

Graffiti as Resistance: A Pragmatic Analysis of Graffiti in the July Uprising 2024 in Bangladesh



Akbar Fida Ononto

ID: 211013035

Department of English and Humanities

January 07, 2024 (Fall-2024)

Graffiti as Resistance: A Pragmatic Analysis of Graffiti in the July Uprising 2024 in Bangladesh

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of English and Humanities
University of Liberal Arts, Bangladesh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
BA in English

Akbar Fida Ononto

ID: 211013035

Thesis Supervisor: Al Mahmud Rumman

Senior Lecturer, Department of English & Humanities (DEH)

University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh (ULAB)

January 07, 2024 (Fall-2024)

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

I hereby declare that this thesis is the student's own work and effort. All sources of information incorporated here have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted with my approval.



(Al Mahmud Rumman)

Senior Lecturer

Department of English and Humanities

DECLARATION

This thesis is a presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions.



(Akbar Fida Ononto)

ID: 211013035

Department of English and Humanities

Dedication (optional)

No one deserves more credit for my journey than my mother, who left no stone unturned to support and encourage me at every step. I am deeply grateful for her boundless love and inspiration, which have brought me this far. Her persistent determination, tireless efforts, and sacrifices made me where I am today.

For always being there and for believing in me, thank you, Ma.

Acknowledgements

This research would not be possible without the tireless help, assistance, and support from my supervisor, Al Mahmud Rumman. His guidance and encouragement motivated me and helped me overcome multiple challenges in this pull it off while I was doubting of my own abilities. My four years of academic journey, and all the skills and knowledge I leant from the Department of English and Humanities concludes in this paper, for which I am grateful for.

The presence, support, and encouragement of some people made my journey more exciting and easier to pave. Thus, lastly, I would like to acknowledge those grand figures who were constantly by my side and supported me outside academia in my day-to-day life. Thank you all.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	01
1.1 Background of the Study	01
1.1.1 Graffiti as a form of Art	01
1.1.2 Graffiti in Dhaka City	02
1.1.3 July Uprising 2024	03
1.2 Research Questions	03
Chapter 2: Literature Review	04
2.1 Graffiti as a Resistant Tool (Global)	04
2.2 Graffiti as a Resistant Tool (Global)	05
2.3 Implicature in Graffiti	06
2.4 Speech Act in Graffiti	06
2.5 Impoliteness in Graffiti	07
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework	09
3.1 Implicature	09
3.2 Speech Acts	10
3.3 Impoliteness	11

Chapter 4: Methodology	13
4.1 Sampling	13
4.2 Research Instrument	13
4.3 Data Collection and Analysis	14
Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Findings	15
5.1 Implicature in Graffiti	17
5.1.1 Generalized Conversational Implicature	17
5.1.2 Particularized Conversational Implicature.....	19
5.2 Impoliteness in Graffiti	21
5.2.1 Bald on Record Impoliteness	21
5.2.2 Sarcasm/Mock Impoliteness	22
5.2.3 Negative Impoliteness	23
5.2.4 Positive Impoliteness	24
5.2.5 Off-record Impoliteness	25
5.2.6 Withhold Impoliteness	26
5.3 Speech Acts in Graffiti	27
5.3.1 Representative Speech Act	28
5.3.2 Commissive Speech Act	29
5.3.3 Directive Speech Act	30
5.3.4 Expressive Speech Act	31

5.3.5 Declarative Speech Act	32
5.4 Others	33
5.4.1 Duplication	33
5.4.2 Figurative Language and References	35
5.4.3 Slangs	37
5.5 Graffiti as a Resistant Tool in July Uprising	38
5.4.1 The Importance of Graffiti in Resistance	38
5.4.2 Graffiti's Role in Changing Perception	38
5.4.3 Representation of resistance through Graffiti	39
Chapter 6: Conclusion	40
References	41

Abstract

Graffiti, as a socio-political medium, emerged prominently during the July Uprising (2024) in Bangladesh, a student-led movement resisting governmental exploitation and oppression. This study pragmatically examines implicature, impoliteness, and speech acts in graffiti to explore its role in portraying and catalyzing resistance. Using purposeful sampling, 380 graffiti samples were collected and categorized through thematic coding on pragmatic frameworks, including Grice's (1975) implicature theory, Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness strategies, and Searle's (1970) classification of Austin's (1962) speech act theory. Findings indicate that graffiti utilized particularized conversational implicatures to encode nuanced critiques and generalized implicatures to improve accessibility. Impoliteness strategies disrupted social norms and challenged authority through raw, confrontational language, while speech acts, predominantly directives and representatives, mobilized collective action and expressed dissent. The research outlines graffiti as a counter-hegemonic tool that surpasses artistic expression to become a strong resistance medium by bypassing censorship and amplifying marginalized voices. In general, the research portrays graffiti's ability to critique oppression and injustice and inspire a communal vision for the democratic and socio-political reform of Bangladesh. In this digital age, the research findings could add value to the interdisciplinary connection of linguistics and digital humanities, prioritizing the evolving role of language in public and digital spaces. Future implications of this research could investigate digital graffiti (e-graffiti) and cross-cultural comparisons to understand its impact on multifaceted resistance movements and transformation in the digital era, both local and international contexts.

Keywords: graffiti, anonymity, resistance, implicature, speech act theory, impoliteness, socio-political protest, counter-hegemonic tool

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Often referred to as scribbled writing found on walls of public places, graffiti is an outlook of individual expression conveying an important message related to the current societal, political, or cultural trends (Suliman, 2014), which “has expanded exponentially from a youth subculture practiced by a small minority to writing and artistic acts that cross-generational and gendered boundaries” (Lennon, 2014, p.242). Graffiti is any form of inscription or imagery on the walls or public surfaces such as buildings, parks, or transportation, typically containing political themes, declarations, propositions, or vulgar language (Chiluwa, 2008). Despite having multiple forms (paintings, drawings, or textual writings), graffiti is usually used to “communicate socio-cultural and political messages” (Paudel & Neupane, 2019, p. 52). “Graffiti is seen as representing either acts of resistance towards middle-class norms and rejection of mainstream society or attempts to overthrow hierarchy” (Rubdy, 2015, p. 280).

1.1.1 Graffiti as a Form of Art

Collins (2018) sheds light on the debate of synonymousness between graffiti and street art by saying, “Graffiti is used to describe a work that is done illegally, while street art is typically used to describe a work that has been done with the property owner’s permission” (p. 6). Regardless of its unlawfulness, graffiti can be considered multimodal in its form as it creates and conveys a message utilizing multiple mediums and modes of communication. According to Paudel and Neupane (2019), by focusing on symbols, color, signs, images, language, etc., graffiti artists could create a symbiotic art form that “contributes to communicating a meaningful message more

clearly” (p. 53). Thus, given its innovative characteristics and artistic nature, such creativity has an array of potential for relaying cultural, political, and social significance and disparities.

