except Table 2. *Croatian: standard variety*) and Table 9. *Plurilingual names*) consists of 2 columns – the left one containing the names of establishments, the right one describing the type of service provided. Tables 2 and 9 have an additional column containing the etymology of the names attributed to the respective establishments. In the case of Table 2, the etymology is supposed to reveal the Italian and Venetian influence on the Chakavian variety of Croatian language spoken in Zadar, and in the case of Table 9, it provides information on all languages used in plurilingual names. The presentation of the data is supported by the photographs taken in the historical centre of Zadar. The last section of the chapter includes a quantitative analysis of 194 out of 197 names of businesses owned by local residents, presented in charts. The remaining three business names, marked with an asterisk (*), are not owned by residents.

6. 1. *Croatian: Standard Variety*



FIGURE 1. Danica



FIGURE 2. Barbakan

TABLE 1. Croatian names: Standard Croatian

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Amfora</i>	restaurant
2	<i>Arkada</i>	bar
3	<i>Arsenal</i>	venue
4	<i>Arsenal</i>	holiday apartment
5	<i>Barbakan</i>	restaurant
6	<i>Barbara</i>	holiday apartment
7	<i>Bastion</i>	hotel
8	<i>Brazil</i>	bar
9	<i>Citadela</i>	fast food restaurant
10	<i>Dalmatinka</i>	bakery
11	<i>Dino</i>	fast food restaurant
12	<i>Doma</i>	bar
13	<i>Donat</i>	ice cream shop
14	<i>Donat</i>	holiday apartment complex
15	<i>Doni</i>	holiday apartment
16	<i>Dragica</i>	holiday apartment
17	<i>Dva Delfina</i>	bar
18	<i>Đina</i>	bar
19	<i>Eva</i>	pastry shop
20	<i>Eva</i>	holiday apartment
21	<i>Fati</i>	pastry shop
22	<i>Gof</i>	restaurant
23	<i>Guma</i>	bar
24	<i>Kavana Centar</i>	bar/pastry shop
25	<i>Kavana Danica</i>	bar/pastry shop
26	<i>Kompas</i>	restaurant
27	<i>Konoba Dalmacija</i>	tavern
28	<i>Konoba Martinac</i>	tavern
29	<i>Konoba Misterija</i>	tavern
30	<i>Konoba More</i>	tavern
31	<i>Konoba Skoblar</i>	tavern
32	<i>Kornat</i>	restaurant



	Name	Type of hospitality service
33	<i>Kristina</i>	bar
34	<i>Kruh i pecivo</i>	bakery
35	<i>Kult</i>	bar
36	<i>Lovre</i>	bar
37	<i>Marcela</i>	holiday apartment
38	<i>Mimoza</i>	bar
39	<i>Miriam</i>	holiday apartment complex
40	<i>Mlinar*</i>	bakery
41	<i>Orgulje</i>	restaurant
42	<i>Papica</i>	fast food restaurant
43	<i>Pet bunara</i>	restaurant
44	<i>Peti kat</i>	bar
45	<i>Petra</i>	holiday apartment
46	<i>Piramida</i>	bar
47	<i>Ritual</i>	bar
48	<i>Slad</i>	bakery
49	<i>Slastičarnica Miki</i>	pastry shop
50	<i>Slatka tajna</i>	bar
51	<i>Stipe</i>	bar
52	<i>Stomorica</i>	restaurant
53	<i>Sunce</i>	bakery
54	<i>Svarog</i>	bar
55	<i>Toči, toči</i>	bar
56	<i>Tri bunara</i>	pizzeria
57	<i>Toni</i>	bar
58	<i>Venera</i>	bar
59	<i>Viktor</i>	bakery
60	<i>Zadar-Jadera</i>	restaurant
61	<i>Zebra</i>	bar
62	<i>Zimaj</i>	bakery
63	<i>Zlatni kutić</i>	bar
64	<i>Zlatni kutić 2</i>	bar



