Moise Palace, Cres
May 28-29, 2021

SEMIOTIC
LAND
SCAPES
of Southeastern Europe

Program

9.00-9.30 *Welcome Note and Opening*
        (Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić, Sanja Bojanić, Christian Voß)

Panel I: Fundamentals & Frictions (Chair: Sanja Bojanić, University of Rijeka)

9.30-11.30
        Diana Stolac (University of Rijeka)
        Jim Hlavac (Monash University, Melbourne)
        A geosemiotic description of Rijeka: textual and visual images of urban streetscapes

        Elsa Skënderi Rakipllari (University of Tirana)
        In the name of modernity! Signs of multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape of Tirana

        Irena Vassileva (New Bulgarian University, Sofija)
        The Streets Signs in Bulgaria – a Clash of Languages, Cultures and Alphabets

        Christian Voß (Humboldt University, Berlin)
        The 'Return' of the Cyrillic Script to Northern Greece in the 2000s: The majority and minority perspective

11.30-12.00 *Break*

Panel II: Implications & Intertextualities (Chair: Katharina Tyran, University of Vienna)

12.00-13.30
        Aleksandar Pavlović (IFDT, University of Belgrade)
        New Heroes on the Block: Reading post-Yu Urban Resignification of New Belgrade

        Irena Šentevska (Belgrade)
        'Blok, brate, Bruklin': Semiotic landscapes of New Belgrade as represented in hip-hop music videos

        Kevin Kenjar (University of Rijeka)
        "Fool, This is a Post Office": Deixis and Play in the Linguistic Landscape

13.30-14.30 *Break*

14.30-16.00
        Ekaterina Zheltova (Charles University, Prague)
        Between the Northern Epirus and Chameria: Temporal and spatial imaginaries in the Albanian-Greek borderlands

        Boris Ružić (University of Rijeka)
        The Sea of Bodies: Meaning-making in the Bordering Spaces

        Costas Canakis (University of the Aegean, Mytilene)
        Intertextual aggression in inscribing solidarity towards refugees in the LL of Mytilene
16.00-16.30 Coffee

Friday, May 28

NOTICE: Panel III and Panel IV will take place in parallel sessions

16.30-18.00

Panel III: Realities & Resignifications (Chair: Mišo Kapetanović, Univ. of St. Gallen)

Gruia Bădescu (University of Konstanz)
Syncretic place-making in Sarajevo and beyond: Semiotic landscapes of cosmopolitanism and their discontents

Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Aleksandra Salamurović (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)
LL of rural Banat: a possible typology

Marija Mandić (Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, Belgrade)
Jelena Filipović (University of Belgrade)
Subotica – the minority capital of Serbia. Competing and corresponding cultural and semiotic landscapes and ideologies

Panel IV: Challenges & Changes (Chair: Christian Voß, Humboldt University, Berlin)

Maciej Czerwiński (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)
Urban space as palimpsest. Semiotic landscape of Split

Sanja Iguman (University of Belgrade)
Reading the signs in landscape and reacting to their transformation.
The case of South-Eastern European capital - Belgrade

Eric Ušić
Pre-Yugoslav graffiti in post-Yugoslav times: Exploring the World War II graffscape in Istria

18.00-19.00

Exhibition presentation *Graffitied Memoryscapes*
        (Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić, Vjeran Pavlaković, Eric Ušić, Kevin Kenjar)

Saturday, May 29

9.30-11.00

Panel III: Realities & Resignifications (Chair: Mišo Kapetanović) - *continued* -

Vedran Obučina (University of Regensburg)
Ethnic and religious symbolism in the natural surroundings

Eva Posch (University of Graz)
Destination Pula: A city's history and the making of a semiotic landscape of tourism

Stella Bratimou (Hellenic Open University)
Roula Kitsiou (University of Thessaly)
Re-claiming the Public Space in times of the Covid-19 pandemic: Transient Linguistic Landscapes of mass demonstrations in Greece

Panel IV: Challenges & Changes (Chair: Christian Voß) - *continued* -

Lumnije Jusufi (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Milote Sadiku (University of Prishtina)
Automobile Semiotic Landscapes: Deutsche Autobeschriftungen in Kosovo

Katharina Tyran (University of Vienna)
Stickscapes and Graffscapes: Southeastern European Linguistic Landscapes in Vienna

Danko Simić (University of Graz)
We are the Industry! Reimagining (Old) Industrial Regions

11.00-11.30 *Break*

Panel V: Memories & Meaning-Making (Chair: Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić, CAS/HU)

11.30-13.00
Ana Dević (KU Leuven)
In/Semi/Tangible Memorialization as Activism in Art and Film (also on Absences)

Sanja Horvatinčić (Institute of Art History, Zagreb)
Iva Stojević (ENS de Lyon)
Memorial Areas in Socialist Croatia – Towards a Heterodox Approach to War Landscapes and Heritage Management

Ivana Budimir (University of Luxembourg)
Promjena vlasti - promjena imena ulica, Case study Donji Lapac

13.00-14.30 *Break*

Panel V: Memories & Meaning-Making (Chair: Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić) - *continued*

14.30-16.00

Antonio Grgić (University of Graz)
From socialist realism to the cross: The war between pseudo-religious communist ideology and organized religion on the example of two monuments by the sculptor Antun Augustinčić in Croatia

Piotr Mirocha (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)
Renamings of Marshal Tito Squares and Streets in Croatia after 2017: an old conflict in a semiotic landscape anew

Michał Piasek (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Different Wars – Same Heroes? World War II and Croatian War of Independence Monuments in Eastern Croatia

16.00-16.30 *Break*

16.30-17.30

Ana Ljubojević (University of Graz)
Visual media representations of Vukovar Remembrance Day

Vjeran Pavlaković (University of Rijeka)
Graffitied Memoryscapes: Muralization of the Homeland War

Organization:

Roswitha Kersten-Pejanić (roswitha.kersten-pejanic@uniri.hr)
Sanja Bojanić (cas@cas.uniri.hr)
Christian Voß (christian.voss@hu-berlin.de)

In cooperation with:

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Institutionell gefördert durch das Auswärtige Amt.

Content

Panel I: Fundamentals & Frictions

A geosemiotic description of Rijeka: textual and visual images of urban streetscapes.

Diana Stolac (University of Rijeka)

Jim Hlavac (Monash University)

This paper applies Scollon and Wong Scollon's notion of 'geosemiotics' in examining Rijeka's streetscapes. Objects of research include road signs, names of sites, streets, buildings, places and institutions, as well as commercial shopfront signage and advertising billboards. These objects are in line with Scollon and Wong Scollon's (2003: 175-189) four-way distinction of: (1) municipal regulatory discourses; (2) municipal infrastructural discourses; (3) commercial discourses; (4) transgressive discourses. Instances of the latter can include texts expressing social protest, citizens' petitions or examples of anti-gentrification street art (Papen, 2012). To these four groups, we can identify a fifth one: and signs of associations, such as sporting or cultural ones, that are 'community' and/or 'not for profit' entities.

An aspect of the form of textual or visual objects is their placement, i.e. "place semiotics" Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003: 2). In the textual and visual images we examine, we look at the (linguistic) code(s) used, order of textual content, font size etc., as well as the apparent longevity or durability of the material that the sign is made of.

In Rijeka, textual and visual images can avail themselves of different linguistic codes: most texts or images are in Croatian, but many feature (an)other language(s) alongside it, or less commonly, only languages other than Croatian, such as English. Our examination of textual and visual images is primarily descriptive and secondarily interpretative, with a quantification of features located that enables us to point to patterns of the city's geosemiotic practices.

References

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In the name of modernity! Sings of multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape of Tirana

Elsa Skënderi Rakipllari (University of Tirana)

Due to the rapid flow of people from all over the country, Tirana, the capital of Albania, has become the largest city, with almost half of the country's population living there. The present paper focuses on the

multilingualism present in the linguistic landscape of Tirana. The official language of Albania is Albanian, around 94% of its population is Albanian and there is no inherent multilingualism. Since the fall of communism, the public discourse of the country has been oriented towards Europeanism and modernity. Being left behind by a harsh isolationist communist regime, the Albanian society has been struggling for three decades to achieve modernisation and to embrace European values and the best western cultural and lifestyle models. In the present paper, we report a survey about the features and tendencies of the linguistic landscape of Tirana, focusing also on the naming strategies, which the inhabitants of Tirana argue to have been relevant when choosing between Albanian or foreign languages. The data which was collected from the private signs of the main streets and urban areas of the Albanian capital, indicates a clear ambivalence of Albanian and other foreign languages in the linguistic landscape. The prevailing criterion that affects language use and language attitudes seems to be modernity. In an age of globalism, the tendency of multilingualism for the sake of modernity is actually noticed throughout the linguistic landscapes of numerous contemporaneous capital cities, and it illustrates the assumption that linguistic landscapes are part of both the modern aesthetics and of the public discourse. Thus, the linguistic landscape of Tirana tends to visualize the urban modernity and emphasizes various features of the contemporary urban experiences and public discourse ideologies.

