Jana Jurčević*
University of Zagreb

A GLIMPSE AT SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES AND STUDENT POPULATION OF ZAGREB'S FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
Socio-pragmatics of Public Toilet Graffiti

Abstract

The main focus of this study are semiotic landscapes of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Zagreb, particularly the graffiti found in its public toilets. These graffiti bear a lot of socio-cultural meaning and significance, which is contained in their discursive structures and their social functions. In order to observe the (re)production of ideologies and identity performance in the student population of this specific part of Zagreb's university, the analytical emphasis was put on socio-pragmatic and semiotic features of graffiti in a broader domain of critical discourse analysis. The following four hypotheses emerged from preliminary research: i. toilet graffiti under scrutiny represent group identity of the student population of this faculty, ii. this student population forms a community of practice that mediates between an individual and the society, iii. these graffiti also reveal social and cultural values, problems of politics, and life in general, iv. discourse structure of latrinalia (i.e., toilet graffiti) is mostly dialogical, action oriented, and multimodal. Finally, there were two main goals of this study: primarily to show the interconnectedness of all three levels of social context, and secondly to

---

*   jjurcevic@ffzg.hr

bring to the awareness that we are not bare consumers of space, place, signs and language, but also their creators, interpreters and critics.

Key words: Critical discourse analysis, socio-pragmatics, linguistic ethnography, graffiti, latrinalia, identity, ideology, student population

1. INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on semiotic landscapes (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010), particularly the graffiti found in the public toilets of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Zagreb. These graffiti, also known as latrinalia (Dundes 1966), bear a lot of socio-cultural meaning and significance which is contained in their discursive structures and their social functions (Wales and Brewer 1976, Nwoye 1993, Whiting and Koller 2007). In order to observe the (re)production of ideologies and identity performance in the student population of this specific part of Zagreb's University, the analytical emphasis was placed on socio-pragmatic and semiotic features of graffiti, in a broader domain of critical discourse analysis.

The graffiti in the analysed corpus were categorised on the basis of their content, form, genre, and specific location. The methodology used in the analysis consisted from Grice's cooperative principle (1980), tools from conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), speech act theory (Austin 1976, Searle 1980), and van Leeuwen's social actor theory (1996).

Finally, the interpretation of data has been done in respect to three levels of social context: micro context (the very toilet), meso context (the faculty), and macro context (Croatian and global society).

The main objectives of this study are −
1. Laying down the methodological foundations and theoretical background for investigating discursive and social potential in the agentive power of graffiti.
2. Demonstrating different layers of social reality which are tightly intertwined, and which ultimately affect each other.

3. Highlighting the relevance of communities of practice, and specific speech communities in society.
4. Utilising linguistic ethnography for the purposes of critical discourse analysis and adequate contextualization.

There are four main hypotheses that emerged during the preliminary research, which we aim to demonstrate to be valid on the basis of example analysis. They are the following –

1. Analysed latrinalia represents a group identity of the student population at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.
2. This community of practice (COP) (Wenger, 1998) mediates between an individual and the broader society.
3. It also reveals social and cultural values, problems in politics, and life in general.
4. Its discourse is structured mostly dialogically, action-oriented (filled with speech acts), and is multimodal.

2. The field of linguistic and semiotic landscapes

Investigations of linguistic and semiotic landscapes (LLs & SLs) do not go very far back in the overall history of linguistics, at least not under that name. We could approximately place the emergence and flourishment of scientific interest in LLs and SLs in the late '90s and early '00s, but there are a few caveats to bear in mind. Firstly, the interest in linguistic and semiotic landscapes started with the rise of urbanisation, mass media, and saturation of public places with various signs. Secondly, ethnographic approaches to communication (such as these) have already existed but usually as a part of other traditions (e.g., sociology) or they were ahead of their time and never went beyond theoretical modelling. The best example of such a seminal model is Hymes's ethnography of speaking.

In order to define both linguistic and semiotic landscapes, it is important to see how landscape alone is conceptualised. As seen by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 3), landscape would:

> "...not to be confined to the mediated representations of space in art and literature. It is a broader concept pertaining how we view and interpret space in ways that are contingent on geographical, social, economic, legal, cultural and emotional circumstances..." (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 3)

Following that, we can also say that the concept of linguistic landscapes, just as well as the concept of landscape alone, has been broadened. The traditional view of the field and the first usage of the term linguistic landscapes (LLs) was given by Landry and Bourhis in 1997.

> "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration." (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25)

Later on, with the rise of interest in the field, and with the divergence of topics, the view and the very definition of the field of LLs started to broaden and change. Apart from focusing mostly on multilingual signs and language policies of different societies reflected in LLs, studies began investigating the links between landscape and identity, social order and power, not only at the institutional level but also from the individual perspective.

