

A Lexico-Semantic Analysis of Students' Graffiti at Akwa Ibom State University, Obio Akpa Campus

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Abstract

Graffiti inscribed on university walls, desks, and public spaces are linguistic artefacts that encode the social realities, frustrations, and worldviews of students. Despite growing scholarship on university graffiti in African contexts, insufficient attention has been paid to its lexico-semantic dimensions in Nigerian universities, creating a gap in knowledge about the relationship between students' vocabulary choices and the meanings they construct in informal campus discourse. This study addresses that gap by presenting a lexico-semantic analysis of five purposively selected graffiti inscriptions collected from Akwa Ibom State University (AKSU), Obio Akpa campus. Drawing on Roland Barthes' (1972) theory of denotation, connotation, and myth, and Michael Halliday's (1978) theory of social semiotics, the study analyses five purposively selected graffiti inscriptions documented from desks in lecture halls in the Faculties of Management Sciences, Social Sciences, Arts, and the walls of the university. The study adopts a qualitative approach, subjecting each inscription to a close lexico-semantic reading that examines the surface meanings of the texts and the deeper, ideological, and social meanings embedded within specific lexical choices; myth, and the ideational, interpersonal, and textual meta-functions. Findings reveal that student graffiti at AKSU operates simultaneously across multiple semantic registers, encoding experiences of academic pressure, institutional hardship, territorial identity, interpersonal betrayal, and resilient endurance. The inscriptions draw on and, in some cases, subvert dominant mythological narratives surrounding education, suffering, trust, and student life in Nigeria. The study concludes that graffiti at AKSU constitutes a rich and analytically significant body of informal discourse that gives voice to the emotional, social, and ideological realities of student experience in ways that formal institutional channels do not permit.

Keywords: *Graffiti, lexico-semantics, social semiotics, ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions, AKSU.*

Introduction

Language is an intimate mirror of the human condition. According to Etuk and Umoh (2024, pp. 365-366), "Language makes communication easy; it provides the medium by which an oral exchange or written text can be achieved". It does not merely facilitate communication; it also encodes identity, ideology, emotion, and power (Urujian & Etuk, 2024). Halliday (1978) argues that language is a social semiotic system, a resource through which human beings not only exchange information but construct social reality, negotiate relationships, and position themselves within the ideological structures of their societies. Among the many forms language takes (Mbede 2024), graffiti occupies a peculiarly compelling space. Graffiti are writings, drawings, or symbols inscribed on walls, desks, toilet stalls, staircases, and other public surfaces, usually with spray paint or markers. They are unauthorised yet public, anonymous yet deeply personal, ephemeral yet persistent expressions of identity, resistance, creativity, and social

commentary within shared spaces. Graffiti is not merely an informal writing or random scribbling; it is a form of everyday literature, written not in books preserved in libraries, but painted and inscribed upon the walls of society. What distinguishes graffiti from other forms of linguistic expression is its spirit of resistance. It bypasses the control of editors, publishers, censors, and institutional authorities who traditionally determine whose voices deserve public attention. The graffiti writer claims the wall as a page and the street as an audience. Through this act, graffiti creates a democratised form of communication in which anyone with a marker, spray paint, and the courage to speak can participate in public discourse. Graffiti also operates at the intersection of language and space, transforming ordinary environments into sites of meaning and contestation. Lefebvre (1991) argues that space is never neutral, but is always shaped, structured, and regulated by powerful social forces. From this perspective, graffiti becomes a clear way for marginalised voices to challenge and resist that control. By writing on walls or surfaces, graffiti writers reject the passive role expected within institutional spaces and instead assert an active, unofficial, and lasting presence. A plain wall may become a medium for expressing grief in a violent neighbourhood; a train may become a moving gallery for neglected voices; a government building may become a visible surface of protest and dissent. In this way, graffiti invites a reconsideration of traditional notions of literacy and authorship. Sebba (2007) notes that non-standard and informal writing practices, including graffiti, have historically been dismissed as linguistically deficient, precisely because they fall outside the boundaries of prestige literacy, yet it is in these very forms that some of the most authentic and socially revealing language use can be found. Conventional definitions of literature have historically privileged texts produced by educated elites and circulated through formal institutions. However, graffiti challenges this hierarchy by demonstrating that the human impulse to communicate, to leave a mark, and to declare “I was here” belongs to all people regardless of class, race, or culture.