	Name	Type of hospitality service
65	<i>Zlatni vrt</i>	restaurant
66	72	bar

6.2. Croatian: Regional Varieties



FIGURE 3. Karuba



FIGURE 4. Pašta & svašta

TABLE 2. Croatian names: regional varieties

	Name	Etymology	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Balancana</i>	<i>balàncāna</i> < <i>it. melanzana</i> 'eggplant' (SKO: 99)	restaurant
2	<i>Bonaca</i>	<i>bònaca</i> < <i>ven. bonazza</i> 'the calmness of the sea caused by the absence of wind' (BOE: 90)	restaurant
3	<i>4 kantuna</i>	<i>kàntūn</i> < <i>it. cantone</i> 'corner' (SKO: 32)	restaurant
4	<i>Dalmatina</i>	<i>dalmatīna</i> < derived from the Croatian name <i>Dalmacija</i> with the added Italian suffix <i>-ino/a</i> (SKO: 377)	restaurant
5	<i>Dišpet</i>	<i>dīšpet</i> < <i>ven. despeto</i> 'an act done to others out of spite' (BOE: 232)	bar
6	<i>Kala</i>	<i>kāla</i> < <i>ven. cale</i> 'alley' (HJP)	bar
7	<i>Kampanel</i>	<i>kampanil</i> < <i>ven. campanil</i> 'bell tower' (BOE: 124)	bar
8	<i>Kroštula</i>	<i>kròštula</i> < <i>ven. crostoli</i> 'crisp pastry made of dough shaped into thin twisted ribbons, deep-fried and sprinkled with powdered sugar' (BOE: 210)	bakery



	Name	Etymology	Type of hospitality service
9	<i>Karuba</i>	<i>karûba</i> < it. <i>carruba</i> 'carob' (SKO: 55)	tavern
10	<i>Malo misto</i>	<i>mïsto</i> < an Ikavian variant of the standard word <i>mjesto</i> (Marković 2019)	restaurant
11	<i>Mareta</i>	<i>màreta</i> < it. <i>maretta</i> 'sea waves generated by moderate wind' (HJP)	bar
12	<i>Moja feta</i>	<i>fëta</i> < ven. <i>fetta</i> 'a slice of something' (BOE: 267)	pizzeria
13	<i>Pašta & Svašta</i>	<i>păšta</i> < ven. <i>pasta</i> 'pasta' (BOE: 479)	restaurant
14	<i>Pjat</i>	<i>pjât</i> < ven. <i>piato</i> 'plate' (BOE: 504)	restaurant
15	<i>Porporela</i>	<i>porporèla</i> < ven. <i>porporela</i> 'breakwater' (VINJ: 62)	restaurant
16	<i>Proto</i>	<i>próto</i> < ven. <i>proto</i> 'stonemason' (BOE: 338)	restaurant
17	<i>Skala</i>	<i>skàla</i> < ven. <i>scala</i> 'steps' (BOE: 614)	restaurant
18	<i>Špada</i>	<i>špâda</i> < ven. <i>spada</i> 'sword' (BOE: 680)	bar
19	<i>Špajza</i>	<i>špājza</i> < germ. <i>Speis</i> 'pantry' (HJP)	restaurant
20	<i>Tinel</i>	<i>tinel</i> < ven. <i>tinelo</i> 'dining room' (BOE: 749)	restaurant
21	<i>Tinel</i>	<i>tinel</i> < ven. <i>tinelo</i> 'dining room' (BOE: 749)	holiday apartment
22	<i>Tovar</i>	<i>tòvar</i> < proto sl. <i>tovar</i> 'donkey' (HJP)	tavern
23	<i>Vrag odni prišu</i>	<i>prîša</i> < ven. <i>pressa</i> 'hurry' (BOE: 533)	fast food restaurant

6.3. English



FIGURE 5. Gray Bar



FIGURE 6. Restaurant & Lounge Bar eat me!