The evolution of the field didn't stop here. The final step in forming LLs and SLs can be connected to the emergence of multimodal approaches to communication and discourse analysis. That is of course the domain of semiotics which had to be included in order for the analysis of any (contemporary) landscape to be complete. As Kress and van Leeuwen say:

> "In the era of multimodality, semiotic modes other than language are treated as fully capable of serving for representation and communication. Indeed, language, whether as speech or as writing, may now often be seen as ancillary to other semiotic modes: to the visual for instance. Language may now be 'extravisual'. The very facts of the new communicational landscape have made that inescapably the issue." (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001: 46)

Following that, we can agree with Jaworski and Thurlow that semiotic landscapes would be "...in the most general sense, any

(public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making." (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 2)

Finally, it is worth mentioning the ground breaking approach of Ben-Rafael (2009) and his co-authors (2004, 2006) in studying linguistic landscapes of Israel. They brought about a turn in this field by adopting a bottom-up approach. Instead of starting from the institutions (the top), they started their analysis from the micro level, from an individual. They have also taken into account multicultural aspects of globalisation typical for our day and age, and its influence on linguistic and semiotic landscapes. Finally, the authors referred to Erving Goffman's presentation of self and Pierre Bourdieu's capital flow in society, which proved to be very beneficial for adequate interpretation of data, and for connecting various levels of analysis.

2.1. Context of the analysed SL – identity of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and its public perception

The official website of the faculty[1] provides a formal description of this institution. In its presentation to the public, it states that its mission is to become a national leader and a global partner in producing and passing on the knowledge which shapes a more humane society. To accomplish that, it offers a diversity of study programs in various disciplines, a long tradition in student teaching, and a favourable environment for building an academic career.

The history of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences dates to 1669, making this institution one of the oldest faculties in Europe. Since then, it has been developing in many ways, but in 1948 it went through a big reform and structural reorganisation. Today, the faculty offers 42 undergraduate and 33 graduate programs, and each academic year it enrols around 1500 new students. Finally, it has more than 700 employees with more than 500 people as academic

---

[1]   Available at URL: https://web2020.ffzg.unizg.hr/o-nama/misija-i-vizija/ (27th January 2022).

staff, and 600 part-time lecturers. This alone makes it the biggest faculty of the University of Zagreb, and in the whole country.

Since 1961 the faculty has been located in a building of 15 616 m², placed in the broader centre of Zagreb. Offices of professors and departmental administration are spread throughout the corridors in the basement and on three upper floors of the building. At the same time the biggest lecture rooms (D1-D6) are placed on the ground floor, in two different wings of the building. Smaller lecture rooms on the first and the second floor can be found mostly in tract A, while the third floor has the additional E and F tract.

Because the focus has been placed on the student population and public toilets, the most important locations will prove to be the ground floor toilets, where an abundance of graffiti can be found.[2] We presume that is the case because of the biggest circulation of people on the ground floor of the main building, where, apart from the biggest lecture rooms, there is the students' club[3], the cafeteria[4], the new library[5] entrance, the faculty administration (dean's office, human resources etc.)[6], and a bookstore.

It was those reasons that led us to focus exclusively on the ground floor of the main building, and its public toilets. We haven't analysed

---

[2]   Red oval shapes show the locations of public toilets at the faculty.

[3]   On a layout shown in Figure 1, the students' club is marked with a green ellipsis. It is located on the ground floor, between the entrance and lecture room D4, on the left side of the building. Its position and activities held there are quite significant for graffiti production in this area. The club serves different beverages at the bar, has an area for reading, playing chess and cards. Club also organises different types of social events such as student parties, poetry reading, small concerts etc. Their main principle is volunteering and theirmotto is "I read. I think. I turn the world upside down." It is important to note here that the unisex toilet nearest to the club has the most elaborate graffiti and (probably) the most graffiti in general, in comparison to all the other toilets in the building.

[4]   Cafeteria is marked by a purple ellipsis and is located in the basement of the building.

[5]   The new library is an adjacent building marked with a yellow ellipsis.

[6]   The faculty administration is marked with an orange ellipsis.

toilets in the library because they are (almost) devoid of latrinalia, as well as the toilets for the staff.

Figure 1. Ground floor of the faculty
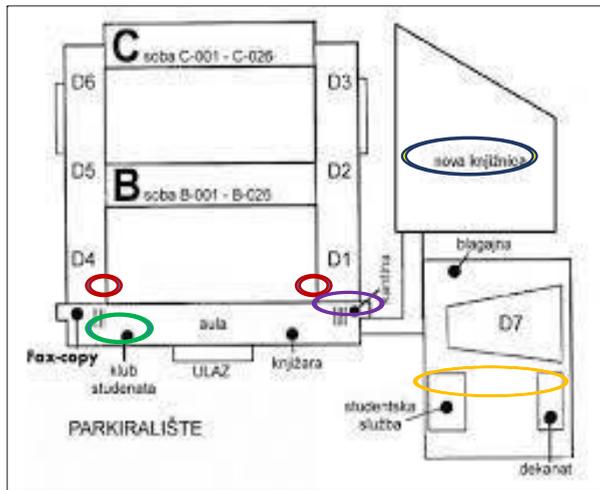
Apart from the identity of the faculty provided by the institution itself, it is also significant to see the students' perspective and their role in its making.

Everywhere in the world, the student population has always been a motivating force in society; the avant-garde in fighting for freedom and equality. A rebellious force criticising society and trying to solve political problems. This is especially the case for the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, which played a large part in Croatian politics. For instance, the Croatian spring movement in 1971. However, the crucial year in the recent history of the faculty was the year 2009. It was the year of students' protest and their occupation of the faculty in their fight for the right of free education. Some of the graffiti made in that period still stand in the toilets of the faculty, so the following summary of the events will also provide us with a context for the SL analysis.

