UNIVERSITY OF READING

Communicative Digital Practices of Algerians on Facebook

Firdous Abdelhamid

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

September 2020

Acknowledgments

I am so grateful to **Allah** *Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala* for giving me strength and for guiding me throughout this journey.

I am immensely grateful to my first supervisor **Dr Christiana Themistocleous** for her kindness, patience, encouragement and valuable feedback that has greatly improved and added to the current work. I would like to express my sincere gratitude also to my second supervisor **Prof Rodney Jones** for his insightful suggestions and comments.

I am also greatly indebted to:
My mother *Rachida* and my father *Habib* for their love, faith and continuous support,
My sisters *Kawther* and *Soundous* and my brothers *Badis* and *Sif* for believing in me, and
My husband *Abdelouadoud* for being understanding, supportive and encouraging which has motivated me through the completion of this work.

My last gratitude goes for the Facebook users, the administrators and the four participants who accepted to take part in this study.

Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Firdous Abdelhamid

Abstract

This study examines the way young Algerians employ linguistic and other semiotic resources at their disposal to communicate meaning on the social network site Facebook. Algeria is a multilingual speech community where individuals constantly mix between languages and language varieties in spoken discourse (Bagui, 2014). These include among others, the mother tongue of the majority Algerian Arabic, the official language Modern-Standard Arabic and the foreign languages learnt at schools French and English. This study is interested in exploring how are these linguistic resources used by Algerian Facebook users online and how are they combined with other affordances available on Facebook to communicate meaning, project identities, construct and address different audiences in this heterogeneous online environment.

Data collection for the study combines quantitative and qualitative means which include (1) an online questionnaire distributed to 205 Algerian Facebook users, (2) screenshots of Facebook walls of four selected participants and (3) interviews with them, and finally (4) extracted posts and comments from one public Algerian Facebook page. The theoretical framework used to analyse the data combines concepts from the theory of Translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017) and the Audience Design model (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Bell, 1984, 2001, 2009). The framework approaches Facebook users' practices as creative ones and the findings indicate that participants combine an array of different resources to situate themselves in an online translanguaging space in which they express humoristic content, project multiple identities and index membership of local and global communities. The findings further indicate that linguistic and semiotic choices serve as a maximisation strategy for the audience of one's contributions on Facebook pages. The study contributes to our understanding of digital communicative practices by highlighting the link between linguistic and non-linguistic choices and broader issues of social practice, identity and addressitivity.

List of Publications

- Abdelhamid, F. (2018). *Investigating Algerians' Codeswitching on Facebook Pages*. Paper presented at Language at the University of Essex (LangUE) conference, Essex, UK. Retrieved from:
https://www.essex.ac.uk/-/media/langue/langue18_proceedings_final.pdf?la=en

- Abdelhamid, F. (2019). Insights into the linguistic practices of Algerians on Facebook pages. *Language Studies Working Papers*, *10*(3), 26-35.

Table of Contents

List of Examples

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background

Having more than one code in one's linguistic repertoire, be it language or style, inevitably leads to switching between them, i.e., codeswitching. Although, this is now an acknowledged fact, it has been negatively viewed in the past where linguists like Weinreich (1968) described bilinguals that switch within a single sentence as imperfect bilinguals who are incompetent in effectively using the languages at their disposal. These early pejorative views, according to Gumperz (1982), are what led to the marginalisation of the study of codeswitching as a linguistic phenomenon in early times.

Most of the early work on codeswitching was centred on investigating the grammatical constraints that govern it to determine the switching points and their eligibility. This is mainly because codeswitching was viewed as an unacceptable linguistic behaviour because of the existing bias towards the monolingual norm (Gumperz, 1982). Such research arrived at the conclusion that codeswitching is not a random phenomenon, but it is a structured one (Muysken, 2000). Acknowledging the fact that it is widespread in multilingual communities, more socially focused research on codeswitching boomed but most of it analysed naturally occurring speech events (Sebba, 2012), which is due to the general consensus in sociolinguistic that spoken data is the best source for the analysis of codeswitching (Myers-Scotton, 2005). Spoken data is spontaneous and produced as unconsciously as possible, while written data on the other hand permits time for editing and revision making it more planned. This, as Cameron (2005) points out, deprives written language of notions of genuine, authentic, normal and natural nature that are of interest to the sociolinguistic investigations. Accordingly, written language is judged as a domain where codeswitching is hindered.

In fact, written language as a subject of study in sociolinguistics, in general, has long been marginalised (Lillis & McKinney, 2013) and researchers are calling for what they are labelling *complete sociolinguistics* that should be interested in both spoken as well as written language (Blommaert, 2013; Maybin, 2013). With relation to codeswitching, Sebba (2012) maintains that codeswitching in written language, which is of a non-conversational type, has always been viewed as illegitimate because written

language is usually expected to be structured and is governed by rules of correct use. This is why according to him codeswitching in writing was not an interest of study before. Nonetheless, Sebba (2012) argues that codeswitching in this genre has its own characteristics that need to be addressed through a customized framework of analysis. He maintains that multilingual written texts should not be approached as other types of spoken discourse, but their visual elements should be attained as well. For example, one should consider the font type, its size and colour in their analysis as well as the position of text written in one code as opposed to text written in another one. To demonstrate this, Sebba (2012) used multilingual websites, signs and advertisements as some examples where chunks of different languages are observed. Having said that, this study is interested in a different type of written text that is found on the web and which is of a conversational nature.

Contemporary life is changing and this impacts language and communication in many ways (Barton & Lee, 2013). As communication means on web diversified in the last few decades, new platforms where codeswitching is observed emerged. Written communication that is mediated through computers and other technological devices combines characteristics of both spoken and written language (Herring, 2010). Although, it was initially notorious for being incoherent and fragmented communication that does not stand to the norms of normal spoken face to face language, its use became viral (Herring, 1999). Herring (1999) argues that the limitations of such communication and its drawbacks, including overlaps and timespans, did not restrain its use but users developed strategies to overcome such drawbacks and make them advantageous to their communicative needs instead. These strategies include invoking language play and even codeswitching as will become evident in the discussions below. Undeniably, online communication is a space where codeswitching became pervasive (Friedrich & de Figueiredo, 2016). Yet, as Dorleijn and Nortier (2009) argue, online communication is still a conscious type of communication and the fact that it promotes codeswitching means that this latter is used to reflect identity issues and stylistic preferences that are worthy of investigation. This is because codeswitching is thought to be exercised mainly in less conscious oral communications compared to written ones (Myers-Scotton, 2005; Sebba, 2012) hence when it is observed in latter ones it is considered deliberate serving a given purpose. Another advantage of investigating codeswitching in online communication is the absence of the observer's paradox. Unlike spoken data where participants are aware of the presence of the researcher or the recording instruments that

could influence their linguistic behaviour, written online data is usually extracted from old communications that still exist in the internet logs because of the nature of the medium.

Codeswitching online has been studied in the literature and many studies have used already existing models of analysis to their investigations. Such models include Gumperz' work (1972; 1982), Myers-Scotton (1988, 1993)'s Markedness Model and Auer's Conversation Analysis (1984) as will be detailed in chapter 3. These models through the studies that adopted them proved very valuable for explaining codeswitching online, but their scope of analysis is still limited. In Gumperz's approach, the analysis is centred around some factors including topic of conversation and interlocutors, Myers-Scotton's Markedness model is focused on interlocutors' expectations and Auer's Conversation Analysis is interested in the micro context of the conversation itself. In that, adopting these models may not provide a holistic view of the communication that can account for the connection between linguistic and other semiotic choices and social and cultural contexts. As a reaction to this, the present study recognizes the creative ways that people employ to recombine different resources in social media platforms, their awareness of the competencies and orientations of their audiences, and finally, their own desires to index particular kinds of social and cultural identities.

Indeed, this study is interested in the use of linguistic resources in conjunction with semiotic ones in writing contributions on Facebook. The linguistic context of this study is the Algerian multilingual one. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, due to historical and educational factors, Algeria is a multilingual society and Algerians speak at least four codes which are Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English. Evidence from the literature shows that most Algerians switch between these codes when they communicate (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Bagui, 2014; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benguedda, 2015; Chemami, 2011; Mostari, 2009; Slimane, 2014). The present study is interested in exploring whether Algerians switch between the codes at their disposal when communicating on Facebook as they do when speaking.

There are only few studies that examined codeswitching of Algerians on Facebook but their focus was mainly on linguistic aspects (Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016; Zitouni & Saaid, 2019). In that, they confirmed that Algerian Facebook users codeswitched on Facebook (Zitouni & Saaid, 2019), and they accounted for the codes that users used

(Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016). As such, their analysis is mainly linguistic, and they did not answer the question of why codeswitching is exercised on Facebook. What makes this study different from such research is that it goes beyond the linguistic aspects to the social ones seeking to investigate how codes are brought together to attain social goals of identity projection and addressitivity issues. Moreover, its scope is not only limited to the text but it accounts for other semiotics including the use of emoji and images and so on. This is because the digital communicative context is different from other spoken and written ones and the difference lies in the affordances that the former is providing for its users such as the ability to use graphic elements. Besides being able to use languages and mix and switch between them, users can use images, videos, emoji and other elements found on such platforms. This study is interested in the use of these latter in conjunction with text in writing contributions on Facebook.

Accordingly, this study takes on the same perspective of some previous research that investigated multilingualism and language contact on social media (Albawardi, 2018; Chau & Lee, 2017; Han, 2019; Solmaz, 2018) in how it highlights, first, the importance of the context that this communication is found in, i.e., the Facebook digital communicative context; and second, the relation between linguistic choices at the level of this context and other social practices including projecting identity and addressitivity. Yet, the contribution of this study to this field of research relies in its adoption of Translanguaging to the Facebook context because only few studies have done so. Ng and Lee (2019) applied translanguaging to the Facebook context of Malaysians, Oliver and Nguyen (2017) applied it to the Facebook context of Australians and Schreiber (2015) applied it to the context of a Serbian Facebook user. The significance of the present study is that it does not only apply Translanguaging to the Algerian Facebook context, but it also accounts for another important element that other studies did not highlight before which is the *audience*. To be able to do that and extend the perception of translanguaging to the audience element this theory was combined with the Framework of Audience Design (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Bell, 1984, 2001, 2009). In that, Translanguaging is beneficial for this study because (1) it allows accounting for the semiotic resources and other social and cultural aspects of data in the analysis; (2) it approaches new combinations of linguistic resources of Algerians as creative acts; and (3) it helps explain and relate linguistic and semiotic choices to constructed online social spaces of expression. Next, Audience Design is also valuable to the study because (1) it allows for creating a connection between linguistic and semiotic choices and the act of

designing an audience; and (2) it enables examining how the designed audience could be maintained or negotiated through such choices.

1.2 Rationale

Based on the discussion above, the present study is an attempt to bridging the gap on Algerian online multilingual communications by exploring the multilingual practices of Algerian Facebook users from a sociolinguistic perspective. Algerians' multilingual spoken discourse have been widely studied before (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Bagui, 2014; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benguedda, 2015; Chemami, 2011; Mostari, 2009; Slimane, 2014) but as expressed above there are few if any studies that have investigated this phenomenon in the context of digital communication. In addition, the study adopts a different view from previous research that has examined Algerians' speech. Unlike studies like Mouhadjer (2002) and Khalifi (n.d.) that approached mixing codes from a pejorative perspective, this study approaches such practices as *creative*. The study challenges the monolingual norm in Algeria and argues that mixing linguistic resources in discourse is Algerians' innovative way of communicating as opposed to wrong doings. In that, the study acknowledges the innovative practices of Algerians of combining linguistic, social and cultural elements to create meanings.

The adoption of the theory of Translanguaging is also an attempt in bridging the gap in the literature with relation to the adaptability of this theory to the Facebook context. Although extensive work has adopted the concept of Translanguaging in educational contexts (e.g., García, 2011; García & Li, 2014), not many studies have used it in analysing data coming from other contexts (Canagarajah, 2011a; Canals, 2021). In that, this study is set to evaluate to what extent Translanguaging as a theory can explain the multilingual and semiotic practices of Algerian users on Facebook. Furthermore, it is set to extend the scope of the traditional translanguaging theory to be able to take the audience into account when analysing Facebook data.

Finally, this study is significant because it goes beyond the typed words on the screen to the social sphere and identities and communities that people are projecting. In other words, what this study is bringing to our understanding of online multilingual communications is establishing a link between multilingual and semiotic practices and other broader cultural issues related to identity, indexing membership to local and global communities and addressitivity through cases from the Algerian online context.

1.3 Research Questions

The present study aims at exploring Algerians' digital practices and at investigating how they use different resources to construct and negotiate online identities and audiences. The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What are Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their spoken and digital practices on Facebook?
2. How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct identities within an online translanguaging space?
3. How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct and negotiate an audience online?

1.4 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is structured into eight chapters. The next chapter, chapter 2, introduces the Algerian context of the study. It presents a brief history of how Algeria became a multilingual country, and it highlights two linguistically relevant events which are the 'Arab conquest of Algeria' and the 'French colonialism on Algeria'. Next, the chapter explains the different linguistic varieties at play. Finally, the chapter reviews relevant literature that investigated language contact phenomena in relation to the Algerian context.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical frameworks that were used in analysing codeswitching online. It first presents a brief account of how research on 'language online' developed from structural interest only in early stages to a social interest in gender and identity online. It defines identity and presents the analytical perspective that has been adopted in this study with regard to identity expression online. The argument then moves to focus on how codeswitching was studied online. It introduces the three seminal works in codeswitching research, namely, Gumperz' work (1972, 1982), Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1988, 1993) and Auer's Conversation Analysis (1984) and reviews the relevant literature that adopted these frameworks in analysing codeswitching online. Next, it highlights the importance of restraining from using limiting concepts such as *codeswitching* and adopting others such as *Translanguaging* that go beyond *languages* to *resources* and explain the theoretical frameworks adopted in the study. These are: 1) *Translanguaging* which maintains that using a combination of linguistic and semiotic resources in given communicative act is part of individuals'

social practice; and 2) Audience Design which maintains that such combination of resources takes account of and enables negotiations of individuals' audience.

Chapter 4 explains how the methodological framework is applied in investigating Algerians' digital communicative practices on Facebook. It introduces the rationale behind choosing to work with Facebook data and the methods of data analysis and data collection. The data collected for this project consist of an online questionnaire, posts collected from Facebook walls of four participants and interviews with them in addition to posts and comments collected from one selected public Facebook page. The chapter presents the participants of the study and the analytical procedures that were followed. In addition, it provides quantitative descriptive accounts of the resources that participants have used on Facebook. Finally, the chapter discusses the ethical issues in relation to collecting, analysing and presenting data that is extracted from online resources.

Chapter 5 presents data and discusses results obtained from the online questionnaire that was distributed to 211 Algerian Facebook users. The chapter, first, provides demographic details of these participants and then, it moves to providing their perceptions of their linguistic practices on spoken communication and on Facebook.

Chapter 6 presents data and discusses results obtained from Facebook walls of four participants. It explains how the theory of Translanguaging is adopted in analysing data extracted from Facebook walls. Then, it provides examples from the Facebook walls of the four participants highlighting how they are using different resources to situate themselves in the Facebook wall online space while projecting multiple identities.

Chapter 7 presents the data obtained from one public Facebook page. It adopts a combination of theories, namely Translanguaging and Audience Design, in analysing Facebook posts and comments. It explains the Audience Design framework and investigates its use by Facebook users. It provides examples from posts and comments that are posted in the Facebook page and which show how different linguistic and semiotic resources are used to project identities, signal membership to communities, design audiences and negotiate addressitivity issues.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter. It provides a summary and evaluation of the main findings and conclusions of the study. In addition, it provides accounts of this study's

contributions and evaluations of the theoretical and methodological tools. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2 – Sociolinguistic Background of Algeria

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the linguistic situation in Algeria providing accounts from its history and its present time. Section 2.2 provides information about the historical events that shaped today's sociolinguistic situation of Algeria. It goes further back in history to explain how Algeria became a multilingual speech community and how its people became speakers of Algerian Arabic, Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English. Two crucial historical events that significantly changed the linguistic situation in Algeria are highlighted in this section; these events are the Arab conquest and the French colonialism. It is worth mentioning at this point that neither Arabic nor French are the native languages of ancient Algerians, but Tamazight is. It is going to be explained in the following sections how the status of Tamazight was ultimately surmounted by that of Arabic which then became the native language of the majority of Algerians (Chemami, 2011). Section 2.3 presents the different varieties of Arabic that exist in Algeria today, namely Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic. It also explains the role of French and English as foreign languages in Algeria. Ultimately, section 2.4 reviews important work in the literature that investigated the Algerian sociolinguistic context.

2.2 Historical Accounts

Bilingualism in Algeria is the product of successive invasions and colonial movements that targeted the country because of its strategic geographical location in North Africa. The invasions started with the Phoenicians in ancient history and were followed by the Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Turkish, Spanish and ended with French colonialism in the twentieth century. All of these conquers, empires and civilizations have left traces of their cultures in Algeria including their languages. They introduced the Punic, Latin, Arabic, Turkish, Spanish and French languages to Algerians who were originally native speakers of Tamazight. This mixture of languages has shaped the way Algerians speak today, i.e. becoming natives of Arabic and using French. For this

reason, this section aims to explain how bilingualism/ multilingualism emerged in Algeria and lasted until contemporary times. This section is structured around the two most influential historical events which are the Arab conquest which introduced the Arabic language and the French colonialism which introduced the French language. Brief accounts of other historical events are also provided to further illustrate how multilingualism emerged in Algeria.

2.2.1 Before the Arab Conquest

Tracing back in history, Tamazight or Berber was the native language of the country. This language was spoken by the indigenous people 'Berbers' (meaning 'alien people to Rome') as they were called by the Romans, or 'Imazighen' (meaning 'free man') as they referred to themselves. Tamazight is a spoken language that was later written in the alphabet of the Phoenicians who were the first to conquer Algeria around 1200 BC (Mostari, 2005). This conquest signalled the beginning of bilingualism in Algeria which then lasted until contemporary times. The Phoenicians introduced the Punic language that served as a common language for trade activities across the Mediterranean coasts (Sayahi, 2014). In Algeria, Punic was spoken in the cities, while Tamazight was used in the countryside (Mostari, 2005).

During the reign of the Berber kings Juba I (reigned 60 – 46 BC) and Juba II (reigned 25 BC – AD 23), the region was annexed to the Roman Empire and the Berbers were driven to learn Latin in an attempt to integrate into this Empire. Latin was established in Algeria as the language of the court, army forces and financial power (Chami, 2009). It was spoken by the elite in the cities, while Tamazight was spoken in the courtside by the poor peasants who were against the Romanisation process seeking to keep their mother tongue intact. However, some of them worked for the Romans, either in the cities or in the fields, and had therefore contact with speakers of the Latin language (Mostari, 2005). Latin was also the language of the religion Christianity and many Berbers who converted to this latter, after being pagans, were encouraged to learn it. The Romans remained in Algeria for a short period and could not fully assimilate the Berbers either to their religion or to their language (Chami, 2009).

The Romans were then defeated by the Vandals between 340 - 355. These latter had vicious and bloody wars with the Berbers which caused the Berbers to leave their villages and retreat deep into the mountains were they survived as scattered tribes (Mostari, 2005). However, there are no records of any linguistic influence by the Vandals on the native language. The Byzantine empire of the east came to Algeria after

the Vandals in the 6th C. During these periods, the Berbers sought to preserve and maintain their language and tradition, nevertheless, they used both Latin and Punic, which was introduced by the Phoenicians, even after both Phoenicians and Romans had left the country. Accordingly, this period is characterised by Tamazight – Punic bilingualism and then by Tamazight – Punic – Latin multilingualism (Benrabah, 2013).

2.2.2 The Arab Conquest

This linguistic picture was then reconfigured and transformed due to the addition of Arabic. The introduction of Arabic came when the Berber warrior queen Dyhia or Kahina was killed after showing firm resistance to the Muslim conquers that eventually invaded the region. The Berbers realised that these conquers were not interested in the wealth of the country but rather in spreading the Islamic preaching that was calling for peace. Consequently, the Berbers were willing to convert to Islam (Ben-Quabailia, 2011). Most Berbers, who were originally either pagans or Christians, converted to Islam and begun learning Arabic, the language of the holly book Quran and the daily religious rituals performed by Muslims (Mostari, 2005). In addition, due to the need to communicate with speakers from other Muslim countries, Arabic was learnt by most of the population and it was considered a prestigious language that was used by the elite (Boutelis, 2014).

The Muslims assigned teachers of Arabic and Islam across the region, and the Berbers were keen to learn (Ben-Quabailia, 2011). Arabic was the language of faith and historical studies, while Tamazight was kept for spoken communication. Arabic was also the language that was used for written purposes, and for this reason Tamazight was stagnated in spoken form (Chami, 2009). The Arabisation of the region took about 13 centuries. During this time, a number of Arabic states succeeded until the time of the Zayyanid dynasty (the dynasty that ruled the area) where the state begun weakening and falling apart (Mostari, 2005). Accordingly, this era was characterised mainly by Arabic – Tamazight bilingualism. It is worth mentioning at this point that Arabic became the language mostly used throughout Algeria, while Tamazight was and is only spoken in some central regions like Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou (Ahmed-Sid, 2008).

2.2.3 Before French Colonialism

In late 15th C, the safety of the region was threatened by Spanish troops seeking to expand the Christian rule and fight the Muslims. They managed to settle in the west of Algeria for many centuries and this settlement led to the assimilation of some

Mosques to become churches and to an active Spanish lexical borrowing that still characterises the speech of Algerians of the west today (Bensafi, 2002). Because of the threats to the Islamic identity of the people and their safety, Algerians sought the help of the Ottomans and as a result Algeria was annexed to the Ottoman Sultana. This was not a form of colonialism but mainly it was done for safety reasons. During this period, while Tamazight remained intact, Arabic has undergone a process of some changes in terms of borrowing new terminology. New words were introduced mainly relating to clothes, music, agriculture and culinary that did not exist in Arabic before but were needed to reflect the lifestyle that the Ottomans had brought about to the region. Although the Ottomans were not interested in spreading education, Algerians raised funds to support the build of mosques and paying teachers to teach Arabic and the Quran (Boutelis, 2014). This period was also permeated by Italian settlements that introduced some of their lexis to the west of Algeria. Overall, this period is characterised by acts of borrowing that affected the Arabic language that is spoken by Algerians as result of Spanish, Italian and Turkish presence.

2.2.4 The French Colonialism

After the defeat against the French navy, the French landed for the first time on Algerian coasts in 1830. This date signals an important turning point to the linguistic situation in Algeria because, as opposed to all previous foreign settlements, the French came with an intention of assimilating the people and erasing their linguistic and religious identities. The French had a scheme of making Algeria an expansion of Metropolitan France, so they targeted both Arabic and Islamic identities because these two are what distinguishes Algerians from the French (Mostari, 2005). The French targeted literacy because for them, knowledge is the strongest weapon a person can get to claim their rights and identity (Boutelis, 2014). To do so, they closed all the schools that were built during the Ottoman period and stopped their funding resources (Boutelis, 2014). Instead, the French built schools were French was the medium of instruction and Arabic was taught as a module. Later, the compulsory teaching of French was introduced. However, being aware of the intentions of the French of replacing Arabic by French, most families did not send their children to these schools but preferred Zawiyas. These latter were schools which were built and funded by the common Algerian people who were keen to educate their children. These Zawiyas were scattered around the country to deliver Arabic and religious teachings (Bensafi, 2002). Consequently, schooling for Algerians was not easily accessible and therefore not many

pupils had access to primary and secondary education (Boutelis, 2014). As a reaction to this, the committee of the Algerian Muslim scholars was established in 1931 whose goal was to spread the teaching of Arabic and the Islamic religion and encourage the maintenance of the Algerian values and culture. More pupils were admitted to these schools and even those that attended the French schools used to come in the afternoon to study there. With the outbreak of the revolution of independence in 1954, pupils were no longer interested in education and they were more concerned with freeing their country; therefore, most of them dropped out from schools and joined the combat. Algeria gained its independence in 1962 and among other problems that the new independent country was facing, illiteracy levels of its people was up to 90%. Algerians who could read and write in Arabic were about 300.000 out of a population of 10 million and those who were able to speak French were 6 million with 1 million able of also reading it (Benrabah, 2007a).

After the independence and due to the colonial connotations that are associated with French, the authorities were determined to eradicate the French language from all domains and replace it with Arabic. The only problem was that most people were not competent in Standard Arabic which led the authorities to export teachers from neighbouring Arab countries like Egypt. However, those teachers were themselves not competent enough in the Standard variety of Arabic and used their own Arabic dialect that Algerians found very difficult to adjust to (Benrabah, 2007a; Boutelis, 2014). Egyptian Arabic is different in terms of pronunciation and lexis from the Algerian Arabic that Algerians speak. This nature of the Arabic language and its different varieties will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.3 Linguistic Profile and Language Policies

It has been explained above that by mid twentieth century, due to conquests and colonialism, both the Arabic and French languages were present and used in Algeria. In the subsections below, the nature and status of these two languages are explained briefly.

2.3.1 Arabic

Evidence for the first use of the Arabic language goes back to the 7th century BC with however, scarce information about its overall nature. The records show that it is until the 6th century that the Arabic language begun to be used in its most sophisticated form, known as Classical Arabic. During the reign of the Caliph Uthmân in the 7th Century, Arabic became an international language as it was chosen for the codification

of the holy book El Quran. Due to the conquests and the expansion of the Islamic empire, the speakers of Arabic became of different origins and divergent maternal varieties. Consequently, there was a split in the language they used distinguishing between two varieties: the unifying Classical Arabic of Islam and a number of regional vernacular varieties which are used for spoken communication.

From the late 18th century, a new distinction between two literal varieties, the Classical Arabic and the Modern Standard Arabic, was drawn by linguists (Ryding, 2005). This is because linguists view that Classical Arabic was too complex and difficult, in terms of its lexis and syntax, to be used for the modern times especially after the development of journalism, printing and the media. Modern Standard Arabic, as a simplified version of Classical Arabic, evolved due to the prevalence of literacy, education and journalism. Hence, Classical Arabic was used only in reciting the holy book Quran and quoting older literary texts, while the Modern Standard Arabic is used in different formal settings such as education, politics, religious sermons, media and writing (Ryding, 2005).

The case of Arabic constitutes what Ferguson (1959) labels a diglossic situation. Diglossia is a linguistic phenomenon where two genetically related varieties exist in the same speech community while they are used for different sets of reasons. One of these varieties is higher in terms of prestige than the other, it has a written form and it is used in formal settings and publications, while the low variety is mainly used for oral, informal conversations. In the case of Algeria, Modern Standard Arabic is the high variety that exists alongside a regional low variety which is Algerian Arabic.

2.3.2 Algerian Arabic

Algerian Arabic, also known as *Derija*, is an Arabic variety that belongs to the dialect group called Maghreb which is spoken in North Africa and which stretches from Tunisia in the east to Morocco in the west (Versteegh, 2014). Due to the long history of foreign invasions, this code has been influenced in terms of its syntax, lexis and phonology. It has a number of words that have Berber, Spanish, Turkish and French origins (Ahmed-Sid, 2008) which made it different from other Arabic varieties of the Middle East to the extent of unintelligibility sometimes (Sayahi, 2014). Also, after the French colonialism, Algerians who were illiterate in both French and Modern Standard Arabic started the process of lexical borrowing from French. That is, they simplified some of the French words, changed their pronunciation and started using them in their daily speech as they were unable of fluently speaking the language (Bensafi, 2002). For

example, the French word 'table', meaning 'table' in English, became the Algerian Arabic word 'tabla' which kept the same meaning. The equivalent of this word in Modern Standard Arabic is 'tawila = طاولة'. This is what shaped the Algerian Arabic variety and distanced it from other Arabic counterparts.

There exists in the literature two opposing views towards Algerian Arabic. The first of which is associated with linguists like Mouhadjer (2002), Khalifi (n.d.) and Sahraoui (2009). These scholars approach Algerian Arabic negatively referring to it as a 'bizarre mixture' and calling for purifying it from all French influence. They seek restoring the Arabic language that existed before the French colonialism. The second view calls for upgrading the status of Algerian Arabic by standardizing it and promoting it to a national language status in place of Modern Standard Arabic (Benrabah, 2007a). Benrabah (2007a) argues that Modern Standard Arabic is very difficult for pupils to learn and that the underachievement of pupils in schools is due to Modern Standard Arabic being a means of instruction. However, despite many proposals from the Algerian ministry of education for codifying, standardising and teaching Algerian Arabic in schools, policy makers never approved this move. Kerras and Baya Essayahi (2016, p. 151) explain that this rejection could be due to certain ideologies related to unity of Arabic countries:

> They pretend to preserve a conservative system by teaching standard Arabic as a language that unifies the Arab world, but the reality shows that none of the Arabic countries actually use this language on a daily basis. Maybe the reason of this rejection is to build an Arabic market with common interests, but never in history have we seen Arabic countries collaborating to develop an economic union.

It is nonetheless observable that Algerian Arabic is now written down due to the emergence of the Internet, social media and digital communication (Mostari, 2009). It should be mentioned that at the early ages of the internet, computers and phones did not support the use of Arabic letters. Hence, Arabs used Roman letters for typing down the Arabic language instead (Darwish, 2013). This transliteration method of using Roman script in writing Arabic letters and words is known in the literature as 'Arabizi' (Al-Shaer, 2016). This term was coined by mixing the word 'Arabic' and the word 'Inglizee' (the Arabic word for English) together (Yaghan, 2008). Although Arabizi originated due to the prevalence of communication technology that was not initially compatible with the Arabic script (Allehaiby, 2013); it is still used even after the Arabic writing system became available in computers and phones. This suggests that Arabizi has become another resource in social media users' repertoires to express themselves and

their identities. In fact, although Algerian Arabic could be written in Arabic letters, it is reported to be written in this Arabizi style as well. In a study by Mostari (2009) that examined the languages used in writing 50 SMSs by young Algerians, analysis revealed that 29.30% of collected data were messages written in Algerian Arabic and 49 out of these 50 SMSs were written in Arabizi despite that mobile phones are compatible with Arabic script.

