

# English Element in Croatian Graffiti

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Odjel za anglistiku  
Engleski jezik i književnost

**David Sambunjak**

# **English Element in Croatian Graffiti**

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Zadar, 2017.

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Odjel za anglistiku

Preddiplomski sveučilišni studij engleskog jezika i književnosti (dvopredmetni)

English Element in Croatian Graffiti

Završni rad

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Zadar, 2017.



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Zadar, 15. rujna 2017.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Phenomenon of the “writings on the walls”, also known as graffiti, is something in what many linguists can easily get interested in as a subject of their (not necessarily scientific) research. One of such researches is this paper, as it will be dealing with the occurrence of Anglicisms in Croatian graffiti. Thus, it is clear that it will be focused almost exclusively on linguistic features of graffiti.

The paper starts with a description of some of the general graffiti features and facts. Afterwards the subject moves on to the methodology used to describe ways of orthography forming of analyzed graffiti. After the corpus is presented, a thorough orthographic analysis is done.

### 1.1. DEFINITION

Jane Gadsby provided us with a definition of graffiti that is worth mentioning: “The word “graffiti” is the plural of the Italian word “graffito” which means scratchings” (pp. 3). She then proceeds to quote Blume: “The word is related, both linguistically and in content, with the name of a particular technique of mural painting, that of 'sgraffito” (pp. 3). However, in the contemporary English language, the definition is quite simpler: “Writing or drawings scribbled,

scratched, or sprayed illicitly on a wall or other surface in a public place.”<sup>1</sup> In other words, virtually any public writing is nowadays called graffiti. But has it always been that way? The discussion about this can be found in the following subchapter.

## 1.2. HISTORY, TYPES AND STRUCTURE

Marijana Burić says that the trend of drawing on the walls goes as far back as to stone age and mentions that a turning point in graffiti writing was the development of the writing systems (8). On the other hand, by gaining an insight in Justin Longo’s work, we can find out that the trend of writing modern graffiti in urban areas has started in 1965, either in New York City or in Philadelphia (depends on who do you ask) (1). He adds that they did not get any major recognition until the so-called “boom era”, when sociologists were the first actual scientists who started to notice them as legitimate pieces of art (4). This information is confirmed by Gadsby, as she stated that from that time “researchers from every conceivable discipline were looking at graffiti” (pp. 5). However, more importantly for the means of this subject, she mentions a research held in 1973. This was a first major linguistic research of graffiti done by a linguist called Grider, and it dealt with “the *con safos* graffiti of Mexican-Americans” (pp. 10). Moreover, she says that “Linguistic analysis is best when used with contextual information from the community where the graffiti was located” (pp. 10). However, in this paper, even though it is almost purely a linguistic nature, we will not be too interested in contextual information, as our view on the graffiti has barely anything to do with sociolinguistics.

Furthermore, history aside, we ought to deal with graffiti’s actual content. By looking in any literature that deals with this cultural-linguistic phenomena, a reader will find that the

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<sup>1</sup> [en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/graffiti](http://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/graffiti)

researcher has made a distinction of different graffiti types. Such distinction can be found in book *Graffiti i subkultura*. This distinction is very popular among Croatian scholarly works and projects that deal with graffiti. For example, it was used in Graduate thesis by Marijana Burić (2012) and Matej Knežević (2016). Lalić and other authors decided to divide graffiti in 15 content categories, which are:

- 1) Graffiti related to worldview
- 2) Musical graffiti
- 3) Graffiti related to school
- 4) Graffiti related to alcohol and narcotics
- 5) Graffiti related to groups and friendship
- 6) Graffiti related to love and sex (obscure content)
- 7) Graffiti related to violence
- 8) Humorous graffiti
- 9) Motorcycle (Car-related) graffiti
- 10) National graffiti
- 11) Political/ideological graffiti
- 12) Religious graffiti
- 13) Sports-fan graffiti
- 14) Territorial graffiti
- 15) Other graffiti (63)

Apart from this distinction, they find three basic forms of presenting graffiti expressions:

- 1) Symbolic form
- 2) Picture form
- 3) Textual form (64)

Of course, the only interest of this paper is the textual form, as we are set to explore the types of Anglicisms found in graffiti written in the Croatian language. The methods used to do that will be explained in the following chapter.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND THE SOURCES

At the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to gain an insight in few problems that usually occur when researching graffiti – anonymity of the writer, impossibility to determine the source of graffiti, the possible change of the graffiti expressions and the time aspect of graffiti formation. They were discovered by Dražen Lalić, Anči Leburic and Nenad Bulat – the authors of *Graffiti i subkultura*. This is vital because of the need to justify the legitimacy of the work by explaining why those usual problems were not problems at all at this case.

The first problem that is mentioned by the authors is the anonymity of the writer<sup>2</sup> (60). The reason that this is not a problem for this paper is simple; we are interested in the form exclusively, not in the person who wrote it.

Next, the second mentioned problem is the impossibility to determine the source of graffiti (60). However, the authors say that the empirical analysis can stay at the “primary” level, and this is exactly what has been done in this paper due to the fact that we are interested in orthography exclusively.

Finally, last two problems mentioned are the possible change of the graffiti expressions and the time aspect of graffiti formation (60, 61). This work looks at graffiti synchronically, thus losing the need to deal with both “diachronically-colored” aspects.

