

**Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A  
study in transgressive semiotics**

**Appraisal, identity and gendered  
discourse in toilet graffiti:  
A study in transgressive semiotics**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Magister  
Artium in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

**Supervisor : Professor Felix Banda**

**May 2010**

# **Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A study in transgressive semiotics**

## **KEYWORDS**

Attitude

Appraisal

Evaluation

Gender discourse

Identity

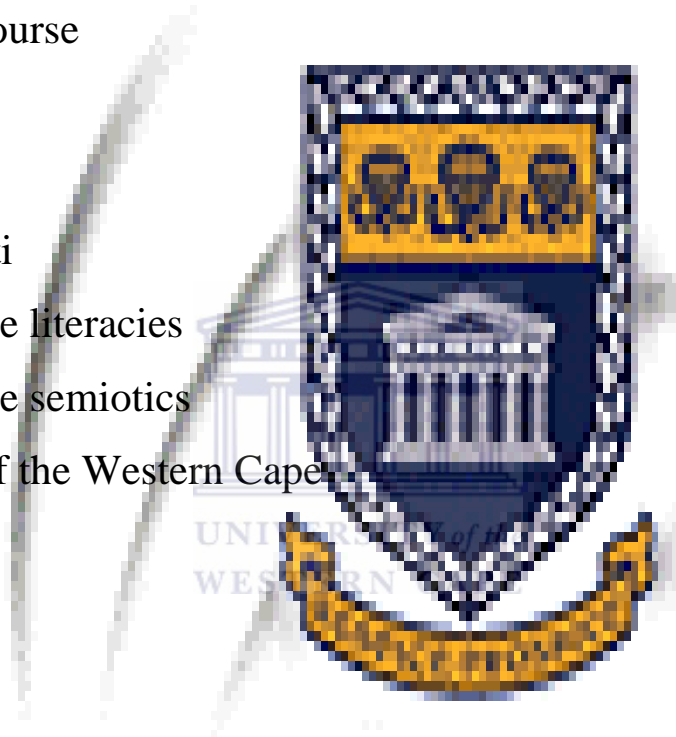
Language

Toilet graffiti

Transgressive literacies

Transgressive semiotics

University of the Western Cape



# **Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A study in transgressive semiotics**

## **Abstract**

### **Appraisal and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A study in transgressive semiotics**

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MA Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

This thesis uses the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective to analyse toilet graffiti at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). In particular, toilet graffiti which is considered in the literature as forming part of transgressive literacy is analysed by making use of appraisal theory, a branch of SFL.

This research is interested in the linguistic choices people use to express and negotiate subjective, inter-subjective and ideological positions through the graffiti within the confines of selected men's and women's toilets on the UWC main campus. The focus is on attitudes, one aspect of appraisal theory. The aim of investigating the attitudes inherent in the toilet graffiti is to obtain an insight into the evaluative discourse of men and women with regard to their emotional, judgmental and evaluative stance in their writings. This form of analysis is on the level of meaning. Differences with regard to the attitudinal content in terms of occurrence (quantitative) and content (qualitative) are investigated. The data shows that 'male' (gender) are implicit when expressing emotions, whereas female is explicit in its expression of emotions. In addition, in terms of the evaluation of emotions, the data indicates that 'females' are insecure in terms of their emotional disposition, whereas males mostly express emotions of unhappiness in the toilet graffiti analysed. Both males and females have a tendency to judge each other with regard to their capacities. In terms of judgement of behaviours and things, males can be said to have interesting and even creative ways of evaluation, which include punctuation, taboo varieties and pictures.

In terms of how speakers and writers generate particular identities for themselves and others, the study also looked at subjectivity (interpersonal dimension of language) in texts in a systematic way. This entailed an investigation into the identity and gender role

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constructions in the graffiti found over a period of 12 months. The idea was to obtain insight into the shaping of males' and females; interpersonal meanings and role structure. The data indicates that a shift in the discourse of males in the toilet graffiti is prevalent, with the sociopolitical shift occurring between the two periods of data collection. With the election of a new president in South Africa and the prevalence of xenophobic attacks, discourse around race, culture, origin and politics appropriated the data. In terms of gender role constructions, the findings indicate that females have agency, are less polite and are more aggressive in the toilet graffiti than the literature on gender indicates. Consequently, the females use toilet graffiti to re-negotiate and reconstruct the social roles, statuses and power relations. Hence it is argued that there is a refiguration and 'blurring' of gender roles in the male and female graffiti and that gender is not merely ascribed, but performed.

The study concludes that graffiti is better understood and analysed as discourse practice. The study also holds the possibility of viewing graffiti as a genre, as 'conversation', and as didactic, in which taboo forms are re-evaluated, re-contextualised and de-tabooed. Ultimately, the prevalence of taboo forms and other discourse practices, and their 'acceptance' in the toilet graffiti as legitimate discourse portends the need to re-assess and re-appraise the label 'transgressive literacies/semiotics' as applied to toilet graffiti.

Date: May 2010



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## **Declaration**

I declare that *Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti : A study in transgressive semiotics* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full Name : Fiona Severiona Ferris

Signed : \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_



# **Appraisal, identity and gendered discourse in toilet graffiti: A study in transgressive semiotics**

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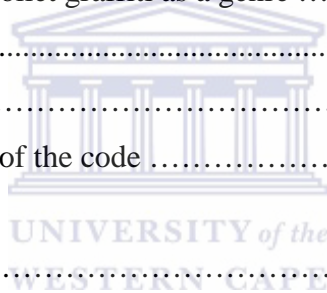
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**Appendix A-** Transcriptions

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.0 Preamble**

The lack of literature on graffiti is surprising in respect of the fact that the prevalence of graffiti is not uncommon in all spheres of society. Graffiti which is valued by the mainstream society, as well as graffiti which is regarded as destroying public and private property is prominent on many surfaces in our daily lives, both legal and illegal. The visibility of graffiti in most societies in both public and private contexts indicates how important a medium of communication graffiti is.

One of the most neglected forms of graffiti which we encounter on a regular basis, in terms of literature available, is toilet graffiti. Although the literacy practices which occur on the toilet walls informs, educates, humiliates, enlightens and often humors its audience, it is overlooked in academic fields. How many times do we engage with these writings on the wall, often finding ourselves in the midst of a “dialogue” which often leaves us with questions, thoughts and answers we were looking for? Some of us form part of this group which practices graffiti writing. The question of the need to communicate in the situation where anonymity is ensured and societal norms are often disregarded, is realized in the prominence of toilet graffiti and the millions it costs to clean up these writings in the toilet.

A few theorists have written short articles on toilet graffiti, but no comprehensive research has been done in this field of investigation. Psychological, sociological and anthropological investigations, although mostly concerned with thematic analyses, have been done in this area. In terms of the literature reviewed, linguistic analyses of toilet graffiti, which focus on the essence of how language is used, have not yet been done on this important means of communication which is a disregarding of this significant means of societal communication. In South Africa no literature on toilet graffiti exists. Another dilemma of this issue is that the literature that does exist is

mainly Western based, consequently only the Western perspective exists in the literature. Context-appropriate literature is therefore not available for graffiti in South Africa. The abovementioned lack in the literature is one of the motivations for having undertaken this specific research. As a result of the dearth of literature on these new literacies, and the important medium of communication the toilet constitutes, an investigation of toilet graffiti is vital. Using appraisal theory, this study investigates toilet graffiti found in selected men's and women's toilets at the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

### **1.1 Historical background of the linguistic landscape**

The historical background of the University of the Western Cape is given in terms of: a) its role in opposing the Apartheid order, b) its openly rejecting the Apartheid ideology by creating its own mission statement, and c) its past and current active role in promoting diversity in the education sector.

#### **1.1.1 The University of the Western Cape (UWC)**

The University of the Western Cape first opened in 1959, enrolling its first students in 1960 as the University College of the Western Cape<sup>1</sup>. In line with the racial stratification system of the prevailing Apartheid order, the University College of the Western Cape played a pivotal role in the reproduction of the Apartheid ideologies where the university was designed to provide human resources for the needs of "coloured" people as defined by the Apartheid state. This entailed providing "coloureds" limited training for lower to middle-level positions in education, the civil service and other institutions designed to serve a separated "coloured" community, thus strategically enforcing racial divides (Wolpe, 1995: 280).

The role of the university in opposing and challenging the impositions of the Apartheid order led to the protest action by black academic staff which resulted in the appointment of the first black rector in 1975. This opposition intensified in the midst of increased state oppression in the 1980s<sup>1</sup>.

On 22 October 1982, UWC published a Mission Statement in which its objectives formally rejected the Apartheid ideology and the key elements of the state's definition of the university's role according to which it had been established. The new mission statement adopted a declaration of non-racialism<sup>1</sup>, eliminating naming the university as "coloured" in the new objectives set forth for the university (Wolpe, 1995: 283).

Following this rebirth of the mission statement, UWC gained autonomy in 1983 on the same terms as the established "white" institutions. UWC also established an "open" admission policy which allowed all applicants to enter the university with the basic minimum legally required qualifications (Wolpe, 1995: 284,<sup>1</sup>), which opened the door to formerly disadvantaged black students.

In the 1990s, UWC played a vital role in the new democratic order, opening opportunities for many people to prepare for higher level careers. Today, the university is known for its eminent contribution in respect of both research and teaching, and in being a forerunner in the struggle against oppression, discrimination, disadvantage and establishing a new democratic order<sup>1</sup>.

In its less than 60 years of existence, there is not a vast amount of research which has been conducted on the premises of the University of the Western Cape. None of the research done at UWC is on transgressive literacies. As was mentioned above, UWC is renowned across international borders for a number of reasons: a) its active role in the movement towards a democratic South Africa, b) the introduction of an open policy to education, and c) its major role in promoting diversity in higher education<sup>2</sup>.

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1

[http://www.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen11Srv7Nme54\\_8987\\_1210050562&menustate=about](http://www.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen11Srv7Nme54_8987_1210050562&menustate=about)

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[http://www.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen11Srv7Nme54\\_8987\\_1210050562&menustate=about](http://www.uwc.ac.za/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen11Srv7Nme54_8987_1210050562&menustate=about)



These three reasons account for the fact that UWC is a rich environment for doing research on identity, transformation, change and transgression, albeit sometimes in the toilet.

## **1.2 Rationale**

The context which is painted above serves as the backdrop for conducting this research. The motivation for doing this research is thus threefold. Firstly, some theorists have written short articles on toilet graffiti, but no comprehensive research has been done in this field of investigation, despite the important medium of communication the toilet provides. In South Africa no literature on toilet graffiti exists. As a result of the lack of literature on these new literacies, and the important medium of communication the toilet constitutes, an investigation of toilet graffiti is vital. Secondly, appraisal theory is a fairly new development in the area of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Bock, 2007). Eggins and Slade (1997) add that one of the “least understood and most under-researched areas in linguistics is the domain concerned with interpersonal assessment” (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 124). Not much has changed in recent years with regard to the abovementioned statement in terms of the literature that exists on appraisal theory. For the above reason, research using this approach is scarce. Carrying out a study on toilet graffiti as a form of transgressive literacy by using appraisal theory would consequently contribute and provide insight into both transgressive theory and appraisal theory. Thirdly, the insights which are provided by this research will be useful to the university in terms of understanding the dynamics of toilet graffiti on both the interpersonal and the academic levels. It would also expand and prompt more research on transgressive literacies and appraisal theory as well as research on the University of the Western Cape itself.

### **1.3 Aims and objectives of the research**

#### **1.3.1 Aim**

The study investigates the *attitudes* inherent in toilet graffiti to get an insight into the evaluative discourses of men and women who form part of the graffiti-writing population on UWC. The focus was on their emotional, judgemental and evaluative stance in their writings as ways of determining whether there was a differential effect between male and female evaluative stance, particularly considering literature on gendered discourse.

#### **1.3.2 Objectives:**

Specifically, the study was limited to the following objectives:

1. To investigate the attitudes which men and women portray in the toilet graffiti in terms of *affect, judgement and appreciation*.
2. To analyze the content and structure of the graffiti found in the men's and women's toilets as a discourse and to evaluate them in terms of similarities and/or differences.
3. To investigate the identities that is depicted in the men's and women's toilets at UWC.
4. To investigate the construction/reconstruction of roles in men's and women's toilet graffiti.
5. To explore the identities performed by men and women in the graffiti found in relation to social, political and economical change.

### **1.4 Research questions**

The following research questions guide this study:

1. Do men and women portray different attitudes in the toilet graffiti in terms of:
  - a) *affect,*
  - b) *judgement* and
  - c) *appreciation?*
2. Are there differences in the thematic occurrences and content in the toilet

graffiti of men and women at UWC?

3. What different role and identity options are portrayed by the students in the toilet graffiti found?
4. Does the discourse in the toilet graffiti found differ between the genders?
5. Do male and female's linguistic behavior assimilate or diverge from society's stereotypes of "female talk/male talk"?
6. Do males and females merely accept or negotiate these gender societal roles in terms of language in the data analysed?
7. Are the identities performed by males and females in the graffiti that was found the same or different in relation to the prevailing social, political and economical change?

### **1.5 Scope of the study**

This study was limited to graffiti collected in selected male and female toilets at the University of the Western Cape. These toilets were those most accessed by the majority of the students. They are situated in the Science building, the Cafeteria, B-block, L20 and the Thintana Lab. Instances of tagging were not considered for analyses. In addition, the study was also limited to attitudinal analysis as well as to investigating the discourse between males and females.

### **1.6. Research design and methodology**

This study used a text-based qualitative research design, since the textual *appraisal* analyses are on the level of meaning. The quantitative method is restricted to the tallying of the attitudinal elements as well as to the recurring themes to establish the prosody (Martin & White, 2005) or "coloring" in the data. This method aids the qualitative analyses. Data analysis is consequently both inductive and deductive in nature. Appraisal theory is supplemented by transgressive theory. Purposefully selected male and female toilets were selected for data analyses. The toilets selected for analyses are on the main campus of the University of the Western Cape. Ten

frequently used male and female toilets from different faculties were used. This sampling method was used to obtain as comprehensive and representative a sample as possible.

### **1.7 Chapter outline**

Chapter one provides a synopsis of the research in terms of the background to the research, the purpose of the study, aims and objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study, and the research methodology employed. Firstly, a historical overview of the University of the Western Cape is provided. Secondly, the purpose is outlined in the rationale section which provides the reasons for conducting this study in terms of using the appraisal framework, selecting the specific physical context (UWC) as well as choosing toilet graffiti as the prime choice. Chapter one then continues by stating the aim, which is to investigate the *attitudes* inherent in toilet graffiti to get an insight into the evaluative discourses of men and women which form part of the graffiti-writing population at UWC. The focus was on their emotional, judgmental and evaluative stance in their writings as a way of determining whether there was a differential effect between the male and female evaluative stance, particularly considering literature on gendered discourse. The objectives and research questions supporting this aim are also provided. The scope of the study is provided, together with a brief introduction to the methodology employed.

Chapter two is devoted to literature that is reviewed in terms of gender discourse and graffiti, transgressive theory and graffiti, and taboo language in the academic field. The section on gender discourse and graffiti examines studies that focus on the differences between graffiti found in male and female toilets. Literature on gender discourse, focusing on homosexuality, is also discussed in this section. Research that focuses on the difference between the manner in which men and women interact in conversation is also reviewed and critically examined. Transgressive theory and graffiti is also reviewed in terms of graffiti being a part of the hip-hop culture, which often serves as an avenue for symbolic capital of graffiti. Literature on the non-

mainstream cultures and their effect on mainstream education, as well as studies that focus on graffiti in terms of context, structure, social attitudes and anonymity are reviewed in the section entitled 'Transgressive theory and graffiti'. Finally, taboo language options and their stance in academic writing are reviewed in terms of how they are investigated in the literature and in mainstream academic fields.

Chapter three provides a description of the theoretical framework being used. Firstly, appraisal theory as is used in this theses is explained as forming part of the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) perspective on language, which views language as a system of choices. Language in this choice paradigm is then situated in the system of meanings, also known as the three strata that should be understood in the context in which it occurs. The appraisal framework, particularly focusing on attitude and its sub-focus areas which are *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*, are then outlined in this chapter. Appraisal theory is also discussed in terms of the overlaps which can occur in the appraisal categories which tap into the subjectivity of the appraisal analyses, often the criticism against this framework for analysis. Appraisal theory is then argued not to be restricted to words only, but advanced to include the non-linguistic elements as well. The theoretical analytical framework for identity is also discussed in this chapter. Identity is defined, problematised and discussed in terms of the *performative* paradigm. This adds to a comprehensive understanding and explanatory power of the appraisal theory.

An explanation of the design, methodology, analyses and ethical considerations is provided in chapter four. In terms of the research design, motivation for employing both the qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection as well as the manner in which these two designs are used, is provided in this section. The primary analysis is a text-based linguistic analysis. What is meant by 'text-based' and what a 'text' comprises of is clarified in this section. The sampling method, which is the purposeful sampling method, the method of data collection, as well as the timeframe are explained and justified in chapter four. An argument for investigating from the

descriptive instead of the prescriptive stance is given, followed by a delineation of the inductive, qualitative and deductive analyses. The data is also described in terms of its location and make-up. Lastly, the ethical considerations underpinning this research are discussed in this chapter.

The findings from the appraisal analyses are discussed in chapters five, six and seven. In these chapters all attitudinal inscriptions of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* as tabulated in appendix B and C are discussed in terms of their significance and prominence in the male and female data. An investigation of how the graffiti of male and female positions the audience to be sympathetic or dismissive of the evaluations they perform in terms of emotions, behaviors and wording contained in the graffiti, is discussed in these chapters.

In chapter eight, performed identities in the graffiti are analysed. Identities are explored in terms of the construction and *re-construction* of gendered roles in the toilet graffiti. Gender roles are discussed in terms of aggression and interaction, discourse relating to sex, forms of address used by female participants and the refiguration and ‘blurring’ of social and gender roles.

In chapter nine graffiti is discussed as a discourse practice. Firstly, an argument for toilet graffiti as a genre is made. Secondly, toilet graffiti is analysed as ‘conversation’.

Finally, conclusions of the specific objectives will be made in chapter ten, stemming from the appraisal analysis, the exploration of identities and the discussion of graffiti as a discourse practice.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The literature review starts with gender discourse and graffiti, and then proceeds by outlining literature on transgressive theory and graffiti. Lastly, literature on taboo language in the academic field is discussed.

It is noteworthy from the outset that not many researchers have explored the subject of graffiti, especially toilet graffiti; consequently the literature on graffiti is inadequate. The literature on toilet graffiti fails in the following areas: firstly, there is minimal literature recorded on toilet graffiti, especially in South Africa. Secondly, the limited amount of research which does exist is conducted from the disciplines of psychology, sociology and anthropology. There is also a dearth in multidisciplinary perspectives on toilet graffiti in the literature. Thirdly, the studies documented usually cover issues such as the amount of toilet graffiti written and graffiti relating to sexual referencing, thus drawing on notions of male and female talk or themes which occur in graffiti analysed. In addition, one of the major gaps in the literature is that graffiti is never explored from a linguistic perspective. The studies outlined in the literature review also only investigate single aspects of graffiti, thus never analysing graffiti as a discourse which may evolve or change over time; another shortcoming in the literature. Studies on graffiti as a discourse, or rather studies investigating graffiti on the level of meaning, are therefore invisible in the literature. This gap in the literature needs to be accounted for because of the important means of communication the toilet environment proves to be.

#### **2.1 Gender discourse and graffiti**

Grffiti focusing on one sex as well as comparative gender discourse on graffiti exists in the literature. The gender studies largely focus on the quantity of graffiti written

by males and females as well as comparing the number of sexual references which occur in the graffiti found.

Differences between graffiti written by women and men are noted in the literature; these differences largely have regard to the amount of graffiti written and the content depicted. An account of these differences, recorded in the literature over the years, is discussed in terms of the shift between men and women in the quantity of graffiti written; and also the difference in the content of graffiti, focusing on sexual references/erotic content in graffiti written, between men and women. A bulk of prior research found that “men write much more graffiti than women, and that male graffiti are more likely to have high erotic, homosexual and scatological contents” according to Bates and Martin (1980: 302). Research concerning the aforementioned statement will be recorded in the next section.

#### 2.1.1 A diachronic scrutiny of graffiti written by male and female

Much of the research recorded focuses on the quantity of graffiti written by men and women. These differences are attributed to differing reasons in the literature. These accounts are diachronically summarized in this section and are discussed in terms of quantity as a whole, reference to sexually related matters and homosexuality.

The earliest study recorded on graffiti is by Kinsey, Pameroy, Martin and Gebhard, conducted in 1953. Kinsey et al (1953) conducted research on graffiti and found that men wrote much more graffiti than women. They also found that graffiti written by women is romantic in content, whereas male graffiti is typically erotic. Similar findings were recorded in the literature until the 1980's, as the literature review will soon indicate. On the other hand, Dundes (1966) found that male graffiti is the most common in bathrooms and in terms of content is related to homosexuality and the act of defecation and urination. His hypothesis is that men are more likely to write toilet graffiti than women because of psychological processes of pregnancy envy.



In 1972 Stocker et al found that the occurrence of female toilet graffiti on college campuses was very rare. His findings indicate that the graffiti found was only at the most liberal schools investigated. These differences are attributed to the difference in socializing of the genders before attending college, therefore resulting in different attitudes to self expression and the act of defecation. A year later, Lomas's (1973: 76) findings indicate that graffiti in women toilets is "sparse and unimaginative" and that the prevalence of male graffiti is a manifestation of a need for outlet for potentially destructive fantasies. This study has, however, been criticized on the methodological basis that only a few female toilets have been sampled (Bates & Martin, 1980: 301).

Then again, in 1975 Farr and Gordon investigated the content of male and female toilet graffiti on and around major university campuses and found that women write more graffiti than men. In addition, their findings indicate that females write five times more graffiti with sexual referents than males. This proportion of erotic content is almost double that which is found in Kinsey's (1953) study. Graffiti found in both male and female toilets also indicated a decrease in homosexual content.

Wales and Brewer's study (1976), conducted in four Midwestern public high schools, indicates that eighty-eight percent of overall graffiti found occurred in female toilets. They contend that the lack of adult female graffiti is due to women having more regard for social convention and moral codes, as was argued by Kinsey and others (Wales & Brewer, 1976: 120). They add that women and men produce equally explicit graffiti if they are given the same opportunities for self-expression (Wales & Brewer, 1976: 120). The overall content of the graffiti in their study is romantic in nature and the proportion of graffiti with erotic content is ascribed to the increasing socioeconomic status across schools. The study also found that less than one percent of the graffiti found demonstrates homosexual content.

Bates and Martin (1980) conducted a study on toilet graffiti in men's and women's toilets on the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, in which they organized the collected data in 16 categories which dealt with personal/interpersonal items found. Their findings indicate that 37% of all sexual graffiti were written by males, as opposed to Kinsey's study, which indicates that 76% of the 1,379 sexual graffiti was reported to have come from male toilets (Bates & Martin, 1980, 308-309). Results consequently changed enormously over the 27 years. Bates and Martin (1980) also found that females wrote more graffiti than males and that the content of female graffiti is more likely to express hostile, sexual or issue-related content. A gradual shift in the literature with respect to content and amount of graffiti written occurs.

With regard to graffiti relating to homosexuality, where Dundes (1966) and Sechrest and Flores (1969) discussed the preoccupations of male graffiti-writers with homosexuality, Bates and Martin (1980, 309-310) found that only 32% of the male sexual graffiti was homosexual in nature, accounting for less than 10% of the entire extent of male graffiti. Their analyses indicate that females write significantly more sexual graffiti and more graffiti with homosexual content (Bates & Martin, 1980: 310). In contrast, over 41% of female sexual graffiti has homosexual referents, accounting for over 16% of all female graffiti (Bates and Martin, 1980: 310). Their findings also indicate no statistical difference between male and female, with heterosexual graffiti based on their proportion of total graffiti written (Bates and Martin, 1980: 310).

Bates and Martin's study (1980), which used chi-square analyses, indicates a significant difference between male and female's graffiti in relative emphasis content categories. The reasons they ascribed to the differences found in their studies do not correspond to the ones provided by Lakoff (Martin & Bates. 1980: 310), since Lakoff's studies are criticised for inherent gender bias.

The gender literature (both qualitative and quantitative) thus largely focused on single elements of toilet graffiti, as has been noted. These elements are the amount of graffiti written, sexual referencing and homosexual referencing. In the studies that focus on one gender, a similar trend occurs.

In respect to studies focusing on one gender, Olowu (1983) compared samples of graffiti from male toilets of British universities with American ones. His findings indicate that the samples are alike in thought in many ways, but interesting differences are noted in the data: firstly, superstition and animism are absent in the British sample but present in the Nigerian sample, and secondly, homosexuality is found in the British sample but not in the Nigerian sample. This is the only study noted thus far on toilet graffiti in Africa.

Sechrest and Flores (1969) also compared inscriptions of male graffiti in toilets mostly situated in restaurants and bars in the United States and Philippines, and found that Filipinos are less likely than Americans to produce homosexual inscriptions but are as likely as the former to produce heterosexual inscriptions. These differences are attributed to Filipinos having less conflict about homosexuality than people in the USA (Sechrest & Flores, 1969: 8). One can therefore conclude that in terms of homosexual instances in graffiti found, the literature indicates that there is a geographic difference in issues such as homosexuality.

Research also indicates that females write more graffiti than males and that females' graffiti has more sexual, hostile and issue-related content (Greenberg, 1979: 268). Bruner and Kelso's (1980) review of quantitative studies indicates that females are more interactive and interpersonal in their graffiti, and so more conversational, whilst male graffiti is more individualistic. They also found that female graffiti often deals with relationships, whilst males' graffiti deals more with isolated sex acts and orgasms (Bruner & Kelso, 1980: 242-243).

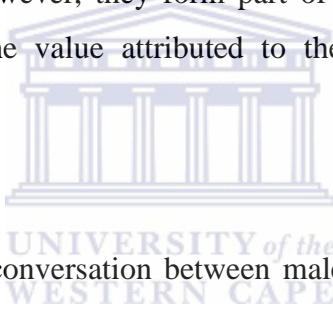
Green (2002) used a social identity and communication accommodation and individuation theory when he researched toilet graffiti. I agree with Green (2002) when he regards toilet graffiti as a window to the relationship among language, gender and social context. This study, however, indicates that the toilet language found in male and female toilets also reveals interpersonal information with regard to the *attitudes* and *judgements* inherent in the language used by males and females in toilet graffiti.

Green (2002) investigated the topic differences in graffiti between the different genders as well as the language style differences between the two genders in his study. He makes brief mention with regard to tone, engagement and negativity but does not focus on these issues. An *appraisal* of his study would have given him an insight into why the specific themes occur as well as into the nature of these themes occurring in the gender graffiti which is found in the toilets. In Green's paper, he only focuses on one selected faculty university library, which is not representative of the entire student population, and selected only one level in that library. Generalization is therefore not possible and further studies are needed.

In a study done by Pennebaker and Sanders (1976) in which they research graffiti in terms of reaction arousal and effects of authority and found that graffiti on placards is directly related to authority and threat level. They argue that graffiti is directed against figures of authority who attempt to wield power against certain segments of the graffiti-writing population. I disagree to some extent that graffiti is only related to threats which impose on the graffiti artists' psychological freedom. The arousal which arises when creating graffiti may be in response to existent graffiti and not the threat of a person's freedom, as Pennebaker and Sanders (1976) found with regard to the work motivated by the writings of Wicklund and Brehm (1968) and Brehm (1966). At the University of the Western Cape a white board was provided to the students on which to write graffiti. The students indulged in writing on this board

with no authority threats and no privacy. The above instance causes one to doubt the basis of the study conducted by Pennebaker and Sanders (1976).

The value of graffiti is to a large extent not realized by the community outside that comprising the graffiti artists. Graffiti artists are often referred to as “vandals” since their graffiti is stigmatized as vandalism (Mitchells, 2007: 3) and as degrading the value of the areas. The people who value graffiti would normally preserve the graffiti writings, whereas the rest would destroy it through buffing or “cleaning up” the graffiti. As a result of the above, graffiti prevention movements exist<sup>1</sup>, together with legal implications when these artists are caught in the act of creating graffiti. At some universities programs in the discourse of graffiti exist and some projects support graffiti artists; however, they form part of the minority. There is therefore duality with regard to the value attributed to the transgressive semiotics called graffiti.



#### 2.1.2 “Gender talk”?

Many theorists focus on conversation between male and female. Among these are Milroy (1980), Coates & Cameron (1989), Lakoff (1972/1975), Scollon & Scollon (2004), Banda (2005), and Banda & Oketch (2009). Most studies focus mainly on differences between the conversations of male versus the speech of female. A trend in the literature foregrounds that males and females have different linguistic behavior; Tannen (1991), one of the widely referenced sources for literature on “gender talk” even goes as far as calling conversation between males and females cross-cultural communication because of the differences in talk as a result of socialization. Marik (2006) follows Tannen’s example in terming communication between males and females cross-cultural.

Tannen (1991) is of the view that conversation for female constitutes reaching consensus, to negotiate closeness, to give confirmation and to provide support. The

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<sup>1</sup> (<http://www.graffitiremovalservices.co.za/>),

focus or purpose of communication would thus be for building or maintaining relationships, according to Tannen (1991: 25). Tannen also argues that conversation for males would be to give or obtain information (Tannen, 1991: 25). In terms of roles one can infer that a subtle role is ascribed to females whereas males are given a much more prestigious role in the literature. Cameron (1997: 443) argues that it is still possible to supply a script for the alleged gender differences identified by Tannen (1991) if the genders were reversed. Tannen's argument is certainly not uncontested in contemporary literature.

Males' linguistic behavior is often used as a norm against which women's linguistic behavior is evaluated (Coates & Cameron, 1989: 17). The latter is then always at the tail end of this evaluation. Cameron (1997) argues against females' linguistic behavior being viewed as deficient when contrasted with that of their male counterparts in her article entitled *Verbal Hygiene for Women: Linguistics Misapplied?* Males are said to communicate in order to be competitive, whilst females communicate to be co-operative; in addition, males are said to communicate for status whereas women communicate for intimacy (Cameron, 1997: 449). It is difficult to accept that when females enter into a communication it would always be to bond or to formulate or maintain relationships. Theories supporting this argument are consequently often charged with criticism.

Milroy (2001) and Nichols (1983) have an interesting argument when referring to the use of the standard variety. They argue that gender is not the determinant of the use of the standards but rather the nature of the relationships in which males and females are involved (the people with whom they most frequently interact, in a spectrum of social roles) determine their social roles. Banda & Oketch (2009) add to this view when describing functional multilingualism as "adopting and adapting the different languages in their repertoire for different social roles and context" (Banda & Oketch, 2009: 167). In this article, Banda and Oketch indicate how females reconceptualise the concept of power by actively demanding the use of the local variety, therefore

impeding the “dominant” role played by males. In this interaction, the female also indicated how multilingualism, instead of the “language of power”, can aid community development (Banda & Oketch, 2009). The nature of the data being scrutinized is homogeneous in terms of sex; consequently one cannot infer these roles by directly looking at the interaction between the two genders. Evidence of these interactions is therefore gained by deducing these relationships from the *appraisal* of the different sexes in the toilet graffiti.

Literature on gender talk as complementary, however, is scarce (refer to Banda (2005) and Banda & Oketch (2009) for argument on male and female talk as complementary). When focusing on the African context, Banda and Oketch (2009) raise the issue of understanding the social and cultural structures in which African males and females communicate, rather than just arguing that males are more powerful from a socioeconomic perspective, as is the trend in the Western discourse. A need to understand these power relations from a sociocultural perspective consequently arise (Banda & Oketch, 2009). Another important issue raised in the Banda/Oketch (2009) article is that Western and African social organizations do not coincide in respect of what they regard as male and female roles (Banda & Oketch, 2009). Taking this into consideration, this paper argues for a more dynamic perspective on gender discourse, which makes room for investigating the discourse between male and female in the toilet graffiti as being transformed and remediated. That which is therefore considered discourse of the “female” can then be transformed, reformulated and transformed to “sound” masculine. This argument rests on the notion that anybody can perform a particular gender role.

Following Butler (1990), who generated a postmodernist reconception, this paper also views gender as performative. From this perspective, gender is constantly re-affirmed. The question then becomes: what is being re-affirmed? Is it a re-affirmation of societal roles of gender, or is it a total restructuring of these “roles”? Different aspects of gender can be re-affirmed or reconceptualised. An example of



this can be stereotypes. It is important to investigate what is being re-affirmed and what the product of this re-affirmation is. From this perspective people are social agents who can resist these ascribed gender roles. Cameron (1997: 456) supports this view when he raises the point that it is useless for linguists to view femininity and masculinity as monolithic structures which automatically cause communicational patterns that are predictable. He therefore discourages linguists from using models of gender speech. He also adds that the possibility for males and females to resist the persisting codes of gender in terms of performance is possible (Cameron, 1997: 456). Cameron sums up this performative stance in the following statement:

They (male and female) do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking 'appropriate' to their own sex; they learn a much broader set of gender meanings that attach in rather complex ways of speaking, and they produce their own behavior in the light of that meanings (Cameron, 1997: 454).

There are different approaches to exploring gender. These approaches, however often fail in terms of their stance for argumentation. An example of this would be the sociolinguistic approaches which often use the stereotypes of gender as a window to executing their studies, therefore not descriptive in terms of pursuing an objective stance. The postmodernist approach to studying language and gender, the one this paper positively appraises in terms of investigation, suggests that people are classified according to the manner in which they talk, thus taking account of the variability and instability of gender identities (Cameron, 1997: 444). People perform gender differently in different contexts and do sometimes behave in ways we would normally associate with the "other" gender (Cameron, 1997: 445). Following this paradigm, gender and identity should be considered as constantly changing, with a range of identities that can be drawn on, e.g. lover, friend, thus acknowledging hybridity and multiple identities.



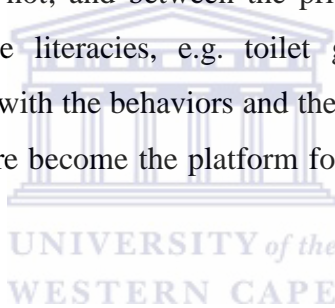
Appadurai (1996), when referring to locality, describes it as a complex phenomenological quality that is constituted of links between the “relativity of context”, “social immediacy” and “technologies of interactivity”. He then continues by stating that the phenomenological quality was communicated through various kinds of agency, reproducibility and sociality (Appadurai, 1996: 178). Appadurai therefore stressed change, complexibility, interactivity, reproducibility and sociality. In this paper roles are viewed in this dynamic and changing context. A move from the gender stereotypes to a more descriptive approach to investigating roles is needed in the literature.

## **2.2 Transgressive theory and graffiti**

According to Scollon and Scollon (in Pennycook, 2007: 36) graffiti “is a form of transgressive semiotics”. Toilet graffiti, which encompass our daily lives, thus forms part of transgressive literacy. Transgression refers to the conduct which breaks rules or exceeds social and cultural dictates and does not only include territorial trespassing but also includes forbidden thoughts or forbidden activities (Jenks, 2003: 3 in Pennycook, 2007: 36-41). Transgressive literacies therefore transcend the social, cultural and legal norms in both the context and the content. For the above reasons negative connotations have been attached to transgressive literacies.