Algerian Arabic lacks a standardized written system, but there is a new initiative by Saadane and Habash (2015) that is interested in developing a unifying written system for it. They argue that this writing system will enable the use of computers to achieve translation from Algerian Arabic to Modern Standard Arabic and the vice versa. However, they are still faced with the problem of variation that Algerian Arabic exhibits throughout all the country. According to them, Algerian Arabic has four main varieties that are Algerian Arabic of western regions, of the rural east, of the central zones and of the Sahara. The work of Saadane and Habash (2015) and similar ones that seek to provide written systems for varieties of Arabic (Habash, Diab, & Rambow, 2012) challenge the functional distribution provided by Ferguson to the high and low varieties of the diglossic dichotomy. It became evident that low and only spoken varieties are now used for writing purposes in digital communication (Lee, 2016a) and some efforts like the one mentioned above are already trying to develop written systems for them which raises questions about their future status and functions.

2.3.3 French

As mentioned in [section 2.2.4](#) above, the French colonialism in Algeria sought to eradicate the Arabic and Islamic identities of Algerians, the reason for which Algerians made both Arabic and Islam signs of unity and liberation. For them, independent Algeria was equal to restoring the Arabic-Islamic identity and eradicating the French language that the colonials worked hard to implement in the country. The authorities' efforts of replacing the French language in the country by Arabic are known as the *Arabisation policies*. The authorities promoted Arabic in all vital domains in the country, especially in the educational sector. This was not easily achievable because of the numbers of illiterate people in Arabic and the fact that more people knew French instead of Arabic (Benrabah, 2007a). This is because, as has been explained earlier, before independence French was the only language taught in schools.

The proponents of the Arabisation policies were reckless in denying the fact that Algeria was a plurilingual country after its independence and they were only focused on a nationalistic view that calls for unity of people and language. Such nationalistic ideologies promoted unity through language and religion (Benrabah, 2004). These policy makers neglected other varieties and languages including Algerian Arabic and Tamazight and popularised Modern Standard Arabic which is the language of Islam (Mostari, 2005). Many linguists maintain that the authorities in Algeria should have made the status of Tamazight, Algerian Arabic and French explicit (Benrabah, 2007a; Mostari, 2003) instead of being ambitious of replacing them all with Modern Standard Arabic. Some have even sought to make Modern Standard Arabic the spoken language of the country which was an impossible thing to achieve (Benrabah, 2007a; Mostari, 2003). Some scholars maintain that the Arabisation schemes backfired and despite authorities' attempts the three varieties survived. French today holds the first foreign language position in Algeria, it is however covertly recognised as second official language instead of a foreign one (Mouhadjer, 2002). It is used in all important spheres of life including administration, media, government and higher education. In fact, 95% of university courses are delivered in French (Chemami, 2011).

The problem that faces the advocates of the Arabisation policies is Algerians' positive attitudes towards French as opposed to Modern Standard Arabic. Mostari (2011) carried out a comparative study of the status of French in Algeria and Morocco. Most of her Algerian respondents viewed French as a language of modernity and prestige while Modern Standard Arabic as an old-fashioned and complex language. Also, most of them were interested in learning French and not in improving their Modern Standard Arabic. What is also striking to any further Arabisation policies is that the motivation that drove the authorities to these policies (i.e., Arabic being a symbol of freedom and unity) is no longer shared with the population. In fact, and after more than 60 years of independence, French does no longer have negative colonial connotations to the new generation. Only 30% of questionnaire respondents in Mostari (2011)'s study view French as the language of the colonizer and only 1% think that French should not be taught in Algeria. These attitudes are also shared with participants of a study by Benrabah (2007a) who explored the attitudes of young Algerians towards the languages in Algeria. The results of questionnaires distributed to 1051 informants show that similarly to Mostari (2011)'s sturdy, French scored higher with 44.4% to the statement 'the language I like more' and to other statements related to modernity, science and

openness to the world. Modern Standard Arabic on the other hand had higher scores in statements related to language of religious values and grammatical difficulty.

In a nutshell, it seems that efforts to promote Arabic at the expense of French are void because the population has lost the previous liberation and resistance intentions and colonial connotations. They are also void because of some negative attitudes to Modern Standard Arabic being an old-fashioned language that could not adopt to the fast-developing world. According to Benrabah (2007a), the underachievement in Arabic that pupils are facing nowadays is a consequence of the Arabisation policies that were promoted after independence. He views the results of the studies that found out that Algerians view Modern Standard Arabic as difficult and old fashioned as predictions that came true. The former minister of education of Algeria in 1977, Mustafa Lacheraf, said that the Arabisation policy is going to lead the students to hate Modern Standard Arabic because it is a difficult language and all they are learning are abstract words in textbooks which could encourage them to prefer French. However, scholars like Sahraoui (2009) blame the bilingual education for the underachievement of pupils in Modern Standard Arabic and argue that this latter was once a language of science and was perfectly capable of adopting to development and implementing words form other languages. He argues that French will only be a language of destruction and colonialism while Modern Standard Arabic is the language of the nation. He maintains that it is dangerous for Arabic to be limited to only some domains while French is dominating most of them proposing that Modern Standard Arabic is capable of serving all the duties of a language. This last point is important according to him so that Arabic will not face what the Latin language has faced before, that is being a dead language.

2.3.4 English

Another facet to the efforts of the eradication of French exercised by the authorities in Algeria is the promotion of English to replace French as a first foreign language. English, for Algerians at least, is not tainted with a colonial history (Bensafi, 2002). In 1993, for the first time in Algerian educational history, primary school pupils were given the opportunity to choose between French and English as their first mandatory foreign language (Benrabah, 2007b). This move aimed to encourage the adaptation of English as another attempt to associate with the Arab speaking world and eliminate French which has alienated the Algerians. That is because other Arab countries speak English instead of French. However, most pupils chose French, which is mainly because their parents spoke it and could help their children speak it and

because parents thought that French will always be present in Algeria (Benrabah, 2007b). By 2004, 66% of Algerians were speakers of French and only 15% could speak English (Benrabah, 2007b). Also, English is more popular with younger generations than it is with older ones that were mainly using French. A study by Chemami (2011) exploring college students' attitudes towards the use of the different languages in Algeria, suggests that college students are interested in improving their English as they suggested the diversification of the writing and reading activities in English in Universities and providing more documents and references in English. These views are also shared with the participants of Benrabah (2007a)'s study. These participants, in answering a question about the best combination of languages that could exist in Algeria and allow them prosperity in it and elsewhere, chose the Arabic, English and French multilingualism.

In the midst of all the commotion about the status of languages in Algeria stand the Algerian speaker who owing to the educational system is native in Algerian Arabic or Tamazight, and learns Modern Standard Arabic, French and English in schools. Having these languages and language varieties in their repertoire leads to inevitable mixing acts between them in communication. Despite some negative attitudes towards code mixing, and the call for purifying one's speech, mixing codes in Algeria, as will be revealed below, is a reality and it is in fact typical of any ordinary Algerian.

2.4 Mixing Codes in Communication

Due to historical and educational reasons mentioned above, today Algeria is a diglossic and multilingual society. With regard to diglossia and as has been previously mentioned Arabic exists with its two varieties, namely Modern Standard Arabic as the national and official language of the country since its independence in 1962 and Algerian Arabic as the spoken variety and the mother tongue of about 70-80% of the population (Chemami, 2011). Besides these two, multilingualism includes Tamazight that was acknowledged as a national language in 2001 and later as an official language in 2016 and it is the mother tongue of 20-30% of the population (Chemami, 2011). Additionally, French and English that are first and second foreign languages respectively. Having said that, it is worth explaining at this point the difference between societal and individual multilingualism. While the former is about the languages that exist in a society by means of institutional decisions, the latter concerns the languages acquired by the individual people. The Algerian society is multilingual but a considerable number of Algerians are actually monolingual (Kissi, 2016). This is

because multilingualism is not homogenous across the country and it is notable that multilingualism is prominent in northern cities and rare in the southern ones which is mainly due to colonialism that did not fully assimilate the Southern Sahara part of Algeria.

The undeniable fact is that mixing codes in communication is what is most pervasive in Algerian speech even in comparison to other neighbouring countries that experienced same foreign settlements such as Morocco and Tunisia. Amazouz, Adda-Decker, and Lamel (2017) set to explore who amongst Algerians, Tunisians and Moroccans switch to French most. They collected 53 hours of televised media including 14 hours from Algerian TV shows, 15 hours from Moroccan TV shows and 24 hours from Tunisian ones. Despite the corpus containing only 14 hours of Algerian speech, it contained 2081 segments of switching to French compared to 938 and 509 in Moroccan and Tunisian TV shows respectively. Mixing codes in one utterance is referred to as codeswitching (Auer, 1984; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 2005). Theoretical perspectives in relation to terminology on codeswitching will be discussed in chapter 3 while the rest of this chapter will present previous studies that investigated this phenomenon in relation with Algerian context.

Since codeswitching is an unavoidable linguistic phenomenon in the Algerian context, Benguedda (2015) conducted a study to investigate the social factors that lead to it. Results of questionnaires and interviews of 10 families coming from rural and urban districts reveal that the socio-economic factor of participants, namely living in urban regions with high economic status vs living in rural regions and having low economic status, is significant to their codeswitching patterns. In particular, participants coming from low socio-economic background use less codeswitching than those who come from high socio-economic backgrounds. This is related mainly to how French is learnt and used more by people in the cities than people from rural areas where the level of education is lower. This is because, as has been previously explained, contemporary multilingualism in Algeria results from educational constitutions. This was not the case, however, in the first decades prior to independence since even uneducated people where perfectly capable of speaking French due to contact with French soldiers and settlers (Ben-Yelles, 2011). Another factor that facilitates switching to French is the mastery of French. Ben-Yelles (2011) conducted a study on randomly selected 100 university students to examine their attitudes towards and mastery of French. Findings of questionnaire analysis reveal that female participants find it easy to learn French and are

interested in switching to it. On the other hand, male participants face difficulties in mastering French which leads them to having negative attitudes about it and switching less. Ben-Yelles (2011), however, acknowledges that sometimes even when having a low mastery level, French expressions are still evident in the speech of males.

Other researchers who were interested in people's attitudes towards codeswitching include Benahcene (2016) who conducted research on how people that spoke Tamazight as a first language view switching to Arabic and French. She distributed questionnaires to 50 informants who were of Berber origins but lived in Arabic dominant cities. Her results show that 70% of her informants codeswitched during their daily speech and 50% of them say that it is a bad practice compared to 30% who viewed codeswitching positively and 20% who were indifferent about it. However, these results can reflect the attitudes of minority language speakers in general because they seek to keep their language intact and view mixing it with other languages as an endangering act. However, despite having negative attitudes towards it, Benahcene (2016) explains that they do not view it as a problem but rather as a facilitator of communication. Contrary to these attitudes, in another study Ahmed-Sid (2008) solicited university students' attitudes towards codeswitching. He administered Likert-type scale questionnaires to 248 students of both genders and different fields of specialism and recorded their speech producing almost 30 hours of data. Results show that 89% of the students use codeswitching and that they have more positive than negative attitudes towards it. Gender is a significant factor in these attitudes as males have more negative attitudes than females. Because language use is an identity marker, male students argue that they prefer switching to Modern Standard Arabic and that codeswitching to French fosters colonialism. In that, they refer to the connotative meaning of the word 'colonialism' believing that those who use French approve of French colonialism and are still linguistically colonised. Females on the other hand, see it as a normal behaviour and as an unmarked language choice.

All of the mentioned studies so far have explored codeswitching in Algerian spoken discourse, yet according to Boukreris and bouchegra (2016), codeswitching is also observed in another mode of communication, namely Algerian written advertisements. Their analysis of some selected advertising placards that are placed by companies on the sides of the roads show that different linguistic strategies are used in them. Companies use different scripts, fonts, codes in addition to codeswitching as strategies to promote their products. According to the researchers, companies employ

codeswitching in their advertisements to mimic Algerians' speaking style that would enable the companies to narrow the gap between themselves and their customers. This allows them to address consumers directly and highlight the locality of the advertised product.

Having said that and given the diversity of communication means that are facilitated today by computers and smartphones, the literature shows that Algerians produce multilingual discourse in digital communication as well, including the social network site Facebook. Kerras and Baya Essayahi (2016) collected Facebook posts of young Algerians and found out that these latter use a combination of codes online including Algerian Arabic, French, English and Spanish. In addition, and in terms of codeswitching, Zitouni and Saaid (2019) found that similar to spoken discourse, Algerians codeswitch on Facebook. They distributed online questionnaires to 75 university students and the results showed that 88.56% of them codeswitch when communicating through Facebook. Moreover, the majority (93%) have positive attitudes towards this act. Participants explained that codeswitching on Facebook is a tool to enhance communicative skills and negotiate meaning. In similar veins, a preliminary study was conducted to explore the frequency of codeswitching on Facebook pages (Abdelhamid, 2018). A total of 11920 comments were collected from two Facebook pages and coded for whether they contain instances of codeswitching or not. Results showed that 30% of collected data consist of cases of codeswitching and most of cases represent switching between Algerian Arabic and French in addition to switching between Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Further analysis revealed that codeswitching in this context serves to use some specific vocabulary and to save time and effort.

2.5 Conclusion

In sum, the diglossic and multilingual situation of the Algerian society led its people to have at least three codes in their linguistic repertoire resulting in the inevitable act of mixing between them. This latter happens mostly between Arabic and French pairs in regions where Arabic is a dominant language. Studies have shown that people acknowledge to mix codes when they speak (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Benahcene, 2016) and that factors including socio-economic status, French mastery level and gender influence that (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benguedda, 2015). Also, as has been mentioned in section 2.4 people's attitudes towards mixing codes are both negative and positive (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benahcene, 2016). What is also evident

is that codeswitching and multilingual linguistic practices by Algerians are also observed on social media platforms (Abdelhamid, 2018; Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016; Zitouni & Saaid, 2019). As has been explained in Chapter 1, the current study is interested in exploring this type of online communication and discourse. For this reason, the next chapter reviews the literature on approaches used in examining such type of online language and introduces the two theoretical frameworks that are adopted by this study.

CHAPTER 3 – Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the multilingual situation in Algeria and explained how multilingualism is also observed on the Internet and on social media platforms. The present chapter reviews how researchers have been approaching and analysing multilingualism on the Internet. It first describes broadly the main trends of analysis that linguists adopted in researching languages online followed by a review of how online identity projection through language use is approached. Then, the argument narrows to describing how one aspect of language online, codeswitching on digital communication, was researched. This relates to applying theories from the literature on codeswitching in spoken discourse to studying codeswitching online. Having presented this, the chapter argues that although such work has presented insightful information about the pragmatic functions of codeswitching in such a medium of interaction, it is more or less neglecting the influence of the medium itself. The chapter shifts attention to two characteristics of social media platform that can shape users' linguistic practices in them which are the resources available to users and the limitlessness of the audience they could be targeting. For this reason, the notion of Translanguaging and the Audience Design framework are proposed to help answer the thesis' research questions of how users of social media platforms are using available resources to communicate meaning and how is their imagined audience relevant to this.

3.2 Languages Online

Most of the early online research that is language-focused was concerned with identifying and describing the features of 'the language used online'. Researchers were trying to understand how this language is different from the language used in speech and writing, or whether it is a speech-put-to-writing type of language (Herring, 2007). This has resulted in corpus-based research which compared large online and internet data sets to writing and speech (Barton & Lee, 2013). One example of this is the work of Yates (1996) who gathered computer mediated interactions that took place online via

computer conferencing systems at the Open University in the United Kingdom and compared them to spoken and written corpora. His findings suggested that language used on computer mediated interactions 'is more akin to writing than speech in terms of range of vocabulary used' (Yates, 1996, p. 35). He explained this in relation to the medium itself, as users are delivering information in text which is similar to what is used in writing as opposed to speech.

This view that associates linguistic practices to the features of the technological medium is known as 'technological determinism' (Markus, 1994; Markus & Robey, 1988). Researchers who fostered this view considered that language online is shaped by the electronic and technological nature of the medium and they viewed it as a discrete variety with its own label and characteristics. One prominent example from the literature is the variety 'Netspeak' which was coined by Crystal in his book '*Language and the Internet*' (2001). Netspeak is defined as 'a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet […] arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global and, interactive' (Crystal, 2001, p. 18). He explained that Netspeak has sub-varieties as well that are related to the mode of interaction it is used in, distinguishing between 'the language of e-mail', 'the language of chatgroups' and so on. For example, 'the language of emails' consists of structural elements with e-mail related functions including headers, signatures and the like in addition to other elements relating to grammar and lexicon which are of stylistic significance. However, this view was judged to sustain a homogeneous and a simplified approach to language online. Androutsopoulos (2006, 2011) argues that language online is diverse and not as homogeneous as one might think rejecting the technological determinism view. He maintains that instead of listing features of 'the e-mail language', for instance, it is more appropriate to highlight the social and cultural practices that arise from the use of a giving mode of interaction and approach its features as resources that users can draw from to construct different discourse styles.

Accordingly, a wave of research that is characterised by the realisation that the language used online is not separate from users' social and cultural contexts emerged. Researchers acknowledged that users do not apply the same digital tools to all online contexts, as has been previously believed, but they use them to attain particular purposes. Accordingly, researchers studied the linguistic social variation online and many studies were focused on identity online and gender differences (Barton & Lee, 2013). Unlike in offline contexts where people use paralinguistic tools to construct their

identities, in online contexts they rely on linguistic ones (Lee, 2014). Users have to rely on written words, punctuation, emoticons and other linguistic cues to compensate for gestures and facial expressions (Lee, 2014; Tagg, 2015). They also use different *digital tokens* such as their pictures on their online profiles in social media sites, font, music and videos to personalise their online identity; such practice functions similarly to offline clothing (Marwick, 2013). Moreover, they rely on languages and switching between them in expressing themselves and their identities online. Before delving into how codeswitching and language use is used to express different identities, how they are researched online and which approaches this study is adopting in its analysis; it is essential to introduce identity first and review some literature on its expression online. This is because one central aspect of using language and codeswitching online is to project identities (Lee, 2016b). Besides covering these topics, the next section will also highlight which framework of analysis the current study is adopting with regard to the concept of identity.

3.3 Approaches to Identity Online

Identity could be defined as who a person is (Georgalou, 2017) but this definition refers to the personal aspect of identity only. This is because it describes identity as the product of (1) what people think about who they are, and (2) what stories they tell others about themselves. Nonetheless, identity is not only limited to what people think about themselves, but what others think about them counts too. Besides having this personal aspect, people have another social aspect to their identities which is the product of (3) what others think people are, and (4) what stories they tell about them (Thurlow, Lengel, & Tomic, 2004). In this, the social aspect covers the social circumstances that one is born in, including how they identify themselves within groups and to others while the personal aspect of identity refers to one's attitudes and character (Georgalou, 2017). Accordingly, identity can be defined as 'the social positioning of self and others' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Moreover, because identity is the product of what people put together with the help of others, it is viewed by many scholars as being socially constructed (Thurlow et al., 2004) as will be detailed further below.

The research of identity has always been a key interest of many disciplines including psychology, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, education, and others. The literature within these fields refers to different terminology when it comes to identity and people's presentations including 'self', 'positioning', 'self-presentation' and many more but without any consensus on how these terms apply (Georgalou, 2017).

According to Orsatti and Riemer (2015), there is no clear cut in most research on identity online, in which this study is interested, between these terms and in most cases they are used interchangeably. Following this note, this study will also use such terms interchangeably when analysing or referring to identity. Having said that, research on identity follows generally either the essentialist or the constructionist approaches (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The difference between these two perspectives is how identity is defined and approached. The essentialist perspective locates identity within the individuals and defines it as a product of one's mind and psyche. Essentialists approach identity as something that it is located, knowable and taken-for-granted. The constructionist counterpart on the other hand define identity as a product that is constructed through one's interactions and experiences. Constructionists approach identity as something that is socially constructed and which is shaped by historical and cultural contexts (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Georgalou, 2017).

Online identity or identity online which refers to 'identity work performed and enacted online' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 279) was also researched through the lenses of the essentialist and constructionist terms. Most early research on it is based on an essentialist view (Bouvier, 2012; Orsatti & Riemer, 2015) which, as expressed above, views identity as one unchangeable internal component that direct people's actions in the outside world. Researchers who followed this thinking online maintain that identity is only expressible through performance in terms of communication; meaning that one's internal component known as identity can be performed and hence expressed online only through communicating (Orsatti & Riemer, 2015). These ideas are mainly derived from the work of Erving Goffman (1959) who approaches identity as something that is 'performed' depending on the 'context', creating an analogy between life and the theatre. He explains that like actors in the theatre, individuals in real life have 'backstage' and 'frontstage' selves. The *backstage self* is the individual's real identity whereas the *frontstage self* is the identity that they are performing in given occasions and contexts. Accordingly, through some tactics and strategies, including clothing and makeup on the theatre stage and languages and styles in communications, individuals manipulate performing different selves or identities depending on the context at hand. For instance, sometimes they enact their *real* self and other times they project their *ideal* self, an aspect known as '*impression management'* (Goffman, 1959).

In fact, the characteristics of some online interactional platforms such as their asynchronistic nature and their emphasis on linguistic and verbal cues rather than non-

verbal ones permits individuals to manipulate and have control over their identity presentational behaviour (Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs, 2006). In that, individuals can intentionally hide their least desired aspects of their identities and recreate new identities that depict their idealized self while not revealing their true identities (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). For example, Sessions (2009) illustrates how users of Myspace believe that some pictures posted on Myspace, namely: Myspace Angles, are deceitful because people are taking the pictures from specific angles that covered most of their bodies hence making them appear more attractive. Sessions (2009) reported the concerns of some users of such social networking sites that the people they are interacting with are more attractive online than they actually are. This is what led early research in this field to focus on studying given dualities of identities depending on the context they are enacted in such as 'online' vs 'offline' and 'self' or 'real' vs 'deceptive online presentations'(Orsatti & Riemer, 2015; Zhao et al., 2008).

Back et al. (2010) set to investigate whether users of online social networking sites reflect their actual personalities when posting online or do they convey idealized identities of themselves instead. They examined Facebook profiles of 133 students from University of Texas in the United States and 103 users of the social networking sites StudyVZ and SchuelerVZ from Germany. However, and counter to previous beliefs, results show that participants were not conveying an idealised identity of themselves online through their social networking activities but they were projecting their real identities instead. This finding could relate to the anonymity of the social network site because some research found that enacting identities which are different from that of their own is more common between users in anonymous environment as opposed to less anonymous platforms like Facebook (Ellison et al., 2006) as will be discussed through the next study.

Zhao et al. (2008) conducted a study to investigate identity construction on Facebook by examining the Facebook accounts of 63 users. The researchers explain that Facebook is a 'nonymous' online space, the opposite of anonymous spaces, in which users' freedom to impersonate deceitful or any other identities is constricted. Zhao et al. (2008) explain that deceitful identities could refer to how males pretend to be women and the old pretend to be younger in online spaces as some examples. This is because a nonymous space entails that users could be using their real name, address and occupation online and most importantly they could interact with their offline acquaintances in the online environment besides interacting with others that they may

not know in the offline world. The researchers found that users act on nonymous online spaces differently from how they were reported to act in anonymous ones. In that, they were more honest about their self-presentations and they were more interested in showing their identities implicitly rather than telling about them explicitly. This means that they were more interested in presenting themselves indirectly through photos and posts on their walls rather than directly writing about themselves and their character. According to the researchers, this is the users' strategy of being honest about their identities but still 'stretch the truth a bit' (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1830).

Such essentialist view of approaching identity was judged to be 'a coherent notion of self and identity' (Orsatti & Riemer, 2015, p. 6) which postulates that individuals have only one online self for the online environment and another offline one for the real world. These dualities may have been applicable for research at early dates of Internet use, but they are very limiting to our understanding of identity in social media today as this latter presents different graphical affordances and multimodal possibilities that exceed what was accessible and possible at the early years of the Internet. Contemporary researchers are more convinced that the understanding of identity should 'highlight the performative, dynamic, socially constructed and socially situated aspects of [it]' (Vásquez, 2014, p. 67). In contrast to the mentioned above traditional and essentialist notions of identity, contemporary work on identity online found that a social constructionist approach is more appropriate for this matter.

The social constructionist approach online is based on the work of Bucholtz and Hall (2005, pp. 585-586) who argue for 'the analytic value of approaching identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories'. The researchers stress that identity is complex and cannot be contained in terms of a one single component. They maintain that a social constructionist analysis of identity should attain to (1) the *emergent* nature of identity which means that it is constructed rather than reflected; (2) the *flexible* nature of identity which cannot be fully captured by broad social categories like gender and race but sometimes is expressed in local social instances; (3) the fact that linguistic forms could be used as *indexical* element for identity construction even when not used for their original indexical goals; (4) the *relational* aspect of identity that make it related to social phenomena and not an autonomous entity and; (5) the *partial* aspect of identity which

does not view it as a whole but as always partial. In other words, a social constructionist approach views identity as being emergent, flexible, indexical, relational and partial.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that even when identity is perceived as being fluid and flexible, there may be some aspects of it that are still static and not easy to change such as age and nationality (Barton & Lee, 2013). In addition, some aspects of identity may not be revealed in a given social interaction as 'people are constantly making decisions about whether they wish to express or reveal certain aspects of their identities' (Lee, 2016b, p. 55). Adopting the social constructionist approach to studying identity online entails that researchers should investigate how users are adopting different resources, be it linguistic or non-linguistic, to showcase certain aspects of their identities (Bouvier, 2012). It also denotes that the online interactions including the use of text and non-linguistic resources are approached as a form of social practice (Barton & Lee, 2013). This idea will be highlighted more in the subsection below.

Indeed, one central aspect of identity expression online is the linguistic resources themselves, Lee (2016b) maintains that language choice and codeswitching have a close relation to the concept of identity. It is worth mentioning at this point that most early research on language online was English-centred and 'most researchers publishing in English venues have generalized about the language of computer-mediated *communication*, whereas in fact they were describing computer-mediated *English'* (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 5). It is until Danet and Herring (2007) published '*The Multilingual Internet'* which features a collection of research conducted on other languages online; that research on languages besides English emerged. Indeed, the publication of this volume has marked an important transition in research on language online (Barton & Lee, 2013). Studies such as that of Barton and Lee (2011) examined how language choice namely the use of Spanish, Chinese and English on Flickr, could be a form of identity projection. In fact, this study introduced a different understanding of the relation between identity and linguistic practices suggesting that language choice online does not necessarily refer to users' ethnic background and geographical location. It is however used as an identity construction tool. Barton and Lee (2011) explain that language choice could be manipulated so as users are able to express global vs local identities. For example, English is used alongside Chinese or Spanish to present global content and/or translate local content to the global audience. Users of Flickr in this sense are globalising the local content which seems to be a frequent practice amongst them. In that, they are projecting themselves as *glocal* participants. Accordingly, the

researchers adopted a constructionist approach to identity online where they do not 'conceptualize identity as a stable attribute maintained by individual participants. Instead, identity is understood as constructed through interaction, fluid and open to revision' (Page, 2014, p. 46).

Research that followed the social constructionist approach and looked at the fluid character of identity as expressed through language use includes also Chau and Lee (2017)'s study. The researchers in this study examined the online practices of a student named Matthew on a Facebook group that was created by students of a linguistic course at the University of Hong Kong, and which consists of 196 members including one lecturer and six tutors. All members of the group are bilinguals speaking Cantonese as first language and English as second language. The case participant Matthew is a second-year student majoring in English which made him senior to most other members who are first year students. The analysis of his practices in this group revealed that he used a mixture of linguistic practices to construct different identities through his contributions. Matthew used 'Standard English' to project the serious learner identity through which he avoided more casual postings. But he sometimes shifted to other identities, namely that of a facilitator and an experienced mentor to his fellow students through other discursive practices.

Bolander and Locher (2015) explored identity construction in the Facebook status updates of two focus groups. The first group consists of ten students and young professionals living in Switzerland and the second one consists of ten students who were studying in the UK at the time of the study. The dataset includes 474 posts collected from the first group and 228 posts collected from the second. The researchers were able to track identity construction of the participants and analysis reveals that these latter are mostly projecting five major categories of identity including: 'Humor, pastime, personality, relationship and work' (Bolander & Locher, 2015, p. 118). The researchers stress the importance of not approaching identity through an essentialist understanding but as a process that is constructed.

In a different study, Saoudi (2018) examined identity construction of Salafi Algerian Facebook users focusing on creative nicknames. Salafis refer to a sub-religious group of individuals who are very conservative in terms of their social and Islamic religious practices. It was found that Salafis relied on nicknames on Facebook as a resource to construct their religious identity and affiliations. They produced nicknames with 'religious' and 'place of origin' references, one example is *Faris el Wahrani* (Faris

the Oranian) in this case his first name is *Faris* and his place of origin is *Oran***.** The study concludes that this linguistic use is purposeful to highlight religious identities online as according to participants using their real names would not allow for such identity presentation.

3.3.1 Practice-based approach

As previously mentioned, the current study adopts the same argument in the work of Barton and Lee (2013) that texts are viewed as a form of social practice. This view is derived from the *new literacy studies approach* to researching reading and writing. Any activity in everyday life that involves text in the form of reading and/ or writing is known in the literature as 'literacy practices' which study or research is referred to as 'literacy studies'. The term 'new' in the *new literacy studies approach* refers to new ways throughout which literacy is conceptualised and researched (Street, 2012). Early literacy approaches were based on cognitive and linguistic accounts that consider literacy as the sole ability to read and write (Barton, 2001). Its proponents approached literacy as an autonomous, neutral and universal skill that remains the same in all contexts. As a reaction to this came new literacy studies to argue that literacy varies from one context to another and that it covers reading and writing along with the social meanings that come with them (Barton, 2001; Street, 2012).

Accordingly, literacy is treated as a social practice rather than a cognitive skill which means that new literacy studies focus on researching text *in use in context* instead of a *dependent object*. It takes at its starting point not text itself but the social practices that people use text to perform (Jones, Chik, & Hafner, 2015). In that, new literacy studies views that the central part of using text is to locate it in practices which at their turn are reflective of given social actions and identities. This is the same argument adopted to online communication by Androutsopoulos (2008, p. 2) who accentuates the importance of the relation between 'digital texts and their production and reception practices'. Thus, this approach will allow for examining authentic online interactions starting from text on the screen to the broader sociocultural context they refer to (Barton & Lee, 2013).

The concept of *practice* is important in literacy studies because it clarifies the relation between the action and text. So that when text or language is considered a set of practices this 'provides a framing for locating a theory of language in a theory of life' (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 25) which is made of a collection of social practices. When used in the online environment, the concept of practice is also important because it helps

us establish the link referred to above between online interaction and broader sociocultural contexts. Jones et al. (2015) refer to online practices as digital practices and they define them as the actions enabled by the afforded tools which are recognised by users as means that facilitate attaining social goals and projecting given identities. As such it is important in researching online or digital practices to account for what people are doing with the resources and affordances at hand in any interaction. This is because although the affordances in any given online environment are pre-determined, what users are doing with them is not (Barton & Lee, 2013).