The Streets Signs in Bulgaria – a Clash of Languages, Cultures and Alphabets

Irena Vassileva (New Bulgarian University, Sofia)

The investigation is based on data collected through photographing urban signs and inscriptions (street signs, restaurant names, various inscriptions, e.g., in offices, including 'illiterate' word-for-word translations from Bulgarian, etc.). The data is evaluated in terms of appropriacy and relevance to the particular discursive environment, as well as in terms of linguistic correctness.

Informal interviews with people who are involved with the inscriptions both as producers and as consumers have been carried out. The interviews demonstrate the consumers' attitude towards the use of a foreign language and a foreign alphabet in an otherwise monolingual social and urban context and the degree to which English is accepted (or not) as a *lingua franca* in Bulgaria. They also elicit the producers' motivation for choosing to use English and the possible tensions that arise between the two parties.

The theoretical approach follows the framework of Critical discourse analysis where 'text' is seen as resultative, as embedded in certain discursive practices which are themselves dependent upon social practices (Fairclough 1992:63-73). The focus is on the "'sociocognitive' dimensions of text production and interpretation which centre upon the interplay between the members' resources discourse participants have internalized and bring with them to the text processing, and the text itself, as a set of 'traces' of the production process, or a set of 'cues' for the interpretation process" (Fairclough 1992:80).

The results of the study throw light upon the question of whether one could speak of 'imposed' or 'desired' bilingualism, as well as on the social and individual factors that determine citizens' attitude towards the investigated phenomenon. An attempt is also made to predict possible future trends and developments, such as:

- Improvement of English signs and inscriptions towards grammatical, lexical, etc. correctness;
- Disappearance of non-sensical transliterations from Bulgarian into the Latin alphabet;

- No chance of English becoming a ‚second language' in Bulgaria due to the fact that the country is basically monolingual, the Cyrillic alphabet is a symbol of national identity and the Bulgarians will do their best to resist any attempts to change the language and/or the alphabet.

References:

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The Return of the Cyrillic Script to Northern Greece in the 2000s: The majority and minority perspective

Christian Voss (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin)

Until the Balkan Wars 1912/13 the Bulgarian Exarchate had an active network of churches and schools between Kastoria in the West and Edirne in the East spreading Bulgarian national consciousness among the Slavic-speaking population. Despite their religion and their loyalties, the Slavic-speaking Muslim population in Western Thrace has been considered by the Greeks as the fifth column of Bulgaria which after 1945 became the national, but also ideological enemy.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, the EU-accession of Bulgaria and EU cohesion programs like the „Pan-European Corridors" (highways from Bulgaria to Greece), the Cyrillic script which was a Bulgarian sign of Russia-supported Orthodox Christendom before 1912, has reappeared in Northern Greece since the 2000s to support and promote tourism. The Muslim minority, however, is not taking part in the bilateral cross-border cohesion, but demonstratively is using Turkish as well as the Arabic script in the local linguistic landscapes.

Panel II: Implications & Intertextualities

New Heroes on the Block: Reading post-Yu Urban Resignification of New Belgrade

Aleksandar Pavlović (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Originally imagined as the post-WWII communist urban paradise arising from a swampy Danube area across the Old Belgrade, New Belgrade and its Paviiljoni (The Pavilions) acquired a notorious reputation of the Belgrade slums inhabited by young (wannabe) gangsters during the state dissolution and wars of the 1990s. Drawing from Lotman's idea of semiosphere as a semiotic process in which various actors produce spatial signs in a form of communication, this paper will offer an analysis of various (re)signifying moves from above and below that transformed the Pavilions from once homogenous communist semiotic space into a post-transitional ideological hybrid with colliding and confining meanings.

After providing an introduction about New Belgrade and the Pavilion's urban symbols during the Yugoslav period, I will focus on several recent and current resignifying processes from above, such as: changing street names (Pohorska into General Zdanov St., Goce Delčeva into Marshal Tolbuhin St.) and school names (Žikica Jovanović Španac into Nadežda Petrović, Žarko Zrenjanin into Aleksandar I Karageorgevic; significantly, the neighbouring school preserved its name of the Croatian communist hero Marko Orešković). In addition to these politically driven interventions of the establishment, equally significant are those following economic transition and transformation, such as the emergence of private hospitals, private faculties and foreign banks in the block. Finally, among those capillary signifying processes coming from below are dubious forms of "entrepreneurship" in privatizing communal space (transforming previously joint space on ground floors and terraces into private flats and small private shops); as well as new visual territorial mapping of the Pavilions by the Partizan football fans groups, with their graffiti of distinct heroes and martyrs who perished defending their sacred block from the rival groups.

Reading of the Pavilions thus depart heavily from Fukuyamian and Žižekian thesis that we are living in a post-ideological world. In effect, they show that Belgrade, Serbia and – by extension – broader post-socialist space, function as a hybrid semiosphere, where various ideological layers and messages – the most prominent being communist, neo-liberal/capitalist and (neo)nationalist – coexist in a form of ideological mishmash blending contradictory and even mutually exclusive meanings, expressing short-term interests of the political elite or ideological particularism of local actors.

'Blok, brate, Bruklin': Semiotic landscapes of New Belgrade as represented in hip-hop music videos

Irena Šentevska (Belgrade)

New Belgrade was initially conceived as the representative seat of government of a new country – socialist Yugoslavia. However, the status of the new capital gradually changed according to the political transformations and economic conditions in the Yugoslav federation. Becoming a predominantly residential area, New Belgrade still remained a model modernist town, a mark of distinction for Yugoslavia's architectural

profession which made considerable efforts to distinguish its output from the commonplaces of socialist architecture in the Eastern Bloc. However, during the 'golden age' of its socialist expansion (1960s and 1970s) New Belgrade also acquired a reputation for its 'boredom' (lack of content other than apartment blocks).

This all changed with the transitional 1990s and overall transformations of the political and economic systems in the (considerably diminished) country. New Belgrade's degraded 'projects' became a metaphor for the demise of the socialist state and its modernist ideals, often seen as the 'heart of darkness' of the isolated and criminalized Serbia during the armed conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Since the beginning of the 1990s diagnosis of a 'closed society', Serbia's (justified or not) isolation from the rest of the world and 'life in the ghetto' had become dominant themes in Serbian cinema and large portion of popular culture. Ghetto is a metaphor for the victims of transition – those who failed to find a proper place in the new economy. Within Serbia conceived as a 'great ghetto' one part of Belgrade acquired a mythical aura of the 'super-ghetto': New Belgrade, seen as the paradigmatic *banlieue défavorisée*.

With the political (and especially economy-related) changes in Serbia after the year 2000, New Belgrade became a municipality with the highest GDP in the Serbian capital, a privileged location for foreign investments and new housing developments. This paper outlines the dynamics of the historical development, political significance and economy-related transformations of New Belgrade, focusing on the subject often excluded from considerations of urban landscapes – their media representations and semiotic capacity. I focus on the hip-hop music video as a specific audio-visual media form and genre which more than any other exploits urban settings, transforms them into 'ghettos' of underprivilege and makes unabashed statements on the communities they 'represent' or the society at large. As represented in hip-hop music videos, New Belgrade is considered here as a generic semiotic landscape which in the interplay between the text, music and images generates new meanings and communicates different histories from the one outlined above.

"Fool, This is a Post Office": Deixis and Play in the Linguistic Landscape

Kevin Kenjar (University of Rijeka)

The title of my paper, "Fool, This is a Post Office", comes from a well-known story from Sarajevo: In the spring of 1992, as the nationalist fervor that swept through the Balkans in the 1990's had finally brought war to Sarajevo's doorstop, a provocative message appeared, spray-painted on the side of Sarajevo's central post office. Written in Cyrillic, it read *OVO JE SRBIJA* ("This is Serbia"). Just beneath it another message was written in the Latin script, presumably in response to the first: *BUDALO, OVO JE POŠTA* ("Fool, this is a post office"). This anecdote brings to our attention an aspect of the linguistic landscape that remains largely undertheorized and neglected in Linguistic Landscape Studies (LLS): deixis.

Building on a body of work in linguistic anthropology dealing with the many complexities of indexicality, textuality, and the materiality of texts, and drawing on examples of signage in the linguistic landscape (particularly graffiti) documented throughout the former Yugoslavia, this paper offers novel approaches to the study of spatially situated texts. This includes an assessment of such texts that, when considered from a phenomenological perspective, are revealed to have spatial and temporal properties similar to both written and oral communication. A key notion explored in this paper is that of the "deictic center," which serves as the temporal and spatial zero-point of a deictic field containing various places, participants, etc. However, despite such anchoring, there remains a certain degree of referential indeterminacy and ambiguity

A second key aspect to be explored in this paper is the notion of play. As will be shown through illustrative examples, the general slipperiness of pragmatics provides a space for play for the authors of texts in the linguistic landscape. Perhaps more important is that subsequent authors are able to creatively engage with

existing signage, taking advantage of indeterminacy and ambiguity to pragmatically reassign the "heres-and-nows" of a text.