1.1.2 Graffiti in Dhaka City

The commercial areas, micro-cities, and peripheral zones in Dhaka have been the main subject and primary setting of graffiti artists and local street art narratives that review Dhaka as a “city constantly making and unmaking itself” (Mowtushi, 2020), revealing the city in fragments. One of the popular inscriptions of Dhaka is the “Subodh series,” which started to appear around 2015 in multiple locations in the city. Utilizing stencil and spray paint, the series showcased images of a lean, bearded man in ragged jeans, occasionally sprinting away holding a cage. The “Subodh series” “offers one way to think about how mobility and the lack thereof are negotiated in a world of contested borderlines and imaginary boundaries” (Mowtushi, 2020). Earlier, the campus of Dhaka University has seen a fair share of experimental visual arts and murals by the activists of art students since the 1950s, says Mowtushi (2020), followed by the anonymous graffiti artist responsible for the “Aijuddin series,” which debuted as a compilation of writing in the early 1990s, is credited with possibly the first small but no less impressive stint of graffiti writing in Bengali. In fact, “Aijuddin” is considered a precursor to the “Subodh series.” it first started appearing on the mouldy old walls opposite the British Council building on the DU campus. The bolded caption in black letters says, “Koshte achi Aijuddin (“Aijuddin is in pain”) refers to the artists’ criticism on the unfulfillment of urban dwellers’ hope for a better life and their struggle living in the city (Dhaka), and thus showcasing the ongoing struggle for identity and autonomy within a rapid transforming society.

1.1.3 July Uprising 2024

In recent times, the July Uprising 2024 (also known as July Student Movement or the Quota Reform Movement 2024) stands as a pivotal moment in the history of Bangladesh, where the use of graffiti is documented not only as a public sentiment but also as a catalyst for resistance against governmental exploitations and oppression. With a series of mass protests due to controversial government decisions and mistreatment, it was vital for the general public to figure out a way to draw international attention and highlight the deep-seated tension within Bangladeshi society. Thus, graffiti emerged as a dynamic medium of expression that soon became a medium of resistance for the nation's common people. By transforming urban areas into colorful exhibitions for social commentary and slogans, this type of street art evolved into a canvas for the opposition that not only reflected the frustrations of the masses but also the visual expressions became an integral part of prompting a sense of unity among students and supporters.

1.2 Research Questions

This paper observes graffiti as a tool for resistance by focusing and answering the following questions:

1. How do the implicatures in the graffiti reflect the socio-political context of the uprising?
2. What types of speech acts are employed in the graffiti, and what do they reveal about the artists' intentions?
3. In what ways do graffiti artists adopt impoliteness norms to convey their messages?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In recent years, graffiti has increasingly been recognized as a strong medium of resistance, blending linguistic, cultural, and political dimensions to communicate defiance and solidarity. Examining global instances alongside Bangladesh-specific contexts highlights graffiti's role in mobilizing social and political movements, illustrating its unique potential to convey implicit and explicit messages of dissent across diverse settings. This literature review also examines key pragmatic aspects of graffiti, highlighting its communicative impact and role as a nuanced, contextually adaptive form of resistance.

2.1 Graffiti as Resistant Tool (Global)

Graffiti, especially in urban environments, is not merely an artistic effort for self-expression but a confrontational step against the socio-political structures. Graffiti artists often resist legal and political controls, transforming their vandalism into expressions of defying authority (Ferrell, 1995), which does not limit to opposition but also involves constructing and promoting alternative narratives and identities within the urban landscape. One evident example of graffiti's role as a tool of resistance is in the Tahrir and Gezi protests, where it became a vibrant form of political expression. According to Taş's (2017), graffiti in those uprisings transcended traditional artistic boundaries, allowing individuals from diverse backgrounds to participate in the resistance movement. This democratization of graffiti made it possible for general citizens (without prior artistic training) to participate in the revolutionary spirit and express frustration collaboratively (Taş, 2017). Smith (2017) discusses how indigenous groups voice graffiti and street art to challenge settler colonialism by reclaiming public spaces and asserting cultural identity through visual narratives. The works of artists like Melanie Cervantes and Jessica Sabogal

exemplify the impact of graffiti as a tool for confronting systematic violence against indigenous populations, transforming urban landscapes into sites of political activism (Smith, 2017). Moreover, artist and educator Marianne Nicolson's mural work serves as a distressing reminder of indigenous histories, maintaining the presence and dominance in landscapes threatened by industrial trespassers. Together, such artistic expressions underscore graffiti's role as a virtual and dynamic medium of resistance, promoting community solidarity and challenging hegemonic structures.

2.2 Graffiti as Resistant Tool: (Bangladesh)

Locally known as 'Chika Mara,' graffiti has been a potent medium of resistance and political expression in Bangladesh since its beginning. It evolved from its revolutionary roots during the 1971 Liberation War to a modern form of public dissent (Hossain, 2022; Hosen, 2024). According to Hossain's (2022) observation of graffiti in Chittagong, it often serves as a means of protesting against social vices, political repression, vote rigging, corruption, and misuse of power. During major political movements, activists have employed wall writings to challenge oppressive power structures and call for social change. Even in recent years, graffiti has continued this legacy with influential works like "Bangladesh in Remand" at Dhaka University, sparking discussions on governmental suppression and fear among protesters (Rahman, 2018). Such graffiti acts as a subcultural reaction to predominant power structures, strengthening marginalized voices in the public sphere and emphasizing its role as an enduring tool of resistance (Ross 2016, p. 20), highlighting resilience as a common yet popular medium for challenging authority.

2.3 Implicature in Graffiti

Graffiti often serves as a medium for nuanced communication, employing both implicit and explicit meanings to convey layered messages within specific social and cultural contexts. This concept of “coded” language, primarily accessible to individuals aware of the context, is rooted in Grice’s theory of implicature. Multiple studies on graffiti’s role in implicature emphasize how these implicit messages are crucial for graffiti’s function as resistance, allowing artists to embed critical messages in ordinary phrases or images that rely on shared cultural or political knowledge for complete interpretation. Focusing on Levinson’s (1983) pragmatic theories, Oganda and Mogambi (2015) state that implicature is a defining feature of graffiti’s communicative effectiveness, as the artwork often relies on fragmented language and cultural references to achieve communicative impact, without overt confrontation (pp. 51, 55). Their study emphasizes that graffiti artists achieve a dual-layered communication style by blending standard linguistic forms with local vernacular and metaphors, fostering a collective understanding where the intended audience can feel the full implicature based on shared social context.

Both studies suggest that implicature within graffiti allows for an influential context-based resistance. Despite the existing research providing a valuable foundation on the pragmatic function of implicature in graffiti, it could be further explored how the concept adopts within the rapidly evolving socio-political movements.

2.4 Speech Act in Graffiti

Exploring graffiti through the lens of speech act theory can provide a framework to understand graffiti’s intentions beyond mere text. The notion of graffiti as a speech act aligns with Hidayat's (2016) foundational definitions of speech acts, where graffiti, in a socio-political context,

is not simply a message but an action performed with the intent of influencing the viewers and engaging them in social discourse. According to Yule's (1996, p. 47) frameworks, as highlighted in Hidayat's study, graffiti could be analyzed as comprising locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. For instance, a graffiti of the word/message "Freedom" may have three different meanings: it may be a locutionary act that declares a wish for autonomy, an illocutionary act that demands political reform, and it may have a perlocutionary effect that encourages activism. Keegan's (2010, pp. 165-185) work further discusses that graffiti, primarily found in urban places, acts as a cultural discourse reflecting societal concerns and forming a pragmatic dialogue between the community and the artists. His analysis states graffiti is a medium of marginalized voices, a speech act that conveys and memorializes the creator's point of view or their surroundings. Graffiti, Keegan argues, carries historical and social narratives within it, which helps transform public spaces into memory sites. This indicates the concept of illocutionary force of speech acts, as graffiti is a manifestation of an attempt to convey significant societal messages or concerns.