Affordances are the possibilities provided by the online medium of interaction whereas practices are what users are actually doing with them (Androutsopoulos, 2013). Online practices on Facebook, for instance, include using the affordances of posting status updates, sharing photos, videos and links, and tagging friends in a post and so on. Herring (2013) considers such practices that are exclusive to the online environment and most precisely to the social network site Facebook as 'emergent' practices because they are not exercised in other offline environments. By focusing on the practices, the individuals as the fundamental unit of analysis are decentred and the online activities of using text and affordances are highlighted instead (Orsatti & Riemer, 2015, p. 6) which is what this study is aiming for.

Having said that, through the engagement in online textual and non-textual practices, individuals are signalling different social actions and enacting various identities. Analysing text or language online as sets of practices helps us understand how identity is practically expressed. The current study adopts this practice- based approach together with the social constructionist theory to identity online in answering its research questions. In that, participants' communicative activities online will be approached as a set of practices that are used to project and construct fluid identities. The next section will explain how the multilingual communicative activities online where first researched before moving to explaining the theoretical frameworks adopted in this study that would enable establishing the link between using different linguistic resources on Facebook as digital practices to attain social actions including identity projection.

3.4 Approaches to Codeswitching Online

In order to analyse multilingual communications found on social media and other digital contexts, scholars used previously available models of analysis in the literature

that were initially created for offline, spoken communication. This includes the three seminal approaches to codeswitching that were initially developed for speech events which are Gumperz' work (1972, 1982), Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1988, 1993) and Auer's Conversation Analysis (1984). Researchers attempted to explore how relevant these approaches are to understanding codeswitching in digital communication and whether codeswitching functions in digital communication as it does in spoken discourse.

Through her Markedness Model to codeswitching, Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that what causes speakers to codeswitch in any speech event depends on their understanding of and benefit from the social speech event they are found in. According to her, speakers weigh the costs and rewards they are going to benefit from when making a given linguistic choice, in other words, to decide whether to switch to a different code or not depends on the social outcomes that speakers could face. Such outcomes include reinforcing social distance when using a standard as opposed to a local variety, for example. Myers-Scotton (1988) explains that in any given interaction there are sets of social norms that govern the language choice; where some linguistic varieties are expected to be used and hence are the unmarked choice while others are not expected and are marked choices. These latter could be unmarked choices under a different set of social norms and the fact that the speaker is bringing these unexpected linguistic choices to the current situation means that they are bringing other interpersonal relationships to negotiate the ones at play. Myers-Scotton (1988) illustrates this point with a speech event happening at the entrance of an IBM Nairobi head office in Kenya. When a visitor approaches to speak to the security guard of the office, they use the unmarked choice which is Swahili. Swahili in this case is unmarked because it is an ethnically neutral lingua franca that is used across Kenya. The fact that the interlocutors are strangers and the nature of the formal encounter requires the use of Swahili, making it therefore the expected and unmarked choice in this particular context. However, the visitor seems to share the same ethnic identity with the security guard, hence changing the social norms from being Kenyan strangers to being Kenyan sharing the same ethnic background. A switch to the shared ethnic mother tongue becomes therefore the unmarked choice of the situation.

Barasa (2016) who is interested in the same Kenyan speech community applied this model to computer-mediated communication data and reported central issues with it. She worked with 5427 messages of Kenyan university students and urban

professionals collected from SMS text messages, e-mails, Instant Message chats and online social network sites. One of the questions raised in her study was to find out to what extent functions of codeswitching in spoken discourse apply to codeswitching in computer-mediated communications. Her answer to this question was succinct as she maintained in relation to the Markedness Model that the notions of marked and unmarked choices are seldom used in computer-mediated communications. This is because in order to weigh the costs and rewards of the situation, one should know about the audience they are targeting and the audience's expectations as to what languages to be used. This is very difficult to establish in some of the computer-mediated communication contexts especially if the sender has no motivation to explore the languages that they share with the receivers and prefers using the lingua franca instead (Barasa, 2016).

The next model is Gumperz' work which is considered a milestone in the field of codeswitching that research in the area do not fail to refer to. Blom and Gumperz (1972) introduced the concept of situational and metaphorical codeswitching while working on the language practices of the inhabitants of Hemmesberget, Northern Norway. These latter are native speakers of Ranamal, a spoken dialect, and they use Bokmal for education, media and other official purposes as it is the standard language. According to Blom and Gumperz (1972), when the change of the macro social factors of the situation leads the inhabitants to change the used code in conversation, it is a situational case of codeswitching. These factors include the setting, topic and addressees involved in the speech event. But when the change in the code is not a result of the external factors but of the intention of the inhabitants themselves, it is then a case of metaphorical codeswitching.

Researchers like Hinrichs (2006) and Negrón Goldbarg (2009) examined the influence of such external factors in the email context on the codeswitching of their subjects revealing a correlation between them. Hinrichs (2006) led a profound analysis of email exchanges of the size of 40.000 words between Caribbean university students. These latter are speakers of Jamaican Creole, a code used for intra-family interactions, and of Jamaican English, the code of literacy. His analysis showed that Jamaican English is used as an unmarked choice due to its relation to academic domains to which the student informants belong, while the use of the Jamaican Creole is a marked choice but not a random one. The use of Jamaican Creole serves functions that include drawing on implicatures of social contextual meaning. Blom and Gumperz (1972)'s situational

factors in the email's context are the addresses and the topic of the email. With regards to the correlation between codeswitching and addresses of emails, it was found that there is an intra-individual style variation where English is used in formal emails with professors and employers while Jamaican Creole is used in discussions of personal matters with acquaintances.

Similarly, and related to that, participants in Negrón Goldbarg (2009)'s study codeswitched between Spanish and English in emails based on the recipients of their emails. The researcher worked with five native speakers of Spanish who are speakers of English as well and collected 133 emails form them. The results of her study show that participants used English in emails written in Spanish to refer to technical terms and meanings that could not be said otherwise and they switched to Spanish in emails written in English to mitigate the rigid tone of English and avoid misunderstandings. Overall, Spanish was used as the unmarked choice with Spanish-English bilinguals where English items were inserted for achieving clarity. It seems that addressees as social factors could be motivations for codeswitching even in computer-mediated communication contexts, however, this is not the case with topics. Hinrichs (2006) argues that it is a futile endeavour to try and make any correlations and/or generalisations between topics and language use as it is a personal matter. Some people choose to adhere to the codes associated with certain topics, but some others are free to choose not to.

Another model proposed by Gumperz is the WE-code/ THEY-code dichotomy. According to Gumperz (1982), when bilinguals speak more than one code, they have access to these codes' cultural heritage. Hence, the use of one code as opposed to the others denote identifying with and representing its culture. So, when the speakers use the codes associated with their ethnic identity, they are associating themselves with it and such code is labelled the WE-code. However, when the code used is generally associated with formal and less personal groups, it is labelled the THEY-code. The use of WE-code is generally related to intimate and personal topics whereas the THEY-code is used for distant and out-group discussions. The speaker here, according to Gumperz (1982), has a choice between those two and choosing between them is reflective of the speaker's social and cultural predisposition and background knowledge.

The application of this dichotomy to email data in the study by Hinrichs (2006), mentioned above, seems problematic Hinrichs (2006) embraces the noted argument in

47

the literature by Sebba and Wootton (1998), to whom assigning languages to the WE- and THEY- dichotomy could not be a conclusive matter as they argue that relation between minority groups and communities is complex. Taking this into account, Hinrichs (2006) mentioned that even Gumperz acknowledged that these dichotomies are categorisations of some codes and certain situations and that they cannot predict language use.

Gumperz (1982) also produced a classification of discourse functions for codeswitching. According to him and since participants are able of codeswitching and understanding each other means that they not only share the codes at play, but they share the principles of interpreting the codeswitching instances. He maintains that these principles could hence be recovered through analysing codeswitching discourse. He isolated the functions of codeswitching that are repetitive in the situations he encountered in his data. These functions are to serve as a typology for other codeswitching situations and 'they include quotation, addressee specification, injections, reiteration, message qualification and personalisation vs. objectivization' (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-81). Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication is reported to perform such functions as well in addition to many others.

Halim and Maros (2014) applied ideas in relation to the functions mentioned above. They were interested in codeswitching of Malay-English speakers on Facebook. They collected 439 status updates and found that codeswitching is used to enhance the interactivity, communicative and stylistic meanings. Examples of the data show that codeswitching on Facebook serves the functions listed by Gumperz and in addition it is used for clarifying, emphasising and checking which are the Zentella (1997)'s conversational functions for spoken codeswitching.

In response to this last point raised by Gumperz in relation to codeswitching functions, Auer (1984) vigorously argued that it is unreasonable to believe that bilinguals refer to a list of functions of codeswitching to choose from when they are interacting. He maintained that bilinguals use codeswitching as a strategy to structure their interactions and that its use is exclusive to the speech event at hand and not necessarily generalised. Auer's argument and framework of analysis follows a conversationalist approach, according to which, the analysis of codeswitching depends on local meanings found at the level of the sequential development of interactions. That is, codeswitching is used as a contextualisation cue that bilinguals use to organise their conversations and its interpretation should rely solely on the information available to the analysists from the conversation structure itself. Codeswitching could accordingly

be used to signal change of topic, speakers' attitudes or even identities as found by the studies below.

In their study, Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) used the conversation analysis framework to analyse the projection of social and discursive identities in computer-mediated communication data collected from Facebook. The participants are speakers of the Greek Cypriot dialect, the standard language Modern Greek and English. Data consisted of 53 interactions that are messages posted on Facebook and the comments to them. The analysis shows that codeswitching between the three codes is meaningful and is related to expressing humour and performing imaginary identities when using Greek Cypriot, to expressing formal and serious tones when using Standard Greek and to achieving emotive functions when using English. What is also interesting about this work is the finding that age can affect language choice. Older groups tend to use Modern Greek more in order to express mature identities and they are more likely to use the Greek script as opposed to the Romanised one when typing. Younger groups, on the other hand, use Greek Cypriot to express their young identities. Another study by Themistocleous (2015) used the Conversation Analysis approach but this time with data from an Internet Relay Chat (IRC) channel. 75 hours of interactions were recorded and analysed. This is an important study as it reveals that the features of the computer-mediated communication medium through which communication is mediated can affect language choice and consequently trigger codeswitching. Communicating through IRC enabled the participants to change nicknames and guaranteed their anonymity. When participants changed nicknames to impersonate different imaginary personas and identities, they switched codes as well to complete the character they have chosen to play.

3.5 Approaches Adopted in this Study: Translanguaging

The models presented above share the same view of codeswitching being a process of combining items of different language systems within or across an utterance. This is because codeswitching is commonly defined as the use of more than one linguistic code within the same speech event. Code is generally used as a cover term for distinct languages as well as different dialects, registers, styles and even politeness levels within the same language. Indeed, the seminal work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) in the literature of codeswitching addressed the switching between standard 'Bokmal' and vernacular 'Ranamal' varieties of the same language and not of different languages. Codeswitching is used in the literature alongside terms like code mixing, borrowing and

code alternation and as evident from the discussion below, researchers are not in accordance as to what area does each one of them cover.

Auer (1995) for instance uses the term *code-alternation* as an umbrella term under which all other terms that describe phenomena related to language switching, mixing, insertion or borrowing are subsumed. Muysken (2000), on the other hand, views codeswitching as the cover term for acts of linguistic alternation distinguishing it form code-mixing. He views *codeswitching* as synonymous to alternation that, according to him, happens between different linguistic structures, whereas *code-mixing* refers to cases of insertion which involve lexical items from one linguistic system inserted in a different one. In an earlier work by Milroy and Muysken (1995), they introduced terms like 'intra-sentential' to describe switches within the same sentence and 'inter-sentential' for switches between sentences. Accordingly, Muysken (2000) refers to inter-sentential codeswitching and intra-sentential code-mixing. However, Myers-Scotton (1988, p. 101) argues that such distinctions are causing unnecessary confusion and defines codeswitching as 'the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the other'.

Nonetheless, it is argued below that this terminology is limiting and reflects stability in the understanding of languages which, as contemporary world is becoming more mobile and global, is not an accurate account of multilinguals' linguistic practices. The analytical approach of the theories presented in the previous section which rely on the concept of *codeswitching* depends to some extent on how bilingual items stand out in an utterance as being an unmarked or marked choice that needs attention and explanation. However, some scholars have proposed an alternative way of studying this phenomenon as they argue that language choice in multilingual interactions is not necessarily marked but it is a normal way to communicate (Jørgensen, 2008; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011; Sultana, Dovchin, & Pennycook, 2013). The advocates of this view argue that it is far more relevant to view conversations containing more than one code as the speakers' normal way of communicating rather than items of separate languages that are mixed together (Jørgensen, 2008). In so doing, they are questioning the assumption that there exists a distinction between the languages at play. The notion of languages as separate and bound systems has been widely criticised in the past three decades and was seen as an inadequate representation of language, notably in the contemporary world as transnational and multilingual groupings are numerous in

today's superdiverse communities as well as in digital media, where language contact phenomena became pervasive (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016).

Androutsopoulos and Juffermans (2014, p. 2) maintain that today's superdiversity, mobility and globalisation necessitate a theoretical apparatus that is shaped by ideas of 'flow, fluidity and movement in an attempt to deconstruct notions of fixity and stability in our understanding of language and society'. This has led to the introduction of some notions in relation to multilingual practices including *languaging* and *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen, 2003, 2008), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) and *translanguaging* (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017) amongst others; each one of these is tied to a specific setting that it was developed for (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016). For instance, metrolingualism is a concept that emerged from the contemporary city which questions the one-to-one relation between language and ethnicity. The city is a creative site that enables users to manipulate resources available to them as evident from observations of non-Japanese employees who constantly mixed between Japanese and English in their workplace in Australia. The one-to-one association between language, and ethnicity was questioned by such practices. This suggests that these multilingual users' understandings of such relationships, language use and resources are 'fluid' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010).

Jørgensen (2003) proposed the notion of 'languaging' as a reaction to his study of Turkish-Danish adolescents who were reported to alternate heavily between up to six languages. He argued that what these teenagers are doing is normal communication, that is, using whichever resources available to them to communicate meaning. Languaging is, therefore, the process of making meaning where languages alongside other registers, styles or codes become tools or resources to achieve the meanings (Jaspers & Madsen, 2016). It implies multilingual speakers' use of their entire linguistic repertoire (that could include more than one language) without adhering to the specific entries of a specific language system. It could as well go beyond the language system to include other modalities. García and Li (2014) added the prefix 'trans' to the process of languaging to enable them to access those modalities. Translanguaging according to them includes "both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them" (Li, 2011a, p. 1223). The idea of translanguaging as has been proposed and discussed by Li (2011a) was based on transnational students' multilingual experiences. It highlights the linguistically clever ways throughout which his informants

51

have used features of their full linguistic repertoire that do not necessarily belong to the same language and which reflect their transnational experiences, attitudes and identities.

Translanguaging is often compared with pre-existing concepts that deal with mixing between languages like 'codeswitching'. One could argue that a fundamental difference between these two is the underpinning epistemology. When codeswitching departs from distinguishing between the different languages or codes, translanguaging does not separate the languages but views the language mixing act as a creative act of purposefully selecting linguistic entries from one's linguistic repertoire regardless of the languages they belong to (García & Li, 2014). Androutsopoulos and Juffermans (2014, p. 2) explain that 'bilingual talk used to be analysed in terms of juxtapositions between grammatical systems (i.e. code-switching), it is now being reconceptualised as linguistic practice that transverses languages (i.e. translanguaging)'. According to a translanguaging perspective the linguistic creativity is part of language evolution and reflects how people are communicating so it has to be addressed and explained (Li, 2017) when it could be considered a default and wrong linguistic use under the lenses of a classical codeswitching theory (Li & Lin, 2019). Furthermore, a theory of codeswitching is limited to linguistic use whereas translanguaging goes beyond that including other semiotic and cultural resources (García & Li, 2014).

Translanguaging as a term originated in the classroom as a descriptive label for the practices of pupils and teachers in Welsh school programs. Williams (1994) observed that in these programs, teachers taught in Welsh while pupils responded to them in English. Unlike in other similar educational bilingual contexts where this practice is approached negatively, Williams (1994) argues that such practices allowed for maximising the linguistic resources for both teachers and pupils in the learning process. Canagarajah (2011a) explains that translanguaging occurs naturally in school contexts and even in those that forbid mixing codes in classrooms. In fact, Orellana and García (2014) reported that in the classroom multilingual pupils move easily through their linguistic repertoires making use of all resources to produce meaning. García (2011) conducted a prominent study of translanguaging in the educational context which explored the natural translanguaging practices of pupils. Findings indicated that these latter and despite strict monolingual norms made use of their entire linguistic repertoire in the classroom to construct their understanding and address their peers. It should be noted that translanguaging is not about using different resources only, but it is about promoting ideologies that such practices of mixing should not be considered as

52

'uneducated', impure, wrong and so on (Li & Lin, 2019). Such hybrid and fluid practices are actually part of everyday communication.

Li (2017) argues that there is a need for using the term 'translanguaging' even when in contemporary times there are many competing terms including, 'metrolingualism', 'polylinguaging', 'heteroglossia' and so on. This is because he views translanguaging as a theory of practice arguing that the field of applied linguistics needs a theory of its own because previous work was mainly concerned with applying theories from other fields including sociology and psychology to the field of linguistics. The objective of this theory is not providing predictions or solutions but researchers following this stance have to observe and adequately describe the linguistic practices of multilinguals (Li, 2017). Li (2011a, 2017) also discusses two concepts relating to creativity and criticality in multilinguals' translanguaging space. Creativity is seen as the ability to choose whether to confirm with or to flout the norms of linguistic behaviour and, criticality is viewed as the ability to use the available cultural, social and linguistic information to express views in the current situation. All of which are expressed in a translanguaging Space which is a space created for and by translanguaging practices. Furthermore, it is a social space that enables the speakers to bring together their personal identity, history, ideologies, beliefs and so on into one coordinated performance.

Nonetheless, research on Translanguaging is mostly centred on spoken communication and educational contexts and there is still insufficient work in relation to other modes of communication (Canagarajah, 2011a). Translanguaging, however, has started to attract the attention of researchers dealing with digital communication. Androutsopoulos (2015) argues that the emergence of this new concept and others that are questioning the pre-established notions about multilingualism in sociolinguistics necessitates a reconsideration of the ways language and communication online is approached. Concepts such as 'codeswitching' and 'language variation' have been valuable in analysing cases of offline multilingual communications but they may be insufficient in addressing both multilingualism and multimodality of the online content (Androutsopoulos, 2011). Translanguaging and similar concepts on the other hand have shifted the attention from discrete languages towards linguistic systems, multilingual practices and the linguistic resources. They theorize the flexibility of relation between language, ethnicity and space and between the linguistic practice and the ownership of language. In addition, they enable addressing the multimodality of data.

Through his approach of 'networked multilingualism', Androutsopoulos (2015) posits that there is a need to examine digital communication in light of the aforementioned notions as there is ample evidence that this type of communication is multilingual and that the type of context it is found in, i.e., the Internet, enables access to a diversity of resources. He maintains that the 'linguistic diversity that is highlighted by the notions of metrolingualism, polylanguaging and translanguaging manifests here [in online communication] in an endless flow of digital linguistic material' (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 189). The linguistic resources available to users of social media online refer to the aspects of knowledge that users employ which are socially constructed relying on users' beliefs, values and background to enable them making meanings (Lee, 2016b). Lee (2016b) explains that possible resources that are available to users include (1) *representational resources* that refer to languages, scripts and other modes of representation, (2) *human resources* including online participants and any translators, (2) *ideological resources* that refer to one's perceptions, values and beliefs and finally (4) *technological resources* that refer to the chat applications themselves. Lee (2016b) used the term 'code', which refers in sociolinguistics to languages and language varieties, to refer to these linguistic resources. This same stand is adopted in this study as languages and scripts and so on that are used on Facebook as linguistic resources are referred to as *codes*.

Besides these linguistic resources, social media users have access to other non-linguistic resources. Visual resources such as emoji, emoticons and GIFs are used on social media due to lack of gestures and facial expressions (Lee, 2016b). Other semiotic resources available online include photos, videos and memes. The literature shows that Facebook users employ a collection of linguistic and non-linguistic resources to display aspects of their identities (Schreiber, 2015; Solmaz, 2018). For example, Solmaz (2018) examined how international graduate students employ linguistic and semiotic resources from their repertoires to index local and global identities on Facebook. The participants of this study are 13 international students from 13 different origin countries including Egypt, Costa Rica, Turkey, Spain etc who are pursuing their postgraduate studies in southwestern American states higher education institutes. The findings suggest that international students frequently employ multilingual and multimodal practices including the use of their first language to affiliate with home communities. They used their first and second languages to build 'multiple identification performances' (Solmaz, 2018, p. 1678). Accordingly, an analysis of linguistic resources used on social media

only would be limiting and problematic when multiple visual resources are drawn upon in the process of making meanings by users.

For this reason, the present study adopts the concept of translanguaging to the social media context and most precisely to Facebook. It adopts its same stand of prioritising creativity in practice over correctness of language use embracing different linguistic and non-linguistic resources (Li & Lin, 2019). In doing so, the study argues that translanguaging enables an understanding of how resources are used by users on Facebook to enact identities in a given online translanguaging space.

Previous research that adopted the concept of translanguaging to the Facebook context is limited as only few studies addressed this issue. Schreiber (2015) examined the linguistic practices of one Serbian student, Aleksandar, on Facebook. He found out that Aleksandar used different varieties of English and Serbian with other tools including videos and images to project his rap artist identity and signal membership to given communities. For instance, he shared links to music videos that allowed him to establish membership in the wider global hip hop community. Oliver and Nguyen (2017) examined the practices of seven young Australian Aboriginal multilinguals on Facebook. They found that the young multilinguals shift between Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English which enabled them to express multilingual identities in the Facebook virtual space and identify as Aboriginal people. In addition, this space that they have created on Facebook through their linguistic and semiotic practices has enabled the Aboriginal youth to further enhance their proficiency in Standard Australian English. For these latter, Facebook is a space that allowed them to use communication resources to enhance their proficiency in Standard Australian English.

Ng and Lee (2019) were also interested in investigating translanguaging practices on Facebook alongside other platforms namely, WhatsApp and emails. They studied the digital communicative practices of Malaysian university graduates and found that translanguaging practices are limited in formal online communications. Yet, familiarity with one's audience besides one's attitudes and the importance of the communicated message enhances translanguaging. One last study that examined Translanguaging in digital communication is conducted by Han (2019). This study is interested in the practices of Chinese academics through a different computer- mediated communication platform which is WeChat, the most common social media platform in China. These academics are visiting scholars to the US and the researcher is interested in their messages to their relatives in China. Especially that they use English in their online

communication an act that they do not usually perform in spoken communication. Han (2019) argues that the use of English here is not necessarily associated to 'global discourse'. It however serves a translanguaging resource that participants drew upon in constructing a transnational space that they situated themselves in to discuss issues of social, cultural, and political nature.

Translanguaging in this sense is the most accurate model for analysing language mixing data that is coming from the Algerian context. This is because some Algerian linguists, namely Kerras and Baya Essayahi (2016), argue that what Algerians speak is a developing language which contains items of Arabic origins but also which assimilates items of French origins. According to these latter, when Algerians are using items of French origins in their speech, this is does not present a case of codeswitching but rather an act of speaking Algerian. Other linguists, namely Mouhadjer (2002), resist the use of items of French origins and consider them aliens to Algerian Arabic. Therefore, in his view, any use of items of French origins suggests switching to French.

This study argues that it is most important to describe how Algerians use languages creatively than to chase the origins of different words and judge their use. Especially that some researchers including Khalifi (n.d.) and Sayahi (2014) report how the Algerian Arabic dialect is viewed by some as a hybrid, distorted and corrupted speech that no other Arab can understand. It is argued, hence, that Algerians could have a wider linguistic repertoire than that of other Arabs which includes entries from the French language and which they are constantly utilizing. Although language policy makers in Algeria are urged by some linguists seeking the restoration of the Arabic speaking pre-colonial Algeria to purify Algerians speech from French (Mouhadjer, 2002), it is important to bear in mind that French colonialism is a milestone in the shaping of the contemporary linguistic context of Algeria that no one can deny.

3.6 Approaches Adopted in this Study: Audience Design

It was explained in previous sections that linguistic and semiotic choices could serve to project given identities online, generate meaning, share information, opinions and ideologies. This section will direct attention to another function of such choices, namely addressing and designing an audience. Studies such as Barton and Lee (2013) and Solmaz (2018) in examining participants' online communications have reported that these latter choose codes according to the audience they want to address. Highlighting the link between the stylistic choices (of which is linguistic choices) to that of one's

addresses is a key concept of the Audience Design Framework (Bell, 1984, 2001, 2009). This framework is the second approach adopted in this study and it is discussed below.

Bell's Audience Design Framework (1984, 2001, 2009) answers the question of why a given person speaks differently in different occasions. Bell's interest emerged from observations of how the pronunciations of a New Zealand newsreader changed when presenting the news on different radio stations. This suggests that the newsreader is imagining different audiences to each station, adjusting therefore their pronunciation accordingly. These ideas inspired a flow of research that has approached and highlighted interactions as acts of accommodating one's speech to that of the audience. Bell's framework of Audience Design posits that speakers' stylistic choices are shaped by their attempt to accommodate to an audience through four main audience roles: addressees, auditors, over-hearers and eavesdroppers. These roles are defined, assigned and distinguished according to who is known, ratified and addressed by the speaker in a given interactional episode. The main person in the interaction is the *addressee* 'who is known, ratified and addressed' (Bell, 1984, p. 159). The speaker is concerned with them because they are directing their speech to them and anticipating an answer from them. *Auditors* are also know and ratified in the interactional context but they are not directly addressed. The speaker considers them to be taking part in the interaction though. *Over-hearers* are known to the speaker but they are not ratified nor addressed and the speaker is somewhat concerned about them. The speaker is concerned about the assumptions that they could have about the interaction (Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). Finally, *eavesdroppers* are those that the speaker is unaware of their presence in the first place.

Researchers like Androutsopoulos (2014) and Seargeant and Tagg (2014) maintain that similar to the case of broadcasting the news, posting on social media entails imagining an audience for one's contributions. Marwick and Boyd (2011) explain that the audience on social media is limitless and not as bonded as one might think. Facebook, for instance, is a large platform, so its users have to conceptualise the people with whom they are communicating each time they post something; this is referred to as an imagined audience (Litt, 2012). Marwick and Boyd (2011) set to explore how users of Twitter imagine their audience. They collected 226 responses from 181 users on the questions of 'Who do you imagine reading your tweets?' and 'Who do you tweet to?' (p. 5). Their results suggested that for some users Twitter is a social space that allows for digital intimacy through addressing offline friends. For others, the audience depends on the topic of the tweet itself. In this case the users are

acknowledging the multiplicity of the audience they are dealing with and instead of having several twitter accounts to address each audience separately, they address different audiences through the same account. What is worth noting here is that in Twitter and similar platforms the desired audience is not the only one to receive the respective tweet but depending on privacy settings, other users could receive it as well. As such different people are connected in a network through a mutual relation to one central user, *ego*. This social network is the networked audience for ego's contributions.

When multiple audiences with varying relation ties to each other are brought together because of one mutual relation, researchers like Androutsopoulos (2014) and Marwick and Boyd (2011) refer to *context collapse*. This term was coined by Marwick and Boyd (2011) to represent how technologies and social media platforms collapse different social contexts together into one network. In this resulting network, users of different backgrounds, origins, professions and so on who are not necessarily known to each other are brought together because they share a connection to ego. Although context collapse happens in offline settings, like in the case of weddings and graduations for instance, it is most pertinent in social media platforms (Androutsopoulos, 2014). The Facebook platform presents such context collapse where ego has friends of different backgrounds that do not necessarily know each other or even share the same linguistic competences. Androutsopoulos (2014) argues that ego uses linguistic and non-linguistic resources to address their friends of different backgrounds either by posting posts that address them altogether or by posting posts that address a minority. Yet, the context collapse becomes most valid in Facebook pages where different Facebook users are brought together due to a shared interest in the content of a given page. In this case, administrators of the page are faced with linguistic choices that could either bring the audience together or partition it. Androutsopoulos (2014) maintain that the more heterogeneous the context the more persistence is the problem of addressitivity in it.

Research in the area found that Internet users tend to use a style that accommodates to others when posting to their imagined audience and that they employ the 'least common denominator' concept (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). This means that they use forms that are accessible to the majority of their imagined audience. Androutsopoulos (2014) maintains that a linguistic analogy of the least common denominator is a linguistic choice that is assessable to the majority of the imagined audience. In that, a linguistic choice that is understood by the majority serves to

maximise the audience of a given post on Facebook whereas a linguistic choice that is understood by a specific partial imagined audience serves partitioning the audience.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the audience of radio stations as has been described by Bell is different from the one in social media as perceived by users when posting (Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). The audience is semi-public sitting between personal conversations and public broadcasting news. It is large and unseen, but it could be mostly known to ego. The interactions in it are in written mode but still they exhibit the same interactivity and informality as the spoken one. The audience roles in the Facebook context are the addresses who are the targeted people by the post, the auditors who are other contacts that engage in the wall engages, the eavesdroppers who are friends of friends, and finally, the over-hearers are others who belong to the social network (Androutsopoulos, 2014).

Another aspect of Bell's Audience design that is worth highlighting here is the notion of 'initiative style shift'. According to him, style is not always responsive to the style of the audience but rather it could be initiative sometimes when speakers adopt their style to other third parties who are not present at the time of the exchange. According to Androutsopoulos (2014), the initiative style in social networking sites does not refer to accommodating to an absent party but it is to address a different group of the audience. Because designing an audience in social media platforms could mostly depend on linguistic choices (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014), Androutsopoulos (2014) explains that social media users could use a linguistic choice that is intelligible to the majority and maximize their audience or choose to use a linguistic choice that is understood by a minority and partition the audience. Accordingly, other users could have a responsive style and accommodate to this initial initiated style or could diverge from it and adopt another initiated style and so on.