A close examination of examples of graffiti and other signage, as well as the contexts in which they occur, will reveals how the temporality, spatiality, and materiality of signage in the linguistic landscape result in structured forms of play (or "games") that are not only legible to participants and passers-by, but are also recognized as carrying significant stakes in the cultural, social, and political arenas in which linguistic landscapes are inexorably entangled.

Between the Northern Epirus and Chameria: Temporal and spatial imaginaries in the Albanian-Greek borderlands

Ekaterina Zheltova (Charles University, Prague)

Over the recent decades, borders and borderlands have attracted much attention among researchers in social sciences, anthropologists not being an exception. In these studies, borderlands are often described as complex geographic and symbolic spaces in which negotiations of power and sovereignty together with construction and reconfiguration of socio-cultural identities and boundaries become particularly intense and revealing while the experience of people living in the borderlands is conceptualized as the one of exceptional uncertainty, marginality, and liminality. In my PhD project dedicated to the historical region of Epirus in the Western part of the Albanian-Greek borderlands, I attempt to trace the connections and tensions between the state sovereignty, language, and subjective experience in such a liminal symbolic space.

In this paper, I will focus on how my research participants imagine time and space, or, in other words, the historicity that defines their lived experiences and, at the same time, is being constructed in the course of these experiences. I argue that the ways my research participants imagine their past, present, and future is guided simultaneously by the logic of topological truth and the linear truth. Thus, they rely both on the affective connections between people and experiences and the idea of objectivity and validity. This mode of historicity has many effects, including how people make moral judgments, resolve property issues, struggle to maintain their identity and sense of self in a city, and produce locality and belonging across borders. My thinking on this issue will unfold around two main axes. The first one is the topology of victimhood and trauma, which has defined the region's political life over the 20th and 21st centuries and its representations in the people's up-to-day discursive practices. The second one is the topology of migration and globalization and its role in how people establish affective connections with the past to secure their sense of self and belonging in the uncertainty of the present.

The Sea of Bodies: Meaning-making in the Bordering Spaces

Boris Ružić (University of Rijeka)

The study authored by *Refugees Reporting – Refugees and Communication Rights in Europe* analyzes ways in which mainstream newspapers reported on the so-called *migrant wave* in print media and online in 2016 and 2017 in eight European countries (2018). It concludes that 67% never directly quoted migrants although they clearly spoke about them; only 5% news on migration puts an emphasis on displacement, while 74% falls

under politics and crime etc. At the same time, EU Commission concluded that approximately 63% of EU citizens believe they are not well informed in the questions of migration and integration. My paper explores this seeming paradox between disinformative media and misinformed public though visual and semiotic analysis of migrants' self-representational practices on routes from eastern Balkans through Croatia towards "Schengen Europe". It will include two case studies: social media activity by migrants in order to communicate and help each other in their efforts and travels, and illegal pushbacks caught on hidden cameras published by Border Violence Monitoring Network in 2020 (The Black Book of Pushbacks).

Images of migrants prove to be crucial in a double sense: they can be used as evidence for reports of mistreatment and violation of human rights, as well as provide an insight into a subjective world of stories we usually often hear only by narrativization of hegemonic media discourses. My research is based in the field of visual studies and aims at providing a countervisual (Mirzoeff) approach to images of the migrants by emphasizing the importance of images not made *of them*, but those made *by them*. More specifically, the aim is to further elucidate self-representational practices as intersubjective and as a way of epistemic and affective reframing the dominant narrative found in media today which seldomly enacts an "outside" point-of-view. By sharing fragmented and subjective stories, the aim is to use them as semiotically constructive for a more viable (but also multifaceted) narrative of recent migrations in the vicinity.

I will present two hypotheses that aim at explaining the lack of self-representational visuality of migrants in the media: the first is that the lack of subjective accounts is a well-established strategy of prohibition of identification with the suffering of the victim. Building on established psychological research, I claim that the appearance of migrants as unrecognizable masses leads to the perpetuation of populist discourses of fear and threat of the unknown. Through countervisual and self-representational approach, I will demonstrate the possibilities of public, but unseen spaces such as borders, to serve as a means of subjectivation and individualization of migrants. The second hypothesis is that the usual notion of biopolitics as argued by Foucault (1990) and Hardt and Negri (2005) should be advanced taking into account Mbembe's notion of necropolitics who explains it as the management and regulation of life from the perspective of a production and regulation of death.

Intertextual aggression in inscribing solidarity towards refugees in the LL of Mytilene

Costas Canakis (University of the Aegean)

Although it is common for LL research to focus on social strife and resistance as aspects of changing notions of citizenship (the papers in Blackwood et al. 2016; Canakis 2016, 2017, 2018; Canakis & Kersten-Pejanić; Christoulaki 2017), the effects of forced mobility as a result of the recent humanitarian crisis on the LL has received less attention (but see Brown 2019). In this paper, I am revisiting the LL of Mytilene, as an arena where the presence of refugees is dynamically inscribed and contested predominantly by locals (Canakis in press). Using ethnographically collected data (2015 to 2020), I am focusing on often aggressive expressions of solidarity towards refugees (typically repudiating xenophobic and nationalist stances) which do not apparently respond to visible LL signs contesting the presence of refuge populations, but rather to powerful intolerant discourses circulating widely in Greek society (notably in the media). The choice to inscribe vociferous resistance to such discourses in the LL of Mytilene (and other cities) is an instance of intertextuality towards "LL absences". I.e., LL actors expressing their solidarity towards refugees often use aggressive language addressing intolerant discourses that are well in place and established, although missing from the LL itself. This choice increases exponentially the visibility of staunch pro-refugee stances, in an attempt to underscore that solidarity towards refugees is the prevalent stance in Greek society, while evoking (and capitalizing on)

the aggression of intolerant discourses in wider circulation in a semi-urban and peripheral yet superdiverse environment.

References

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Panel III: Realities & Resignifications

Syncretic place-making in Sarajevo and beyond: Semiotic landscapes of cosmopolitanism and their discontents

Gruia Bădescu (University of Konstanz)

This paper examines the architectural practices of syncretic place-making, a process of drawing from multiple traditions in a diverse place, in relationship to the creation of a semiotic landscape of cosmopolitanism. I define this place-making approach as syncretic in the contemporary anthropological understanding of Charles Stewart, referring to mixture and diversity expressed through spatial practices of proximity and convergence. The presentation highlights examples from architectural practice in Sarajevo in the last two decades. While post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is usually associated with divisive, nationalist politics and an architecture mobilizing distinctive, competitive identities, the paper highlights alternative practices that focus on meaning-making related to cosmopolitan imaginaries of the city. The syncretic place-making practices of architecture offices like Amir Vuk Zec and Studio Non-Stop draw from century-old diversity and mixture and become a celebration of urban cosmopolitanism and openness. The practices thus emerge as being transgressive of official memory politics and investor-led urbanism. Nevertheless, such practices also open forms of exclusions, as they sustain the imaginary of the city under attack from the margins and the urban-rural divide. The paper explores the valuation of the architectural projects celebrating cosmopolitanism and the urban spirit of Sarajevo versus the representations of the post-war informal developments on the hills of Sarajevo as intrusions suffocating the city and its culture. All in all, this paper highlights how syncretic place-making as a meaning-making practice has a multilayered signification in a city contested both by its past of conflict, as by enduring categories of urban-rural cultural divides.

LL of rural Banat: a possible typology

Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Aleksandra Salamurović (Friedrich Schiller University, Jena)

The linguistic landscape (LL) was institutionalized in the famous definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings". While some of the research on LL still uses it as a starting point and focuses exclusively on urban areas, more recent works have broadened the scope and conceptualization of LL to include rural places, as well. However, studies focusing on the LL of rural areas are still few, and they almost exclusively examine the Global North (e.g. Reershemius 2020) or the Global South (e.g. Banda & Jimaima 2015). Suspended somewhere between the Global North and the Global South, the so-called 'Global East' (Müller 2020), to which Southeastern Europe also belongs, is excluded not just from notions of globality in general, but also from LL studies.

The aim of our paper is to direct the focus of LL research to a rural site of the 'Global East', namely Serbian Banat, and present a possible typology of the LL of this region. Our study is based on field research conducted within the framework of the bilateral project *Linguistic landscape of the cultural region Banat* (2020-2021, Institute for Balkan Studies in Belgrade, Friedrich Schiller University in Jena). For the purpose of this paper, we

adopted a photo-based approach and focused on one village, which resulted in 180 unique tokens used for our qualitative analysis.