Discussed studies by Hidayat (2016) and Keegan (2019) promote graffiti's ability to serve as a transformative communicative tool, blending verbal communication within visual and spatial dimensions. An extensive focus on how graffiti shapes the audience's perspective, response, and collective identity in active social movements or uprisings would surely provide further insights into the power dynamics at play in public discourse. Despite that, both provide a lens for analyzing graffiti as a unique form of resistance, where the speech act framework is utilized to discover its layered, pragmatic meanings.

2.5 Impoliteness in Graffiti

Scholars who have studied graffiti as a medium of social resistance and impoliteness have looked at how it can communicate their dissatisfaction, challenge authority, and break social norms

and stigmas. Baldini (2022) refers to graffiti as “visual bugs,” which can only become visible by introducing incorrect and inappropriate outputs, such as crude language, provocative symbols, and aggressive imagery. Such hostile or impolite expressions in graffiti serve as a better medium for carrying out the artist’s agendas effectively than positive implementations due to the human nature of focusing and prioritizing more on imperfections, thus reflecting the fatalities of social infrastructures, antagonistic responses to imposed regulations, and urban gentrifications. The impolite nature of graffiti can be strategically implemented to draw attention to concealed issues, such as political corruption, social inequality, and injustices (Baldini, 2022).

To further extend, in their paper, Martins, Braga, and Logan (2023) introduced the concept of “e-graffiti” in digital spaces, stating that both traditional and digital graffiti can represent hostility, disobedience, or purposeful social confrontation, all of which can be examples of impoliteness. Traditional graffiti, in particular, inherently opposes societal customs with its uninvited presence in public and private properties (Martins et al., 2023), challenging the boundaries of politeness through messages ranging from offensive language to provocative commentary on ongoing social and political points.

Combined, these perspectives underscore that impoliteness in graffiti is a deliberate act of resistance against authority in both physical and digital spaces and a pragmatic tactic to unsettle social and political power structures. However, further research and exploration are required, particularly in non-Western contexts. Additionally, the pragmatic functions of impoliteness in graffiti remain underdeveloped across diverse political environments.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The study of graffiti as a form of socio-political resistance offers unique insights into how language serves as an expressive as well as confrontational tool. Central to this investigation are three linguistic ideas: implicature, impoliteness, and speech act theory, each exhibiting exceptional dimensions of graffiti's communicative extent. Together, these concepts shape a complete lens through which graffiti can be understood as a complex linguistic phenomenon reflecting the spirit and grievances of socio-political actions.

3.1 Implicature

H.P. Grice's foundational work, *Logic and Conversation* (1975), first introduces implicature through the Cooperative Principle, which incorporates four conversational maxims (Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner), assisting in conducting effective communication. Regarding implicature, Grice emphasizes that it enables communicating potent messages indirectly, often evading confrontation and promoting implied unspoken meanings based on the maxims (Grice, 1975, pp. 44-45). Elaborated by Yokossi, Datondji, and Koutchadé (2022), this theoretical framework distinguishes between generalized and particularized conversational implicatures. Simply put, generalized conversational implicatures (GCIs) are not context-dependent. A graffiti statement, for example, says, "Most of them lie," implying that not all officials are dishonest without needing specific context or background knowledge of the situation (Yokossi et al., 2022). On the other hand, particularized conversational implicatures (PCIs) are mostly context-dependent, requiring specific knowledge to decipher the intended meaning.

Grice's model can help identify instances where graffiti deviates from literal interpretations, stating implicature as a tool of criticism or amplifying artistic expressions within the limitations of repression. The research could also be further strengthened through PCI's close alliance with graffiti in socio-political contexts, where it can interpret the implied meaning and demand familiarity with the societal and political infrastructures, such as the roles of specific symbols or phrases in reflecting shared grievances.

3.2 Speech Acts

Speech acts, as outlined in pragmatics, are linguistic tools that transform language into actions with varying communicative functions (Hidayat, 2016), illustrating how language serves not only as a medium of conveying information but also as a tool for enacting various actions, aligning with the intentions often embedded in resistance movements. Speech acts were first familiarized by Austin (1962) in his book *How To Do Things With Words*, where he classified speech acts into three categories: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts refer to the literal meaning of an utterance, illocutionary acts represent the intention behind an utterance (e.g., commands, promises, threats), and perlocutionary acts signify the impact on the audience (Hidayat, 2016). Later on, due to its versatility, Searle (1979) classified the illocutionary act into five other categories: representative declarative, commissive, expressive, Egoro and Gunn (2021) further extend the theory by discussing its performativity functions in social contexts, where they point out how speech acts are bound by social conventions, making them powerful means of communication and challenging norms. For example, directives (commands or requests) and commissive (promises) can illustrate how speakers, or graffiti artists in this case, can express resistance or solidarity.

Analyzing graffiti as speech acts can enable a pragmatic understanding of what different types of speech acts in graffiti might represent, allowing the identification of whether the graffiti's rhetoric function is aimed at mobilizing, challenging authorities, or expressing solidarity within communities. Aligning with the research question, this theoretical foundation is essential for a structured examination of how graffiti operates as a visual and performative act.

3.3 Impoliteness

Mirroring Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, Jonathan Culpeper, a pioneering figure in impoliteness research, introduced the concept of impoliteness as a set of communicative strategies designed to attack rather than preserve face (Culpeper, 1996; Culpeper, 2016). As Culpeper mentions, impoliteness strategies disrupt social harmony and act as a tool to face aggravation, a critical approach for interpreting graffiti in turbulent contexts, such as the July Uprising 2024 in Bangladesh. Culpeper's impoliteness framework includes five main strategies: bald-on-record, positive and negative impoliteness, off-record impoliteness, and withholding politeness (Culpeper, 1996; Fauziati, 2014).

Bousfield (2008) further extends Culpeper's model by emphasizing impoliteness as an intentional, unmitigated action that not only attacks the face (Goffman's theory of face) but also amplifies aggression. He identified impoliteness as a communicative strategy deliberately utilized for amplified face damage. His addition of categories like "challenge" and "enforce role shift" (Bousfield, 2008) highlights how graffiti artists may reclaim public or private space by challenging authority or societal roles assigned to them. Fauziati (2014) complements these perspectives by

recognizing the range of responses to impoliteness, from silent acceptance to direct confrontation, underscoring impoliteness not only as a deviance from politeness but also as a complex social tool with intentionality and perceived legitimacy.