In his study of context collapse and audience design, Androutsopoulos (2014) studied the interactions of four secondary school pupils on Facebook. His findings suggested that participants use linguistic choices in relation to their audience showing awareness of it. For instance, English was used by participants to initiate many status updates as a strategy to address the majority of their hybrid audience because their Facebook friends are of different origins. Indeed, users of social media are aware of their audience and they use their linguistic resources to shape it. In a study by Birnie-Smith (2016), she interviewed her participants about their use of Indonesian on Facebook instead of other codes that they speak. Participants maintained that they used

the language that most of their Facebook friends understood. Another study that tackled the same addressitivity issue on social media is Seargeant, Tagg, and Ngampramuan (2012). In this study, the researchers argue that the affordances of Facebook and the users' perceptions of their potential audience for their posts affect their linguistic choices. They collected exchanges of Thai speakers on one Facebook wall and found that the audience for their case participant, Dream, is constructed through her linguistic choices. For example, Dream used Thai script to write about a London related topic. In so doing she constructed the audience of this contribution as the Thai-English community that are readers of Thai script and familiar with London. The researcher suggest that the use of Thai and English does not serve to express respective separate international and local identities, it however serves as audience design strategy and identity construction cue.

3.7 Conclusion

It was attempted throughout this chapter to review key and relevant theoretical frameworks that were used to analyse language and identity online and most precisely online multilingual practices. It was explained that although most early research that tackled language online had structural interests, its focus shifted through the years to analysing communities of practice adopting novel concepts such as languaging and linguistic resources. Following this same new argument, the current study approaches text and language use online as a form of social practice by adopting a practice-based approach. This study, in answering its research questions, adopts also the translanguaging and the audience design frameworks to the context of Facebook. Such frameworks allow for the researcher to explore the multilingual and semiotic practices of Algerians on Facebook. Translanguaging acknowledges the creativity of linguistic use and helps explain the relation between mixing linguistic and non-linguistic resources while expressing identities, ideologies and beliefs, in-group/out-group relationships, opinions and emotions. The audience design is important in constructing and maintaining communities online as it provides links of shared cultural and linguistic practices between ego and others. The next chapter explores how are these frameworks applied to digital communication on Facebook by presenting the set of used methodological tools.

CHAPTER 4 – Methodological Framework

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, where the theoretical frameworks of the study were presented, it was explained that digital communication on Facebook is best understood as related to multiple identities that users adopt to situate themselves in some translanguaging spaces (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017). This chapter explains how these ideas were applied to the collected data and which methodological tools were used to examine the different facets of digital communication of Algerian Facebook users. The present chapter begins by providing the rationale for choosing Facebook as the source of data for this project and proceeds to advocate the adoption of a mixed method approach in collecting such Facebook data and in analysing it. It also explains how online ethnography is helpful in providing the researcher with deep understandings of communication on Facebook. The exact nature of dataset is presented in section 4.4 where four subsections are dedicated for reasons for choosing each data collection tool along with accounts for how the data was coded and analysed. Section 4.5 presents the data analysis procedures and section 4.6 delves deeper into the dataset providing tables that detail the different linguistic and semiotic resources which were used in it. Finally, section 4.7 highlights some ethical considerations that the researcher has taken into account with regard to data collection from Facebook.

4.2 Rationale for Choosing Facebook Data

Conducting this project is motivated by previous research which has revealed that Algerians have a tendency to mix between the various codes they have available in their linguistic repertoire in spoken discourse (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Bagui, 2014; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benguedda, 2015; Chemami, 2011; Mostari, 2009; Slimane, 2014). The aim of this project, therefore, is to explore whether Algerians use similar patterns of code choice in their digital communication. According to McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase (2017), most research on digital communication and social media is centred around two social media platforms: Facebook and Twitter. These two are two examples of social network sites that are defined as:

web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system

(Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Zappavigna (2012, p. 5) also explains that most social network sites have the same basic functions that include (1) the ability to create a profile, (2) a list of 'affiliated users' that are referred to as 'friends' on Facebook and 'followers' on Twitter, (3) and to view their activities besides (4) the ability to manipulate privacy settings. Facebook and Twitter as two social media platform examples were set to provide different experiences for users (Petrocchi, Asnaani, Martinez, Nadkarni, & Hofmann, 2015). Petrocchi et al. (2015, p. 157) explain that both platforms are conversational tools however 'the aim of [twitter] seems to be the sharing of opinions and information rather than the reciprocal social interaction of users'. This is because Twitter was intended for networking ideas and topics while Facebook was intended for networking people (Petrocchi et al., 2015). In that, Facebook allows registered users to connect with and search for their friends and acquaintances to add them to their Facebook page in addition to messaging them via the service Facebook messenger, but newspapers, mainstream media and broadcasting channels used Twitter more for posts about news stories which made this latter a common platform for people to discuss such stories besides its use for other conversational matters. Indeed, Facebook's purpose for making connections and interactions with friends easier is more suitable to the interest of this study of investigating Algerians' digital communicative practices because Twitter attracts attention of researchers who are more interested in its transforming effects in terms of how information is diffused in society (McCay-Peet & Quan-Haase, 2017).

Facebook was launched on 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg and his colleagues from Harvard University as a socializing tool on campus which soon spread to other University campuses in 2005 and commercial organizations in 2006 to finally be open to other people from the public to use in 2007 (Zhao et al., 2008). Facebook is by far the most used social media platform in the world. Statistics from 2017 and 2018 show that Facebook has about 2.2 billion monthly active users[1], a number which has raised to 2.5

---

[1] Statistics retrieved from https://www.expandcart.com/ar/21383-%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%89-2018/

billion monthly active users by the end of 2019 (as revealed by statistics by Statista (2020) on the most used social media networks worldwide by active users, figure 4.1[2]).

Most popular social networks worldwide as of January 2020, ranked by number of active users (in millions)

Network	Users
Facebook	2 449
YouTube	2 000
WhatsApp*	1 600
Facebook Messenger*	1 300
Weixin / WeChat	1 151
Instagram*	1 000
Douyin / Tik Tok	800
QQ	731
QZone	517
Sina Weibo	497
Reddit	430
Snapchat**	382
Twitter**	340
Pinterest	322
Kuaishou	316

Number of active users in millions

Sources
We Are Social; Various sources (Company data);
Hootsuite; DataReportal
© Statista 2020

Additional Information:
Worldwide; Various sources (Company data); DataReportal; as of January 25, 2020; social networks and messenger/chat

Figure 4.1 Most Popular Social Media Networks Worldwide

In Algeria, statistics also show that there are 20 million monthly active users on Facebook[3]; this ranks Algeria second on the scale of Arab countries that most use Facebook after Egypt (35 million monthly active users)[4]. Twitter does not enjoy such popularity in use, 340 million monthly active users worldwide (figure 4.1) compared to 2.5 billion active Facebook users worldwide.

Facebook allows its registered users to create profiles and to upload status updates to them. These updates are posts constructed through writing text and/or sharing photos

---

[2] Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/
[3] Statistics retrieved from: https://www.android-dz.com/ar/facebook-dz-2017/
[4] Statistics retrieved from: https://www.irfaasawtak.com/a/social-media-arab-world-mena/425687.html

and videos. It allows creating groups of given interests that enable members to find each other and join. It also allows for creating public pages that are built around a particular topic which interested users are able to follow. Facebook was chosen as the main source of data for this project because it is widely used by Algerians and because it is Algerians' preferred social media platform as indicated by the statistics mentioned above. This preference is also supported by Boumarafi (2015) who found out that university students in Algeria prefer to use Facebook as opposed to other social media platforms, including Twitter. Besides being widely used, Facebook is also a platform that generates the kind of data which could answer this study's research questions. Choosing a social media platform that is appropriate to answer one's research questions is a central criterion when choosing a social media platform to any investigation (Mayr & Weller, 2017). As for the current project, the research questions are:

1. what are Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their spoken and digital practices on Facebook?
2. How do young Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct identities within an online translanguaging space?
3. How do Algerian Facebook Users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct and negotiate an audience online?

Facebook is a platform that enables its users to choose between an array of resources to construct contributions including using text, emoji, image, video, links and so on. To be given a choice so as which modes or resources to use when posting something on Facebook is crucial to this project's interests and to answering the second research question. This is because the study seeks to investigate how choosing one mode of expression as opposed to possible others (a given code and/or image for example) can help achieve different social identities. Similarly, the structure of the site that consists of public section dedicated for posts and another for comments in Facebook pages is considered appropriate for data collection to answer the third research question because these latter are spaces where users employ different modes of expression, including but not exclusive to text and emoji, enabling the investigation of relations between such modes and ideas of designing and maintaining an audience. The data set of this project hence has originated from four Facebook personal profiles and one public Facebook page as will be detailed more in section 4.4 below.

4.3 Rationale for Choice of Approach

Because the aim of this project is to investigate digital communication on Facebook, the adoption of several data collection tools and analysis perspectives within this one project is believed to best enable achieving this aim. Jones (2004) argues that analysts need to adopt a 'polyfocal perspective' in dealing with digital communications by including data of different modes, adopting different methods and considering a variety of perspectives in order to truly capture what is being negotiated in such contexts. This is a main key benefit of adopting such mixed method approach, which is defined in the literature as:

> the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.

(Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007, p. 123)

Accordingly, this project follows the same argument of Barton and Lee (2013, p. 167) that no single method could address all aspects of linguistic practices online, thus 'a mixed method approach is preferred'. This approach is useful because it increases the strength of the methodological design where both the quantitative and qualitative components complete and compensate for each other's weaknesses. It adds depth to the analysis, and it helps reach multiple audiences which could be interested in either quantitative or qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). The mixed method approach is depicted in this project through data collection tools as well as through data analysis where results are first quantified and then examples are selected for a more in-depth qualitative analysis. Chapter 5 presents a quantitative and some qualitative analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaire and Section 4.6 in this chapter presents quantitative accounts of collected data from Facebook then a representative sample of examples is qualitatively analysed in chapters 6 and 7.

Besides the use of a mixed method approach in collecting and analysing the data, this project employed the principle of online ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2008). Online ethnography is about observing participants' digital communications in addition to a direct contact with them. According to Androutsopoulos (2008), relying on collected conversations alone is not sufficient to examine participants' linguistic practices. There are some key elements that researchers need to be aware of in order to complete any linguistic puzzle at hand. Such elements include: (1) motivations for using

certain linguistic practices, (2) meanings that participants themselves attribute to these linguistic practices, (3) participants' awareness of the linguistic diversity online, and (4) their accounts of the researcher's interpretations. All these aspects are important for understanding digital communication and they can be unravelled by direct contact with 'internet actors'. The researcher has to conduct systematic observations of the virtual interactions examining the main actors and their relationships, then contact them in a structured or semi-structured interview format where the researcher has prepared their questions based on their observations and interpretations. Correspondingly, the researcher conducted initial observations of the selected Facebook profiles then collected posts from them and finally run short interviews with their owners as will be explained further in section 4.4.

This methodological design was adopted by Barton and Lee (2013) who examined Instant Messaging interactions of young people in Hong Kong to understand how they make use of their linguistic resources online. They conducted initial observations, collected chat logs and run face-to-face or online interviews. They reported that the 'observation of IM messages was important in understanding textual features' (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 169) but insights from the interviews have helped the researchers to probe into the participants' lives and understand how in certain cases some online practices influence their IM text-making. Another study which adopted the principle of online ethnography in studying the linguistic practices and ethnic identities of Chinese Indonesians online is by Birnie-Smith (2016). Besides observations and collection of interactions from two websites, Facebook and Kaskus, Birnie-Smith (2016) conducted interviews with participants. This has helped her gain a better understanding of participants' language ideologies and their attitudes towards their ethnicity. This approach also allowed Birnie-Smith (2016) to make sense of given online behaviours that she eventually associated to some ideologies.

4.4 Data collection tools

In the current study and based on the previous mentioned accounts, the data collection for this project combines quantitative and qualitative means which include an online questionnaire, the use of extraction software and screenshots of Facebook posts and comments, observations of Facebook profiles and lastly follow-up questions in a form of short semi-structured interviews with four selected Algerian Facebook users. The combination of these tools will allow for participant enrichment (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006) within this project. Enriching participants refers to

gaining insights from Algerian Facebook users of different backgrounds which is needed for this project to account for the different ways of using linguistic resource within Algeria because the purpose is to explore and not to be limited to certain areas. This combination also allows for project's expansion (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989) which does not translate in the width of the project only but in the modes of the collected data as well. For example, the use of screenshots along the extraction software on Facebook allows for the collection of different modes of data that include text, images and videos.

Data collected through the questionnaire serves to answer the first research question by examining Facebook users' own reports of their linguistic practices. This is intended to present the researcher with some background information on what Facebook users think they do with language. The findings of this research question are critical for the completion of other parts of this project. It should be made clear that, the digital written communication that this study is investigating is associated with spoken communication in this question for one reason related to quality of data. At this stage, the researcher is interested in finding out whether participants produce multilingual contributions on Facebook. This will suggest that Facebook is a suitable platform for analysing Algerians' multilingual communication online. In that, if it was found that participants mix codes in spoken discourse but do not report to do so on Facebook, the researcher had to overlook Facebook as a platform of analysis for the remaining parts of the project. After all, this study is interested in the online multilingual and semiotic communicative practices of Algerian participants. It should be noted as well that findings from this questionnaire are not intended for being generalised or be seen as representative of the population of Algeria. This is because the present study adopts the same approach by Albawardi (2018) where the questionnaire is used as a tool for gaining insights into respondents' digital practices only before analysing actual interactional instances collected through other tools.

The questionnaire was also used for recruiting participants for the next stage of the project by asking those who are willing to participate to contact the researcher. In the second stage which aimed to answer the second research question, data was collected using screenshots from the personal Facebook walls of selected participants. This part of the project aimed to explain how Facebook users construct their social practices using language and other means through the lenses of the Translanguaging framework (Li, 2011a, 2017). Finally, data extracted from a public Facebook page assists in identifying

some cases for a further qualitative analysis using the Audience Design framework (Androutsopoulos, 2014). This part of the qualitative analysis serves to answer the third research question of whether Facebook users' code choice is affected by code choices of others. Elaborated accounts of the use of each of these tools are provided in the subsections below.

4.4.1 Online Questionnaire

In order to answer the first research question of this project and investigate Algerians' perceptions of their code use and to what extent their communication through social media is different from their spoken communication, this study opted for using an online questionnaire. This latter is a survey that is built up using some website package and is distributed to digital spaces (Hewson, 2015). It has two essential benefits that concern width of population and practicality as it enables collecting data from a population that is more diverse, in addition to the reduced costs and convenience of its administration (Dörnyei, 2007). However, some researchers point out that the practicality of online questionnaires could backfire, resulting in badly constructed ones that the public would not take seriously. Others argue that online questionnaires could potentially compromise the quality of the collected data. For this reason, research was conducted to establish the usefulness and effectiveness of online questionnaires.

Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, and John (2004) ran an empirical study to analyse the quality of data collected from online questionnaires completed by self-selected internet samples and compared them to questionnaire data collected using traditional paper-and-pencil means. The results of their analyses suggest that data generated by means of online questionnaires is at least as diverse and as nice quality as those obtained from other methods. The researchers conclude that 'the internet methods are not as flawed as commonly believed' (Gosling et al., 2004, p. 102) and they encourage researchers to use them when applicable. Having said that, the researchers stress that internet samples are not representative or even random samples of the general population.

The sampling issue on the internet has been also discussed by other researchers who maintain that it is not possible to apply any probabilistic sampling to the internet. Probabilistic sampling is when each user has a comparable chance to others of being selected (Dörnyei, 2007). It is challenging to use probability sampling on the internet because there is 'no central register of all internet users' (Hewson, Vogel, & Laurent, 2016, p. 74). Instead, researchers using online questionnaires have relied on snowball

sampling methods, which involves reaching out to potential participants and continue to do so until obtaining a sufficient sample size (Dörnyei, 2007).

Yet, non-probabilistic sampling is actually the most common sampling method used even in offline research in Applied Linguistics because broad generalisability is not always the goal for social research (Hewson et al., 2016). Accordingly, Dörnyei (2007) stresses that opting for non-probabilistic snowball sampling should not 'disqualify such projects from the category of scientific inquiry' (Hewson et al., 2016, p. 122). Informed by these issues, Wilson and Dewaele (2010) conducted a study focusing on the efficiency of online questionnaires in collecting data through non-probabilistic sampling in bilingualism research. They investigated individual differences in the perception and use of languages by means of two online questionnaires. They highlight that the fact that the participants were self-selected sample does not invalidate the analysis as researchers were allowed to identify relationships between different dependent and independent variables and conclude that benefits of online questionnaires outweigh their limitations.

Having said that, this study adopted an online questionnaire for reasons of its practicality and reaching out to a large diverse sample. This is important for the researcher because first it allows her to collect information from potential participants who live in Algeria even when she is based in the UK for her studies and second because it allows collecting information from potential participants from different regions of Algeria. The questionnaire used in this study is presented in Appendix B while the subsections below discuss its designing process, the process of piloting it and distributing it through non-probabilistic snowball sampling (Dörnyei, 2007).

4.4.1.1 Designing the Online Questionnaire

In the second edition of their book, Hewson et al. (2016) drew attention to some key requirements for social researchers to attain to when they are choosing an online website to design their online questionnaire. These requirements include the website's good range of questions and response format, control over data and security for it, its regular updates, how easy it is to use and demands minimal computing skills. Taking these requirements into consideration, the *onlinesurveys.ac.uk* website was chosen to design the questionnaire for this study as it proves to have more than the key basic requirements that an online survey software package for social and behavioural researchers should have. This website allows researchers to develop, display and analyse

surveys via the web. It provides a selection of question items that the researcher could choose from including multiple choice questions, selection list question, and scale/ rank questions and so on. It allows copying and moving questions across pages and displays previews of questions and of the survey. It enables control over the collected data as it is easy to browse responses each one at a time or export raw response data to analyse in a software of one's choice. It also generates automatic analysis summaries that include frequency tables and basic statistical results which can be exported with the data.

Online questionnaires are usually structured in online pages where questions, from the original paper questionnaires that was produced by the researcher, are inserted into them through the website. Respondents to online questionnaires will have to answer all questions from one page to access the next one until the end of the survey. The present online questionnaire was structured in seven pages:

- The first page of the questionnaire is an introduction. It explains to potential participants that this online questionnaire aims at examining Algerians' use of various codes in spoken discourse and on Facebook. The questionnaire was written in Modern Standard Arabic which is used for general written purposes and is associated with educational contexts and exams in Algeria. In order to avoid the use of Modern Standard Arabic that might remind potential participants of their school days and the examination pressure, participants were encouraged to use any code they wished in producing their answers. Wilson and Dewaele (2010, p. 116) maintain that questionnaires could be intimidating to potential participants for 'fear of looking stupid in the eyes of the researcher'. Therefore, participants were free to choose whichever code they felt is convenient to them to minimize the dropouts. Great care was also taken during the designing process to choose an authentic theme for the questionnaire's appearance and to make sure that the website language becomes French, as there was no Modern Standard Arabic option. In other words, the commands on the website were made to appear in French instead of English. For example, the command 'suivant' to move to the next page and so on. This is because French is the default code for computers and for browsing websites in Algeria and Algerians are used to these commands in French rather than in English or even in Arabic. The introduction reassured the participants of their anonymity and that the answers they are going to provide will only be used for research purposes. It also included the researcher's details so that participants can send emails for any queries or interests in finding out about the results of the

questionnaire. After reading this introduction and by clicking the 'next' button to proceed to the next page, participants confirmed their willingness to participate in the survey and accepted that their response data will be used for research purposes.

- The second page served to collect participants' demographic information including their gender, age, place of birth, residence, occupation and level of education. All questions in this page were made as 'required' in the optionality field. This means that participants could not proceed into the next page unless responding to all questions. Doing so serves to ensure the maximisation of completion of questionnaires because such data is important for the study.

- The third page is dedicated to participants' code use and mixing codes in spoken discourse. It is intended for participants to report their linguistic practices and not in any way test their language competences. Respondents' answers should be based on a self-efficacy concept were participants self-evaluate and then report their ability to speak and/ or write the codes at their disposal.

- The fourth page was dedicated to participants' code use and mixing codes on Facebook. It begins with a frequency of Facebook usage question. The reason for which this question is asked at this level and not included in the demographic information section is to avoid confusion. The questionnaire was carefully designed so that participants understand that the questions in the previous section relate to code use in spoken discourse whereas in this section, questions are related to code use on Facebook. This is an issue that was raised after the pilot study as will be detailed below. Again, to ensure completion of this part and the previous one, all fields of questions were made 'required'.

- The fifth page is an 'any further comments' section. This section is optional and is intended for participants to include other thoughts about codes in Algeria or any comments about the questionnaire itself.

- In the sixth page, participants were asked to leave their Facebook account if they wish to participate in the second part of this research project, namely, to allow the researcher to observe their personal Facebook walls and collect posts from them.

- Finally, the seventh page included a 'thank you' statement for the efforts and time put in completing the questionnaire.

Although there are many pages to this online questionnaire, the researcher sought to include only a few questions in each page. Having a few questions to answer per page

spares the participants from the extensive scrolling down a long list of questions, an act that challenges their endurance and could minimize response rates (Hewson et al., 2016). In addition, because in internet surveys participants cannot gauge at the outset how long the survey is going to take, a survey progress bar was included. Finally, the University of Reading logo was included to reinforce the questionnaire's affiliation to a university as this latter has proved in other studies to be a factor for higher response rates (Hewson et al., 2016).

4.4.1.2 Piloting tools

After designing the questionnaire and before distributing it, a pilot study was conducted. Six participants were selected from the close environment of the researcher all of whom completed the questionnaire and reported their views. One participant found issues understanding what terms like 'mother tongue' and 'language variety' mean. For this, a description for the term *mother tongue* (referring to it as the first code one acquires in their home), was included and the term *language variety* was substituted with a less technical one which is 'dialect'. This is because the former is a more technical word used by linguists whereas the latter is understood by lay people. Another issue relates to how one participant did not understand that the questions in the first part of the questionnaire relate to language use in spoken discourse and in the second part questions relate to Facebook. This participant did not write an answer to questions in the second part, but rather wrote the phrase 'same answer, repeated question'. For this reason, instructions were made clearer and the questionnaire was restructured so that it is easier for participants to understand the difference.

4.4.1.3 Distributing the Online Questionnaire

The target population of the online questionnaire is the Algerian online community that uses Facebook. Any Algerian Facebook user who is above the age of 16 was eligible to respond to the questionnaire. Participants for this part of the study were approached through Facebook pages and groups. The researcher contacted various Algerian Facebook pages' administrators and moderators of Algerian students' Facebook groups, explained the research objectives to them and asked them to share a public link to the online questionnaire. This link, as has been explained above, was generated using the *onlinesurveys.ac.uk* website. Because such pages and groups were active, sharing various posts in a single day, the post featuring the link to the questionnaire was buried quickly under new posts and could not reach enough potential participants. Reposting the link to the same pages and/ or groups could be judged

annoying to users and this is why the researcher only posted the links once on each page and group. This led the researcher to also opt for the *snowball sampling* technique to find more respondents. The snowball sampling technique requires the researcher to 'find few people who meet the criteria of the particular study and then ask these participants to identify further appropriate members of the population' (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 98). Accordingly, the researcher sent the online questionnaire to her Facebook friends and asked them to send it to their Facebook friends and so on. The questionnaire was live on the internet for two months in the summer of 2018 and it was completed by 211 Algerian Facebook users.

4.4.2 Personal Facebook Profiles

In order to answer the second research question and to explore how social practices and identities are constructed using different modes of expression, the Facebook profiles of four participants were selected for analysis. The profiles of four participants who completed the questionnaire and were willing to participate in the next step of the project were selected. These participants are all acquaintances with the researcher. Trust was an important criterion for these participants as they were asked to grant the researcher access to their personal posts featuring their personal photos and information. Therefore, and as will be mentioned in section 4.7, after the researcher explained the reasons and objectives of the research, these four participants gave written consent to enable the researcher to collect data from their personal Facebook profiles. Knowing the participants well was also important for conducting short interviews with them more easily and more frequently after the analysis stage. Finally, these participants were selected for this study because they were active Facebook users and they posted considerably on Facebook walls, providing the researcher with good quantities of data for analysis. In order to keep the identity of the participants anonymous, each one of them was assigned a nickname (Anis, Dina, Sami and Souma), see table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Details of Participants.

Participant's Nickname	Gender	Age	Place of Residence in Algeria	Codes Spoken by Participants
Anis	Male	Not provided	West	Algerian Arabic, French and English.
Dina	Female	28	North	Tamazight, Algerian Arabic, French and English.
Sami	Male	21	East	Tamazight, Algerian Arabic, French, English and Spanish.
Souma	Female	21	East	Algerian Arabic, French and English.

To collect data from the four Facebook walls, the researcher used interactive screenshots. Using screenshots enabled the researcher to collect posts from the Facebook walls of the four participants maintaining all graphical elements. Data collection took place in March 2019 and it was a retrospective process whereby all posts on the personal Facebook walls of four participants, namely, Anis, Sami, Dina and Souma, which were posted from the 28th February 2019 to 1st February 2018, were collected. This did not include any posts that were posted by participants' Facebook friends to the participants' walls. The period in which data collection took place is not crucial to this study. In that, unlike in other studies (for instance, Alimi and Matiki (2017) who were interested in online comments on two specific news stories) where the period of data collection has to coincide with some important political events that are the interest of the study, data collection in this case can take place in any period when data collection instruments are ready. This is because the interest is in communicative activities. The aim was to collect data over a period of one year and extend the period if not enough data was collected. Any researcher dealing with Facebook data is aware of how challenging sometimes it is to collect enough data from Facebook walls of users who are not actively posting to their walls, which was not the case for the participants of this study. Therefore, there was no need to extend the data collection period. Data collection yielded a corpus of 943 posts where the number of collected posts from each one of the four Facebook walls differ significantly depending on the Facebook activity of the respective participant. For example, Anis posted 61 posts in the course of this year whereas Souma on the other hand posted 362 posts (see table 4.2).

Data was collected using the extension Ncapture for Nvivo. This extension is installed to Google Chrome browser and it enables capturing an interactive screenshot of the Facebook post and the screenshot is labelled as Ncapture. The resulting Ncapture is then imported to and read by the Nvivo software. Accordingly, and after going through the Facebook walls of the four participants and taking Ncaptures of all their posts, Nvivo was used to import the collected 943 Ncaptures. The Ncaptures were then grouped and exported into four PDF files corresponding to the four participants to make the data manageable and malleable. Because this was a long process of collecting and exporting the data, by the time the PDF files were produced some content of the posts was deleted from the original post resulting to these posts being collected but with an unavailable content, so these posts were excluded from the analysis. Hence, the number of posts that are analysed for this chapter is 919 posts.

Table 4.2 Details of the data collected from Facebook walls.

	Date of first post collected	Date of last post collected	Number of posts collected	Number of posts of unavailable content	Total of posts analysed
Anis	16 February 2018	28 February 2019	61	0	61
Dina	1 February 2018	28 February 2019	298	14	284
Sami	2 February 2018	27 February 2019	222	3	219
Souma	1 February 2018	26 February 2019	362	7	355
		Total	943	24	919

The next stage of data collection included the process of anonymising the data. The online free website *pdf2go.com* was used to edit the PDF files and crop them. The participants' names and profile pictures, all personal photos of the participants and anything that could reveal their identity were whited out (see example 4.1 below). The comment section of the posts was cut off and all hashtags were whited out and excluded from the analysis as well. This is because a hashtag could be used to trace back the original post that it was used in and hence revealing the identity of the participant.

Example 4.1 Anonymised Posts

4.4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

This study adopted the same argument presented by Androutsopoulos (2008) that advocates contacting the participants themselves about the drawn conclusions from the

analysis as detailed above in section 4.3. Androutsopoulos (2008, p. 6) stresses that these interviews are to be 'limited and non-random' and they should 'confront the participants with (their own) material'. Accordingly, short semi-structured interviews via Facebook messenger were conducted with the four participants of this study, namely, Anis, Sami, Dina and Souma; after the initial stage of the analysis was complete. The researcher prepared questions based on her observations and analysis and in the interviews, she made use of screenshots of participants' own posts to find out more from them about their own practices (Appendix C). Some questions were asked for clarifications on given linguistic practices whereas others were asked for opinions of the participants on the researcher's observations.

Conducting an online interview via the messenger service has several benefits. Research has shown that participants are more comfortable to discuss personal and private matters via online interviews which exempt them from any embarrassment that can occur in face to face interviews (Barton & Lee, 2013). Also, similar to what was mentioned above with relation to online questionnaires, the physical presence of the researcher is not required in this case.

Four interviews were conducted with the four participants. It was not possible to have a synchronous chat with some participants (Anis and Dina) due to their busy schedule. Therefore, the researcher wrote all of her questions and gave them time to reply to her. Some participants wrote back to the researcher while others sent voice messages giving their answers to her questions.

4.4.4 Public Facebook Page

In order to answer the third research question and explore how different resources are used to construct and negotiate audiences, an Algerian Facebook page was selected for detailed linguistic investigation. Initially, the researcher considered five Algerian Facebook pages for the study based on three main criteria. The first criterion was that the Facebook page should be administrated by Algerians and targeting Algerian followers. The second criterion was that the page should have a *public* status in that the content of the page is available to everyone online even when not registered on the Facebook site itself. The last criterion was that it should be an active page and a popular one in terms of numbers of followers and therefore a threshold was set for 500.000 followers. These criteria were set because, firstly, the interest of this project is the Algerian linguistic context only, secondly, because the publicness of the Facebook pages eliminates ethical issues, which will be detailed in section 4.7; and finally, because the popularity of the page and its active status guarantees that enough data could be

extracted from the page.

It is worth noting that the researcher selected the five Facebook pages based on her best judgment and observations, there was not, for instance, a list of the most popular Algerian Facebook pages. Then, the administrators (namely the person(s) who can change how the page looks and who can exclusively post on it) of the five Facebook pages were contacted so that to explain the objectives of the study and ask them for their permission to extract data. Two out of five administrators gave consent, therefore the first ranked page in terms of numbers of followers was selected to be part of the project (1 million followers vs 600.000 followers). The selected Facebook page was nicknamed page *Pleasure* based on its purpose which is of an entertaining nature where administrators share funny posts to entertain and amuse their followers.