Regardless of the fact that transgressive literacies are frowned upon by a large proportion of the mainstream society, they are making an eminent contribution to the literacy world of today, especially with the increase in research done in the field of hip-hop as a form of transgressive literacy (Pennycook, 2007 & Mitchells, 2007). Graffiti’s importance in the field of linguistics and cultural studies is made visible owing to the discourse on hip-hop as a genre in the transgressive theory (Pennycook 2007 & Christen 2003). Graffiti, which is one of the components of hip-hop, has given researchers insight to the graffiti artists’ identity construction by investigating hip-hop. Researchers such as Pennycook (2007) and Christen (2003) among others have done research in this area.

Pennycook (2007) noted non-mainstream culture's importance for education. In particular, he argued that there was a "need to engage with multiple ways of speaking, being and learning, with multilayered modes of identity at global, regional, national and local levels" (Pennycook, 2007: 15). Other theorists also indicate the positive influence that out-of-school literacy practices have on the mainstream education of the youth (Christen 2003; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002; Hooks, 1994 etc). Hull and Schultz (2001: 604) therefore believe that literacy researchers and theorists should investigate potential collaborations and relationships between the learning which flourishes in the out-of-school learning and learning in the school environment to lessen the gap which is increasing between children who flourish in school and those who do not; and between the privileged and the disenfranchised. Engaging in transgressive literacies, e.g. toilet graffiti, provides students with learning that is connected with the behaviors and the way students live (Hooks, 1994: 3). The toilet has therefore become the platform for students to communicate about their experiences.



Hooks is of the view that education is about the practice of freedom and that educators seem to miss this view by making college a place of obedience to authority (Hooks, 1994, 3). The negative effects of this obedience which Hooks speaks about can serve as a basis for Pennebaker and Sanders's (1976) arguments that graffiti is directly related to authority and threat level.

Including hip-hop and graffiti in the art-historical, critical discourses and visual art causes great tension in the visual world, according to Murray (2004:5). This could be as a result of graffiti being viewed as a "smaller" art form. Some art experts look down on the idea of graffiti as an art form. The Graffiti International Biennale views graffiti as the youth's tool for sharing ethical, ideology and aesthetic thoughts directly to society in the street. Graffiti is one of the best ways in which youth can share their ideologies - ideologies which may be shunned by the mainstream society. Graffiti

(including toilet graffiti) also provides a platform for sharing information in which anonymity is possible. This paper consequently agrees with the above since graffiti allows the youth to express pertinent issues to society.

Hip hop culture, of which graffiti is one element, also greatly influences the English language, according to Price III (2007:1). The words used in this genre expand the English dictionary and lexicon greatly and are frequently used in everyday communication such as television, radio shows, movies, etc. These genres have also created new ways of speaking, reading and writing, according to (Price III, 2007: 2). This indicates the manner in which transgressive literacy not only impacts but changes the literacy practices of people. Another example of a non-academic genre's influence on the English language is the influence of Mxit on everyday communication. Mxit is a common messaging application which influences the English language in such a manner that the jargon used in Mxit and the style of writing in Mxit has transgressed into the academic fields and is impacting the communicational practices, proficiencies and language used by the youth. As a result of the visibility of the language used in Mxit in other genres, one realizes that these codes are not just linguistic choices of the informal, but the creations of new Englishes (Pennycook, 2007).

Koller and Whiting (2007) investigated patterns of turn taking and notions of face-threatening acts in male toilets at a British university. They focused on conversation and discourse analyses in conjunction with some *appraisal* elements in analysing the attitudes and values that exist in multiple groups (Koller & Whiting, 2007: 4). *Appraisal*; however is not the main analysis used in this study. This particular study also investigates notions of masculinity. Koller and Whiting's (2007) study is also one of the few studies which focuses on graffiti as communication and analysed graffiti in terms of the discourse of semantics. The focus of graffiti in the research is mostly on the themes inherent in the graffiti (Koller & Whiting, 2007). These themes are usually treated as separate entities in the literature, since graffiti is not analysed as

a discourse. The fields of study which have done most research on graffiti are anthropology and psychology.

Omoniyi (2003: 3) emphasizes the importance of the differences in graffiti in terms of context. He is of the view that a difference exists between town graffiti and university graffiti. This was an important finding suggesting that graffiti is representative of the community in which it occurs, which is similar to the view of Koller and Whiting (2007: 15) that context is important in interpreting graffiti in toilets. According to them, one needs to consider all contexts including the micro- (toilet stall), meso- (context of university) and the socio-cultural macro context in which the toilets is seen in terms of a community of practice “that is embedded in the wider social context, its different social groups and its gender ideologies” (Koller & Whiting, 2007: 16).

According to Stocker et al (in Gonos, Mulkern & Poushinsky, 1976: 41), graffiti is an accurate account of the social attitudes of a community. Gonos et al (1976: 41), however, opposed this view on the basis that the relationship between the content of graffiti and the values of the society which is dominant would vary inversely with the time in which the graffiti occurred. I agree with this second position, since as time passes, societies transform, as a result of which the content of graffiti changes. In the data analysed, instances of graffiti relating to the recent instances of xenophobia in South Africa occurred (refer to figures 37, 38 and 39 for related issues). The above supports Gonos et al’s view of the graffiti changed in relation to time; some of the data has been buffed out or repainted and the graffiti referred to has been written in the time frame during which the abovementioned xenophobic attacks occurred.

Stocker et al (in Gonos, Mulkern & Poushinsky, 1976: 41) also add that homosexual graffiti occurs as a result of societal condemnation, while as a result of the liberation of homosexual people, graffiti relating to homosexual behavior would decrease. The data analysed, however, indicated that homosexual graffiti was still prominent (refer

to male requests for blow jobs in male toilets and the relevant responses). The requests made by homosexual men in male toilets may be the result of the liberation of homosexuals, since it is becoming “normal” to make such requests. The responses could then be provoked by the sudden openness around these requests. Gonos et al (1976: 41) are of the view that as a result of the increase in inappropriateness of laughing at or condemning graffiti in public, this condemnation would be manifested in graffiti. This paper only partially agrees with this view, since the condemnation only occurs in response to the openness of the requests for blow-jobs by homosexual people and not just as a means of condemnation.

Gonos et al (1976: 42) also find that when issues or words become less acceptable publicly, its prominence in graffiti would increase. They consequently also embrace graffiti as a platform for discussion of issues such as taboos which are not supported by the dominant value system of the community or which transcend the gender roles and stereotypes people believe in. Some of these roles restrict males and females in society, causing them to transgress these societal and moral norms. This transgression is made possible by what Gonos et al (1976: 42) refer to as the “anonymity” which is afforded by the privacy of the toilet booth. A further exploration of these taboos in the academic literature is discussed in the following section.

### **2.3 Usage of “colorful language” in academic writing**

The toilet is often the environment used for the expression of taboos. Taboos refer to things that should not be said or done in certain cultures (Fairman, 2006: 1722). In most cultures these taboos are universal, but taboos may also vary from culture to culture. Two types of taboos are differentiated in the literature. These two taboos are opposite to one another in meaning, since one refers to things “sacred or consecrated” such as the word “God”, whereas the other type of taboo refers to “impure, prohibited, dangerous, and disgusting” (Fairman, 2006: 1723). Foul language is one of these taboos and is still largely frowned upon in society. The question then

becomes whether and how these transgressive linguistic choices are treated in the academic sphere.

An understanding of taboo language is hindered by taboo itself according to (Fairman, 2006: 1722) because it is censored from dictionaries. Taboos are consequently not deemed to be a legitimate topic for scholarship, according to Fairman (2006: 1722). The discussion of making taboo choices is also hampered by researcher having to cross the standard norms when doing so. Some of the works on taboos is outlined in this section; however the scope of this section is limited, since a detailed literature review on this issue will not be provided owing to restrictions in terms of length of this paper.

Despite the above, the literature shows evidence of investigation into these varieties. A brief discussion on these follows. A variety of books has been written on the use of swear words. Amongst these are: *Swearing: A social History of Foul Language* by Huges (1991); *How Swearing Work* by Tracy Wilson (2005); *Expletive Deleted: A Good Look at Bad Language* by Ruth Wajnryb (2005); *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the censoring of language* by Keith Allen (2006); and then the books which include these “colorful” varieties in their titles: *English as a Second F\*cking Language: How to Swear Effectively. Explained in Detail with Numerous Examples Taken from Everyday Life* by Sterling Johnson (1996); *Watch Your F\*cking Language: How to swear effectively, explained in explicit detail and enhanced by numerous examples from everyday life* by Sterling Johnson (2004). In addition to books, articles on these previously censored choices also exist; these include *An Obscenity Symbo*” by Allen Walker (1934), in which he does not make direct reference to the word “fuck”, and *Fuck* by Fairman (2006). These topics are also not restricted to these genres; mainstream radio web pages make provision for these varieties, which are also cleverly disguised in advertising strategies. An example of this follows to illustrate the point.

The label FCUK, which is a play on the word "fuck", is a provocative multimillion dollar design label worldwide largely because the alteration to the morphemes raises eyebrows. After FCUK was used as an advertising strategy, the profit status of the company French Connection United Kingdom spiked by 81%. In October 2005, the company announced plans to reduce the usage of the logo, which resulted in 69% of profit drops (Fairman, 2006: 1714/ <http://www.fcuk.com>). This indicates the power of the logo, which is associated with the actual word "fuck". Fairman's (2006) article entitled "Fuck" indicates the power of the word "fuck" by explaining that by simply using the words one may end up in jail. These colorful varieties have power in society, which is why they were heavily frowned upon by some but were selected and preferred by others to express various emotions.

Various literatures on gender discourse also exists in respect of obscene language. These, however, consist largely of gender-biased statements. The following are examples from Fairman (2006: 1715): "Quite simply, men swear more than women", "Genderly speaking, men use more taboo language then women", and "Female students recognize fewer obscenities and use them less frequently then male". These statements largely only promotes stereotypes, since the statements are not supported by research which was conducted to support those statements. Research addressing these stereotypes is consequently needed.

As the literature review indicates, interesting shifts occur with regard to what previous studies found on graffiti relating to content, sexual referencing, homosexuality and "gender" graffiti. The literature review also shows that there are still various gaps in the literature because of the fact that mostly short articles exist on toilet graffiti; these articles are usually theme-focused, and there are gender-biased statements with regard to transgressive language which has no factual basis. This chapter also indicates that there is progress in the literature in terms of research on taboo language. The importance as well as the visibility of transgressive language is not taken for granted by the documented theorists. The literature review indicates the

important linguistic resources the transgressive varieties prove to be by being ambiguously used as advertising strategies, in addition providing a means for expressing different meanings and fulfilling flexible grammatical functions. The lack in the literature needs to be accounted for. Discourse-orientated investigations as well as multidisciplinary studies on graffiti are needed. In addition, more dynamic and hybrid perspectives are needed when investigating the conversation of the different genders





## CHAPTER 3

### Theoretical Analytical Frame

#### 3.0 Introduction

This study is informed by appraisal theory and theories on identity. There are two branches of appraisal theory in the literature - structural theories (Martin & White, 2005; Bock, 2007), which systematically examine the *appraisals* performed; and process theories (Malatesta, Raouzaïou, Karpouzis & Kollias, 2007), which focus on the function of emotional processes and are usually used in psychology (Roseman & Smith, 2001). Appraisal theory, as used in this paper, is approached from a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) perspective. Appraisal theory is the main theoretical frame but it will also be supplemented by transgressive theory. Identity will also be investigated using the socio-constructionist and post-structuralist conceptions.

#### 3.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

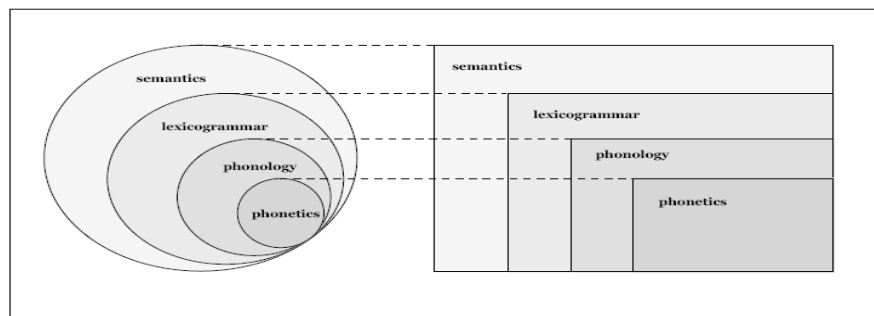
In SFL language is viewed as a semiotic potential (Chapelle, 1998); language is consequently described as a system of choices. Closely related to these choices is the issue of context.

For Halliday, the linguistic is a socially shaped resource, organized as a system of choice in which the action of the individual in making choices produces meaning (Kress, 2001: 36).

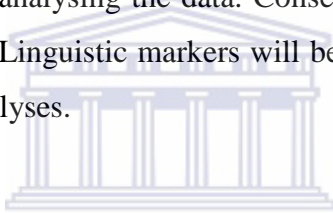
These available choices depend on the aspect of “the context in which language is used” (Chapelle, 1998: 1). In this choice paradigm, language is a socially shaped resource, organized in systems of meaning (Kress, 2001: 36). System networks are therefore used to present these patterns of choices which relate to a particular meaning (Whitelaw & Patrick, 2004: 2).

These systems of meaning are organized in three strata, three coding cycles in different abstraction levels: (1) phonology, (2) grammar and lexis (lexicogrammar), and (3) discourse semantics (Vandenberg, 2008 : 1).

Phonology is most concrete in terms of spoken discourse and written discourse. In terms of the spoken language, the language in terms of its sound system (phonology) focuses on syllables, phonemes, units of intonation and rhythm. With regard to the written discourse the focus on the level of phonology is on the graphology or organization of letters into text, layout, punctuation and format of the text. The next level of the abovementioned strata; the lexicogrammatical level, deals with the recording of graphological and phonological patterns as words and structures. Lexicogrammar is therefore realized through phonology and graphology. Consequently, the units of analysis in the lexicogrammatical level are clauses, phrases and words. The third level of abstraction, called discourse semantics, focuses on the meaning in texts, the meaning beyond the clause (Martin & White, 2005: 8-9). Discourse semantics is the level beyond the clause and focuses on how texts are created, organized and linked and how evaluation is established (Martin & White, 2005: 9; Bock, 2007: 58; Vandenberg, 2008: 2). *Appraisal* operates in this level of discourse semantics “as a system of interpersonal meaning” (Bock, 2007: 58). Below is a graphic representation of the levels of abstraction, taken from Matthiessen (2005: 16).



According to Halliday (in Bock, 2007: 57) the manner in which language functions in respect to social structures should be understood in studying texts, and texts should be analysed and interpreted in the context in which they occur. The larger context of the text is hugely dependent on the linguistic co-text in which an utterance is made. The co-text is significant in appraisal theory because it aids the analysis on the level of meaning in the text. In terms of the structural organization of graffiti, graffiti is often fragmented as a result of buffing (removing of certain elements of graffiti) and the nature of the graffiti itself (the graffiti may be unclear owing to environmental factors or to the instruments used for making the inscriptions, e.g. a pencil that is not very visible). So the co-text is often distorted in graffiti. As a result of the above mentioned characteristic of graffiti, the surrounding context in which the utterance is made is considered when analysing the data. Consequently the general “feel” of the toilet booth is examined. Linguistic markers will be provided as justification for the coding in the appraisal analyses.

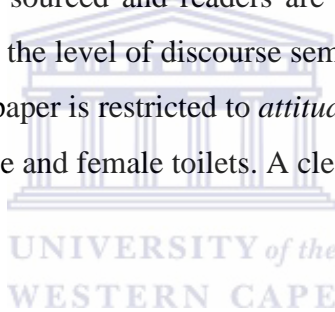


### **3.2 Theory on Appraisal**

“Appraisal” from the Systemic Functional perspective is a term which encompasses all evaluative uses of language (White, 2001 & Vandenberg, 2008). Appraisal theory as it is used in this paper is concerned with the interpersonal meanings of the participants in terms of their attitudinal content. This approach is used to explore, describe and explain the manner in which language is used to evaluate, to adopt a stance, to construct textual personae and to manage interpersonal relationships and positionings (White, 2001: 1). In sum, it explores how “attitudes, judgements and emotive responses are explicitly presented in texts and how they may be more indirectly implied, presupposed or assumed” (White, 2001: 1).

Appraisal is a development from Halliday’s notion of tenor, which is a register variable and is concerned with interpersonal language which incorporates the roles, statuses, relationships and attitudes of people (Vandenberg, 2008: 1-2). Appraisal

goes beyond simply describing attitudes and feelings, but explores how texts negotiate relations of power and solidarity with the audience (Bock, 2007: 74). This analysis also allows one to investigate the identities and personae participants create for themselves, as well as how the audience is positioned to be sympathetic or dismissive of the emotions and experiences described by the participants (Vandenberg, 2008: 5). When using appraisal theory, the linguistic choices of the participants are evaluated in terms of the subjective presence of the writers (Vandenberg, 2008: 2). This system of choices positions the audience as dismissive or sympathetic of the interpersonal experiences described by the participants. Appraisal is therefore concerned with the evaluation – “the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers are aligned” (Bock, 2007: 74). This interpersonal analysis is at the level of discourse semantics and can be either negative or positive. This research paper is restricted to *attitude* in doing an *attitudinal* analysis of the graffiti found in male and female toilets. A clear delineation of attitude follows.



### 3.2.1 Attitude

*Attitudinal* positioning is one of the functions of appraisal (White, 2001). In doing an *attitudinal* analysis one is interested in the language speakers/writers use to assess things, a state of affairs, people, places and happenings in a positive or negative manner (White, 2001: 2) by referring to their emotional states or “systems of culturally-determined value systems”<sup>1</sup>. *Attitude*, which is the framework for mapping feelings, comprises of three semantic regions known as emotion, ethics and aesthetics (Martin and White, 2005: 42). These semantic regions are known as *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*.

The emotive component called *affect* refers to the “resources for construing emotional reactions” (Vandenberg, 2008: 5). *Judgements*, which comprise ethics, is the second component of *affect* which refers to the “resources for assessing behavior

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalOutline/Framed/Frame.htm>

according to normative principles” (Vandenbergen, 2008: 5). *Appreciation* (aesthetics), the final constituent of *affect*, involves the “evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field” (Martin and White, 2005: 43). These sub-systems of *attitude* will be outlined in this chapter.

### 3.2.1.1 Affect

Attitudinal elements in conversation can encode evaluations of emotional states. The evaluation of emotion, or how something or someone makes someone feel, is referred to as *affect* (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 129). *Affect* also refers to the expressions of deontic stance (Holmgren & Vestergaard, 2009: 589). The expression of *affect* can be from the evaluator’s stance or a report on someone else’s feelings. This sub-system of *attitude* usually answers the question “How do/did you feel about it?”. (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 129). Appraisals dealing with *affect* usually occur in polar pairs in which one is positive and the other negative (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 29). Positive feelings will be those which are construed as feelings from “good vibes” or those which are enjoyable to experience, whereas negative feelings are ones that are better avoided and which incorporate “negative vibes” (Martin & White, 2005: 46).

Appraisals of emotions are dealt with in terms of three dimensions. The *happiness/unhappiness* dimension incorporates feelings to do with “affairs of the heart” such as sadness, hate, happiness, anger and love (Bock, 2007: 78). The *security/insecurity* dimension of *affect* “covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being, anxiety, fear, confidence, trust” (Bock, 2007: 78). Lastly, the *satisfaction/dissatisfaction* dimension of *affect* covers emotions “concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect” (Bock, 2007: 78). According to Martin and White (2005: 50) the *satisfaction/dissatisfaction* dimension deals with our feelings of frustration and achievement relating to our involving activities which consist of both our roles as spectators and participants. These emotional dispositions are realized differently in sentences (as a quality, process and a comment), according

to Martin and White (2005: 46). These emotional dispositions are the basis on which one makes judgements on emotions, behaviors and things.

### 3.2.1.2 Judgement

*Judgement* refers to the assessment of actions or behaviors of people (Iedema, Feez & White, 1994: 1 and Martin & White, 2005: 59). *Judgements* are made in terms of determined societal norms (Iedema, Feez & White, 1994: 1) and are usually made according to the ethics, social values and morality of other people (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 125). These *judgements* provide the reader with an insight into the writer's (participant's) stance towards the behaviors of the evaluated, and can be identified by asking the questions: "How would you judge that behavior?" and "What do you/did you think of that?" (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 130; 126).

Two forms of *judgements* occur in appraisal theory: *judgement of social esteem* and *judgement of social sanction*. *Judgement of social esteem* deals with the manner in which people's behavior corresponds to socially desirable standards (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 125). *Judgement of social esteem* is further subdivided into three subcategories; these are *normality*, referring to how special something is; *capacity*, indicating how capable somebody's actions are; and *tenacity*, which evaluates how dependable someone's behavior is (Martin & White, 2005: 53). *Judgement of social sanction*, on the other hand comprise of *veracity*, which deals with the truth value of behaviors and *propriety* which, evaluates the ethics involved in behaviors (Martin & White, 2005: 53). Iedema, Feez & White (1994: 9) indicated that *judgement* is one of the ways of making language subjective. They investigated newspaper reports in terms of subjectivity and used *judgement* as an evaluative resource to illustrate the subjective voice of reporters.

### 3.2.1.3 Appreciation

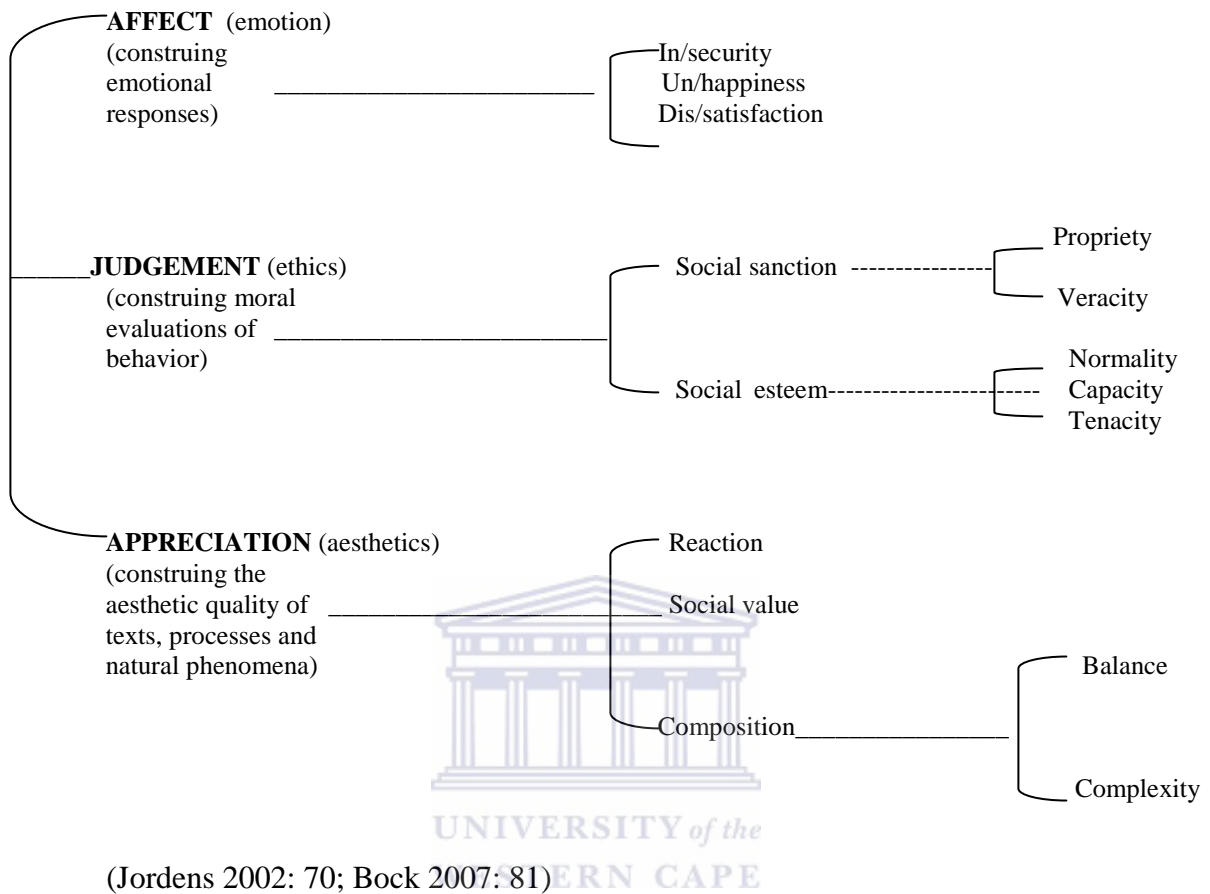
*Appreciation*, which is the evaluation of objects, processes and natural affairs including abstract things such as relationships or quality of life, closely resembles

*judgement* (Bock, 2007: 80). An important distinction between *appreciation* and *judgement* is that *judgement* targets the behaviors of participants, whereas the target of *appreciation* is things (Bock, 2007: 80).

*Appreciation* can be realized in three categories: reaction, composition and valuation. “In general terms, appreciations can be divided into our ‘reactions’ to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), which is further categorised in terms of their impact and quality, their ‘composition’ (balance and complexity) and their ‘value’ (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)” (Martin & White, 2005: 56). Grammatically these categories can be identified by linking them to mental processes. Reaction is closely related to affection or the emotive component, whereas composition is related to our perception of order; and lastly, valuation is related to our opinions or cognition (Martin & White, 2005: 57). Martin and White also add that these categories can be interpreted metafunctionally, with reaction directed towards the interpersonal significance, composition to the textual meaning and valuation to the ideational meaning (Martin & White, 2005: 57).

Adendorff, de Klerk and Marshall (2009) use appraisal theory to analyze NRF (National Research Foundation) reports. They analyze corpus reviewers’ use of evaluative language in reports and try to expose the linguistic options exploited by reviewers when they make evaluations and the manner in which the reviewer’s linguistic options influence the intuitive judgements made by the assessors serving on the panel when they allocate ratings based on reports. They found, through using the appraisal framework, that the different ways of expressing evaluations and attitudes influence each of the rating categories and these in turn play an enormous role in the allocation/categorisation of these ratings. Appraisal theory is therefore shown to be a vital tool in investigating the evaluative language of reporters and how that in turn affects the intuitive judgements made by the assessors on the panel.

Below is a diagram illustrating the attitudinal elements of appraisal theory:



### 3.2.2 Is context causing confusion in appraisal?

Often the same elements can be classified in different appraisal categories. The problem with categorization in appraisal is caused by the analysis of appraisal depending on the co-text and also positioning of the participants and their sociocultural backgrounds. Martin and Rose (2007: 40) therefore suggest that the prosody of feelings in the text should be considered when doing an appraisal analysis.

The same attitudinal words can be used to judge as well as to appreciate (Martin & White, 2005: 60), and both *judgements* and *appreciation* makes reference to values of *affect*. Vandenberg (2008) and Martin and White (2005) refer to this as *judgements*



and *appreciation* being “institutionalised affect” (Vandenberg, 2008: 8 & Martin & White, 2005: 45).

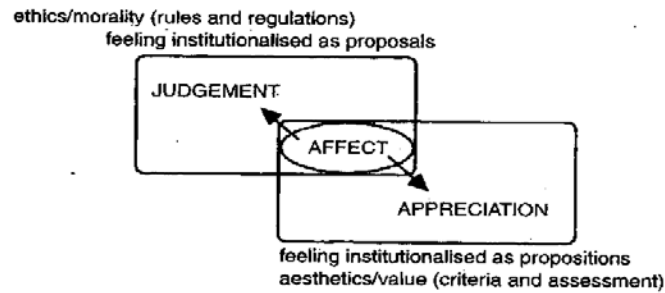


Figure 2.1 Judgement and appreciation as institutionalised affect

(reference: Martin & White, 2005: 45)

Another issue for emphasis in appraisal is the subjective presence of the reader. According to Eggins and Slade (1997: 126) “it is often not possible to state whether a lexical item has attitudinal colouring until it is used in context” and also because an appraisal analysis is an analysis on a lexical level, therefore less fixed than a grammatical analysis would be (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 126). Interpersonal meanings cannot be expressed as configurations of isolated elements but the essence of meaning is a part of the semantic system as a whole. Some boundaries exist between these categories of appraisal, so the evaluation of appraised elements is subjective. A careful consideration of the textual context has to be taken into account in order to investigate the attitudinal elements (Bock, 2007: 78). As a result of the above, the appraisal analysis is least understood and most subjective.

In the following section controversies, or rather categories which are not clearly restricted by the boundaries set forth by the appraisal analysis criterion are discussed.

Martin and Rose (2003: 35) and Martin and White (2005: 67) suggest that these items can be double-coded or they can be coded by considering the co-text in which the text occurs, as was mentioned above. These items will be discussed by using examples indicating that punctuation, pictures and obscene language are resources for evaluation which often change the evaluation stance within an utterance.

### 3.2.3 Punctuation, taboos and pictures as appraisal resources

The idea of whether appraisal should include other elements is explored by Bock (2009). Similarly, Matthews (2009) argues that pictures serve an appraisal function. Matthews (2009) used appraisal theory to indicate how the intersemiotic relationship between the visual signs and the verbal signs are appraised to increase the effect of intertextual references used in the *Daily Voice* and construct a Cape Flats audience (Matthews, 2009: 59). Appraisal theory is consequently a vital tool in investigating how audiences are constructed through both the visual and verbal messages in newspapers.

Following Matthews (2009), pictures are argued to serve an appraisal function in this thesis. In this instance, the iconic sign as the picture is interpreted in the same sense as a social sign can be interpreted from the basis that the sign is closely related to the referent, therefore more obvious in denoting its meaning. This argument stems from Saussure's (1857-1913) <sup>1</sup>theories on the sign and multimodality which are an extension of SFL. With regard to pictures and the interpersonal dimension, the sign and its referent are not as obvious as the theory of the sign suggest, but offer multiple frames for interpretation. These will be explored further in the analyses.

In addition to arguing that pictures serve an appraisal function, this thesis is the first to argue that punctuation and taboo language can serve evaluative functions.

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<sup>1</sup> Chandler, D. *Semiotics for Beginners*. Available online:  
<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/semiotic.html>

Punctuation (capital letters, use of punctuation marks, and differences in font) are argued to have the ability to function as graduation elements and written intonation of *affect* and *judgement*. In addition, taboo language choices are argued to indicate *affect* or judgment. Punctuation, taboo language as well as pictures can serve as linguistic evidence to classify text in the appraisal categories. The presence of the abovementioned elements often serve as graduation tools and can cause an utterance to be classified in one or more of the appraisal categories.

These claims will be validated in the analyses which follow later in the paper. Appraisal theory should therefore not be restricted to words; it needs to include punctuation, taboo language options and pictures, since they are also evaluative choices. These elements are re-used and re-purposed to function as *appraisal* elements, so they are recontextualised and often resemiotised.

### **3.3 Theory on identity**

What constitutes markers of identity is problematic. Identity can refer to a range of things. Language, for example is one of the best known markers of identity in the literature. However, viewing language as a marker of identity in a context where the use of more than one language is prominent is problematic (e.g. in multilingual South Africa). Banda (2009) captures this notion when he argues that linguistic choices are often unpredictable in multilingual contexts; identities which are signaled and performed may therefore not be determined beforehand. As a result of the ambiguity of the word “identity” as well as its vast usage across disciplines (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 1), a clear delineation, or rather framework of identity as it is used in this paper is provided in this section.

A merge of the social constructionist and poststructuralist view on identity is employed in this study. The social constructionist view of identity draws on the interplay between society and culture and how social reality is constantly constructed. This social reality, however, does not deny material reality since it argues that one’s

subjectivity - in reality- one's values, ideas and beliefs - is revealed when one enters into discourse and talks about the existence of these material objects (Vos, 2008). According to Bock (2007), this approach aims to show "how individuals' understandings of reality are derived from and feed into broader social discourses" (Bock, 2007: 100). Social constructionists thus view identities as produced and negotiated in discourse as an interactional accomplishment (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 13).

The poststructuralist view on identity ((Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Heller, 1992/1995; Woolard, 1985/9/1998; Bourdieu, 1977/ 1982/1991; Davies and Harre, 1990) is also used in this explanation since it allows one to examine identities in terms of the larger sociohistorical, sociopolitical and socioeconomical processes and acknowledges the hybridity and multiplicity of identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

A performative stance on identity is taken in this research. As language, or rather communication, is viewed as an activity, identity should also be viewed in this active sense. Identities are viewed as being performed since language is not only viewed as a "marker of identity" but as an active performer of identity (Heller, 1982 "acts of identity", Fairclough, 2003: 160 notion of "Style" or "ways of being"). Identity is consequently analysed from the perspective that identities are "created and designated during interaction and used as a resource", as Banda (2005: 218) notes.

Pavlenko and Blackledge's definition of identities is employed in this study in which identities refer to the "social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social perogatives" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 19). Identities are also viewed as shifting and multiple, "something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other and the world" (Cameron, 2001:

170), thus being dynamic and “created and designated during interaction and use as a resource” (Banda, 2005: 218).

Caution will be taken in establishing a “one to one” relation between language and racial and ethnic identity. Following the poststructuralist perspectives and postcolonial studies on identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), identity is viewed as multidimensional, hybrid, changing and complex. In the light of the rich multilingual and multicultural societies of South Africa, where speakers have complex linguistic repertoires one cannot view language and identities from the assimilationist Western perspective. The Western perspective on language and identity is criticized for establishing a one-to-one relation between language and identity, thus viewing members of communities as homogeneous and uniform. In addition to this shortcoming, the Western approach to viewing language and identity has an inherent monolingual and mono-cultural bias (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), so caution will be observed.

People establish their identities through language in different ways. Fairclough (2006: 160) refers to the ways in which people constitute their identities through language as “style”. According to Fairclough (2003: 162), these styles are realized through multiple features such as phonology, choice of lexicon and metaphor, swearing and body language. In this paper the focus will be on vocabulary, metaphor and lexicon, swearing as well as pictorial illustrations; an addition to Fairclough’s (2003) features. This paper will illustrate that pictures play a pivotal role in displaying some features of the identity of the participants and also serve as appraisal elements.

Identification consists of two aspects, according to Fairclough (2003). These aspects are social identity (e.g. gender, social class) and individual personality. Fairclough’s justification for identifying the two aspects of identity is that identity cannot only comprise of social identity, since people have self-consciousness and personality

which affect their interaction with the world (Fairclough, 2001: 160). This argument rests on the notion that in the process of “performing and enacting our identities, we draw on social discourses and social identities; at the same time; we ‘infuse’ these identities with our individual personalities” (Bock, 2007: 51 & Fairclough, 2003: 166). Fairclough (together with poststructuralist theorists on identity) is of the view that social identity is constructed through language, by means of discourse, but is not fixed and intrinsic to individuals. The focus of this paper will be on both social and personal identity. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 21) go further and differentiate between three classes of identity: imposed identities, assumed identities and negotiable identities.

Positioning theory (Davies and Harre’,1990) will be a vital tool in the analyses, since it views participants as “choosing”, active participants who does not only accept identity options but negotiate them. “Positioning”, for Davies and Harre (1990), is the process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines, informed by particular discourses.