As the relative number of public signage in Southeastern European villages is much smaller than in urban areas, and most frequently they are monolingual, the LL of these rural regions has rarely been the topic of analysis. However, the province under scrutiny, Banat, has a specific history of multilingualism dating a few centuries back. We depart from the classical distinction between public and private signage, and look into the interplay of minority and majority languages and/or scripts in two main public spaces: the village proper (with its top-down and bottom-up contemporary inscriptions, such as street names, commercial signs, public ads, names of buildings and institutions, etc.) and the village cemetery, which is an important satellite of the village and as a rule contains the biggest number of inscriptions in this part of Europe (Sikimić & Nomachi 2006). If the language of the public spaces within the village is partly the result of contemporary language politics of the country, partly of the ethnic structure of the place, the cemetery is read as a palimpsest which preserves the languages and scripts of all the people who inhabited the village during the last 250 years.

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Subotica – the minority capital of Serbia. Competing and corresponding cultural and semiotic landscapes and ideologies

Marija Mandić (Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, Belgrade)
Jelena Filipović (University of Belgrade)

The city of Subotica / Szabadka is the administrative center of the North Bačka District in the autonomous province of Vojvodina, Serbia. After the dissolution of the Austria-Hungary, Subotica / Szabadka, became an integral part of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as the third-largest city, following Belgrade and Zagreb, and its border-town. The city and its vicinity are exceptionally ethnically, linguistically, and religiously mixed, being home to more than 16 ethnic and linguistic communities. However, the largest ethnic communities are Hungarian (35,6%), Serbian (27%), Croatian (10%), Bunyev (10%); more than half of the population is Roman Catholic by denomination (57,6%), followed by Orthodox (27,8%). (Population Census 2011). As the city with the highest concentration of Catholics in Serbia, Subotica / Szbadka was chosen to be the center of the Roman Catholic diocese of the Bačka region. Also, being a traditional demographic, political and cultural stronghold of the ethnic Hungarians, Croatians, and Bunyevs, it is no wonder that their most important national institutions are located in this city. In Subotica / Szabadka, Serbian, Hungarian, and Croatian are official languages, while Bunyev is in the process of acquiring the official status too. Thus, several languages are used in official and everyday communication and

visualized in the city landscape. It should be also mentioned that the city scape is unique because of many historically and culturally significant buildings and monuments, especially buildings in the art nouveau style. The awareness of the city unique historical, cultural, political, and etnolinguistic heritage is present among its citizens and influence their language ideology, which result in different accounts and claims of public space.

The previous research on the semiotic landscape in Serbia showed the primary workings of digraphia processes (Cyrillic and Latin Alphabets), whereby an alphabet becomes an index of religion, identity and nationhood, commodification, press tabloidization, and internetization (Ivković 2015a, 2015b). The research on the language use in Subotica / Szabadka additionally showed that besides digraphia, different national languages, especially Serbian in Latin alphabet and Hungarian, are competing and communicating within the city public space (Siarl and Komlosi 2017). In this paper we analyze the semiotic landscape in the city of Subotica / Szabadka based on contemporary field research, which includes multimodal approach and quantitative-qualitatve analysis of the visual material recorded in the city center, as well as discourse analysis of interviews conducted with the city's cultural and minority activists. We want to explore, on the one hand, visual culture of everyday life, and, on the other hand, semi-public discourses on the city semiotic landscape. Our theoretical and methodological framework relies on concept of multimodal social semiotics which, by relying on complexity of discursive components (not only words but also sounds, images, movements and space), allows us to further investigate the creation of social meanings of semiotic landscapes in concrete socio-historical, cultural, political and religious contexts.

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Ethnic and Religious Symbolism in the Natural Surroundings

Fr Vedran Obućina, University of Regensburg

Renaming geographical places in countries of ex-Yugoslavia includes several stages of elaborative semiotics of change. First, in early 1990ies, all six republics of ex-Yugoslavia started to change the names inherited from the socialist times. Public institutions, towns, streets, natural settings suddenly regained their old, pre-socialist names, in a clear effort to break away from the socialist past. The second phase was more ominous: conflicting parties in the wars following the breakup of Yugoslavia used name strategies to confirm the ethnic cleansing of the territories. After the war, these sights of memories and historical places are still contentious while the negative peace endures.

This paper gives an overview of the renaming strategies in political geography during and after the wars of ex-Yugoslavia, with a particular emphasis on Bosnia and Herzegovina, where most such renaming tactics were used to show control and power over territory that was once multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious.

This is further accentuated by building of new churches and mosques, as the religion is utterly misused as an identity tool in power disbalance. The paper also shows positive examples of faith-based reconciliation initiatives and path to positive peace by re-using the natural settings and promoting the integrity of states formed in 1990ies. This includes mutual cultural and religious gatherings in places of memory and promoting local heritage in integral way, using the geography and natural scenery as a helpful narrative.

Reconfiguration of space in countries of ex-Yugoslavia was rampant and it did succeed in positioning a new reality for younger generations. However, renaming strategies mostly failed to gain ground even in the majority population. This shows a potent durability of close relationship between local populace and natural surrounding and, at the same time, short visions of forces that seek power shifts.

Destination Pula: A city's history and the making of a semiotic landscape of tourism

Eva Posch (University of Graz)

Tourism creates semiotic landscapes by transforming tangible and intangible elements into signs and symbols and offering these as tourist attractions to the presumptive tourist consumer. Destinations, sights and attractions represent a complex system of signs, which is to be contextualised in theories of semiotics and sign-making and approaches to tourist attractions based on MacCannell's concept of "sight sacralisation". Sights are thus seen as social constructions which rely on a framing process through the codification in representational cultures. Tourists become agents of semiotics as their reading and interpretation of signs aid their sense-making of a place, underpinning their experiences and practices *in situ*. This sign system and the globally circulating sight and destination imaginaries, which are thus established, underpin tourist performance and provide a sense of authenticity.

Semiotic landscapes and the framing processes they rely on do not appear in a vacuum, though, but they are linked to strategies of commercialisation and commodification which are inherent in destination development processes and branding projects in a competitive tourism industry. What is more, the framing processes semiotic landscapes rely on converge with the places, their identities and their inherent discourses. And this nexus shall be examined in the proposed paper, based on observations in the Istrian coastal town of Pula.

Much of Pula's tourism relies on the use of the past, and the city's historically infused city-scape and its heritage not only inform its place identity but also combine to form this particular semiotic landscape. Among the relevant historical periods dominating Pula's semiotic landscape of tourism are the Imperial Roman antiquity, Pula's past in the Venetian republic, and its importance as a major naval port of the Habsburg empire. These pasts are turned into signs in visual and textual representations, propping up the framing and codification of the city's major attractions. They eventually find their way into print or online resources, interpretations at monuments or in museums, and souvenir reproductions of Pula's major sights to inform tourist performance and participation. In "contexts for more- and other-than-representational moments" (Waterton et al, 2014), tourist agency in these semiotic landscapes is highlighted, focusing on their performance at the sights, their participation in "doing history" activities such as re-enactments and on their sense-making process which can be traced online, in blogs and forum entries, on websites, and on social media.

Besides the requirements created by destination development and branding processes, the discursive negotiation of identity and space cannot be discounted when it comes to framing processes and the emergence of this particular semiotic landscape of tourism. Pula has a very specific place identity which is projected to a tourist audience in the framing of its heritage sites. However, the dominant discourses linked to

this place identity can sometimes be seen to give way to those of more nationalized conceptualisations of identity, leading to a lack of congruence in the framing of some sights and generating what could be seen as "gaps" in the semiotic landscape, thereby obstructing tourist sense-making.

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Re-claiming the Public Space in times of the Covid-19 pandemic: Transient Linguistic Landscapes of mass demonstrations in Greece

Stella Bratimou (Hellenic Open University)
Roula Kitsiou (University of Thessaly)

Based on the notion that the Linguistic Landscape (LL) is an ever-changing manifestation of multimodal communication materialized in space (Gorter, 2018), LL research can imprint the hybridity and constant reconstruction of space through its resemiotization. Much like space, LL is not neutral but ideologically infested and subject to power relations, social structures and hierarchies. Therefore, issues of agency, power and stratification are critical in understanding the construction and workings of LL, especially those related with space appropriation and resignification as a form of collective identity representation and participation in the public sphere. While, some elements of the LL are more stable, transitory and transgressive LLs, though volatile, shed light to social dynamics and human agency in the construction of the LL –from bellow- through the brief occupation of public space, re-shaping the public sphere by asserting voice, visibility and, therefore, participation.