The process of collecting data from Facebook page Pleasure relied on two steps and that is due to the limitations of the tools that were used for extracting the data from the Facebook page to Excel spreadsheets. It should be noted that for the case of page Pleasure and unlike in the previous case of Facebook profiles, screenshots were not an option for data collection. This is due to the size of data on the page and the estimation of time that anonymizing the names and profile pictures of users would take. Accordingly, it was deemed best to extract the data using a software which will keep the text and emoji used in contributions without other information that could reveal the identity of their writers. Extracting data in this fashion would also make it more malleable in terms of using it for examples, searching through it and coding it. It however allowed for extracting text and emoji and emoticons only, but no images, GIFs and stickers were extracted through it. Also, these software extract comments only and do not extract posts. Yet, because both the posts and the chain of comments underneath them where of interest to the researcher, data collection took place through two phases. Posts were the first to be collected in copy and paste and then the software *Facepager* and the online tool *Crazy Comment Export tool* were used to collect the comments to those posts.

When consent was received from administrators, data collection took place in June 2017. Again, similar to the case with Facebook profiles, this date does not have any analytical significance as it only coincided with when the researcher was ready for data collection. The researcher scrolled down the Facebook page copying and pasting posts except for those that revealed the identity of the page or any of its members which were not collected for ethical reasons. Posts and comments which were posted three days

prior to the data collection date were collected and this has resulted in a corpus of 60 posts and 6994 comments.

When all posts were copied and pasted, the researcher went back to each post to collect the comments underneath it. This is the second step of data collection process as mentioned above. The link for each post was copied to the software allowing it to extract the comments from the Facebook post to an excel spreadsheet. This resulted in 60 excel spreadsheets corresponding to the collected 60 posts (see example 4.2 for an illustration of collected data). In each sheet a line represents a comment but there exist blank lines which correspond to comments that shared images, stickers and/ or GIFs. The nature of the used instruments and the excel software, as explained above, did not allow the extraction of graphical elements from Facebook except for the case of emoji. Lines of comments to posts range from no comment to posts 9, 26 and 27 to 971 comments to post 16. This has resulted in a total of 6994 comments. Amongst these comments there are 244 (3.5%) comments which were excluded from analysis. This is because 218 (3.1%) comments were empty, as explained above, 19 (0.3%) were comments written in other languages like Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic and 7 (0.1%) were unintelligible to the researcher. Accordingly, the number of comments analysed for this project is 6750.

Example 4.2 Excel sheets

	A	B	C	D
1	Comments	Message		
2	C1	Hadiwan salhin we rebi welwaldin 🎷 lakasrouna la moughref la batata la khourchf ya rebi bina we eltou		
3	C2	لا أدري لماذا لكن هناك أشياء رغم أنها تعجب الجزائرين لماذا !!! مثلا هذا الممثل لايعجبني كذلك بعض المصطلحات مثل الم		
4	C3	TAG ro7na l lèmiri chefnaha...7erna fi yemmeha...sè3a wa7na wègfinnn 😂😂😂😂😂😂		
5	C4	ياديوان الصالحين الباك بقالو يومين😊 👈🤚 ؛ لا ستيلو لا كراس 📋 ورايح فرغان الراس😣 ياربي يروح الوسواس😣 وسلك المت		
6	C5	Je suis pliée de rire je l adore cet acteur rebi yahafdou		
7	C6	تلك اللحظة فاش كنخرجو من exam و نتلاقاو فدروج....TAG		
8	C7	TAG 3la rabi w lweldine mkhayraa hedi te3ek mdrrr		
9	C8	TAG manich kadra nedhak mais mdrrrrrrr je pleure de rire		
10	C9	TAG this is the best song i\'ve ever heard hh		
11	C10	TAG rajel lighani houwa ahna kif nbdw nghaniw		
12	C11	TAG yetkiyyef fi ba3ra loool 😂😂😂😂 hadi min nerbah l bac ndirha		
13	C12	mdrr choufi hakda ghedwa nshallah nedkhelo njwzo TAG ana ntabal wnti ghani		
14	C13	TAG chofi lunette hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh		
15	C14	Mdrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr TAG		
16	C15	TAG mdr remember ?!		
17	C16	TAG hadi khatrak el jaya		
18	C17	يا ديوان الصالحين على كارطة متهاردين TAG Xd		
19	C18			
20	C19	Hedi tghaniha automatiquement ki teb9a 2h lel ftour 😩😂😂		
21	C20	أقوال خالدة		

4.5 Data Analysis

After data collection took place, the next stage was its analysis, and this section explains the followed analytical procedures for each of the three parts of the project.

First, because the aim of the first part of the project is to account for Facebook users' perceptions of their linguistic practices which were elicited through an online questionnaire, a descriptive analysis of the data is provided in chapter 5. The analysis presents demographic information about the respondents along with percentages and examples of their responses to the questions of the questionnaire. This information was attained after the collected data from the questionnaire was first set in a summary form in excel sheet formats. This was possible because the *onlinesurveys.ac.uk* website allowed for extracting summaries of the collected data after closure of the online questionnaire. All answers for the close-ended questions (i.e., questions with a limited set of possible answers) were then coded into variables to enable processing them using the software SPSS. This latter allowed for generating results in tables and graphs format as presented in Chapter 5. Answers for the open-ended questions, however, were coded for different categories before quantifying them.

The followed process of coding responses to the open-ended questions included (1) going through each answer individually and setting the key point behind it, (2) assigning categories based on the repetitive key points and labelling them; (3) going through the difficult cases to place under the assigned categories, and finally (4) going through the responses again to ensure that they are coded correctly. Accordingly, the resulting thematic categories are emergent from the data (Dörnyei, 2007). In that, the categories 'habitual acts', 'multilingual context' and others that will be mentioned in sections 5.3 and 5.4 were not pre-determined before analysis started but they are the results of this process of coding that is based on a shared key point or theme. These categories were generated from answers to questions of why respondents either engaged or not in codeswitching practices. The aim behind which is to explore lay respondents' views of why does (not) codeswitching happen in spoken and digital discourse to add more insights to the project. In fact, their responses were critical in directing the researcher's attention to the importance of the audience, see Chapter 7, which has reshaped the analytical framework of the present study.

As for step (3) of the difficult cases to code, there were issues in coding answers to question 15.b and 18.b, see Appendix B. For the case of 15.b, respondents were asked to give reasons for not mixing between codes in spoken communication. The answers provided were easily coded into two thematical categories which are 'dislike' for those that dislike this act and 'purposeful' for those that are careful not to mix between codes. However, there remains three answers that do not fit into these categories and at the

same time they do not share the same key points to create a third category. For this reason they were grouped under the category 'other' as will be detailed more in chapter 5. Similarly, for the case of question 18.b, respondents were asked to list the reasons why they do not mix codes in communications on Facebook. Answers to this question were coded into two thematical categories 'Not known' for those who stated that they do not know why they engage in this act and 'purposeful' for those that do it on purpose. Yet, there were three answers that could not go under either of these categories and at the same time could not constitute a third category because they do not share the same key points. As in the previous case, a third category called 'other' was created for them as it is detailed in chapter 5.

The second part of the project aims at answering the second research question by analysing data collected from Facebook walls of four participants. The data for this part as has been previously explained consists of posts that these participants posted on their walls in a time frame of one year. The analysis of this data is presented in Chapter 6 and it relies on ideas from the practice-based approach and the constructionist approach to identity besides the concept of Translanguaging. To be able to answer the first portion of the second research question about how linguistic and semiotic resources are used on Facebook to construct identities, the use of resources is approached as a digital practice. In that, based on a practice-based approach, as has been explained in Chapter 3, the essential reason for using text and other semiotics on Facebook is considered to be locating them in a form of social practices (Barton & Lee, 2013; Jones et al., 2015). This is done to enable an establishment of a link between such digital practice and broader social and cultural contexts that they refer to including the construction of identities.

It is important to clarify at this stage that this study adopts a Translanguaging theory with minimal reliance on a notion of multimodality. Mode is defined as 'a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication' (Kress, 2009, p. 79). In this sense, multimodality refers to the use and analysis of an ensemble of such modes in a given context. Yet, translanguaging by definition also encompasses the study of such modes (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017). Modes from a translanguaging perspective could be referred to as resources which are either linguistic or semiotic. Examples of such resources are writing, reading, remembering, gestures and so on in an educational context and text, images, Gifs and so on in an online one. Because the analysis of such

multimodal instances or resources as featured in the data is possible through a translanguaging theory, the exclusive reliance on this latter in the present study was judged to be sufficient in attaining its aims. The adoption of the translanguaging concept is what brings all elements of analysis together because this latter enables combining the analysis of text and other semiotics within the same frame linking them to social and cultural issues (García & Li, 2014).

Throughout the lenses of a translanguaging concept, the combination of resources in constructing Facebook posts is approached as being creative and as expressing criticality as applicable (Li, 2011a). Being creative refers to participants' conformity or nonconformity to rules and the pushing of boundaries of conventional practice where they could use resources differently from what they were intended for. Criticality on the other hand refers to participants ability to draw upon resources as the occasion necessitates to adequately express social, cultural and linguistic views. Li (2011a, p. 1223) maintains that these two concepts are linked together as 'one cannot push or break boundaries without being critical'. Analysis of Facebook posts in the wall of the four participants in light of these concepts translates in explanations of how multiple resources are creatively and critically put together to achieve social goals including identity projection. The examples from the collected data that contain instances of these two concepts are explained in Chapter 6.

Identity construction on the four walls of the participants using the different resources afforded by Facebook as digital practices is approached from a constructionist perspective (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This perspective enables capturing the dynamic and the socially constructed aspect of identity because it views identity as emergent, flexible and fluid (Vásquez, 2014). Accordingly, all identity types that are discussed through examples in Chapter 6 are emergent from the analysis of the examples themselves. In that, they were not pre-assigned to different participants beforehand. In addition, different identities are assigned to the same participant in the same context as applicable to capture and showcase the flexibility and fluidity of identity construction on Facebook. Lastly, Translanguaging allows the analysis to go beyond the construction of identities to the creation of online spaces of expression (Li, 2011a) which enables answering the second portion of the second research question. This portion is about how identities are enacted in given online spaces. Accordingly, the enactment of different identities on Facebook is treated as happening within an online translanguaging space that the participants have created to situate themselves in.

Finally, the last part of the project aims at answering the third research question of how resources are put together to construct, respond to and negotiate an audience. The analysis relies on a combination of the Translanguaging theory (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017), and the Audience Design model (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Bell, 1984, 2001, 2009) and results are presented in Chapter 7. Combining these two entails that contributions on Facebook are approached as creative and critical combinations of linguistic and non-linguistic resources that are brought together to design an audience. Data for this part consists of posts and comments from a public Facebook page nicknamed 'pleasure'. Analysis is divided into three parts where in the first part posts are studied for how audiences are designed, in the second part comments are analysed for audience responses and the last part presents cases of negotiating an audience.

The first part investigates how administrators of page Pleasure use different resources to either maximize or minimize the scope of their audience. Analysis depends on determining which strategy administrators are using in each case. Strategies include using either a lingua franca, a universal non-linguistic sign, or the repetition of the same content in more than one language to maximise the audience. Other strategies for minimizing or partitioning the audience include the use of content or languages that are only comprehensive to a minority (Androutsopoulos, 2014). The second part investigates whether writers of comments have responsive or initiative styles to those of the administrators. A responsive style refers to the use of the same resources used in the post by writers of comments whereas an initiative one refers to the use of different resources which is translated as serving a given social goal (Androutsopoulos, 2014). Such resources range from linguistic and semiotic to social and cultural which is possible because the current project adopts a Translanguaging perspective which enable the researcher to go beyond the linguistic level attaining for social and cultural elements (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017) that could be employed by writers of comments. Finally, the third part discusses cases where writers of comments have explicitly expressed attitudes towards the use of a given resource.

4.6 Resources Used on Facebook

Lee (2016b, p. 33) noted that '[i]n any study of multilingualism on the internet, identifying the linguistic resources drawn upon can be a useful point of departure for researchers to gain a snapshot overview of the data at hand'. Therefore, data for this study was coded first for the resources used in it. This section is a descriptive quantitative account of the resources that participants in this study have drawn upon in

constructing their contributions on Facebook. Table 4.3. presents the coding abbreviations for linguistic resources that are used in tables throughout. The first subsection below presents tables detailing percentages of how many times a given participant used the different linguistic and semiotic resources on their Facebook wall. Similarly, the second subsection presents tables that summarise the resources that Facebook users used in writing their comments to collected posts from page Pleasure. Finally, the last subsection lists and explains some challenges that were faced when coding data for the codes used in writing it and hence generating the tables presented in this section.

Table 4.3 Abbreviations

Categories	Abbreviations
Monolingual Categories	
Algerian Arabic	AA
Modern Standard Arabic	MSA
French	FR
English	ENG
Tamazight	T
Multilingual Categories	
Mixing between Algerian Arabic and French	AA - FR
Mixing between Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic	AA - MSA
Mixing between Algerian Arabic and English	AA - ENG
Mixing between Modern Standard Arabic and French	MSA - FR
Mixing between Modern Standard Arabic and English	MSA - ENG
Mixing between French and English	FR - ENG
Mixing between Tamazight and French	T- FR
Mixing between Tamazight and English	T- ENG
Mixing between Algerian Arabic, French and English	AA- FR -ENG
Mixing between Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and French	AA- MSA - FR
Mixing between Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and English	AA - MSA - ENG

4.6.1 Personal Facebook Profiles

Coding the posts collected from the Facebook walls of the four participants was conducted to provide an overview of their linguistic practices. There are in total 919 Facebook posts which were coded according to which *Facebook affordance* is used in them. The data was coded for using text, sharing a personal photo or an image, sharing a link to an external website, a Facebook page or an event, sharing another Facebook post or sharing a video and using emoji. These categories are emergent from the data,

in that, each time a participant used an affordance, it is coded as new category and so on. The data was also coded for the codes used in writing the texts when applicable.

4.6.1.1 Facebook Affordances

Facebook affordances refer to sharing photos, videos, links and so on which are options provided by Facebook for its users. Table 4.4 summarises the number of posts in which each participant used the aforementioned affordances. It was found that Anis is the only participant that used different types of affordances in creating all his posts. He mainly shared photos to his wall (60.7%) and he shared links (4.9%) and posts of other Facebook users (3.3%) the least. Souma, on the other hand, does not seem to be using such affordances as much because almost a quarter of her posts (22.0%) shared only text without other modes. Like Anis, however, she mostly shared photos to her wall (53.8%) and was the least interested in sharing links (4.8%). Dina has a same mode-sharing pattern to that of Souma because 45.4% of her posts shared photos, compared to 53.8% on Souma's wall, and only 5.3%, similar to Souma's wall, shared links. Dina, however, shared more videos than Souma and only 4.9% of her posts were not constructed around sharing a mode. Sami's wall is quite different. One third of his posts shared videos (29.7%) and another one third shared posts (33.3%). He is the least in sharing photos amongst the participants (17.8%) and similar to all participants, he rarely shared links (3.7%) to his wall.

Table 4.4 Use of affordances by participants

	Shared photos				Shared videos		Shared links		Shared posts		No Affordances used		Total	
	Personal		Other											
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anis	33	54.1%	4	6.6%	19	31.1%	3	4.9%	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	61	100.0%
Dina	6	2.1%	123	43.3%	76	26.8%	15	5.3%	50	17.6%	14	4.9%	284	100.0%
Sami	15	6.8%	24	11.0%	65	29.7%	8	3.7%	73	33.3%	34	15.5%	219	100.0%
Souma	46	13.0%	145	40.8%	34	9.6%	17	4.8%	35	9.9%	78	22.0%	355	100.0%
Total	100	10.9%	296	32.2%	194	21.1%	43	4.7%	160	17.4%	126	13.7%	919	100.0%

Interested in further investigating what type of photos the participants share, all photos were coded for the categories 'personal Vs other', see table 4.4. Personal photos are those of the participants themselves while 'other' are photos that depict nature, other famous people or sayings and quotes. An interesting finding was that Anis mostly shared his own photos (54.1%) while the other two females shared 'other' photos. An explanation of this relates to how Anis sets himself as an example and his personal photos to help him build a persona of an influencer as will be later discussed in chapter 6. Both Souma and Dina are more inclined towards sharing photos of an entertaining

nature and not their own photos. Although Souma shared some of her personal photos, she does not do that as frequently as Anis, which could have a religious association. Muslim females, especially when wearing hijab, tend not to share their personal photos on social media out of modesty, leading their Facebook walls to becoming less personalised than those of males. All in all, coding for the mode of the posts of participants revealed that, for the most part of his posts, Anis shared personal photos while Dina and Souma shared 'other' photos. Sami, on the other hand, is more inclined towards sharing videos and other Facebook posts.

4.6.1.2 Emoji

Emoji refer to the ideograms and smileys that are used on Facebook. They have various genres which include facial expressions, objects, animals, places and so on. The word 'emoji' is used to refer to both singular and plural versions. The interest here is the frequency of emoji's use to account for their significance to the participants and to the process of meaning making in creating the posts which will be considered in more detail in the qualitative analysis in chapter 6. Table 4.5 below gives percentages of participants' use of emoji. Anis is the most frequent user of emoji with a percentage of 80.3% of his posts featuring them. A percentage of 72.4% of Souma's posts feature emoji and Sami is the least frequent user of emoji amongst the participants, but he still uses them considerably as 63.9% of his posts include them. Dina, on the other hand, rarely uses emoji (8.8%).

Table 4.5 Use of Emoji by Participants

	Anis		Dina		Sami		Souma		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	49	80.3%	259	91.2%	140	63.9%	257	72.4%	705	76.7%
No	12	19.7%	25	8.8%	79	36.1%	98	27.6%	214	23.3%
Total	61	100.0%	284	100.0%	219	100.0%	355	100.0%	919	100.0%

4.6.1.3 Text

Text is used throughout as a general term to refer to *writing* a post as opposed to posting pictures, videos and so on. The table below (see table 4.6) illustrates the frequency of using text on each participant's Facebook wall. Anis is the only participant who used text in all his posts, while Dina used text rarely in her posts, 18.7%. Dina constructed her wall around sharing photos, as has been previously mentioned, and she does not react or comment to them because she uses text and emoji rarely in her wall. Sami uses text more frequently than Souma reflecting how he is more engaging in his

posts than Souma is.

Table 4.6 Use of Text by Participants

	With Text		No text		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anis	61	100.0%	0	0.0%	61	100.0%
Dina	53	18.7%	231	81.3%	284	100.0%
Sami	186	84.9%	33	15.1%	219	100.0%
Souma	216	60.8%	139	39.2%	355	100.0%
Total	516	56.1%	403	43.9%	919	100.0%

Taking a closer look at the posts in which participants used text, table 4.7 below was generated to detail the percentages of the monolingual and multilingual texts. It is noticeable that participants prefer to use monolingual text. A proportion of 70.5% of posts by Anis, 59.8% by Sami and 43.4% by Souma that use text are written in one code. It is the same case for Dina, as well, who has the highest percentage of using monolingual as opposed to bilingual text, which is 15.8% in comparison to 2.8%. Although the majority of the posts are monolingual, yet some of them contain more than one code and this aspect will be investigated in more detail to understand what kind of identities, relations, opinions, ideologies and so on are achieved through this mixing.

Table 4.7 Percentages of Monolingual and Multilingual Text

	Monolingual		Multilingual		No text		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anis	43	70.5%	18	29.5%	0	0.0%	61	100.0%
Dina	45	15.8%	8	2.8%	231	81.3%	284	100.0%
Sami	131	59.8%	55	25.1%	33	15.1%	219	100.0%
Souma	154	43.4%	62	17.5%	139	39.2%	355	100.0%
Total	373	40.6%	143	15.6%	403	43.9%	919	100.0%

While the previous table provided general and generic results, table 4.8 details the number of posts in which each participant used the codes or combination of codes mentioned below. Codes here refer to the use of Algerian Arabic, Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English by participants and to the switching between them in writing posts. The majority of Anis' monolingual posts are written in Modern Standard Arabic (62.8%), Dina uses French more frequently as 77.8% of her monolingual posts are written in French. Sami prefers using English, 73.3% of his monolingual posts, while Souma alters between French and English.

Next, for the case of multilingual posts, it was found that Anis switches mainly between Modern Standard Arabic and English (83.3%). Dina and Souma switch most frequently between Algerian Arabic and French while interestingly Sami switches mostly between

Algerian Arabic and Modern-Standard Arabic (see table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Cases of monolingual and multilingual Posts for each

Participant

	Anis		Dina		Sami		Souma		Total	
	Monolingual use of Text
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
AA	0	0.0%	4	8.9%	17	13.0%	35	22.7%	56	15.0%
MSA	27	62.8%	4	8.9%	15	11.5%	18	11.7%	64	17.2%
FR	0	0.0%	35	77.8%	2	1.5%	52	33.8%	89	23.9%
ENG	16	37.2%	2	4.4%	96	73.3%	48	31.2%	162	43.4%
T	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	1	0.6%	2	0.5%
Total	43	100.0%	45	100.0%	131	100.0%	154	100.0%	373	100.0%
	Multilingual use of Text
AA - FR	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	4	7.3%	30	48.4%	38	26.6%
AA - ENG	1	5.6%	0	0.0%	14	25.5%	0	0.0%	15	10.5%
AA - MSA	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	17	30.9%	5	8.1%	23	16.1%
MSA - FR	1	5.6%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	5	8.1%	7	4.9%
MSA - ENG	15	83.3%	0	0.0%	8	14.5%	3	4.8%	26	18.2%
FR - ENG	1	5.6%	1	12.5%	2	3.6%	2	3.2%	6	4.2%
T-ENG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	1	0.7%
AA - MSA - FR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.8%	6	9.7%	7	4.9%
AA - MSA - ENG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	10.9%	3	4.8%	9	6.3%
MSA - FR - ENG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
AA - FR ENG	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	1	1.8%	6	9.7%	8	5.6%
AA- MSA-FR-ENG	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	3.6%	1	1.6%	3	2.1%
Total	18	100.0%	8	100.0%	55	100.0%	62	100.0%	143	100.0%
	Total
	61	12%	53	10%	186	36%	216	42%	516	100%

4.6.2 Public Facebook Page

Moving on now to the case of posts and comments collected form page Pleasure, and as has been explained in , the corpus consists of 60 posts and 6750 comments. Firstly, all pots were coded for the *Facebook affordances* used in them including text, sharing photos, videos, links and posts and whether they contain emoji. Then, posts that contain text were further coded for the *codes* that were used in them. Results of this coding process are presented in tables 4.9 and 4.10 below.

Table 4.9 Use of Affordances in Posts of Page Pleasure

	N	%
Affordances
Shared Photos	12	20.0%
Shared Videos	20	33.3%
Shared Links	6	10.0%

Shared Posts	0	0.0%
Non of the above	22	36.7%
Total	60	100.0%
Emoji		
Yes	40	66.7%
No	20	33.3%
Total	60	100.0%
Text		
Yes	58	96.7%
No	2	3.3%
Total	60	100.0%

Table 4.9 shows that most posts from page Pleasure are constructed using text (96.7%) and sharing videos (33.3%). In addition, two thirds of the collected posts contain emoji (66.7%). As for the codes used in writing these posts, table 4.10 shows that most monolingual posts are written in French (28.3%) while 18.3% are written in Algerian Arabic and 15.0% are written in Modern Standard Arabic. For the case of multilingual posts, the majority are written in switching between Algerian Arabic and French (15.0%).

Table 4.10 Cases of Monolingual and Multilingual Posts of Page Pleasure

	N	%
Monolingual Text		
AA	11	18.3%
MSA	9	15.0%
FR	17	28.3%
ENG	3	5.0%
Multilingual Text		
AA-MSA	3	5.0%
AA-FR	9	15.0%
AA-ENG	1	1.7%
FR-ENG	2	3.3%
AA-MSA-FR	3	5.0%
NO	2	3.3%
Total	60	100.0%

Secondly, comments collected from the comment section in page Pleasure were coded for the *codes* used in writing them and for whether they used *emoji*. It is worth repeating at this stage that because of the limitations of data collection software, comments could not be coded for whether they contained images because these latter were not uploaded to the Excel spreadsheets. Table 4.11 indicates that two thirds of the

collected comments contained text (67.5%) while two thirds did not contain emoji (65.4%).

Table 4.11 Use of affordances in comments in page Pleasure

	Text		Emoji	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	4558	67.5%	2337	34.6%
No	2192	32.5%	4413	65.4%
Total	6750	100.0%	6750	100.0%

The coding process (as presented in table 4.12) has shown that writers of comments have used different linguistic resources to compose their messages on Facebook. Most of comments are written in Algerian Arabic (47.9%) and French (38.0%) and in switching between them (70.2%). Nonetheless, users have also drawn on other linguistic resources including the use of Tamazight (0.7%) and mixing it with French (0.6%).

Table 4.12 Cases of Monolingual and Multilingual comments in page Pleasure

	N	%
Monolingual text		
AA	1538	47.9%
MSA	154	4.8%
FR	1219	38.0%
ENG	275	8.6%
T	23	0.7%
Total	3209	100.0%
Multilingual Text		
AA-MSA	194	14.4%
AA-FR	947	70.2%
AA-ENG	66	4.9%
MSA-FR	11	0.8%
MSA-ENG	2	0.1%
FR-ENG	44	3.3%
AA-MSA-FR	40	3.0%
AA-MSA-ENG	7	0.5%
AA-FR-ENG	30	2.2%
T-FR	8	0.6%
Total	1349	100.0%
Total		
	4558	100.0%

4.6.3 Challenges with Coding Facebook Data

It should be noted that the coding stage for the codes used in writing Facebook contributions was not a straightforward process as some challenges were encountered especially in relation to some Algerian Arabic items. The problem lies in Algerian Arabic being an only-spoken and a non-standard code which means that it does not have

a dictionary listing its vocabulary. This is a reason why some Algerian linguists avoided any quantitative research that deals with Algerian Arabic (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Benguedda, 2015; Slimane, 2014). In this project's coding process, there was a need to distinguish Algerian Arabic vocabulary from lexical items that belong Modern Standard Arabic or are loan words borrowed from French. This is to ensure that comments are correctly coded for being monolingual or multilingual, hence providing credible results. That is, for example, if items which do not belong to Algerian Arabic, but they are inserted in an Algerian Arabic comment, this comment is coded as a multilingual case instead of a monolingual one. This is the same argument presented by Paolillo (2011) who was interested in frequency rates of codeswitching in four discourse computer mediated platforms. He argues that it is necessary to the credibility of the frequency rates to account for items that are borrowed to a code and those which are codeswitching cases.

It seems important at this point to explain the distinction between codeswitching and borrowing. The striking difference between these two is that codeswitching happens at an individual scale and is an ephemeral phenomenon. When it comes to borrowed items, on the other hand, they are used by all community members at a larger societal scale and are passed down through generations (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The difficulty lies in knowing at what point in time did any given linguistic item became borrowed to the recipient code to begin treating it as such (Boztepe, 2003). The distinction between codeswitching and borrowing is necessary as most researchers opt for excluding borrowed items from their analysis of codeswitching. They, however, disagree as to how to determine what is codeswitching and what is borrowing. Poplack (1980) defines borrowed items as those that show morphological, syntactic and phonological assimilation into the recipient code and which are different from long stretches of codeswitching. Myers-Scotton (1988) also views frequency of use as a criterion for accounting for borrowed items. Frequency is also a problematic criterion as it is still difficult to know for sure how frequent some terms are used in a community.

Adopting Paolillo (2011)'s argument to this study entails that comments that contain borrowed items to Algerian Arabic are coded as Algerian Arabic. Borrowed items in this sense are those, which are understood by Algerian Arabic monolinguals whereas those that necessitate knowledge of other foreign languages are coded as multilingual cases (Slimane, 2014). Borrowed items are assimilated to at least two of the morphological, syntactic and phonological structures (Poplack, 1988; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981) of Algerian Arabic. One example is the word 'ncharji' that was

repeatedly encountered in the data. It is a verb of French origins, which means 'to charge' referring to charging one's phone and to topping it up. This word has been phonologically and morphologically assimilated to Algerian Arabic as it is pronounced differently from the original French pronunciation and is used and conjugated according to Algerian Arabic rules. Another encountered cases are about the 'lexical innovations' (Slimane, 2014) that Algerian youth engage in. These relate to what is known in the literature as 'cultural borrowing' (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This is when a word of different origins is used in a different context from that in which it is used in the original code. Two examples were encountered in the data which are the French words 'Fort' and 'les hommes' translated as 'strong' and 'the men' respectively. Both of these have been used by Algerians in innovative contexts. They are used as synonymous to the word 'amazing'. One could speak about a performance as being '*fort*' – meaning very amazing, and of the performer as being '*les hommes*' – meaning that he is amazing and that he did a great job. Both of these items were considered as belonging to Algerian Arabic and hence if they appeared in the data as part of an Algerian Arabic comment, this latter is coded as being a monolingual case (AA).

In addition, it is worth noting that many similar words, which exist in both Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, have the same writing. The only difference between them is their pronunciation with Algerian Arabic items having shorter vowels and the Shewa sound because they are simplified Modern Standard Arabic words (Ahmed-Sid, 2008). This has been another challenge for the coding of the data. One example includes the religious words and expressions that are of Modern Standard Arabic origin, but which became simplified for Algerian Arabic use. For example, the expression الحمد لله (Thank God) is pronounced 'al hamdou lilah' in Modern Standard Arabic but it is pronounced 'hamdoulah' in Algerian Arabic. In order to maintain the credibility of the work such words are coded according to the comment they are found in. That is if a puzzling word is found in an Algerian Arabic comment, it is considered an Algerian Arabic word and not a case of mixing between Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic.