TABLE 3. English names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Bizzare</i>	bar
2	<i>B&B Zadar Sunset</i>	holiday apartment
3	<i>Bob Rock's Ice Cream Shop</i>	pastry shop
4	<i>Bristol</i>	bar
5	<i>Caffe Bar No.7</i>	bar
6	<i>Caffe Bar Down Town</i>	bar
7	<i>Central Apartments Integrated Hotel</i>	hotel
8	<i>City Square</i>	holiday apartment complex
9	<i>Cowabunga Street Food</i>	fast food restaurant
10	<i>Crazy Pizza</i>	pizzeria
11	<i>Downtown Apartment Stars Zadar</i>	holiday apartment
12	<i>eat me!</i>	restaurant
13	<i>Exclusive Center Apartments</i>	holiday apartment complex
14	<i>Finger Bar</i>	restaurant
15	<i>Four Corners Hostel</i>	hostel
16	<i>Frenky</i>	bar
17	<i>Gray Bar</i>	bar
18	<i>Greeting to the Sun</i>	holiday apartment
19	<i>Harvey's Luxury Rooms</i>	vacation room rental complex
20	<i>iND!E</i>	bar
21	<i>IQ bar</i>	bar
22	<i>Kult</i>	bar
23	<i>La La Rooms</i>	vacation room rental complex
24	<i>Lloyd</i>	bar
25	<i>Luxury Rooms with Balcony</i>	vacation room rental complex
26	<i>Nautical Rooms</i>	vacation room rental complex
27	<i>Old Town Center Zadar</i>	holiday apartment
28	<i>Old Town Hostel</i>	hostel
29	<i>OX - Meet and Eat</i>	restaurant
30	<i>Profer Food</i>	restaurant
31	<i>Pour, Pour Bar</i>	bar



	Name	Type of hospitality service
32	<i>Rooms & Apartments 72</i>	holiday apartment complex
33	<i>Shake House</i>	restaurant
34	<i>Sites of Zadar Apartments</i>	holiday apartment complex
35	<i>Surf 'n' Fries*</i>	fast food restaurant
36	<i>The Factory Bar</i>	bar
37	<i>Sites of Zadar Apartments</i>	holiday apartment complex
38	<i>Three Corners Hostel</i>	hostel
39	<i>Trooper Rock Bar</i>	bar
40	<i>Two Roses Studio</i>	holiday apartment
41	<i>Warmup</i>	bar

6.4. Italian



FIGURE 7. La cucina



FIGURE 8. Bruschetta

TABLE 4. Italian names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Al Pacchero</i>	restaurant
2	<i>Bello</i>	pizzeria
3	<i>Borgo</i>	bar
4	<i>Bruschetta</i>	restaurant
5	<i>Croccante</i>	pizzeria
6	<i>Dante</i>	bar

	Name	Type of hospitality service
7	<i>Daloro</i>	bakery
8	<i>Diadora</i>	bar
9	<i>Dolce vita</i>	bar
10	<i>Gelateria</i>	ice cream shop
11	<i>Gropo</i>	restaurant
12	<i>Illy</i>	bar
13	<i>Il Padrino</i>	restaurant
14	<i>Il Piccolo</i>	restaurant
15	<i>La Baia</i>	fast food restaurant
16	<i>La cucine</i>	restaurant
17	<i>La famiglia</i>	restaurant
18	<i>Palazzo Venezia</i>	vacation room rental complex
19	<i>Salsa Rossa</i>	restaurant
20	<i>Speranza</i>	holiday apartment
21	<i>Teatro Verdi</i>	hotel
22	<i>Tramonto</i>	restaurant
23	<i>Trattoria Canzona</i>	trattoria
24	<i>Trattoria Mediterraneo</i>	trattoria

6.5. French



FIGURE 9. Bon appetit



FIGURE 10. Nostalgie



TABLE 5. French names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Bon appetit</i>	restaurant
2	<i>Nostalgie</i>	restaurant
3	<i>Oh la la</i>	restaurant
4	<i>Petit</i>	bar
5	<i>Zizou</i> ¹	pizzeria

6.6. Latin

**FIGURE 11.** Caffè Pax**FIGURE 12.** Domus Romana; Artis Romana**TABLE 6.** Latin names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	Artis	holiday apartment complex
2	Domus Romana	holiday apartment complex
3	Insula Zara	holiday apartment complex
4	Pax	bar
5	Viatorem	vacation room rental complex

¹ The nickname of Zinedine Yazid Zidane, the French football player.