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<sup>2</sup> Writer – anyone who writes graffiti (Knežević 54)

After the justification of the used material, it is time to deal with the analysis. The question raised is next – what did we want from the English elements (Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms) from the corpus that was used? The answer can be found in next subsections.

## 2.1. ORTHOGRAPHY

Many possible linguistic aspects of foreign lexemes (borrowings) can be talked about, but this work will be focused solely on orthographic analysis. To begin with, it is necessary to give the specific and correct definition of orthography to know the boundaries of the research.

On the website *Blackwell Reference Online*, it is possible to find such definition: “An orthography is a normative selection of the possibilities of a script for writing a particular language in a uniform and standardized way”.

Graffiti found in this paper were analyzed using the first two steps (the third one was omitted due to the fact that it deals with meaning) found in Filipović’s 1990 book *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku* (24). Therefore, in next subsections, first the definitions of important terms will be given, and then the light will be shed on Filipović’s way of doing the analysis of Anglicisms.

## 2.2. DEFINITIONS OF OTHER KEY TERMS

Filipović’s definition of an Anglicism must be given before we dig deeper into ways of analysis. He gave a proper and detailed definition: “Anglicizam je svaka riječ preuzeta iz engleskog jezika koja označava neki predmet, ideju ili pojam kao sastavne dijelove engleske civilizacije; ona ne mora biti engleskog porijekla, ali mora biti adaptirana prema sustavu engleskog jezika i integrirana u engleski vokabular” (“Anglicism is every word taken from the English language which denotes an object, idea or term as the main components of the English

civilization; it does not have to be of English origin, but it has to be adapted according to the system of the English language and integrated into the English vocabulary” (1990: 17).

So, obviously, the thing we are dealing with here is a matter of contact linguistics as the language contact between the lending (English) and receiving (Croatian) languages has happened. On the word of Filipović, the outcome of this is the appearance of language borrowings in the receiving language (in this case, of course, Croatian) (1986: 17).

Also, the definition of pseudo-Anglicism must be given, as they were also included in the main analysis. These borrowings contain English elements or words, but are shortened into a new shape which was not borrowed from the English language, as they do not exist in it in a such shape (Filipović, 1990: 19).

Moreover, a couple of terms still exist that require explaining. Filipović talks about the terms model and replica. Basically, a model is a word found in the lending language, and a replica is its counterpart in the receiving language (1986: 38). One of the tasks of this work was to locate the replicas in the writings and connect them to the models. This was necessary for an analysis to be successful.

Last term that has to be mentioned in this subchapter is transphonemization. That is forming the phonological model of a borrowing on the basis of the orthography of a model. (Filipović, 1986: 69). This is actual in the Croatian language as it has phonological spelling, which means that every orthographical model of a word has its permanent pronunciation (orthography = pronunciation). However, transphonemization will not be mentioned in analysis as all examples are of the same type – the direct written one.

## 2.3. THE ANALYSIS OF ANGLICISMS

Before describing the first step, it should be noted again that the focus of this paper was the orthography of Anglicisms found in the Croatian graffiti. More precisely, the goal of the

analysis was to determine the ways of forming of Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms found in the mentioned graffiti using two steps found in Filipović's work *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku* (1990: 24).

So, the first step is the same as Filipović's – specification of the orthography of the model and its source (1990: 24). Even though he included the full dictionary of Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms, not all of the examples found in this paper were covered. Thus, for the purpose of this work, an online dictionary – *Dictionary.com* was used as a secondary source of a model search in examples that his dictionary did not cover. That will be noted next to each model of that type. Moreover, the reason for that dictionary being chosen is simple – apart from providing us with an orthographic form of the model, it also provides us with a clue about an IPA transcription of the model.

The second step in this paper is actually a simplified version of Filipović's second step, as the development of a borrowing will be analyzed purely on the orthographical level. In *Teorija jezika u kontaktu*, he said that large number of Anglicisms in the Croatian language adapt on three different levels. (1986: 70). However, he gave a more specific classification of ways of forming orthography of Anglicisms' basic forms in his book *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku*. He finds 4 ways of forming Anglicism orthographies:

- 1) The basic form is formed in relation to the model's pronunciation
- 2) The basic form is formed in relation to the model's orthography
- 3) The basic form is formed in relation to model's pronunciation and orthography
- 4) The basic form is formed under the influence of the mediator language (1990: 28, 29)

Finally, in the case of pseudo-Anglicisms, after the first analysis step, a special third step will be conducted. They will fall in one of three forming categories, which are:

- a) Composition – Anglicism binds with the word "man"

- b) Derivation – an English suffix is added to the Anglicism (for example *-er*, *-ist*, and so on)
- c) Ellipsis – a suffix or any other part of the model is lost in the replica (Filipović, 1990: 19, 20)

## 2.4. THE CORPUS

There are three internet sources from which examples were extracted, called “the first source”, “the second source” and “the third source” in this paper. They were ordered that way according to the contribution to the corpus because the vast majority of graffiti comes from the first source and the least come from the third. Graffiti from each source are presented separately in this section for the means of simplicity. Above the picture, a matching text is provided with the Anglicism (or pseudo-Anglicism) underlined for easier recognition. Also, punctuation and capital letters are written in as similar as possible manner like in the respective graffito. English translations are given below each picture and they also follow the original punctuation and capital letter usage. However, not in every translation a model of an Anglicism is used as its translation due to the semantic differences. For this reason, models in translations are not underlined, but are given later in analysis. Graffiti are arranged in alphabetical order (in relation to the Anglicism they contain). A total number of 44 graffiti is available, together with the 47 Anglicisms they contain.