Two interesting cases were also encountered in the data which are the words 'chita' and 'chkopi'. The first is an Algerian Arabic word which is used to refer to people who compliment others so as these latter help them doing something. This word was assimilated to the morphology and syntax of Modern Standard Arabic that the reader would think that it was borrowed to it from Algerian Arabic. However, this could not be considered a case of borrowing because Myers-Scotton (2005) maintains that this

latter happens from the high to the low variety. Accordingly, this word was coded as (AA). The second word 'chkopi' is a lexical innovation. It is originally used by fishermen to describe seaweed. They use it to refer to their net when it is full of seaweed and not with fish. Algerians adopted this word and used it in another context, referring to Algeria. They think that similar to the case of fishermen, who despite the richness of the sea with fish they only caught seaweed, that Algerian youth as well and despite the richness of the country receive no benefits and live a hopeless life. This word has been used in the data as a proper noun 'the Chkopistan Republic' to refer to Algeria, but because this word carries loads of cultural connotations, it was coded as an Algerian Arabic item and it is treated as a creative translanguaging case in drawing from linguistic and cultural resources as will be detailed in chapter 7.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Internet ethics aims at maximising benefits for participants of research and reducing any harm that could be done to them. Harm in the case of internet and online communications and communities' research refers to participants' loss of autonomy and of privacy (Frankel & Siang, 1999). Autonomy in this context refers to how participants should be able to make discissions about their wiliness to participate in any research in a form of informed consent (Sugiura, Wiles, & Pope, 2017). This latter is a statement about the objectives, risks and benefits of the research project for participants to consider before making discissions about participating in the research (Frankel & Siang, 1999) with the exception of research in public domains (Sugiura et al., 2017) as will be detailed below. Privacy on the other hand refers to how participants have control over 'the types of personal information revealed about themselves' (Frankel & Siang, 1999, p. 10). Hence, internet ethics ensures that participants' autonomy for taking part in the research and their privacy are maintained. Indeed, the British Psychological Society (2017) highlights that researchers should ensure to maximise benefits for participants and minimize any harm that might result of the research, i.e., jeopardizing their identities. In that, participants should be informed, anonymised, and their confidentiality should not be violated (Hewson et al., 2016).

As for the current project, bearing the above ideas in mind and as has been mentioned before, data was collected from Facebook *personal profiles* or *walls* and from a *public* Facebook *page*. For the case of Facebook profiles' data which is discussed in Chapter 6, informed consent was required before collecting it. This is because the interest of analysis is on how online identities are constructed and the *persons* who are

posting on Facebook became objects of analysis, their personal photos and information became important to the analysis of how social identities are constructed, along with the text they produce. All four participants were approached for their consent to be part of the project and to allow for data collection from their personal Facebook walls before any data collection took place.

Due to unfeasibility of having tangible signatures on written documents, the researcher produced word documents and sent them to participants to sign their names. It was made clear to them that their participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw from the project whenever they wanted to. They had some questions about which posts did the researcher collect and for what reasons, which were all answered through messages. Participants were told that data obtained from them will be securely stored with only the researcher and her supervisor accessing it and it will be destroyed after the end of the project (see Appendix A).

The next part of the project requires collecting data from the comments of the posts that are written by the Facebook friends of these four participants. This is essential to be able to answer the third research question that is interested in examining how audiences are constructed and negotiated through the linguistic choices in writing posts and the linguistic responses to such choices in writing comments. This means that the researcher needs to obtain informed consent from all the Facebook friends that have written comments to the walls of the selected four participants. However, this was judged to be a difficult task that is going to take a considerable amount of time and for fear that some friends would not accept to take part in the project denying access to significant data that could affect the quality of the current research project, a decision was made to collect data from a public domain like Facebook pages instead.

Indeed, although this is still an area of controversy in the field of internet research, there exists a consensus on when there is no need for researchers to approach people for consent when observing and/or collecting what they posted in an online context to be used as *research data*. This is when they are obtained from *public contexts* (Hewson et al., 2016). The Code of Human Research Ethics notes that 'unless consent has been sought, observation of public behaviour needs to take place only in public situations where those observed 'would expect to be observed by strangers' (p.25)'(BPS, 2017). Also, the Association of Internet Researchers do not state that consent is required from people when retrieving data from public spaces (Sugiura et al., 2017). The usual justification for this is that natural online behaviour is best observed in its natural context without the interference of the researcher and their research aims and objectives

(Sugiura et al., 2017). When the identities of the participants are kept anonymised, public spaces are believed to maintain the privacy of the subjects that are under research (Frankel & Siang, 1999).

However, there is still disputation around what exactly constitutes a public space online. Frankel and Siang (1999) explain that there exist two perspectives with regard to data online; that which is technological and that which is psychological. The technological part refers to the accessibility of the data. In that, there are public domains with unrestricted access to data for any user of the internet and there are private ones where the data could only be accessed by authorised users. The psychological part on the other hand do not determine public vs private based on accessibility but 'on the psychological perception of the subjects with regard to the information' (Frankel & Siang, 1999, p. 11). For example, one online domain could be publicly accessible for users based on the technological perspective, but it is psychologically considered a private space for sharing private conversations for its users. For this reason, researchers dealing with such online data should attain for the technological nature of the medium under research and for the understanding of its privacy by its users before making any ethical decisions about informed consent or attempting to collect data.

As for the case of the selected Facebook page *Pleasure*, a decision was made that there was no need for informed consent when collecting the data from it. This is because (1) from a technological perspective, the Facebook page pleasure is publicly accessible to Internet users and (2) from a psychological perspective, followers of the page are expected to know that any posts and/ or comments on the page are public because Facebook clearly states that 'Content posted to a Page is public and can be viewed by everyone who can see the Page'. The interest of the current study is by no means going to pose any harm to users of Facebook that posted on the selected pages. This is because at this stage of analysis the interest lies in *text* as opposed to *persons* (Page, Barton, Unger, & Zappavigna, 2014). In other words, the real social identities and the behaviour of Facebook users who posted on the public page are not the object of analysis, but text found in the public comment section is. This text is only going to be analysed for linguistic and semiotic choices. Nonetheless and as an additional careful consideration, the researcher approached the administrators who run the Facebook page and asked for their consent for conducting the project prior to collecting any data.

4.8 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter gave information about the methodological procedures followed to carry out the project. It was argued that the adoption of a mixed method approach enables the researcher to examine communication on Facebook from different perspectives in a quest to understand how users use different resources to communicate meanings. It was explained that moving the focus of analysis from the text to the persons who produced the text is crucial in understanding how social identities are constructed. Also, it was explained how adopting the online ethnography principle has allowed the researcher to delve more in the lives of the participants collecting their accounts which enriched the analysis. The chapter has presented the three sets of data that the project investigated highlighting the reasons and aims behind their selection and accounting for the encountered challenges in coding them. The chapter also presented the analytical procedures and an account of the resources that Facebook users drew upon in constructing their contributions.

CHAPTER 5 – Algerian Facebook Users' Perceptions of their Linguistic Practices

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the online questionnaire which was distributed through Facebook pages and was answered by 211 Facebook users. The aim of the questionnaire was to investigate linguistic practices of Algerian Facebook users both in spoken and digital communication and to reveal Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their use of Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English. As has been explained in Chapter 2, studies exploring the Algerian linguistic context show that Algerians tend to mix codes in spoken discourse (Bagui, 2014) therefore this chapter explores whether Algerian Facebook users report that they mix codes on Facebook as well. The chapter begins by providing some demographic information about the participants of the study. It provides numerical accounts of how many participants use the aforementioned codes in spoken and Facebook communications. It also provides percentages of the proportions of participants that report that they mix between codes. Finally, participants' reasons for mixing or not mixing codes are explored in some detail as well.

5.2 Participants' Demographic Information

The aim of the first part of this analysis is to present the demographic information of the participants in relation to their gender, age, place of residence, nationality, occupation and educational level. The table below summarizes the findings.

Table 5.1 Participants' demographic information.

Gender	Males		Females	
N	83		128	
%	39		61	
Age	<18	19 - 23	24-28	29+
N	2	119	56	32
%	1	56	28	15
Spoken Variety of Algerian Arabic	Western Variety: Oranais	Northern Variety: Algerois	Southern Variety: Sahara	Eastern Variety: Rural
N	43	21	30	105
%	22	11	15	53
Occupation	Employed	Student		Unemployed
N	65	112		28
%	31	55		14
Education	Still Studying	BA	MA	PhD	Other
N	63	77	50	11	8
%	31	38	24	5	2

Participants who took part in this study represent young Algerian adults that include 128 females (61%) and 83 males (39%). Most participants, 119 (56%), are aged between 19 and 23 years old, 56 (28%) are between 24 and 28 years old and 32 participants (15%) are older than 29 years old. Two participants are younger than 18 years old (1%) and the eldest participant is 42 years old (table 5.1).

As for the place of residence, participants were asked whether they currently live in Algeria or not. It should also be mentioned that 'place of residence' functioned as an eliminatory factor. This is because one's current residence might have an influence on their linguistic practices as they could be exposed to other codes, therefore, to ensure consistency and avoid biased conclusions participants who did not reside in Algeria at the time of the study were eliminated from the study. In total, six participants were eliminated as they did not live in Algeria during the time of data collection (one lived in Italy, another in Ukraine, two lived in France and another two in the UK). The remaining 205 who were included in the study were all born and live in Algeria and are all holders of the Algerian nationality.

Participants were asked whether they currently live in Algeria and if so, in which Wilayah – an Algerian administrative division that could also be known as a *province*. It should be noted that information collected from this question serves to present a description of the diversity of the studied population in terms of its demographic characteristics. As has been mentioned in the methodology chapter, participants to this study were self-selected to reply to an online questionnaire that was sent to them via Facebook. This self-selection and the snowball data collection techniques used in the distribution of the online questionnaire did not allow for the researcher to collect a

stratified sample, i.e., similar number of participants from all Algerian Wilayahs. Consequently, participants from 34 out of 48 wilayahs responded to the questionnaire with varying distributions. That is, there is, for example, only one participant from Tizi Ouzou and one from Ilizi while 73 participants from Batna, see map below. This is not a problem for the current study as the purpose is an exploration of the perceptions of Algerian users' communicative practices with no limitations to a specific area.

For rendering this last information more manageable, participants from the 34 wilayahs were grouped into four main categories, namely northerners, southerners, easterners and westerners, based on the variety of Algerian Arabic that they speak. According to Derradji, Queffélec, and Smaali-Dekdouk (2002), there are four varieties of Algerian Arabic. These categorizations are approximate and serve as a description only because clear cut categories cannot be made, as Algerian Arabic presents a dialectal continuum in its distribution. , Figure 5.1 shows a map that presents the categorization of the participating 34 wilayahs based on the four Algerian Arabic varieties that they use. The remaining 14 wilayahs that have no representatives in this study's data are presented in white in this map. These categories include *Rural variety* that is spoken in the east of Algeria, *Oranais variety* that is spoken in the west, *Sahara variety* that is spoken in the south and *Algerois variety* that is spoken in the Capital Algiers and the neighbouring cities in the north of Algeria. Most of this study's participants, 105 (53%), are from the east of Algeria and are speakers of the Rural variety, 43 (22%) participants originate from the West of Algeria and are speakers of the Oranais variety. There are 30 (15%) participants from the southern part of Algeria and they speak the Sahara variety, and finally, 21 (11%) participants are speakers of Algerois (see table 5.1 above).
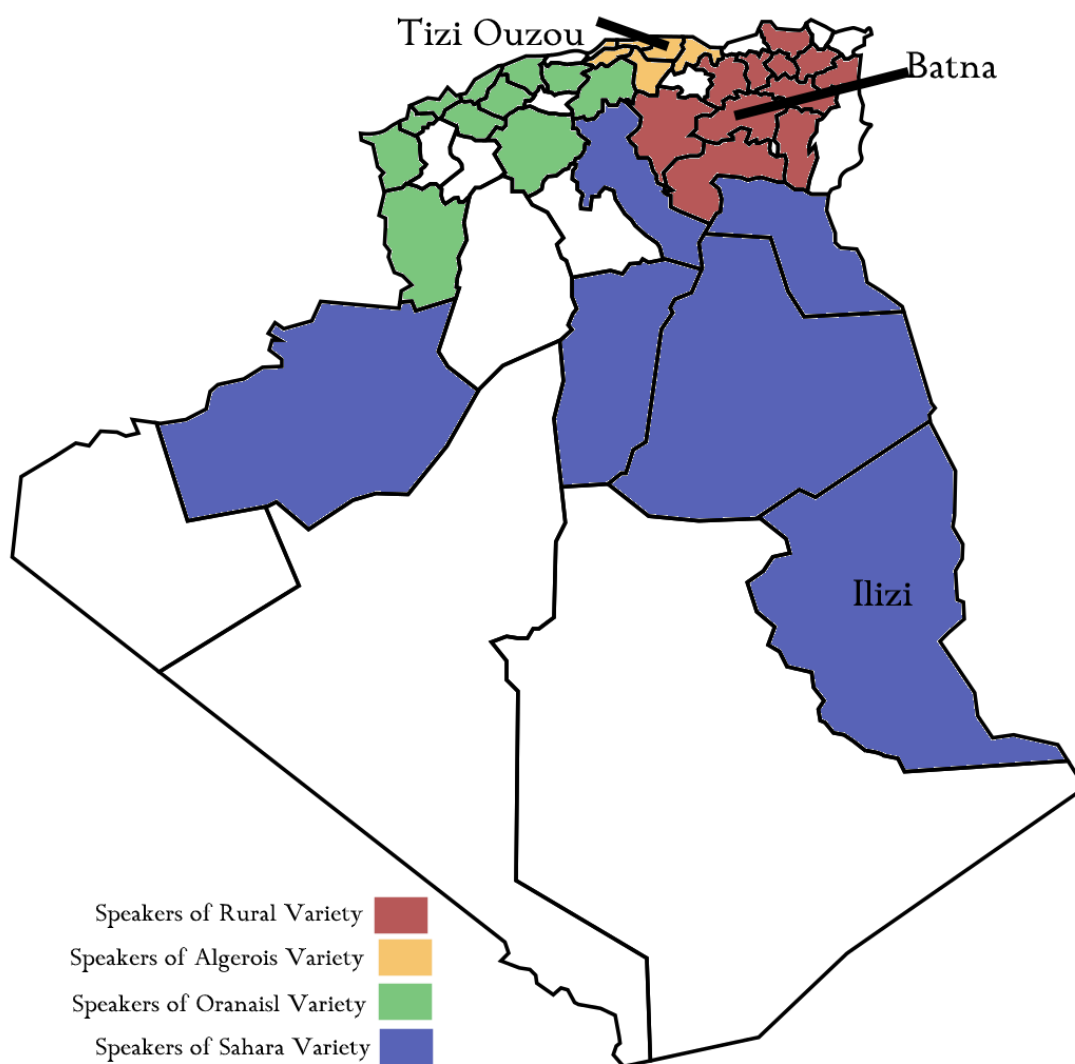
Figure 5.1 Distribution of Algerian Arabic varieties by area

Lastly, as for occupation and educational levels, there are 112 (55%) participants who are currently students, 65 (31%) are employed while 28 (14%) are unemployed. There are 77 (38%) participants who are holders of Bachelor degrees, 50 participants (24%) are holders of Masters Degrees and 11 (5%) are holders of a PhD, three are medical doctors and one is a veterinary doctor. Four (2%) of the participants are engineers while 63 (31%) did not get a university certificate yet, as they are currently university students or high school pupils.

5.3 Participants' Linguistic Practices in Spoken Communication

This section aims to present findings in relation to participants' perceptions of the codes they use in spoken communication and whether they mix between them. Participants were asked first about the variety that they first spoke at home (their mother tongue), then whether they consider themselves monolinguals or multilinguals. Next,

they were asked to report which codes they speak besides their mother tongues and whether they mix between them and why. Results of these questions are discussed in the two subsections below. It is important to mention at this stage that because most participants referred to both Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic as 'Arabic' in all their answers to this questionnaire, the researcher could not distinguish between the two varieties and hence an analysis of diglossic mixing is not possible in this case. However, the diglossic mixing cases will be investigated as needed in Chapter 6 and 7 with the data obtained from Facebook walls and page.

In terms of the mother tongues of participants, there are 164 (80%) participants whose mother tongue is 'Darija' which is the Algerian Arabic variety, 13 (6%) whose mother tongue is Tamazight, and one participant (1%) reported that English is their mother tongue. It is worth mentioning that among those whose mother tongue is Algerian Arabic, 18 (9%) participants reported that their mother tongue is both Algerian Arabic and French. This could be because some educated parents in Algeria speak French to their children because this latter is a code often associated with prestige and education (Ahmed-Sid, 2008). Consequently, these children are brought up in homes where both Algerian Arabic and French are spoken and for them both represent their mother tongue. Another nine (4%) participants reported that their mother tongue is both Algerian Arabic and Tamazight. These participants have been brought up in families that are descendants of the Berbers, natives of the land, who cherish their culture and seek to transmit their language to future generations. Accordingly, and in most cases, Berber decedents who live amongst other Arab ethnic groups speak Tamazight to their grandparents and elders while speaking Arabic to parents, siblings and friends.

In terms of multilingualism, 183 (89.3%) participants consider themselves multilingual while 22 (10.7%) report that they are monolingual. Different participants mentioned that they speak various languages besides their mother tongues which include French (187), English (184), Spanish (23), Turkish (22), German (12), Korean (6), Japanese (5), Chinese (4), Italian (1), Finish (1), Greek (1), Hindi (1) and Portuguese (1). The focus in the following sections, however, will be on French and English because they are by far the languages more widely used by the participants. Also, as explained in chapter 2, these two languages hold the first and second foreign languages position in Algeria respectively. The second chapter also explained how authorities in Algeria were and are still seeking to promote the status of English at the expense of French. Yet, some linguists including Benrabah (2007a, 2007b, 2014) strongly argue against policy

makers' efforts to promote English at the expense of French and maintain that the majority of Algerians do not view these foreign languages as rivals and that only one of them should be exercised in Algeria. According to Benrabah (2007a), young Algerians are aware of the global position of the English language and they show an interest in learning it but not at the expense of French. In an earlier study by Benrabah (2005), 76.4% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed to the statement 'When I choose English, this does not mean that I reject French' (Benrabah, 2005, p. 476) which was featured in an offline questionnaire distributed to high school pupils. Motivated by these accounts of the position of French and English in Algeria, participants in this study were asked to rank the foreign languages they speak to explore how these Algerians are using French and English. In other words, are the participants using both foreign languages or are they favouring one at the expense of the other.

Results show that participants of this study use both French and English to similar degrees. That is, 48.29% of participants use French as the first foreign language and similarly 47.80% use English as a first foreign language. What is most interesting about these findings is the high percentage of speakers of English as a first foreign language, 47.80%, compared to other studies that reported less percentages or none at all. About sixteen years ago, in 2004, only 15% of the studied population in Benrabah (2005) reported that they speak English. Similarly, about nine years ago, Chemami (2011) found that 75% of his study's participants spoke English rarely or very rarely in their daily conversations. Other studies in the literature of the Algerian linguistic context did not record use of English in spoken communication or text messaging (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Mostari, 2009). Data from this study suggest that the number of speakers of English could be growing in Algeria especially that previous statistics revealed that only 7% of Algerians are competent in communicating in English (Benrabah, 2014).
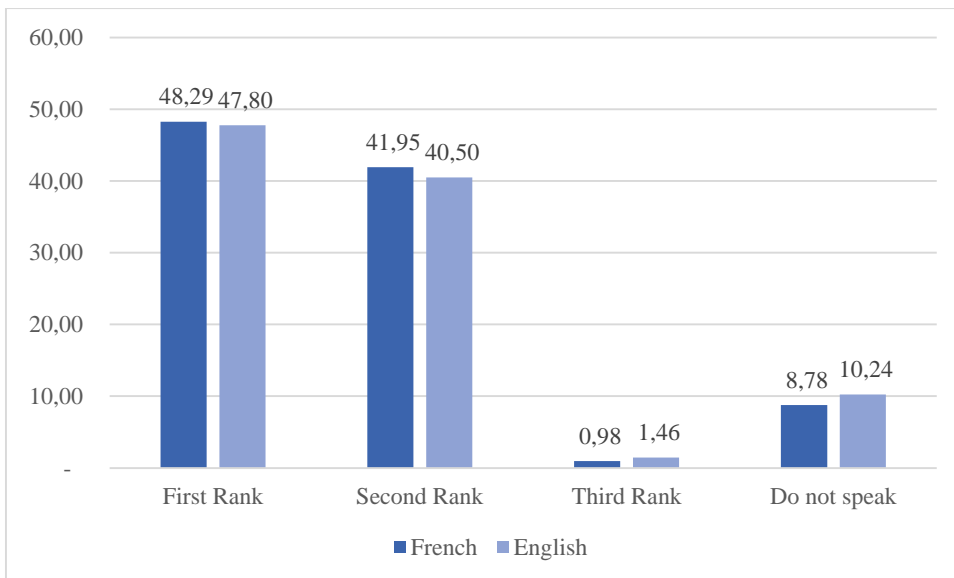
Figure 5.2 Participants' rank of French and English

Next and with an aim of exploring whether participants' competence in the two foreign languages is restricted to spoken language or it is extend to writing, participants were asked whether they speak only, write only or both speak and write the foreign languages at question. The results revealed that while some participants only speak or write each language, the majority have good skills in speaking and writing French and English. This is evident by the percentages 60.00% and 61.50% respectively (see figure 5.3).
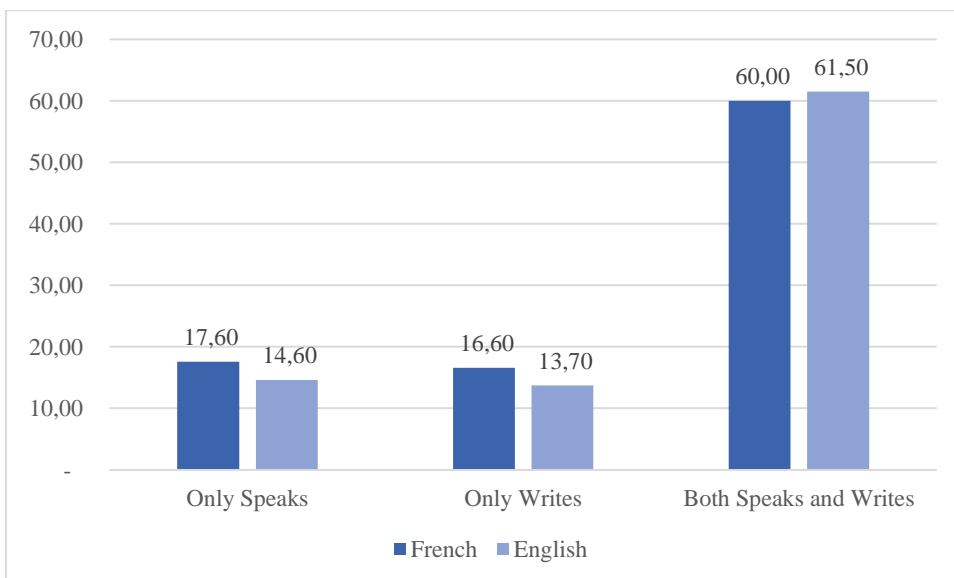

Figure 5.3 Participants' mastery of French and English

Results have shown that the majority of young Algerians who completed the online questionnaire refer to themselves as multilinguals and as skilful in using French and English. One could argue that it is inevitable for multilinguals to mix between the linguistic resources that are at their disposal when communicating, in fact, most of the

literature on Algerian linguistic context report that multilingual Algerians mix between codes when they speak (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Bagui, 2014; Benguedda, 2015). For this reason, participants were asked to report whether they mix codes in spoken communication. It was found that the majority (87.32%) states that they do mix codes indeed compared to 8.29% who do not and 4.39% who do not know whether they do. More than 96.65% of participants reported that they switch to French, 45.81% switch to English and 11.17% switch to other codes that include Spanish, Turkish and Tamazight. In order to gain insights from participants themselves on the reasons for which they mix codes, participants were invited to answer an open question about that. The focus here is on the linguistic act of mixing codes when speaking and does not relate to any given pair of mixing. Participants' answers were coded into four major themes:

- **Habitual act** is the category under which all answers that relate to mixing codes becoming a habit to speakers and that it is a subconscious process.
- **Multilingual context** highlights the influence of growing up in a multilingual place on participants' linguistic practices and the fact that they themselves are multilinguals.
- **Convenience** refers to instances where participants report that they switch when they speak if they cannot find a word in the code they are using and/or think that the other code is more expressive.
- **Enjoyable** includes instances where participants find mixing codes an interesting linguistic act that they like using.
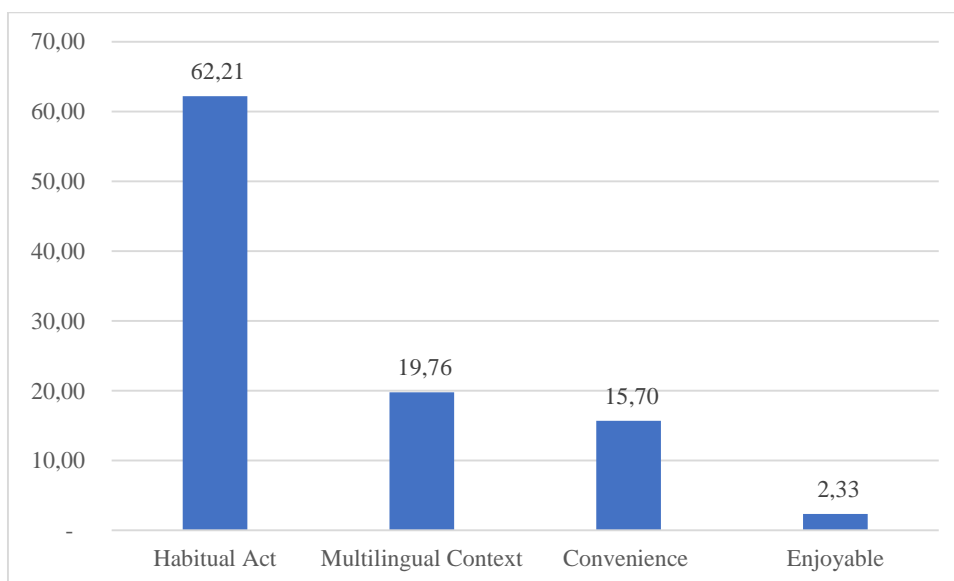

Figure 5.4 Participants' reasons for mixing codes in spoken discourse

As shown in figure 5.4, most participants (62.21%) consider mixing codes a habitual act. Many participants provided concise answers for this question including

103

expressions like 'habit', 'unconscious' and 'spontaneous', cases of P1, P29, P33 and P51 in table 5.2. It seems that for the majority, mixing codes in one's speech is not necessarily intentional but habitual instead. In these same lines, Kerras and Baya Essayahi (2016) explain that because Algerian Arabic developed as a product of the coexistence of several languages, see chapter 2, it consists of linguistic items of different origins. Therefore, the act of using these items in the same utterance is not always intentional but could be 'innate' (Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016, p. 152). In that, these participants and other Algerians do not have precise reasons for why they mix between codes as they are using Algerian Arabic which is a hybrid variety. Other participants (19.76%) touched on the influence of the context they grew up in. They referred to the multilingual situation of Algeria (P26 and P78) and the fact that Algerians inherited the languages of previous colonizers of the country that they are now using in their speech (P19). On the other hand, smaller groups of participants provided specific reasons for why they mix codes, 15.70% of them switch to a different code because of its expressiveness or for using a specific word, and 2.33% do it for fun such as the case of P22, P174 and P47.

Table 5.2 Participants' reasons for mixing codes in spoken discourse

Category	Example	Translation
Habitual Act	P1: habit	
	P29: habitude	[Habit]
	P33: spontanément	[Spontaneously]
	P51: تدخل في اللاوعي التطبع منذ الصغر	[It is unconscious and it became a habit used since young age]
Multilingual Context	P19: من مخلفات الإستعمار المتوارثة إلى جيلنا هذا	[It is a remnant of the colonizer that our generation inherited]
	P26: Je suis multilingue	[I am multilingual]
	P78: لا أعرف يمكن لأنو ترعرعت في مجتمع يمزج الإثنين	[I do not know maybe because I was brought up in a society that switches between the two]
	P73: I guess the use of some terms depends on the person i'm talking to	
Convenience	P67: أجد كلمات لغة سهلة من اللغة الأخرى و أحيانا تكون الكلمة بلغة أخرى معبرة أكثر وسهلة الفهم والنطق	[I find that some words from one language are easier and sometimes the word in one language are more expressive, easy to understand and pronounce]
	P87: Sometimes I can't find the right expression in a certain language Like not the right word but expression as Arabic have its own expressions.	
	P16: Sometimes the meaning you seek to give your audance is more expressed with a word that is not of your mother language	
Enjoyable	P22: just for Fun or making jokes	
	P174: أجد متعة في ذلك ..	[I find that entertaining]
	P47: استمتع بها و اخس اني اوصل التعبير المطلوب	[I enjoy it and I feel that I convey the intended meaning]

As for those who do not mix between codes, they have also provided reasons for that. There are 17 participants that do not mix codes, three of which did not provide a reason of why they do not. The remaining 14 participants' answers for not mixing codes were coded into three thematic categories:

- **Dislike** is the category that includes answers of participants who do not like to mix between codes when they speak.
- **Purposeful** is the category that includes answers of participants who are careful when they speak so as not to mix codes.
- **Other** is the last category that contains answers of other content relating to mixing codes being unimportant and uncomfortable.

Participants 65, 108, 148 and 155 clearly state that they try to be conscious of their linguistic choices and deliberately avoid mixing codes because they dislike this act (see table 5.3). It is interesting that participant 148, on the other hand, associated the fact of not mixing between codes with their place of residence. This participant resides in the southern part of Algeria, which is an area that was difficult for French colonizers to reach and for the French language to penetrate its linguistic context. Hence, multilingualism in the south is not strong and switching to French is not as heavily observed in the speech of southerners as it is elsewhere in the country. The Sahara part of Algeria, according to Benrabah (2014), was the most affected by the Arabization policies producing large-scale monolingualism in Arabic. It seems that this participant associates mixing codes with Algerians that originate from other regions and attributes this act to historical reasons. Participant 156 views mixing codes from a different angle and associates it to ethnicity. According to them, one should not switch to other codes when they speak because 'each language has its own people'. This participant seems to share the monolingual ideology and the 'one language one nation ideologies' that are shared with Algerians who want to purify Algerians' speech from all French items. Other participants referred to how mixing code is unimportant (P25) and that they feel more comfortable not using it (P40). One last participant associated mixing codes to being talkative and expressed that they do not mix codes because they do not talk much.