It all started in the spring of 2009, with the students' occupation of the faculty building as a protest against the Croatian government's

plans to reduce public funding for higher education. This lasted for 35 days at Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, but it also spread to the University of Zadar, as well as other bigger cities, and their faculties or universities. During the occupation, everyone was free to enter and leave the building but regular classes were not held. Instead, the students organised an alternative program consisting of lectures, public discussions, workshops, film screenings, etc. At the time, the central body for official decision-making was set up to run the faculty and negotiate with the government. It was an assembly of all interested students and citizens who had equal rights to speak and vote on discussed matters. All decisions were made in a direct democratic manner, by public voting at a daily meeting called Plenum. Hence the graffiti "Go to Plenum!". The second occupation of the faculty was somewhat shorter than the first one, as it lasted for two weeks in the fall semester of 2009, and was terminated by the Plenum votes.

After the protests, a new model of tuition payment in higher education was adopted. It has been decided that the enrolment in the first year of studies would stay free, but the percentage of participation in paying tuition in the following years was to be evaluated according to the student's credits (ECTS).

These were the most famous, most effective, and the longest protests of the student population in the recent history of the faculty. These events have left a mark on the group identity of this population, as well as a mark on the public perception of the institution as a whole. Because of that, we believe that this short overview gives a good insight into a group of people collected around the same goals, life views, and values. This provides us not only with a context for graffiti interpretation but also with the fact that here we are indeed dealing with a specific community of practice (COP), as well as a specific group identity and its discourse. In short, we can say that this group consists of young people, with mostly liberal, sometimes libertarian, and leftist political inclinations. They usually come from middle-class families, and many of them are connected to different youth subcultures.

Finally, the public view of this institution, the perspective of a broader society, of the "outsiders" also adds to the context. This perspective can most easily be spotted in media discourse, but also in some of the graffiti (as we shall see). When discussed publicly and informally, it is not uncommon to hear a stance that people from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb are commies, lazy people, party animals, and hippies. But also, that they are the avant-garde and freedom fighters who will stand aside the working class and the oppressed.

2.2. COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND SPEECH COMMUNITIES

In the previous section, we have noted that the student population of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb can be considered a specific community of practice. It has also been shown how this community revolves around a specific group identity. But can we consider this group also as a specific speech community? We strongly believe that we can, because this very speech has its own distinctiveness and functions combining youth culture jargon with academic discourse, with common ground and common goals in the background of communication processes.

Community in general can be identified in terms of space, place, affiliation, practices, and any combination of these. The term itself is usually used to designate a social unit larger than a household. It can also refer to national, international, and/or virtual (online) groups.

Community of practice (COP) was elegantly defined by Etienne Wenger (1998) who thought of them as aggregates of people that come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Practices of COPs members (ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations) emerge from their joined activities. Some examples of COPs would be co-workers, regular guests at a pub, a nuclear family, and it seems also – the student population. Furthermore, COPs can be large or small, long-lasting, or short-lived, and can be deeply embedded in other communities. We should also bear in mind that an individual

usually participates in multiple communities of practice, and that their individual identity is in turn shaped by all of them. Finally, we can agree with the authors Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 9) who claim that:

> "The community of practice is where the rubber meets the road – it is where observable action and interaction do the work of producing, reproducing and resisting the organisation of power in society..."

A speech community is distinguished by a shared system of interaction and symbols, and its users are aware that they share it amongst themselves. These communities usually become more self-aware when there is a crisis, but in such circumstances, they also come into collective awareness. It happens when they themselves are under a threat or when they pose a threat to dominant power structures. The greatest names associated with the concept of a speech community were Dell Hymes and John Gumperz. Hymes (1962) defined a speech community as a community sharing knowledge of rules of conduct and interpretation of speech. He also noted that a speech community should be considered a fundamental concept in sociolinguistics because it serves as a relation between language, speech, and social structure. Gumperz (1968: 219) thought of speech communities as social constructs and defined them as:

> "...any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction by means of shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage."

Today we can distinguish between two main approaches to the speech community analysis. The first one is sociolinguistic, investigating semantic, pragmatic, and conversational features of language. The second one follows the line of critical discourse studies and sociology of language focusing on ideology (re)production, identity, and power relations. In this study, we have opted for both, because they complement each other well and together give a better insight into the problematics. This combination of critical linguistic and ethnographic approaches resulted in methodological bricolage

which enveloped the aforementioned tools and concepts adopted from various authors.

2.3. GRAFFITI AND LATRINALIA

The word graffiti comes from the Italian term *graffito* meaning a small engraving, a scratch (Al-Khawaldeh, et al., 2017). It is a very broad term that labels various types of non-institutional but intentional inscriptions or images on public surfaces, which (re)produce meaning. Furthermore, Abel and Buckley (1977: 3) suggest that graffiti are a form of communication that is both personal and free of the everyday social strains that normally prevent people from giving uninhibited reign to their thoughts. Finally, Chiluwa (2008: 274) describes graffiti as:

> "...any form of writing or images on the walls or surfaces of public buildings, parks, toilets, buses or trains, usually bearing some political or sexual contents ..."