### 2.4.1. THE FIRST SOURCE

All graffiti that the first source contains were taken from [www.facebook.com/teskigrafiti](http://www.facebook.com/teskigrafiti). Using the information given on the page, it is impossible to determine the exact location of these graffiti.

- 1) LAKŠE PRODAN BUBRIG NEGO PRIČU U AFTERU. (see fig. 1)



Fig 1. The graffito says: IT IS EASIER FOR ME TO SELL A KINDEY THAN A PICK-UP LINE AT THE AFTER-PARTY.

2) DI STE BADI BILDERI (see fig. 2)



Fig. 2. The graffito says: WHERE ARE YOU BODY-BUILDERS

3) BLUES manitog GRADA (see fig. 3)



Fig. 3. The graffito says: crazy CITY'S BLUES

4) DODI NA CHILL (see fig. 4)



Fig. 4. The graffito says: COME OVER TO CHILL

5) DILERA IMA NA SVAKOM UGLU (see fig. 5)



Fig. 5. The graffito says: THERE'S A DEALER ON EVERY CORNER

6) Tvoj DNK, Moj DNA. Tebi je to GrunGe Meni duboka Psihodelija. (see fig. 6)



Fig. 6. The graffito says: Your DNK<sup>3</sup>, My DNA. For you it's GrunGe For me a deep Psychedelia.

7) DRINKERI KRONERI (see fig. 7)



Fig. 7. The graffito says: CHRONICAL DRINKERS

8) AJ STAV TO NA FEJS! (see fig. 8)

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<sup>3</sup> Croatian for DNA



Fig. 8. The graffito says: PUT THAT ON FACEBOOK!

- 9) LAURA HOĆEŠ GLEDATI SAMNOM MARVELOVE FILMOVE I JESTI BUREK? (see fig. 9)



Fig. 9. The graffito says: LAURA WILL YOU WATCH MARVEL FILMS AND EAT BUREK WITH ME?

- 10) VOLIM SVOJE GEJ PRIJATELJE (see fig. 10)



Fig. 10. The graffito says: I LOVE MY GAY FRIENDS

- 11) MALA IMA TAJ GLOW KO ANĐEO (see fig. 11)



Fig. 11. The graffito says: BAE<sup>4</sup> HAS THAT GLOW LIKE AN ANGEL

12) OVO TEBI GRAFIT? UBIJ SE! (see fig. 12)



Fig. 12. The graffito says: YOU CALL THIS A GRAFFITO? KILL YOURSELF!

13) NOVI GRAFIT. (see fig. 13)



Fig. 13. The graffito says: A NEW GRAFFITO.

14) NEKA BUDE DOBRO I HEPI END (see fig. 14)

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<sup>4</sup> “An affectionate term used to address or refer to one’s girlfriend, boyfriend, spouse, etc. (slang)” ([www.dictionary.com](http://www.dictionary.com)). A Croatian slang word that has a similar meaning (literal translation is “a little girl”) was used in the original graffito.



Fig. 14. A graffito says: MAY IT BE WELL AND HAPPY-ENDING

15) ODGOJILA ME HIP-HOP KULTURA JOŠ KAO KLINCA! (see fig. 15)

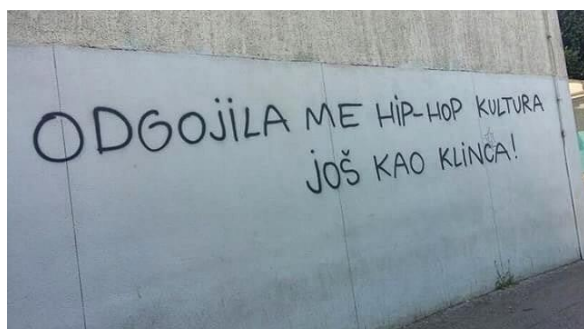


Fig. 15. The graffito says: THE HIP-HOP CULTURE RAISED ME AS A KID!

16) OVDE ŠMRČEMO jointe i trpamo ih u venu (see fig. 16)

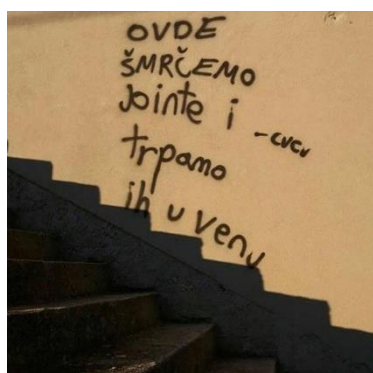


Fig. 16. The graffito says: HERE WE SNORT joints and put them into our veins

17) KAD SAM GLADAN JA KONTENJER OTVORIM (see fig. 17)



Fig. 17. The graffito says: WHEN I'M HUNGRY I OPEN A TRASH DISPENSER

18) SLATKA MALA MARIHUANA (see fig. 18)



Fig. 18. The graffito says: SWEET LITTLE MARIHUANA

19) MARIHUANA MAJKA (see fig. 19)



Fig. 19. The graffito says: MOTHER MARIHUANA

20) VRATITE KVART U ŽIVOT VRATITE ŽIVOT U KVART!!! OL' SKUL ŠEMA  
(see fig. 20)



Fig. 20. The graffito says: RETURN THE 'HOOD TO LIFE RETURN THE LIFE TO 'HOOD!!! OLD SCHOOL STYLE

21) PASSAJ TAJ JOINT (see fig. 21)



Fig. 21. The graffito says: PASS THAT JOINT

22) PINK VAM JEDE... MOZAK! (see fig. 22)



Fig. 22. The graffito says: PINK IS EATING YOUR... BRAIN!