On university campuses across the world, graffiti written by students on lecture desks, hostel walls, toilet stalls, and corridors constitutes a rich body of spontaneous and unfiltered language use that has increasingly attracted scholarly attention. Produced outside the formal constraints of academic writing, students’ graffiti often reveal lexical choices that institutional discourse suppresses, including slangs, taboo expressions, code-switching, abbreviations, and creative neologisms. These inscriptions frequently reflect the emotional, social, political, and psychological realities of student life. In Nigeria, university campuses are spaces marked by academic pressure, economic hardship, political uncertainty, romantic anxieties, spiritual searching, and peer influence, often within environments that provide limited formal channels for self-expression. Akwa Ibom State University (AKSU), Obio Akpa Campus, is no exception; its physical environment contains numerous student-generated inscriptions that collectively form a rich textual landscape worthy of linguistic investigation.

Over the past two decades, scholars have increasingly examined graffiti as discourse in African contexts. Studies on university graffiti in South Africa, Ghana, and Nigeria (Chiluwa, 2008; Nwoye, 1993; Omoniyi, 2016) have explored graffiti as a medium of identity construction, protest, humour, and social interaction. Despite this growing body of scholarship, insufficient attention has been paid to the lexico-semantic dimensions of students’ graffiti, particularly in universities where sociolinguistic realities strongly shape language use. The absence of lexico-semantic analysis creates a gap in knowledge regarding the relationship between students’ vocabulary choices and the meanings they construct within informal campus discourse. It is this gap that this study seeks to address by examining the lexical categories and semantic implications of graffiti, found within the university environment.

Review of Related Literature

The study of graffiti as a form of language has attracted scholarly attention for many years. According to Lachmann (1988), early studies often viewed graffiti as a social problem or a sign of urban disorder. However, as linguistics and discourse studies expanded to include informal and non-standard language forms (Mbede & Etuk, 2026), graffiti began to receive recognition as an important area of language study. One of the earliest significant studies in Nigeria was carried out by Nwoye (1993), who examined graffiti in Nigerian universities. His study showed that campus graffiti contained political, religious, sexual, and philosophical themes, and that students used creative language forms such as code-mixing and intertextual references in their inscriptions. Later studies in Nigeria further explored the language and themes of campus graffiti. Chiluwa (2008) studied graffiti at the University of Lagos and discovered that political expressions were very common, with students using graffiti to challenge institutional and governmental authority. Ugochukwu (2010) also examined graffiti in southeastern Nigerian universities and focused on the use of proverbs, idioms, and vernacular expressions in student inscriptions. Omoniyi (2016) carried out a comparative study of graffiti in three West African universities. He described campus graffiti as a form of discursive resistance through which students expressed identity and questioned dominant institutional values. Mensah (2019) identified common themes such as love, religion, death, and political protest in his study. His findings showed that word choice played an important role in shaping the communicative impact of graffiti.

Outside Africa, several scholars have also explored graffiti from linguistic and social perspectives. Otta (1993) studied graffiti in Brazil and found that the vocabulary used in graffiti reflected the social realities of the writers. Alford (1995) analysed graffiti in American universities and observed differences in the language patterns of male and female writers, especially in emotional expression. Hanauer (2004) examined political graffiti in Israel and demonstrated how metaphor and lexical choice were used to express ideological positions. Tanen (2012) studied London Street graffiti and explained how writers used words with multiple meanings to create irony and humour.