This thesis will draw on notions of interactive and reflective positioning (Davies and Harre, 1990) in establishing how identities are positioned and negotiated by using appraisal resources. Reflective positioning concerns positioning oneself, whereas interactive positioning assumes that one person positions another person (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 20). The extension of positioning to all discursive practices is used in this paper (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 20). The notion of positioning also closely resembles positioning as it is used in appraisal theory. In appraisal theory positioning refers to the use of language by which a speaker/writer uses language to take a stance towards the “propositions they are advancing, by which they position themselves and their utterances relative to other (possible) viewpoints and positions of other speakers/writers” (Vandenberg, 2008: 5).

When analysing reports using the appraisal framework, Adendorff et al (2009) wrote that in writing a report,

...the attitudinal and evaluative language that is used not only constructs a particular image of the applicant and aligns readers in such a way as to persuade them that the evaluation is an accurate one. The language must also persuade the reader that the reviewer is credible, and his/her judgement is worthy. The way that this kind of credibility can be obtained depends on the use of particular language strategies” (Adendorff et al, 2009: 395).

Adendorff et al (2009) therefore investigated language from the choice paradigm and found that the language strategies are important in the positioning of the reader in terms of constructing the particular participant and his/her stance, and also persuade the reader in deciding whether the evaluation of the reviewer of the reports is accurate and he/she is credible. Bock (2007) also used appraisal theory to investigate the evaluative discourse and positioning in truth and reconciliation testimonies and found that code-switching is an evaluative resource.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Research Design and Methodology**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

In this section, a frame for carrying out the research is provided in terms of its research design and methodology. This discussion will include how the data is sampled and collected, as well as how I went about analysing the data. A description of the data is also set in this section together with the ethical considerations that had to be incorporated when collecting, analysing and writing up the research.

The discourse/text analysis is modeled on typical SFL/appraisal studies associated with Michael Halliday, Peter White, James Martin, Ruqaiya Hasan, David Rose, Suzanne Eggins, Diana Slade and Anne-Marie van den Bergen, and on discourse analysis associated with Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and others.

#### **4.1 Discourse analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is associated with Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak, amongst others. The theoretical basis of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was developed by Fairclough with his book entitled *Language and Power* (1989/2001), proposing a theory for language as a form of social discourse, with the central concern being the role of power and ideology in the development and construction of discourse (Banda & Mohamed, 2008: 97).

According to Van Dijk (1998), the discourse analytical research of critical CDA primarily studies “the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”, aiming to understand, resist and expose social inequality (van Dijk, 1998: 1).

Following Bock (2007), this study will not dwell so much on power relations as on attitudinal evaluation.



The main tenets of CDA, as is summarised by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) are the following:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

(Taken from van Dijk, 1998: 2).

Some of these tenets are associated with different researchers. However, there are three main perspectives on CDA: socio-historical (Wodak, 2001), sociocognitive (van Dijk, 1993), and discursive aspects of institutional orders of discourse (Fairclough 1995, 2001) (Banda & Mohamed, 2008: 97). All these approaches have one thing in common, and that is that phenomena should be analysed in social contexts (Wodak, 2001, Wodak & Meyer, 2001) and that the analyses be multidisciplinary (Fairclough, 2001, van Dijk, 1998: 2 and Banda & Mohamed, 2008: 97) (this latter characteristic of CDA is one of its references for critique- that CDA is not focused), also referred to by Fairclough (2003) as "transdisciplinary", being in dialogue with other theories and disciplines addressing processes of social change.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates language as "socially constituted practice where text, whether written or spoken, is considered as discourse, that is, produced by speakers and writers who are socially signifiers... a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective" (Fairclough, 1995; 14). This argument rests on the notion that when language or text is produced it is impacted by the social context in which it occurs and in turn the text is also shaped by the social context in

which the text occurs, stressing the interplay between these factors. In CDA, text as objects of inquiry is transcended, thus focusing on analysing text in context (Cameron, 2001; Wodak, 2001 and Banda & Mohamed, 2008).

This perspective is a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, which aims to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analyses of language text (spoken and written), analysis of discourse practice and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice (Fairclough & Holes, 1995 and Fairclough, 2001). This analysis is done on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels of interpretation. At the micro-level, the text's syntax, metrical structures and metrical devices are considered. At the meso-level, the text's production and consumption is studied, focusing on the enactment of power relations. At the macro-level, the intertextual understanding is studied (van Dijk, 1984: 4).

In his attempt to explore the relationship between interactions, the context and the text, Fairclough draws on SFL to develop his methodology. Similar to Halliday's (1974) three metafunctions (textual, ideational and interpersonal), Fairclough develops identity, relational and ideational functions of language (Guerrero, 2008: 4) which are enacted in discourse through the following stages which complement each other: description, interpretation and explanation. In the description stage, the formal-textual linguistic features of text are described (linguistic analysis). The interpretation stage focuses on the text in relation to other texts, discourses and how participants make sense of their interactions. Explanation, the third stage, focuses on the relationship between the social context and text (especially with regard to power) and investigates the ideological positions which are shaped by and shape the discourse (Guerrero, C. H. 2008: 4; Bock, 2007: 49).

#### 4.1.1 CDA view of text

Text, from the CDA perspective, has an indiscursive, multifunctional character which is viewed as a part of social events (Fairclough, 2003: 60; 17). "One way in which

people can act and interact in the course of social events is to speak and write” (Fairclough, 2003: 22). Fairclough distinguishes between two powers which influence text: 1) social powers and social structures (e.g. language); and 2) social agents (Fairclough, 2003: 17).

“The aim is also to identify through analysis the particular linguistic, semiotic and ‘interdiscursive’ features of ‘texts’ which are a part of processes of social change, but in ways which facilitate the productive integration of textual analysis into multi-disciplinary research on change.” (Fairclough, 2003: 1).

Texts are shaped by causal powers of social structures and social practices on the one hand, and social agents on the other (Fairclough, 2003: 30). Social practice will be the graffiti written by the males and females in the toilets of UWC.

Bock (2007) uses CDA and SFL to investigate the underlying power structures that shaped the truth and reconciliation testimonies, focusing on how speakers used specific social discourses to construct their identities and positions as well as to investigate the individual style of testifying when giving a testimony its distinctive character.

CDA has been criticised for the following reason: it lacks a principled approach to linguistic description, so being selective to linguistic features for ideological purposes (Widdowson, 2004). Halliday summarizes the next criticism directed towards CDA in the following quotation: “Discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text” (Halliday, 1994: xvii).

It is for this reason that this study combines aspects of discourse analysis with SFL, aiming for a more multidisciplinary approach to text analysis. In addition, an SFL definition of text-based analysis is employed in the study, as can be seen in the following design.

## 4.2 Research design

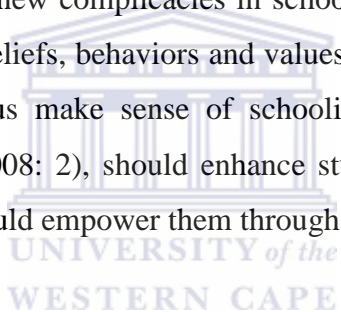
Many studies are enhanced by incorporating both qualitative methods and quantitative methods in their research (Leedy, 1997: 108), since these two methods bring with them different realizations, both important, to one study, thus allowing for a more dynamic multiplicit design. Bearing this in mind, ontological realization of both the qualitative text-based and quantitative paradigm inform the design underpinning this study.

The principal research design in this study is qualitative. Qualitative research concerns itself with “human beings: interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts and feelings. The qualitative researcher attempts to attain rich, real, deep, and valid data and from a rational standpoint, the approach is inductive” (Leedy, 1993:143). The assumption of the qualitative rests on the belief that there are various constructed realities which make the understanding of both the content and the construction of this contingent, multiple realities central. (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 1993: p. 99 in Leedy, 1997: 109).

The primary analysis is a text-based linguistic analysis situated in the qualitative approach which follows other SFL studies that have used a text-based design (Bock, 2007; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005; Eggins & Slade 1997). Halliday’s all-encompassing definition of text as a language that is functional in the context of communication, whether spoken, written or in other mediums of expression (e.g. visual), is used in this paper, consequently not looking at meaning-making from a mono-modal perspective.

“We can define text, in the simplest way perhaps, by saying that it is language that is functional. By functional, we simply mean language that is doing some job in some context, [...]. So any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation, we shall call a text. It may be either spoken or written, or indeed in any other medium of expression that we like to think of “ (Halliday 1989: 10).

This multimodal approach to text focuses on the interplay of the different semiotic modes and how they often work together; not only realizing language as the sole medium of communication. In some texts (e.g. most television advertisements) visuals are foregrounded instead of words. Silvestre (2008) investigated patterns and the different semiotic systems in children's texts to show how patterns of different semiotic systems (written and visual) interact in meaning-making in multimodal text, and also to show evidence of how Systemic Functional Grammar and social semiotics are vital tools to account for the co-articulation of the various semiotic systems used in everyday communication (Silvestre, 2008: 1). Departing from Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996:15) concern about the need to provide visual literacy in schools and universities and integrate new complications in schools, he argues that the prominent role images play on our beliefs, behaviors and values, and visuals increasing territory as text is vital to help us make sense of schooling. This integration of modes, according to Silvestre (2008: 2), should enhance students' abilities in multiliteracy values and in addition should empower them through critical reading.



In this analysis the data is textually and contextually analysed by identifying the appraisal elements of *attitude*. The attitudinal element construing emotional and elements containing *judgements* (*affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*) are identified and analysed in terms of its significance in the context. In addition, these elements are explained in terms of the evaluative function it plays in the text. The recurring themes are discussed, as they provide one with a window for the dominant realities in terms of identity construction and gender discourse as is portrayed by the males and females writing the graffiti. The context of graffiti in terms of its generic structure is also discussed by using this qualitative approach. This qualitative text-based method provided the researcher with the tools to carry out the abovementioned objectives, since “qualitative methods permit the evaluator to study selected issues, cases or events in depth and detail” (1987: 9).

A quantitative analysis of the recurrence of themes which occur is also done. The quantitative research design is standardized where predetermined response categories are created in which options and experiences are fitted in to assist the process of comparing and to make the statistical aggregation of the data possible (Patton, 1987: 9). This quantitative analysis is done by tabulating and tallying all the attitudinal elements (refer to Appendix C) as well as by analysing all the themes which occurred in the data to obtain an indication of the number of recurrent themes and the prominence of certain elements on the toilet walls to aid the qualitative analysis. This quantitative analysis allows one to see the prosody (Martin & White, 2005) in the data which is a vital tool in summarizing and providing statistical evidence supporting the qualitative findings.

Both research designs proved to be appropriate for this study for the following reasons: (1) the researcher was interested in doing an in-depth analysis on the level of meaning pertaining to evaluation, identity, role structure, gender discourse and the structural elements in toilet graffiti, so a qualitative design provided a frame for these objectives; and (2) the researcher was interested in documenting the prominence of the linguistic elements from the appraisal analysis to get an idea of the recurring evaluative themes to strengthen the qualitative analysis. Studies that use such multifunctional perspectives are of benefit because these mix-methods improve the analytical dynamism of research.

### **4.3 Sampling**

Purposefully selected male and female toilets which are most often used by students on the UWC main campus were used for this study. “Purposeful sampling selects information-rich cases for in-depth study”<sup>1</sup>. The selection of the most frequently used toilets as well as the toilets which had the most inscriptions were selected to gain data

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<sup>1</sup> Mugo, F. W. Sampling in Research.

<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/tutorial/Mugo/tutorial.htm>

Accessed: 31 March 2010

which is more representative of the majority of the student population who form part of the graffiti community at UWC, and also to gain a comprehensive sample to analyze. The toilets selected for data-gathering were the most frequently used male and female toilets in the Science building, the Cafeteria, B-block, L20 and the Thintana Lab toilets. The locations in which these selected toilets were situated are referred to as toilets A-E in the order in which they are named, for the sake of convenience. A total of 10 toilets were selected for data collection.

#### **4.4 Data collection method**

Data was collected over a period of 8-10 months. The capturing of data was made in two time-frames in order to capture “dialogue” in the graffiti. Two sampling periods consequently exist. The first period of data collection occurred during the months June 2008 to September 2008. The second period occurred from April 2009 to July 2009. This time-frame allowed ample time for students to write graffiti which provided a rich corpus for analysis. The researcher was assisted by a male assistant to collect data occurring in the male toilets. Data was collected during hours when access of students to university toilets was minimal (early mornings and late evenings) to avoid disturbing the research environment. This data was captured by making use of a digital camera. Data which could not be captured by the camera owing to faded color was handwritten or videorecorded by the researcher. Over 115 tokens of graffiti instances were captured for analysis. The exact corpus of tokens is unspecified, since a large amount of data was captured to strengthen the dependability and representivity of the findings.

#### **4.4 Data analysis**

The approach to analyzing the data is described in this section. This section will start by stating the reasons for the descriptive approach in analysing the data as the preferred choice. Secondly, text-based analysis is clarified in terms of its inductive qualitative and deductive quantitative reasoning.

#### 4.5.1 Macro-genres creating micro-values for alternative discourses- revolution of the descriptive approach to language

A prescriptive stance to analyzing language is rich in the literature. Talks of “the standard” which outlines the way we should speak and write will prevail, causing some varieties to attain less power through these descriptive approaches (Huddleston, Pullum & Bauer, 2002: 7). The descriptive approach to language which will be used in this study investigates the way people actually write and speak (Huddleston, Pullum & Bauer, 2002: 7); it draws on the authenticity of language usage.

One lack of agreement between the prescriptive and descriptive approaches to analyzing language, as outlined by Huddleston, Pullum and Bauer (2002), is the confusion of informality with ungrammaticality (Huddleston, Pullum & Bauer, 2002: 7). This precise reason provided by Huddleston et al. (2002) forms the basis for alternative discourses being looked down on - they do not conform to the prescriptive standards and therefore their informality is labeled as grammatically incorrect and their usage attains lower status, power and value. The difference in goals of these two approaches leads to different topics being investigated in the literature. This study draws on the difference in goals of the two approaches to language.

This descriptive approach is required more in applied linguistics (Schmitt, 2004), since it investigates language as its primary source of information, by creating theory from authentic language, and not judging it from “the way language must be written and spoken”. This forms part of the inductive approach to analyzing data.

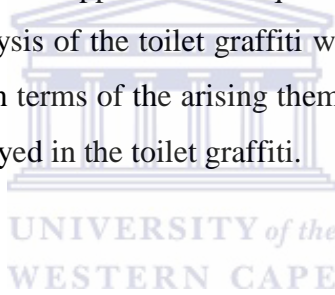
#### 4.5.2 Text-based analysis

The qualitative text-based analysis is inductive in nature, since an in-depth consideration of the data is made whereby the theory emerges from the data (Leedy, 1997:107). The quantitative analysis also allows for deductive statistic reasoning



(Leedy, 1997: 109), which is reasoning from the general to the particular. This data is analysed by utilizing appraisal theory which is aided by transgressive theory when investigating the graffiti found in male and female toilets at UWC.

A text-based analysis of the attitudinal components was done, as has been mentioned above. In this analysis, the linguistic choices indicating *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* are identified (summary in appendix B). This information is then tabulated and tallied to obtain an insight into the occurrences of appraisal elements that exist in the graffiti (summary in appendix C). This quantitative aid proved to be insightful as it provided the researcher with a window to the types and numbers of occurrences of attitudinal constructions made by males and females in the toilet graffiti, which in turn lent support to the qualitative analysis of the appraisal elements. Qualitative analysis of the toilet graffiti was made to obtain an insight into the nature of the content in terms of the arising themes found, as well as into the role and identity options portrayed in the toilet graffiti.



#### **4.6 Description of data**

The researcher selected toilet graffiti from various male and female toilets located on the main campus of the University of the Western Cape. Data comprised of writings in all areas which can be written on in the toilets. These writings often occurred in pencil, pens and felt-tipped pens. Variations in terms of the font, size and nature of the data occurred. Some of the writings were in shorthand whilst others were written out fully. Instances of multilingual discourse are also found in the data, as well as different orders of discourse. Evidence of buffing also occurred on the toilet walls, since some of the data were buffed (wiped out) within the research time-span. The instances of buffing may be ascribed to the negative connotations attached to graffiti and vandalism, as well as to offence taken to the specific inscriptions written by the participants. The data is therefore constantly changing. In terms of number, the female toilets had more comprehensive writings than the male toilets in the first

sample. In the second sample, the data in the female toilets stayed fairly stable, whereas an enormous increase in data occurred in the male data. Both female and male toilets had a range of themes including relationships, love, culture, religion, politics, economics, etc.

In terms of modality, the graffiti in the male toilets was more diverse in terms of its multimodality, whereas that in the female mostly used words with few emoticons. Data used for analysis has not been restricted to the written elements. The pictures drawn by the students in the toilets were also considered for analysis. In the past decade, the written form has continued to be the main form of communication in the printed form; however, the printed and verbal language have become increasingly co-modes in creating meaning together with visual data (Silvestre, 2008: 1), e.g. in newspapers, advertisements, textbooks. The landscape of communication is therefore shifting towards a more multidimensional, multimodal approach to communication, which makes a multimodal approach to analysing the data more fruitful. Although instances of tagging were also collected, it will not be used and discussed in the scope of this research.

#### **4.7 Ethical consideration**

Both anonymity and the principle of nonmaleficence are employed in the research process.

##### **4.7.1 Anonymity and the principle of nonmaleficence**

The toilet environment, largely owing to the anonymity it provides, offers students a platform for transcending cultural, social and ethical taboos, so it is a rich sight for transgressive text often directed at specified individuals. A number of inscriptions in the toilets consist of messages in which contact details and personal information of individuals have been disclosed (some of which are offensive). This information is not revealed in the research, since the wellbeing of the secondary research participants are of primary concern to the researcher. Anonymity in terms of not

disclosing personal information such as names and telephone numbers occurring in the data, therefore protecting the identities of the involved graffiti population, is ensured in this study. The information which was found during the research period will also not be used in any manner which could be harmful to the specific graffiti community or the community written about on the toilet walls.

The three chapters that follow present the attitudinal analysis. In doing the analysis, this paper is interested in indicating that an action, event, state of affairs, person or thing is to be viewed positively or negatively when considering attitude (Martin, 2001: 1). “That is to say we classify as attitudinal any utterance which either conveys a negative or positive assessment or which can be interpreted as inviting the reader to supply their own negative or positive assessments” (White, 2001: 1).



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Insecure Female? Versus Unhappy Male: An Emotional Exploration**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter will indicate that males and females have different evaluative stances in the graffiti. Secondly, different strategies for the evaluation of emotions are performed by male and female. Females have a tendency to express their emotions explicitly, whereas males express emotions implicitly. Feelings of insecurity are prominent in the female toilet graffiti, especially with regard to relationship issues, but these appear to be a ‘smokescreen’, diverting attention from the aggressive side portrayed. Females have hybrid ways of expressing emotions (use emoticons, onomatopoeic words, etc) and often direct questions to readers which prompt involvement from the reader. Males also use emoticons to express emotions, but these are not as visible. In the second sample all except one token of graffiti in the male toilet graffiti express negative emotions of unhappiness. These are mostly political, racial and cultural discourses. In terms of hybridity, males make use of punctuation, capital letters, transgressive forms and pictures to express their emotions in the toilet graffiti analyzed in some instances. Linguistification as well as delinguistification (Habermas, 1987) of emotions therefore exist in toilet graffiti.

In terms of presentation of the analyses, the first sample’s data will be presented first, followed by the presentation of the data from sample two, especially the men’s data. In the second sample, the data from the women’s toilets is not rich; this can be attributed to multiple possible reasons: 1) space restrictions (as a result of the existing data in some toilets) and 2) some toilets were repainted, causing the existing data to be wiped off, which often serves as a starting point for additional graffiti. These reasons are not exhaustive. Some sections in the women’s data will consequently be discussed globally as a result of the minimal data which exists from the female toilets in the second sample. The men’s toilets, however, became a rich site for writing graffiti. This may be ascribed to the fact that the issue of space did not pertain to the

men's toilets as much as it did for the female toilets; secondly, since a huge amount of the data is politically and racially charged, one can infer that the political and social time (in the midst of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa and during the period when the new president was selected in South Africa) at which the data was written added to the increase in data in the men's toilets.

### **5.1. Affect**

In the analysis below a general discussion follows regarding *affect*. A number of emotions which can be differently categorized usually co-occur, so the discussion is global. Context is extremely important in analyzing interpersonal meaning, as is mentioned in the theoretical framework. Some typical extracts are explained to give a comprehensive explanation of the prosody/coloring found in the data.

Positioning with regard to emotions concerning love, relationships and religion is common in female toilets, whereas males expressed their feelings about religion and feelings toward another gang in the graffiti found. Feelings are mostly explicitly expressed by females in the graffiti studies. The females also have a tendency to express their emotions in first person, thus expressing how they experience emotions rather than attribute emotions to other people, thus taking responsibility for the emotional assessment (White, 2001: 5).

Feelings of *insecurity* are seemingly prominent in the female toilets. Most of these feelings are realized as processes. The eco-social wellbeing, or rather lack of it, is usually manifested in questions to the readers of the messages in the toilets (also refer to *Female toilets A*). The specific females thus position themselves as insecure in the data found. These emotions of *insecurity* are mainly with regard to relationship issues which should cause the readers to be sympathetic towards these female participants.

In the extract below, the female participant responds to another participant's query which is about not being ready for marriage with her boyfriend, who is ten years older than her and whom she loves. This writing includes invoked *attitudes* of insecurity, since one can realize that the sender of this message is unsure of her decision not to marry her boyfriend. This is evident in the clause "Hey, if he really loves you, he'll wait until you're ready."

*Female toilets E*

Hey, if he really loves you, he'll wait until you're ready

BUT This could also be the biggest mistake of your life by saying no, I mean you could loose the love of your life So the choice is yours.

THANKS! NB!!! Listen to your heart, girl.

What up Bitches!

Listen to this, I've been going out with my Bf for 4 years now he asked me to marry him but **I don't think I'm ready yet, How do I tell him?** [affect, insecurity, neg.]

The thing is, he is 10yrs older than me, **i love him,** [affect, happiness, pos.]

**but im not ready yet.** I wana do a 2<sup>nd</sup> [affect, insecurity, neg.]

degree, and **im not yet ready** to becom [affect, insecurity, neg.]

Martha Steward, **how do I tell him without breaking his heart?**

**Please help.**

**Confused.** [affect, insecurity, neg.]

The initial writing of participant one is rich in emotional content - both implicit and explicit (overtly expressed in lexicon and implied). The participant's writing is rich in *insecurity* since she is uncertain about what to do as she is not ready to marry her

love. The repetition of the phrase “not ready yet” emphasizes the seriousness of her feelings of uncertainty and increases the emotional weight of the writing. The implicit confused status is a verb to signify emotion. Initially the reader is distanced from the participant, as the greeting “What up Bitches!” does not position the reader positively towards the writer. The content of the message, however, is emotionally loaded and causes a shift in the positioning of the reader since the reader is now positioned to be empathetic towards the participant. The question at the end of the extract “How do I tell him without breaking his heart?” affirms that she feels confused, she doesn’t know what to do and also indicates that the participant cares for her boyfriend. The writer is in such a desperate position that she reverts to strangers in the toilet for advice. However, when taking a closer look at the data and the larger context in which these interactions took place, especially the aggression that is prominent in the female toilets; it becomes evident that this portrayal of insecurity is only to divert attention from the actual portrayal of aggression and agency on the part of females, as will be shown later in the paper.

In this extract, recontextualisation as well as resemiotisation occurs (Prior & Hengst, 2010). The type of discourse found in this extract is similar to the ones in ‘Agony-Aunt’ genres, so being recontextualised in the toilet graffiti. The conventions of those genres, however, are transformed to suit the new context in which the discourse is used, therefore it is resemiotised. In the above extract, for example, the politeness strategies in terms of a respectful greeting is *re-framed* as “What up Bitches”; the language use and code used are *re-cast/re-constituted* (that is, do not adhere to the standard form of writing - words are compressed, e.g. ‘wana’, ‘becom’) and the space is used differently in terms of response flow and restrictions on and availability of space.

#### *Female toilets A*

Hey guys. I met  
a guy and dated

him 4 days  
 and told me  
 that <picture of flower>  
 And he **was confronted** [affect, insecurity, neg.]  
 wot dat **We still love** [affect, happiness, pos]  
**each other bt**  
**we cant be 2gether Im so stressed ☹** [affect, insecurity, neg]  
 ANONYMUS

In the above example, the female participant expresses her feelings with regard to the relationship with the man she met. She indicates explicit emotions of love toward the man, and claims that he also loves her. Love, which is an emotion, is positively valued and contextualized with feelings of insecurity since the eco-social state of the participant is confronted with the change in their relationship. The participant therefore feels insecure, which is a negatively evaluated emotion. The readers are positioned to be sympathetic towards the participant since she is stressed and can't be with the person she loves because of the mentioned situation.

*Female toilets A*

Hai guys I think my clitorus does not work [affect, dissatisfaction, neg.]  
 b'cos I dod'n feel aroused during sex [affect, dissatisfaction, neg.]  
 I love it although I have.. [affect, happiness, pos]  
 But i like sex 4 have 2 kids [affect, happiness, pos]  
 from scratch I did not feel happy [affect,unhappiness/dissatisfaction, neg]  
 during sex b'cos of this  
 problem.  
 Help me what must I do [affect, insecurity, neg.]

Although the emotions inherent in the above extract are not explicitly expressed in terms of the lexicon used, the above extract is rich in emotional content. Feelings of



negativity color this extract. In the first instance the participant feels displeasure because of the dysfunction of her clitoris. The participant has positive feelings towards sex “I love it...i like sex” but because of the physiological problem she has she feels unhappy. The participant concludes by letting the reader know that she is confused - “Help me what must I do” - since she does not have the confidence of knowledge to solve her own problem, which causes her further distress. The above extract is framed to make the reader sympathetically positioned towards the participant. A conversational pattern exists in the extract above: from a negative statement of the discomfort to unhappiness, which is a result of the disturbance of the participant’s enjoyment of sex.

In one instance of *affect* the female participant uses phatic communication. Phatic communication does not serve to “add meaning being portrayed in the message” (Coupland, Coupland, & Robinson, 1992: 207- 209). She says “I love you all”, which is not relevant in the context as she does not know the people making use of the toilets. Expressing her love to everybody in the toilet does not add to the meaning she wishes to portray (the message about God) (*Female toilets A*), but may predispose the reader positively towards the writer and the message/request.

Happiness and sadness are expressed in hybrid ways by females in the data found. Females have a tendency to make use of emoticons (as well as exclamation marks in the case of expressing anger, rage and frustration) (refer to *Female toilets A*) to express their feelings. In one instance a female participant uses the onomatopoeic words “ha! ha! ha!” (*Female toilets A*), imitating laughing which is an implicit behavioral surge of *happiness*. Onomatopoeic words are words that “imitate the sound it’s describing, suggesting its source object”<sup>1</sup>. In this context the participant is positioning the readers to appraise her negatively since her *happiness* is based on someone else’s misfortune (that the other participant might have AIDS).

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<sup>1</sup> (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Onomatopoeic)

In terms of religion, positive attitudes in terms of emotions are portrayed in both the male and female toilets. Both males and females positively evaluate their feelings towards God and Jesus (refer to *Female toilets C* and *Male toilets B*).

Males are more likely to express their emotions implicitly. In the phrase: “Tell Smiley his ma se Poes. Is he still smiling now?” (*Male toilets D*- refer to Picture. 21), feelings of hate and rage are evident, since he swears at Smiley’s mother. This inscription is a response to a multimodal message which comprises a sun with the number 28 in it (the sun) which is the symbol for the gang group called “28s” and a picture of a claw. These feelings portrayed by the participant are negative feelings of *affect*. The above is an insult which was directed to a gang member of the group called “28s”.



In the picture above, the emoticon, which is a smiley face, occurs directly below the word “smiling”, which thus re-enacts that message. The message is re-enacted from a verbal, written word to an iconic icon. This reaction, which is a response to the picture of a paw, representing a group member of the 28s gang, is a linguistic stage, with one emoticon which is a response to a verbal stage in the genre.

The picture below, which forms part of the picture above, anchors the symbol of the 28s gang with the word “NONGOLOZA”. The picture requires the reader to have schematic knowledge of the gang groups in the Cape Peninsula. The multimodal picture of the sun, with the letters 28 in the centre of the sun, is the emblem for the most feared and established group of gangsters in the Western Cape called the 28s. These two semiotic modes thus work together as emblem for the 28s group. The word “NONGOLOZA” means gangster and occurs in the ideal positioning of the sun. This word serves as anchor for the inscription; and *re-voices* the message that revolves around a gang group called the 28s.



Picture 22

In terms of the graffiti found in the male toilets, males are not prone to expressing their feelings or ascribing emotions to others in the toilet graffiti. The few instances of the expression of emotion evident in the male data fall into the *happiness/unhappiness* category of *affect*.

**Male toilets B**

The best thing you  
can do as a young  
man is to accept the  
Lord Jesus Christ as your  
personal saviour and  
your life will never be the  
same eternally

I was here drunk last  
year in a besh but now  
a'm heppily saving the Lord  
4u a'so this is possible  
with his grace



[affect, happiness, positive]

In the above extract the male participant explicitly expresses his *happiness* in his writings in the phrase “a'm heppily saving the Lord”. Indications of *security* are also found for the participant is secure in trusting God and accepting Him as personal savior “best thing you can do as a young man” as well as *satisfaction*, since the extract indicates that he has reached a goal in his life. The participant indicates progression by highlighting the negative space in his life before accepting Jesus in his life, then indicating the change with the word ‘but’ and the reassurance “your life will never be the same eternally”. The above extract is rich in emotional content, although most of the emotions are implicitly realized in the context of the extract. This text positions the readers positively toward the participant’s experiences since the participant’s growth is designed to be inspirational.

The last instance of *affect* found in male graffiti in the first sample is in the phrase “to flush devine” (Male toilets D- refer to Picture. 23 and 25), where one participant positively evaluates the process of flushing as a divine feeling, a feeling which comes from God. The above example could be argued to be *appreciation*, the evaluation of flushing, which would then be positively evaluated in terms of the participant’s reaction since he enjoys the process of flushing.

A summary of the total number of tokens of affect found in sample one is presented below.

F/ M	Total Affect	Happiness	Un- happiness	Security	Insecurity	Satis- faction	Dis- satisfaction	+	-
F		15	5	0	15	2	2	17	22
M		2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
	<b>42</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>

(Tokens of affect in first sample)

All the instances of *affect* that have been noted in the second sample concern the negative evaluations of emotions. The emotions most often reported on in the data fall into the *unhappiness* category of *affect* (twelve instances noted), which is followed by emotions concerning *dissatisfaction* (two instances noted), and finally, one instance of graffiti relating to *insecurity*, reported in the second sample. In this section, data reflecting instances of *affect* are discussed in terms of the various themes running through the data covering the category of affect relating to *unhappiness*. The emotions expressed are in response to political discourse, cultural origin and didactic evaluation, as well as to emotions relating to religion evident in the second sample. These themes are ordered in term of most prominent. The identities most drawn on in the second sample are the participants’ racial and cultural identities.

The political and racial discussion, which has the most instances of affect in the toilet graffiti, is most likely the most diverse in terms of expression. Male participants did

not only use lexicon to express their emotions but also made use of punctuation and capital letters to enhance their emotions. In addition to the use of punctuation, capital letters and transgressive forms are also used in some cases to raise the emotional effect in the data analysed. The following extracts include negative emotions falling into the *unhappiness* dimension of *affect* and will form the platform for the discussion which follows:

*Male toilets A*

Part 1: On behalf of all SA CITIZENS Who  
WERER INVOLVED IN XHENOPHOBIA ATTACKS  
Im Saying **Sorry**, please lets forget about it and [affect, unhappiness, neg]  
focus on the bRiGHT SiDE - **yes lets make \*heart\***



**Part 2: NO**  
FUCK  
ALL  
SOUTH AFRICANS  
4  
XHENOPHOBIA.

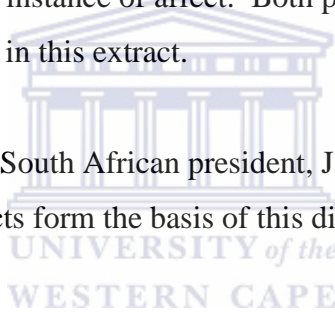


[affect, unhappiness, neg]

In the first example of *affect*, participant one apologizes to the victims of the xenophobic attacks which started in May 2008 and flamed up again in May 2009. Participant 1's response includes feelings of remorse and repentance which are evident in the verbal phrase "Saying Sorry". The implicit moral anguish experienced by Participant 1 is categorised as *unhappiness*. The admission of guilt and repentance of the past misdeed on behalf of the attackers, which is a positive deed performed by Participant 1, is however not positively received by Participant 2 ,since he responds by expressing his anger towards South Africans. Participant 2 also did not only direct

his anger towards the South Africans involved in the xenophobic attacks, but to South Africans as a whole. He therefore places *judgement* and portrays animosity towards South Africans as a whole and constructs them all as being a part of the plot in the xenophobic attacks. Participant 2 uses capital letters as well as swearwords to express and emphasize his anger. The starting point of Participant 2's response is the word "NO", clearly stating his position in the matter of forgiving, is not only in capital letters, but is also underlined to raise the emotion and strengthen unwillingness to forgive. He portrays negative feelings of anger and constructs himself as unforgiving, which causes the readers to be positioned negatively towards him. Both feelings of *affect* have been coded as negative; *affect* for feeling sorry and expressing regret are expressions of moral anguish. The anger expressed in the response is also a negative instance of affect. Both participants draw on their national identities when interacting in this extract.

Feelings about the current South African president, Jacob Zuma, are also rich in the data. The following extracts form the basis of this discussion.



*Male toilets A*

Part 1: ZUMA is our Preditent

NOW nothing we can do  
will change that ...

[affect, dissatisfaction, neg]

Part 2: I HATE

JZ ONLY...

[affect, unhappiness, neg]

In the first extract above, feelings of despair and despondency are evident in participant one's reply about the current president, Jacob Zuma. Feelings of hopelessness are evident in the phrase "NOW nothing we can do will change that". The fact that "NOW" is in capital letters gives an indication that the participant had been hopeful for a different president but now that Jacob Zuma had been chosen to be



the president, nothing could be done. Participant 1 is constructed as someone who is a part of the group who are in a hopeless situation because they cannot change who the president is. This inscription also gives an indication about the time in which this writing took place - just after the general election (the general election was held in late April 2009 and this sample was collected in April 2009. At this time, the ANC had already elected Zuma as its president, and since the ANC was expected to win the general election, it was a foregone conclusion that Zuma would become the president of South Africa). In the second extract, Participant 2 wrote that he “HATE JZ”. In this extract, President Jacob Zuma is dubbed JZ as a result of his initials. Participant two uses the word “hate” which is a strong emotion of dislike; he could have used “dislike” but preferred to use the emotionally loaded choice. Participant 2 thus constructs himself as an ‘enemy’ of the current South African president. Both participants draw on their political affiliation as not being supportive of the current South African president, Jacob Zuma. Both instances of *affect* relating to President Jacob Zuma involve the negative expression of emotions towards the president and the position he holds. This in turn constructs the president negatively as someone who is hated and not wanted as a president.