Observing graffiti as a particular genre, it is inevitable not to notice their hybrid nature. They are composed of written language with characteristics of speech, and this is sometimes accompanied by drawings, stickers, and the usage of different colours. Finally, the fact that this type of communication is mediated (through public surfaces) makes it anonymous, quite democratic, and dialogic.

There are several types of graffiti, but the most known are tags and toilet graffiti. Tags are usually short graffiti signatures that are used as urban territorial markers. They are typical for the hip-hop subculture, and they provide spatial orientation and build group identity.

On the other hand, toilet graffiti is mostly used for communicating thoughts, beliefs, feelings, social status, and social roles. Alan Dundes, an anthropologist at the University of California, Berkeley, coined a specific term for this type of graffiti: latrinalia, expanding on another English word for a toilet – a *latrine*. It first appeared in his study, published in 1966 called "Here I sit – A study of American latrinalia", in which he analysed public toilet graffiti and gave valuable insight into functions and the significance of this type of graffiti. Dundes also gave

a useful typology of different forms of latrinalia which usually appear as advertisements, commands or demands, instructions, comments or personal introspective musings.

Since Dundes, many other scholars have studied this topic from different perspectives and came to various findings. For instance, Gadsby (1995) studied humour in graffiti, while Sheivandi et al. (2015) observed the usage of alliteration, rhyme and puns as attention gaining mechanisms. Stocker et al. (1972) hypothesised that graffiti are accurate representations of consensual values of a community in which they are made. Opposing that theory, Gonos et al. (1976) suggested that the content and the frequency of graffiti can vary depending on the current relevant and dominant values of society. It is also fair to mention some of the studies considering gender roles. Kinsey and associates (1953) were one of the first who analysed specifically latrinalia of sexual content and found that men are their main producers. In 1975, Far and Gordon repeated this study and had very interesting finds. They have noticed an increase in graffiti in women's toilets from 25 to 44%. Still, male latrinalia with sexual content stays prevalent.

Modern-day investigations of latrinalia and graffiti in general, tend to combine content analysis and critical discourse analysis. We will follow this trend and try to build on it with several useful tools from socio-pragmatics, linguistic ethnography, and semiotics.

3. Methodology

Our methodology represents a bricolage, a patchwork of analytical tools of previously mentioned fields:
- Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provided us with an insight into background ideologies and power relations.
- Socio-pragmatics contributed with information on identity performance (group/individual), institutional influences, meaning interpretation and production, and contextualization.

- Linguistic ethnography proved valuable in data collection and systematisation.
- Semiotics was required for the analysis and interpretation of the multimodal aspects of latrinalia.

These analytical tools in turn revealed the aforementioned discursive structures. Those will be shown in the examples.

3.1. Data collection and categorization

Data was collected during the fall semester of the academic year 2019/2020. Graffiti was documented by photography. Toilets intended for working staff were not investigated, as well as the ones in the library (which is a new adjacent building).

There were no problems with data collection concerning institutional interventions such as cleaning/removing the graffiti. Some may see the institutional stance towards latrinalia as positive and enticing, while others might think of it as neglect. We'd like to believe it is the former, not the latter, or that it has at least evolved from being seen as vandalism to a valuable form of expression and communication.

Data was categorised on the bases of four criteria because of the need for a deeper qualitative analysis, and more accurate interpretation of findings:

1. **Content** revolved around the topics of sex, politics, health, culture, identity, gender, etc. As categorization criteria, content, as well as meaning, told us a lot about the culture and the society in which it has been produced.
2. **Location** category was concerned with the position of the toilet – which floor is it on, how far is it from the entrance, the students' club, or the library, and which gender it is intended for. This was relevant because it provided the information on the frequency of toilet usage as well as its users/population. Here, the position of the very graffiti in the toilet was also taken into account, which pointed us to the (approximate)

time of graffiti production (centrally positioned graffiti are usually older than the ones on the periphery of a wall or a door). Their placement can also help with the interpretation of implicatures and indirect speech acts.

3. **Modality** category referred to the type of script and language, colours, drawings, or stickers used in graffiti formation. Implementation of different modalities can suggest the writer's intentions, and insinuate something about their identity and values.

4. **Genre** (e.g., commentary, dialogue, advertisement) informed us about the microphysics of power fluctuating through discourse, and the positioning of the social actors in the overall social network. It also informed us of the author's motivation for a specific graffiti production.

Apart from data categorization, different types of **discursive structures** (of latrinalia) revealed their dialogic nature, the relevance of illocutionary force and type of a speech act (Austin 1976, Searle 1980), and the importance of Grice's cooperative principle (1980). The following structures will also be shown through the previously selected examples from a larger corpus, where we will see:

a) latrinalia with no answer,
b) question/statement latrinalia with an answer(s),
c) modification of the existing graffiti (addition, replacement, deletion).

These structures roughly correspond to the findings of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

Finally, considering data it is inevitable to mention their creators. The types of **actors** that we see here have two main qualities. They are usually anonymous (unnamed, rarely named (van Leeuwen, 1996) and equal in their right and possibility to participate in the communication. Those attributes will structure a network, not a hierarchy but a very specific community of practice.