Each strategy provides graffiti artists with means to purposefully or openly confront or defy social conventions to position their work as an aggressive and confrontational response towards perceived injustices. Culpeper's work on positive and negative impoliteness, which involves attacking an individual's need for social acceptance or independence, directly relates to graffiti artists and aims to provoke discomfort by challenging social norms, values, and power hierarchies.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Utilizing a qualitative research design, this study examined graffiti produced during the July Uprising 2024 in Bangladesh. This allowed for an extensive analysis of the linguistic, pragmatic, and thematic variations in graffiti, focusing primarily on the implicatures, impoliteness, and speech acts embedded within the texts.

4.1 Sampling

The adopted sampling strategy for this study is purposive sampling, particularly thematic sampling, to ensure the selection of graffiti that directly or indirectly reflects the ideological and dogmatic context of the uprising. The sampling process is guided by predetermined conditions to ensure the relevance and depth of selected data: (1) produced within the uprising period, (2) relevance to themes of resistance and dissent, and (3) inclusion of linguistic elements suitable for implicature analysis (including ambiguous, satire, sarcastic, or metaphorical expression). These criteria ensure that the graffiti selected for analysis is rich in both pragmatic and thematic elements, thus offering an extensive dataset for the exploration of implicatures, impoliteness strategies, and socio-political value of speech act inherent in these acts of visual resistance.

4.2 Research Instrument

Employing Grice's theory of implicature (Grice, 1975), this involves exploring graffiti texts for particularized and generalized conversational implicatures. The linguistic and social functions are further examined by employing the framework of impoliteness (Culpeper, 1996) and speech act theory (Austin, 1962).

4.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The graffiti samples for this study will be sourced from online media, specifically, Facebook pages that worked as a hub for documenting the July Uprising 2024 in Bangladesh.

The data analysis process consists of multiple stages:

1. **Thematic Coding:** To distinguish between GCI and PCI, graffiti texts are coded for contextual themes and classified following Grice's (1975) implicature framework.
2. **Pragmatic Analysis:** Graffiti messages are analyzed for implicature and impoliteness strategies. Speech acts are identified and categorized to examine the performative functions of the texts.
3. **Others:** Graffiti messages will be further analyzed to identify other elements within the texts and categorized accordingly.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Findings

From a dataset of 380 graffiti collected from online sources focusing on the July Uprising of 2024 in Bangladesh, the analysis reveals multiple significant linguistic and pragmatic patterns. Graffiti were categorized based on the three core concepts: implicature, Impoliteness, and speech acts, in addition to other notable linguistics within the graffiti language, such as duplication, figurative language, and slang, which were identified and catalogued.

Table: Classifications of Graffiti and Distribution

Category	Subcategories	Frequency	Percentage (%) of Total Corpus	Percentage (%) within Category
Implicatures		44	11.57	
	GCI	15	3.95	34.09
	PCI	27	7.37	61.36
	CI	02	0.52	04.54
Impoliteness		25	6.57	
	Bald on Record	09	2.36	36.00
	Negative Impoliteness	04	1.00	16.00
	Positive Impoliteness	02	0.52	8.00
	Off-Record Impoliteness	02	0.52	8.00
	Sarcasm/Mock Impoliteness	06	1.57	24.00

	Withhold Impoliteness	02	0.52	8.00
Speech Acts		82	21.31	
	Representatives	26	6.84	31.7
	Commissive	06	1.57	7.31
	Directive	26	6.84	31.7
	Expressive	12	3.15	14.63
	Declarative	12	3.15	14.63
Others		60	15.79	
	Duplication	12	3.15	20.00
	Figurative Language & References	25	6.58	41.66
	Slang	23	6.1	38.33
Extra		172	45.29	

This detailed categorization emphasizes the multifunctional roles embedded within graffiti, serving as a medium for resistance, expression, and communication in the July Uprising 2024.

5.1 Impicature in Graffiti

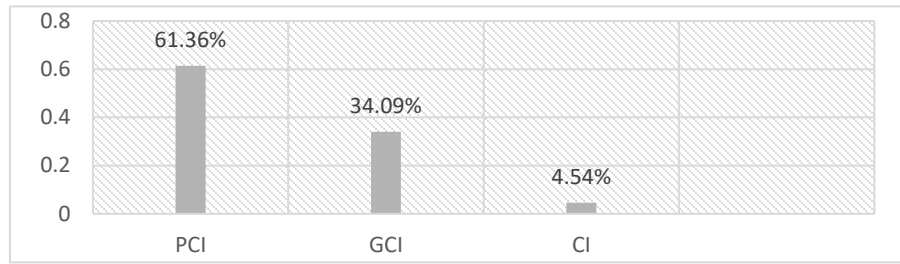


Chart 1: Impicature in Graffiti

A total of 44 implicatures were identified, accounting for 11.57% of the data, within which particularized conversational implicature (PCI) accounted for 27 instances (61.36%) and generalized conversational implicatures (GCI) had 15 occurrences (34.09%). Conversational implicature (CI) was also identified. However, due to insufficient samples compared to others, CI will be neglected in this analysis.

5.1.1 Generalized Conversational Implicature (GCI)



Text: সোনার বাংলা আজ মৃত্যুপুরী কেন?

Translated text: Why is Golden Bengal a kingdom of death today?

Figure 01

The selected graffiti employs Generalized Conversational Implicature (GCI) to criticize and expose the ongoing injustices. GCIs, being context-independent, rely on universal socio-cultural understandings, making the messages accessible to a broader audience. For example, Figure 01 symbolizes the term “সোনার বাংলা” alluding to Rabindranath Tagore's vision of a prosperous and peaceful Bengal, as he mentioned in the national anthem of Bangladesh, which is marked by violence, suffering, despair, and blood, turning it into a “মৃত্যুপুরী” (kingdom of death). The rhetorical question evokes a sense of mourning, suggesting that those in power are responsible for the tragic transformation of the nation. Moreover, the conflicting phrase with the national anthem also showcases the ongoing unsettling situation of that time.

More such examples of GCI in the context are,



Figure 02



Figure 03

5.1.2 Particularized Conversational Implicature (PCI)



Text: *দিনে নাটক রাতে আটক*

Translated text: Drama by day, detention by night

Figure 04



Text: *বিজয় দিবস ৩৬ জুলাই*

Translated text: Victory Day is 36th July

Figure 05

During the protests, the duplicity of the previous PM of Bangladesh is ideally captured by the graffiti in Figure 04, highlighting her alleged public denial of oppression while secretly detaining students (both involved and not involved in protests) at night from their homes. The rhythmic simplicity of the graffiti also makes it memorable to the audiences, while its placement in a public space as well as just near a police officer symbolizes an open challenge to authoritarianism and further underscores the protestors' bravery. The PCI amplifies deeper meanings beyond the literal with its bold act of resistance, critiquing the harsh authoritarian practices, denial of accountability, and tactics of fear.

Showcasing the people's obstinacy, Figure 05 illustrates the unique chronology adopted by the protesters by referring to July's continuation as an act of defiance against the oppressive regime. The graffiti denies the end of the month (July) until their objectives are achieved, highlighting the people's unwillingness to accept a normal passage of time amidst oppression.