Table 5.3 Reasons for not Mixing Codes in Spoken Discourse

Category	Example	Translation
Dislike	لاني لا أحب الخلط بين اللغات لان لكل لغة موضعها في الكلام. P106	[Because I do not like to mix between languages as each language has its position in the speech]
	P108: صراحة كنت اخلط بين اللغة العربية او بالاحرى الدارجة الجزائرية و اللغة الفرنسية مسبقا و بحكمنا نحن الجزائريين نتقتطف الكثير من المصطلحات الفرنسية فداومنا عليها و لكن انا احاول ان لا اخلط مجددا بينهما ارى انها سوف تكون احسن بلا اختلاط	[Honestly, I used to switch between Arabic or more specifically, Algerian Arabic and French because we Algerians borrow many French terms and get used to using them but I try not to switch between them again because I think it is better if we do not]
	لا احب ان اخلط لغتين معا، لان كل لغة تخص شعب معين P156	[I do not like to mix two languages together because each language has its own people]
Purposeful	P65: Always careful	
	P148: لأني أحاول دائما المحافظة على اللغة العربية كما أن البيئة التي أعيش فيها لم يحدث فيها هذا التداخل اللغوي بصفة كبيرة.	[Because I try to maintain the Arabic language and the environment that I live in did not experience a lot of language contact]
	P155: لأني استعمل لغة أم العربية و أن أمكن أن اتحدث لغة أخرى اتأكد جيدا قبل حديث	[Because I use mother tongue Arabic and if I am to speak in another language I would be very careful before I speak]
Other	P25: ليست لها أهمية في التواصل	[It is not useful for communication]
	P40: I feel comfortable that way	
	P188: لانني لا اتكلم كثيرا	[Because I do not talk much]

Analysing participants' reasons for mixing and not mixing codes provided us with some insights, mainly that, according to the majority, mixing codes is spontaneous which could explain the high percentage of participants who mix codes (87,32%) in the data. That is, the young multilingual Algerians find it inevitable to mix codes when communicating. Because many studies across the literature on language contact report how mixing codes is not restricted to spoken discourse but rather is observed in digital communication as well (Androutsopoulos, 2013), participants' linguistic practices on Facebook are examined in the next section. The aim is to explore whether the same practices exercised on spoken communication, are carried to social media platforms as well or whether they differ.

5.4 Participants' Linguistic Practices on Facebook

This section aims to present findings in relation to participants' perceptions of their linguistic practices in digital communication, and in particular on Facebook. Participants were asked first how frequently they use Facebook. This was an eliminatory question so that if any participant does not use Facebook, their answers will not be considered for this study. It was found that all the participants use Facebook, with 182 (89%) of them using it on a daily basis, 19 (9%) participants use it from twice to three times a week and four (2%) use it once a week. Participants were then asked to report

which codes they use on Facebook and whether they mix between them and why. Results of these questions are discussed in the subsections below.

In terms of codes used on Facebook, there are 83% of participants who state that they use Arabic, 66% use French and 48% use English. It was found that the majority of this study's participants mix codes when communicating on Facebook (83%). Most of them reported that they switch to French with a percentage of 78% while a proportion of 39% switch to English and only 6% use other codes that include Tamazight and Spanish. The participants gave the same reasons for mixing codes on Facebook to those for mixing codes in spoken discourse. As in spoken discourse, most participants do it for subconscious reasons relating to mixing codes being a habitual act (55.24%) and the fact that they grew up in a multilingual context (15.38%). For example, P27 explains that he is used to using such mixture and P26 maintains that because he masters different languages, he uses them when he communicates like other Algerians do (see table 5.4). Related to this last idea, many other participants highlighted that it is very difficult not to mix codes in spoken discourse in Algeria referring to its multilingual situation. This is illustrated by quotes below provided by P52 and P205 (see table 5.4).
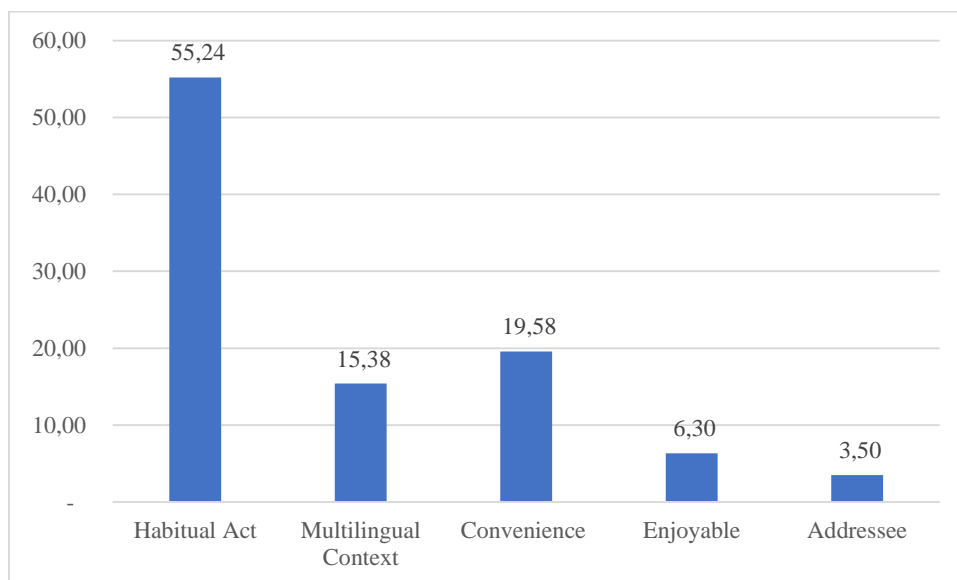

Figure 5.5 Reasons for mixing codes on Facebook

Moreover, participants mentioned the same *Convenience* reason, as in spoken discourse, but for certain purposes related to easiness of use. Such participants reported that they switch to French because it enables them to use the abbreviations that are easier to type than the equivalent words in Arabic, namely P45, P67 and P146 in table 5.4. This is what is referred to in the literature as 'Least effort' (Barasa, 2016) or 'language economy' (Dąbrowska, 2013). For instance, P146 provides the example of using abbreviations such as 'cv', 'b1' and 'hmd' of the words 'cava', 'bien' and 'hamdoulilah'

translated as 'fine', 'good' and 'Thank God' respectively. Other participants referred to mixing codes as being enjoyable and therefore they do it. P47, P43 and P156 clearly state that they love mixing codes as it is fun.

One finding that is emergent from this data and not covered in the reasons that participants provided for mixing codes in spoken communications is related to the addresses. Several participants mentioned that they mix codes on Facebook because of the people they are conversing with. As indicated in table 5.4, these participants relate the act of mixing codes to the social media platform itself, maintaining that it allows communication with people from different linguistic backgrounds leading them to mix between the different codes.

Table 5.4 Participants' reasons for mixing codes on Facebook

Category	Example	Translation
Habitual Act	P20: هكذا تعودنا الكلام	[This is how we are used to speak]
	P24: language de rue devenu une habitude	[A language of the streets which became a habit]
	P27: الاعتياد على استعمال هذا الخلط	[the habit of using this mixture]
	P52: هكذا نشأنا مع لهجتنا المختلطة و اتمنى لو نتمسك بلغتنا العربية التي هي ام اللغات و هي لغة مؤدبة و محترمة	[It is how we grew up with a mixed dialect, I wish we could maintain our Arabic language which is the mother of languages. It is a polite and respectable language]
	P205: if you are an Algerian you'd know why	(they refer to how Algerians codeswitch when speaking)
Multilingual Context	P26: I master different languages and I want to use them and it is the way more than half Algerians use to talk	
	P105: المحيط الذي اعيش فيه اثر علي	[the environment in which I live has affected me]
Convenience	P45: لأنه عكس العربية يمكن استعمال إختصارات فيها فلا أضطر لكتابة كلمة بأكملها	[Because unlike Arabic, you can use abbreviations so I am not compelled to write the whole word]
	P67: لسهولة الكتابة و تكون كلمات معبرة أكثر للمعنى ويسهل فهمها	[Because it is easier to type and it would be more expressive and easy to understand]
	P74: اختصار	[Abbreviation]
	P137: من اجل السرعة و ربح الوقت	[To be quick and gain time]
	P140: اكثر عملية	[More practical]
	P146: hmd . b1. cvأسهل واسرع من كتابة لاباس بخير الحمد لله لأن كتابة	[Because it is easier and quicker to type 'cv .b1 . hmd' than typing good fine thank god]
Enjoyable	P47: اخب ان افعل ذلك استمتع به احس اين اوصل معنى اكثر	[I love doing this I enjoy it I feel that it conveys more meaning]
	P43: Pour le plaisir Par manque de mots	[For fun for lack of words]
	P156: للمزاح فقط	[just for fun]
Addressee	P200: احيانا مع زميلاتي استخدم اكثر من لغة من اجل ايضاح وايصال فكرة .مع طلبة اضطر لاستخدام اللغة العربية من اجل توضيح وتبسيط وشرح المبهم باللغة الاخرى	[Sometimes with my colleagues I use more than one language to make my ideas clearer. With the students I can be driven to use Arabic language to explain and make things clearer to them]
	P12: هذا يعتمد على الشخص الذي تتحدث معه و اعتدنا على التحدث باستعمال لغات مختلفة تلقائيا	[This depends on the person I am talking to and we are used to using different languages automatically]

P41: حسب الشخص ابدي أتحدث معه احب إدخال اللغات الأخرى في حديثي	[It depends on the person I am taking to I love mixing other languages in my speech]
P44: حسب الاصدقاء العمل والحياة اليومية	[It depends on friends work and everyday life]
P107: لان احيانا الأشخاص الذين اتحدث إليهم يجيدون تلك اللغة ونحب نمارسها	[Because sometimes the people that I talk to know that language and I like to use it]
P140: حسب طريقة الشخص الذي تتحدث معه	[It depends on the way of the person you talk to]

As for those who report that they do not mix codes on Facebook, their answers were also coded into themes providing three main categories:

- **Not Known** is the category that includes answers of participants that replied that they do not know why they do not mix between codes when they use Facebook.

- **Purposeful** is the category that includes answers of participants who are careful when they write so as not to mix codes and are keen to using one code at a time.

- **Other** is the last category that contains answers of other content including those that do not like this act.

Several participants mentioned that they do not know why they do not mix codes (see for instance P10, P13 and P100 in table 5.5), while others maintained that Facebook as a medium of interaction allows more control over one's code use as participants can edit the message and are more conscious about what to write (see cases of P151 and P197). Facebook provides a medium that is more controllable because it is an asynchronous medium of interaction. The affordances of asynchronous modes allow time before the message is submitted (Herring, 2007) where the communication becomes a conscious act of selecting one's words and phrases. This idea was a prediction of Paolillo (2011) in his study of the use of English, Hindi and Punjabi in different online contexts in terms of their synchronicity. He argues that synchronous modes of communication foster mixing codes whereas asynchronous ones disfavour it because of their nature that allow for time to edit the message. Nonetheless, results of this study indicate that more than 83% of participants mix between codes when using Facebook, and cases of mixing codes on Facebook that were reported by studies such as Barasa (2016); Dąbrowska (2013); Eldin (2014); Halim and Maros (2014) and Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) call for not generalising such claims. Especially that some other studies revealed that the synchronicity of the medium is not always a factor to mixing codes but formality is (Barasa, 2016; Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009). Other participants seem not to like this act, such as P154, and/ or are not able to do it, P35.

Table 5.5 Participants' reasons for not mixing codes on Facebook

Category	Example	Translation
Not Known	P10: I don't know	
	P13: Dontknow	
	P100: دونو	[Do not know]
Purposeful	P151: لأن الكتابة غير النطق، فعندما أكتب أتحرى ما أكتب وأحرص على عدم الخلط بين اللغات	[Because writing is different from speaking so when I write I pay attention to what I write and make sure not to mix between languages]
	P187: أجتهد لاستعمال اللغة العربية	[I make efforts to use Arabic]
	P197: احب ان أحيي اللغة العربية واستعملها؛ أحيانا اجد صعوبة حين اتكلم بالفصحى مع الوسط العائلي لكن في المواقع الإلكترونية والرسائل فحتى مع العائلة أحرص على ان تكون بالفصحى.	[I like to revive the Arabic language and use it, I find it difficult to use Modern-Standard Arabic when I speak with family but on social media I use Modern-Standard Arabic even with my family]
	P116: أحاول التكلم بلغة واحة فقط	[I try to use one language only]
	P162: لدي العديد من الأصدقاء ومن مختلف البلدان العربية، لذا احبذ التواصل معهم باللغة العربية الفصحى في المنشورات	[I have many friends from different Arab countries, so I like communicating with them in Standard Arabic through my posts]
Other	P154: لا أحب ذلك وأجده استهزاء باللغة الأم لغة القرآن	[I do not like it, it feels as if making fun of my mother tongue, the language of Quran]
	P78: بسبب مجتمع	[Because of the society]
	P35: Je peut pas	[I cannot]

The results of this analysis show that young Algerians' practices of mixing codes in spoken discourse are also carried out on Facebook. It was found that although Facebook inhibits mixing codes for few participants who regard it as a platform where they can edit their messages, it promotes it for others. Many participants referred to how it is easier to communicate if they mix codes on Facebook. Barasa (2016) and Dąbrowska (2013) explain that users of Facebook tend to switch to the code that is easier and faster to type. Other participants maintained that this online environment brings together people of different linguistic backgrounds which necessitates mixing codes when addressing them.

5.5 Conclusion

This part of the project employed an online questionnaire to investigate Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their linguistic practices in spoken discourse and on Facebook. It offered a descriptive account of such perceptions so as to provide the researcher with information on what the Algerian Facebook users think that they do with linguistic resources at their disposal. It was found that Arabic, French and English are used by young Algerians in both mediums of interaction as the majority of the participants report that they mix between these codes in spoken and even digital communications. This finding is shared with relevant literature that investigated such phenomenon in Algerian context and it adds to it that English is also a resource that participants drew upon when communicating. This is because in previous studies, English was not featured by researchers and participants. In addition, the chapter found

that the reason for which most participants mix between codes is that this latter became a habit in their speech because they are multilinguals.

Findings from this part of the project that Facebook users perceive that their communications are multilingual require an in-depth exploration of this phenomenon in action in the actual Facebook context. Therefore, the next step of this project is interested in exploring how are linguistic resources including Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English along with other semiotic ones such as photos, videos and emoji that are enabled by the affordances of Facebook help young Algerians to make meanings and express themselves online. The next chapter explores these interests through adopting the Translanguaging theory in analysing Facebook profiles of four selected participants: Anis, Dina, Sami and Souma. Then in Chapter 7, the analysis will not only explore in more detail how codes and other modalities are employed but also accounts for the addressitivity issues on Facebook using the theory of Translanguaging and the Audience Design Framework.

CHAPTER 6 – Facebook Translanguaging Spaces of Algerians

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented results collected from the online questionnaire and it reported the perceptions of 205 Algerian Facebook users of their linguistic practices in spoken and online communications. The findings indicate that most users report that they mix between codes including Arabic, French and English in both mediums of interaction. Furthermore, findings revealed that most participants attribute the acts of mixing between codes to being a 'habit' and to 'living in a multilingual context'. In fact, such replies fall under a more general category of why multilinguals mix between codes and cannot fully describe the precise reasons for the mixing. For this reason, the present chapter is going to delve deeper into analysing selected examples of Facebook profiles to provide a sociolinguistic in-depth understanding of why participants mix codes (and other semiotic elements) when posting on Facebook.

This chapter examines actual digital communicative practices of four Algerian participants on Facebook. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the participants are nicknamed Anis, Souma, Sami and Dina. Anis is a multilingual Algerian male who lives in Tlemcen at the west of Algeria, Souma is a multilingual Algerian female who lives in Batna in the east of Algeria, Sami is a multilingual male Algerian who also lives in Batna, and finally, Dina is a multilingual Algerian female who lives in Algiers in the north. Because as expressed by Li (2011a, p. 2) 'The notion of translanguaging space is particularly relevant to multilinguals […] because of their capacity to use multiple linguistic resources to form and transform their own lives', this chapter explores how these four multilingual participants use multiple linguistic and semiotic resources on Facebook to construct translanguaging spaces through the lenses of the Translanguaging theory (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017).

Indeed, this theory will enable us to explore how participants situate themselves in different social translanguaging spaces and enact different identities through employing different resources. By adopting the theory of Translanguaging it is possible to create such link between using and organising the resources together and broader

social factors like projection of identity. In other words, social media platforms like Facebook require users to 'self-consciously create virtual depictions of themselves' (Marwick, 2013, p. 335). This study refers to such virtual depictions as online identity and approach this latter as existing in a Facebook translanguaging space that is created through the combination of used resources.

Accordingly, identity is an online self-representation (Marwick, 2013) of how participants present themselves to others through linguistic and semiotic choices. Identity is approached in this chapter from a constructionist perspective. In that, identity is viewed as constructed and fluid (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). It is constructed because it is the outcome of combining certain resources in given Facebook contexts and it is fluid because it changes depending on the resources from one context to another. The use of linguistic and semiotic resources as tools for the construction of identity is possible because the present study adopts a practice-based approach. This latter perceives the use of resources on Facebook as digital practices or actions that users employ for attaining social goals including the projection of identities (Jones et al., 2015).

Hence, the analysis of the four Facebook walls in this chapter entails that the researcher will explain through presenting a sample of relevant examples how each participant made use of the resources afforded to them by Facebook as form of digital practices to attain social goals that include but not exclusive to projecting identities. The constructionist perspective to identity will enable her to highlight emergent and multiple identities even when expressed within the same Facebook post. In addition, the researcher will show how the combination of resources creates a given translanguaging space that the participants situate themselves in and in which their identities are enacted. Because data collection for this part of the project relied on screenshots, all examples in this chapter are presented in screenshots and translation is provided in the main text when needed. This chapter is constructed so that each of the following subsection presents a case of one participant.

6.2 Dina's Case

This section presents the case study of Dina who is a native speaker of Tamazight and who also speaks Algerian Arabic, French and English. Dina is a biologist, and she uses Facebook daily. The number of posts that was collected from her wall is 284 posts, some examples of which are analysed and presented in this section. This case study shows how differently meaning could be communicated on social media platforms today

as these latter provide means and affordances that have reshaped one's acts of transmission of information and meaning making. Observing Dina's Facebook wall, it was strikingly noticeable how less frequently she used linguistic resources than other participants; she relied most on other semiotic resources to construct her posts on Facebook and to communicate meaning. The semiotic resources refer to the ability to share images and videos on one's wall which as already expressed is approached in this project as a digital practice (Jones et al., 2015).

Because Dina is a biologist, most of her shared content on her wall is about healthy dieting and health in general. She also shares religious content about good manners and religious practices which is usually expressed in sharing images of morals, prophetic guidance, and Quranic verses. When Dina shares selective pieces of information that she finds significant as such, she is sharing a content that is reflective of her personal academic background, personal taste, personal beliefs and so on, hence, such act is considered an identity expression and a self-presentation tool (Schreiber, 2015). In other words, sharing information in this case is viewed as a presentation tool of a certain identity adopted to construct a translanguaging space dedicated to sharing informative and religious content.

It is important to reiterate that by adopting a practice-based approach, the use of the affordance of 'sharing videos and/or images' on Facebook becomes a digital practice that serves a certain goal which the analysis in this chapter is trying to reveal. The goal in this case is the projection of the gatekeeper identity which is used in the literature to refer to users that seek information from external links and then post the links to their own Facebook walls to share the information with their friends (Baek, Holton, Harp, & Yaschur, 2011). The main feature that led the researcher to consider Dina's profile as a projection of a gatekeeper identity is her inclination to share informative content that was originally posted on other Facebook pages to her personal Facebook wall. Baek et al. (2011, p. 2246) refer to such Facebook users as 'gatekeeper[s] or filter[s] of information for a given community (i.e., "friends")'. It is important to stress that although most of the posts in Dina's wall are examples of such kind of gatekeeper identities, identity expression on her wall is still found to be dynamic. This is because analysis showed that she also projected other types of identities as will be illustrated below.

Indeed, observations of her Facebook wall and analysis of the recurrent posting patterns revealed that Dina conceptualizes her wall as a space dedicated mostly for information seeking. By adopting the gatekeeper identity, Dina educates herself through content posted on other Facebook pages and walls; then shares this content on her own Facebook wall for her audience to educate itself. Her wall is constructed through sharing images and videos with minimal use of other linguistic resources like Arabic, French and English, or semiotic resources like emoji. In an interview with her, Dina agreed to these analyses and said that she finds the items posted on Facebook helpful and she wants her friends to be able to see them, so she shares them to her wall.

In expressing such gatekeeper identity, Dina rarely adds any other resources to the image or the video that she shares. It seems that she is bringing the element forward while her own perspective and ideas are kept concealed and less explored. In that, the content of the video or the image is highlighted for the audience to have their own interpretations of it. Indeed, in an interview with Dina, when asked about why she does not use other linguistic and semiotic resources with the elements that she shared on her posts, Dina replied in French 'des fois partager ca suffit' meaning that [sometimes sharing is enough]. What she meant is that when she shares an item to her wall be it an image or a video, this latter expresses the intended message and in her words 'sans dire un mot de plus' [without adding any more words].

The way in which Dina represents herself on Facebook is illustrated in examples 6.1 and 6.2. Because Dina did not use linguistic resources in 81.3% of her posts (see also chapter 4), some examples were selected as representatives of Dina's actual structural patterns on Facebook. This is, to provide an insight on her Facebook wall. It is worth noting at this stage that only text written by participants is analysed in this chapter while text found in videos, however, will be explained for purposes of guidance only. The first example features two posts in which Dina shared videos providing pieces of information. The video in the first post explains in animation how to save the life of someone who has swallowed his or her tongue. The video in the second post lists the drawbacks of not exercising. As it is evident from the screenshots, Dina did not use other resources with the shared content.

Example 6.1 Dina's expression of gatekeeper identity
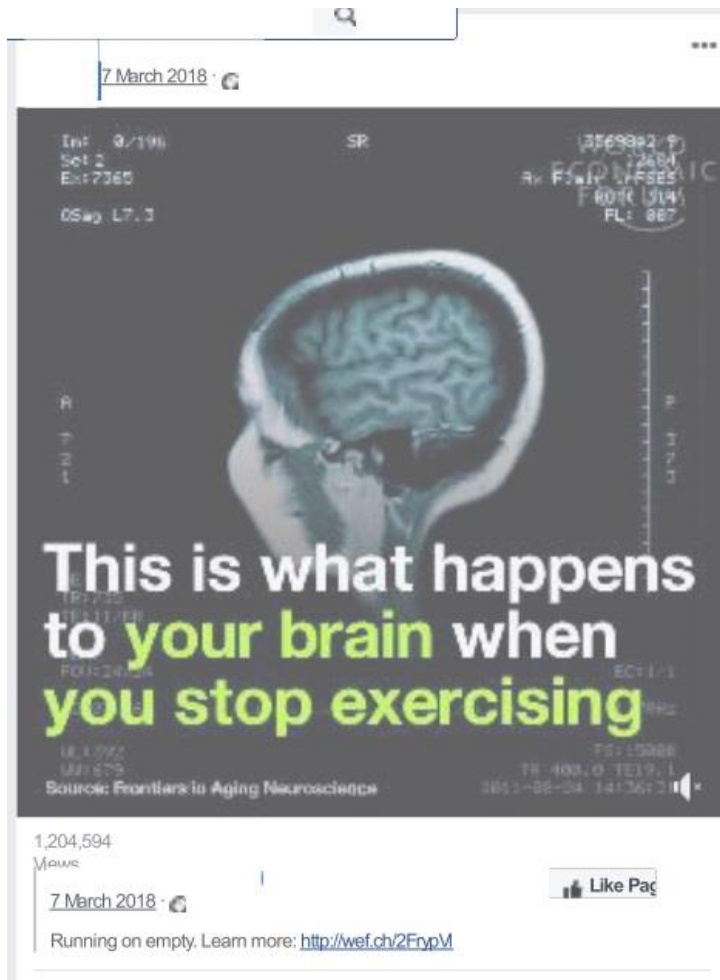
The second example features two posts sharing images of religious content. The first image consists of a caricature about the month of Ramadhan and a moral for people written underneath. Ramadhan is the holy month were Muslims around the world fast from sunrise to sunset. At sunset, Muslims prepare a meal to break their fast, which is called 'Iftar', and they eat another meal just before sunrise to be able to survive the day ahead called 'Suhoor'. With the growth in use of social media, people are competing to prepare more varied and delicious banquets for Iftar to post on social media platforms. There are, on the other hand, many others who cannot afford to have a simple meal at Iftar time and such posts could be hurtful to them. This post is for raising awareness that what most people do, i.e., focus on the quality of their meal, is not appropriate. The caricature below depicts a poor family where the son is asking his mother about when they are going to break their fast. It is written in the bubble in an Egyptian Arabic variety 'Mother, people have started having their Suhoor and we have not broken our fast yet'. Underneath of which is written in Modern Standard Arabic 'Please do not take photos of Ramadhan Iftar meals as there are emigrants, refugees, the poor and the needy. Ramadhan is for fasting and worshiping and not for eating. Share before Ramadhan to

117

benefit other people'. For more emphasis on the conveyed message, the reason for which people are asked not to take photos of their meals is written in a red colour instead of black. Dina did not add any further comments in the post which denotes that she agrees with what is written in the image itself and she is helping in raising people's awareness by sharing the image to her Facebook wall.

The second post is an image about hypocritical friends. The image depicts two friends walking behind each other where the second is about to stab the first in his back using an axe. It is written underneath in Modern Standard Arabic 'The hypocritical friend is worse than ten enemies. Oh Allah protect us from bad company and hypocrites'. This latter is a prayer to God to protect one from bad company and hypocrites. In sharing the image, Dina approved of the prayer in it and is saying it herself through the image.

Example 6.2 Dina's expression of gatekeeper identity

2 May 2018

ماما الناس بدت تسحر واحنا لحد الان ما فطرنا

الرجاء عدم تصوير سفرة الافطار في رمضان
فهناك النازح واللاجئ والفقير والمحتاج
رمضان صيام وقيام وليس طعام
انشرها قبل دخول #رمضان ليستفيد منها غيرك

1 May 2018   👍 Like Pag

الصديق المنافق

أسوء من عشرة الأعداء

اللّهم أبعدعنّا أصدقاء السوء

والمنافقين..

16 June 2018 ·   👍 Like Pag

Other digital practices of sharing videos in Dina's wall served the social goal of entertaining through the adoption of the gatekeeper identity. Similar to examples presented above, Dina shared videos of comic nature without any other text and/ or emoji. In example 6.3, screenshots of two posts from Dina's Facebook wall are presented. The first post is a comic video that tackles the issue of unemployment in Algeria because it became very difficult for the recently graduated students to secure full-time jobs. The video depicts a person dancing with a comment written above in Algerian Arabic that translates to 'when people ask me about what I will do when I graduate'. The joke in the video is that because it is very difficult to find a real job the person will become a dancer instead. In the second post, a clip of a comic scene form the American medical drama *House* was shared. The clip features a doctor 'Dr House'

examining a patient who suffers from a breathing problem. The doctor is confused why the patient is not getting better despite taking her treatment but then discovers that she was not using her inhaler the correct way. The joke in this clip is that the patient did not know that she should use the inhaler through her mouth but rather she used it as if she is using a perfume, i.e., spraying it on her neck, instead.
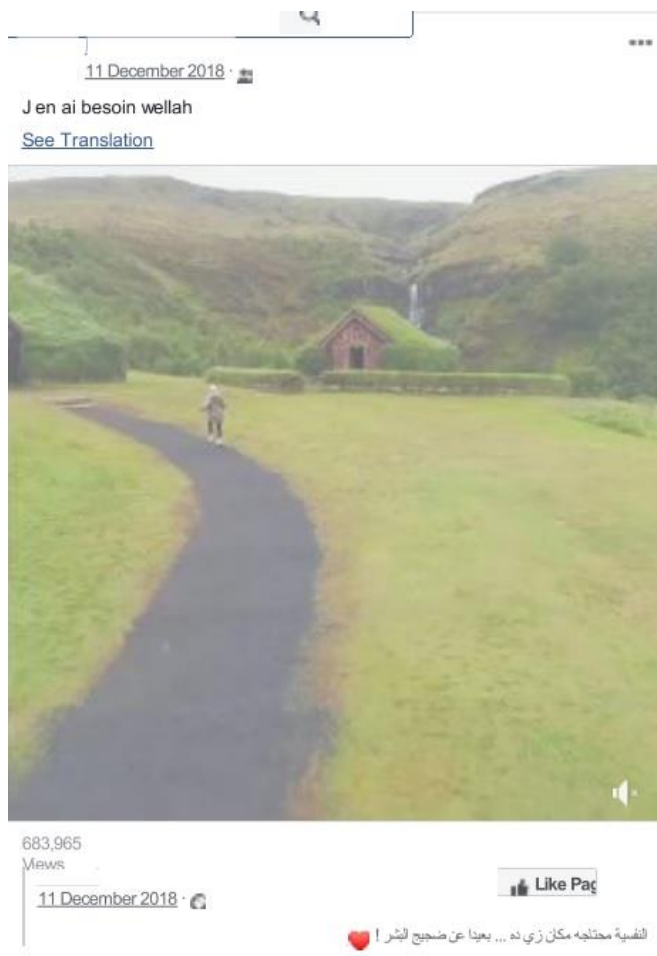
Example 6.3 Dina's expression of gatekeeper identity

8 October 2018

كي يسقسوني واش راح ندير بعد
التخرج 😂

Ig : @theme_dz

285,794 Views

7 October 2018

Like Pag

It has been mentioned above that although many posts in Dina's wall were found to project the gatekeeper identity expressed above, her identity expression on Facebook is judged to be fluid as opposed to static. Dina did not settle for using her Facebook profile for gatekeeping purposes only, but she expressed other facets of her identity as well as it will be demonstrated below. It is interesting to find that in such posts where Dina has expressed other types of identities, she relied on linguistic resources, a practice that was not observed in other contributions. Two posts were selected to illustrate this in example 6.4. The first post is a video about countryside's landscapes that one could resort to seeking seclusion when escaping the pressure of urban societies. Dina commented on the video using French as a linguistic resource to express that she needs to go to such a place. She wrote 'J en ai besoin' in French which translates to [I need this]. Then she used another linguistic resource: Algerian Arabic, to write 'wellah' translated to [I swear]. Wellah literally means 'by God' and is used by Muslims as 'I swear by Allah' to swear by god that something is the truth without the need for actual proof. Although Dina mainly expresses herself in French (in 77.8% of her posts, see Chapter 4), she opted for Algerian Arabic in this case. This translanguaging choice has

allowed her to express and highlight her Islamic identity that may not be fully manifested in the sole use of French.

In the other post, Dina used the linguistic resources French and English to comment on a video she shared. She used the English acronym 'LOL', which stands for Laughing Out Loud, to express a more of an online and global identity. The post shares a video of an extract of a latte art tutorial followed by a video of someone who wanted to follow the tutorial but found it so difficult that they surrendered and poured the milk on the coffee in a crazy way. Dina found this funny because she herself had done the same thing sometimes (i.e., failing in trying to follow a seemingly easy online tutorial). She wrote in French 'Moi aussi je fais ça souvent', which translates to [I often do this as well]. Then, she used English to write 'lol'. This latter is an acronym used on social media and its use could denote Dina's affiliation with the context expressing the online identity.