6.7. Ancient Greek



FIGURE 13. Agora



FIGURE 14. Thea

TABLE 7. Ancient Greek names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	Agora	holiday apartment
2	Thea	holiday apartment

6.8. Japanese



FIGURE 15. Maguro



TABLE 8. Japanese names

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	Maguro	restaurant

6.9. Plurilingual Names

**FIGURE 16.** Trattoria Colosseum**FIGURE 17.** Deja Brew Pub**TABLE 9.** Plurilingual names

	Name	Type of hospitality service	Explanation
1	<i>Art Kavana</i>	bar	<i>art</i> (French) + <i>kavana</i> (Croatian); a partial translation of the French word group <i>art café</i> into Croatian
2	<i>Buffet Kalelarga</i>	restaurant	<i>buffet</i> (French) + <i>Kalelarga</i> (Croatian regional variety)
3	<i>Bistro Gourmet Kalelarga</i>	restaurant	<i>bistro/gourmet</i> (French) + <i>Kalelarga</i> (Croatian regional variety)
4	<i>Boutique Hostel Forum</i>	hostel	<i>boutique</i> (French) + <i>hostel</i> (English) + <i>forum</i> (Croatian or different languages)
5	<i>Center Rooms Kovač</i>	vacation room rental complex	<i>centre/rooms</i> (English) + <i>Kovač</i> (Croatian surname)
6	<i>City Laguna</i>	restaurant	<i>city</i> (English) + <i>laguna</i> (Croatian)
7	<i>Cogito Coffee</i>	bar	<i>cogito</i> (Latin) + <i>coffee</i> (English)

	Name	Type of hospitality service	Explanation
8	<i>Corte Vino & More</i>	bar	<i>corte</i> (Italian) + <i>vino</i> (a noun present in several languages, such as Croatian, Italian, Spanish, Latin) + <i>more</i> (English or Croatian)
9	<i>Deja Brew Pub</i>	bar	<i>deja</i> (French) + <i>brew/pub</i> (English).
10	<i>Dentex Studio Apartments</i>	holiday apartment complex	<i>dentex</i> (Latin) + <i>studio/apartments</i> (English)
11	<i>El Zara</i>	holiday apartment	<i>el</i> (definite article in Spanish) + <i>Zara</i> (Italian exonym for Zadar)
12	<i>Hedonist Dining & Hangout</i>	restaurant	<i>hedonist</i> (Croatian) + <i>dining/hangout</i> (English)
13	<i>Ice Bar Kalelarga</i>	ice cream shop	<i>ice/bar</i> (English) + <i>Kalelarga</i> (Croatian regional variety)
14	<i>Idassa Atrium</i>	vacation room rental complex	<i>Idassa</i> (Ancient Greek) + <i>atrium</i> (Latin)
15.	<i>Idassa Palace</i>	vacation room rental complex	<i>Idassa</i> (Ancient Greek) + <i>palace</i> (English)
16	<i>La Gavun</i>	restaurant	<i>la</i> (a definite article typical of Romance languages) + <i>gavun</i> (Croatian)
17	<i>Mister Panino</i>	fast food restaurant	<i>mister</i> (English) + <i>panino</i> (Italian)
18	<i>Panda Sushi</i>	restaurant	<i>Panda</i> (Croatian or different languages) + <i>sushi</i> (Japanese)
19	<i>Pek-Snack*</i>	bakery	<i>Pek</i> (Hungarian) + <i>snack</i> (English)
20	<i>Snack Café Mario</i>	pizzeria	<i>snack</i> (English) + <i>café</i> (French) + <i>Mario</i> (the name of the owner, who is Croatian)
21	<i>Tequilla Bar Hostel</i>	hostel	<i>tequilla</i> (Spanish) + <i>bar/hostel</i> (English)
22	<i>Trattoria Colosseum</i>	trattoria	<i>trattoria</i> (Italian) + <i>colosseum</i> (Latin)
23	<i>Zadera</i>	holiday apartment complex	The name is a portmanteau of the respective Croatian (<i>Zadar</i>) and Latin (<i>ladera</i>) names for the city of Zadar

6.10. Names Consisting of Multilingual Words

The names of the bars and restaurants listed in Table 10 have the same spelling in different world languages (for example, in Italian and English). Therefore, the only way to identify the linguistic origin would be to interview the owners; however, they were out of office at the time the research was conducted.