This study hasn't dealt with quantitative data analysis because our research goals as well as the hypotheses benefited more from

qualitative analysis and critical data assessment. It is quite important to note here that counting graffiti can be very complex and potentially misleading. Why is that? Primarily, graffiti are constantly going through the process of change – they are being erased, rewritten and modified as we speak, so it is difficult to tell how many of them there really are. Secondly, if we do not know their authors, or at least the population associated with their production the very numbers won't mean much. Thirdly, we believe that quantitative research on graffiti production might be more useful if done as a longitudinal study, which would show the fluctuations in graffiti usage through time. But that will be left for some future endeavours.

4. Analysis and examples

Because of the complexities of discursive structures of latrinalia, the analysis was conducted on three different levels, the level of -

Micro context – the very toilet (and the stall) at the faculty, with the focus on the individual, personal identity performance, communication practices from an anonymous position.

Meso context – the context of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences as a community of practice (COP), with its ideologies, beliefs and values.

Macro context – Croatian and global society, exemplified in latrinalia in topics of religion, politics and culture (usually quite intertextual).

The following examples and their shortened analysis have been extrapolated from the overall corpus analysis as the most representative ones, in order to illustrate the discursive processes played out in the background. Due to the limited space provided by the genre of scientific article, it was not possible to present the entire data analysis of the collected corpus. Instead we have opted for the selection of the examples, nevertheless it is possible (for anyone interested) to access the original data. For all the readers who are interested, there is a link for Instagram profile which features toilet graffiti from Faculty of

Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb – https://www.instagram.com/ffzgwc/?hl=hr.

The profile is a public profile, so anyone registered on Instagram can view documented material. Its maker and moderator is anonymous. Finally, everybody is invited to contribute with their own photos of graffiti from that place. For now, the profile contains 939 posts/photographs of latrinalia and has 2307 followers.

4.1. MICRO LEVEL ANALYSIS AND EXAMPLES

Example No #1 –
Statement: *"I have a girlfriend for already a year and all my friends think I'm straight."*
Answer: *"You obviously have no real friends."*

Considering the content of this graffiti, it is evident that it is a personal confession concerning sexual orientation. Discursive structure of this latrinalia came in the form of a statement (which is a representative speech act) with an answer (which is a verdictive speech act). Actors were anonymous which opened the space for less tact and politeness in communication. Although there is no emotional support demonstrated in this exchange, Grice's cooperative principle with its maxims has been adhered to in terms of relevance, modality, quantity and perhaps even quality. This exchange was monomodal because it relied only on writing, while the genre of the graffiti – a dialogue, as well as its location – the unisex toilet on the first floor, revealed the networked social structure of this community and equality of its members.

Example No #2 –
Statement: *"I'm drunk and I have to go to class."*
No answer(s).

Content of this graffiti would roughly be a representation of an inner state and outer state of affairs. Both clauses here come in a form of speech acts – representatives. The topic in question can be

characterised as <u>substances and student life</u>. The graffiti was located in the unisex toilet on the first floor, but from the Croatian original we can infer that the author is female. The structure of the graffiti is a statement with no answer, in the terms of a genre it could be categorised as a micro narrative, which is monomodal – relying only on written language.

> **Example No #3** –
> Statement: "*I'm vegan.*"
> Multiple answers: "*Me to! – So am I. – I'm a waiter. – I'm Italian. – I'm an atheist. – And I'm writing on the doors. – And I eat little animals. – I don't give a damn.*"

This would be a typical example of presentation of self, in the form of a statement with multiple answers. The very statement can in turn be characterised as a representative speech act which provides us with the information on someone's <u>life philosophy</u>[7]. The structure of this latrinalia is very rich in terms of conversation analysis and cooperation principle. It is obvious we have multiple anonymous actors participating in this interaction, exchanging turns, building on other people's statements and staying relevant or irrelevant in regards to the topic. Genre we are dealing with here would be a dialogue and communication monomodal, relying only on script.

4.2. Transition from micro to meso level – examples

> **Example No #4** –
> Short narrative: "*Your boyfriend is the main sheriff in town, he has a piercing, dreads, a tattoo and a beard, and he studies Comparative literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.*"
> Answers/Comments: "*Are you telling me my boyfriend is a hipster?*"
> "*Gay*" – written underneath a curly bracket marking "*...studies comparative literature*".

---

[7]   Here you can also notice the mixing in of the meso level, e.g., veganism & LGBTIQ problematics as ideologies typically supported by this Faculty's student population.

The example describes and ironizes a <u>stereotype of a student from this faculty</u>. It also demonstrates the awareness of a specific community and its perception from the broader public. In terms of speech acts, these would all be representatives. From the following picture of this graffiti in figure 4, it is obvious that this instance of communication was monomodal (i.e., relying only on script). It was also dialogic because of the interventions made around that graffiti, most prominent ones written in red and pink, and listed in the example as answers/comments.