The issues of politics and race often go hand in hand. The discussion on Jacob Zuma is followed by a discussion on race. The section which deals with instances particular to the expression of feelings directed towards a particular race or racial origins is coloured negatively in the data. All the extracts given below are extracts which contain negative *affect*. These extracts formed part of a larger discussion, where racial identities are drawn on and cultural origin is discussed (refer to Male toilets A). The general interaction between the participants is hostile and the participants construct themselves as forming part of one segregated racial group and emphasises animosity amongst different racial groups. The participants construct a situation where there is animosity between the different races and where “colored” people do not know where their origins lie. Most of these instances specify the receivers to which these emotions are directed. Some of the instances of *affect* are discussed in



the sections on *judgement*; the emotions experienced by the evaluators resulting in the expression of *judgements* towards those being evaluated. There are many grey areas between *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*. Refer to theoretical framework for the argument that all *judgement* and *appreciation* are performed on the basis of *affect*. In other words, we evaluate people's behaviors and things based on our emotions. Those instances are not discussed in this section but form a point of discussion in the section on "Judgment". The following extracts relate to race or racial origin:

*Male toilets A*

Extract 1: Fuck all you fuckin hot\*\*\* [affect, unhappiness, neg]

Extract 2: Fuck you "coloureds"  
& your fucken !  
mother [affect, unhappiness, neg]

Extract 3: Fuck coloureds! [affect, unhappiness, neg]



All the extracts which are racially directed are negative emotions which fall into the unhappiness category of *affect*. All three of these instances are racially charged. Evidence of this is that the people whom the emotions are targeted towards are not only specified, but they are classified in terms of their race. In extract one, the targets of evaluation are hotnots (parts of the word have been disguised by making use of asterisks (\*)). "Hotnot" is defined as "A word used for coloured people in the Western Cape in South Africa, who have profound Khoisan ethnic facial features. It considered by everyone to be a derogatory word and is not used in a normal, decent conversation"<sup>1</sup>. This use of the term "hotnot" is, however, not restricted to the Western Cape. The lexicon used is therefore intentionally used to belittle the colored people who are referred to. In the other two extracts the coloreds were also specified.

<sup>1</sup> (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=hotnot>)

Similar instances occurred in data referring to black South Africans, but these instances are discussed in the section on *judgements*.

The use of swearwords are also evident in all three instances of *affect* relating to *unhappiness*. These swearwords are used to load the emotional evaluation and enhance the emotional effect inherent in utterances made.

An interesting occurrence takes place in the second extract, where punctuation is used to increase evaluation. This occurs where the second evaluator is the mothers of the colored people. In this extract, the exclamation mark, which is usually placed at the end of a short sentence to express strong feelings, is placed in the middle of the sentence following the swear word “fucken” and preceding the target of evaluation (coloreds’) “mother”. This is an unusual place in which to use the exclamation mark in the sentence but it has significance in terms of the meaning portrayed in the text. The punctuation mark in this instance functions to place emphasis on the swear word “fucken”. It consequently loads the already loaded swearword and causes a climax before specifying the second evaluator in extract 2, the mother. This raise in temper before the specification of the mother is made is interesting, since males are known to take great offence when their mothers are insulted. Swearwords and punctuation are therefore used in creative ways by participants as graduation forces to increase the emotional load in the feelings they express. These words are also recontextualised to serve as appraisal resources in the data analysed, since they are not used in their usual context, but are employed to serve an evaluative function.

The use of the inverted commas “coloureds” are also used to raise the emotional effects of the utterance, as when one considers the context in which this exchange occurs, where colored people are judged as not knowing about their origins (refer to Male toilets A), the inverted commas suggest that the people who call themselves “colored” are not really colored. Through this anger expressed in the racial discourse one also gains an insight into the dissatisfaction the participants’ experience with

regard to racial issues. The appraisal analyzes therefore not only provide one with a means to categorize and understand these feelings, but also serves as a window to the other categories within this framework.

Another instance of *affect* occurs where punctuation and capital letters are used in combination with taboo language to enhance the emotions in the writing. The extract “Fuck ALL U!!!” (Male toilets A), which is surrounded by political discourse and discourse on homosexuality, uses punctuation and capital letters to enhance the anger in the utterance. In the above extract, not only one exclamation mark is used to indicate strong emotions but three are used. In addition to the use of exclamation marks, the participant also uses capital letters selectively to place emphasis on certain elements in the sentence. In this instance, the capital letters are used to place emphasis on the participants whom this anger is directed towards and consequently serve as an evaluative resource which is recontextualised and repurposed. The presence of the taboo language choice “Fuck” raises the emotional bar in the text, which is then aided by the exclamation mark to load the emotional weight in the extract further. Both the exclamation mark and the swearwords are used in these cases as *appraisal* resources. They are not placed in their usual contexts and hence function to repurpose them to indicate strong emotions of *affect*. In the following instance the same words are used, only in a different order, with different uses of the capital letters and without the exclamation marks which illustrate that the mentioned elements prove to be grammatical intonations of evaluations “Fuck All You” (Male A). This extract that was written near religious discourse does not contain a strong sense of emotion. It can be classified as negative *affect* illustrating anger but the patterned use of capital letters (starting with capital letter and continuing with small letters) lessens the emotional weight of the *affect*. The lack of punctuation also causes this inscription to be less loaded than the one previously discussed.

The area of religion has also proven to be a site for the expression of emotions in the data. The recorded data which involves religion are negative evaluations and fall into the *unhappiness* category of *affect*. The following extract illustrates this argument:

*Male toilets A*

WRONG!

God does exist ...

he just doesn't give

a fuck!!

[affect, unhappiness, neg]

The above extract is double coded as *judgement* and *affect*, since implicit anger is portrayed as well as judging God. This anger is signaled by the presence of the exclamation marks at the end of the sentence, as well as considering the meaning of the sentence. This participant is unhappy with the state of affairs and expresses his anger because he feels that God does not care.

There are also random instances of *affect* which occur in the data, largely in response to existing toilet graffiti. In one of these examples the participant swears at the initial participant and calls him an "ASSHOLE" (Male toilets A), which indicates that he is angry. In this example, capital letters are also recontextualised to enhance the emotional load of the utterance. This utterance is in response to graffiti which read "small dick boy" (Male toilets A). The participant takes offence at this writing and responds negatively. In this example, capital letters are also used to place emphasis on the participant at whom this anger is directed.

Only a single instance of *affect* relating to *insecurity* has been noted in the second sample. This inscription reads "I can not forget \*\*\*" (Male A), and is emotionally loaded with feelings of uneasiness and emotional turmoil. This inscription is surrounded by data concerning political issues, therefore one can make the

assumption that it was in response to the surrounding text and political situation of South Africa.

The data indicates that the participants use creative strategies to enhance the emotional effects in their inscriptions. Among the tools used for emotional emphasis is punctuation (exclamation marks), taboo language and the selective use of capital letters which are repurposed to emphasise certain elements in the sentence and serve as appraisal resources. Most data that indicates instances of emotions are negative evaluations that fall largely into the unhappiness category of *affect*. So, most males construct themselves as angry, dissatisfied and unhappy in the graffiti analysed. Below is a quantitative representation of the tokens of affect found in the second sample.

<b>F/ M</b>	<b>Total Affect</b>	<b>Happiness</b>	<b>Un- happiness</b>	<b>Security</b>	<b>Insecurity</b>	<b>Satis- faction</b>	<b>Dis- satisfaction</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>15</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>M</b>		0	13	0	1	0	1	0	15
		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

*(Tokens of affect in second sample).*

## CHAPTER 6

### How Capable Are You? An Exploration of Judgement

#### 6.0 Introduction

A discussion of *judgement of social esteem* and *judgement of social sanction* follows. These *judgements* will be discussed by looking at how the graffiti writers position others in terms of their behaviors in the *judgements* they write. The analysis indicates that there is a shift in discourse in the male toilet graffiti owing to the social and political change which occurred in the timeframe of the first and second sampling (time of presidential election in South Africa, xenophobic attacks). The discourse in the male toilet graffiti is appropriated with this shift and the discourses around race, political affiliation and cultural origin became the focal points in the second sample in the male toilet graffiti. Female toilet graffiti stayed fairly stable in the period intervening between the first and second sample. In terms of the total tokens of graffiti collected, judgements of capacity are most prominent in both male and female toilets.

In terms of presentation, the first sample is presented in terms of the appraisal categories, whereas the second sample is a global discussion. The reason for the difference in presentation is due firstly to the limited data in the male toilets in sample one; and secondly because of the clear themes running through the data in the sample two; there is a more comprehensive sample in the male toilet graffiti. The global discussion therefore serves to preserve this larger context in which the toilet graffiti occurred in the second sample of that from the male toilets.

#### A. Sample one

##### 6.1 Judgement of social esteem

*Judgements* made by participants relating to the correspondence of socially desirable standards is the focus of this section (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 125). These *judgements*

will be discussed in terms of the evaluation of other people's behaviors in terms of their capabilities (*capacity*), dependability (*tenacity*), and truth value (*veracity*).

### 6.1.1 Capacity

In the data analysed, the females most often judge each other with regard to their capacities. Categories most often judged are maturity levels, academic intelligence (thinking/reasoning abilities and grammatical constructions), social intelligence and sexual capabilities. The identities which are being drawn on by the participants are largely: identities as students, as sexual beings, and as grown ups. These are most often negative *judgements* which position the reader to be dismissive of the opinions of the females in their graffiti.

Consider the following extract which occurs in one toilet booth in the female toilets. In this toilet booth, a supporting conversational structure exists in which the female participants discuss relationships, sex and issues surrounding pregnancy. The above extracts are representative extracts from the toilet booth which falls under the category of judgement relating to capacity.

#### *Female toilets A*

1. Then tell no one. Are you stupid!! [judgement, capacity, neg.]
2. U R @ university level stop acting like kids, this... [judgement, capacity, neg.]
3. You all mad we are not Dr. Phils. [judgement, capacity, neg.]

In the first extract, one participant evaluates negatively another participant's tendency to tell people that she is a virgin, knowing that they mock her every time. She judges her ability to think and reason socially and positions herself as being stupid. Other *judgements* similar to the above which occur in the female toilets in the Science building (A) are "stupid girl", "u r a idiot", "what a dumb..." and "coz ur with some loser", which also judges and positions the particular female participant as foolish. All the above examples have regard to relationship issues. The third comment on the

booth discussion also relates to reasoning. The participant feels that the toilet walls are not an adequate place for seeking psychological advice because the respondents to these types of queries are not psychologists like the famous Dr. Phil. Consequently they are “mad” to seek advice in the toilet environment.

In the second example, one girl comments on the booth discussions as a whole and judges the females as being immature. This is a negative evaluation of the girls’ maturity levels as university students. This instance of *judgement* in combination with the above *judgements* positions the readers to view the evaluated female participants as immature, foolish and unable to reason. *Judgements* with regard to writing capacities are also evident. An example of this is “You can’t even spell get out of uni (university)” (Female C). These *judgements* draw on the participants’ identity as students. The responses given as well as the types of queries raised are an indication of the transformation of the ‘Agony-Aunt’ genre which occurs on this toilet wall.

The evaluation of sexual capabilities is the least common of the four most frequent categories of evaluation in terms of capabilities. The example below is an illustration of this type of evaluation.

*Female toilets D (refer to Picture 3)*

Part. 1: N\*\*\* L\*\*\* your bf (boyfriend)

**B\*\*\*\*\* fucks great** [judgemnet, capacity, pos.]

Part. 2: What fucken EVA...

**He fuckED me 2 It was KAK GOOD** [judgement, capacity, pos.]

In this context, one female insults the next by telling her how sound her boyfriend is sexually. The reply is that he “fuckED” the receiver of the message too and that it was also sexually satisfying, which is a positive evaluation of the sexual capabilities



of the male referred to. The phrase “What fucken Eva” indicates the aggressive nature of the exchange as well as the personal insult of writing the girl’s name on the toilet door. In this context, the evaluator experiences the satisfaction of sex as positive whereas the insult inherent in this satisfaction is negative towards the receiver of the insult. The positive *judgement* therefore functions negatively in this context. The reader is positioned to be dismissive of the experiences of both participants as a result of the moral transgression of the girls in terms of their sexual practices and the aggressive manner in which they communicate about it. *Graduation* is also evident in the phrase “kak good”, which means very good. The taboo word “kak” (translated as “shit” in English) is therefore uses as a graduation instrument in this extract.

Although evaluation of other girls’ behaviors is mostly evaluated negatively; one instance occurs where a girl positively judges another girl’s motivational Christian message as wise, thus positively evaluating her action to motivate the girls in the toilets. She even writes that the girl reminds her of Solomon (a king mentioned in the Bible), whom she evaluates as wise. The above indicates positive attitudes towards the inspirational message of participant 1 as well as a positive stance towards Solomon, which causes the readers to be positively positioned to the female participant. The extract is provided below.

*Female toilets C*

**Wise words “girl” you remind me of Solomon,** [judgement, capacity, pos.]  
**one of the wisest people in the Bible.** [judgement, capacity, pos.]

With regard to the evaluation of the behaviors of other people in terms of their capabilities, there are only two instances found in one of the male toilets. Below is an extract of one of these instances which forms the platform for the discussion that follows.

*Male toilets E (refer to Picture 54)*

Part. 1: Wade → **Poesy** [judgement, capacity, neg.]

4 (derogatory reference to female genitals)

Part. 2: Ashura → **Gintoe** (whore)

In the above extract, the male participant is derogatorily judged in terms of his capabilities as a man, since he is described by using the derogatory word referring to female genitals. The participant's identity as a male is thus challenged. He is therefore judged and positioned as a worthless male. Males are stereotyped as being competitive (refer to notions of the alpha male) and the male genitalia are considered to be the "crown jewels" of males. The attribution of female characteristics to males is often regarded as derogatory, since historically females are regarded as the weaker sex.

Most evaluations in the female toilets and the single instance of evaluation in the male graffiti in terms of capabilities are negative in the toilet graffiti. Both males and females therefore portray negative attitudes towards other people's behaviors, according to the data analysed. The huge difference in the number of occurrences of *judgments* in terms of *capacity* (female ± 20 instances, male 1 instance) may be ascribed to the toilet graffiti in female toilets being more comprehensive and females being more likely to feel obliged to judge other people's behavior as a result of the interactive nature of the writings in sample one.

Although the *judgements* found are commonly structured in terms of statements, some *judgements* were also realized in rhetorical questions and requests, as the following example illustrate.

*Female toilets A*

Hey gals

**PLEASE stop Being so fokken stupid** [judgement, capacity, neg]

GEE die man ‘n stukkie as hy wil he!! [*Give the man sex if he wants it!!*]

Stop complaining

Julle word oud!! [*You are getting old*]

In the extract above, the lady judges other ladies, especially the ones that complain about sexual problems negatively as being stupid. Although a request is used in the above example, there is *judgement* inherent in the request, since she identifies the particular ladies’ complaining and abstinence from sex as being stupid. The above attitude towards ladies not having sex is not common in the data in female toilets. The following extract forms the basis of the next discussion.

*Female toilets A*

Part. 1: HELP

WHAT DO YOU DO  
WHEN UR 20 and  
UR STILL A VIRGIN?



↓  
Part 2: **you remain as**

**a virgin until you get  
married**

↓  
Part. 1: But EVERYBoDy LAUGHN

AT ME IF I TELL THEM  
I’m still one, they say I’M  
a Kloosterkoek.

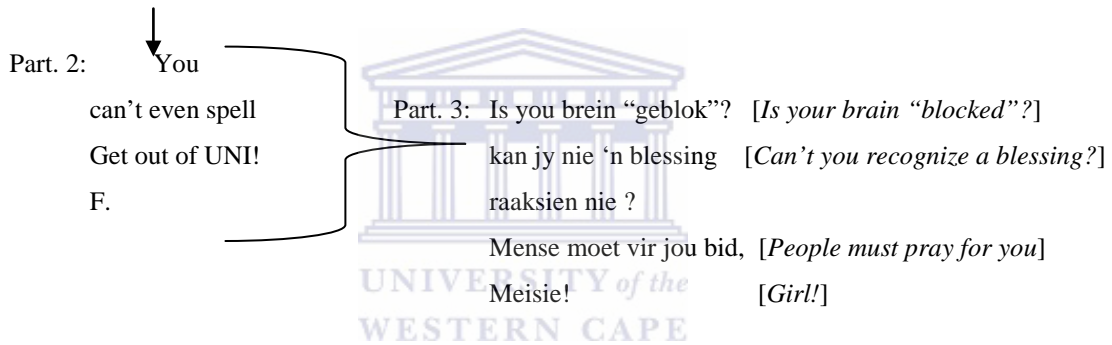
↓  
Part. 3: *Then tell no one*

***Are you Stupid!!***

In *Female toilets A*, Participant 3 express her views toward Participant 1 in a rhetorical question, which realizes that Participant 1 is stupid. The exclamation marks instead of the question marks as well as the nature of the context allows one to see that Participant 3 is judging participant one’s inability to keep quiet about her sexual abstinence whilst knowing that people will judge her as being stupid, which positions the audience to be dismissive of participant one’s inability to refrain from telling people that she is a virgin. In this example again, the exclamation mark serves as evidence for the evaluation being made consequently being repurposed.

*Female C* (Refer to Picture 10)

Part. 1: <Lady blessing the girls>



Another instance where a girl expresses her *judgement* towards another girl’s actions occurs in one toilet where a girl (Participant 1) blesses the girls in the toilets in her writings, in which she receives a remark from another girl (Participant 2) concerning her grammatical errors as a university student; thus positioning the audience to be critical towards participant one in terms of her incorrect spelling. Participant 3 responds to the grammatical reply by asking the if her brain was ”blocked”., clearly saying that she is unable to use her brain and recognize a blessing. This action of Participant 3 shifts the positioning of the audience to be positioned negatively towards Participant 1 and realizes the blessing inherent in participant one’s writing, so positively positioning the audience towards Participant 1.

Most evaluations in the female toilets and the single instance of evaluation in the male graffiti in terms of capabilities are negative in the toilet graffiti in the first

sample collected. This in turn positions the readers negatively in terms of the writings on the UWC toilet walls.

### 6.1.2 Normality

The third most used form of judgment in female toilets and the most often used form of *judgement* in male toilets in sample one is *judgement* concerning how special or usual something is. The following extract serves as the discussion point for this section.

#### *Female toilets A*

You girls **are**

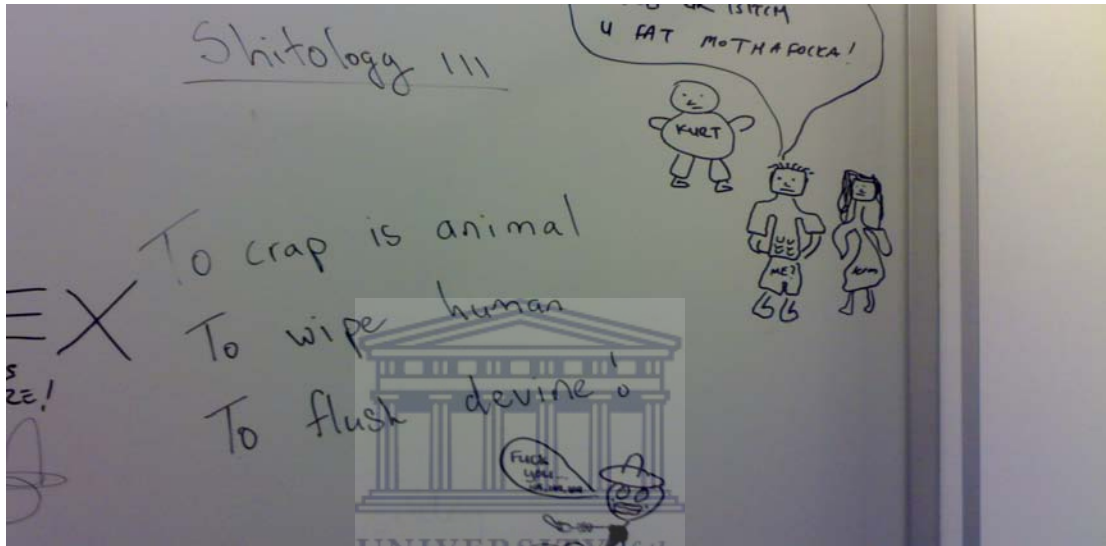
**CRAZY** you make

[judgement, normality, neg.]

In this booth, a variety of topics occurs, such as sex, sexual dysfunctions, religious motivation and relationship issues, so the participant writing the above judges the girls who raised those concerns as being crazy and negatively position the readers towards the participants referred to. This *judgement* closely borders *affect*, since it can refer to the mental state of the participants, but as a result of the response being provoked by the topics the female brought up, it is not literally classified as *affect*, a state of emotion, but is a negative judgment directed at their writings and behaviors inherent in the writings.

In the male toilets, one interesting instance of *judgement* occurs where one participant judges crapping as animal, therefore negatively evaluating it; wiping as human thus neutrally evaluating the act of defecating; and the act of flushing he describes as divine, thus evaluating it positively. Evidence of graduation is inherent in this extract, since a gradual increase in evaluation occurs from “animal” to “human” to “divine”, the highest form of divinity which is received from God. This participant signals his identity as not only being a student, but being a UWC student by terming the Shitology module Shitology 111 which resembles the module structure used at

UWC. This academic discourse is therefore recontextualised and repurposed in the toilet graffiti. This evaluation can also be coded *appreciation*, since the participant depicts the modules of the university of the Western Cape, thus constructing the modules negatively as of no value/”crappy”. This naming of the “module” constructs the university as a participant negatively. Below is the discussed picture.



Male toilets D- (refer to Picture 25)

### 6.1.3 Tenacity

*Judgement of tenacity*, which is the evaluation of behaviors or the dependency of people’s behaviors, is not common in the female toilets and does not occur in the male toilets which are analysed in the first sample. Two instances of *judgement* occur in the female toilets. In one instance, one participant evaluates Jesus positively as “faithful”, so indicating a positive attitude towards the behaviors of Jesus, who is the Son of God.

### 6.2 Judgment of social sanction

*Judgements* relating to prior moral standards or whether someone’s (or people’s) behavior is regarded as truthful or ethical (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 131) are discussed below. Of the two *judgements of social sanction*, *judgments of propriety*, which are

based on ethics, are the most common in both male and female toilets in the first sample. *Judgements* made towards behavior in terms of its truth value (*judgment of veracity*) are made in one instance which occurs in female toilets.

### 6.2.1 Judgments of propriety

Females often indicate negative *attitudes* through their *judgements* of other peoples' behaviors in terms of ethics. These *judgements* are mostly made in terms of *morality*. Both the evaluated and the evaluator are usually negatively positioned through these models for the transgressive nature in these categories. Most evaluations in terms of *propriety* are aimed at sexual immorality or have sexual connotations. The following example, which occurred on multiple toilet walls in the female toilets, illustrate the above.

*Female toilets A*

JULLE MOET OPHOU KAK OP DIE DEURE

SKRYF!! IS JULLE DAN JAS HA !! [judgement, propriety, neg.]

WESTERN CAPE

⌋  
\*

Two instances occur in which a female participant negatively evaluates the writings of the other female participants as immoral. These writings consist of cultural, relationship, sexual and religious issues. In the above example, evidence of negative evaluation of propriety occurs. The word “JAS” means buck-wild and is slang for the Afrikaans word “jags”, which means sexually promiscuous or immoral. In this context the female negatively evaluates the other female participants as immoral for writing such “KAK” (shit) on the wall, thus positioning the readers to be dismissive towards the female being evaluated as well as to the evaluator for the transgressive language she is using.

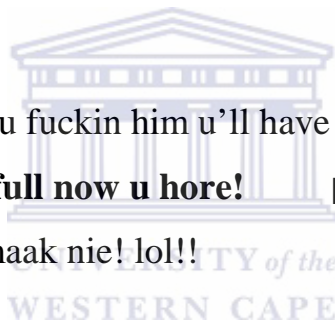
The other *judgements* made with regard to immorality are inherent in the greetings or ways of address used by the female, e.g. “tief”; which is equivalent to a female dog in

*Females toilets A.* The address “bitch” or “you bitches” is also common in the female toilets. This term is used to judge females negatively in terms of immorality, especially sexual immorality, since female dogs sleep around. The Xhosa alternative “SFEBE” (Female toilets C) is also used. In this instance, the inscription “bitch” is recontextualised in a different language in the same linguistic context. These explicit judgements position the reader negatively towards the female participants and cause the readers to be dismissive towards the actions of the particular female.

In one instance a female participant negatively evaluates the behavior of another female participant in terms of morality and simultaneously warns the woman about the dangers of sexual promiscuity.

*Female toilets A*

Lekke djy! So if u say u fuckin him u’ll have  
 Aids by now! **Be carefull now u hore!** [judgement, propriety, neg.]  
 Moet nou nie ‘n fout maak nie! lol!!



In the extract below, the participant expresses her concerns with regard to her sexual stance and evaluates negatively her boyfriend’s inability to understand that she want to abstain from sex, therefore negatively evaluating him as insensitive. This text causes the reader to be negatively positioned towards the boyfriend whilst it invokes sympathetic feelings from the reader towards the participant. As was discussed above, this text also resemiotised the discourse evident in agony-aunt genres.

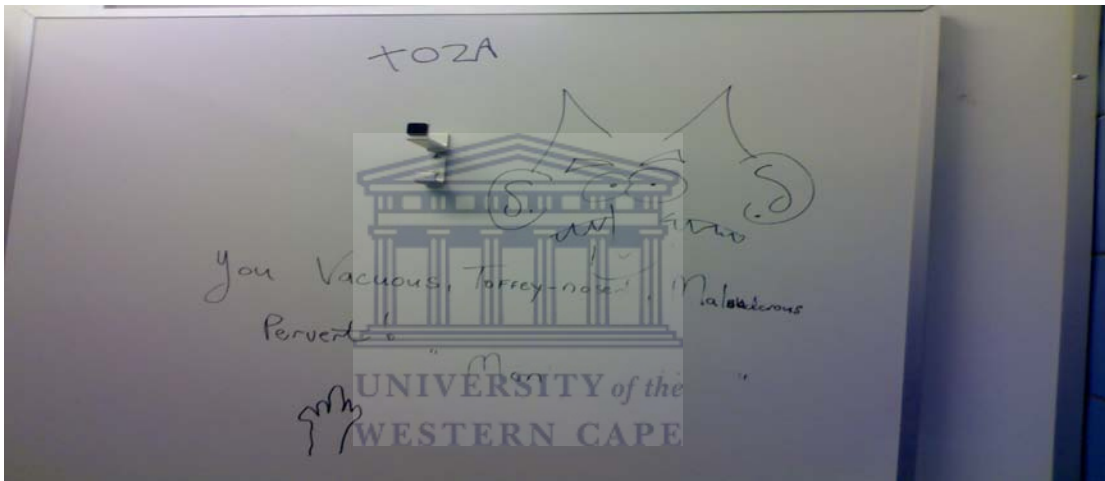
*Female toilets A*

help!!!  
 I’m 22 & I’m still virgin  
 & because of that My boyfriend & me r having  
 an issue, he wants to sleep with **me & does not** [judgement, propriety, neg.]



**understand** why I want to keep that way  
I don't wana break up with him, I love him  
please help me

In the male toilets, only one instance of *judgement of propriety* occurs in which one participant judges the other's behavior as immoral by calling him a "pervert" in "You Vacuous, ToFFey-nosed, Malderous Pervert!". This is accompanied by the picture which can be seen below.



Picture 24

In the above picture, both the picture and the hand serve as semiotic elements to re-create the written message, as well as the anger inherent in the written words. The drawing of the face re-enacts the person as "Vacuous, ToFFey-nosed" by making reference to the facial expression in the drawing. In the real positioning of the picture, the hand with the swearing sign re-enact the anger in the inscription. These pictures and the accompanying text are regarded as communicative stages of the "communicative event" because they were the only inscription on the wall (besides the inscription at top of the ideal positioning of the picture), thus eliminating other options.

Judgements of behaviors in terms of propriety sometimes occur, which is attributed to the colored people, e.g., “it could only be coloureds” *Male toilets A* (Picture 36) and “stop it u couloud Bitchez!! Plz” in the *Female toilet D* (Picture 6). These writings position the readers to be dismissive of the colored people since they are portrayed as being sexually promiscuous. Most evaluations in terms of propriety are aimed at sexual immorality or have sexual connotations attached to them.

### 6.2.2 Judgements of veracity

In terms of *judgements of veracity* or truth value, only two instances occur in the female toilets, whilst there are no instances found in the male toilet graffiti in the first sample.

In one instance, the female questions the truth value of the previous participant’s (“ma dear”) behavior in terms of her writings. She therefore doubts the truth value of the participant, thus negatively evaluating it. The second instance of judgement, relating to truth value, occurs in the form of positive attributes concerning Jesus, who is the Son of God, according to the Christian belief, which positively positions the readers towards Him.

#### *Female toilets A*

HiS LOVE 4 US AL. NO MATTER WHAT  
YOU'RE GOING THROUGH, THE IS

**FAITHFUL & true** & will see u  
through it all.

[judgement, veracity, pos.]

In terms of the evaluation of behavior, females tend to evaluate people in terms of their capacities and their morality, whereas the male participants more frequently evaluate people in terms of how special they are- “normality” in the first sample. The above finding suggests that the focus of evaluation in terms of genders differ in the graffiti they create. A summary of the total number of instances of judgements found in first sample is presented below.

M/F	Total Judgements	Judgements of social esteem			Judgements of social sanction		+	-
		normality	capacity	tenacity	veracity	propriety		
F	53	8	23	2	2	18	11	42
M	8	4	2	0	0	2	2	6
	<b>61</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>48</b>

(Instances of judgement in first sample)

## B. Sample two

With regard to the evaluation of behaviors in the second sample, mostly negative *judgements* are made because thirty instances of negative evaluation of behaviors are recorded in the data comparing with a mere eight instances of positive evaluation of behaviors. The inconsistency with regard to the sum of the total of negative plus positive instances of *judgements* is as the result of double *judgements* which occurred in a single utterance in some instances. Most *judgements* made in the second sample of the toilet graffiti are in respect to how capable people's behaviors are. Twenty six instances of *judgements* relating to *capacity* are documented in the sample. The second most visible form of judgement is *judgements* relating to *morality*, also referred to as *propriety*. Nine instances of *judgements* in the category of *propriety* occur. Only three instances of *judgements* relating to *veracity* or truth value occur, and only two instances of *judgement* relating to *normality* is found in the data. The *judgements* made in terms of *capacity* are very high in relation to the accounts of *judgements* found in the other categories. These findings suggest that the males in the data most often judged each other's characters and behaviors in terms of how capable they are, and mostly evaluate their capabilities negatively. This in turn constructs the evaluated participants as well as the evaluators negatively in the data analyzed.

Most of the *judgements* found in the second sample relate to racial issues (so drawing on their racial identities), political issues and issues surrounding the origins of different races. Discourse on rap is also found. This discourse on rap may have been spurred by the intertextual referencing of the current South African president, Jacob

Zuma, as JZ because of his initials. JZ is also the name of a renowned rapper. *Judgements* are discussed in terms of the racial discourse, political discourse, discourse on rap and religious discourse. Didactic *judgements* are discussed in the section entitled “Graffiti as Didactic”. Not all instances of *judgements* will be discussed in this section; only the most evident ones will be covered in the scope of this section. Many of the *judgements* found in the data are in response to existing writings on the toilet walls. Below is an example of *judgements* made in response to existing graffiti. These responses will be elaborated on below.

Part B: You kick knowledge, real tak. Right here! [judgement, veracity, pos]



Part A: BLACK/COLOURED NATIONS ARE CONSUMPTIVE NATIONS- LOOK AROUND AND ASK YOURSELF WHAT THEY MADE AROUND YOU. IF NOTHING START TO CHANGE THAT AND STOP WRITING TOILET WALLS INSTEAD OF CHANGING YOUR SITUATION

I'M NOT FIGHTING I'M JST SUGGESTING! [judgement, capacity, neg]




Part C: SEE WHO'S speaking NoT WRiTiNG WALLS [judgement, propriety, neg]

An active construction of the other occurs in the data, especially since the large amount of data focuses on racial origins and what it means to be a part of a certain race. In the extract above, Participant A constructs black and colored nations as nations who dissipate but who cannot create anything. These colored and black nations are constructed as unaccomplished and useless, who only write on toilet walls. In terms of their capabilities, the people belonging to these nations are consequently unproductive and unaccomplished. Participant A therefore negatively constructs these nations. Participant B responds to this writing and positively affirms the truth value of the views of participant B. Participant C does not state whether he agrees or not with Participant A, but responds to Participant A's writing by judging him on the basis that he judges the colored nations as being unproductive and only

writing on toilet walls, yet he is also guilty of the act of writing on toilet walls and of not being productive. Participant C therefore negatively evaluates Participant B's action on the level of moral reprimanding on the basis that he is guilty of the same actions of which he accuses colored and black nations, therefore he is not in a position to judge them. Participant C's response to Participant A's inscription positions the audience negatively towards Participant A.

Judgements relating to origin, race and political affiliation are rich in the data. Below are extracts from a discussion on one of the toilet walls in *Male toilets A* that contain judgements relating to the aforementioned categories. These extracts will form the basis of the discussion that follows. (Different participants have been assigned a letter for the convenience of referring to them).

- 
- A: Whites and coloureds [judgement, normality, pos\*]  
the superior races  
monkeys & Darkies [judgement, normality, neg\*]  
the inferior races
- B: you stupid punk!!! [judgement, capacity, neg]
- C: How stupid are you [judgement, capacity, neg]  
to think like this?
- D: Info info coloureds have no origin just mixture  
of somethingence the name coloured
- E: You Coloureds are stupids, [judgement, capacity, neg]  
How Can you associate yourself  
with someone who raped your Mother? [judgement, propriety, neg]

F: We are all made In the image of God

G: A bit rich seeing how your [judgement,capacity, neg]  
favourite leader, Zuma goes [judgement, propriety, neg]  
around raping women with HIV

H: Are all you kaffers this [judgement,capacity, neg]  
Stupid, or are you an exception?

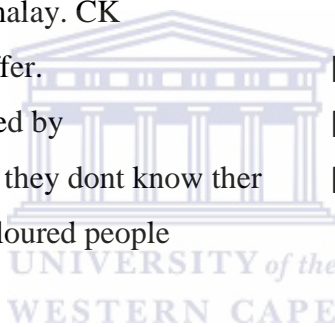
Go look up the word “origin” you [judgement,capacity, neg]  
dumbfuck, it means “the point where existence occurs”.

Thus coloureds “origin  
are from black/white/malay. CK  
go read some more kaffer. [judgement,capacity, neg]

I: Their mothers were raped by [judgement, propriety, neg]

Dutch people that why they dont know ther [judgement,capacity, neg]

Back growng that’s coloured people



Political affiliation is directly linked to race in the data analysed. As a result of the aforementioned characteristic of the data, questions as to what constitutes a certain race and the origins of especially the colored race are discussed in the data. This is largely because “colored” people identifying themselves with their white ancestors and disregarding their black heritage is evident in the data. This is noted in both the responses of the participants who are of black descendant and the responses from the “colored” participants themselves. The association of colored people with white people and dissociation with black people caused rage from the black people. This in turn led to an aggressive discussion on race, origin and political affiliation.