Closer to the Nigerian context, the influence of emerging digital culture on graffiti language has also attracted scholarly attention. Okeke (2022) examined the relationship between social media language and graffiti among Nigerian youths and observed that many graffiti expressions increasingly reflected the vocabulary and communicative patterns of digital and online culture. All these studies, spanning African, international, and digital contexts, demonstrate that graffiti remains a linguistically rich and socially significant medium through which students articulate emotions, assert identity, and engage with the social experiences that define their world.

Theoretical Framework

This study is based on Roland Barthes' (1977) theory of denotation, connotation, and myth, as well as Michael Halliday's (1978) theory of social semiotics. Barthes (1977) explained that meaning in language and other sign systems works on two connected levels. The first level is denotation, which refers to the direct or literal, or dictionary meaning of a word or sign. The second level is connotation, which refers to the deeper cultural, emotional, and social meanings connected to a word or sign. According to Urujian and Etuk (2023), words do not carry only simple meanings; they also reflect the values, beliefs, and ideas of the society in which they are used. Barthes (1977) introduced the idea of myth in his theory, as the way certain cultural beliefs and social ideas become accepted as natural or normal, even though they are created by society. Myth helps people see social values and ideologies as unquestionable truths. Through language, these beliefs are repeated and reinforced in everyday life (Urujian, 2023). Graffiti often contains meanings beyond the literal words written on the wall. The denotative meaning of a graffiti inscription may appear simple, but the connotative meaning often reveals emotions, cultural attitudes,

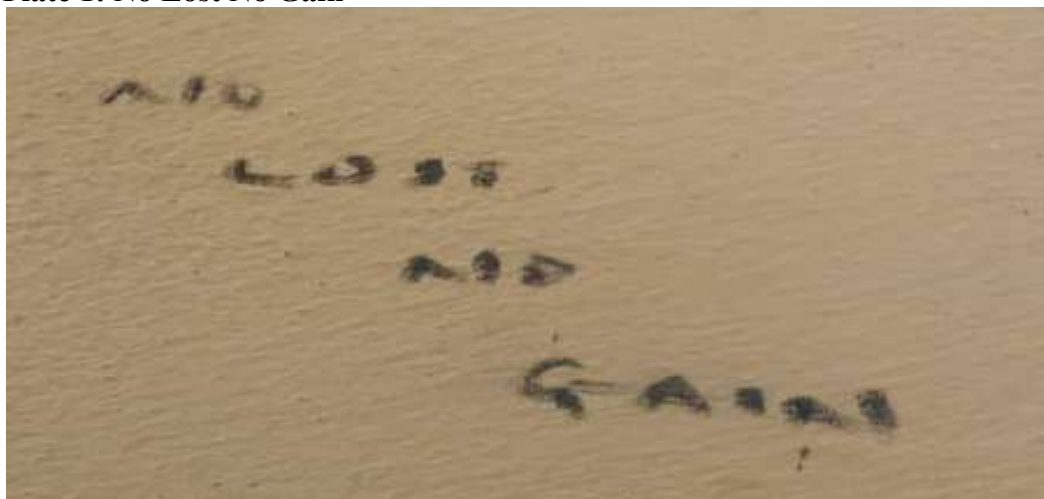
and social tensions. For example, when a student writes the word “freedom” on a classroom wall, the literal meaning is clear, but the deeper meaning may express feelings of restriction, resistance, frustration, or a desire for independence within the school environment. Barthes’ concept of myth also helps explain how graffiti can question or challenge ideas about authority, discipline, academic success, and institutional control.