23) SAMO REJV I DEBELE ŽENE (see fig. 23)



Fig. 23. The graffito says: ONLY RAVE AND FAT WOMEN

24) OPROSTITUTE ZA ROKENROL (see fig. 24)



Fig. 24. The graffito says: SORRY FOR ROCK'N'ROLL

25) SEX, DROGA I BABA ROGA (see fig. 25)



Fig. 25. The graffito says: SEX, DRUGS AND BABA ROGA<sup>5</sup>

26) Speed zasto ne! (see fig. 26)



Fig. 26. The graffito says: Speed why not!

27) SPID U BUBRIG. (see fig. 27)

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<sup>5</sup> A monster-like creature that appears as a part of a folklor used to scare Slavic children.



Fig. 27. The graffito says: SPEED TO A KIDNEY.

28) KUPILE SMO SPREJ I JEDVA SMO GA OTVORILE (see fig. 28)



Fig. 28. The graffito says: WE BOUGHT A SPRAY AND WE BARELY OPENED IT

29) NIJE NAŠ SPREJ... (see fig. 29)



Fig. 29. The graffito says: THE SPRAY IS NOT OURS...

30) KOCKA ŠITA (see fig. 30)



Fig. 30. The graffito says: A CUBE OF SHIT

31) SPREMA SE ŠOU MOŽDA ČAK I PREKID (see fig. 31)

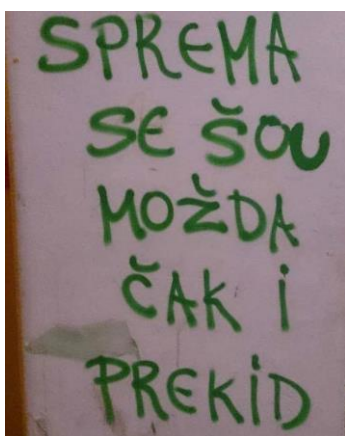


Fig. 31. The graffito says: A SHOW IS GETTING READY MAYBE EVEN AN INTERRUPTION

32) IPAK IMAM NEKI TRIP U STOMAKU KAD SAM S TOBOM... (see fig. 32)



Fig. 32. The graffito says: I NEVERTHELESS HAVE A SORT OF A TRIP IN MY STOMACH WHEN I'M WITH YOU...

33) UKLJUČI MOZAK, ISKLJUČI TV! (see fig. 33)



Fig. 33. The graffito says: TURN ON YOUR BRAIN, TURN OFF YOUR TV!

34) PREKO TJEDNA GOSPODA A VIKENDOM SMO GAMAD (see fig. 34)



Fig. 34. The graffito says: OVER THE WEEK WE'RE GENTLEMEN, AND ON THE WEEKEND WE'RE BASTARDS

35) PAZI ŠTA RADIŠ SRAM TE BILO OVO NIJE WC! (see fig. 35)



Fig. 35. The graffito says: WATCH YOUR BEHAVIOUR SHAME ON YOU THIS IS NOT A WC!

## 2.4.2. THE SECOND SOURCE

All graffiti that the second source contains were taken from the gallery of the website *ZadarPlus* and all are situated in the urban Zadar area. The map of their exact location can be found here: [zadarplus.com/grafiti](http://zadarplus.com/grafiti).

- 1) BARBI VOLIN TE (see fig. 36)



Fig. 36. The graffito says: BARBIE I LOVE YOU

- 2) DOK STE VI SUŠILI BAKALARE... MI SMO BILI U BIZNISU.. (see fig. 37)



Fig. 37. The graffito says: WHILE YOU WERE DRYING CODS... WE WERE DOING BUSINESS..

- 3) BOLJE ISPAST GLUP NEGO IZ BUSA (see fig. 38)



Fig. 38. The graffito says: IT'S BETTER TO TURN OUT TO BE STUPID THAN TO FALL OUT OF A BUS

4) AMIGO, KAŽI MI NEMOJ RIBAT OD FASADU GLAVOM DRAGI FRENDE!!!

(see fig. 39)



Fig. 39. AMIGO, TELL ME DON'T SCRUB YOUR HEAD AGAINST THE FACADE DEAR FRIEND!!!

5) OD KROS FITA NERASTE KITA (see fig. 40)



Fig. 40. The graffito says: CROSSFIT DOES NOT MAKE A DICK GROW

6) DOLI NATO (see fig. 41)



Fig. 41. The graffito says: DOWN WITH NATO

7) SELJACI STOP (see fig. 42)



Fig. 42. The graffito says: VILLAGERS<sup>6</sup> STOP

### 2.4.3. THE THIRD SOURCE

Both graffiti from the third source were taken from Instagram page *zadarski\_grafiti*<sup>7</sup>.