The discussion above seems to have started after participant A judges whites and coloreds as superior races, thus indicating that he has positive attitudes towards the colored and white races, so judging them as being of better-quality and more

powerful than the black nations. This is a relational *judgement* because, although coloured and white people are positively judged, black people are negatively evaluated. Black people are associated with monkeys, which are animals, consequently they are degraded with respect to the *judgement* made. The latter are regarded as inferior and of lower quality, and are reduced to the same class as animals. This is a negative *judgement* when considering black people. These *judgements* were made at the level of normality. This response, which is derogatory in its realisations and inherently, contains a ranking of nations, caused angry responses. Participant B responds with a negative evaluation of capacity, judging the person as being stupid for making a comment such as that. This utterance constructs participant A as an ignorant person who does not think. Participant C used a similar response as Participant B, only in a rhetorical question. The triple exclamation marks at the end of Participant B's response indicate the rage that he experiences as a result of the graffiti written by Participant A.

Angry discussions on origins of coloreds and historical events have therefore been the residue of the utterance performed by Participant A. Participant E responds to all coloreds and negatively evaluates them in terms of capacity, as being stupid and not able to think because they associate themselves with the very white people who raped their mothers. There are therefore two extra evaluations inherent in the response of Participant E. In addition to the *judgement* directed at colored people's thinking abilities as a whole, Participant E also judges the whites as having raped the mothers of colored people's mothers. This *judgement* is therefore a negative *judgement of morality* on the part of white people and positions them negatively. The fact that all white people have been judged as rapists indicates that Participant E's response is a direct response to Participant A's writing. Participant I has a similar response to Participant E; however, he is more specific in mentioning that colored people's mothers were raped by Dutch people (and not just white people, as is the case with Participant E), so constructing all Dutch people negatively as rapists. This *judgement* is a negative *judgement* at the level of *morality/ propriety*.

Participant D goes further and directly links race with political affiliation when he participates in this communicative event by judging Participant A as being stupid (negative *judgement of capacity*) for uttering that his favourite leader Zuma rapes women with HIV. Evidence of the negative *judgement* of capacity in terms of being stupid is in the phrase "A bit rich...". President Jacob Zuma is in turn also negatively judged and re-constructed as being a rapist, therefore not adhering to the moral codes of society. In this instance, Participant D assumes that Participant A has background knowledge of the fact that President Jacob Zuma was suspected of having raped an HIV-positive woman. This second *judgement* is therefore a negative *judgement of propriety*.

Participant H defines origin and on the basis of the definition that he provided and the response given by Participant D, who stated that coloreds have no origin and are "just a mixture of something and hence the name coloured". Participant H negatively constructs Participant D as a 'dumbfuck' (stupid), which is a negative *judgement of capacity* since he judges his ability to reason. Participant H, who has a very didactic approach to his negative *judgement*, does not only negatively judge Participant D but also provides him with the suggestion to go and read some more. There is a covert *judgement* inherent in this suggestion, indicating that Participant D does not have enough knowledge, which is a negative *judgement of capacity*. Participant H also uses the loaded term "Kaffer" to refer to Participant D. The word "Kaffer" is a racist term which is associated with the Apartheid years. This term was used as a derogatory term referring to black South Africans. It is sometimes used to refer to coloreds as well.

It is significant that after the intertextual referencing of President Jacob Zuma as JZ (refer to discussion on *affect*), discourse on rap occurred in the data. The three extracts given below all relate to rap music and will be discussed in terms of *judgements of capacity*.



*Male toilets A*

SLIM SHADY/EMINEM IS DA BEST RAPPER [judgement, capacity, pos]

Both B.I.G & Pac are the best emcees [judgement, capacity, pos]

In the examples above, the rappers have been positively evaluated in terms of their performance as rappers and emcees as the best. This is a positive evaluation of their abilities and the evaluators construct the rappers positively through their evaluation. An interesting evaluation in terms of the appraisal framework occurs where the evaluation can be positively or negatively interpreted, depending on the perspective from which the evaluation is viewed. In the following example, the person evaluated is buffed by using asterisks. The evaluation in terms of capacity can be positive if one views it from the perspective that second best is an achievement when considering the many good rappers in the industry. On the other hand, one can interpret the evaluation negatively by focusing on the fact that the person being evaluated is not the best rapper, consequently there is someone better than him. This in turn can be evaluated negatively in terms of *capacity*. The appraisal framework should therefore be re-examined to make room for these relational perspectives.

God has also proven to be a source for *judgement* in the data. As a response to a previous participant stating that God does not exist, one participant replies:

“I WRONG!

God does exist ...

he just doesn't give

a fuck!!”

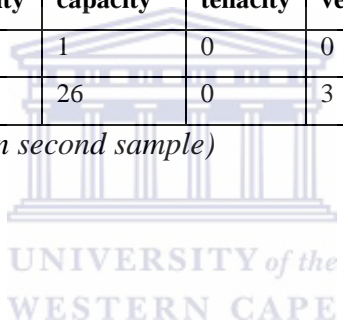
In the above extract, God is positioned as someone (a male - he) who does not care and does not do anything to alleviate problems. God is therefore constructed negatively and is judged on the level of propriety, since God is expected to care. This

*judgement* is closely related to *affect*, since God’s inability to feel for the people is also judging Him negatively as having a lack of *affect*.

The male toilet graffiti is rich in *judgements* made in the second sample. These *judgements* are mostly negative *judgements* which position the readers negatively towards the participants writing the inscriptions as well as towards the evaluated. In addition to the above, the race, culture, politics and music is the focus of *judgements* in the second sample. This shift in focus is significant in the men’s data. Below is a representation of the proportion of *judgements* made in sample two.

M/ F	Total Judgements	Judgements of social esteem			Judgements of social sanction		+	-
		normality	capacity	tenacity	veracity	propriety		
F	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
M	35	2	26	0	3	9	9	30

*(Instances of judgements in second sample)*



## CHAPTER 7

### Appreciation, an Evaluation of Things

#### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the third function of attitude, namely appreciation. In terms of appreciation, the chapter will show that males are more creative than females in evaluating things because they use multimodality for effect.

#### 7.1 Appreciation

In terms of presentation of the analysis, the data in the first sample is presented first (data in female toilets followed by data in male toilets), then followed by the analysis of appreciation in the second sample collected.

In the female toilets, evaluation of processes, life and love occur. In the extract which follows, the female participant evaluates Participant 1's dilemma positively in identifying the process of having twins as being a blessing. The participant who comments on the left side of the issue at stake, on the other hand, portrays the situation as negative and advises the person to run away. The latter's response invokes a negative *attitude* towards the situation, emphasized in the graduation marked by the progress in adverbs "away" and "far away". Female participants therefore sometimes evaluate the same processes or situations differently, which positions the readers differently.

#### *Female toilets D*

	<b>I am a 3<sup>rd</sup> yr student</b>	<i>TeLL HIM &amp; GET IT</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> RUN!	<b>and I am 19 yrs old. The problem</b>	<i>OVER WITH. HAVING TWINS</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> RUN AWAY!	<b>is that I'm pregnant with twins</b>	<i>IS A BLESSING, BESIDES YOU'RE</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> RUN FAR AWAY	<b>'4 months'. I am scared to tell my</b>	<i>GRADUATING NEXT YEAR. I'M</i>
	<b>boyfriend &amp; my parents what should</b>	<i>SURE YOUR PARENT WILL BE</i>
	<b>I do?? plz help!!!</b>	<i>A LITTLE UNDERSTANDING. TRY IT :-)</i>

Another evaluation of a process occurs in terms of its valuation, where a female evaluates the process of giving a man a blow job as “fun”, thus positively evaluating a sexual act which is still largely perceived as transgressive (refer to *Ladies C-Picture 8*).

Life is also evaluated. The participant who evaluates life portrays negative attitudes towards life in her valuation of life, thus positioning the readers negatively towards life. The extract discussed above is provided below.

*Female toilets A*

... <b>Life’s a bitch and then you die,</b>	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
<b>So fuck the world,</b>	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
And just get high!!!	

The above example also portrays invoked attitudes of *affect* towards life. The participant does not indicate that she has positive feelings towards life and the world. This example is an exception in the data, although negative evaluations of feelings, behaviors and things have been prominent in the toilets, especially the female toilets.

Love, which is an abstract feeling, is also evaluated positively in one female toilet in the first sample (refer to *Female toilets E*). The participant judges the love between her boyfriend and her as lasting and hard to find, which positions the readers positively towards their relationship.

An interesting account of appreciation occurs in the male toilet graffiti in the first sample collected, since it covers a range of areas - historical, political, economical, sexual, etc. The participant expresses negative attitudes toward some things that he does not value (Apartheid), race, capital, sex and homophobia), thus positioning the readers negatively towards them. The message is written in capital letters, which emphasize the message being put forward and also give the feeling to the message as

one that is being “shouted”. The fact that the participant includes sex in his negative evaluation of things is the exception, since a general positive stance towards sex, has been found in the data. The extract discussed is presented below.

*Male toilets C- refer to Picture 30*

DESTROY APART	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
DESTROY RACE	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
DESTROY CAPITAL	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
DESTROY SEX	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]
DESTROY HOMOPHOBIA	[appreciation, valuation, neg.]

In the second sample, the evaluation of things is not common. There are only four instances of *appreciation* in the second sample, all occurring in one male toilet. Three of the four instances of *appreciation* are negative valuations, where one instance of *appreciation* forms part the *reaction* category of *appreciation*.

In the first instance of valuation, the messages on the toilet walls is evaluated as “DUMB SHIT STUFF”, thus negatively evaluating the graffiti written, which positions the readers to become negatively aligned to these writings. Similarly, the private parts of one participant are valued as small. This inscription reads “SMALL DICK BOY”. “Small” as well as “boy” are used in the same inscription as insulting words to offend another participant. This evaluation of the boy and his private parts forms part of the valuation component of *appreciation* and is a negative evaluation which functions to provoke the person the inscription is directed towards.

The last instance of valuation occurs where one participant raises his opinion about colored nations and evaluates them as consumerist. This evaluation constructs the colored and black nations negatively and positions the reader to be dismissive of these nations for they only consume. Evaluation of an abstract thing is also evident in the second sample, where love is evaluated as the thing that hurts most. This is a

negative instance of *appreciation* which evokes sympathy from the reader towards the participant. There are instances of graduation inherent in this inscription which are realized in the comparison made. All the appreciation evident in the second sample is negative, which suggests that the male participants (the only evidence found was in male toilets) have a tendency to negatively evaluate things.

From the data analysed, the males portray interesting diverse manners in which they evaluate things. One of these is the evaluation of things through pictorial illustrations.

## 7.2 Pictures as evaluation

Messaris (1993: 277) asks the question whether visual communication should be thought of as entailing a language in the sense of arbitrary syntactic and semantic principles that the viewers need to acquire over time. He also noted that images are arbitrary (no intrinsic link between image and its meaning – it should therefore be learned like words) to what they represent, which is characteristic of language.

In the sense that pictures, like language can communicate meaning, I argue in this section that pictures can serve as evaluative resources. This section will draw on studies on resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003; Kress, 2003; Hengst & Prior, 2010), therefore looking at the shifting of meaning-making in terms of context, practice and stage of practice (Iedema, 2003: 41). The importance of resemiotisation in investigating how one semiotic mode can displace another, and why the specific semiotic modes are mobilized instead of others, are explored. Specifically I focus on how pictures can be used as evaluative resources which sometimes aid the written message but often act as dictatorial evaluative meaning-makers. According to Iedema (1997/1999/2009/2001) resemiotisation favors the social-processual logic governing how material meanings jointly transform one another. This process of resemiotisation is therefore not only about re-enacting but also about transforming discourse.

In especially male toilets, evaluation is not only made in terms of language, but aided multimodally. The data in the male toilets indicates how language and image work together (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Eggins & Iedema, 1997) in the process where various semiotics are exploited for making meaning (Iedema, 2003). This remarkable resemiotisation, or recontextualisation, is even visible in evaluative “discourses”. According to Iedema (2003: 11), “Multimodality ... is about recognizing that language is not at all the centre of all communication”. The picture below will serve as a referent for explaining how pictures can be analysed as part of the appraisal framework.



(Male D)

Evaluation exists in the picture above, documented in one of the male toilets, in which the participant drew a stickman who farts next to a picture of a voodoo and

wrote “stickman farts on voodoo!” (refer to Male D- Picture 26). The conversational flow of these inscriptions is from the 'new' to the 'given'. This is evident in the nature of the interaction. The illustration of the stickman farting on the voodoo indicates the negative attitudes of the participant towards the picture of the voodoo drawing in terms of its composition. Remediation occurs in this communicative event, since the inscription “poof” which is in the 'given' position is re-purposed and remediated in the 'new' positioning of the picture, since the meaning of the inscription has changed and is mediated by the 'new' context. In the 'new' positioning, the “poof” serves as negative evaluation of the picture drawn as well as the concept of the voodoo (appreciation), whereas in the 'new' positioning, the “poof” serves as a reference, since it indicates who the inscription is directed towards in addition to its evaluative function. This instance of evaluation can also be interpreted as negative *judgement* if the *judgement* is directed towards the message entailing the voodoo. The evaluation of the picture of the voodoo positions the reader negatively towards the picture itself as well as towards the message in the picture presented because of the mocking of the picture by Participant 2, who drew a stickman farting in response to the picture. This pictorial illustration supports Chalmers's view that “visual symbols convey ideas and express emotions, qualities, and feelings.” (Chalmers, 1981: 6).

In the first sample of data, the data in the female toilets indicates that females are more likely to evaluate things, but in the second, the instances of evaluation towards things are invisible in the female toilets but more visible in the male toilets. The data also indicates that males use hybrid, creative methods when evaluating things. Males make use of pictures, positioning, font, and color and include a lot of planning and humor in their evaluations. Although the use of colors (refer to Pictures 1-7) and emoticons is evident in female toilets, they are not as diverse and creative as the male participants (refer to Pictures 20-31, 38, 53, etc).



## **CHAPTER 8**

### **Exploring Identities in Toilet Graffiti**

#### **8.0 Introduction**

This chapter explores identity in terms of the construction/re-construction of social roles in toilet graffiti. In this regard, it will be shown that identities are expressed in relation to social, political and economical change. In addition, it is shown that the social roles of males and females are not unimpeachable, as the need for agency among females, for example, makes them reconstruct themselves as aggressive, independent and unencumbered by male dominion. Analysed in this way, it is argued that in terms of role structure (Eggins & Slade 1997; Banda 2005) the apparent "submissive demeanor" observed in female graffiti needs to be evaluated against the fact females are more likely to use taboo topics and "transgress" other social norms through their graffiti. In turn, it is shown that females are able to refigure social roles and usurp power from males without appearing to do so. As a case in point, one female is pregnant but does not share this knowledge with her boyfriend, thereby giving herself the power to decide the fate of the unborn child.

#### **8.1 The construction/deconstruction of roles in men's and women's toilet graffiti**

According to Eggins and Slade, "Clues to the different social roles can be found in the linguistic choices interactants make" (1997: 71). They also add that the patterned choices indicate the different roles played by participants as well as how these roles are constructed in society (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 72). An investigation of the linguistic choices of the participants is discussed with regard to how the discourse of the men and women in the toilet graffiti reflects and constructs social identities and social roles of the participants. Social roles are associated with norms. Roles are evaluated from a functionalist perspective (that is, the focus is on expectations from society), therefore roles will consist of behaviors informed by social norms. Society formulates expectations of what is and is not expected in these roles. The scope of this section will only concern gender roles and what is deemed "appropriate"

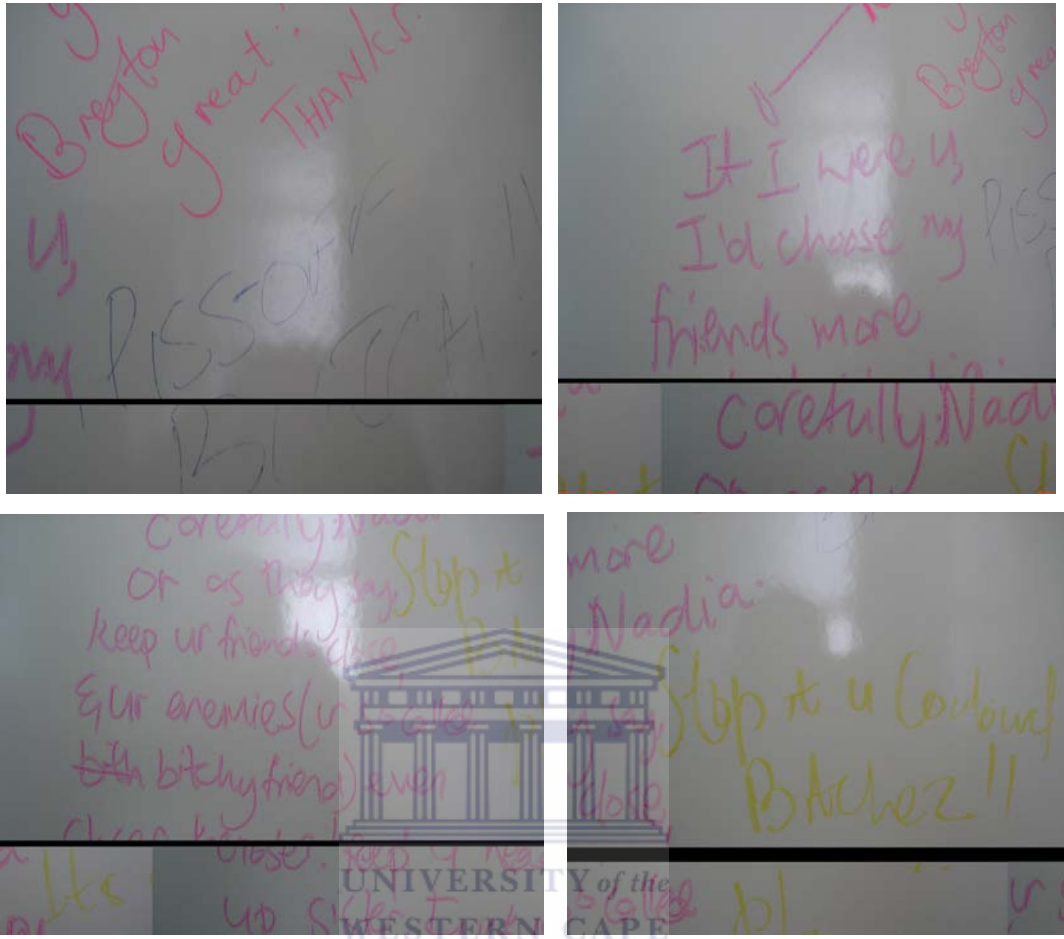
behaviors for males and females in conversation. These will be evaluated alongside some gender stereotypes and what is termed sex-appropriate behaviors (Dainton and Zelle, 2005: 78). This analysis serves two functions: firstly to indicate that females have agency in the ascribed societal roles outlined in the literature and do not merely conform to these roles but negotiate and refigure them. Secondly, this section does not function to argue against the fact that in some cultures language is gender-biased, but argues that there is a blurring of social roles and that gender is performed and not just ascribed as prescribed by society.

Gender discourse is discussed in terms of four sub-sections:

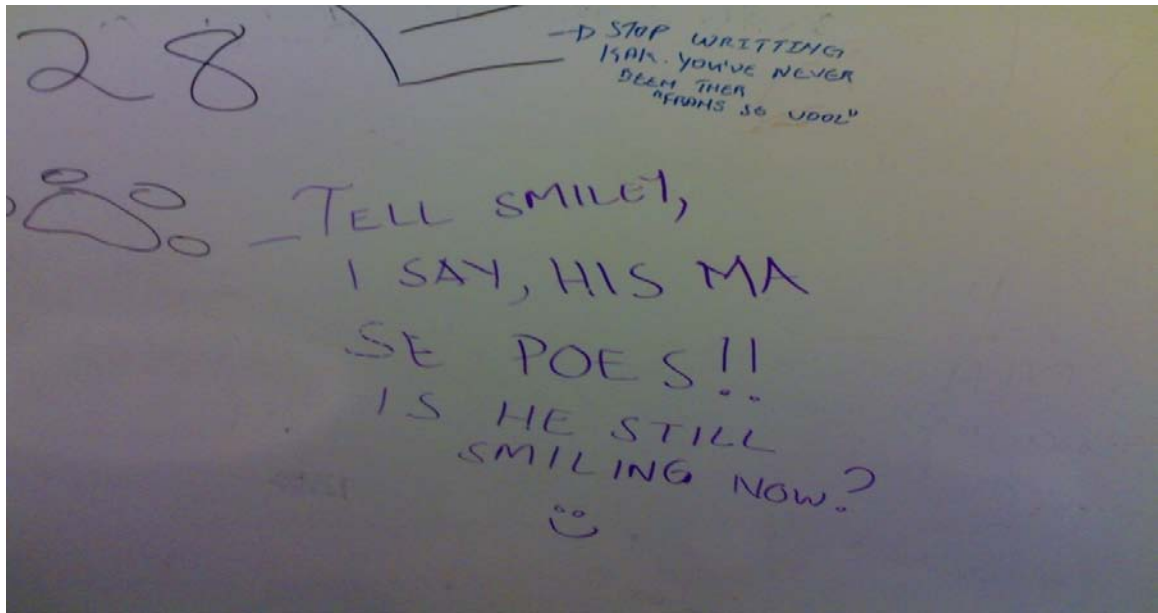
- (i) Differences between males and females in terms of aggression and interaction
- (ii) Discourse relating to sex
- (iii) Address used by female participants
- (iv) The refiguration and "blurring" of gender roles in the male and female graffiti

#### 8.1.1 Differences between males and females in terms of aggression and interaction

In the data analysed, females are more assertive, aggressive and forceful than the literature on gender discourse portrays (see Banda, 2005; Banda & Oketch, 2008; Green, 2002; Otto & Santana, 1996; Bates & Martin, 1980; Farr & Gordon, 1975 for similar findings), leading to reconstruction of social roles. The above is most evident in terms of the female's response to face-threatening acts and in response to sexual matters (refer to pictures 1-7). In the referred pictures, the female participants have an aggressive discussion which involves sexual relations between the different participants and one male. The male involved is dating one of the females. Aggressive discussions are common in the female toilets (refer also to *female toilets*). Below are some of the pictures for the above explained scenario.



Only one toilet (D) portrayed aggression in the male graffiti. One of these writings are gang-related (Picture 21 - as discussed earlier in *affect*), one in relation to another participant's writing, and the last instance was directed to the toilet users.



Picture 21

The findings indicate that females are less polite in their toilet graffiti than their male counterparts from what the research portrays (Banda, 2005; Banda & Oketch, 2008; Green, 2002; Otto & Santana, 1996; Bates & Martin, 1980; Farr & Gordon, 1975). In addition, the findings contradict the view that women communicate to maintain relationships and to bond (Tannen, 1991). If anything, the data, as was also seen in the previous chapters, suggests the opposite, since females readily express their independence of each other and the males.

In terms of interaction, females are more interactive in their toilet graffiti than males in the first sample of data. These findings correspond with the findings of Green (2002); Bates & Martin (1980); Farr & Gordon (1975); and Wales & Brewer (1976), among others. This is evident in the dialogical nature of some of the data in the female toilets as a result of the co-construction of text. The data in the male toilets largely consists of separate units indicating a monological structure. This finding supports the study of Green (2002), which found that graffiti from the female toilets is more interactive than graffiti found in the male toilets. In the second phase of data collection, however, males become more interactive in the toilet graffiti; they write

within the political, social and economic change. Discourse on race, culture and rap color the data in 2009. The function of communication in these interactions is both to inform as well as to just share interests. Tannen's view of men as communicating to inform or to get information is supported in the data, but the males also participated in "small talk", largely in respect of discourse on music. The intertextual reference to President Jacob Zuma spurs discourse on rap (refer to Male A). In the examples below, men communicate to build, maintain and restore relationships. This evidence is contrary to Tannen's (1991) views.

*Male toilets A*

\*\*\* IS SECOND BEST RAPPER

DO YOU AGREE?

SLIM SHADY/EMINEM IS DA BEST RAPPER

DO YOU AGREE?



On behalf of all SA CITIZENS Who  
WERER INVOLVED IN XHENOPHOBIA ATTACKS I

m Saying Sorry, please lets forget about it and  
focus on the bRiGHT SiDE- **yes lets make <3**

There is nothing hurt like love

All the examples above entail communicational purposes relating to "small talk" and rebuilding relationships, and are not written to exercise power or discuss facts. In addition, in terms of viewing language as "doing something", from a functional perspective the last extract constructs the male participants who would read the writing as understanding, as being willing to listen. These are usually attributes associated with "female talk". Evidence of a reconfiguration of roles therefore exists in the data. This is further elaborated on below.

### 8.1.2 Discourse relating to sex

According to (African) social conventions, women are not supposed to talk about sex. It is a taboo subject and so females break social convention when they openly express sexual matters (Banda, 2005: 225). The issue of sex is popular in the graffiti in the female toilets. This supports Greenberg's article that women write more about sex than men do (1979: 268). The discourse relating to sex by female participants is discussed in terms of the constructions of their relationships and female participants' inability to talk to their partners about certain sexual matters. Sex as a topic will also be discussed globally.

The extracts below were discussed earlier in the section on attitude but are used in this section as a reference for re-construction of social roles. In effect, what can be seen is the maintenance and refiguring of social roles resulting in negotiated identities and roles. The refiguring of social identities and roles is seen in the fact that female participants appear unable to express their feelings to their partners in terms of relationship issues and issues surrounding sex and pregnancy, yet are at the same time openly able to bare all their feelings to total strangers without restraint. This trend, which is prominent in the female data, supports Banda's notion that even though it might appear that a woman "is restrained from expressing her love or sexual feelings to a man, nor can she directly object to a man's advances or love proposal" (2005: 226), "a careful analysis of socio-cultural roles usually shows that the dominant role played by men is not unimpeachable ... [as] the ... social organisation is such that women have the right to challenge men's abusive use of power" (Banda & Oketch 2009: 169). The interaction below further elaborates this argument. The interactional flow is indicated by turns. In this extract, the female participant is apparently unable to communicate her feelings to her boyfriend with regard to not being ready for marriage, yet at the same time she is able to publicly break the news to all and sundry in the confines of the toilet.

*Female toilets E*

(Turn 2) Participant 2: Hey, iF he really loves you, he'll wait untill you're ready  
BUT This could also be the biggest mistake of your  
life by saying no,  
I mean you could loose the love of your life  
So the choice is yours.  
NB!!!Listen to your heart, gorl.

(Turn 3) Participant 1: THANKS!

(Turn 1) Participant 1: What up Bitches!  
Listen to this, I've been going out with  
my Bf for 4 years now he asked me to marry him  
but I don't think I'm ready yet, How do I tell him?  
The thing is, he is 10yrs older than me, i love him,  
but im not ready yet. I wana do a 2<sup>nd</sup>  
degree, and im not yet ready to becom  
Martha Steward, how do I tell him without  
breaking his heart?  
Please help.  
Confused.

The female participant in the extract below also appears unable to express her feelings towards the man she likes. She is in the position where she feels that the man should assume the role of telling her that he is in love with her before advances in the relationship takes place. So it might appear she is taking a submissive role with regard to the relationship between herself and the man. Yet the reality is that she is able to talk about her love for the man, which shows that she is not as submissive as she makes out to be. In fact she has taken the initiative away from her man in order

to tell the world (through toilet graffiti) about the relationship and the love she has for the man.

*Female toilets A*

hey! LADIES THERE'S This Guy  
we HAVE A CRUSH ON EACH other  
But untill) NOW he didnt tell ME  
that he's inLOVE with me.  
WHAT SHOULD I DO?  
Should I go and Tell him MYSELF  
Course, I CAN'T WAIT ANYLONGER!

Similarly, in the final example, the female is in a more powerful position as she has information which her boyfriend does not have, which is that she is pregnant. She could decide to terminate the pregnancy without the boyfriend knowing it. Consequently, even though it might appear that she is in a weak position owing to her inability to share the news of her pregnancy with her boyfriend, she is in fact in an enviable position to be able to make decisions about the pregnancy without the man. The argument is that even though both participants were involved in creating the baby, yet the female, in this case, is in a position to make decisions without her boyfriend.

*Female toilets E*

hey there need your help!!!  
Im pregnant with twins kind!  
Cant tell my boyfriend or my parents  
What should I do??

PLZ Help



In the reconstructions of female and male social roles, reflections of inequality exist but these are circumvented in the confines of the toilet. The above extracts, which are typical extracts in the data found, appear to indicate the submissive role females assume in relation to their heterosexual relationships and sexual issues in the construction of their relationships. Yet a careful perusal of the contexts and the fact that females are able to write about the relationships and other taboo topics freely suggest agency on their part. This can be said to give credence to Banda and Oketch's (2009: 169) assertion that "the bicameral structure of male-female social relationship in Africa ensures that power is not always a monopoly of men; each sex has the right to exercise it when necessary."

Consequently it is not surprising that sexual matters are mostly discussed bluntly by females. Female participants are not averse to using derogative terms (for example "naaied" (derogatory for sexual act), "sfebe", "bitch" and "whore"). Females are also more likely to talk graphically about sexual acts in the graffiti found than the male participants. This finding contradicts the myth that "all males like to talk about and think about is sex". The few instances where males referred to sexual matters are in terms of homosexual requests for "blow jobs". Females, however, discuss sex in terms of their promiscuity, in terms of their cheating capabilities as well as in terms of their general knowledge about sexual relations. The examples discussed below illustrate this point.

*Female toilets A*

My bf thinks I only  
slept with one person  
prior to him. I actually  
had 5 before him. The  
guild kills me!! Should I  
tell him

In the above extract, the female participant talks about her sexual “expertise”, which her boyfriend is unaware of. The extract below is also about a female who regularly has sex (with other men) although she has a boyfriend. In this text, the female constructs herself as sexually aggressive, a social role often associated with males, whilst she constructs her boyfriend as faithful and inexperienced in sexual matters. She uses the derogatory Afrikaans word “naai” to describe her sexual relations bluntly, which contradicts views that females are not direct in their talk about sex. There is a sense in which females in these extracts have re-constructed the social roles in such way that they are more dominant and have more power in the relationships than males.

*Female toilets C*

I naai permy, But I have a bf! His  
faithful plz help me!!!  
from: A.E.K.



*Female toilets C*

My sista naaid my  
bf wat shud I do?



I say Join them  
& make a threesem

The above is also an instance where a female participant constructs her sister as taking the initiative in sexual acts with her boyfriend. Not surprisingly, another female directly quips “Join them...” The blunt, derogatory term “naai” is yet again evident in the discourse of a female participant. The above also challenges the notion of women being less direct in conversation. Although phatic communication also exists in the sense of greetings and adjectives to denote a sense of state, most women are found to address issues directly.

In the context of toilet graffiti, no topic is beyond female participants as social roles are reconstructed so that it is normal for females to suggest a threesome to another female who has found out that her sister was cheating with her boyfriend. In essence, taboos are de-tabooed.

The fact that the women transcend the social conventions with regard to the topic of sex is an indication of women being active participants in their role construction and not mere subjects of social conventions. In particular, the data transcends the conception of women as passive in the initiation of sexual relations. This cultural and social transcendence is the result of females refiguring gender societal roles in terms of sexual matters.

#### 8.1.3 Address used by female participants

In terms of address used by female participants (e.g. “hey Bitches”), female participants diverge from the conventional notions of women as reserved. In addition, they have a tendency towards the unplanned, more informal variety of address, which contradicts the notion of female conversation being planned and careful (Lakoff, 1975; Wodak, 2002). Male participants on the other hand are more likely to tend towards the standard variety and indicate planning in their drawings.

There are *judgements* inherent in these transgressive forms of address used by women in the data. This term “Bitch” is often used to judge females negatively in terms of immorality, especially sexual immorality, since female dogs sleep around. These explicit *judgements* may position the reader negatively towards the female participants and cause the readers to be dismissive towards the actions of the particular female. However, it is also clear that these terms are more than mere expressions of profanities and negativity, as they have been resemiotised and re-purposed (Prior & Hengst, 2010) as expressions of power and social solidarity among female participants.

A move from social norms and a social action, theoretical perspective towards an integrationist perspective, which views roles as not prescribed or fixed but as constantly negotiated, should be taken in studying gender roles. This chapter has indicated that the societally ascribed roles of the women; or rather the stereotypes of how women should act, have been contested in the data analysed. This chapter indicated that a refiguration and "blurring" of gender roles in men's and women's toilet graffiti occurs.

Considering the context in which the taboo language options occur, its prominence and acceptability in the toilet environment; one has to reconsider calling these varieties transgressive forms. In addition to providing an additional, flexible avenue for expression, evaluation and identity construction; these varieties are also used to increase the graduation in evaluation and to change the category in evaluation. It is therefore vital to conduct further research in the field of "transgressive" literacies, most importantly to investigate and re-address taboo language and its stance as transgressive literacies in toilet graffiti.

## CHAPTER 9

### Graffiti as Discourse Practice

#### 9.0 Introduction

Considering the discussion thus far, and the manner in which graffiti is presented and evaluated, there might be scope to consider graffiti as a genre. Mindful of the fact that a need exists for further research, the rest of this chapter explores the possibility of graffiti as genre, as conversation and as didactic.

#### 9.1 Genres of transgression- toilet graffiti as a genre

It could be argued that toilet graffiti does not only form part of transgressive semiotics, but should also be recognised as a genre. Martin defines genre as “a staged, goal-orientated, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture” (Martin, 1984: 25). Eggins (2004) describes genre as “cultural purpose” of texts, thus social activity types in culture (Eggins, 2004: 54-56). The discussion in the other chapters shows that toilet graffiti is not only a social activity but is also staged. This is elaborated on below.

From the introduction of this section one can infer that genre consists of communicational stages in which the purpose of the genre is realized. These stages refer to the organization of the text and are also known as the schematic structure of the text (Eggins, 2004: 59). The generic structure in toilet graffiti does not follow the structure of conventional genres which are characterized by linear stages that are coherent in structure. Toilet graffiti has multidimensional reading paths and is multimodal, since it often consists of both verbal and non-verbal text. In these multidimensional stages, a participant can add graffiti at any stage, often creating a different stage, in any direction, offering multiple reading paths. Each token which is added can be regarded as an additional stage or an elaboration of an existing stage. These additions are largely dependent on the availability of space and can be added at any point in the interaction. Although the structure of toilet graffiti does not follow

the linear progression as in other genres, it is, however, staged in the sense that the graffiti does not occur in the same textual space but has different paths in which the interaction flows, thus having multidimensional flow. Toilet graffiti should be recognised as a genre, regardless of its lack of linear coherence.