Figure 4. Example 4
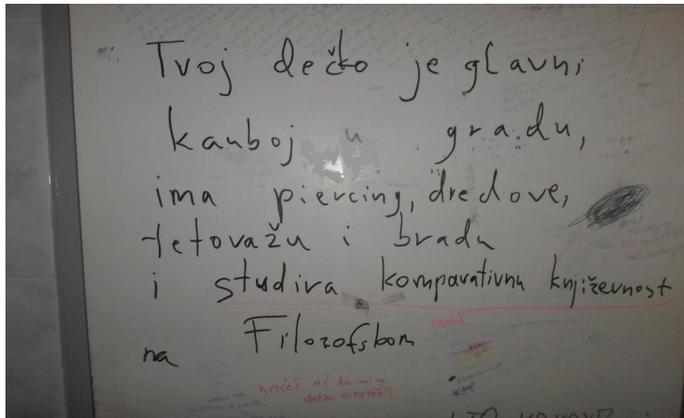
Example No #5 –
Statement: *"You doodled all over the place, you sons of b***es!"*[8]
No answer.

The example comes in the form of a verdictive speech act, and is a great example of <u>self-irony</u>. It (again) demonstrates an awareness of a <u>group identity</u>. It is monologic but intended for this specific audience to read, it is anonymous, agentive and more similar to speech rather than writing.

---

[8] This has been censored by the authors of this study. In the original graffiti there are no asterisks.

Example No #6 –
Statement: "*I survived my first presentation <3*"
Answer: "*Congratulations*"

The example shows a representative (the statement) and an expressive speech act (the answer). Goal accomplished here would be group cohesion via support, and the topic would (again) be the one of a student life. Considering the modality of this latrinalia, we could say it shows some signs of multimodal correspondence because of the usage of heart emoticon which conveys the mood of the speaker in mediated communication. This is also a good example of transferal of writing conventions from cyberspace into the physical realm of correspondence.

4.3. Meso level analysis and examples

Example No #7 –
Statement: "*I love the secular Faculty of Philosophy*"
No answer.

This example shows recurring graffiti throughout the faculty's toilets. It comes in the form of an assertive speech act, and it points to a specific ideology, the one of secularism which is typical for this COP.

Figure 5. Example 7

Example No #**8** –
Order/instruction: "*Go to plenum*"
Statement: "*One world, one fight. Knowledge isn't a commodity!*
Date and signature: *15th May '09 Luci*"

This graffiti shows a directive speech act (the order to go to plenum) and a slogan (which follows), appealing to <u>group identity values</u> and it can be considered <u>a call for action</u>. The novelty of this latrinalia lies in the fact that it is not anonymous, and on top of that it has been dated, so we know the exact day of its making – it was during the time of students' protest for the right to free education, in the spring of 2009.

Example No #**9** –
Statement: "*Commies!*" No answer.
Statement: "*ANTI-FA*" No answer.
Statement: No answer.
Statement: "*Anarchy*" No answer.

These 4 different yet similar graffiti demonstrate <u>ideologies</u> and values of this population. There were no answers or modifications written beside or over the graffiti, all of them are anonymous and all of them can be seen as representative speech acts. They mostly rely exclusively on script, but there is also one symbol implemented here – the piece symbol, which leads us to the domain of semiotics.

Example No #**10** –
Statement (on a red sticker(s) at the toilet paper dispenser and a flusher saying):
"*Now you know what to do with your diploma.*"
No answer.

In this example we can see a successful utilisation of multimodality and the usage of implicatures by breaking some of the maxims of Grice's cooperative principle. Here, the very location or placement of these stickers is of great importance, because it contextualises this indirect speech act and it enables its intended interpretation. The topic is again the one of a <u>student life</u>.

4.4. MACRO LEVEL ANALYSIS AND EXAMPLES

Example No #11 –
Statement: "*Jesus is coming, pretend you're working.*"
No answer.

The graffiti in question has a strong intertextual element. It alludes to Croatian, predominantly Christian society and its hypocrisy. We can also see the usage of a representative and a directive speech act. Main topics of this latrinalia would be ideology and religion, but in rhetorical terms there is irony as well as pronounced criticism.

Example No #12 –
Statement: "*I'm just watching you*" + a big drawing of an eye + a tag.
No answer.

This example comes in the form of a representative speech act. Besides from that we have utilisation of intertextuality (an eye alluding to the Panopticon, or Orwell's big brother) and there is also a multimodal aspect to this because of the act of combining text with a drawing and with a tag. The example is shown in figure 6. Finally, although it doesn't have answers or comments around it, this latrinalia is still addressing a specific audience and interacting with it.

Figure 6. Example 12

263

Example No #13 –
Statement/declaration: "*In the name of Croatian Democratic Union and Social Democratic Party of Croatia, I christen this toilet bowl and the Constitutional court of the Republic of Croatia.*"
No answer.

Here we can see the usage of a declarative speech act, but not with the intention of changing reality but with the intention of ridiculing it (satire). There was no actual christening act that happened there, because the person doing the act didn't have the authority for that (i.e., he wasn't a priest), following from that there was no illocutionary force in the act and no perlocution. Instead, the satirical element has been realised and it brought with it a criticism dressed in humour. The entire statement is also quite intertextual (a reader needs to be familiar with Croatian politics and culture to interpret it correctly).

No #14 –
Statement: "*The only good system is a sound system.*"
Answer: "*What about the solar system U Hippy c**t?*"

The final example comes in the form of a statement/answer. In terms of speech acts, the first statement is an assertive while the answer is a verdictive speech act. By its content we can presume it is connected to youth subcultures (i.e., the sound system problematics and hippies), but it surpasses them by a witty answer which comes in the form of a rhetorical question and invokes the topic of environmentalism. Finally, we have the usage of a vulgarism which gives this discourse an informal overlay and insight to micro dynamics of power, which obviously still exists in this non-hierarchical, networked social structure.