Halliday’s (1978) theory of social semiotics supports Barthes’ ideas by explaining language as a social tool used for communication and meaning-making. According to Halliday (1978), language is never a single-purpose tool. Each instance of speaking or writing simultaneously performs three distinct functions. While Halliday (1978) refers to these functions as metafunctions, they can be understood more simply as the three concurrent tasks that language carries out every time a person communicates. He identified these metafunctions of language as the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. The ideational function describes the world by telling what is happening, who is involved, and what the world looks like. It deals with how language represents experiences, ideas, and events in the world. The interpersonal function manages the relationship between the person speaking and the person listening. It focuses on how language creates relationships and expresses attitudes or emotions. The textual function refers to how language organises itself into a coherent, and readable message. It is organised to form meaningful and understandable messages. Halliday’s theory helps explain how meanings in this study relate to social interaction and the school environment. Together, the two theories make it possible to examine both the linguistic meanings and the social significance of graffiti inscriptions at AKSU Obio Akpa Campus.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research design. The data were purposively selected from graffiti inscriptions found on lecture desks and walls at Akwa Ibom State University (AKSU), Obio Akpa Campus. The data for this study consist of five selected graffiti inscriptions collected from lecture halls in the Faculties of Management Sciences, Social Sciences, and Arts at AKSU, Obio Akpa Campus. The inscriptions were documented through direct observation, digital photography, and manual transcription from their original locations within the university environment. The graffiti texts are treated as primary data and are subjected to close linguistic reading informed by Barthes’ (1977) theory of denotation, connotation, and myth, and Halliday’s (1978) theory of social semiotics. Barthes’ framework enables the study to investigate both the surface meanings of the graffiti texts and the deeper cultural and social meanings associated with specific lexical items. Halliday’s ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions examine how the graffiti inscriptions represent students’ experiences, express emotions and attitudes, and organise meaning within the university environment. The analysis further situates the linguistic findings within the broader realities of Nigerian campus life, particularly issues relating to resistance, relationships, frustration, hope, and institutional experience.

Plate 1: No Lost No Gain



It is worthy to note that this expression differs from the Standard English idiom “No pain, no gain.” The replacement of the word “pain” with “lost” gives this graffiti a different form. The inscription expresses a simple idea: without loss, there can be no gain. The statement follows a logical pattern where one condition must happen before another can occur. The two key words, “lost” and “gain,” place the inscription within a framework of exchange, suggesting that loss and success are connected experiences. Connotatively, the word “lost” suggests more than material loss. It introduces emotional pain, academic failure, financial struggles, confusion, sacrifice, feelings of uncertainty that many students experience, and the difficult realities of student life. On the other hand, “gain” suggests success, progress, reward, hope, and achievement. Together, the two words create a message of resilience, suggesting that suffering and sacrifice are necessary parts of success. Myth, in this inscription reflects a common cultural belief in Nigerian society that suffering is necessary for achievement. It gives the idea that hardship builds character and that people who endure difficulties will eventually be rewarded. Within the university setting, this belief makes student struggles such as financial hardship, academic stress, and personal sacrifice appear normal and meaningful rather than questioning the conditions that create them. In this way, the inscription supports the belief that endurance and perseverance are necessary parts of success. Using Halliday’s ideational metafunction, the inscription presents the world as a place where loss and gain are naturally connected. It suggests that suffering has purpose and that sacrifice leads to reward. The writer presents hardship as an important step toward achievement. Through the interpersonal metafunction, the inscription creates a relationship between the writer and future readers. It works both as personal motivation and as encouragement to others facing similar struggles. Through the textual metafunction, the structure creates a sense of equality between loss and gain. This parallel structure strengthens the message that the two experiences are closely connected and equally important in student life.