FIGURE 18. Teatro



FIGURE 19. Forum

TABLICA 10. Names consisting of multilingual words

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Forum</i>	bar
2	<i>Lotus</i>	bar
3	<i>Porta</i>	bar
4	<i>Poseidon</i>	restaurant
5	<i>Teatro</i>	bar

6.11. Names of Unclear Origin

The names whose origin was difficult to identify are listed in this category, such as *Rog-Dogg* from Table 11.



FIGURE 20. Rog-Dogg



FIGURE 21. Almayer

TABLICA 11. Names of unclear origin

	Name	Type of hospitality service
1	<i>Rog-Dogg</i>	holiday apartment
2	<i>Almayer</i> ²	hotel
3	<i>Luan</i>	holiday apartment

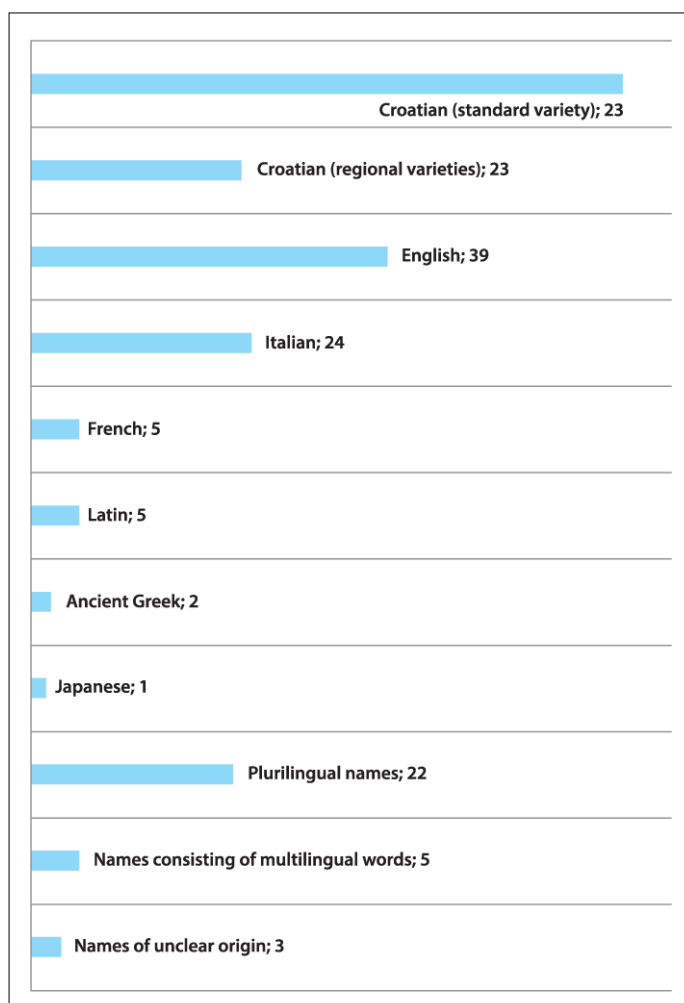


FIGURE 22. Distribution of languages in the names of accommodation and food service establishments owned by residents

² Taken from the novel *Oceano mare* by Alessandro Baricco.



7. Data Analysis and Discussion

This study aimed at verifying whether the LL of the town centre was linguistically adapted to the tourist needs since the businesses owned by residents are predominantly service-oriented. Also, the goal was to examine whether the residents were inclined to use words of foreign origin when naming their business, which would, in turn, result in the prevalence of foreign language names as compared to their Croatian counterparts. In order to answer these questions, the following paragraphs present data analysis and the possible motivations underlying the choice of languages. All these questions, once addressed, will allow us to grasp the multilingual panorama of the area in question. This paper presented and analysed 194 names of establishments owned by residents out of the total 197 names collected in this category. Considering the fact that the bottom-up category is almost always created autonomously by the owners of various types of businesses, it may be assumed that, in those cases, the choice of a particular language for a public sign is a deliberate decision on their respective behalf to attract a certain type of a customer. Such decisions are, therefore, strongly linked to economic interests. In the category of names of accommodation and food service establishments, the most frequent are those in Croatian (Standard Croatian/regional varieties) and English. Of the total number of 194 businesses owned by residents, 88 (44.90%) bear names of Croatian origin (regional varieties included), while 23 (26.14%) of the aforementioned 88 businesses bear names comprising the words that belong to the regional varieties of the Croatian language. Other considerably influential languages in this category are English (19.90%) and Italian (12.24%). The remaining languages have a less significant influence (<3%). Considering the data provided in Tables 1-9, it is evident that the Standard Croatian language names, Croatian regional varieties names, and Italian names are more often used for bars and restaurants, while the names of English, Latin and Ancient Greek origin are prevalent in accommodation facilities. Approximately 37% of the total number of Croatian language names are used for bars, while roughly a quarter ($\approx 22.39\%$) are used for restaurants.