Toilet graffiti can also be said to be a recognisable, purposeful activity which is goal-orientated. As is the case with other genres toilet graffiti have a set of communicative purposes. If toilet graffiti is regarded as a recognizable event, users will recognize it as such and respond to it as a purposeful event. From the above, the most salient communicative purpose of the toilet walls where graffiti is created is to provide audiences with safe spaces for writing graffiti and expressing ideas which are often frowned upon in society, as will be illustrated later, since the content of the graffiti often contains taboo topics to a considerable extent. Kaschula and Antonissen (1995) refer to taboos as “words that may not be uttered and to topics that may not publicly be discussed” (Kaschula & Antonissen, 1995: 24). These taboo words, topics as well as practices, are forbidden in communities, owing to moral, religious, cultural and social norms which are transgressed. One of the most salient functions of the toilet environment is therefore to create a home for these taboo topics to be discussed and practised openly through graffiti, as will be shown by the nature of data discussed in the analyses.

The above section argues that toilet graffiti should be recognised as a genre, regardless of the fact that toilet graffiti does not have a linear generic structure in terms of its communicational stages but has a multidimensional flow, unlike other genres. In addition, toilet graffiti can also be said to be a recognizable communicative event in the sense proposed by Bhatia (1993), so that its users will recognise it as such and respond to it as a communicative event.

The community of users of genres often exploits the allowable contributions in the specific genres which usually occur in the form of “borrowing” from other genres

(e.g. ‘Agony- Aunt’ genres). This borrowing results in multiple purposes and reference points, which in turn results in the “blurring” of genres, which in turn create sub-genres (see ‘Agony-Aunt’ genres in affect; political discourse in affect and judgement, didactic communication, etc). The resemiotisation of genres usually occurs in this process. Clearly there is need for further research on this topic.

## 9.2 Graffiti as conversation

Graffiti is sometimes considered as dialogical. Dialogical writings are written or related to dialogue<sup>1</sup>. According to Koller & Whiting (2007) the first study to realize the similarities between spoken language and graffiti is by Bruner and Kelso (1987: 240-241), who describe toilet graffiti in their study as a “silent conversation among anonymous partners” (Koller & Whiting, 2007: 12). Graffiti as conversation is evaluated by taking Omoniyi’s (2000) notion of co- presence into consideration when discussing the global as well as the local structure of the graffiti found in male and female toilets at UWC. According to Omoniyi (2000: 6), the participants in the discourse of graffiti lack co-presence. This forms the basis of the argument presented. This section will also indicate that in “conversation”, graffiti looks staged (Martin, 1984 & Eggins, 2004) in many instances.

The global structure of some of the interactions in the female toilets portrays an opening (e.g. greeting), body (issue at stake) and closing format (usually a question, request, or signature), which are characteristic of the generic, staged structure of casual conversation. Below is an illustration of this.

### *Female toilets A*

e.g. Hi Ladies!	[greeting]
I am 19....	
(statement of the problem)	[issue at stake]
Wat should a girl do we she think she found da one.	[question]
I need help pls!?!?!	[request]

---

<sup>1</sup> ([www.thefreedictionary.com/Dialogical](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Dialogical))

A dialogical structure of communication prominent in some of the tokens in the female toilets for prototypical (original) language usage occurs, which is manifested in several participants' responses. This supports Bruner and Kelso's (1980) findings. The interactional nature of the conversations also reveals inferential consequences. Elements specific to dialogical structure such as communicative goals and contextual interpretation is also evident in the language used by females in the toilet graffiti. Participants use key words such as "need help" to indicate that they need information or "listen up girls" to indicate that they want to provide information.

Turn-taking is also evident in the data in the female toilets. Turn-taking refers to the communication behavior "of alternating messages from one person to the other"<sup>1</sup>. Turn-taking occurs in instances such as the one presented below.

*Female toilets E*

....

Part. A: Sounds like ur talking 4m EXPERIENCE

Part. B: nothing comes from experience but "brains" ma dear.

Part. A: U should focus on ur studies 2 rather than focusing on giving advice on other people's problems then in tht way u can explore ur brains by feeding it with notes from ur textbook then ma dear

Part. B: What about you? You sound too god to be true!!...

The above extract is an example of an aggressive, written interaction between two females in a toilet, where one female comments on the other's response, which prompts a range of replies from both participants. In most cases, participants only have one turn, but in some instances in the female toilets participants have several turns, as the above example illustrated. This interaction is characteristic of a dialogue between two participants.

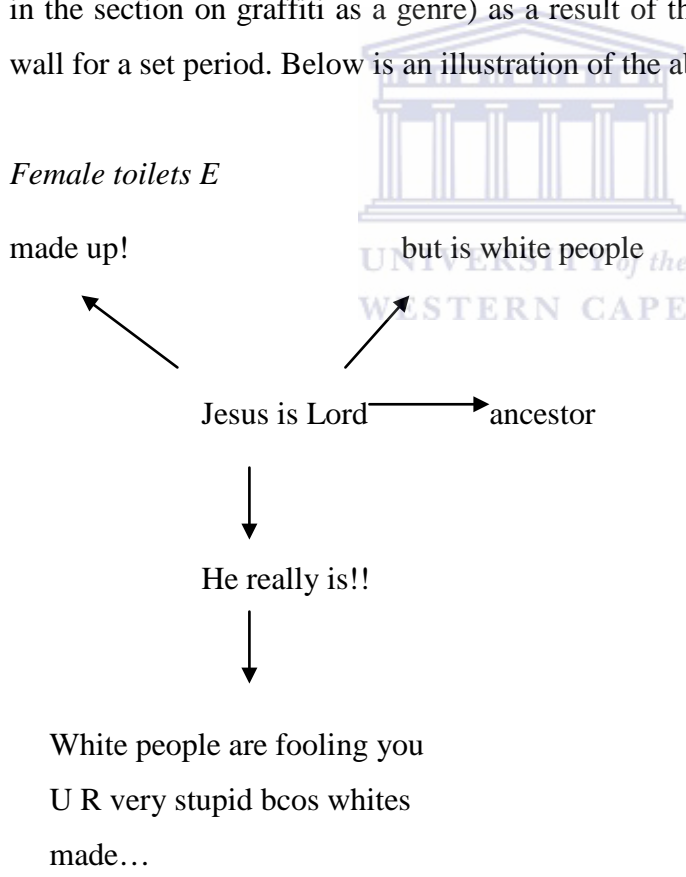
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<sup>1</sup> (<http://usm.maine.edu/com/714con.html>).



Turn-taking in the graffiti and turn-taking in casual conversation, however, differs. This difference causes fallacies in regarding graffiti as conversation. In the discussion above, Participants A and B were not together when they formulated the discussion. This lack of co-construction causes Participant A's response to be delayed. The above is problematic when considering graffiti as conversation, since conversational turns are instantaneous; no delays in messages occur, so the notion of graffiti as communication is not applicable.

Turn-taking rules are also not always evident in the graffiti found. Several times the dialogical flow is not linear but multidimensional (discussed more comprehensively in the section on graffiti as a genre) as a result of the message being confined to the wall for a set period. Below is an illustration of the above.



The fixed nature of the conversations on the toilet walls spurred replies to any stage of the conversational chain at any time, which opens communication to several

participants, at any point or stage in the conversational exchange which differs from casual conversation, since casual conversation is not fixed in time or space. This discussion will therefore realize the commonalities between some aspects of the graffiti found in the toilets and conversation, but will refrain from identifying graffiti as dialogical.

Greeting and the expression of thanks for advice given are also evident in the graffiti found in the female toilets, constituting politeness strategies. The participant initiating the conversation and selecting the topic of conversation in the data in most cases starts with a greeting, but the respondents rarely reply with a greeting. They address the issue at stake directly, thus not adhering to the maxim of manner. Some female participants also return to the toilets and express thanks to their fellow female participants after receiving a response to their queries (refer to *Female toilets E*).

Instances such as the text referred to above often mimic the patient-psychologist relationship in counseling settings. One female responds in her textual comment by writing that the females are mad: “we are not DR. Phils”. The participant references the famous celebrity psychologist in this extract.

The use of exclamation marks as well as of emotions, which are popular in the graffiti used in female toilets, provide an indication of the moods in the conversation used. According to Eggins and Slade (1997: 89), exclamatives are typically used to evaluate an event or to encode a *judgement*, thus providing feedback. In addition, in terms of the local structure of some of the graffiti found, a question-answer format exists in some cases (some questions are rhetorical - refer to *Female toilets E*) e.g.

*Female toilets A*

A: “Should I tell him?”

B: “Are you mad. Hell no...Keep it to yourself and this loo!!!”

In one instance, self-completion exists where a girl asks for advice and responds to her own query, “Girls I have a crush [crush] on this no! never mind anyway I’ve got it under control!!!”. The asking of questions is popular in the graffiti found in female toilets as opposed to what is found in male toilets. “Woman is known to ask a lot of questions” (Banda, 2005: 224). The above justifies the interactive nature of the graffiti found in female toilets. Some question marks are also used to indicate that the reader does not comprehend what the writer is saying; this functions to clear misunderstandings. Take note that the interactive nature of the second sample of the data in the male toilets is not ascribed to questions being asked which provoke responses. The interactive nature of the male data is largely in response to existing data, in which the males respond to express *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* in a negative manner towards the topics discussed.

Reaffirmation of data, which is characteristic of conversation, is also found in the data in female toilets, as the extract below illustrates.

*Female toilets A*

Part 1: ....We have a crush on each other

Part 2: Since the beginning of the first semester? (Year)

In most cases, however, a dialogical structure is not evident in the toilet graffiti found. Random replies to some information are given, but mostly in terms of comments and threats. The fact that the graffiti in male toilets to a large extent, and female toilets to some extent, consists of random, isolated writings indicates a monological nature of many tokens of graffiti. The above serves as justification of the fact that graffiti is not co-produced and does not require interaction from other participants.

The above discussion illustrates that certain discursive structures common to casual conversation is inherent in graffiti. Other studies also support these findings (Koller

and Whiting, 2007: 19). However, the lack of co-presence as well as the anonymity inherent in graffiti causes one to question the extent to which graffiti can be seen as conversation (Koller & Whiting, 2007: 12). Koller and Whiting, on the other hand, raise the point of graffiti in university toilets being influenced by social connections between the writers from which some data parallels conversational interactions such as feedback responses, etc. (2007: 12). As is indicated in the above discussion, social connections do exist between some participants; however, owing to the fact that the discourse is not co-produced, the response is delayed. As a result of the issue of co-presence, graffiti will be referred to as "mediated discourse" (Scollon 1998: 28) in this thesis.

### 9.3 Graffiti as didactic

In some instances, the graffiti found is didactic. Didactic communication is communication with the intent to instruct, teach or moralize excessively<sup>1</sup>. Different levels of didactic graffiti are found in the data. On one level, instruction is in the form of grammatical instruction.

#### *Female toilets A*

Part. A: ...we have a crush on each other But untill now he didn't tell me that  
he's inlove with me.

Part. B: spelling [referring to the spelling of until which is indicated by a vector]

Comments with regard to grammatical errors are often targeted at participants' level of intelligence, e.g.

#### *Female toilets C- Pic. 10*

Part A.: ...Love from some-one...

Part B.: YOU CAN'T EVEN SPELL GET OUT OF UNI!

---

<sup>1</sup> (<http://www.answers.com/didactic&r=67>)

Instructions are also eminent in the graffiti found in female toilets, where participants enquire about a certain action or provide feedback on how to perform the action. Below is an example in which a female participant enquires about how to “frisk” her boyfriend. The response she receives is in the form of a step-by-step instruction on how to perform the action. The above is similar to an instruction manual, so characteristics from the manual as a genre are recontextualised in the toilet graffiti in this token.

*Female toilets C - Picture 9.*

Part. C: My bf wants me to “frisk” him on mxit but I have no idea how.  
Help!!!

Part. D: Say what you’re thinking when you guys “you know”!! Those kinky ideas...Explain them slowly...in detail...should get him “heated”!!

One type of instruction is common in male toilets, which present itself as directions on how to obtain a blow job (refer to *Male toilets A – Picture 32, 34, 35 and 36*). The occurrence of the above example is called “tea-room trade graffiti” which is graffiti that functions to arrange sexual contact with another toilet user (Gonos et al, 1976:43). The occurrence of the above can be ascribed to the male toilets being, to a larger extent, sites of sexual practices such as masturbation (Koller & Whiting, 2007: 11). This finding by Koller and Whiting (2007) also pertains to the data collected for this sample. This is evident in the homosexual requests in the male toilets.

Moral instruction has the same trend in both male and female toilets, since it occurs as an invitation for people to accept Jesus into their lives to obtain a beneficial life. There is, however, no moral instruction relating to other religions except Christianity in the graffiti found in both male and female toilets.

Another common example of moral instruction is in relation to the types of messages that people write on the walls. This type of moral instruction, known in the area of

appraisal as judgment of propriety, is evident in female toilets in the form of reprimanding students about the transgressive nature of the content of their messages. An example of this form of reprimanding occurs below, where Participant 3 reprimands Participants 1 and 2 for writing vulgar content in an educational institute which is morally didactic.

*Female toilets D- Picture 7*

(derogatory conversation, in which Participant 1 discusses having sexual relations with Participant 2's boyfriend)

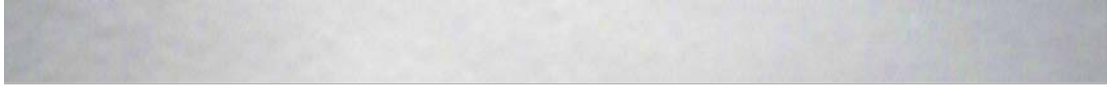
Part. 3: ....it's universt...

Elements such as reaffirmation and the use of question marks, which are also characteristic of didactic conversation, are evident in both male and female toilets. These elements have been discussed in the section on graffiti as conversation.

The instructive-didactic graffiti is only found in female toilets, whilst the instructing as well as moralistic didactic graffiti are evident in both male and female toilets. One form of instructive-didactic graffiti, which has to do with the code, is discussed in the following section.

### 9.3.1 Didactic reprimanding of the code

This section serves to indicate that Mxit (an instant messaging application) language is recognized as a code by investigating didactic reprimanding. Didactic reprimanding is only restricted to the language styles which are closely related to the standard use of English, in terms of vocabulary and writing style. One instance of didactic reprimanding occurs where Mxit language is evaluated from the standard rules of English language, which in turn opens the floor for reprimanding on the basis of the Mxit varieties' own standards. This leads one to conclude that Mxit language is recognised as a code. The following discussion concerns the interaction depicted below. The interactional flow is from the bottom up.



→ First of all it's mnt  
language. How about helping  
... ..

Part 3

First Language  
her th  
spelling  
out  
our english  
UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

Part 2

N/B!!  
Advice needed...  
BF wants to have  
sex alda time and  
we always arguing abt it.  
Very few people know da  
we are sexually active.  
So it's hard to slow I tell  
people y I'm acting the way  
I do or the real reason y w  
... .. Bcz of this a  
unnecessary

Part 1



Above is a conversation in which one participant asks advice about the sexual stance in her relationship. The reply that the participant receives has nothing to do with the content of the message; it is, however, a didactic reprimand based on Participant 1's incorrect style of writing (the use of abbreviated forms e.g. "alda" for "all the" and "Bcz" for "because") from a prescriptive stance. Participant 3 in turn therefore responds to the reply of Participant 1, stating that it's "mxit language" and that the participant should rather assist Participant 1 than scold her for "incorrect" language use. Participant 3 negatively judges Participant 2 in terms of her social reasoning.

Mxit is an instant messaging application which is popular amongst the youth. Characteristics of the Mxit writing style are that the variety used is often abbreviated, e.g. lol (laugh out loud); shortened words occur in this code, where vowels are excluded in some cases, e.g. bcz (because); single digits become words, e.g. 8 (ate); digits are combined with words gr8 (great), etc. The response that the language used by Participant 1 is "mxit language" is significant because the variety used for mxiting is recognised by the participants as a code (system of signs which is rule-governed), therefore didactic reprimanding is not viable from Participant 2. The response of Participant 3, as well as the fact that all the didactic reprimanding (except the one which is judged and referred to above) indicates that Mxit is a code in its own right. The Mxit code, which has its own system of signs governed by their rules, is therefore a recognizable recontextualised code used in the toilet graffiti.



## CHAPTER 10

### Conclusion

This thesis indicates the usefulness of appraisal theory in investigating the interpersonal meanings of participants in toilet graffiti. In particular, the focus of the thesis has been on the attitudes males and females portray in the toilet graffiti they write. Graffiti is investigated as a discourse; therefore a comprehensive understanding of how the participants depict themselves in terms of their attitudes, roles and identity construction inherent in the graffiti is analysed.

In terms of the attitudinal analyses, females are more likely to express their emotional evaluation than the male participants. Most of the data in the female toilets appears to involve emotions of insecurity, which on a closer analysis are often expressions of agency. These emotions of insecurity are mainly with regard to relationship issues. Emotions concerned with happiness are also well documented in the data of the female participants. Male participants are not prone to expressing their feelings or ascribing feelings to others in the toilet graffiti. The few instances which are evident, mostly occurring in the second sample (with the change in the political and social environment) of the data fall into the *happiness/ unhappiness* category of *affect*.

In terms of the evaluation of behavior, females tend to evaluate people in terms of their *capabilities* and their morality, whereas the male participants more often evaluate people in terms of how special they are - "*normality*". The above finding suggests that the focus of evaluation in terms of genders differ in the graffiti they create.

Things are largely negatively evaluated in terms of the content of the messages presented in both the male and female toilets. This type of appreciative evaluation is called *valuation* (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 128).

Although a few commonalities exist in the data found in the male and female toilets, the data differs largely in terms of structure and content of the graffiti. In the first sample, female toilets have graffiti which are more comprehensive than the male toilets, since only some instances of writing were found in the latter. In the second sample, the tokens in the male toilets increased considerably as a result of the social and political changes (prior to the election of South Africa's new president and amidst the xenophobic attacks), whereas the tokens in the female toilets stayed fairly stable. This change in the social and political environment gave rise to discourse around race, origin, politics and music (as a result of terming South Africa's current president, President Jacob Zuma, "JZ", which is also the name of a well-known rapper).

Instances of multilingual discourse are evident in the data. This was largely to signal roles in terms of culture or to increase the emotive content of the writing. This paper has indicated that it is not only the choice of language (variety) that is used to negotiate identities, but also the linguistic choices within that variety which are used to construct, reconstruct and negotiate identities.

Females reconstruct themselves as aggressive, independent and unencumbered by male domination, thus showing that the social roles of males and females are not unimpeachable. In terms of role structure, the apparently meek demeanor seen in female graffiti should be revisited against the fact that they "transgress" social norms and make an increasing reference to taboo topics and taboo acts compared with male participants. In addition, female participants have a tendency towards the unplanned, more informal variety (e.g. in their ways of greeting), which contradicts the notion of female conversation being planned and careful (Lakoff, 1975; Wodak, 2002). This data therefore indicates that women indicate deliberate attempt to liberate themselves from preconceived gender roles. A refiguration of social roles therefore occurs in the graffiti analysed, resulting in renegotiated social identities and social roles.

Mindful of the fact that a need exists for further research on the matter, this paper argues that graffiti should be recognised as a genre, regardless of the lack of linear stages in many instances. In terms of the interaction occurring in the graffiti analysed, instances of dialogical discourse are evident in the female toilets in which participants' turns exceed two turns. The above is ascribed to the fact that some of the data in the female toilets contains elements that requested a response from the readers, thus being interactive. Females are also more interactive in their toilet graffiti than males. However, an increase in male graffiti writing occurred in the second sample (2009), with the social and political changes in South Africa increasing the interaction as well as the constructions of male participants in their graffiti analysed. Male participants were not as reluctant to reply to their co-participants' writings in the initial sample. With regard to considering graffiti as "conversation", this paper concludes that toilet graffiti is mediated discourse but not conversation per se, because graffiti is co-constructed by the participants and the response to the messages is delayed. Therefore there was deviation from casual conversation regardless of the staged nature of some of the interactions found in the data analysed. The few instances where males replied to their co-participants were in response to threats or spiritual messages in the first sample. The second sample is rich in replies as a result of the heated political, racial and cultural discourse present. Didactic communication is also evident in both male and female toilets, although the female toilets' didactic nature was more extensive in number and type.

The toilet proved to be an important means of communication for the students. It also served as a platform for giving and receiving advice and provided the students with a platform to express themselves without the restraints by social roles and norms. As a result, the toilet offers an additional, albeit confined space for free expression, especially for those disempowered by social roles and norms, for de-tabooing taboos as well as making acceptable usage of language and forms considered transgressive. Therefore, considering that the toilet walls are not entirely dissimilar to 'Agony-

Aunt' and other genres and newspaper columns, for example, perhaps it is time to revisit categorizing toilet graffiti as being part of transgressive literature.



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9. Appendix

First sample

*Female toilets A*

Hi ladies!

I'm a 19 year old

bt I think I'm inlove wif my

bst bra <Afrikaans slang for "friend">

We hang together n do alot

Of stuff...

We have kissed one before an

at that time he was involved

wif another girl

Wat should a girl do we she  
think she found do one.

I need help pls!!!

What a dumb (buffed)



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

Girls I have a cruch on this

Guy here on campus and...

no! never mind anyway

I've got it under control!!!

HEY BITCHES,  
ITS A BOY HERE  
PIPPING OVER THE WALL.

hey! LADIES THERE'S This Guy *since the Beginning of the*  
? (we HAVE A CRUSH ON EACH other) *semester? (Year).*

But untill) NOW he didnt tell ME

that he's inLOVE with me.

Spelling WHAT SHOULD I DO? Don't tell him!!

Should I go and Tell him MYSELF Wait a while longer

Course, I CAN'T WAIT ANYLONGER! :-)

hey there need your help!!!  
Im pregnant with twins kind!  
Cant tell my boyfriend or my parents  
What should I do???  
PLZ Help

Tell them

My bf thinks I only slept with one person prior to him. I actually had 5 before him. The guild kills me!! Should I tell him

Shud tell JANE

ARE YOU MAD  
HELL NO...KEEP  
it to yourself & this  
Loo!!.

Other side

Lulu ☺

Hey guys. I met a guy and dated him 4 days and told me that udindiswe. <picture of flower> And he was confronted wot dat We still love each other bt we cant be 2gether Im so stressed ☺ ANONYMUS

Sex, drugs, Rock 'n Roll  
Speed, weed, Birth Control.  
Life's a bitch and then you die,  
So fuck the world,  
And just get high!!!

R U JARS

I know!, he has aids my dear...  
ha!ha!ha!



Other side

And u suck u tief

Roses ARE red u  
Violents ARE blue  
You are a idiot

for reading while you poo!!!

U suck  
u tief

tief

Lekke djy! So if u say u fuckin him u'll have  
Aids by now! Be carefull now u hore!  
Moet nou nie 'n fout maak nie! lol!!  
ha ha ha u dumb shit for BITCh!  
Keep ur legs closed  
STUPID GIRL/ BITCH/ Whore/ Slut.

1<sup>st</sup> RUN!  
2<sup>nd</sup> RUN AWAY!  
3<sup>rd</sup> RUN FAR AWAY

I aam a 3<sup>rd</sup> yr student  
and I am 19 yrs old. The problem  
is that I'm pregnant with twins  
'4 months'. I am scared to tell my  
boyfriend & my parents what should  
I do?? plz help!!!

TeLL HIM & GET IT  
OVER WITH. HAVING TWINS  
IS A BLESSING, BESIDES YOU'RE  
GRADUATING NEXT YEAR. I'M  
SURE YOUR PARENT WILL BE  
A LITTLE UNDERSTANDING. TRY IT :-)

LAksmi  
LIZZY  
Tracey  
Krish → ☹  
@

please help I have a bf but  
I still feel sum

Stop talking crep

HELP  
WHAT DO YOU DO  
WHEN UR 20 and  
UR STILL A VIRGIN?

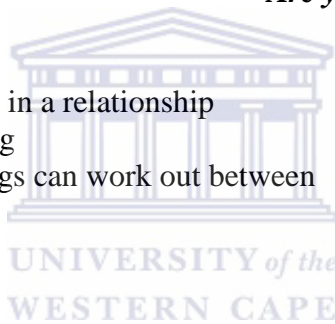
↓  
**you remain as  
a virgin until you get  
married**

↓  
But EVERYBoDy LAUGHN  
AT ME IF I TELL THEM  
I'm still one, they say I'M  
a Kloosterkoek.

*Then tell no one  
Are you Stupid!!*

Help plz  
I met this guy RD while I was in a relationship  
with ... I couldn't help thinking  
about RD . Do you think things can work out between  
me and RD? We...

afraid that I might lose him...  
my fear so I can luv hm



U R @ university level  
stop acting like kids,  
this...

↑  
mfuck

You all mad  
we are not Dr Phils  
You Bitches

↑  
U R THE B!?!?

Hai guys I think my clitorus does not work  
b'cos I dod'n feel aroused during sex  
I love it although I have..  
abdibatiwa...  
But i like sex 4 have 2 kids  
from scratch I did not feel happy  
during sex b'cos of this  
problem.  
Help me what must I do

JULLE MOET OPHOU KAK OP DIE DEURE

SKRYF!! IS JULLE DAN JAS HA !!

!!  
\*  
}

Hey gals  
PLEASE stop Being so fokken stupid  
GEE die man 'n stukkie as hy wil he!!  
Stop complaining  
Julle word oud!!

Hi Ladies!!!  
Sitting n reading thus made me  
thought how much u Al need the  
LORD JESUS CHRIST. If there's 1 thing  
You can B certain of in this life its  
HiS LOVE 4 US AL. NO MATTER WHAT  
YOU'RE GOING THROUGH, THE IS  
FAITHFUL & true & will see u  
through it all. HE LOVES YOU  
unconditionally, so much that He  
died 4 u, n dnt let anyone  
tell you otherwise. U r beautiful  
u special in sight, no matter  
what. Love you ALL!!

I  
4  
BADBOY  
4  
LIFE

You girls are  
CRAZY you make  
me

HASE!

help!!!  
I'm 22 & I'm still virgin  
& because of that My boyfriend & me r having  
an issue, he wants to sleep with me & does not  
understand why I want to keep that way  
I don't wana break up with him, I love him  
please help me

11/04/07

Keep ur virginity &  
find sum1 that  
will respect  
ur decision

JULLE MOET OPHOU OP DIE DEURE SKRYF!

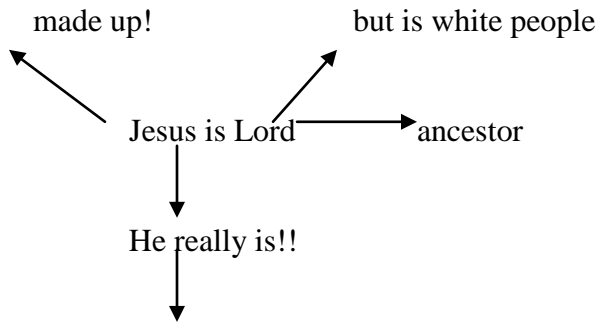
IS JULLE DAN JAS HA !!

!!  
\*  
}

I PAY TO  
FUCK  
MAN OR  
GIRLS  
021.....  
NL:  
4  
AL:.....

I LOOK 2 FUCK A  
BIG FAT GIRL  
I LIKE TO FUCK FAT GIRL S  
THEY ROCK MY WORLD  
THEY ARE THE BEST  
FUCKS IN TOWN  
HOW ABOUT YOU?  
\*naked picture- refer to picture  
15\*

<BUFFING>



White people are fooling you  
 U R very stupid bcos whites  
 made...

Not All Whites

ARE

DOOSE

DOOS



Hey you girls

can you plz

stop the

way you.

White  
People

*Female C*

Need help

Hi. I'm 23yrs I've been dating my boyfriend U  
 SYPS now lest yr. Den I met my ex we slept without  
 a condom so I got pregnant. The thing is I haven't  
 told my boyfriend abt my pregnancy & Dnt ment 2 hurt  
 him he is doing ell he can 2 <buffing> heppy help.  
 what can I do cos I don't hav a future with ...

W.

My sista naiad my  
 bf wat shud I do?

**I say Join them  
 & make a threesem.**

There is no better friend  
than Jesus coz he is  
always there, he cares and  
luvs you despite of who  
u are. He is there to lift  
you up when you fall so  
plz people do me a favour  
tell him all that troubles you.  
Yes he never promised a troubleless  
lyf but one thing for sure he promises  
to be there for you to help you  
through, those difficult times.  
When friend walk away and  
turn away some day he  
stood right by my syde amsure  
he'll do the same with you.

If it makes u  
uncomfortable don't  
do it..  
My bf wants me to "frisk" him  
on mxit but I have no idea how  
Help!!!.. No idea.

Say what??  
Say what  
you're thinking  
when you guys  
"you know"!!  
Those kinky ideas...  
Explain them slowly...  
in detail...  
Should get him  
"heated"!!

Wise words "girl" you remind me  
of Solomon, one of the wisest people  
in the Bible.  
God blss you love  
Hope to see you in heaven one day when  
Jesus come back again



### *Female toilets E*

She'll get over it!  
good for you

My best friend is  
angry at me because  
a guy she liked,  
asked  
me out

1 if my galz z pregnant  
& she doesnt know wo Do father  
z. we tried talkin 2 her  
but.....? She now hates  
all of us.  
her 3ur bf s a foreigner  
and she z sayin tha baby  
iz his thought the bf was  
out of Da country @ Dat tym  
and she had many bf's and  
she was sleeping wot dem.

BUT

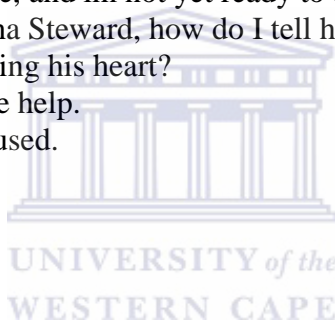
Hey, iF he really loves you, he'll wait untill you're ready  
This could also be the biggest mistake of your  
life by saying no,  
I mean you could loose the love of your life  
So the choice is yours.

NB!!! Listen to your heart, gorl.

THANKS!

What up Bitches!

Listen to this, I've been going out with  
my Bf for 4 years now he asked me to marry him  
but I don't think I'm ready yet, How do I tell him?  
The thing is, he is 10yrs older than me, i love him,  
but im not ready yet. I wana do a 2<sup>nd</sup>  
degree, and im not yet ready to becom  
Martha Steward, how do I tell him without  
breaking his heart?  
Please help.  
Confused.



I am inlove  
I'm going out with my bf  
for 4 years and im  
still inlove  
Thats hard to find!!  
Right gals?



Grlz: U need 2 stop taking 4 guys 2 waste time and who knows what "perfect guy" u miss coz ure with sum loser who cant appreciate u 4 who & what u are? The heutz on things I least expect it. Mr. Right will appear!  
Miss Thang! \*

SEEBE.

U die South an idiot n ready

Why dont u focus on ur studies and stay away from peoples business



There is nothing more important to ladies than man. Ladies you must stop being restricted to men. When evry you go u'll find that the toilets wall are written. If u can e that u having problems with ur boyfriend, why can't u stay single. U never came with a man on this earth, but with the help of a man's sperm which ocaured on ur mother's womb. Leave bf's alone and focus on ur studies u didn't find the solution of why u fail dis much bf u busy with bf solutions. Dnt stress abt a man who does not stress abt u. If he really loves you, he will come back. I'm not saying force him to do so. I've been dating a man, 4 2 years now, last year, he hang out with anotha girl in my community then he tell me.

FEEDom 2 US GILZ  
MEANS being Free from the slavery of MEN So dont stress about them the dont worth ur freedom

Point of correction, "it killed" not kills Big mamma  
curiosity kills the cat. Big mamma

nothing comes from experience but "brains" ma dear.

U should focus on ur studies 2 rather than focusing on giving advice on other people's problems  
thEn in tht way u can explore ur fEEDing it with notes from ur textbook then ma dear

What about you?  
You sound too good to be true!!  
for the fact that you also respond you are just the same!

U GO GIRL. SHE'S JUDGING HER.

DON'T mislead your miss gud tissues!

No th, not bez of tht th simply bez U can't find any guy, or they are all interested in U at all "girl power"!

You sound "BITCHY"  
You right... Because I e  
Get new I  
sound bitchy  
Get a luf  
bitch!

**Male B**

The best thing you  
can do as a young  
man is to accept the  
Lord Jesus Christ as your  
personal saviour and  
your life will never be the  
same eternally  
I was here drunk last  
year in a besh but now  
a'm heppily saving the Lord  
4u a'so this is possible  
with his grace

**Second Sample**

**Male A**

DICKS ONLY  
\*stickman with penis\*  
GENTS  
PAGE 1



YOU GUYS ARE ALL DOM8  
WRITING ON TOILET WALL

Look who's talking!

Want a bj?  
2pm  
2day  
24-03-09

Buffing

Dumb slut, copying da same  
Wrong spelling of "Dum"

IF YOU  
SO ENGLISH,  
THEN 'DA'  
'IS'  
DIPSHIT"!

EK NAI NET VET  
GIRLS  
HIL POESE IS TIGHT  
VOEL NES VIRGINS  
WANT HULLE KRY  
MIN NAIE  
\*PICTURE OF NAKED  
LADY\*

DUM SHIT  
READING DUMB  
SHIT STUFF

M2U00339

\*\*\* IS SECOND BEST RAPPER  
DO YOU AGREE?

SLIM SHADY/EMINEM IS DA BEST  
RAPPER  
DO YOU AGREE?

SMALL DICK  
BOY

Fuck U ASSHOLE

Piss with the Door Open

THIS IS YOUR  
WEATHER BUSTER

Invite #####  
guys only



YEAR 2008  
MXIT \*number buffed\*  
Bi Guy str8 acting  
OR CALL ME 073  
2000538  
FOR LEKKE FUMS

BUSTA

4  
A Blow  
Job

ANY GIRLS THAT LIKES [SAV/M?E SEX AND LEKKE LOVE]  
FUCKING CONTACT ENDING @ 0722840725

NICO OR 0219544648  
I PAY R500

June/July  
2009

NO  
FUCK  
ALL  
SOUTH AFRICANS  
4  
XHENOPHOBIA.

PLACED @ 19/03/2008

If we all love one another the world  
can be a better place TS

On behalf of all SA CITIZENS Who  
WERER INVOLVED IN XHENOPHOBIA ATTACKS I  
m Saying Sorry, please lets forget about it and  
focus on the bRiGHT SiDE- **yes lets make <3**

“ZUMA is like MuGabe if we  
face the reality we see what will  
be  
South Africa in next 15 years”

YES

ZUMA WILL NOT ONLY  
RAPE THIS COUNTRY...  
BUT  
TAKE COLD SHOWERS  
AFTER  
THAT...! COPE

“J.Z we will not tolerate education in this  
time. After we try to develop so much.”

There is nothing hurt like love

DON'T EVEN SAY ANYTHING  
ABOUT POLITICS  
IF POLITICALLY UNCICUMSISED.