This study regards public space appropriation through the LL constructed in three public demonstrations held in Athens, Greece, during Covid-19 restrictions to the right to assembly, in conjunction with official and public discourse preceding and succeeding their realization. More specifically, the study includes the Labour Day rally, the antiimperialist protest honoring the anti-dictatorship struggle of 1973 and the protest against state violence and police brutality commemorating a student's murder by the police in 2008. These protests are annual and connected with specific past events, so they bear a specific symbolic burden for social movements and collective memory in Greece.

The paper's overall aim is to shed light on the various imbalances in sociability and participation in the public sphere as a result of the covid-19 pandemic limitations to freedom of movement and assembly, which have ruptured the uses of public space. The issue of realizing these protests emerged as a key point of sociopolitical dispute between those in favor and a right-wing government, already hostile towards social movements and

these specific demonstrations. Additionally, the escalation of state suppression between each rally turned the actualization of the November and December protests to a struggle for social dissent visibility.

To address the aim of this study, qualitative approach on transitory, transgressive LLs integrating elements of linguistic ethnography and MCDA is employed. Different data sets, such as fieldnotes (participant observation), narratives, audiovisual data drawn by the major photo-video reporter agency in Greece, political statements, media coverage and users' reactions in news-agencies' social media are critically analyzed, in order to highlight the anticipated and actual impact of these moments of "turbulence" materialized through and reflected by the LL (Stroud, 2016). The paper concludes stressing out that, since their realization becomes a central issue of public discourse related with restrictions to the right to public space, these demonstrations emerge as instances of transgressive space appropriation against the biopolitics of fear and confinement while highlighting the importance of collective memory in spatial practices of the present.

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Panel IV: Challenges & Changes

Urban space as palimpsest. Semiotic landscape of Split

Maciej Czerwiński (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)

The art historian Vojeslav Molè called Split a 'stone palimpsest'. I this talk, taking this assumption as a point of departure, I will deal with semiotic landscape of the most central part of the city of Split – the *Kotar Grad*. The term semiotic landscape, as elaborated in the collection of studies edited by Jaworski and Thurlow, refers to an interplay between verbal and visual signs that are embedded by social and/or political actors in defining spatial frameworks. Such activities are, in general, directed into imposing certain symbolic order.

Semiotics in general has been concerned with meanings triggered by visual and verbal representations. In the studies of the Moscow-Tartu school, existential space of man was divided into two spheres: biosphere and social sphere (Lotman, Uspenski). The social sphere, represented by semiotic modes of articulation, are defined here as modelling systems – primary and secondary. Whereas primary modelling system is (ordinary) language, the secondary systems range from literature, mythology, religion, painting, architecture, music, and so on. In his earlier writings Lotman, one of the most significant leaders of the Moscow-Tartu group, was concerned with secondary modelling systems as autonomous systems of signification but with time, in particular with his last book, he conceptualized the whole semiosphere as a space in which intertwining meaning-making practices overlap. The concept of semiosphere refers, thus, to more dynamic concept referring to intersections between significative practices making this inquiry more intermodal. And this approach is used in my inquiry.

There have been some studies dealing with Split's linguistic/semiotic landscape (L. Mirošević, Z. Jelaska Marijan) but the author's focus was primarily on names of the streets in Split, either in the first part of the 20th century (in particular referring to *Splitski kažiput*, 1913) or in the second part of the 20th century, grasping the symbolic rupture that happened after 1991. My approach would rather turn into a different direction, on two aspects: (1) the interplay of visual and verbal signs, (2) more cultural than political dimensions of semiosis. I will deal with the universe of verbal signs (names of the streets), visual signs (sculptures and other symbolically relevant signs like facades) and verbal-visual signs (plaques). In putting them together I will focus on simultaneous meaning-making practices that interact in the Split semiosphere, in particular referring to the most relevant conceptual frameworks: (a) Slavic (Croatian)-Romance (Italian/Venetian), (b) Croatian-Serbian, (c) urban-rural, (d) Christian-Medieval.

To understand how complex this problem is one could not only focus on the names of the streets but also take one Ivan Meštrović who was very much aware of the multiplicity of idioms that formed the culturescape of Dalmatia (and also Split): continental (rural) and coastal (urban) Dalmatia; northern and southern Croatia; and Croatian (Catholic) and Serbian (Orthodox) southern Slavdom. Of course, his 'Yugoslav' orientation proved to be unsuccessful, but his imprint in defining the Split semiosphere is still important, albeit in other dimensions (urban-rural like in the sculpture of Marko Marulić).

Reading the signs in landscape and reacting to their transformation.
The case of South-eastern European capital - Belgrade

Sanja Iguman (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade)

The present paper focuses on the topic of urban landscapes` transformations and on local activist groups' reactions to that.

I will start by explaining how and why a certain space is transformed into a place. Assmann`s work assesses that a place is packed with people's memories, experiences and intentions, while a space is still empty and oriented towards the future, with a potential of planning and developing: this framework seems reasonably applicable to the foundation of the present discourse (Assmann, 2002).

In this transformation from space to place, a crucial element is time. According to Schlögel, we read time in space thanks to the signs that are incorporated into the personal narratives of a place (Schlögel, 2003). Experiencing or living a place through a span of time transforms it into a palimpsest whose layers of events are constantly re-evaluated as feelings and meanings that are assigned to them. That is why the material semiotic landscape plays an important role in organizing a place, and why a place in turn determines the reading of signs.

In the light of the mentioned theoretical framework, this paper will explore a specific place in Belgrade: river Sava and its banks. Belgrade is located on the transition from lowlands to highlands. The area of the city is marked off by two transnational rivers – the Sava and the Danube and by their confluence, which determined the very existence of Belgrade (Cvijić, 2013).

The significance that these rivers and their position had for the birth and development of Belgrade is enormous. Additionaly, the transformation of the vast, empty space along these rivers into a specific place might be observed in the light of a *lieu de mémoire - site of memory* (Nora, 1989), both for those who took part in these transformations and for those who inhereted the place and still continue transforming it.

The river Sava and its riverbanks are a perfect example of place, a landscape intended as a multi-layered concept that connects natural resources, human-made elements and most important – the people and the invisible: movements, actions, narration, emotions and relations (Ingold, 2012).

Through the analysis of reading this landscape, I will describe how this place has been transformed through time, in cultural, social and physical sense.

Since the time span of that transformation is long, I will focus on the contemporary events and mostly analyse the social consequences that the mentioned transformations have left – to what extent and in what way does the transformation of signs in landscape affect local citizens. I will focus especially on the citizens gathered in the neighbourly, activist groups. The reactions of these groups will be explored - be they in virtual or in real world (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003).

<u>Keywords:</u> activism, Belgrade, citizens, landscape, public space, semiotics.

Pre-Yugoslav graffiti in post-Yugoslav times: Exploring the World War II graffscape in Istria

Eric Ušić (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana)

Among various practices aimed at (re)symbolization and transformation of spaces and landscapes, graffiti stand out as the most ephemeral: they are, more or less, easily removed or modified, or erased by the restauration of objects on which they were produced. However, when graffiti written more than seventy years ago, in a different historical and social context, survive until today, they reveal not only faded contours of "past" landscapes: they reveal fragments of social imaginaries and identities, transmitting particular experiences and narratives. When it comes to *political* graffiti that survived for so long, and that are in sharp contrast with current dominant ideological and memory discourses, they become even more interesting. That is exactly the case with a particular layer of the symbolic landscape in Istria: a *graffscape* constituted by the remnants of political graffiti written during and, in greater part, in the immediate afermath of World War II, when the region was a contested zone between Italy and Yugoslavia, and divided into two occupation zones. Their authors inscribed pro-Yugoslav, pro-communist and antifascist slogans and symbols on the walls across the then not-yet-Yugoslav Istria, expressing the demands of parts of the population that strived for the Yugoslav solution, while simultaneously using graffiti as means of territorialization and visualization of a particular political ideology, embedding its constitutive elements in the everyday space. These graffiti - written in Croatian and Italian language - are still present in great number in towns and villages of the region. In other words, they were written in pre-Yugoslav times with a strong pro-Yugoslav stance, and are still present and readable in a transformed, post-Yugoslav, social context, and are now part of a different landscape. Actually, has the "Istrian landscape" even changed that much? The aim of the presentation is to, first, put forward a historical contextualization of the World War 2 graffscape in Istria, and second - to review the graffscape in relation to the broader context in order to offer a possible interpretation of its meanings through an analysis and presentation of the material collected during two years of visual-anthropological fieldwork in the region.