Both pictures were taken in the Zadar area.

1) TI RAZCVJETAVAŠ DŽUNGLU MOJE PSIHE (see fig. 43)



Fig. 43. The graffito says: YOU BLOSSOM THE JUNGLE OF MY PSYCHE

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<sup>6</sup> Used as a pejorative in the Croatian language (in the case of the graffito)

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.instagram.com/zadarski\\_grafiti/?hl=en](https://www.instagram.com/zadarski_grafiti/?hl=en)

2) DAJ KIF (see fig. 44)

Fig. 44. The graffito says: GIVE THE KIF [TO SOMEONE]

## 3. THE ANALYSIS

The first step is to write the model as a lexeme (in capital letters). Models are arranged in the alphabetical order of their replicas. It is important to notice that, in 5 cases, a single word is a model to 2 replicas in 2 different graffiti. This is why the number of models is 42. Also, either *Dictionary.com* was or Filipović's dictionary found in *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku* were used as a model's source. It is noted when the *Dictionary.com* was used, and in all other cases, Filipović's dictionary was used. After that, the IPA<sup>8</sup> (General American pronunciation is used in this work) of the model is put next to it, followed by morphological properties of the model (*sb* – a noun, *v* – a verb, *adj* – an adjective). If the model is a noun, a grammatical gender is given (*n* – neuter, *m* – masculine, *f* – feminine).

Below the model, a replica found in the graffito is given in bold and in capital letters, as if it was a lexeme in the dictionary. Croatian pronunciation is given using the same symbols as used in the chapter *Glasovi* found in Težak and Babić's *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika* (2000: 47). It is also the same manner of showing the Croatian pronunciation as used in Filipović's dictionary (1990: 91 – 282). After the morphological properties of the replica are given in the

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<sup>8</sup> International Phonetic Alphabet

same manner as was done with a model, a *P<sub>S</sub>* symbol (Filipović 1990: 90) is written if the replica is a pseudo-Anglicism. Below the replica, a full text of the graffito is written in capital letters with the original punctuation kept.

Finally, all replicas are put into one of four categories of way of orthography forming – in relation to the pronunciation of the model, in relation to the orthography of the model, in relation to the combination of pronunciation and orthography of the model and under the influence of the mediator language. However, not a single replica fell under the category where an orthography is formed under the influence of a mediator language. Also, pseudo-Anglicisms are put into one of three categories – composition, derivation and ellipsis. Similarly like in the case of the first four orthography forming categories, not all categories are used, as not a single pseudo-Anglicism fell under the composition nor derivation categories. Of course, it is always clarified if needed, why a certain category is used.

The analysis starts below:

1) Model: AFTER-PARTY / 'æftər, pɑ:rtɪ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **AFTER** /äfter/ *sb – m P<sub>S</sub>*

Full text: LAKŠE PRODAN BUBRIG NEGO PRIČU U AFTERU.

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This is an obvious case of pseudo-Anglicism, as the part of the model after the hyphen was lost, but the context in what the replica was used leads us to the conclusion that the meaning is the same. Therefore, this pseudo-Anglicism falls under the ellipsis category and its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

2) Model: BODY-BUILDER / 'bɑ:di, bɪldər/ *sb – m*

Replica found in the graffito: **BADI BILDER** /bādibilder/ *sb – m*

Full text: DI STE BADI BILDERI

The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the combination of the model's orthography and pronunciation. The reason for this is next – it is possible to write this completely in relation to the English pronunciation using the form *badi bldr* which uses the Croatian syllabic /r/, but this is not the case. Instead, the last syllable in the replica is taken purely from the orthography of the model.

3) Model: BARBIE /'bɑ:rbɪ/ *sb – f*

Replica found in the graffito: **BARBI** /bârbi/ *sb – f*

Full text: BARBI VOLIN TE

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. Like it can be seen if one compares Croatian and English pronunciations, there is almost a full overlap minus the /r/ sound which is not thrilled in the English pronunciation.

4) Model: BUSINESS /'bɪznɪs/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **BIZNIS** /bìznis/ *sb – m*

Full text: DOK STE VI SUŠILI BAKALARE... MI SMO BILI U BIZNISU. .

The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. Similarly like in the last example, there is a full overlap between pronunciations of the model and the replica.

5) Model: BLUES /blu:z/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **BLUES** /blûz/ *sb – m*

Full text: BLUES MANITOG GRADA

This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model.

6) Model: BUS /bʌs/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **BUS** /büs/ *sb – m*

Full text: BOLJE ISPAST GLUP NEGO IZ BUSA

This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

7) Model: CHILL /tʃɪl/ *adj.*<sup>9</sup>

Replica found in the graffito: **CHILL** /čìl/ *sb – m*

Full text: DOĐI NA CHILL

This model's orthography is found on *Dictionary.com*. This is another example of a replica that has its orthography formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

8) Model: DEALER /'di:lər/ *sb – m*

Replica found in the graffito: **DILER** /ďiler/ *sb – m*

Full text: DILERA IMA NA SVAKOM UGLU

This replica is of the same nature as *bilder*, so its orthography is also formed in relation to the combination of the pronunciation and the orthography of the replica. The first syllable of the replica is clearly written in relation to the model's pronunciation, and the second has the original orthography left.