J. Z 4 PRESIDENT  
A U  
C M  
O A  
B

The people who like  
in \*\*\* Africa must forget  
about the past  
and talking to blacks  
because those  
bastards \* want to hell



I can not forget \*\*\*\*

Take ur medicine

ZUMA you are such a  
charmer who just charm South African  
even the Guys in particular

I HATE  
JZ ONLY  
DOM KAFFIRS  
VOTE FOR  
HIM

[WWW.UWC.PSYCO.COM](http://WWW.UWC.PSYCO.COM)

ZUMA is our Preident  
NOW nothing we can do  
will change that ...HOWEVER  
LET'S HOPE HE  
Doesn't Embarres  
South Africa Over-sea  
WITH his standard  
And Vocabulary, ("")  
Signed RaVE N

Everyday homosexual people got dis\*\*\*

Male, BI. MEET ME HERE  
On tHe 21<sup>st</sup> APRIL 2009, 4  
SEX  
YOU CAN STICK IT  
ANYWHERE  
NB: AT 13:30

Y  
GRAVE  
R  
D

It's easier to emphasise  
difference  
than to affirm sameness  
to call someone a stranger  
than to call him a brother  
to put yourself down than to  
examine your reasons for saying  
so  
Aluta Continua  
Viva Azania Viva

everyday homosexual people get discriminae



Hey you idiot if Lucifer exists  
then so do Jesus  
\*\*\*es Jesus' supremacy

Fuck Jesus  
PRaise Lucifer  
cuz god dosent exist

Where did u learn 2 spell?

Have u tried to  
ask Him for help?  
If u \*\*\*

WRONG!  
God does exist ...  
he just doesn't give  
a fuck!!

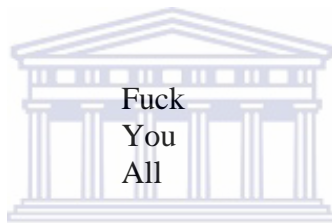
True dat

God \*\*\*  
that \*\*\*  
give a fuck  
he is just pre\*  
with all the shit  
going down in the  
world today

SATAN  
GOD DOES NOT EXIST  
God is SOLELY THE  
ABSCENCE  
OF SATAN  
SATAN IS ABSENCE OF  
GOD  
AS  
THE LIGHT IS THE AB  
OF DARKNES  
ITS UP TO YOU TO  
DECIDE

BE CAREFUL WHAT YOU SAY  
GOD DO EXIST, READ JOHN 3:16  
HE LOVED ME AND YOU SO MUCH THAT, HE  
SEND HIS SON TO DIE FOR OUR  
TRANSGRESSIONS

FOLLOW YOUR FAITH



UNIVERSITY of the Y H M  
WEST F U C K M E L I K E Y O U H A T E M E - S E E T H E R

You kick knowledge, real tak. Right here!

THEY  
BLACK/COLOURED NATIONS ARE CONSUMPTIVE NATIONS- LOOK AROUND AND ASK YOURSELF WHAT ^MADE AROUND YOU  
IF NOTHING START TO CHANGE THAT AND STOP WRITING TOILET WALLS INSTEAD OF CHANGING YOUR SITUATION  
I'M NOT FIGHTING I'M JST SUGGESTING!

Fuck  
Me  
Now!!

SEE WHO'S speaking NoT WRiTING WALLS

WANTO FUCK – CALL 021  
95####

?

*SENAS*

10-41 (MU47)

WHO WAS THE BEST  
NOTORIOUS B.I.G OR TUPAC?

Both B.I.G & Pac are the best emcees

AMARU MOTHER FUCKER!



MXiT 0838704132

oR CALL ME 073200538

COLOURED GUY BI sexual

Str8 acting year

2008

-

2011

want a decent blow job?

0\*buffing\*

sms

WHATS A COLOURED?

[Wanurmail@yahoo.com](mailto:Wanurmail@yahoo.com)

A Cockfun!

**Fuck ALL U!!!**

you stupid punk!!!

How stupid are you to think like this?

Whites and coloureds the superior races monkeys & Darkies the inferior races

We are all made In the image of God

Info info coloureds have no origin just mixture of something hence the name coloured

You Coloureds are stupid, How Can you associate yourself with someone who raped your Mother? JOU

A bit rich seeing how your favourite leader, Zuma goes around raping women with HIV and "wa

Are all you kaffers this Stupid, or are you an exception? Go look up the word "origin" you dumbfuck, it means "the point where existence occurs". Thus coloureds "origin are from black/white/malay. CK go read some more k

**Fuck all you fuckin hot\*\*\***



**Fuck coloureds!  
U are all stupid except**

Fuck you "coloureds" & your fucken !

mother

Their mothers were raped by Ducth people that why they dont know ther Back growng that's coloured people

SToP discriminate each other!!!

The Crucifix, a graven image, made by mans' hands. This is the God of Hitler This is deity if Verwoerd and any blackman Is cozy to think that the Messiah would be born from white people, such brutes, saveges. I mean that people have enloved They have enslaved, designed bombs, built (?) to separate brother against brother and u think God is white Use your mind, Agro, those are Devils, Everything u call upon "Jesus" u are actually summoning "the Devil."



Why are you guys so stubborn?  
I mean you don't even know your background  
because your mother was raped by the whites that's  
why you think you are better than us

You Jou Hansie Cronje

Jacob zuma is 'n naier  
and will fuck up our  
country the BLACK POES  
that he is



Duck a dick until  
sumthin its you dumn bitch.

u mess with a black man,  
u mess with the whole world, keep  
that in mind little rabbit!!!



## Analyses of Attitudes

### Sample 1

#### A. Affect

- the categories below were estimated by considering the contexts (which is not included) of the phrases.
- F stands for female
- M stands for male

Female's toilets:

3 kinds of affect

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	3 kinds of affect							
			Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg
F-A	Does <b>not feel aroused</b>	-affect as process						*		*
	I love it	-affect as process	*						*	
	But I like sex	-affect as process <sup>1</sup>					*		*	
	I did <b>not feel happy during sex</b>	-affect as process		*						*
	He (Jesus) <b>loves</b> you	-affect as process (affective behavioural/mental?)	*						*	

<sup>1</sup> not valuation because participant refers to feeling he has and not evaluation of sex

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg
	Love you all	-affect as process (affective mental)	*						*	
	I love him	-affect as process (affective mental)	*						*	
	I am scared	Scared -affect affect as quality (describing part.)				*				*
	Afraid that I might loose him	-affect affect as quality (describing part.)				*				*
	We still love each other	-affect affect as a process (mental)	*						*	
	I'm so stressed	-affect as a quality (attribute to part.)				*				*
	I'm inlove with my best bra	-affect as a process (mental)	*						*	

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg
	I have a <b>crush</b> on this guy on campus	Affect as process-mental	*						*	
	We have a <b>crush</b> on each other	Affect as process-mental, Crush-	*						*	
	“Life’s a bitch and then you die so fuck the world..and just get high”,	Affect as process (affective mental) (antipathy)						*		*
	“the guild kills me!!	feelings of remorse		*						*
	ha! ha! ha!	Affect as a process-mental/behavioural	*							*
	Didn’t tell me that he’s inlove with me	Uncertainty Affect as process-mental				*				*
	Love life generation	Affect as quality					*		*	
	Who cant appreciate you (can be dissatisfaction also)	Affect as comment		*						*

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In- *	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg
	Don't stress about a man	affect as a process/mental implicit <sup>2</sup>				*				*
	Who don't stress about you	affect as a process/mental /attribute				*				*
	If he really loves you - referring to her uncertainty	affect as a process- affectal mental/behavioural				* -			*	
	So don't stress (She is currently perceived as stressed)	Affect as quality				*				*
F E	My best friend is <b>angry</b> at me	- affect as a quality		*						*
	she now <b>hates</b> all of us	- affect as a process/mental		*						*
	Hey if he really loves you (indication of uncertainty of part. 1)	Affect as quality				*				*
	<b>Please help. confused</b>	-affect as quality				*				*

<sup>2</sup> the fact that she is saying that means that she sense that the sender (part. 1) feels that way

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	Neg
	<b>Don't think im ready yet</b>	-affect as quality				*				*
	But im <b>not ready yet</b>	affect as quality				*				*
	And I'm <b>not yet ready to</b> become Martha Steward	-affect as quality				*				*
	<b>I am inlove</b>	-Affect as mental/quality	*						*	
	and I'm <b>still inlove</b>	-Affect as mental/quality	*						*	
F C	He(Jesus) <b>Cares</b>	-affect as a process	*						*	
	And (Jesus) <b>luvs you</b>	-affect as a process	*						*	
F C	If it makes you uncomfortable (internal referencing)	affect as quality implicit (for realization that she is uncomfortable not direct)				*				*
	But I'm too <b>freaked out</b> by the idea	affect as quality				*				*

<b>Pic loc.</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Affect</b>	<b>Happy-ness</b>	<b>Un-</b>	<b>Secu-rity</b>	<b>In-</b>	<b>Satis-faction</b>	<b>Dis-</b>	<b>pos</b>	<b>Neg</b>
	And he <b>still</b> loves me	affect as process	*						*	
	<b>Love</b> from someone	affect as process-mental	*						*	

Male toilets:

3 kinds of affect

<b>Pic loc.</b>	<b>Phrase</b>	<b>Affect</b>	<b>Happy-ness</b>	<b>Un-</b>	<b>Secu-rity</b>	<b>In-</b>	<b>Satis-faction</b>	<b>Dis-</b>	<b>pos</b>	<b>Neg</b>
M B	But now a'm <b>happily</b> saving the Lord	(can also be argued as goal) affect as quality	*						*	
M D	Tell Smiley I say his ma se P (Indication of rage)	Affect as process-mental.		*						*
	To flush devine (can also be valuation)	Affect as process-mental	*						*	

## B Judgement

loc	Phrase	Social esteem			social sanction		Pos	Neg
		normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	propriety		
F A	Is julle <b>jas</b> ha?					*		*
	Hey gals. Please stop Being so fokken <b>stupid</b>		*					*
	You girls are <b>crazy</b>	*						*
	He is <b>faithful</b>			*			*	
	and <b>true</b>				*		*	
	You are <b>beautifull</b>	*					*	
	U <b>special</b> in sight	*					*	
	You are <b>very stupid</b>		*					*
	I'm sure your parents will be a little <b>understanding</b>			*			*	
	They say I'm a <b>kloosterkoek</b> (slow/behind in terms of experience-sexual)- neg. in context.					*		*
	Are you <b>stupid</b>		*					*



Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
	Stop acting like kids (Covert/ implicit for childish/ immature)		*					*
	You all <b>mad</b> we not Dr phils		*					*
	You <b>Bitches</b>					*		*
	You are the Bitch.					*		*
	Not all whites are <b>doose</b> doos		*					*
	<b>Doos</b>		*					*
	And (he) <b>does not understand</b> (Not understanding /insensitive)					*		*
	Stop talking <b>crep</b> (irrelevant rude things)					*		*
	Be carefull now u <b>hore!</b>					*		*
	{[u <b>dumb shit</b> ]		*					*
	[ for a <b>bitch</b> ]					*		*
	<b>Stupid</b> girl		*					*
	<b>Bitch</b>					*		*
	<b>Whore</b>					*		*
	<b>Slut</b>					*		*
	And u <b>suck</b>	*						*
	U <b>tief</b> (bitch)					*		*
	U are a <b>idiot</b>		*					*

Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
	<b>tief</b> (bitch)					*		*
	What a <b>dumb...</b>		*					*
	Hey <b>bitches</b>					*		*
	Hey <b>ladies</b>					*	*	
F B	coz ure with some loser (Judging her behavior as foolish)		*					*
	You are such an <b>idiot</b> ma dear		*					*
	You sound too good to be true (Questioning her propriety although using veracy marker)				*	*		*
	For the fact that you also respond you are just the same (idiot)		*					*
	You sound " <b>bitchy</b> " (Refers to her ability to be mean)					*		*
	Get a lyf <b>bitch</b> (Judging her as not important, just like a dog)	* can also be capacity						*
F E	What up <b>Bitches!</b> (just a greeting or a judgement)					*		*

Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
FC	is jou brein “geblok” (is your brain “blocked”)		*					*
	there is no better friend than Jesus	*					*	
	<b>Wise</b> words girl,		*				*	
	you remind me of Solomon,one of the <b>wisest</b> people in the bible		*				*	
	Yus are all just <b>kak stupid!</b>		*					*
	<b>Versin</b> (stupid)		*					*
	You don’t deserve him (undeserving)	*						*
	You can’t even spell get out of uni! (Judges her on her spelling capabilities)		*					*
	Go back to primary <u>school</u> (Judging her on her writing)		*					*
FD	Whoever wrote this is a <b>stupid naai</b>		*					*
	& a <b>jintoe.</b>	*						*

Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
	It was <b>kak good</b> (In context she refers to quality of sex with someone else's boyfriend)		*				*	
	...your bf ... <b>fucks great!</b> thanks		*				*	

Male toilets:

Social esteem

social sanction

Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacity	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
M A	(it could only be coloueds) <b>faggods</b> ---Judging the males' bj requests					*		*
	Nb space for self judgements?							
M B								
M E	<b>Poesy</b> Derogatory refer to him as female		*					*
	Gintoe		*					*
M C								
M D	Stop writing <b>kak</b>	*						*
	To crap is <b>animal</b>	*						*

Loc	Phrase	normalty	capacity	tenacity	veracity	propriety	Pos	Neg
	To wipe <b>human</b>	*					*	
	To flush <b>devine</b>	*					*	
MD	You <b>vacuous,</b> <b>toffey-nosed,</b> <b>malderous pervert!</b> (Judging behaviour as inappropriate)					*		*

### C Appreciation

Loc	M	F	Phrase	Reaction		Composition		Valua -tion	+	-
				Imp.	Qual.	Bal.	Compl			
A		*	Having twins is a blessing					*	*	
			<b>Life's a bitch</b> and then you die (affect when referring to feeling but appreciation when evaluating life)					*		*
			<b>So fuck the world</b> and just get high!!! (attitude in reference to feelings and appreciation in evaluating the world)					*		*
			I think my clitoris does not work???		*					*
E		*	I am inlove. I am going out with my bf for 4 years and im still inlove. <b>That's hard to find!!!</b> Right gals?	*					*	

Loc	M	F	Phrase	Reaction		Composition		Valua -tion	+	-
				imp.	Qual.	Bal.	Compl			
C		*	“It’s nogals <b>fun</b> to do it” [bj] (Could also be reaction quality)					*	*	
		*	But I’m too freaked out by the idea	*						*
		*	I gave my bf a Bj once and told him that it was the nastiest thing I ever did!							
		*	“go back to school”		*					*
D	*		Stickman farts on voodoo!					*		*
C	*		“Destroy apart..., destroy race, destroy capital, destroy sex, destroy homophobia’					*	*	



## Analyses of Attitudes

### Sample 2

#### A. Affect

- the categories below were estimated by considering the contexts (which is not included) of the phrases.
- F stands for female
- M stands for male

Female toilets:

3 kinds of affect

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	3 kinds of affect								
			Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg	
	IF YOU SO ENGLISH THEN "DA" "IS"DIPSHIT"!	DIPSHIT		*							*
	Fuck U ASSHOLE-			*							*
	NO FUCK ALL SOUTH AFRICANS 4 XHENOPHOBI A.	Implicit anger		*							*
	I'm Saying Sorry, please lets forget about it (xenophobic attacks)	Feeling of remorse- implicit token of affect)		*							*

Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	neg
	Fuck U ASSHOLE			*						*
	“J.Z we will not tolerate education in this time. After we try to develop so much.”	Indications of dissatisfaction and protest against it						*		*
	ZUMA is our Predident NOW nothing we can do will change that	Feelings of despair and despondency		*						*
	I can not forget ****					*				*
	I HATE JZ-	Hate- Ustrong emotion of dislike		*						*
	Fuck You All			*						*
	Fuck ALL U!!!			*						*
	Fuck all you fuckin hot***			*						*
	Fuck coloureds!			*						*
	Fuck you “coloureds” & your fucken ! Mother			*						*



Pic loc.	Phrase	Affect	Happy -ness	Un -	Secu -rity	In-	Satis- faction	Dis -	pos	Neg
	God does exist ... he just doesn't give a fuck!!			*						*
	Fuck all you fuckin hot***			*						*

## B Judgement

Social esteem
social sanction

Loc	Phrase	Normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	Propriety	Pos	Neg
M A	You guys are all dumb		*					*
	Look who's talking!					*		*
M A	IF YOU SO ENGLISH THEN "DA" "IS" DIPSHIT"!		*					*
	DUM SHIT		*					*
M A	Dumb shit		*					*
M A	*** IS SECOND BEST RAPPER		*				*	*
	SLIM SHADY/EMINEM IS DA BEST RAPPER		*				*	

Loc	Phrase	Normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	Propriety	Pos	Neg
	SMALL DICK BOY		*					
	Fuck U ASSHOLE					*		*
	ZUMA WILL NOT ONLY RAPE THIS COUNTRY...					*		
	BUT (JZ) TAKE COLD SHOWERS AFTER THAT		*					*
	J.Z 4 PRESIDENCY AU CM OA B		*				*	
	Take ur medicine		*					*
	ZUMA you are such a charmer who just charm South African even the Guys in particular					*		*
	HOWEVER LET'S HOPE HE (Zuma) Doesn't Embarres South Africa Over- sea WITH his standard And Vocabulary, ("") Signed RaVE N		*					*
	I HATE JZ ONLY <b>DOM KAFFIRS</b> VOTE FOR HIM		*_					*

Loc	Phrase	Normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	Propriety	Pos	Neg
	<b>Hey you idiot</b>		*					*
	True dat				*		*	
	You kick knowledge, real tak. Right here!				*		*	
	BLACK/ COLOURED NATIONS ARE CONSUMPTIVE NATIONS- LOOK AROUND AND ASK YOURSELF WHAT ^MADE AROUND YOU IF NOTHING START TO CHANGE THAT AND STOP WRITING TOILET WALLS INSTEAD OF CHANGING YOUR SITUATION I'M NOT FIGHTING I'M JST SUGGESTING!		*					*
	SEE WHO'S speaking NoT WRITiNG WALLS					*		*
	Both B.I.G & Pac are the best emcees		*				*	
	you stupid punk!!!		*					*
	How stupid are you to think like this?		*					*
	Whites and coloureds the superior races	*					*	
	monkeys & Darkies the inferior races <sup>1</sup>	*					*	

<sup>1</sup> monkeys and 'darkies' placed in one frame whereas coloureds and whites are placed in another

Loc	Phrase	Normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	Propriety	Pos	Neg
	How Can you associate yourself with someone who raped your Mother? JOU					*		*
	A bit rich seeing how your favourite leader, Zuma goes around raping women with HIV and “wa-		*			*		*
	Are all you kaffers this Stupid, or are you an exception?		*					*
	Go look up the word “origin” you Dumbfuck		*					*
	go read some more kaffer		*					*
	Their mothers were raped by Ducth people that why they dont know ther Back growng that’s coloured people- *Nb double judgement- towards Dutch, col and col mothers		*			*		**
	U (coloureds) are all stupid except— NB- col neg evaluated, but one participant pos evaluated		**				*	*

Loc	Phrase	Normalty	capacity	tenacy	veracity	Propriety	Pos	Neg
	WRONG!				*			*
	God does exist ... he just doesn't give a fuck!!					*		*
	Where did u learn 2 spell?		*					*
F A	THEY (fat girls)ARE THE BEST FUCKS IN TOWN		*				*	

### C Appreciation

Pic	Loc	M	F	Phrase	Reaction		Composition		Valua -tion	+	-
					Imp.	Qual.	Bal.	Compl			
	A	*		SMALL DICK BOY					*		*
	A			There is nothing hurt like love	*						*
	A	*		BLACK/COLOURED NATIONS ARE CONSUMPTIVE NATIONS					*		*

**Appendix C sample 1: Quantitative analyses of occurrences of attitudinal elements in Appraisal, found in male and female toilet graffiti.**

1. Affect

<b>F/ M</b>	<b>Total Affect</b>	<b>Happiness</b>	<b>Un- happiness</b>	<b>Security</b>	<b>Insecurity</b>	<b>Satis- faction</b>	<b>Dis- satisfaction</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>F</b>		15	5	0	15	2	2	17	22
<b>M</b>		2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
	<b>42</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>

2. Judgement

<b>M/ F</b>	<b>Total Judgements</b>	<b>Judgements of social esteem</b>			<b>Judgements of social sanction</b>		<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
		<b>normalty</b>	<b>capacity</b>	<b>tenacy</b>	<b>veracity</b>	<b>propriety</b>		
<b>F</b>	53	8	23	2	2	18	11	42
<b>M</b>	8	4	2	0	0	2	2	6
	<b>61</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>48</b>

3. Appreciation

<b>F/M</b>	<b>Total Appreciation</b>	<b>Reaction</b>		<b>Composition</b>		<b>Valua- tion</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
		<b>Imp.</b>	<b>Qual.</b>	<b>Bal.</b>	<b>Compl</b>			
<b>F</b>	8	2	2	0	0	4	3	5
<b>M</b>	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>

**Appendix C sample 2: Quantitative analyses of occurrences of attitudinal elements in Appraisal, found in male and female toilet graffiti.**

1. Affect

<b>F/ M</b>	<b>Total Affect</b>	<b>Happiness</b>	<b>Un- happiness</b>	<b>Security</b>	<b>Insecurity</b>	<b>Satis- faction</b>	<b>Dis- satisfaction</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>15</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>M</b>		0	13	0	1	0	1	0	15
		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

2. Judgement

<b>M/ F</b>	<b>Total Judgements</b>	<b>Judgements of social esteem</b>			<b>Judgements of social sanction</b>		<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
		<b>normalty</b>	<b>capacity</b>	<b>tenacy</b>	<b>veracity</b>	<b>propriety</b>		
<b>F</b>	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
<b>M</b>	35	2	26	0	3	9	9	30

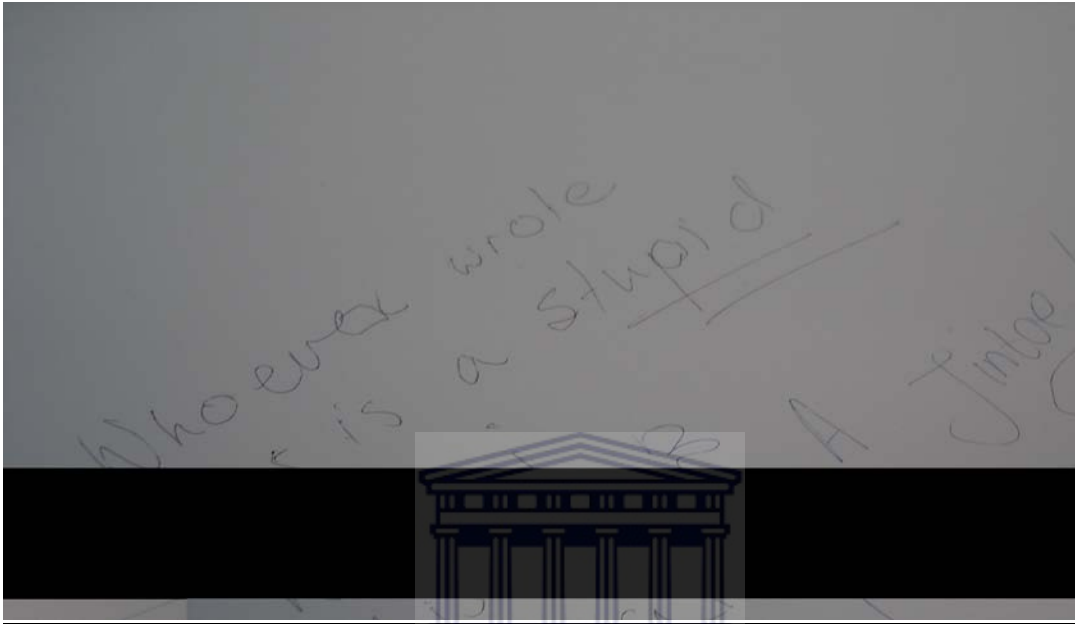
\*N.B. total of judgements does not correspond to amount of coded judgements because one instance of judgment may be realized in two categories of judgements or have two judgements inherent in one utterance. Similarly one instance of judgement may also be coded as both positive and negative depending on the interpretation. Refer to appendix B and analyses on Judgements.

3. Appreciation

<b>F/M</b>	<b>Total Appreciation</b>	<b>Reaction</b>		<b>Composition</b>		<b>Valua- tion</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>
		<b>Imp.</b>	<b>Qual.</b>	<b>Bal.</b>	<b>Compl</b>			
<b>F</b>								
<b>M</b>	4	1				3		4

## Appendix D- Pictures

### Female D

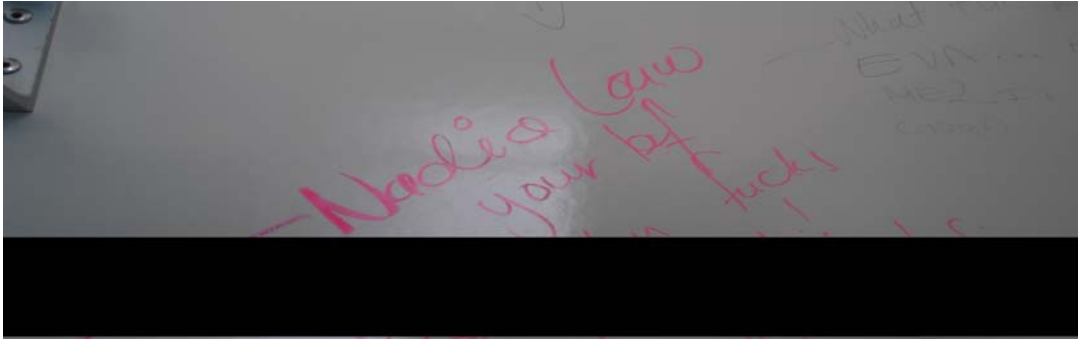


Pic. 1

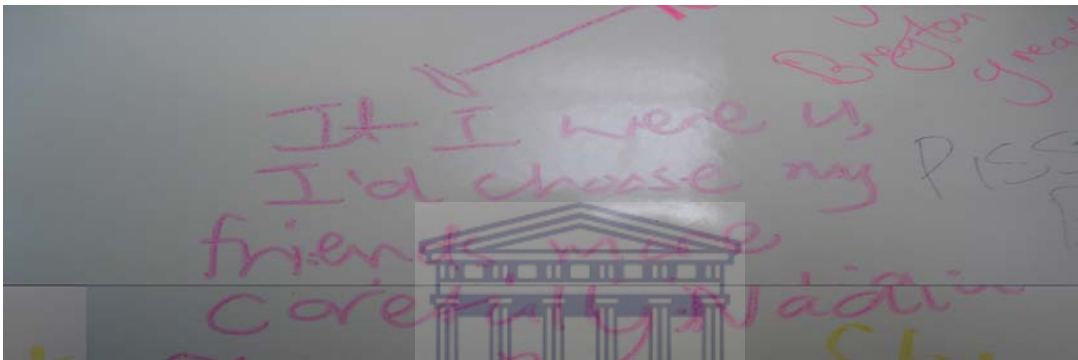


Pic. 2

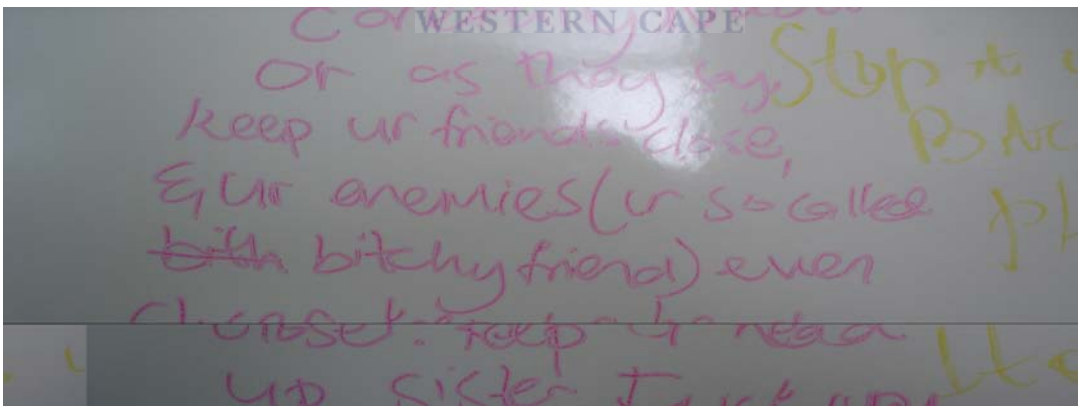




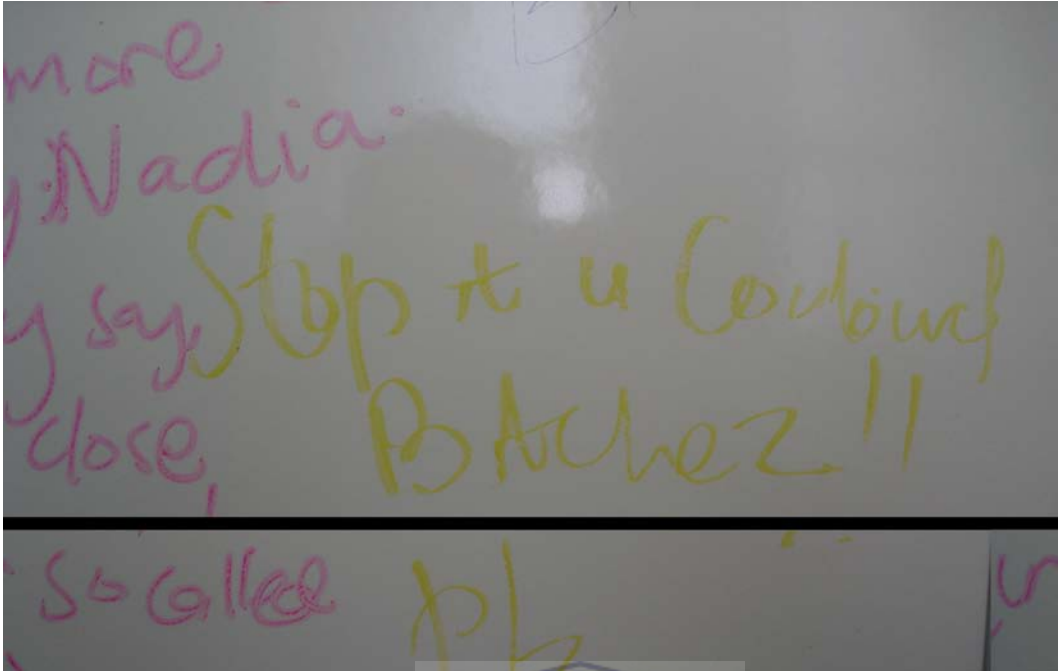
Pic. 3



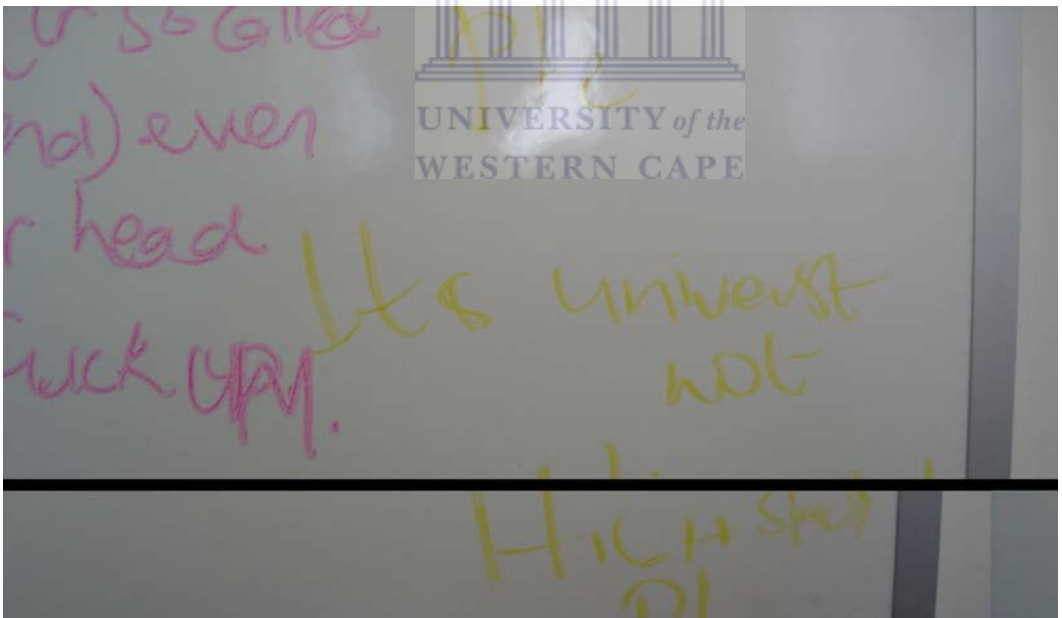
Pic. 4



Pic. 5



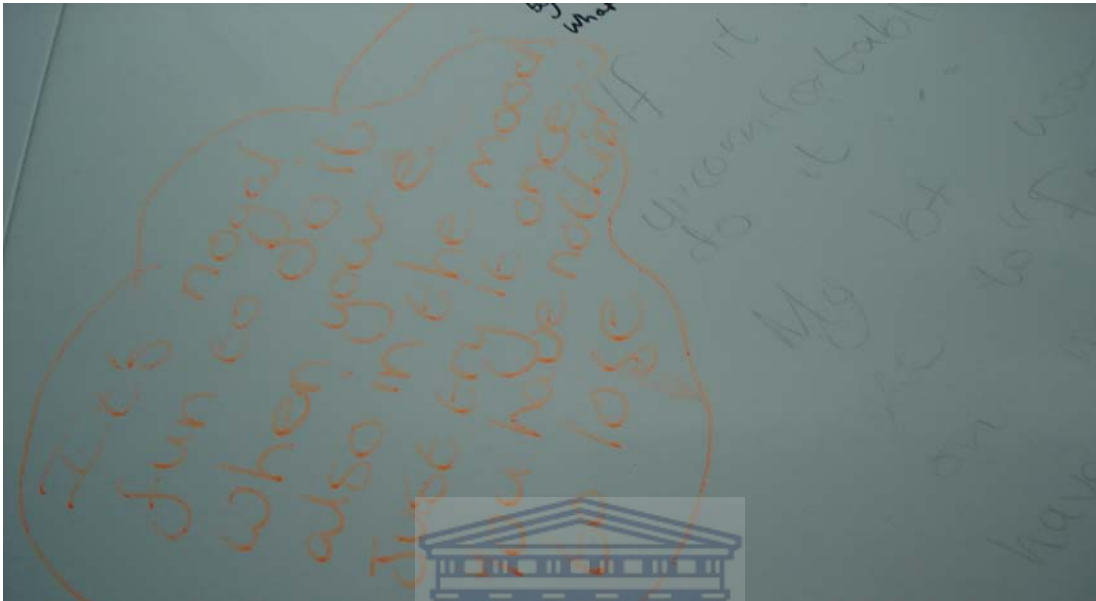
Pic. 6



Pic. 7

Female C

(Pictures 012, 017, 029, 034, 042)