5. Interpretation and discussion – power structures

Structures of (social) power are reflected in the structures of discourse. This is also applicable to the case of latrinalia.

As we have seen –
1. Speech act type and its illocutionary force can point us to an authority which legitimises social action, moreover it shows us the agentive power of language by means of its perlocution (i.e., its consequences upon reality).
2. Responses and discussions between actors show us dominant ideologies in this community as well as its power structure, which is primarily networked, not hierarchical.
3. Deletion and addition of existing latrinalia can also be interpreted as a (speech) act of silencing which conveys refusal, resistance and disagreement. It also reveals a ludic and dialogic nature of this type of graffiti.

Anonymity has also proven to be extremely important. Mediated nature of this type of communication has made it unburdened by social and auto-censorship and free from social sanctions when breaking the norms. It has made communication via latrinalia democratic: whoever wants can become its active participant. Finally, because of its public and democratic character, latrinalia is also quite dialogic (not monologic as mass communication).

From all of that it is easy to see the importance of context in meaning formation, communication and interpretation. But to be more precise, these are the advantages of the analysis conducted at three different levels of social context:
1. Micro level analysis was necessary because of the anonymity and freedom of expression given by a toilet stall.
2. Meso level analysis provided us with the information on the ideological values of the institution (where toilets are located) and its presentation in the broader society.
3. Macro level examples gave us insight to the common knowledge, values and problems of a specific society, as well as its current trends (intertextuality of latrinalia).

Finally, we have noticed several gender differences which are notable to mention, but also require further investigation. It has been witnessed that unisex and women's toilets have the most latrinalia in

general. We presume that is the case because they are frequented more than the other toilets because of their placement in the faculty building and the mixing of genders in the unisex toilet. Graffiti in these toilets also present multimodality, a broader range of topics and a more liberal discourse.

On the other hand, latrinalia is rare in men's toilets in comparison to unisex and women's toilets. Discourse is much more aggressive which presents in insults, directive speech acts, curses, vulgarisms, homophobia and nationalism. The topic of sports is also quite common, namely soccer.[9]

6. CONCLUSION(S)

There are several conclusions that revealed themselves upon this study.

Firstly, we have witnessed that schools, as well as universities form *speech communities* (Hymes 1962, Gumpertz 1968) and/or communities of practice (COP) (Wenger 1998). Secondly, ideologies, values and group identities are communicated through toilet graffiti (apart from the more official channels such as newspapers, journals, pamphlets and flyers). Furthermore, those speech communities mediate between an individual and a broader society. They also reveal broader social and cultural values of a society, as well as its problems and power struggles. On top of it all they present a niche for marginalised groups to have their own say (e.g., LGBTQIA community). Finally, as a discourse type, latrinalia can be described as democratic, dialogic, multimodal, public yet anonymous form of mediated communication.

---

[9] Observations concerning gender differences were made on the basis of a larger corpus of data collected, not just on the basis of the examples presented in this paper.

6.1. FUTURE PROSPECTS

Linguistic ethnography in combination with critical discourse studies, semiotics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics has demonstrated to be a very beneficial concoction for getting insights into the interface of communication and society. From that interface, many contemporary problems emerged, as well as their solutions.

Today, it almost seems as a given that our next endeavour should be the investigation of cyber landscapes and their linguistic, semiotic and social aspects. That comes hand in hand with dealing with globalisation trends in LLs and SLs (e.g., the domination of English language and language hybrids such as *Crenglish* – Croatian + English).

Finally, all future studies can be complemented with quantitative methods (e.g., counting graffiti of specific content), but also with polls/questionnaires and interviews, depending on the research goals of the author.

7. REFERENCES

Abel, E. and B. Buckley (1977). *The Handwriting on the Wall: Toward the Sociology and Psychology of Graffiti.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Al-Khawaldeh, N. N., I. Khawaldeh, B. Bani-Khair and A. Khawaldeh (2017). "An Exploration of Graffiti on University's Walls: A Corpus-based Analysis study", *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 7(1): 29–42.

Austin, J. L. (1976). *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955.* Oxford: OUP.

Ben-Rafael, E., E. Shohamy, M. H. Amara and N. Trumper-Hecht (2004). *Linguistic Landscape and Multiculturalism: A Jewish–Arab Comparative Study.* Tel Aviv: Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research.

Ben-Rafael, E., E. Shohamy, M.H. Amara, N. Trumper-Hecht (2006). 'Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The Case of Israel', *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3(1): 7–30.

Chiluwa, I. (2008). "Religious Vehicle Stickers in Nigeria: A Discourse of Identity, Faith and Social Vision". *Discourse and Communication*, 2(4): 371–387.

Daniels, S. and D. Cosgrove (1988). "Introduction: Iconography and Landscape". In Cosgrove and Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 1–10.

Dundes, A. (1966). "Here I sit: A Study of American Latrinalia", *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, 31: 91–105.

Gadsby, J. M. (1995). *Looking at the Writing on the Wall: A Critical Review and Taxonomy of Graffiti Texts*. Unpublished master's thesis at the University of Boston.