Moreover, the phrase “বিজয় দিবস” (Victory Day) elicits a deep historical reference to the Liberation War of 1971, linking their struggle to the nation’s foundational fight for independence. The rebellious tone reflects the unity among the people as well as their collective hope for victory against dictatorship. The phrase also demonstrates the protesters’ ability to shape and redefine symbolic narratives (like time) in their favor, which signifies resistance as more ideological than a physical act. Falling on the spectrum of particularized conversational implicature, people aware of the situation of the country can easily catch the meaning of “36th July” immediately with the broader event timelines, while people outside the context may not understand the reference.

Other examples of PCI in graffiti are,



Figure 06



Figure 07

5.2. Impoliteness in Graffiti

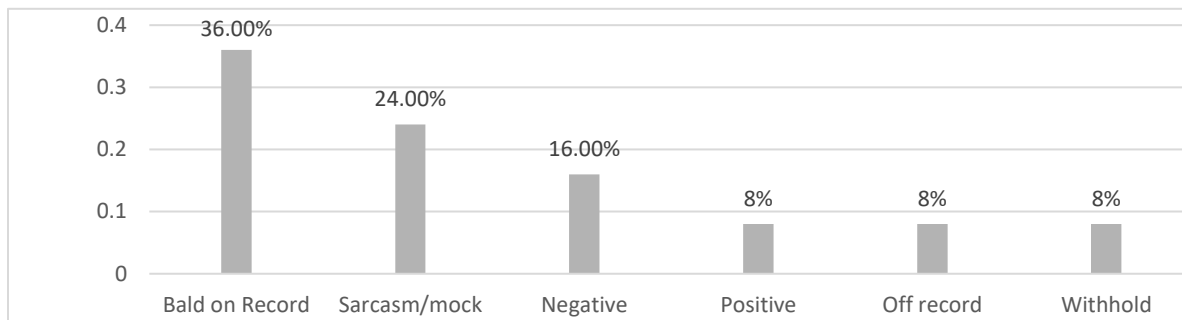


Chart 2: Impoliteness in Graffiti

With a diverse distribution, impoliteness strategies appeared in 6.3% of the graffiti; 36% of which are bald on-record at 36%, and lowest point went to positive, off-record, and withhold impoliteness, consisting 8%.

5.2.1 Bald on Record Impoliteness



Text: ডাইনি স্বৈরাচার নিপাত যাক!

Translated text: Let the witch dictatorship end!

Figure 08

One of the most notable characteristics of bald on-record impoliteness is the unapologetic and unmitigated expression for straightforward incursion, often employing curses or slangs to deliver and express frustration with an aggressive tone, as can be seen in Figure 08. The term “ডাইনি” (witch) is a deliberate offensive descriptor used to evoke strong negative emotions and dehumanize the subject of criticism, in this case, the dictator (Sheikh Hasina). The harsh language

also represents that the protesters are out of patience due to the oppression and losses they had to endure. Avoiding any subtlety or euphemism, this graffiti illustrates an unfiltered form of protest that prioritizes provocation instead of persuasion without being misinterpreted.

5.2.2 Sarcasm / Mock Impoliteness



Text: স্যাটেলাইটে পানি ঢুক গেছে... হেঃ হেঃ হেঃ

Translated text: Water has entered the satellite... Haha!

Figure 09

Consisting 24% of the impoliteness strategies, sarcasm or mock impoliteness is used as a medium to ridicule with its metaphorical connotations. Figure 09 exemplifies sarcasm or mock impoliteness aimed at Zunaid Ahmed Palak, the former Minister of State for Posts, Telecommunications, and Information Technology of Bangladesh. During the uprising, the internet all over the nation was shut down under his orders. However, when questioned regarding the disruption, Palak dismissed concerns with absurd explanations, one of which was that rain had caused water to enter the satellite, reflecting his lack of understanding or unwillingness to admit accountability. Satire is also used in this piece to expose the minister's incompetence and downplaying of such a critical issue. The depiction of Palak smiling in the graffiti, alongside water

pouring from a watering can into a satellite, serves as an exaggeration for his statements to ridicule him.

Further examples of sarcasm/mock impoliteness,



Figure 10



Figure 11

5.2.3 Negative Impoliteness



Text: দড়ি ধরে মারো টান, স্বৈরাচার হবে খান খান

Translated text: Pull the rope tight, the dictatorship will shatter into pieces

Figure 12

The graffiti in Figure 12 can be portrayed as an example of negative impoliteness due to its characteristic of using intimidation, insults, or threats while exploiting its target's (Sheikh Hasina's) need for freedom, autonomy, or security. The phrase symbolically refers to the act of pulling down and overthrowing the dictatorial regime. "স্বৈরাচার" (dictator) in the graffiti labels

the former Prime Minister as an autocratic Figure, dismissing any legitimacy of governance. The metaphor of breaking into “খান খান” (pieces) promotes a sense of disintegration, amplifying the emotion embedded in the message. Additionally, the phrase also adds a cultural weight and subtext with its reference to the iconic Bangla movie *Hirak Rajar Deshe* (on the right), where tyranny is overthrown by unity and rebellion. This analogy strengthens the implied threat, making its target a symbolic “tyrant” who must be dismantled. Moreover, the accompanying caricature on the left side of the phrase (a woman with devil-like exaggerated features) visually fortifies the verbal attack by mocking and dehumanizing the former Prime Minister.

5.2.4 Positive Impoliteness



Text: বরং তুমি চলে যাও

Translated text: Rather, you leave

Figure 13

Referring to a deliberate disregard for the desire to be accepted, liked, or respected, Figure 13 effectively represents the positive impoliteness in action. Targeting dictatorship, the graffiti exemplifies an explicit rejection of her presence and authoritarian power. The dismissive tone in the word “বরং” (meaning “rather”) undermines any legitimacy or claim to leadership she might feel entitled to. While denying the inclusion or acceptance within the sociopolitical framework, signaling that Hasina’s departure is more preferable than her dialogues or presence. Such graffiti

recalls the artists' intent to humiliate and reject the leadership of their target publicly by leveraging impoliteness as a rhetorical tool.

5.2.5 Off-Record Impoliteness



Text: হারানো বিজ্ঞপ্তি- বাক স্বাধীনতা

Translated text: Lost Notice – Freedom of Speech

Figure 14

A prime example of off-record impoliteness from the collected data is Figure 14, where the implied meaning is expressed indirectly through ambiguity to evade direct confrontation while still delivering an offensive message. "Lost notice" typically indicates the loss of any valuable object or entity. By framing "freedom of speech" as lost, the graffiti implies a scathing critique of the government, hinting towards the suppression of fundamental rights. Avoiding direct accusations, the graffiti leaves room for the audience to open interpretations and draw their own conclusions, which is a hallmark of off-record impoliteness. Moreover, the word “হারানো” (lost) and the concept of "missing notice" creates a sense of irony by portraying that basic human rights are something that can be confiscated. This subtle hint intensifies the criticism, as the loss freedom of speech or freedom, in general, is indirectly connected to the oppressive or autocratic government, casting a shadow on the socio-political environment without providing direct accountability.

5.2.6 Withhold Impoliteness



Text: পাহাড় কেন বুটের তলায়

Translated text: Why are the hills under boots?