Automobile Semiotic Landscapes: Deutsche Autobeschriftungen in Kosovo

Lumnije Jusufi (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Milote Sadiku (University of Prishtina)

Die massive Automobilisierung der Städte in Kosovo setzte in den 1960er ein und erreichte bereits ein Jahrzehnt später ihren Höhepunkt, was durch staatliche Kredite ermöglicht wurde und zu einer massiven Verbreitung des jugoslawischen Kultautos *fićo* aus der Zastava-Produktion führte (Ströhle 2016). Doch wegen der massiven Arbeitsmigration (Gastarbeiter) nach Deutschland änderte sich weitere zehn Jahre später erneut der Autogeschmack der Kosovaren. Das ausländische bzw. deutsche Auto wurde nun nicht nur zum Statussymbol, sondern auch zu einem Massenphänomen. Spätestens ab den 1990er Jahren, als den Arbeitsmigranten auch ihre Familien ins Ausland folgten, und ab den 2000er Jahren, als die ehemaligen Flüchtlinge überwiegend aus Deutschland zurückkehrten, wurde die Automobilisierung zum Massenphänomen und überfordert seitdem nicht nur die Straßen, sondern auch die Einheimischen, insbesondere in den Sommermonaten, wenn die Migranten dort ihren Urlaub verbringen. Das deutsche Auto steht nach wie vor im Zentrum dieses Konsums. Unter den zurückgekehrten Flüchtlingen befanden sich auch

zahlreiche, in Deutschland ausgebildete Handwerker, darunter auch KFZ-Mechaniker. Das Nachkriegs-Kosovo ist von starken Transitionsprozessen geprägt, u.a. auch auf der Automobilbranche, und in diesen Prozessen spielt Deutschland, deutsche Kultur und deutsche Sprache eine zentrale Rolle. Im Rahmen meines laufenden, vom BMBF geförderten Projektes zur Kulturtransfer durch Migration in Kosovo wurde dieser Aspekt in vielen Lebensbereichen in Kosovo festgestellt, u.a. auch auf der Automobilbranche.

Dieser Konsumwandel führte auch zu einem Fachsprachenwandel der KFZ-Branche, weil mit der Einfuhr von deutschen Autos und Autoteilen und der Rückkehr von in Deutschland ausgebildeten Handwerkern auch die deutschen Bezeichnungen entlehnt wurden. Dieser Konsumwandel brachte aber auch einen sichtbaren Wandel in der Öffentlichkeit, und zwar Beschriftungen von Autos bzw. von Kraftfahrzeugen jeglicher Art. Die Autos mit deutscher Beschriftung sind in Kosovo stark verbreitet, weil sie in Deutschland wegen der Beschriftung günstig zu haben waren/sind und in Kosovo durch die deutsche Beschriftung an Prestige gewinnen, ähnlich wie die deutschen Automarken. Oft behalten die Inhaber auch die deutschen Autokennzeichen, weil in Kosovo die Registrierung der Autos nicht so streng gehandhabt wird, oder zumindest das Kfz-Länderkennzeichen D für Deutschland, aber auch A für Österreich und CH für die Schweiz. Der öffentliche Verkehrsraum Kosovos ist dadurch sehr stark deutsch geprägt.

Mein geplanter Vortrag möchte sich diesen besonderen semiotischen Landscapes – den deutschen Autobeschriftungen – anhand von empirisch gesammeltem Fotomaterial widmen. Angestrebt ist die Zeit außerhalb der Emigrantensaison bzw. der noch andauernden Pandemie, um die „echt" kosovarischen semiotischen Landscapes aufzugreifen, d.h. nicht die durch die Emigranten saisonal importierten Landscapes aus den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Die deutschen Autokennzeichen lassen beide Interpretationen zu, deshalb sollen diese möglichst gemieden werden. Kosovarische Autokennzeichen und deutsche Beschriftungen und/oder deutschsprachige Länderkennzeichen stellen dabei das bestgeeignete Feldforschungsmaterial dar. Bei dem Thema handelt es sich um ein kaum erforschtes Feld der Autobranche, bei der die Autowerbung im Vordergrund steht, und zwar sowohl in kultur- als auch in sprachwissenschaftlicher Hinsicht. Somit betritt mein geplanter Vortrag ein absolutes Neuland.

Stickscapes and *Graffscapes*: Southeastern European Linguistic Landscapes in Vienna

Katharina Tyran (University of Vienna)

Against the background of approaches to linguistic landscapes in an urban context I will discuss the presence of south Slavic languages in Austria's capital Vienna. Already since the 1960s, people from former Yugoslavia constitute one of the largest immigrant groups in Austria generally, and in Vienna specifically. People with Serb origin regularly rank first in Viennese statistics, with Bosnian following around the fifth and Croatian around the eighth rank. My paper is grounded in empirical fieldwork conducted during spring 2019 tracing the visibility of Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian, asking how strong and in which contexts and settings the corresponding languages are noticeable in the cityscape. In my presentation I will focus on a very specific urban surrounding, namely *Ottakringer Straße*, a street and adjoining neighborhood in Ottakring, the 16. District in the city, colloquially and locally also designated as the famous '*Balkanstraße'* of Vienna due to numerous shops, cafés and clubs with a Balkan background. Focusing on transgressive signs such as stickers and graffiti in this neighborhood, such linguistic sings, I argue, may be interpreted as a claim for social and political participation and enhancement of visibility of specific communities in this very urban surrounding. They furthermore must be analyzed as linguistic practice for expressing fight over territory by antagonistic groups, or as a resource in marking or even 'occupation' of territory via linguistic signs.

We are the Industry! Reimagining (Old) Industrial Regions

Danko Simić (University of Graz)

Once the epicentres of industrial production, pioneer spirit and therewith technical and social innovations, (old) industrial regions are mainly depicted as places of decay and backward developments today. In this contribution I look at possible ways of reimagining (old) industrial regions and their semiotic landscapes by reattributing workers' knowledge, skills and mindsets. I draw on data (text and visual material) from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the case study Željezara Sisak in spring 2019.

The analysis shows that the industrial semiotic landscapes of Sisak can be categorized in mainly two phases: (1) During socialist Yugoslavia the trinity of workers, factories and socialism were co-constituted hand in hand. This is best captured by a banner at one of the construction sites of the ironworks in the late 1940ies: 'Naš rad i ova peć govori kako se gradi Socializam' (engl. 'Our work and this blast furnace tells how socialism is built'). (2) The breakdown of Yugoslavia serves as a tipping point in the industrial semiotic landscape of Sisak as the industry is reframed as a socialist remnant of the past and a burden for the nationalist ideals of the 1990ies. As the industry is symbolically reinterpreted, also industrial workers are understood as mentally and bodily 'broken' losers of the structural change and factories, as reminders of the past, deteriorate.

Since the breakdown of Yugoslavia, the place is mainly attributed by the 'absence of' something (e.g. lack of industrial production, loss of workplaces, outmigration, etc.) lacking active description and alternative narratives, similar to other (old) industrial regions across Europe. Yet by looking at the companies that followed Željezara Sisak, we can see how industrial knowledge and skills are reused and recontextualised to new (clean) ways of production, initiating positive developments. Therefore, by reimaging (former) industrial workers as carriers of such transformative knowledge and skills, I argue, (old) industrial regions can be re-interpreted as reservoirs of – both embodied and embedded – dynamic tacit and explicit industrial knowledge and skills with a distinct (updated) industrial identity shaped by long-running industrial production. This understanding breaks with the dichotomy of either industrial or post-industrial, and allows various transformations of not only knowledges, skills and mindsets but also of (old) industrial regions.

Panel V: Memories and Meaning-Making

In/Semi/Tangible Memorialization as Activism in Art and Film (also on Absences)

Ana Dević (KU Leuven)

I open the paper with a case of the Yugoslav memory culture's geographical displacement, i.e., the exhibition "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980," which ran in the New York Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) from July 2018 to January 2019. The display of architectural models, photographs, plans and video materials, spread across 1000 m², attracted tens of thousands of visitors, and received overwhelmingly positive coverage in global media outlets, some calling it a nostalgia for the 'unrepeatable.' All the seemingly more striking was the lack of reporting locally, 'back home'. The paper departs from

observing this 'significant silence' in the post-Yugoslav space in relation to the exhibition, linking it to the potential damage that a comprehensive coverage of the event could have made on the state of the hegemonic postsocialist amnesia of socialism.

While the theme of the destruction of the Yugoslav-era monuments (WWII memorials, but also a number of public venues and buildings) was touched upon rather telegraphically in the exhibition itself, nevertheless, the correspondence between the curator and MoMA, which was later reflected in the exhibition's catalogue, demonstrates the inevitability to address, both, the destruction practices and local (anti-hegemonic) memorialisation activism:

"After the collapse of Yugoslavia, antifascist memorials suffered deliberate destruction as signifiers of the abandoned system. Today, many of them are neglected, but others remain active sites of commemoration, often through grassroots efforts." (Please, do not quote).