2: Books are crying

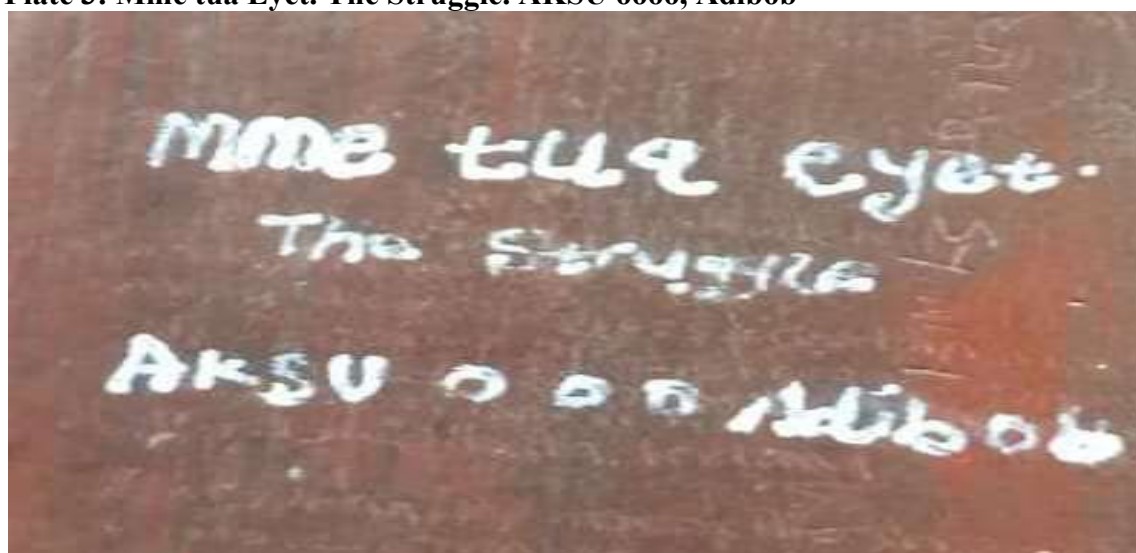


At the level of **denotation**, the inscription states simply that books are crying. Since this is literally impossible, the denotative level functions here less as a stable meaning and more as a deliberate trigger, that personifies a non-human object, “books.” At the level of **connotation**, the two words carry considerable weight. “*Books*” in the Nigerian university context connote not merely physical objects but the entire apparatus of academic seriousness: study, discipline, intellectual engagement, and the promise of upward mobility through education. “*Crying*,” meanwhile, connotes suffering, neglect, abandonment, and disappointment. The inscription captures the peculiar irony of Nigerian university student life, where books that are ignored for much of the semester are suddenly retrieved, worn down, and consumed in a frenzy of last-minute reading for examination. The image of crying books is not one of neglect, but of overuse of pages turned frantically under torchlight in dormitory corridors or students cramming in stairwells, under trees, and in every available corner of the campus in the night before examinations. Urujzian (2016) sees this as a widely recognised feature of Nigerian university culture, where the pressure to pass rather than to learn drives episodic but intense periods of reading. At the level of myth, the inscription draws on and reinforces one of the most deeply entrenched ideological narratives in Nigerian society: that education is the singular and indispensable path to personal progress, family honour, and economic survival.

Through Halliday's (1978) ideational metafunction, the inscription constructs a particular representation of campus reality, one in which books are not passive objects but active participants in the lived experience of students. Rather than framing academic culture as one of disengagement, the writer captures the cyclical and pressure-driven nature of students reading: the books cry not because they are forgotten but because they bear the full weight of student anxiety, particularly in the examination season when students are found reading in every corner, corridor, and crevice of the campus. The ideational content of the inscription therefore reflects a social reality in which books occupy a central but fraught place in student life, simultaneously dreaded and desperately

needed. Through the interpersonal metafunction, the inscription performs a dual communicative function. It sympathises and satirises simultaneously, achieving both through indirection. Rather than directly commenting on students' relationship with their studies, the writer displaces the observation onto the books themselves, allowing the message to land as knowing humour rather than criticism, the kind of remark that a student makes to fellow students who will immediately recognise the truth of the situation from their own experience. This is consistent with Longe and Arua's (2000) observation that Nigerian campus graffiti frequently employs humour and indirection as interpersonal strategies, enabling writers to make pointed social commentary while maintaining a tone of solidarity with their audience rather than antagonism toward it. Through the textual metafunction, the brevity and syntactic simplicity of the inscription are rhetorical assets. The words produce an image that is immediately comprehensible, emotionally resonant, and memorable.