In this category, the Croatian names of regional variation are most frequently used for restaurants (60.87%, e.g., *Balancana*, *Bonaca*, *Pjat*, *Tovar*, etc.), which may be interpreted as clear evidence of the process of transforming regional varieties into commodities. In this context, choosing the local, regional dialect in naming a business elevates the symbolic value of the service provided by accentuating the authenticity of the environment and the gastronomic offer. Moreover, 24 (12.24%) accommodation and food service establishments in the historical town centre bear a name of



Italian origin; approximately half of the businesses in question are restaurants (e.g., *Bruschetta*, *Groppo*, *La famiglia*, *Tramonto* etc.). The data provided in Table 4 seem to suggest that the use of the Italian language in this context plays a dual role: on the one hand, the presence of Italian in the naming of the businesses is evidence of the Italian linguistic and cultural influence on Zadar as a result of the strong historical link between Italy and Croatia; on the other hand, taking the worldwide popularity of the Italian cuisine into consideration, such naming practice is a clever strategy for attracting potential customers. Furthermore, most of the restaurants' names in regional Croatian are, in fact, dialectal words of Venetian or Italian origin (see Table 2).

As Table 3 indicates, the English language boasts a significant presence in the names of accommodation facilities. English names constitute 47.22% of the total number of names in this subcategory. The analysis of the individual names highlights the process of commodification in the use of English to accentuate not only the high quality of the accommodation units available but also the prestige of the locations of several such facilities within the Zadar historical centre (e.g., *Silver & Gold Luxury Rooms*, *Harvey's Luxury Rooms*, *Exclusive Center Apartments*, etc.). On the other end of the commodification spectrum, the Latin and Ancient Greek names of the accommodation facilities (e.g., *Agora*) augment the symbolic value of such services in a different way. As opposed to the modernity promoted by English, the names in Latin and ancient Greek recall the Age of Classical Antiquity, emphasizing the historical aspect of their location to attract potential customers.

In addition to the accommodation facilities, the use of the English language is also prevalent in the names of the bars situated in the historical town centre (e.g., *Caffe Bar Down Town*, *The Factory Bar*, *Warmup*, etc.). Taking into consideration the fact that the bars, despite their tourism potential, are predominantly frequented by locals throughout the entire year (especially by young adults), it could be assumed that the choice of English names reflects the tendency of the owners to project upon their establishments an aura of prestige attributed to English as a contemporary *lingua franca*. The use of English appears to be attractive to the Generation Z, which is deeply immersed in the American popular culture due to the effects of the globalization.

The data collected seem to suggest that the Croatian language, either the Standard Croatian or one of the regional varieties, is significantly present in the category subject to quantitative analysis (see also Oštarić 2022). Croatian is not prevalent only in accommodation facilities since this type of hospitality service is mostly aimed at inbound tourists, and therefore English is a predominant language in that subcategory.



8. Conclusion

In order to analyse the LL of the historical centre of the city, it was first necessary to clarify the peculiarities of the relationship between the LL and the significance of tourism in the area under study. Zadar County ranks fifth among Croatian counties in the number of tourist overnight stays. The statistical data show that 88.20% of the total number of tourists visiting Zadar are inbound visitors. It was thus presumed that the importance of tourism had impacted the LL of Zadar's historical core in such a way that the latter became a "linguistic projection" of the old town's orientation on tourism. Therefore, one of the objectives of this research was to examine the degree of adaptation of the LL of the historical centre to the needs and expectations of foreign tourists.