The destruction of the socialist-era buildings was also extensively covered in the exhibition's catalogue, while the exhibits included the explicitly activist works of the New York architect Lebbeus Woods (The "Scars" on Sarajevo's modernist buildings), and David Maljković's cinematic and photo montage "heritage seeking," transforming the art and architecture from the socialist era to allow for its (renewed) visibility. Such examples of the polarized-parallel architecture and the visualisation of the memory of objects protest against the hegemonic revisions and annihilation of the recent past and invite viewers to fill in the "strong absences" with missing meanings. Relevant examples in the post-Yugoslav space also include the work of visual artist Ivan Grubanov ("United Dead Nations," Venice Biennale 2015) and photographer Hrvoje Polan in the book "Behind Seven Camps: from the Crime of Culture to the Culture of Crime."

I move then to examples of "strong absences" in the recent post-Yugoslav cinema: for the sake of brevity addressing here just the cinema of Goran Dević and Ognjen Glavonić. In Devic's "Blacks" (Crnci, 2009), the entire background of real events (the torture of war prisoners in a hidden garage in the woods) is deleted from the narrative, while the ominousness of the crime (invisible also to the public beyond the movie viewers) is made "visible" by the tensions and depression among the perpetrators and the disorientation and anxiety of getting lost in the mined area in the forest darkened by the rain. Glavonić's "Depth Two" and "The Load" both deal with war crimes committed by the Serbian army in Kosovo in 1999, where the official cover-up and public ignorance are underscored by the emptiness of landscapes and discovery of small objects (in garbage dumps) belonging to the victims.

The visual arts and cinematic efforts at combatting the revisionist hegemony of *making invisible* correspond with and complement the efforts of those civil society groups in the "region" who organize to mark the places of war crimes (as in the case of the Prijedor "White Ribbons"), or make pilgrimages to ruined or neglected WWII memorials (also depicted in the Jasenovac documentary showed in the MoMA exhibition).

This paper discusses omission as a strategy of political subversion. The deliberate (or sometimes accidental) omissions in the work of the artists, architects and cinema-makers seem to function as representations of the *unspeakability of violence*. The omissions may enable a critical stance towards the hegemonic discourses about nationalist violence, which are intent on naming and blaming. Violence cannot be honestly and represented by depicting it realistically or allegorically, these works of art seem to say. The solution has been to make it present by omission. The uses of strong absences: suggestive emptiness, deliberate fogs/ blurred contours, avoidance of human presence, abandoned spaces and landscapes, empty roads, debris and residues, -- however, are also in and of themselves an ambiguous strategy.

Memorial Areas in Socialist Croatia – Towards a Heterodox Approach to War Landscapes and Heritage Management

Sanja Horvatinčić (Institute of Art History, Zagreb)

Iva Stojević (Institute of East Asian Studies, ENS de Lyon)

From late 1960s until the end of 1980s, a total number of 21 memorial areas (*spomen-područja*) were registered, documented and listed by the Republic Office for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Zagreb. As a special category of classifying historical and natural landscapes, this innovative concept originated from the extensive fieldwork practice of specialists who dealt with heritage from the Second World War. On one hand, they closely collaborated with local communities and stakeholders, and on the other, belonged to a vibrant and progressive field of experts who took part in international discussions, and developed collaborations with experts dealing with architecture and urban planning, (art)history, sociology, economics, etc. Memorial areas were mainly developed from a need to conceive a new way of WW2 heritage protection, use, and management, aligned with the dominant memory politics, and mechanism of the socialist system which was based on social ownership and workers' self-management. This was especially the case with areas with a high density of WW2 sites, mainly located in rural communities, where experts had to rely on local informants and guides, while their fieldwork activities – mapping and documenting the sites and artifacts – were done in coordination with local museums and heritage institutions.

This local component of heritage management remains relevant today: in the absence of systematic approaches that aim to preserve, interpret, and present WW2 heritage, heritage workers must continue the tradition of relying on local support, both material and interpersonal, in their effort to uphold the legacy of wartime experiences. The final studies for memorial areas, which usually grew into extensive, interdisciplinary studies, included heritage and nature protection plans, as well as local economy development plans, which took into account local traditions and negative effects of tourism. By analyzing these features on three case studies – Memorial Area Petrova Gora, Memorial Area Partizanska Drežnica, and Memorial Area Kalnik – we want to re-asses and re-evaluate this concept as a heterodox approach to war landscapes and heritage management practices, and how they interact with living communities. By looking at the recorded, realized and absent layers of memorial landscape in these areas, we will present an operative analytical model for the analysis of existing studies on memorial areas, and their potential for future reactivation.

Promjena vlasti - promjena imena ulica, Cace study Donji Lapac

Ivana Budimir (Université du Luxembourg)

Članak se bavi analizom službenih preimenovanjima ulica u ličkoj općini Donji Lapac nakon Domovinskog rata istražujući kako političke elite nazivima ulica kao elementima kolektivnog sjećanja nastoje stvoriti odnos ljudi i prostora u okvirima svojih ideologija, odnosno političkih ciljeva. Hrvatsku Općinu Donji Lapac prema službenim podacima od Drugog svjetskog rata naseljavalo je većinsko stanovništvo srpske nacionalnosti. Tijekom Domovinskog rata ta je općina na okupiranom području Like administrativno egzistirala pod velikosrpskom tvorevinom SAO Krajine. Po oslobođenju Donjeg Lapca, nastojeći vratiti „normalan" život na „hrvatsko tlo", Vlada RH je imenovala Povjerenika za Općinu Donji Lapac, koji je 1996. godine imenovao mješoviti Odbor za uspostavljanje civilne vlasti. Odbor od 6. članova, od kojih je jedan član bio iz pripadnika srpske nacionalne zajednice, a pet iz redova doseljenog pučanstva, odnosno Hrvata iz BIH, preuzelo je ovlasti i zadaće lokalne vlasti. U tim okolnostima Povjereništvo je donijelo Odluku o promjeni imena ulica u Donjem Lapcu brišući

pritom naslijeđene nazive bivše države prema osobama i događajima iz Narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta i socijalističkog sustava. Preimenovane ulice su dobile nazive prema hrvatskim političarima, pjesnicima te gradovima i lokalitetima, dok su one posvećene događajima iz Domovinskog rata dokazivale pobjedničku stranu u ratu. Budući da se među novim nazivima ulica nije našlo nijedno ime koje se može povezati sa srpskim stanovništvom na tom području, možemo reći da se desilo svojevrsno „etničko čišćenje" naziva ulica, kao da srpski narod na ovim područjima nikad nije postojao, a ulica posvećena Mili Budaku, ozloglašenom ideologu ustaškog pokreta iz vremena NDH bila je poruka Srbima da se ne vraćaju. Unatoč etničkim migracijama i demografskim promjenama, većinsko srpsko stanovništvo na lokalnim izborima 2000. godine bira Srpsku narodnu stranku čije općinsko vijeće jednoglasno potvrđuje prijedlog tročlane komisije iz redova vladajuće stranke o ponovnom preimenovanju 14 od 18 ulica na području općine. Vraćajući neke nazive ulica očekivano ispravljaju ideološki kurs kako to već čine vlasti s polugama moći u svojim rukama. Međutim, zadržavajući imena hrvatskih pjesnika odnosno imenovanja ulica po Hrvatskim velikanima, postignuta je određena heterogenost hrvatskih i srpskih naziva, ljekovita točka koja je potrebna tamošnjem narodu za suživot u poraću baš kao i dijalog i empatija za drugu stranu. Bez obzira na to, predstavnik ideološki suprotstavljene strane, Srećko Remenar iz Hrvatske stranke prava, u izjavama za medije posljednje preimenovanje smatra jednim od poteza kojim se želi postići to da Donji Lapac bude etnički čisto mjesto, a *vox populi* u svemu tome možemo potražiti u izjavama Milana Đukića, načelnika općine te Stjepana Sabljića, načelnika policije, koji su suživot Srba i Hrvata u Donjem Lapcu opisali kao „*fenomenom za Guinessovu knjigu*" budući da „*nakon prljavog međunacionalnog rata i sukoba (…) nije zapisan nijedan eksces na međunacionalnoj osnovi kojeg bi MUP promovirao kao neko kazneno djelo.*" (Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, 2004)."

<u>Ključne riječi:</u> imena ulica, Hrvatska, Domovinski rat, Donji Lapac, kolektivno sjećanje

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From socialist realism to the cross: The war between pseudo-religious communist ideology and organized religion on the example of two monuments by the sculptor Antun Augustinčić in Croatia

Antonio Grgić (University of Graz)

After taking control of Yugoslavia in 1945, the new communist-controlled government embarked on a planned symbolic redesign of public spaces. However, it was not only public spaces that were reshaped. Entire landscapes were semantically redesigned and the symbolic characteristics of entire settlements changed by adding monuments. This procedure is especially visible on the Monument of Gratitude to the Red Army by the Croatian sculptor Antun Augustinčić and the architect Drago Galić, built in 1947 on the site of the Battle of Batina, on the Croatian bank of the Danube.