9) Model: DNA /di: en eɪ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **DNA** /dêëñâ/

Full text: TVOJ DNK, MOJ DNA. TEBI JE TO GRUNGE MENI DUBOKA PSIHODELIJA.

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica is an acronym, and its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

10) Model: DRINKER /'drɪŋkər/ *sb – m*

Replica found in the graffito: **DRINKER** /drïñker/ *sb – m*

Full text: DRINKERI KRONERI

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<sup>9</sup> According to *dictionary.com*, the word *chill*, meaning “cool” in the English language exists only as an adjective

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the combination of model's pronunciation and orthography. Similar to *bilder* and *diler*, the first syllable is written in relation to the pronunciation, and the second to the orthography.

11) Model: JUNGLE /'dʒʌŋgəl/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **DŽUNGLA** /džûngla/ *sb – f*

Full text: TI RAZCVJETAVAŠ DŽUNGLU MOJE PSIHE

On the word of Filipović, this replica's orthography is formed in relation to the combination of the model's orthography and pronunciation (1990: 178). The reason for this is that the first part is orthographic (<dž> is orthographically equivalent to the English <j> (Filipović 1990: 59)), and the second is obviously not.

12) Model: FACE<sup>10</sup> /feɪs/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **FEJS** /fêjs/ *sb – m*

Full text: AJ STAV TO NA FEJS!

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica has its orthography formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. This was concluded by simply comparing pronunciations with orthographies of the words.

13) Model: FILM /film/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **FILM** /film/ *sb – m*

Full text: LAURA HOĆEŠ GLEDATI SAMNOM MARVELOVE FILMOVE I JESTI BUREK?

This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

14) Model: FRIEND /frend/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **FREND** /frënd/ *sb – m*

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<sup>10</sup> Abbreviation of *FACEBOOK*®

Full text: AMIGO, KAŽI MI NEMOJ RIBAT GLAVOM O FASADU DRAGI FRENDE!!!

Like the last one, this replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. Also like the last one, there are no exceptions in the Croatian orthography and the English pronunciation.

15) Model: GAY /geɪ/ *sb – m*

Replica found in the graffito: **GEJ** /gêj/ *sb – m*

Full text: VOLIM SVOJE GEJ PRIJATELJE

Filipović used the word *gay* as the replica to this model, unlike the one used in this example (1990: 157), and unlike this categorization, he put it in the “in relation to the model's orthography” category. In this case, on the other hand, the replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. As seen in the previous examples, the Croatian orthography and the English pronunciation are equivalents.

16) Model: GLOW /glɒʊ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **GLOW** /glôu/ *sb – n*

Full text: MALA IMA TAJ GLOW KO ANĐEO

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model, and the pronunciation is given as a suggestion, as this lexeme does not exist in any Croatian dictionaries.

17) Model: GRAFFITO<sup>11</sup> /grə'fɪtɒʊ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffiti: **GRAFIT** /gràfit/ *sb – m P<sub>s</sub>*

Full texts:

1. NOVI GRAFIT

2. OVO TEBI GRAFIT? UBIJ SE!

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<sup>11</sup> This model makes appearances in two graffiti.

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This is an example of pseudo-Anglicism because the last syllable of the model is left out in the replica. This means that this pseudo-Anglicism is set into the ellipsis category. Moreover, its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model. It is important for this example that double English consonant graphemes are equal to single consonant graphemes in the Croatian language (Filipović, 1990: 29) (in this example, <ff> equals <f>).

18) Model: GRUNGE /grʌndʒ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **GRUNGE** /grãndž/ *sb – m*

Full text: TVOJ DNK, MOJ DNA. TEBI JE TO GRUNGE MENI DUBOKA PSIHODELIJA.

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

19) Model: HAPPY ENDING /'hæpi,ending/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **HEPI END** /hepiend/ *sb – m P<sub>S</sub>*

Full text: NEKA BUDE DOBRO I HEPI END

This is a typical case of a pseudo-Anglicism that falls under the ellipsis category. Considering ways of forming, its orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. The reason for this is that English phoneme /æ/ and the Croatian letter <e> are equivalent for the level needed for the replica to fall under that category (Filipović, 1990: 54).

20) Model: HIP-HOP /'hip,hɒp/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **HIP-HOP** /hìphöp/ *sb – m*

Full text: ODGOJILA ME HIP-HOP KULTURA JOŠ KAO KLINCA!

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This case is very similar to the previous cases of *blues* and *grunge*. Its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model. It can

also be set into the category where its orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model, but Filipović gives the “orthography” category an advantage in that case (1990: 29).

21) Model: JOINT /dʒɔɪnt/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffiti: **JOINT** /džòint/ *sb – m*

Full texts:

1. OVDE ŠMRČEMO JOINTE I TRPAMO IH U VENU

2. PASSAJ TAJ JOINT

This replica’s orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

22) Model: KIF /kɪf/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **KIF** /kîf/ *sb – m*

Full text: DAJ KIF

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica’s orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

23) Model: CONTAINER /kənˈteɪnər/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **KONTENJER** /konténjer/ *sb – m*

Full text: KAD SAM GLADAN JA KONTENJER OTVORIM

On the word of Filipović, this replica is the variation of the original replica *kontejner* (1990: 127). *Kontenjer*’s orthography is formed in relation to both pronunciation of the model and its orthography.