Figure 15

The July Uprising highlighted long running national issues such as, the conflict of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Figure 15. This representation of withholding impoliteness challenges the historical and ongoing militarization of the CHT and its socio-political consequences for indigenous communities. The word “boots” draws concerns about the domination and suppression of military presence and invasion, implying the neglect of indigenous rights and cultural heritage, denouncing the exploitation of CHT’s natural and human resources. The militarization is accused of active land grabbing, forcefully displacing, and stripping multiple communities of their autonomy and identity. The graffiti opts to question the morality and justification behind such domination directly by refusing to engage with those who are responsible. The red background in the graffiti also hints towards bloodshed in the communities due to governmental intervention.

5.3 Speech Acts in Graffiti

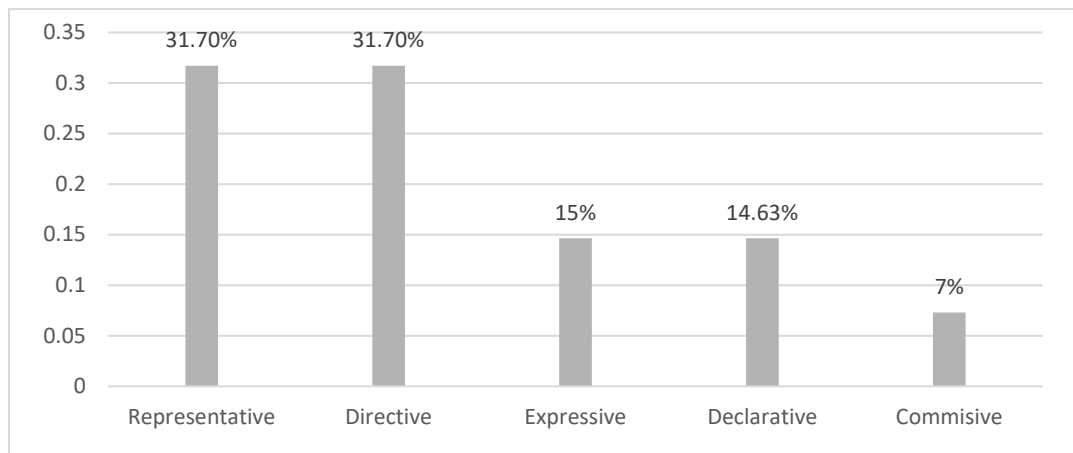


Chart 3: Speech Acts in Graffiti

The speech acts analysis yielded 21.31% instances across five categories, with directives and representatives being the most prevailing types (31.7%). Followed by expressive and declarative, and lastly, commissive speech acts had a 7.31% sample size.

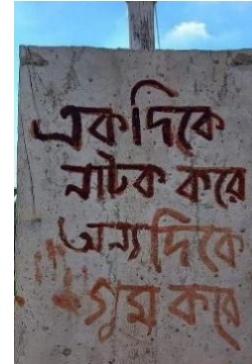
5.3.1 Representative Speech Act



Text: চাইলাম অধিকার, হয়ে গেলাম রাজাকার!

Translated text: We asked for our rights, and
we became traitors!

Figure 16



Text: একদিকে নাটক করে, অন্যদিকে গুম করে

Translated text: On one side, pretends with drama;
on the other, disappears people

Figure 17

Through a powerful statement, Figure 16 marks as a powerful example of representative speech act due to its affiliation with artist's belief or claims. The speaker assertion here is a paradoxical reality in which the general people demanding fulfilment of their basic rights are instead labelled as “*Rajakar*” (a term historically associated with traitors in Bangladesh). The statement indirectly critiques the socio-political system's inability to take responsibility for the rightful demands of equality and justice. The graffiti also implies frustration and highlights the silencing mechanism of the state, where speaking out is being branded as enemies and betrayal towards the state. Thus, by using an assertive tone, the graffiti conveys the truth of this experience while urging its audiences to reflect on the action of delegitimizing citizens' voices.

Figure 17 is also another example of a representative speech act, pointing towards the dictating governments' action during the July Uprising 2024. With the symbol “নাটক” (drama), the phrase criticizes the alleged facade of innocence, juxtaposing with the harsh reality of enforced

disappearances (গুম) and unfair arrests of students. Through a definitive claim, the graffiti highlights the government's alleged hypocrisy; on one hand, portraying itself as empathetic, while on the other, suppressing voices through authoritarian means.

5.3.2 Commissive Speech Act



Text: *রক্তে ভাসে দেশটা, দেখে ছাড়বো শেষটা*

Translated text: The country is drowned in blood, we
will see it through to the end

Figure 18

A prime example of commissive speech act conveying a strong commitment to action in the context of resistance against oppressive governmental actions can be seen in Figure 18. The phrase recalls a collective willpower to preserve and fight until justice or a resolution is achieved, despite the enormous number of sacrifices which is symbolized by "রক্তে ভাসে" (drenched in blood). Thus, the graffiti acts as a vow from the protesting masses, indicating an unwavering determination to continue their struggle. Using vivid imagery and pledging to "see it through to the end," the graffiti promotes resilience by motivating and uniting its audiences under a common cause.

5.3.3 Directive Speech Act



Text: *ঐক্যবদ্ধ হন, এ লড়াই সবার*

Translated text: Unite, this fight is for everyone

Figure 19

Focusing on directives, the graffiti in Figure 19 urges the people to take one specific action: unite and participate in the protest for rights. The call for unity ("*ঐক্যবদ্ধ হন*") in the statement emphasizes the ongoing struggle for shared responsibility and involves everyone equally. By framing the ongoing conflict as universal ("*এ লড়াই সবার*"), the graffiti aims to motivate individuals to overcome personal divisions and rally together for one common goal.

The forceful yet inclusive nature of this speech act proposes unity as a crucial solution to motivate actions through a sense of collective responsibility and reinforces the idea that success is possible through mutual cooperation and collective effort.

5.3.4 Expressive Speech Act



Text: আজাদী মোবারক

Translated text: Congratulations on Freedom

Figure 20

With an emotional response, Figure 20 is a celebratory graffiti that glorifies liberation or independence. The terms “আজাদী” (freedom) and “মোবারক” (congratulations) conveys joy and pride along with positive emotions regarding the idea of attaining freedom. The expressive nature of this speech act is quite clear as it communicates the artist’s sentiment rather than commanding, sharing information, or committing to future actions. The graffiti celebrates collective progress (freedom), fostering a sense of pride and hope among the viewers. The black and red background symbolizes the theme of mourning, highlighting that the achieved freedom came at the cost of blood. Thus, the graffiti serves as a symbolic gesture of shared celebratory spirit while emphasizing the cost of freedom.

5.3.5 Declarative Speech Act



Text: তুমি কে? আমি কে? বিকল্প বিকল্প

Translated text: Who are you? Who am I? Substitute, Substitute

Figure 21

Declarative speech acts bring a change in reality through utterance, which can be seen in Figure 21 where the graffiti seeks to redefine social and political identities while urging a shift towards alternative pathways. The rhetorical questions “তুমি কে?” (Who are you?) and “আমি কে?” (Who am I?) are used to challenge norms and promote a sense of self-identity. The graffiti’s emphasis on “বিকল্প” (Substitute) declares that the future of the nation is in the hands of the protesters (students). It symbolically reshapes the collective consciousness of the audience, asserting that an alternative is not only a desirable option but a necessary one. The declarative one of the graffiti in demanding a rethink of roles exemplifies the transformative power of language in public discourse, marking it as a powerful socio-political statement.