Plate 3: Mme tua Eyet. The Struggle. AKSU oooo, Adibob



Denotatively, the inscription presents a first-person declaration of emotional distress “*mme tua eyet* (*I have shaded tears*),” an abstract noun identifying the condition “*the struggle*”, a proper noun naming the institutional context “*AKSU*”, and a closing evaluative statement “*adibob* (*it is hard*)”. Taken together, the denotative content is a straightforward confession, with “ooooo” as emphasis: life at Akwa Ibom State University is difficult and the writer is in emotional pain because of it. **Connotatively**, each fragment opens into a considerably richer semantic field. “*Mme tua eyet*” moves well beyond its literal meaning (the shedding of tears) to connote emotional exhaustion, helplessness, vulnerability, and a breaking point that can no longer be privately managed. “*The struggle*” is a term that encompasses financial hardship, academic pressure, social marginalisation, inadequate infrastructure, and the daily grind of surviving university life with insufficient resources.

Its use without the word “my” but simply “*the*” as *the qualifier*, universalises the general experience, signalling that what the writer describes is not a personal peculiarity but a shared and widely recognised condition of student life at AKSU and, by extension, Nigerian universities more broadly. “*AKSU oooo*”, as a standalone fragment, exposes the academic demands, sufferings, and

the broader socioeconomic conditions it embodies as a contributing cause of the writer's distress. “*Adibob*” closes the inscription with a blunt, unadorned evaluative statement. It suggests exhaustion beyond eloquence, a person who has run out of ways to elaborate on their suffering and has arrived at the bare, irreducible truth. At the level of **myth** the inscription engages with and partially subverts the dominant mythological narrative of Nigerian university life, the myth that university is a place of opportunity, personal transformation, and upward mobility, and that the hardships encountered there are noble, temporary, and ultimately rewarding. Barthes (1972) argues that myth naturalises ideology, presenting what is historically and structurally produced as though it were simply the natural order of things. This inscription pushes back against that naturalisation. By naming the institution directly and coupling it with raw expressions of pain, the writer refuses the mythological reframing of hardship as ennobling. The struggle at AKSU is presented not as a necessary stage of personal growth but as an experience of genuine, unmitigated suffering.

Halliday's (1978) **ideational metafunction** in the inscription, constructs a representation of AKSU as a site of hardship and emotional suffering. The world as presented by the writer is one in which the university environment is not a place of intellectual enrichment or social flourishing but a source of pain that reduces its students to tears. The ideational content is stark and unambiguous: AKSU is hard, the struggle is real, and the writer is not coping. Halliday (1978) argues that the ideational function encodes the speaker's construal of experience into language, and here the construal is one of institutional adversity experienced at a deeply personal and emotional level. Interpersonal metafunction identifies “mme” as the speaker and participant who is personally involved in the event and affected by the action. “The struggle” however moves the inscription progressively outward from the personal to the collective, institutional, and communal indictment. The reader is invited first to empathise with the writer as an individual and then to recognise the institutional structures that produce the conditions being described.

As noted by Udoka, Umoh and Etuk (2020), fragmented syntactic structure often produces a distinct feature. Halliday (1978) explains the textual function as the aspect of language that arranges meanings into a coherent and relevant message, determining how information is structured and which elements are given greater emphasis within a particular context. Here, the writer's decision to use four separate fragments instead of one continuous sentence, creates a form that reflects its meaning; the broken, breathless syntax echoes the fragmented and overwhelming nature of the experience being described. Each short unit lands with its own force, building emotional pressure as the text unfolds, until the final word “*adibob*” appears not as a resolution but as a breakdown.