This monument established a new dominant point of the entire space in the form of an obelisk with a sculpture on top. It is located on the most dominant topographic elevation above the settlement of Batina. With its position and vertical line, the monument dominates the bell tower of the Catholic Church in the very centre of the settlement. The monument thus changed the symbolic character not only of the settlement, but also of the entire landscape.

This monument is also the first Yugoslav attempt at the paradoxical formation of a communist "sanctuary", the site of a pseudo-religious cult of the new profane religion. Therefore, it was necessary for the monument to dominate by height over the verticality of the church bell tower, as a symbol of the old and obsolete cult. On the one hand, communism rejected the notions of transcendence and God, while at the same time adopting the notion of salvation. It also retained a teleological view of the inevitable historical necessity to

whose will man must submit. Augustinčić's "Victory" is the first monumental iconographic depiction of that ideology and it is its first materialization in space.

After the fall of the communist regime in the 1990s, public spaces, landscapes and settlements were semiotically redesigned once again. This time this was achieved by demolishing monuments built during socialism. One of the most interesting cases is the demolition of the Monument to the Fallen Soldiers in the Dalmatia, also a work of Antun Augustinčić, in the town of Gradac.

The sculpture at the top of the obelisk was demolished in 1992 by soldiers of the Croatian Army. The plan of the then local pastor was to place a large stone cross on top of the ten-meter obelisk, instead of the bronze partisan. The ultimate goal of the operation was the symbolic reshaping of space and the re-establishment of the symbolic primacy of the church.

This war between Yugoslav communist ideology and organized religion is most often viewed as a struggle between atheism and Christianity. But it is a much more subtle struggle for the monopoly on spiritual notions. In that struggle, the communist authorities tried to create pseudo-religious spaces that would replace the human need for a religious ritual. While in the USSR the communist government tried to fulfil the human need for rituals by creating a pseudo-religious architectural typology in the form of atheistic Ritual Palaces, in Yugoslavia this function was performed by monuments.

Renamings of Marshal Tito Squares and Streets in Croatia after 2017: an old conflict in a semiotic landscape anew

Piotr Mirocha (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

In Autumn 2017 Zagreb's Marshall Tito Square *(Trg maršala Tita)* was renamed into Republic of Croatia Square *(Trg Republike Hrvatske)*. This can be seen as a result of a political change on a local (in 2017) and national level (in 2015), but also as a result of a long conflict around the shape of the country's semiotic universe.

This presentation will start from an attempt to scrutinise the 2017 debate about the square's name in the context of the meanings attached to the name by both sides of the dispute. On one hand, semiotic consequences of the idea of two totalitarianisms, favoured by the right-wing Circle for the Square *(Krug za Trg)*, will be elucidated. On the other, it will be discussed briefly whether the concept of a so-called 'Titostalgia', elaborated by Mitja Velikonja (2010), may be applied to the counter-arguments from the left. More general interpretations will be provided with the use of frameworks provided by Yuri Lotman (1996) (semiotic universe, culture vs. non-culture) and Aleida Assmann (2013) (memory and counter-memory).

Besides, a series of similar renamings in smaller Croatian cities and towns (e.g. Karlovac, Šibenik, Zaprešić, or Mursko Središće) will be an opportunity to pose a question about relation between the centre and peripheries in semiotic landscape; they also illustrate an inevitable role of power in shaping of semiotic practices.

Parallel developments in street naming from post-2015 Poland will be used as a comparative and contrastive evidence for similar practices in other post-Communist countries. Arguments used in Croatian and Polish debates will be confronted with the existing research on the ideological role of odonyms (cf. e.g. Azaryahu 1996). This may prove that seemingly neutral, linguistic approach, adopted by toponomastics, might be insufficient to grasp the explicitly modern phenomenon of commemorative street naming. On the other hand, certain 'naïve' /'grassroot' ideas about the role of odonyms may also arise from the analysis of the discussions. Additionally, a number of counter-memorial practices will be presented, offering a convincing

comparison for the activities of the citizen groups objecting to the renaming of the Zagreb's Marshall Tito Square.

The whole will be concluded with tentative characteristics of the new practices in semiotic landscapes of street names in Croatia and other post-Communist countries. They can be subsumed under two conflicting tendencies: intensifying attempts to put forward the concept of two totalitarianisms as one of the strictly applied principles of the cultural memory and more or less successful reinterpretations of the post-socialist symbolic heritage in counter-memorial practices.

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Different Wars – Same Heroes? World War II and Croatian War of Independence Monuments in Eastern Croatia

Michał Piasek (Humboldt University, Berlin)

Croatia's historical metanarrative of the thousand-year struggle for independence has become a key element in nation formation since 1991 (Pavlaković 2014). However, the role of (national) self-determination linked with semiotic- and memoryscapes within multiethnic and -religious areas, remains a relatively under-investigated dimension of sociological and anthropological studies.

Along the former Slavonian Military Frontier, in today's eastern Croatia World War II and the Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995) left its indelible mark. It is a region with difficult and diverging remembrance practices. However, the end of the 1990s war led to the erection of new monuments with revisionist symbols and the new phenomenon of replacing partisan monuments with new World War II monuments using fascist symbols from the time the puppet state of Independent Croatia existed.

These nationalist groups erecting the monuments use a Croat-centered self-victimizing language and consider multiethnic(-cultural) coexistence as threatening and obstructing the nation-building process (Goldstein 2002). "If there is no suitable past, it can always be invented. The past legitimizes. The past gives a more glorious background to a present that doesn't have much to show for itself" (Hobsbawm 1993). Although there is still ethnic and religious diversity in eastern Croatia, each community deals with these monuments differently.

This study draws on research conducted in villages once located along the historical Slavonian Military Frontier and the former Serbian Krajina and which before 1991 bore a multiethnic and –religious stamp. It concentrates on monuments in a region with its own conflicted remembrance (Jansen 2002, Radonić 2009). I aim to follow various historical processes that instigated the (re–)use of revisionist and mostly politically

tolerated symbols and inscriptions on monuments and sacred architecture. This research connects historical as well as anthropological approaches and fills a gap within the interdisciplinary web of memory studies which offers a heuristic lens that considers both distant (multicultural Military Frontier) and recent history (World War II and the 1990's war).

Visual media representations of Vukovar Remembrance Day

Ana Ljubojević (University of Graz)

This paper analyses visual media framing of the annual commemoration of the fall of Vukovar. The destruction of the town of Vukovar is one of the most violent episodes of the 1991-1995 war in Croatia. Commemoration of the fall of Vukovar, i.e. Day of Remembrance (since 2020 Day of Remembrance for Homeland War Victims and Remembrance Day for the Victims of Vukovar and Škabrnja), is dedicated to the memory of 18 November 1991 when the Yugoslav People's Army entered the devastated town after a three-months siege. My focus is laid on commemorative practices delivered in the last five years, as they tend to present, embody, and reproduce official national memory thanks to their rhythmic repetitiveness, which provides a sense of historical continuity.

Visual representation contributed greatly to the shaping of understanding/meaning making about identity, culture(s), society, class, gender, ethnicity and more. Such phenomena became even more visible in the digital era, and have peaked in the current months during the pandemic. Following theoretical framework of memory studies, this research analyses last five live coverages of the Remembrance Day in Vukovar by the Croatian National Television (HRT). Such program, lasting between two to three hours, tackles upon various aspects of visual culture, addressing both individual and collective memories. As since 2000 there are no political speeches delivered at the commemorative event, apart from a religious service at the end of the program, media frames became even more salient and influential.

The diachronic analysis of the framing of war losses/victimhood does not only help us grasp the genealogies of semantic changes and nuances, but it also places fall of Vukovar in different spatial dimensions. Moreover, it pays particular attention on semantic register(s) and spatial dimension of Vukovar fall: as a necessary sacrifice for further victory, as a defeat or as a place of suffering.

Graffitied Memoryscapes: Muralization of the Homeland War

Vjeran Pavlaković (University of Rijeka)

While the Croatian memoryscape is constantly changing with the addition of new monuments, memorial museums, and commemorative public spaces related to the Croatian War of Independence, or Homeland War (*Domovinski rat*, 1991-1995), there is a parallel memorialization emerging on walls and buildings across the country. Murals depicting iconic images, battles, units, and individual soldiers from the Homeland War are increasingly visible throughout Croatian cities and towns, often in the same style as graffiti celebrating local football clubs. While football Ultras had always been active in graffiti actions to demarcate territory and challenge rivals, in recent years this has shifted beyond tagging, vandalism, and the ubiquitous Vukovar street art into impressive murals that at times also function as semi-official sites of memory. This contribution

represents initial attempts to map and categorize this relatively new form of memorialization of the conflicts in the 1990s, and offers comparisons to similar phenomenon in Northern Ireland, Poland, and other countries.