The results lead to various, often contradictory conclusions. On the one hand, they suggest that the language itself has been transformed into a commodity with symbolic value in order to generate profit. This is observable in the local's use of regional Croatian words in naming restaurants and other establishments to promote authenticity and localness. On the other hand, they also suggest that the LL of the historical centre is generally suited to the inbound tourists because more than half, approximately 54% of analysed names, are of foreign origin. The foreign language that is most considerably present in the corpus is English. The extent of the use of English in the LL of the historical centre of Zadar supports the idea of English as a modern *lingua franca*.

Bearing in mind the economic interests that motivate the residents in terms of naming their establishments, we can claim that they, on the one hand, successfully resist the influence of globalization when it comes to the choice of language for a business name because, as was shown, the Croatian language is significantly present in the analysed category. On the other hand, in order to attract foreign tourists, or to express the prestige and luxury of their hotels and rental rooms, or the localness and authenticity of their food, they prefer using English names for accommodation establishments and Italian names or regional Croatian names of Venetian or Italian origin for restaurants.



WORKS CITED

- BACKHAUS, Peter. 2007. *Linguistic Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- BEN-RAFAEL, Eliezer, Elana SHOHAMY, Muhammad Hasan AMARA, Nira TRUMPER-HECHT. 2006. "Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel" in *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 7-30.
- BOE = BOERIO, Giuseppe. 1867. *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*. Venezia: Reale tipografia di Giovanni Cecchini.
- BRANCA, Domenico. 2012. "La globalizzazione nell'interazione con le culture native. Linee di tendenza" in *Intrecci. Quaderni di antropologia culturale*, 6,1. 9-31.
- COSTA, Mariella. 2015. *Wolfsburg e la sua visibile italianità* in Beate KERN (editor) (UN-) *Sichtbarkeiten Beiträge zum XXXI. Forum Junge Romanistik in Rostock (5.-7. März 2015)*, München: Akademischen Verlagsgemeinschaft. 233-250.
- ĆOSIĆ, Vjekoslav, Ana MAHNIĆ-ĆOSIĆ. 2001. *Zadarski jezični krajolici: Imena tvrtki u Zadarskoj županiji*. Matica hrvatska.
- HELLER, Monica. 2010. "The Commodification of Language" in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39, 1. 101-114.
- HELLER, Monica, Joan PUJOLAR, Alexandre DUCHÊNE. 2014. "Linguistic Commodification in Tourism" in *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18, 4. 539-566.
- HOLY, Mirela. 2018. "Globalizacija, integracija i multikulturalizam: interdisciplinarni pristup" in *Suvremene teme: međunarodni časopis za društvene i humanističke znanosti*, 9, 1. 11-29.
- HJP = Hrvatski jezični portal. Retrieved April 27th 2020 from <http://hjp.znanje.hr/>
- HUEBNER, Thom. 2006. "Bangkok's Linguistic Landscapes: Environmental Print, Codemixing and Language Change" in *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*. 31-51.
- JADREŠIĆ, Vlatko, Boris JURIĆ. 1985. *Turizam zadarskoga kraja: s osnovama turističke teorije i politike*. Zadar: Turistički savez općine Zadar, 1985.
- LANDRY, Rodriguez, Richard Y. BOURHIS. 1997. "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study" in *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16, 1. 23-49.
- MARKOVIĆ, Irena. 2019. *Govori grada Zadra s rječnikom romanizama*. Zadar/Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zadru/Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- OŠTARIĆ, Antonio. *Commodification of a Forsaken Script: The Glagolitic Script in Contemporary Croatian Material Culture* in Larissa ARONIN, Michael HORNS-