24) Model: CROSSFIT<sup>12</sup> /ˈkrɒsfɪt/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **KROS FIT** /krösfit/ *sb – m*

Full text: OD KROS FITA NERASTE KITA

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<sup>12</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CrossFit>

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This is a case of a classic orthographic mistake in the process of making a replica, as in English, this brand of fitness regime is written without the space between *cross* and *fit*. However, the replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. By looking at both pronunciations, we can see that they are identical, which also means that the Croatian replica is written in relation to the pronunciation.

25) Model: MARIHUANA /<sub>1</sub>mæɾə'wa:nə/ sb – n

Replica found in the graffiti: **MARIHUANA** /marihuàna/ sb – f

Full texts:

1. MARIHUANA MAJKA

2. SLATKA MALA MARIHUANA

This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

26) Model: NATO /'neitoʊ/ sb – n

Replica found in the graffiti: **NATO** /náto/ sb – m

Full text: DOLI NATO

This is an acronym for *North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, and like it is a case with other English acronyms borrowed to the Croatian language, its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model. Due to the nature of the languages compared, it is normal that the same acronym will be pronounced differently by Croatian and English speakers.

27) Model: OLD SCHOOL /oʊldsku:l/ adj

Replica found in the graffiti: **OL' SKUL** /ōlskûl/ adj

Full text: VRATITE KVART U ŽIVOT VRATITE ŽIVOT U KVART!!! OL' SKUL  
ŠEMA

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This word, even if it can be used as a noun is used as an adjective in this context. It is an interesting case as the first part of the compound is written in relation to the orthography, and the second one in relation to the pronunciation. When

two of those parts combine, we get to the conclusion that its orthography is formed in relation to the combination of both pronunciation and the orthography of the model. (It is also interesting to mention that the first part is almost written according to AAVE pronunciation of the word *old*, as in it the last consonant is often omitted).

28) Model: TO PASS /pæs/ *v*

Replica found in the graffito: **PASSATI** /pê sati/ *v*

Full text: PASSAJ TAJ JOINT

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

29) Model: PINK /pɪŋk/ *adj*

Replica found in the graffito: **PINK** /pɪŋk/ *adj*

Full text: PINK VAM JEDE... MOZAK!

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica is interesting as it is the part of a noun phrase in which there is no noun due to ellipsis. However, it is an Anglicism and it was not difficult to determine a model. Its orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

30) Model: PSYCHEDELIA /ˌsaɪkɪˈdɪljə/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **PSIHODELIJA** /psihodèlija/ *sb – f*

Full text: TVOJ DNK, MOJ DNA. TEBI JE TO GRUNGE MENI DUBOKA PSIHODELIJA.

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica's orthography is formed in relation to combination of model's pronunciation and orthography.

31) Model: RAVE<sup>13</sup> /reɪv/ *sb – n*

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<sup>13</sup> Chiefly British Slang, a boisterous party, especially a dance. (dictionary.com)

Replica found in the graffito: **REJV** /rêjv/ *sb – m*

Full text: SAMO REJV I DEBELE ŽENE

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. By comparing both pronunciations, it is easy to conclude that this replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model as the Croatian orthography resembles English pronunciation.

32) Model: ROCK 'N' ROLL /'rɒkən'roʊl/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **ROKENROL** /rokènɾōl/ *sb – m*

Full text: OPROSTITUTE ZA ROKENROL

This replica's way orthography forming is a mixture between English pronunciation (first syllable) and English orthography (other syllables). Once again, it is important to notice that double consonants are equal to single consonant in the Croatian language (Filipović, 1990: 29) (in this example, <ll> equals <l>).

33) Model: SEX /seks/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **SEX** /sèks/ *sb – m*

This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

34) Model: SPEED<sup>14</sup> /spi:d/ *sb – n*

Replicas found in the graffiti: **SPID/SPEED** /spîd/ *sb – m*

Full texts:

1. SPID U BUBRIG.

2. SPEED ZASTO NE!

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. The replica *spid* has its orthography formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model. On the other hand, the replica *speed* has its orthography formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

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<sup>14</sup> Slang. a stimulating drug, as caffeine, ephedrine, or especially methamphetamine or amphetamine. (dictionary.com)

35) Model: SPRAY /spreɪ/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffiti: **SPREJ** /sprɛj/ *sb – m*

Full texts:

1. KUPILE SMO SPREJ I JEDVA SMO GA OTVORILE

2. NIJE NAŠ SPREJ...

Something that is expected to be found in the form of graffiti, the word *sprej*'s orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model, as the Croatian orthography (which almost always equals pronunciation) and the English pronunciation are identical.

36) Model: STOP /stɒp/ *v*

Replica found in the graffiti: **STOP** /stɔp/ *v*

Full text: SELJACI STOP

Filipović has put this word into the second category (formed in relation to the orthography of the model), but he analyzed the verb *stopirati*. Nevertheless, the replica *stop*'s orthography is also formed in relation to the orthography of the model, as that is one of many examples where first two categories overlap (in the first one a replica is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model), and the second one gets the advantage due to Filipović's rule (1990: 29).