Gonos, G., V. Mulkern and N. Poushinskiy (1976). "Anonymous Expression: A Structural View of Graffiti". *Journal of American Folklore*, 89(351): 40–48.

Grice, H. P. (1980). „Logika i razgovor." U: Aleksandar Pavković (ur.), *Svest i saznanje: Ogledi iz savremene analitičke filozofije*. Beograd: Nolit.

Gumperz, J. (1968). "The Speech Community". In A. Duranti (ed.):*Linguistic Anthropology: A reader*, 1: 66–73.

Hymes, D. (1962). "The Ethnography of Speaking." In: Gladwin & Sturtevant (eds), *Anthropology and Human Behavior*. Washington DC: Anthropological Society of Washington, pp. 13–53.

Jaworski, A. and C. Thurlow (2010). "Introducing Semiotic Landscapes". In Jaworski & Thurlow (eds), *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*. London; New York: Continuum, pp. 1–40.

Kinsey, A. C., W. B. Pomeroy, C. E. Martin and P. H. Gebhard (1953). *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. Philadelphia: W.B. Sauders.

Kress, G. and T. van Leeuwen (2001). *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.

Landry, R. and R. Y. Bourhis (1997). "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic vitality: An Empirical Study". *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16: 23–49.

Leeuwen, T. van (1996). "The Representation of Social Actors". In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard & Malcolm Coulthard (eds.): *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Nwoye, O. G. (1993). "Social Issues on Walls: Graffiti in University Lavatories", *Discourse and Society*, 4 (4): 419–442.

Sacks, H., E. A. Schegloff and G. Jefferson (1974). "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation", *Language*, 50: 696–735.

Searle, J. (1980) *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: CUP.

Sheivandi, L., A. Taghinezhad, A. Alishavandi and S. Ranjbar (2015). "Exploring the Linguistic Aspects of Iraninans' Graffiti". *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research*, 2(5): 62–73.

Stocker, T. L., L. W. Dutcher, S. M. Hargrove and E. A. Cook (1972). "Social Analysis of Graffiti", *Journal of American Folklore*, 85(338): 356–366.

Wales, E. and B. Brewer (1976). "Graffiti in the 1970's", *Journal of Social Psychology*, 99: 115–123.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: CUP.

Whiting, S. and V. Koller (2007). „Dialogues in solitude: the discursive structures and social functions of male toilet graffiti". Working paper No. 126, Centre for the Study of Language in Social Life, Lancaster University.

Jana Jurčević

EIN BLICK AUF SEMIOTISCHE LANDSCHAFTEN UND
STUDENTEN POPULATION DER FAKULTÄT FÜR GEISTES- UND
SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTEN AN DER UNIVERSITÄT ZAGREB –
Soziopragmatik von Graffiti auf öffentlichen Toiletten

Z u s a m m e n f a s s u n g

Die Studie konzentriert sich auf die semiotischen Landschaften der Universität Zagreb, insbesondere auf die Graffiti, die in öffentlichen Toiletten der Fakultät für Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften gefunden wurden.

Diese Graffiti, auch bekannt als Latrinalia (Dundes 1966), tragen eine große soziokulturelle Bedeutung, die in ihren diskursiven Strukturen und sozialen Funktionen enthalten ist. Um die (Re-)Produktion von Ideologien und Identitäten Leistungen in dieser Studenten Population zu identifizieren, wurde der analytische Schwerpunkt auf soziopragmatische Merkmale von Graffiti in einen breiteren Bereich der kritischen Diskursforschung und der sprachlichen Ethnographie gelegt (Hymes 1968).

Graffiti wurden nach Inhalt, Form, Genre und spezifischen Ort kategorisiert. Die in der Analyse verwendete Methodik bestand aus Genossenschaftsprinzipien (Grice 1980), Werkzeugen aus der Gesprächsanalyse (Sacks, Schegloff und Jefferson 1974) und der Sprechakttheorie (Austin 1976, Searle 1980).

Die Interpretation der Daten erfolgte in Bezug auf drei verschiedene Ebenen des sozialen Kontextes: Mikroebene (die Toilette), Mesoebene (die Fakultät) und Makroebene (Gesellschaft).

Die vorläufige Nachforschung gab folgenden Hypothesen: i. die analysierte Latrinalia darstellt die Gruppenidentität von Studenten Population der Fakultät für Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften in Zagreb, ii. diese Studenten Population repräsentiert die Gemeinschaft der Praxis dass zwischen einer Individuum und die Gesellschaft vermittelt, iii. zudem decken sie (die Graffiti) die soziale und kulturelle Werte, die politische Probleme und das Leben insgesamt auf, iv. Diskursstruktur der Latrinalia ist dialogisch, handlungsorientiert und multimodal.

Schließlich gibt es zwei Hauptziele in dieser Studie – i. die Vernetzung unterschiedlicher sozialer Kontext Ebenen aufzuzeigen, und (ii.) bewusst zu machen, dass wir nicht bloßeKonsumenten von Raum, Ort, Zeichen und Sprache sind, sondern auch deren Schöpfer, Interpreten und Kritiker.

Schlüsselwörter: Kritische Diskursanalyse, Soziopragmatik, Sprach Ethnographie, Graffiti, Latrinalia, Identität, Ideologie, Studentenschaft