- BY, Grażyna KILIAŃSKA-PRZYBYŁO (editors) *The Material Culture of Multilingualism*. Cham Springer, 189-208.
- OŠTARIĆ, Antonio. 2020. *Ekologija jezične raznolikosti Zadra*. PhD dissertation. Zadar: University of Zadar.
- OŠTARIĆ, Antonio. 2022. "Talijanski jezik u suvremenom jezičnom krajoliku Zadra" in *SPONDE: A Journal of Languages, Literatures and Cultures between the two Adriatic Coasts*, 1/1. 55-76.
- SKOK I, II, III = SKOK, Petar. 1971. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Zagreb: JAZU.
- ŠKEVIN, Ivana, Antonia JAZIDŽIJA. 2017. *Linguistic and Social-identity Aspects of Code-switching: The Case of Zadar's Speakers of the Venetian Dialect* in CERGOL KOVAČEVIĆ Kristina, Sanda Lucija UDIER (editors) *Applied Linguistics Research and Methodology: Proceedings from the 2015 Cals Conference*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Edition. 225-240.
- ŠKEVIN, Ivana, Antonia JAZIDŽIJA. 2018a. *L'applicazione e l'applicabilità del modello relativistico di Muljačić. Il caso del veneto-dalmata a Zara* in Federica DA MILANO, Andrea SCALA, Massimo VAI, Rita ZAMA (editors) *La cultura linguistica italiana in confronto con le culture linguistiche di altri paesi europei dall'Ottocento in poi: Atti del I congresso internazionale di studi della società di linguistica italiana (SLI)*. Roma: Bulzoni Editore. 477-493.
- ŠKEVIN, Ivana, Antonia JAZIDŽIJA. 2018b. *La configurazione insulare del veneto di Zara: tra l'esistenza e sopravvivenza* in Lucija ŠIMIČIĆ, Ivana ŠKEVIN, Nikola VULETIĆ (editors) *Le isole linguistiche dell'Adriatico*. Canterano (RM)/Zadar: Aracne editrice/Sveučilište u Zadru. 117 -141.
- TZZD = Turistička zajednica grada Zadra, 2018. *Program rada s financijskim planom za 2019. godinu*. Zadar.
- VINJ = VINJA, Vojmir. 1998. *Jadranske etimologije: Jadranske dopune Skokovu etimologijskom rječniku*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

The Names of Accommodation and Food Service Establishments in the Linguistic Landscape of the Historical Centre of Zadar

SUMMARY

This paper analyses the linguistic landscape of the Zadar peninsula, starting from the assumption that since the old town is a frequently visited tourist destination, its linguistic landscape is driven by tourist demand and affected by globalization. In order to conduct this research, a corpus of 582 photographs of public signs was collected between June and September 2019. The paper uses the quantitative approach to examine a part of the mentioned corpus, more precisely, 197 names of accommodation and food service establishments. Approximately 54% of the names are of foreign origin, predominantly English. The frequent use of the English language in the linguistic landscape of the Zadar historical centre supports the generally accepted view of English as a modern lingua franca. Standard Croatian and its regional varieties are used in approximately 45% of the names, except in the case of accommodation establishments, where English is prevalent due to the city's orientation towards tourism.

KEYWORDS:

Zadar, linguistic landscape, globalization, commodification, tourism



Nomi di strutture ricettive e di ristorazione nel paesaggio linguistico del centro storico di Zara

RIASSUNTO

Questo articolo analizza il paesaggio linguistico della penisola di Zara partendo dal presupposto che il suo paesaggio linguistico, essendo una destinazione turistica spesso visitata e influenzata dalla globalizzazione, è adattato alle esigenze turistiche. Per condurre la ricerca, un corpus costituito da 582 insegne pubbliche è stato raccolto fotografando i segni in questione nel periodo da giugno a settembre 2019. Questo lavoro, attraverso un approccio quantitativo, esamina una parte del corpus, cioè un totale di 197 nomi di strutture ricettive e ristorazione. Circa il 54% dei nomi analizzati sono di origine straniera, per lo più inglese. L'uso frequente della lingua inglese all'interno del paesaggio linguistico del centro storico di Zara conferma la visione generalmente accettata dell'inglese come lingua franca moderna. La varietà standard della lingua croata, così come le sue varietà regionali, costituiscono circa il 45% dei nomi, con la sola eccezione dei nomi delle strutture ricettive, dove l'inglese è prevalente a causa del forte orientamento della città al turismo.

PAROLE CHIAVE:

Zara, paesaggio linguistico, globalizzazione, commodificazione, turismo