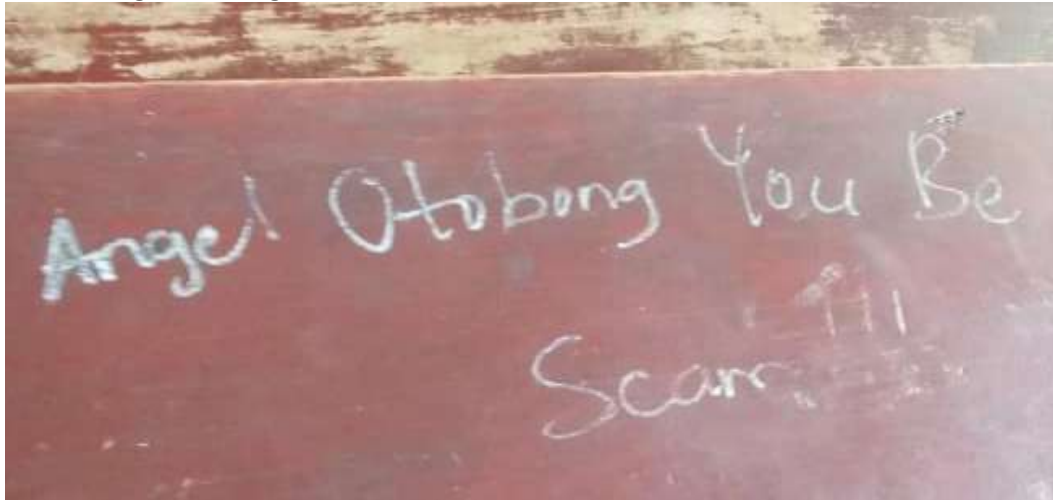
Plate 4: Striking Zone



The inscription “striking zone” designates a particular space (the wall or surface on which it is written) as impacting. Literally, it suggests a place connected to striking, whether that means hitting, protesting, or simply standing out. The words connote a physical force and confrontation, showing a space where power is being used or challenged. It also works like a territorial sign, warning those who encounter it that the space belongs to a group capable and willing to defend it. It draws on the myth of territorial sovereignty, the naturalised belief that space can be owned, claimed, and defended through acts of marking. It also engages with the myth of student power, which sees students not just as passive learners but as active people who can resist authority, confront systems, and change their surroundings.

Through Halliday’s (1978) ideational metafunction, the inscription presents the physical space it occupies as a place where important actions take place, where power is expressed, resistance can occur, or identity is asserted. The writer’s view of the world suggests that university space is not neutral or purely practical, but socially loaded, contested, and open to use by student groups. The interpersonal metafunction of the inscription “Striking Zone” does not give the idea that a person is involved, instead, it makes a spatial declaration. The reader is positioned not as a confidant but as an observer of a statement of presence and authority. Halliday (1978) explains the interpersonal function as the language used to express social roles and relationships between speakers and others, here the role being performed is that of a territorial claimant who names and defines space. Textually, the two-word structure is compact and powerful, creating a dense effect. The lack of a verb, pronoun, or extra description makes it resemble a label or sign rather than a personal comment, which ironically strengthens its authority by presenting the claim as fact rather than opinion. It is framed as a striking zone not because it is explained, but because it is declared.

Plate 5: Angel Otobong You Be Scam!!!



This inscription is immediately distinguished from others in the corpus by one defining feature: it names a specific individual “Angel Otobong.” The fact that this inscription appears on a desk, a semi-private, shared surface within a lecture hall, rather than on a more publicly visible wall is also significant: it suggests a writer who wished to communicate his grievance within a defined community of readers. At the level of denotation, the inscription makes a direct accusatory statement; a person named “Angel Otobong” is a scam, a fraud. It identifies an individual (Angel Otobong) as deceptive and attaches to them a negative evaluative label. At the level of connotation, each element of the inscription carries significant additional meaning. The name “Angel” is connotatively loaded in a way that intensifies the accusation. Angels are culturally and religiously coded as beings of purity, goodness, trustworthiness, and divine favour. To tag an “Angel” as a scam is therefore not merely to contradict their behaviour but to contradict their very name, and to expose a gap between the identity their name projects, and the reality the writer has experienced. The accusation is not simply that this person is dishonest but that his very presentation of self is fraudulent, and the angelic identity implied by his name is itself part of the deception. “Angel Otobong” then becomes a site of ironic tension between projected identity and alleged reality.