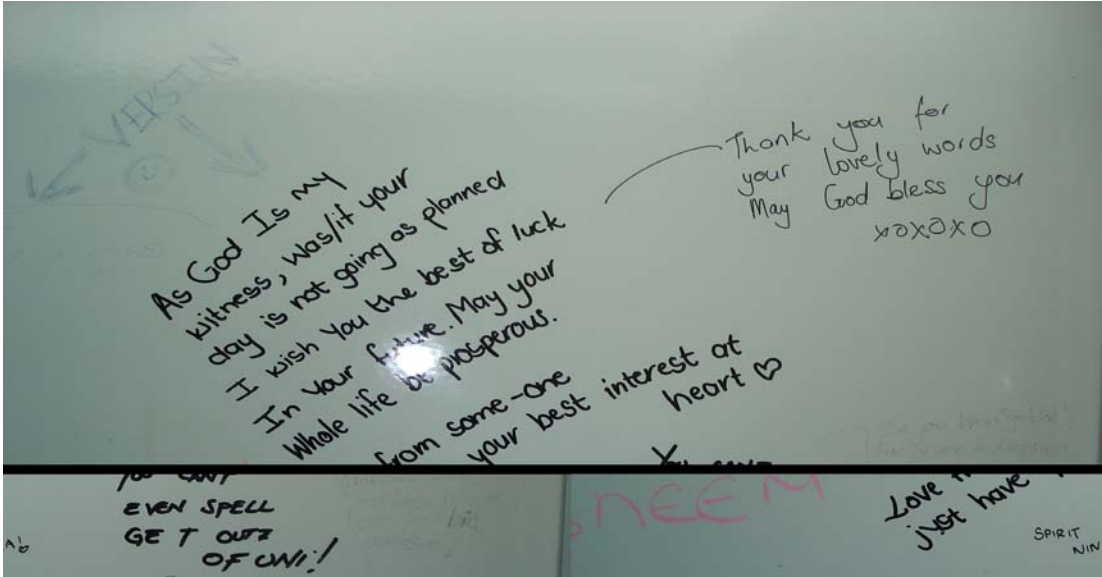
**Pic 8**



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE



**Pic 9**

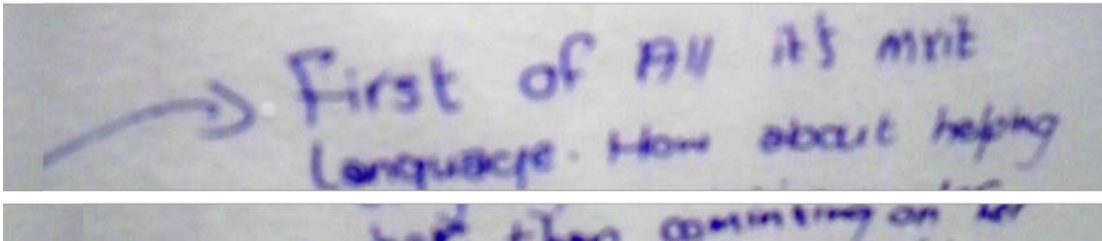


Pic 10

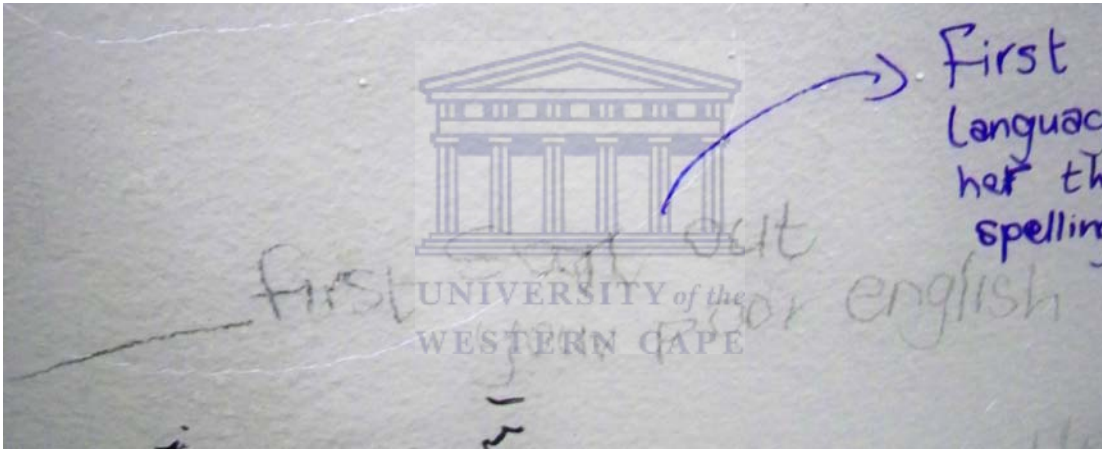


Pic 11

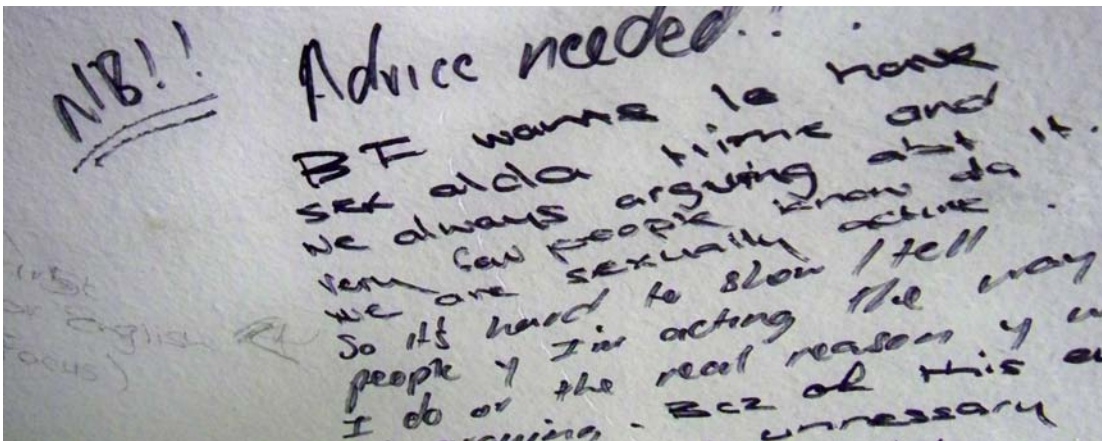
Female A



Pic 12



Pic 13



Pic 14

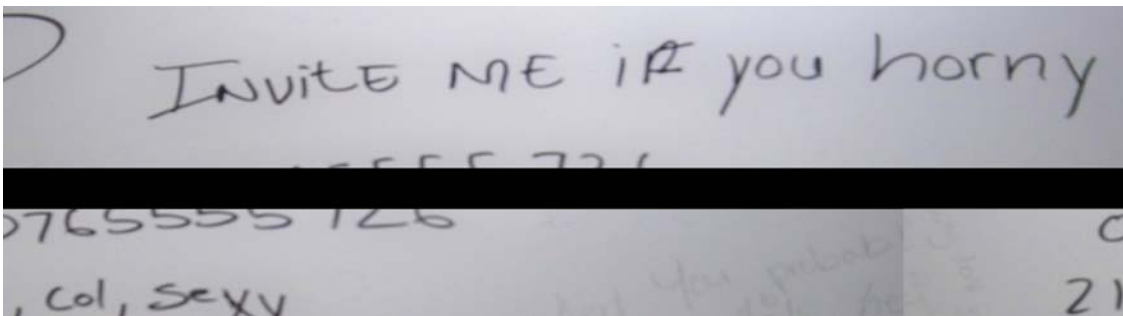




Pic 15



Pic 16



Pic 17

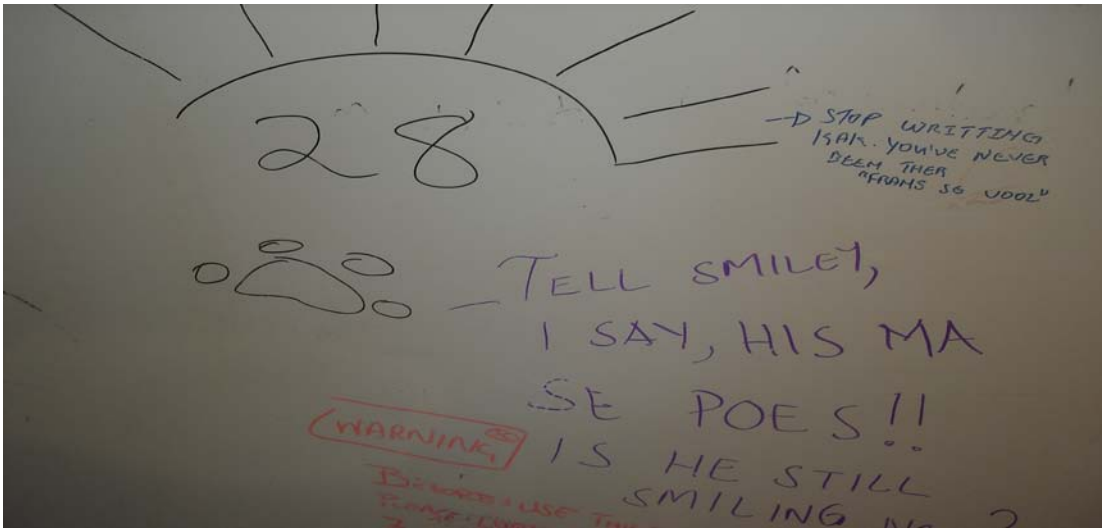
Cont even spell begging  
of course

Pic 18

N/B!!  
Advice needed  
BF wants to have  
sex alda time and  
we always arguing abt it.  
very few people know do it.  
we are sexually active.  
So its hard to slow / tell  
people y i'm acting the way  
I do or the real reason y w  
am acting. Bcz of this is  
unnecessary

Pic 19

Male D

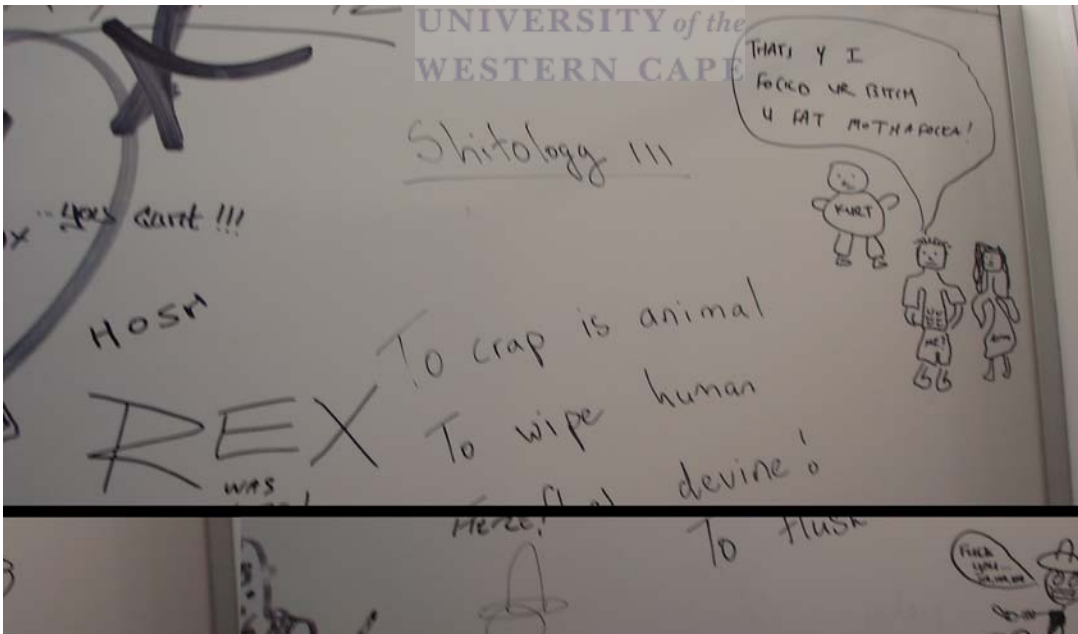


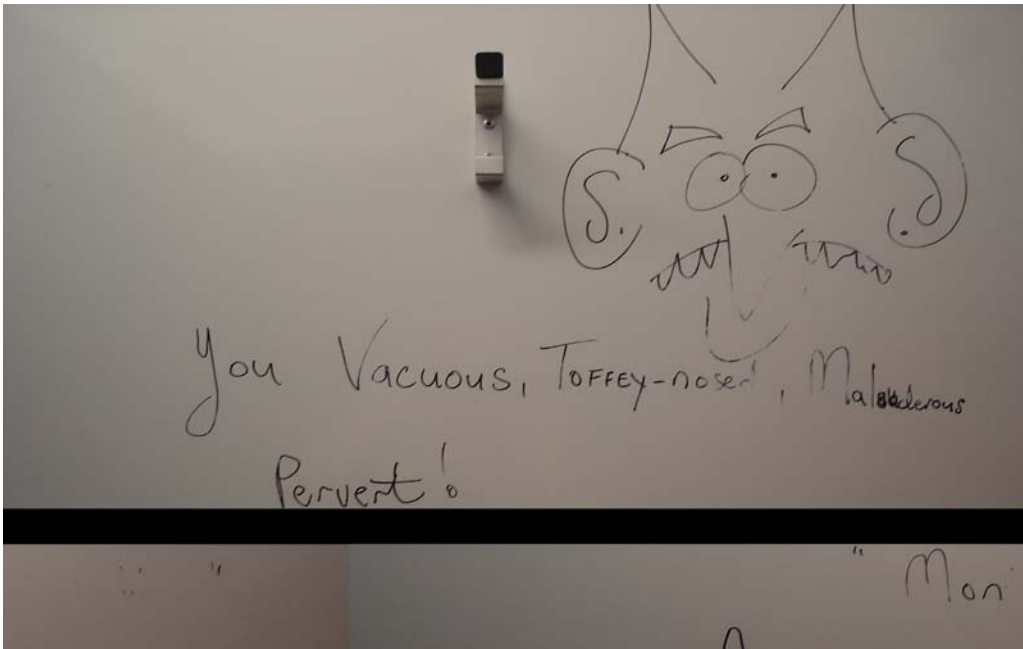
Pic 21



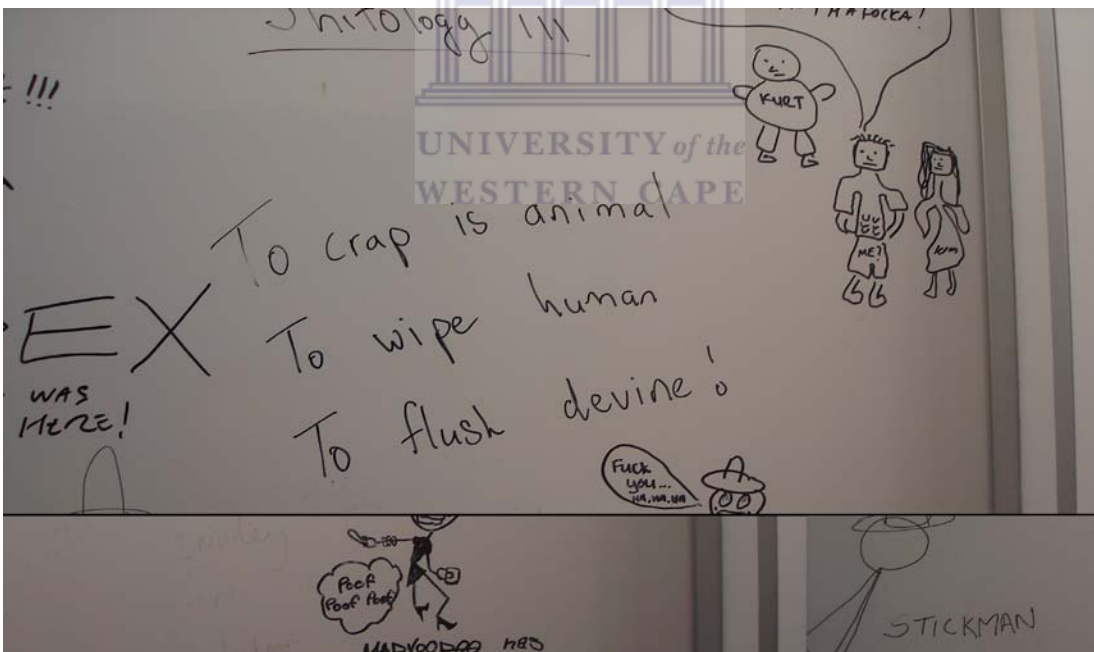


Pic 22





Pic 24



Pic 25



Pic 26



Pic 27

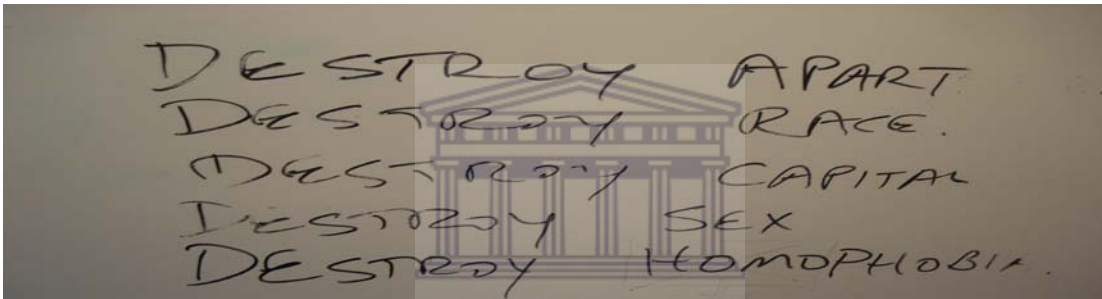


Pic 28



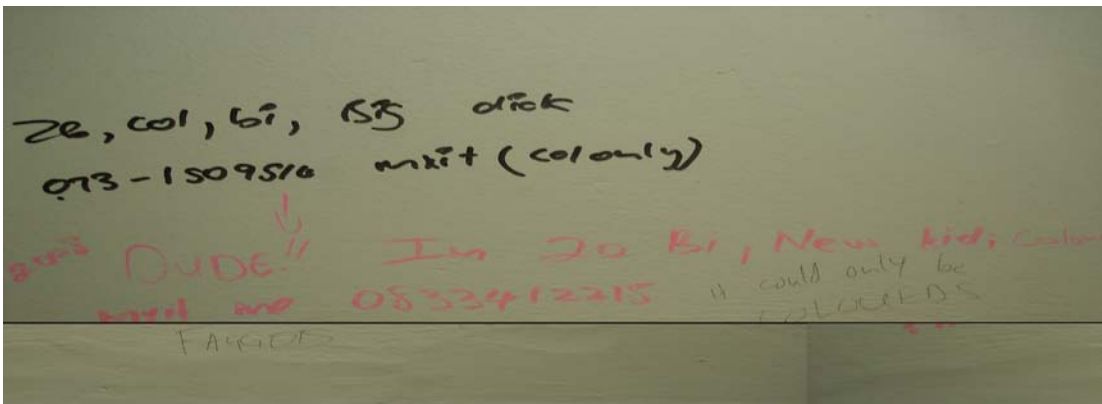
Pic 29

Male C

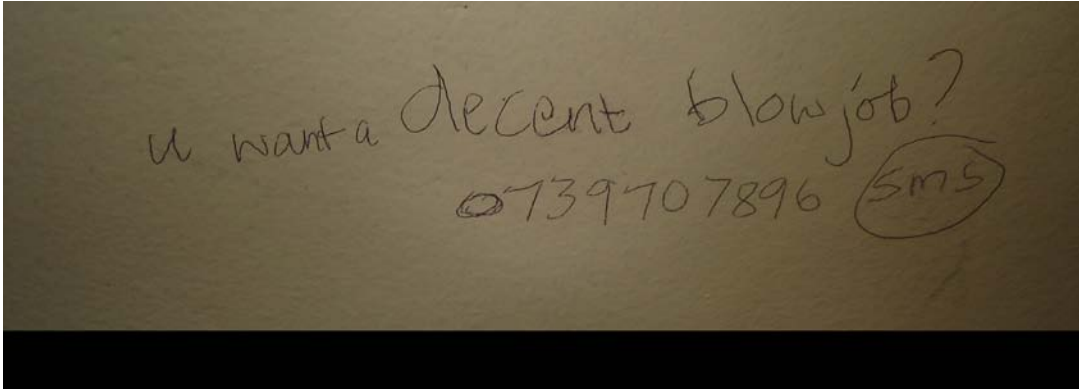


Pic 30

Male A



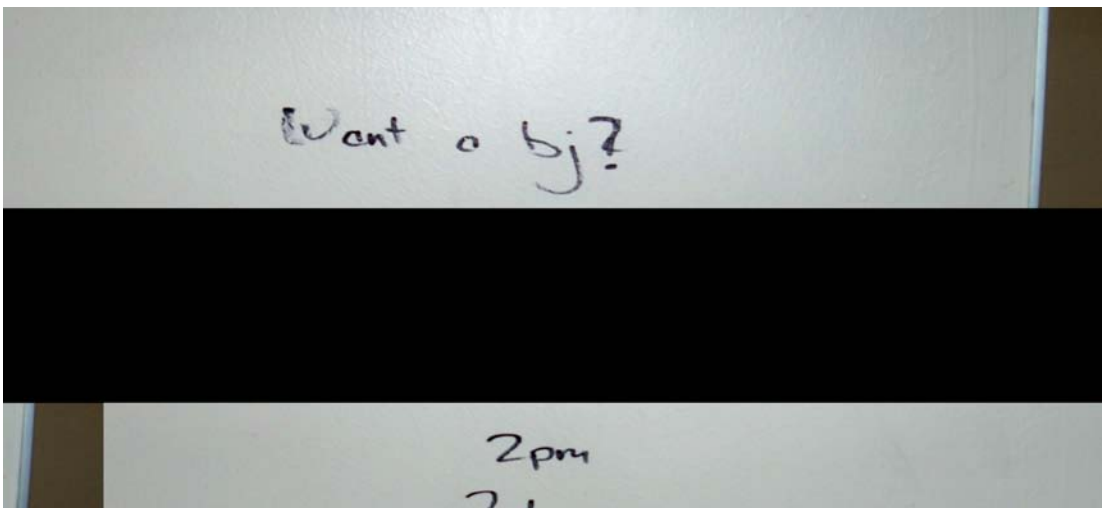
Pic 31



Pic 32

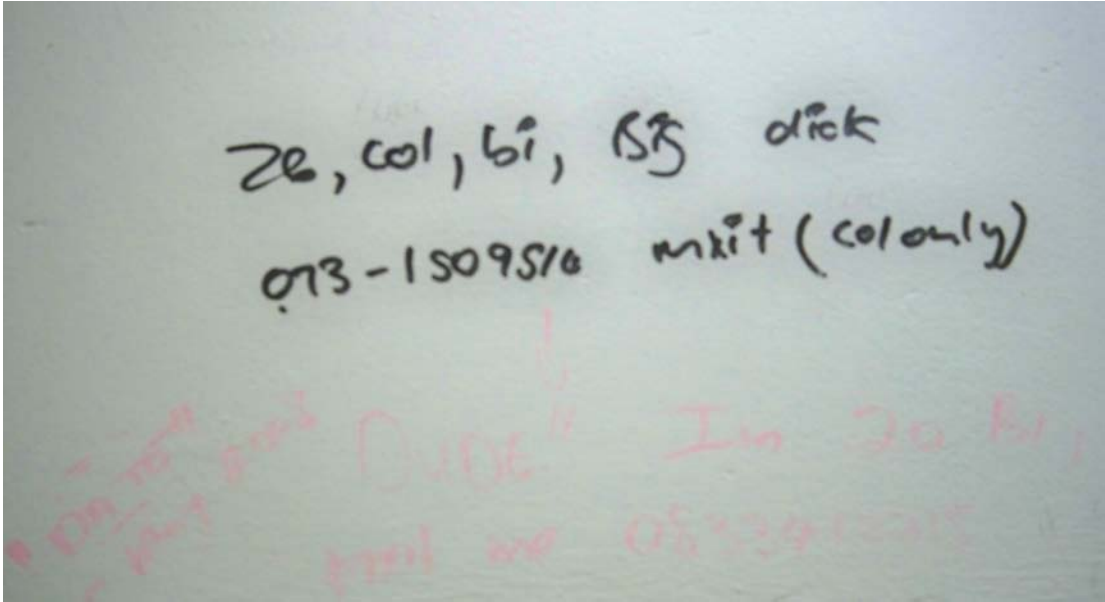


Pic 33



Pic 34





Pic 35



Pic 36

In behalf of all SA CITEZEN WHO  
WERE INVOLVED IN XHENOPHOBIA ATTA  
In SAING "Sorry, please lets forget about it  
focus on the BRIGHT SIDE." - yes, lets

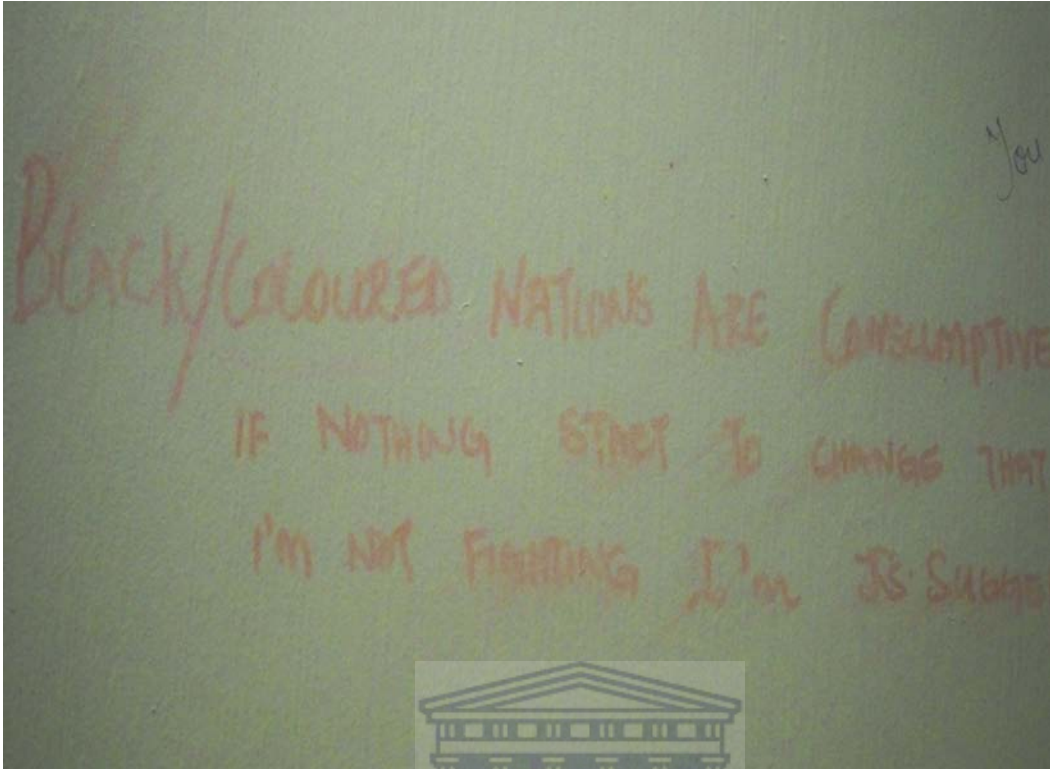
Pic 37

ENOPHOBIA ATTA  
lets forget about  
T SIDE." - yes, lets  
UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CA

Pic 38

~~NO~~  
FUCK  
ALL  
SOUTH  
AFRICANS  
4  
XHENOPHOBIA

Pic 39

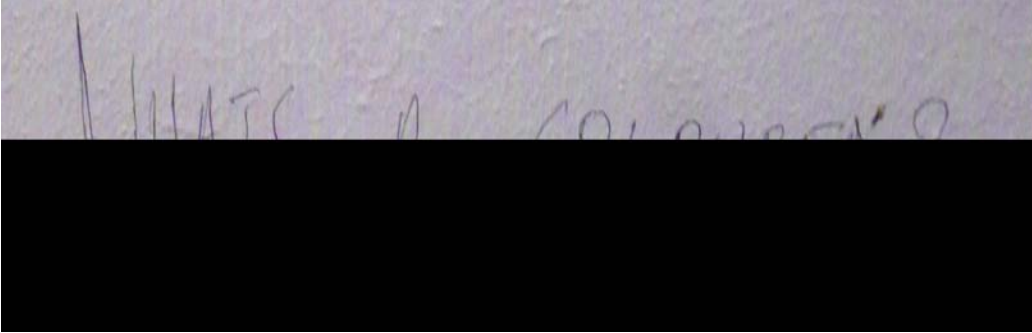


Pic 40

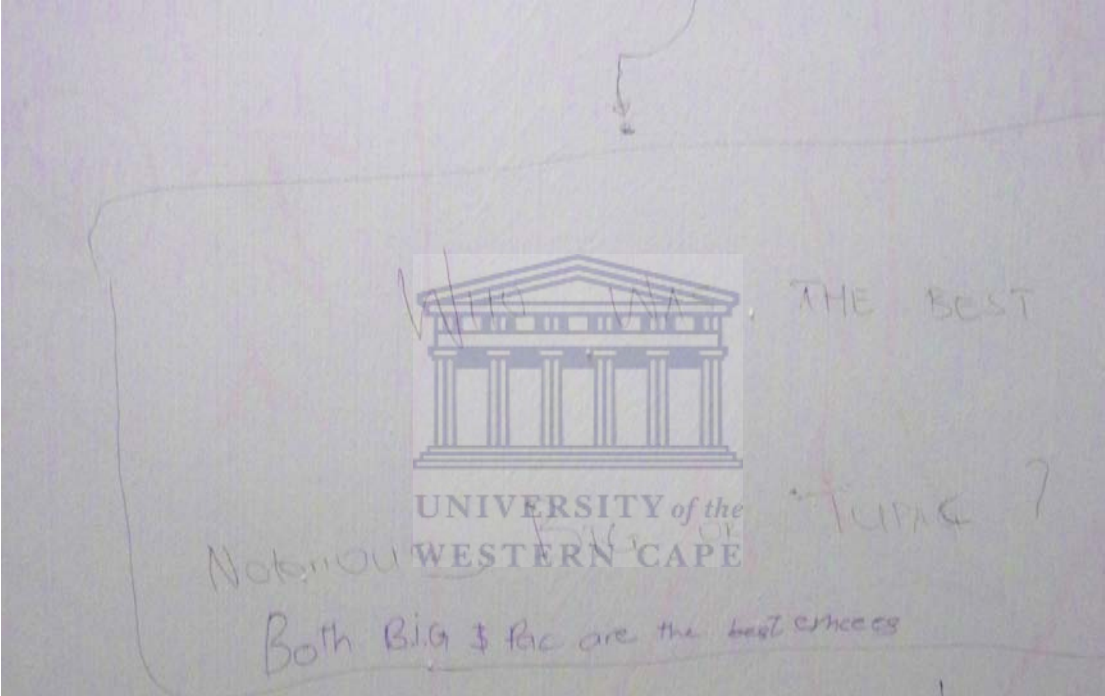


Pic 41

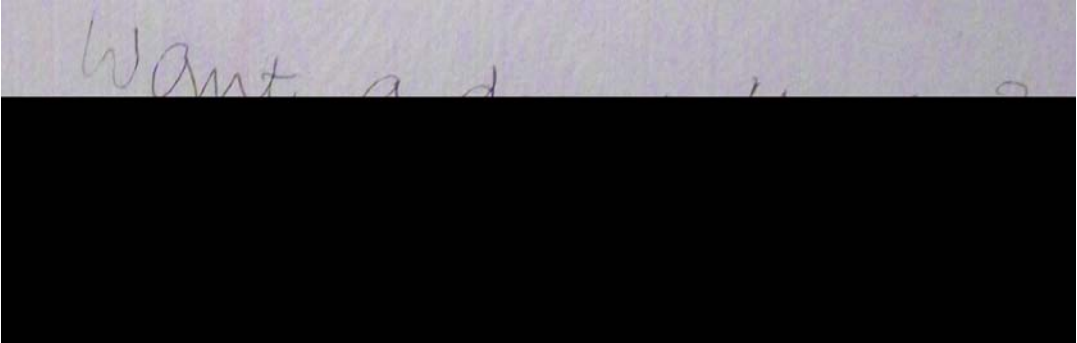




Pic 42



Pic 43



Pic 44

Mxit 08387  
CALL ME 07  
OR CALL

Pic 45

MALE, BI. MEET ME HERE  
ON THE 21st APRIL 2009, 4 SEX  
YOU CAN STICK IT ANYWHERE  
NB: AT 13:30

Pic 46

26, Col 1, 5<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> floor  
073-1507514 mxit (col only)  
Jouboos

Pic 47

To be cute & str8 acting  
2DAY AT 2!!!  
KAK STR8 acting  
meet me here  
Im COL, CUTE N

Pic 48

WWW.LEMONPARTY.OA  
HEY! Im a str8 acting bottom  
virgin, gay Im str8 acting in public and  
still in the closet I'll show my feminin  
syd wen we alone, I never been wit a guy  
completely str8 butch guys bt so any con  
of my castle... teach me wanna be the king  
23249985 myit. Im a few things... OT  
Nothing weird... ANY RACE! 4 anything normal!  
Fuck, otha way around. Replies Oh and I don't  
I'll be back!!  
D

Pic 49

the horny col 9962 ?  
WOW

Pic 50

wanna be the King of my castle... teach me  
a few things... 0723249985 mxit, I'm up  
4 anything normal! Nothing weird... ANY RACE, Friendship or Fu  
Oh and I don't Fuck, otha way around. Replies welcome...  
I'll BE BACK !!

Φ

FUCK YOU  
MOFFIE

Pic 51

ASS

FUCK ALL YOU GAY  
MOTHERFUCKERS! I'm busy  
I read of

UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

er guys  
ed all  
2/0004

WIP  
TAKING a kak and  
is guys wanting<sup>2</sup> suck other  
you gay motherfucker sh  
go get initiated, and  
!!!

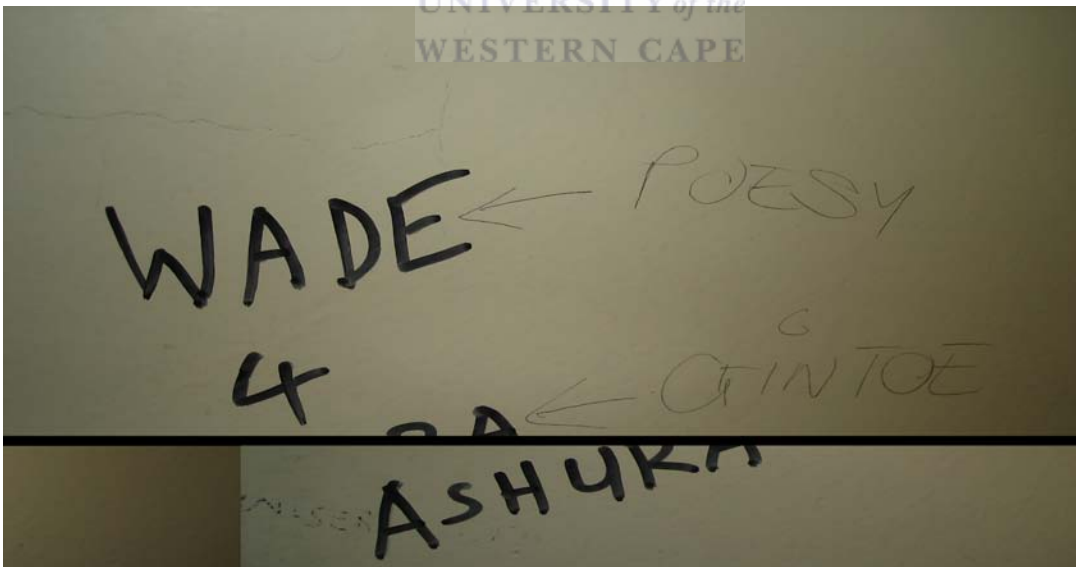
Pic 52





Pic 53

Male B



Pic 54