37) Model: SHIT<sup>15</sup> /ʃɪt/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffiti: **ŠIT** /šɪt/ *sb – m*

Full text: KOCKA ŠITA

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. This replica's orthography is formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model.

38) Model: SHOW /ʃoʊ/ *sb – n*

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<sup>15</sup> "(slang). narcotic drugs, especially heroin or marijuana" (*dictionary.com*).

Replica found in the graffito: **ŠOU** /šôu/ *sb – m*

Full text: SPREMA SE ŠOU MOŽDA ČAK I PREKID

This is an interesting case because it is important to note which pronunciation is used to describe the pronunciation of the model. Filipović uses Received Pronunciation. On the other hand, General American pronunciation is used in all of the examples in this paper. This is the reason that, unlike in *Anglicizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku*, where it is said that this replica's pronunciation is formed in relation to both orthography and pronunciation of the model (Filipović, 1990: 239), here its orthography is considered as it was formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model.

39) Model: TRIP<sup>16</sup> /trip/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **TRIP** /trĭp/ *sb – m*

Full text: IPAK IMAM NEKI TRIP U STOMAKU KAD SAM S TOBOM

This model is found on *Dictionary.com*. The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

40) Model: TV /'ti:'vi:/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **TV** /tévē/ *sb – m*

Full text: UKLJUČI MOZAK, ISKLJUČI TV!

This is another example of an acronym. The different nature of languages compared has to be dealt with before analyzing such examples. Due to the nature of Croatian language that acronyms are read in a different way, they sound differently than in English. Because the orthography is same, this replica's orthography is clearly formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

41) Model: WEEKEND /'wik\_end/ *sb – n*

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<sup>16</sup> “(slang). any experience comparable with a psychedelic experience“ (*dictionary.com*).

Replica found in the graffito: **VIKEND** /vìkend/ *sb – m*

Full text: PREKO TJEDNA GOSPODA A VIKENDOM SMO GAMAD

The orthography of this replica is formed in relation to the combination of the model's orthography and pronunciation. The first part is written in relation to the model's pronunciation, and the second one is written in relation to the model's orthography.

42) Model: WC /dʌbəlju:'si:/ *sb – n*

Replica found in the graffito: **WC** /vécē/ *sb – m*

Full text: PAZI ŠTO RADIŠ SRAM TE BILO OVO NIJE WC!

This is the last example that is analyzed in this paper and it is very similar to the previous example – TV. This replica is yet another acronym whose orthography is formed in relation to the orthography of the model.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This paper, in its introduction, dealt with some of the general graffiti facts and a basic graffiti history. This was a base for further analysis that happened, and that described English elements in Croatian graffiti.

In this paper orthography of 43 different Anglicisms (47 total) found in Croatian graffiti has been analyzed. The graffiti used in this paper were found at three sources which were named “the first source” (contains the vast majority of graffiti (33)), “the second source” (contains 9 graffiti), and “the third source” (contains 2 graffiti). A matching picture and the English translation were provided next to the text of each graffito.

Anglicisms (and pseudo-Anglicisms) found in this paper have their orthography formed in relation to a few different categories. Those are:

- a) In relation to the pronunciation of the model
- b) In relation to the orthography of the model

c) Combination of the pronunciation and the orthography of the model

The majority of Anglicisms found in the analyzed graffiti were formed in relation to the orthography of the model (24). There were 14 Anglicisms that were formed in relation to the pronunciation of the model, and finally, only 9 graffiti were formed in relation to the combination of the model's pronunciation and orthography.

Moreover, there were four examples of pseudo-Anglicisms. Pseudo-Anglicisms usually form by either:

- a) Composition
- b) Derivation
- c) Ellipsis

In this paper, however, all were formed by ellipsis. This means that a part of the replica was left out, so it would be very hard for a native English speaker (who does not understand Croatian) to understand the meaning. Thus the name pseudo-Anglicism.

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## SUMMARY

### English Element in Croatian Graffiti

This paper presents an analysis of the Anglicisms found in 44 Croatian graffiti. First, all graffiti were presented together with pictures and English translations. Then, Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms were isolated from the context of graffiti and, after the model has been determined, analyzed orthographically. Orthography of Anglicisms is formed in relation to orthography of the model, in relation to pronunciation of the model, or in relation to both model's pronunciation and orthography. Pseudo-Anglicisms, apart from being set into one of three aforementioned categories, were also set into the "formed by ellipsis" category.

Key words: Anglicisms, pseudo-Anglicisms, graffiti, orthography

## SAŽETAK

## Engleski element u hrvatskim grafitima

U ovome radu predstavljena je analiza anglicizama pronađenih u 44 hrvatska grafita. Prvo su svi grafiti predstavljeni zajedno s pripadajućim slikama i prijevodima na Engleski jezik. Zatim su anglicizmi izolirani iz konteksta grafita i, nakon što je određen model, ortografski analizirani. Ortografija anglicizama formirana je prema ortografiji modela, prema izgovoru modela, ili prema ortografiji i izgovoru modela. Pseudo anglicizmi, osim što su postavljeni u jednu od 3 već navedene kategorije, također su postavljeni u kategoriju „način formiranja elipsom”.

Ključne riječi: anglicizmi, pseudo anglicizmi, grafiti, ortografija