Connotatively, to call someone a scam is therefore to accuse them not merely of personal dishonesty but of a particular kind of calculated, premeditated deception, the kind that performs trustworthiness precisely in order to exploit it. Whether the accusation refers to romantic betrayal, financial deception, social pretence, or academic dishonesty, the word “scam” positions the named individual as someone who has deliberately constructed a false persona in order to manipulate others. The three exclamation marks function as signs of strong emotional intensity, showing that the writer is not making a calm judgment but reacting with raw emotion to a sense of betrayal. Their repetition imitates shouting in written form, turning the statement into an emphatic outburst.

At the level of myth (Barthes, 1972), the inscription draws on two cultural ideas in Nigerian campus life. The first is the myth of personal authenticity, the belief that a person's identity should match their behaviour (Etuk & Akpan, 2023). Barthes (1972) explains that myth transforms what is historically produced, and ideologically constructed into something that appears natural, innocent, and self-evident, as though it were simply the way things are rather than the way a particular society has arranged them to be. The second is the myth of trust within a student community, where peers are expected to be honest and supportive. Breaking this trust is seen not only as personal betrayal but also as a disruption of campus social order.

From the ideational metafunction, the inscription represents a social world where betrayal exists within the student community. It suggests that even peers sharing the same environment cannot always be trusted. Turning to the interpersonal metafunction, the inscription becomes direct and confrontational. The use of naming and second-person address creates immediate accusation, positioning the writer as someone openly condemning the subject, and also indirectly warns the wider student community. The inscription, from the standpoint of textual metafunction, is tightly structured for impact. It moves from name to address to accusation and finally to emotional emphasis "!!!", building intensity step by step. The use of Nigerian Pidgin "you be scam" adds directness and emotional force, giving the inscription a more immediate and culturally grounded tone.

Conclusion

This study analysed five graffiti inscriptions collected from walls and desks at Akwa Ibom State University, Obio Akpa Campus, to explore their lexical categories and meanings in student informal writing. Using Barthes' (1977) ideas of denotation, connotation, and myth alongside Halliday's (1978) metafunctions, the study shows that AKSU graffiti is not random or meaningless. Instead, it is a structured, socially meaningful, and ideologically rich form of communication that reflects student life and deserves academic attention. The inscriptions: "No Lost No Gain", "Books Are Crying", "Mme Tua Eyet, The Struggle. AKSU oooo, Adibob", "Striking Zone", and "Angel Otobong You Be Scam!!!" reveal key aspects of student experience. These include academic struggle, resilience, identity expression, territorial claims, emotional stress, and issues of trust and betrayal. Although brief, each inscription carries deeper cultural and social meanings rooted in Nigerian university life.

Barthes' framework shows that these inscriptions both reflect and challenge common campus "myths," such as the idea that suffering leads to success, that institutional hardship is meaningful, and that student communities are naturally trustworthy. Some inscriptions reinforce these beliefs, while others reject or question them by showing the reality of stress and struggle. Halliday's metafunctions further show how the graffiti works socially. Ideationally, it presents AKSU as a space of pressure and struggle. Interpersonally, it expresses different relationships, including solidarity, identity, warning, and confrontation. Textually, features like fragments, repetition, Pidgin English, and punctuation are deliberate strategies used to strengthen meaning and emotional effect. AKSU graffiti shows that the walls of the university are not silent. They express students' thoughts, struggles, beliefs, and identities, revealing important insights into their lived experiences in the school.

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