5.4 Others

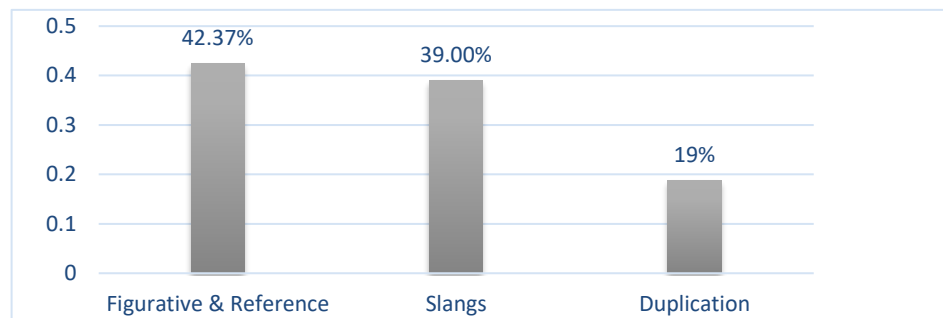


Chart 3: Other Identified Criteria

Lastly, among the additional features most found instances were in figurative language and pop-cultural references (42.37%), followed by slang phrases, and duplication, where graffiti is used multiple times or throughout multiple locations.

5.4.1 Duplication



Text: *১দফা ১ দাবি*

Translated text: One Point, One Demand

Figure 22

During the student movement, multiple graffiti was reused and became widespread. Such duplication of graffiti signifies their symbolic importance across diverse protest sites, enforcing a shared identity, purpose and statement of resistance. For example, the graffiti in Figure 22

represents the evolution of collective demands during the July Uprising 2024. Initially, the student protesters presented the government with multiple demands to fulfil their rights. But with increasing atrocity and brutality, the protesters united with a reduced number of demands targeting the government until there was only "One Point, One Demand," which was the removal of dictatorship. The concise nature of the text ensures it is memorable and easily reproduced, contributing to its proliferation.

More such graffiti that were used popularly are as follows,



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25

5.4.2 Figurative Language & References



Text: *Motherland or Death*



Text 1 (Left): আজও বাংলার মানুষ মুক্তি চায়, বাংলার মানুষ বাঁচতে চায়, বাংলার মানুষ তার অধিকার চায়

Text 2 (Right): যে বলে রাজাকার সে হলো স্বৈরাচার

Translated text 1: Even today, the people of Bengal want freedom, the people of Bengal want to live, the people of Bengal want their rights.

Translated text 2: Whoever says Razakar is a dictator

Figure 26

Figure 27

Inspired by Che Guevara's 1964 United Nations speech, graffiti Che Guevara's 1964 United Nations speech, Figure 26 serves as a powerful reference in the context of the July Uprising (2024). The phrase, filled with revolutionary sentiment, is repurposed to echo the urgency of the student-led protests against the dictatorship regime. The dynamic contrast between "Motherland" and "Death" represents a binary choice, highlighting the protesters' unwavering commitment to their cause. Furthermore, the use of vibrant colors and red handprints reinforce the youth's unity and determination to achieve freedom even at the cost of blood. Thus, soliciting Guevara's legacy, the graffiti connects the local struggle with global revolutionary ideals by transforming public spaces into a site of resistance and symbolic defiance.

The graffiti on Figure 27 cleverly uses reference and figurative representation to mock and ridicule the government, repurposing iconic imagery and statements for subversive critique. By subtly adding a simple "ও," in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's historic declaration of liberation, “আজ বাংলার মানুষ মুক্তি চায়, ...”, message aligns with the same provocation as 1971 but with the goals of 2024 July Uprising. This subtle transformation connects the past struggle for freedom with current struggles against authoritarianism while showing the hypocrisy of dictatorship. Moreover, the addition of “যে বলে রাজাকার সে হলো স্বৈরাচার” targets Sheikh Hasina directly, referencing her infamous "রাজাকারের নাতিপুত্রিরা" remark during a press conference, flipping her accusatory tone back into her. Thus, by intertwining historical status with current political resistance, the graffiti effectively trolls the government and calls for resistance through rhetoric associated with liberation and justice. More sample graffiti of figurative use of language and pop-cultural reference are,



Figure 28

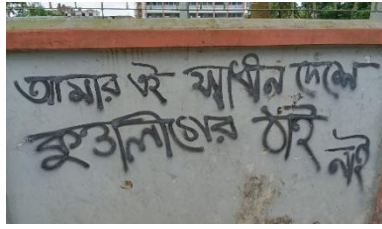


Figure 29



Figure 30

5.4.3 Slang



Text: আমার এই স্বাধীন দেশে কুত্তালীগের ঠাই নাই

Translated text: There is no place for the Kutta (like a dog) League
in my independent country.

Figure 31

Almost 39% of instances of direct use of slang terms were witnessed in graffiti to mock and condemn their target. In the case of Figure 31, the slang “কুত্তালীগ” refers to Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) under Sheikh Hasina’s authoritarian regime. Translating to "dog-league," the term symbolizes the deep dissatisfaction of the people and loss of trust in the ruling party due to its oppressive nature, portraying its unworthiness in an independent nation. This aggressive slang tone also reflects the collective frustration and anger during the July Uprising 2024, making slang a prominent feature in graffiti. Slang allowed protesters to communicate and express in a raw, impactful, and relatable manner, resonating with the masses. Such linguistic tools not only heightened the emotional intensity of the movement but also made the messages more provocative and memorable, converting public walls into battlegrounds of ideological warfare against the regime. More such examples of the use of slangs are,



Figure 32

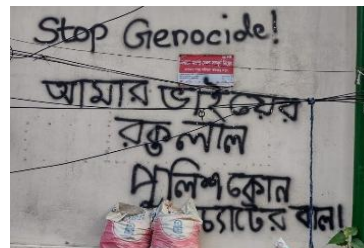


Figure 33

5.5 Graffiti as Resistant Tool in July Uprising

A potent visual and textual art form, like graffiti, emerged as a powerful medium of resistance and expression during the July Uprising in Bangladesh. In times of political and social turbulence, it served as a canvas of conflict and a beacon of collective voice. Pragmatically, graffiti is more than just an expression; it operates within a socio-political framework that reflects implicatures, challenges hegemony, and promotes change for good.

5.5.1 The Importance of Graffiti in Resistance

Graffiti during the Uprising was not just a medium of creativity but also a strategic tool of rebellion. The walls of Dhaka became repositories of resistance, encoding messages that resonated with the collective grievances of people. These inscriptions were imbued with unstated messages and meanings that locals could easily connect and sympathize with. For example, the statement in Figure 05 not only shares the result of their determination and unity but also expresses the emotion of the masses due to the newly found independence.

The placement of graffiti in public spaces stepped up its reach. In densely populated areas, graffiti acted as a silent yet persistent voice, challenging censorship and bypassing traditional barriers that media suffers from. It became an inclusive tool for individuals who might otherwise lack platforms to express their voice, thus democratizing the process of resistance.

5.5.2 Graffiti's Role in Changing Perceptions

The cognitive and emotional impact of graffiti lies in its pragmatic ability to encode powerful implicatures. Each piece of graffiti operates as a speech act, demanding interpretation and interaction. Impoliteness disrupts social norms and acts as a harsh force that compels

individuals to confront uncomfortable truths. For example, defaced images of authoritarian leaders in Figure 9, 11, 12, and 32. By encouraging a shared form of solidarity through the language of resistance, graffiti unites diverse groups under a common narrative, giving any fragmented society a collective purpose. This unifying effect is amplified by its accessibility; even a passerby with no prior exposure or knowledge to the graffiti's context can engage and reflect upon the message.

5.5.3 Representation of Resistance Through Graffiti

In the context of July Uprising 2024, graffiti is seen to represent resistance through multiple dimensions. It symbolized defiance against oppression and served as a weapon against dictatorship. The informal and unsanctioned nature of graffiti emphasized its role as a counter-hegemonic tool. Unlike organized protests, graffiti thrives in anonymity, allowing participants to critique without fear of immediate consequences.

Thematically, the graffiti of the uprising focused on systemic injustice, economic disparity, and aspiration for democracy and justice. The use of metaphors, irony, and cultural references enriched its pragmatic significance, making it an effective medium to critique dictatorial injustice and inspire change. Thus, as seen in the July Uprising, graffiti underscores its potential as an emblem of resistance that can challenge social structures, promote unity, and catalyze change among people.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The July Uprising 2024 stands as a pivotal point in Bangladesh's history, marked through graffiti, proving its transformative power in the resistance movement. This study has demonstrated how graffiti, beyond its artistic appeal, operates as a socio-political instrument, merging pragmatic and linguistic elements to reflect social narratives. Through the lens of implicature, impoliteness, and speech act theory, the analysis has highlighted graffiti's ability to deliver informal and unsanctioned layered messages, challenge hegemonic power structures and amplify the collective voices of people.

In conclusion, the graffiti of the July Uprising exemplifies its enduring potential as a counter-hegemonic medium that not only memorializes the struggle and aspiration of the people but also reinforces the power of language and art in challenging oppression and imagining a more equitable society.

Further research on graffiti as a medium of resistance can benefit from expanding the scope beyond linguistic and pragmatic analysis to include interdisciplinary concepts, such as, visual semiotics, cultural studies, and digital activism. Comparative studies across different socio-political contexts and movements could uncover universal patterns or unique adaptations in graffiti's role as a resistance tool. Additionally, exploring the intersection of traditional graffiti with emerging forms like digital graffiti or "e-graffiti" could provide valuable insight into how technological advancements reshape the dynamics of dissent. Further research could also look into audience reception and engagement to better understand how graffiti influences public opinion and impacts collective action.

References

- Austin, J.L. (1962). *How to do things with words: The William James lectures, delivered at Harvard Univ. in 1955*. Clarendon Press.
- Baldini, A. L. (2022). Street art, graffiti, and tags: The value of imperfection in urban aesthetics. In *Imperfectionist Aesthetics in Art and Everyday Life* (pp. 327-342). Routledge.
- Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in interaction* (Vol. 167). John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.167>
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Vol. 4). Cambridge University Press.
- Chiluwa, I. (2008). Religious vehicle stickers in Nigeria: A discourse of identity, faith and social vision. *Discourse & Communication*, 2(4), 371–387.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481308091909>
- Collins, A. (2018). *Graffiti: Vandalism or art?* Lucent Press.
- Culpeper, J. (1996). Towards an anatomy of impoliteness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25(3), 349-367.
- Culpeper, J. (2016). Impoliteness strategies. In A. Capone & J. L. Mey (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary studies in pragmatics, culture and society* (pp. 421–445). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-12616-6_16

- Egoro, D. E., & Gunn, M. (2021). Speech act theory and Gricean pragmatics: A review. *LWATI: A Journal of Contemporary Research*, 18(4), 130-143.
- Fauziati, E. (2014). Linguistic impoliteness: A brief literature review.
- Ferrell, J. (1995). Urban graffiti: Crime, control, and resistance. *Youth & Society*, 27(1), 73-92.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X95027001005>
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In *Speech Acts* (pp. 41–58). Brill.
https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368811_003
- Hidayat, A. (2016). Speech acts: Force behind words. *English Education: Jurnal Tadris Bahasa Inggris*, 9(1), 1-12.
- Hossain, G. S. (2022). Language and content in graffiti: A case of Chittagong. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 36(1), 62-72.
- Hosen, M. E. (2024, May 25). Tales of wall: How Chikamara and graffities have changed over time. *The Financial Express*. <https://thefinancialexpress.com.bd/lifestyle/culture/tales-of-wall-how-chikamara-and-graffities-have-changed-over-time>
- Keegan, P. (2010). Blogging Rome: Graffiti as speech-act and cultural discourse. In *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (pp. 181-206). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203840870>
- Lennon, J. (2014). Assembling a revolution: Graffiti, Cairo and the Arab spring. *Cultural Studies Review*, 20(1), 237–275.

Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813313>

Martins, V., Braga, A., & Logan, R. K. (2023). Digital media as a form of electronic graffiti (e-graffiti): From walls to social media. *New Explorations: Studies in Culture and Communications*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.7202/1107738ar>

Mowtushi, M. T. (2020). The urban experience of displacement: Re-viewing Dhaka through street art and graphic narrative. In *Graphic Narratives about South Asia and South Asian America*. Routledge.

Oganda, O. H., & Mogambi, H. (2015). The language of graffiti on public transport vehicles in Kenya: Issues and perspectives. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 3(6), 47-56.

Paudel, J., & Neupane, P. (2019). Contents and the language used in graffiti: A case of Kathmandu valley. *Journal of NELTA*, 24(1-2), 52-76.
<https://doi.org/10.3126/nelta.v24i1-2.27680>

Rahman, S. (2018, October 17). Graffiti asking questions about fear, injustice. *Prothom Alo*.
<https://en.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/Graffiti-asking-questions-about-fear-injustice>

Ross, J. I. (2016). London calling: Contemporary graffiti and street art in the UK's capital. In *Routledge Handbook of Graffiti and Street Art* (pp. 272-287). Routledge.

Rubdy, R. (2015). A multimodal analysis of the graffiti commemorating the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks: Constructing self-understandings of a senseless violence. In R. Rubdy & S.

- B. Said (Eds.), *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 280–303). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137426284_14
- Searle, J. R. (1979). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, M. R. (2017). Indigenous graffiti and street art as resistance. In S. H. Awad & B. Wagoner (Eds.), *Street Art of Resistance* (pp. 251–274). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63330-5_11
- Suliman, N. (2014). Critical conceptions of graffiti in schools. *University of Toronto*.
- Taş, H. (2017). Street arts of resistance in Tahrir and Gezi. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 53(5), 802–819. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2017.1299007>
- Yokossi, D. T., Datondji, A. C., & Koutchadé, I. S. (2022). A pragmatic study of generalized and particularized implicatures in “The Arrangers of Marriage” from Adichie’s *The Thing Around Your Neck*. *International Journal of English Language and Linguistics Research*, 10(4), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.37745/ijellr.13/vol10n4118>
- Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press.