Example 6.4 Dina's use of linguistic resources in posts

17 February ·

Moi aussi je fais ca souvent lol

See Translation

كي نشوف فيديو تعليمي فاليوتوب..و نجريو

130,601
Views

17 February ·

Like Page

The researcher has long assumed that Dina resorted to using French as a linguistic resource on her Facebook wall instead of Algerian Arabic because of her Berber ethnicity. As has been explained in Chapter 2, Berbers who are speakers of Tamazight are not necessarily fluent in Algerian Arabic, but they use French considerably. However, when asked about this, Dina attributed the use of French to the audience, the influence of one's audience on their contributions will be investigated more in the next chapter. She mentioned that some of her Facebook friends do not speak Algerian Arabic but speak French instead. What was interesting is that she referred to the network resource (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Lee, 2016b) of *translation* on Facebook. She maintained that French posts could be translated to Modern Standard Arabic for people who do not understand French but Algerian Arabic posts could not. In that, because Algerian Arabic is an only spoken code that does not have a standard writing system. and standardized grammar, it is not identified by software let alone being automatically translated to other codes. Having this view of Algerian Arabic not being suitable for use on Facebook is also shared with Anis as will be mentioned in section 6.5 below.

To conclude this section, it has been demonstrated through selected examples from the Facebook wall of Dina that she used multiple resources to enact different identities. Her most frequent digital practices are sharing informative and religious content to her wall through images and videos afforded by Facebook which have allowed her to enact a gatekeeper identity. She also used to a lesser extent other resources including the use of Algerian Arabic, French and English which served a goal of projecting some Islamic and online global identities. Accordingly, Dina has constructed her Facebook profile as an online translanguaging space for sharing informative and religious content imbedded in pictures and videos she shared and for adopting different identities. She was able to express her biologist identity and religious Muslim identity while also informing and advising her Facebook community. Her wall is referred to here as an 'online translanguaging space' because it is a *space* of expression where, as illustrated above, different identities are expressed and social goals are attained, and it is *translanguaging* because in creating it, Dina used multiple resources that do not confine to the use of different codes only.

6.3 Souma's Case

In this section, the case study of Souma is presented. The case study shows how some offline-related identities can be constructed in an online space through a mixture of resources available on the platform of Facebook. Souma is a third year University student in food sciences who speaks Algerian Arabic, French and English and who reports that she switches between them in spoken as well as online communications on Facebook, as evident from her answers to the online questionnaire. Souma is an active user of Facebook who uses it daily and she is by far the most participant that posts content on it, 355 collected and analysed posts.

Observing and analysing the Facebook wall of Souma reveals that her digital practices are more varied than those of Dina. In that, she uses more combinations of linguistic resources, namely French, English and Algerian Arabic with other semiotic ones, namely images and emoji. In most cases, the social goal for such practices was found to be the enactment of her student identity. Souma composed her contributions on Facebook around a shared element. In that, and as will be illustrated through examples below, she shared images or videos to her wall and commented on their content in text and/ or emoji. These practices of sharing studies-related content and interacting with it even when this online social media space does not necessarily constitute an educational environment are creative acts that allowed her to reflect her

student identity. The semiotics that she used has also mitigated the seriousness that could be attributed to studies and allowed her to produce comic version of such student identities. Analysis also shows that Souma projected fluid identities. In that, she did not only project her student-self online, but she changed to other identities including her Algerian identity and other global and humoristic ones as will be elaborated below.

Three examples in which Souma was found to enact her student identity are presented first below. In the first case of example 6.5, Souma shared a joke on studies and exams. She shared an image on which it is written in Algerian Arabic: 'why there is no module called 'food' where we could learn for example about other countries' food and in exams they could bring us dishes to taste and tell to which country the dish belongs. We will all pass'. Souma shared this image and commented on it in both French and Algerian Arabic. The full comment translates to [Normally this is what we study in INATAA, not Zoology and Maths and the nonsense]. It is worth repeating that Souma is studying food sciences in an institute called INATTA an acronym for the French title 'INATAA: Institut National de l'Alimentation, la Nutrition et des Technologies Agro-Alimentaires' translated to [National Institute of Food, Nutrition and Agri-Food Technologies]. She wrote her comment in French 'Normally' then changed to Algerian Arabic to write 'this is what we study in' and she inserted the acronym. She then elaborated on that expressing her feelings in an Algerian Arabic phrase in the middle of which she inserted two French words. These words are 'Zoology' and 'Maths' which are both modules she takes as part of her course 'not (AA) Zoology (French) and (AA) Maths (French) and the nonsense (AA).'

Example 6.5 Using image for the purpose of entertainment

This case presents an example of the construction of multiple identities within the same post using different resources. Souma relied on the linguistic resource of French and sharing this particular image to express her student identity and on the resource of Algerian Arabic to express her Algerian one. French terms are used here because in the institute of food sciences, education is mediated through French as it is the case with 95% of subjects in higher education in Algeria (Chemami, 2011). Souma did not write the whole comment in French, as using Algerian Arabic allowed her to step back from her student identity to express her dissatisfaction with what is delivered in her classes and hence focusing on her Algerian self instead. She also shared this funny image about an easy module centred on tasting dishes to argue against the compulsory difficult modules that she needs to go through in order for her to graduate. Her frustration is evident as well in her choice of emoji inserted in the comment. She used four emoji, first, the unamused face '😒' that usually expresses dissatisfaction as though she is implying that she is not satisfied with what is going on in her institute because she

126

inserted it after the label of the institute. Second is the loudly crying face '🥹' that depicts her feelings about the difficulty of her studies and the efforts that she needs to put in in order to succeed. Finally, she inserted two angry faces with one being red and with clenched teeth to reflect her anger towards this situation. Translanguaging in using Algerian Arabic and French enabled Souma to provide a suitable setting for the post. That is using French for education and at the same time keeping her own identity of being Algerian to express her negative attitudes towards it. The use of emoji came handy in that it further illustrated the message and made it more comprehensible. As such, these linguistic and semiotic resources used in constructing this post helped Souma being flexible and fluid in portraying herself online projecting both her Algerian and student identities besides expressing her feelings.

Next, Souma posted a joke about stupid answers to exam questions using multiple resources in a creative and a critical manner. She shared an image featuring a mathematical equation where pupils are asked to find 'x' in French. A pupil wrote the answer that is displayed in the image below, which translates from French to: [the 'x' is everywhere. On top at the left side, it is found next to 3 where there is a two on top of it. It is next to 4 at its right. Below, it is next to 2 at its right]. Souma commented on this image in French then she changed to Algerian Arabic. She wrote 'when we apply the logic (French), oh brother, oh brother (AA)'.

Example 6.6 Using image for the purpose of entertainment
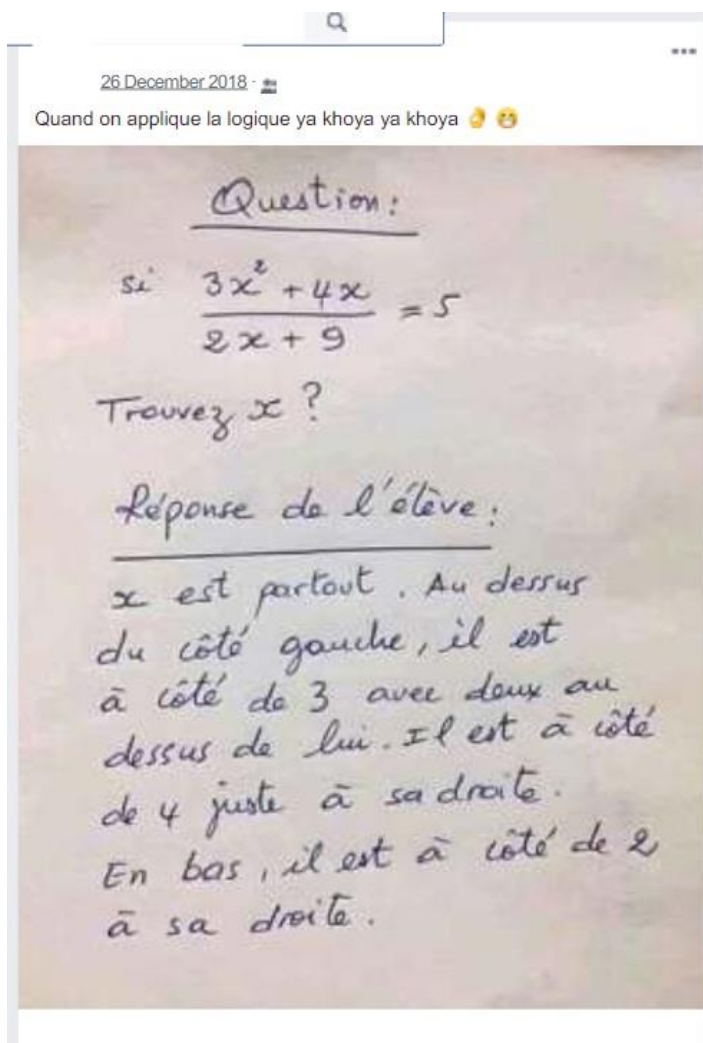
Similar to the previous example, Souma resorted to combining codes in this post as a linguistic resource to move from a student identity and an educational setting but this time to depicting a certain comic character. There exists in a famous Algerian televised series a character called 'Dakiousse' that repeatedly says, 'Oh brother, oh brother!' in Algerian Arabic when he speaks, notably when he likes something, or he is excited about it. The use of Algerian Arabic in this case is an act of stylisation which refers to the act of displaying other's styles in an utterance for some effect (Coupland, 2012). Stylisation is defined as 'the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context' (Coupland, 2001, p. 345). In this case, stylisation through using Algerian Arabic and those exact words is deliberate to impersonate the character of Dakiousse and make the reader jump from the topic of the post to imagining Dakiousse's funny gestures and voice tone. The translanguaging act of combining both Algerian Arabic and French enriched the post in this stylisation sense and added to its

humour as well. Also, translanguaging to Algerian Arabic enabled Souma to express an in-group identity (Gumperz, 1982). Such identity refers to the use of codes, Algerian Arabic in this case, that are only intelligible to one's inner cultural groups (Gumperz, 1982). This use is an identification with such cultural groupings and an utterance of these cultural identities. This is because outgroup members who are not familiar with the code, this series and this particular character cannot understand the topic of the post. Then, Souma inserted two emoji, the okay-hand '👌' and a beaming face with smiling eyes emoji '😁'. The okay-hand could represent a question to the reader if what Souma wrote sounds okay to them. That is, whether they think that what is written in the image is logical indeed. The beaming face expresses a radiant, gratified happiness and a tone of being proud. This reflects what Souma feels for sharing this joke and for mimicking the tone of 'Dakiousse'. This translanguaging act of using different codes, an image and some cultural references is also an example of criticality which according to Li (2017) is embraced in translanguaging spaces. As has been explained earlier, criticality refers to the ability of using the available social and cultural information to express meanings in the current situation. In this sense, Souma was able of employing some cultural related perceptions about Dakiousse and the comedic series he is featured in to highlight the comic insights. Hence shifting from serious ideas of logic and mathematics and traditional rigid student identities to looser non-serious humoristic ones.

In the third case of example 6.7 below, Souma shared a sarcastic photo about people who procrastinate in their studies. It is written in the image in Algerian Arabic 'Who has left his studies and is currently sleeping and wasting time and then regrets doing that' underneath of which there is a photo of a person pointing to himself indicating that he does that. Souma as well and only by sharing the photo alone could have indicated that she is a procrastinator, but she chose to emphasize on this using different resources including text and emoji. She used English to write 'Meeee' with multiple 'e' letters to mimic an enthusiastic tone and inserted five shaking hand emoji as if she has raised her hand to point to herself. This digital practice of combining the emoji and the image could be serving the social goal of entertaining. This is because combining these elements in this translanguaging act gives this post a more jocular tone than when sharing the photo alone. Souma is hinting to her student identity by depicting herself as if in a classroom raising her hand and shouting 'me' to acknowledge that she is a procrastinating student who does not study when she is supposed to. Using emoji

that is a universal sing here could be attributed to an enactment of a global and internet related identity as well.

Example 6.7 Using image for the purpose of entertainment

It was demonstrated so far how Souma projected fluid identities on her wall as she expressed her student self and constantly changed to other identities either to entertain or to set a particular tone to the post. This was possible through the use of translanguaging acts that combined numerous resources including linguistic, non-linguistic and even some cultural ones. The next example (6.8) shows how Souma used the Algerian Arabic resource creatively to enact her cultural identity. In this post, Souma shared a photo featuring a conversation between a child and their mother where the child says to the mother in English 'Mom I can't find happiness' and the mother replies in Algerian Arabic 'What if I get up and find it'. 'Get up' here is used because the mother is supposedly sat down when the child spoke to her and the mother has now to get up to start looking for happiness. There is a common cultural convention in all Algerian

households that when children look for any object in the house and they cannot find it, they go to ask the mothers to look for it. The mothers who do not wish to be disturbed ask them to look carefully for it in a given place but when the children confirm that the object is nowhere to be found, the mothers say 'What if I get up and find it', meaning 'what would I do to you if I find the object where I asked you to look', which they always do. In this case, this common cultural conception of mothers finding any lost object is used humorously to refer to finding happiness in life. What is interesting is that the conversational turn of the child was written in English and then a switch occurred to Algerian Arabic for the famous expression 'What if I get up and find it'. Algerian Arabic is used here as a resource to transmit this cultural conception highlighting the locality of the content. Souma found this photo hilarious as she constructed this post in combining different resources. She inserted nine laughing face emoji, then commented on the photo in translanguaging between Algerian Arabic and French. She wrote 'she will find it (referring to the happiness), and she will punish me (in Algerian Arabic) because (French) I did not know how to look (Algerian Arabic)'. The use of French here is more appropriate to Souma because she reported in an interview that 'it is less time consuming to type' because the French element 'psk' is the abbreviation of the French word 'puisque'. Souma's choice of using Algerian Arabic for the rest of the post instead of French is a creative use that enabled keeping the same cultural and household vibes raised by the photo boosting its humoristic tone and mainly expressing the cultural, local and Algerian identities.

Example 6.8 Using image for the purpose of entertainment

Another digital practice encountered on Souma's wall is about combining emoji with an image in one translanguaging act with no other linguistic elements as it is featured in the next example. In example 6.9 below Souma used emoji to show agreement with what was written in the image that she shared on her wall. Souma shared a photo where it is written in French 'Do your hard work in silence and let success make the noise' she inserted an 'OK hand' emoji '👌' that stands for 'good' or 'that is correct' to show agreement to the saying. The use of this emoji alone conveys the message that what is written in the photo is correct and no words could add more to the message, so a gesture of appreciation is enough. In an interview with her, Souma confirmed these ideas as she expressed that the message in the shared image is self-explanatory and she only added the emoji that means 'exactement [exactly]'. Such digital practice could be attributed to expressing a global identity as any individual despite their mother tongues

and linguistic competences would recognise the gesture in the emoji and the meaning shared through it.

Example 6.9 Souma's use of emoji

In all cases presented in this section so far, Souma's creative use of linguistic and semiotic resources served the enactment of varied given identities including being student, Algerian and other global and local ones. In the next example, 6.10, however, Souma's digital practice of using resources served besides the expression of identities another act related to converging and diverging (Androutsopoulos, 2014). Here, converging relates to the use of the same linguistic code used by the speaker whereas diverging refers to initiating the use of a different code (Androutsopoulos, 2014). Souma shared a picture of a venue in Batna - the city where she lives, that was photoshoped to insert in it a jet ski with a couple on it along with a flood of water. This is to ironize the

sewerage system of the city that is blocked during heavy rains, leaving the city flooding. The maker of this photo ironically refers to how one could now start jet skiing in the flood. Combining different resources creatively and critically, Souma took this irony to another level expressing a critical Algerian identity when she compared the city to Venice - the city of water. She wrote in combining both French and Algerian Arabic what is translated to 'Batna today looks like Venice (French). It is the same thing but you only love disbelievers (AA).'

Example 6.10 Using image for the purpose of entertainment

In describing the picture, Souma used French to write that the city now looks like Venice. She then changed to Algerian Arabic to write about how Batna is the same thing as Venice, commenting that people who go to Venice for tourism do so because they love people of Venice only. Otherwise, there is no need to go there, as there is the same thing, city of water, in Batna. The critical use of ideas about Venice, water and Batna is at the same time a hidden criticism for people that love foreigners and other countries and not their own. As for her, Souma used Algerian Arabic to write this second part of the comment as if she is diverging herself from those that love foreigners and

converged to Algerians and speaking Algerian Arabic highlighting her Algerian identity. In doing this, she is expressing her devotion to her city and mother language and excluding other audiences by highlighting Algerian Arabic as a *we-code* (Gumperz, 1982). The code choice in this example fortifies and reflects the thoughts of Souma, those of loving one's city and conveying national identity. Also, Souma used two emoji to illustrate her post. The grinning face with smiling eyes '😄' was used to show her amusement with how Batna is looking now and the unamused face '😑' was used to reflect her trouble and irritation towards those that think that other places are better than her city. Moreover, this post could represent another case of criticality. This is because in constructing it, Souma relied on different cultural resources and ideas about Venice, water and the floods in Batna. It takes someone who is familiar with these pieces of information besides the knowledge of French and Algerian Arabic to understand the conveyed meanings.

The last example in this section presents a contribution where Souma expressed her thoughts about the number of people that resemble how she looks in real life projecting her amused and astonished self. She shared an old photo of a lady she found and that she thinks resembles her and she commented on it translanguaging in Algerian Arabic and French. She wrote what translates to [So what (French) this as well.. (AA) she resembles me!?? I am a vampire?!! (French)]. Using these two linguistic resources in producing this post serves a reflection of the state of astonishment Souma found herself in when she shared this photo that she expressed her thoughts repeatedly in two codes. The post was written in French and an Algerian Arabic phrase translated to 'this as well (i.e., this photo)' was inserted in it. Her astonishment is also reflected in the playful way she typed the post. Here Souma relied on digital typographic resources which are examples of vowel lengthening that are usually used in computer mediated communication to express the social act of amusement which could also reflect an amused identity in this case. As evident through the repetitive use of 'ooooo' in 'alors' and 'iii' in 'thaniii' and both the exclamation and question marks. Also, she inserted two emoji featuring an anguished face '😧' and a fearful face with open mouth '😱' to express her surprise. She also inserted three laughing face emoji '😂' to indicate that she is also laughing about this matter and she joked about it because the photo dates back to 1836. She wrote 'I am a vampire?!!' as if the person in the photo is her in another life and she now is supposed to be a vampire. When asked about the use of French in this post, Souma replied that because there is no equivalent of the word 'vampire' in

135

Algerian Arabic she used the French one. According to her, there is no Algerian Arabic word for *vampire,* the only word that exists is غول = *ghoul* [Ogre]. She explained that she does not wish to describe herself as an 'ogre' and this is why she resorted to French. This is because it is culturally known that Vampires are human-like creatures who live for so long whereas ogres are very hideous and ugly.

Example 6.11 Using image for the purpose of expressing thoughts

To sum up this section, it was found that Souma's digital practices are quite different from those of Dina. Souma relied on creative combinations of varied linguistic and non-linguistic resources to construct her contributions. Although she shared many studies related content, the purpose behind them was not to educate or transmit information. The purpose was rather to create and occupy an online translanguaging space within the wider educational space that she is found in. In this space Souma related educational topics to her own study experiences and presented them to her audience in a humoristic and entertaining tone. This was mainly achieved by the creativity of her linguistic choices and criticality of information available to her. For example, in

example 6.6 Souma creatively used a combination of an image, French and Algerian Arabic to critically use an expression of a famous comedian to set the tone of the studies-related post to comic. In addition, it was found that Souma projected different other identities in this space corresponding to flexibility and fluidity of identity expression on Facebook. The examples discussed in this section have demonstrated how in each case the use of the chosen linguistic and semiotic resources have contributed to the expression of the meanings and to the projection of student, comic and Algerian identities within this space. Souma has also used a considerable number of emoji which together with codes and images helped constructing different *spur-at-the-moment* translanguaging acts.

6.4 Sami's Case

This section presents the case study of Sami who is a native speaker of Tamazight and who is also a speaker of Algerian Arabic, French, English and Spanish. He uses Facebook daily and 219 posts have been collected and analysed from his wall. This case study shows how Facebook walls could be a platform for showcasing offline living experiences (Gündüz, 2017). Analysis of his Facebook wall showed that Sami used different resources including English, Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic and videos to construct his contributions which served a social goal of identity projection and an expression of offline experiences. It was found that Sami has enacted multiple and fluid identities on Facebook including his offline and Algerian identities besides others as will be illustrated below.

Sami has designed his Facebook wall as a translanguaging space where he shared content related to his offline life by uploading photos of himself and of his friends and acquaintances. He used different resources afforded by Facebook such as the 'tag' option that enabled him the social action of sharing his life experiences. It was explained before that this project adopts a practice-based approach that views affordances on Facebook as tools of social practice that perform social goals (Jones et al., 2015) which in this case are about showcasing Sami's relationships and engagement with his friends. This idea will be elaborated next by analysing relevant examples. In addition to showcasing his offline life, Sami has also performed other identities in his translanguaging space that are related to expressing his nationalism and even humour as will be illustrated below.

Example 6.12 features a specimen of what many of Sami's digital practices on Facebook of sharing posts of his offline life experiences look like. In this post, Sami used multiple resources including sharing a photo of himself and writing a caption in English and inserting a heart shaped emoji. This photo was taken in USA which could explain the choice of English in this post. Sami wrote about how photos are great expressions of people's living experiences and evidently of life itself because they capture one's feelings at given moments. One could argue that his choice of code to write this post is creative because it is also a depiction of such experiences and memories. That is to say and because the photograph was taken in USA, using English here expresses feelings of affiliation, connection and restoration of memories of the times that Sami spent there. Through the combination of photo, text and even the emoji that expresses feelings of affection, Sami created this Translanguaging act in which he expressed his appreciation of photograph and nostalgia for these days.

Example 6.12 Sami's expression of his real identity

In the next case (example 6.13), Sami engaged his friends and acquaintances in his posts. In the first post, Sami shared a photo of himself with his friends in the airport

preparing to fly to Tunisia. This type of digital practices is very recurrent in Sami's wall. The goal behind this kind of practice could be dealt with, as expressed above, as an enactment of his offline identity and the showcasing of his offline-life experiences. Indeed, in the next post in example 6.13, Sami shared a video featuring a person that he met in person and he creatively used both Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic to construct a contribution of a showcasing of an offline experience. Sami shared a video about Dharifa, who is the sister of the Algerian martyr Al-Arbi Ben-Mhidi, where she speaks about the assassination of her brother during the Algerian war of independence. Sami has met Dharifa in person before and he has already shared a photo with her on his Facebook wall in another post. In this post, however, he commented on the video saying, 'Aunt Dhrifa is one of the best people (in MSA) that (in AA) I met in my life (in MSA)'. This combination of linguistic resources that Sami drew on is judged to be a creative playful use of resources to set a less formal tone to the post. This is because relying on the written form of Arabic does not help much in identifying which code Sami has used in the post, it could be either Modern Standard Arabic or Algerian Arabic. The former is associated with formality and distance relationships whereas the latter is for informal and closer relations. But it seems that there are two phrases written in Modern Standard Arabic connected with an Algerian Arabic conjunction. It is, however, worth mentioning that the word 'Aunt' here 'خالتي' is written the same in Algerian Arabic and in Modern Standard Arabic, but the pronunciation is different because it is pronounced with short vowels in the former. Because Sami is writing about knowing this person on a personal level, it is safe to assume that he is using the Algerian Arabic version of the word in order to express further the less formal relation he has with Dhrifa. In fact, the way in which Sami structured this post alludes to Sami's creative and playful attempt to render the post less formal to reflect this kind of personal relation, beginning from calling her 'aunt' to using an Algerian Arabic conjunction. The use of this conjunction mitigated the formality of using Modern Standard Arabic alone, which helped Sami express the meaning in a less formal, yet not a completely informal way. He further highlighted his feelings of admiration to Dhrifa using the smiling face with heart-eyes emoji '😍'. The text in the post along the use of this specific emoji and the translanguaging between Algerian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic show that Sami is proud of his acquaintance of Dhrifa and he is showing off about it, especially by using the kin word 'aunt'. In an interview with Sami, he confirmed the wordplay of using Algerian Arabic items that are similar and close to Modern Standard Arabic ones in this post. He explained that he has many friends from other Arab countries that are interested

in Algerian history but do not understand Algerian Arabic. He maintains that whenever he shares anything related to the history of Algeria (this post is related to history because Dhrifa is speaking about her brother who died in the Algerian war of independence) he makes sure to use Algerian Arabic words that are similar to Modern Standard Arabic words so that his friends understand them. In addition, by so doing he wants to show them that Algerian Arabic is easy to understand. Accordingly, all these linguistic and semiotic resource in the presented posts so far enabled the expression of some social actions on Facebook related to affiliation, relationships and offline experiences.

Example 6.13 Sami's expression of his offline relationships

The next case features a creative and critical use of resources when showcasing offline relations. In example 6.14, Sami shared a video featuring his friend doing a cover for a Tamazight song called 'Soussem, Soussem Yema.' He then expressed how much he liked his performance writing in both French and Algerian Arabic. He wrote what translates to '**** (the name of the person), the men (French) he did a good job, good for him (Algerian Arabic)'. The use of French in this post is creative and critical from a translanguaging perspective. This is because although 'Les hommes' [The men] is a French word, it has been accommodated to Algerian Arabic and is used for other purposes than its intended ones (Slimane, 2014). As explained in section 4.6.3 in chapter 4, 'Les Hommes' means 'The men' but is used occasionally by Algerians in association with other cultural meanings, namely when referring to someone who is doing something amazing even if it is singular and/or female. The criticality in using this particular word here by Sami refers to the transmission of feelings of amazement with this performance based on some cultural ideas shared and understood only by some using a word that is not initially intended for this. Sami then continued in Algerian Arabic to say that the cover was close to the original song and to praise his friend for it. Underneath, Sami wrote the title of the song in Arabic letters. Although the text of this post was written in Roman letters despite the language being Arabic, there occurred a change to another linguistic resource which is Arabic letters to write the title of the song.

141

This could be explained by how Arabic characters are closer to the identity of Sami than any others mainly because the song belongs to the Amazigh tradition, Sami's heritage. It is worth mentioning that Amazigh characters are difficult to read and inaccessible in an ordinary keyboard. When asked about the use of Arabic script for the Tamazight part in this post, Sami explained that he used the Arabic script because he thinks that it is more beautiful than the Roman one. He maintained that if written in other scripts, the phrase would have been difficult for his friends to understand. Sami inserted two emoji that are the heart emoji '🤍' to show his love for the song and a folded hands emoji '🙏' that could mean a high-five from Sami to his friend that acknowledge his good act. Translanguaging in these resources in this post is hence an expression of an amazed self and an appreciation of the Arabic letters and the Tamazight heritage.

Example 6.14 using videos for the purpose of expressing emotions
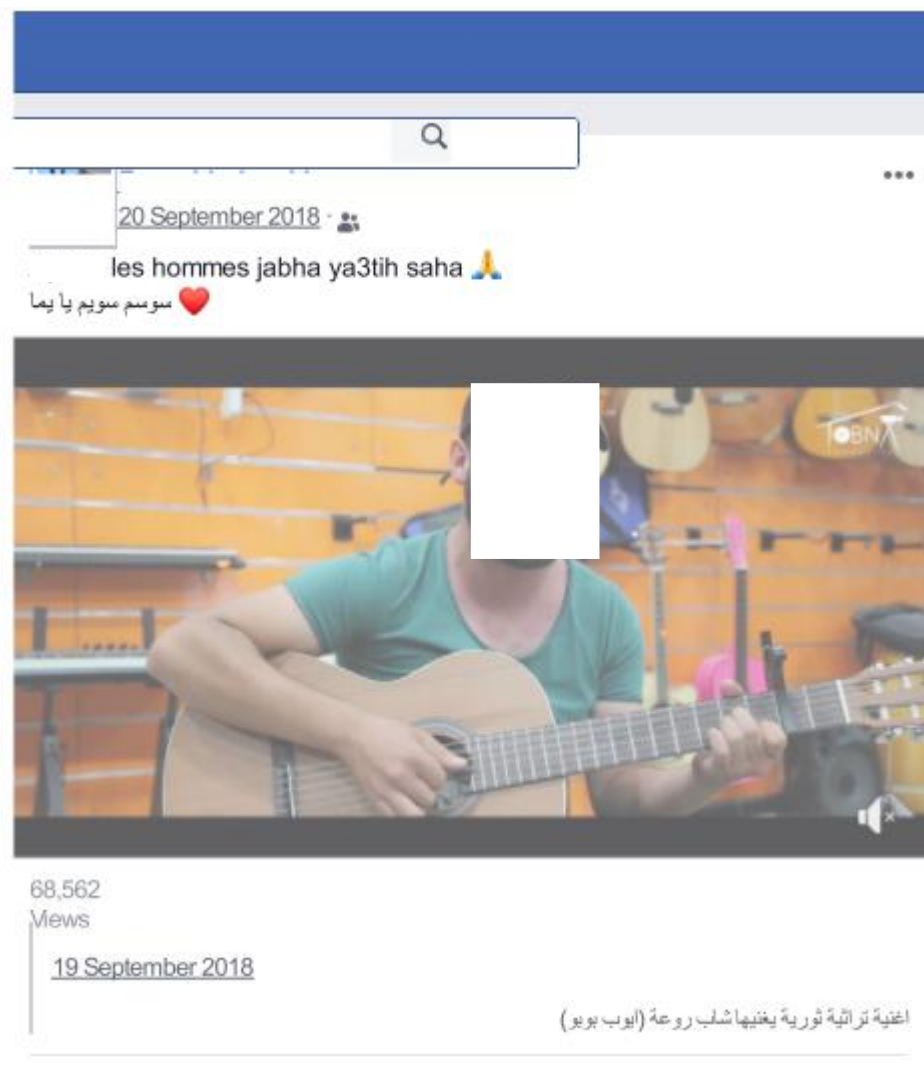

Next in an interesting case of criticality in Sami's attempt to constructing exclusive spaces on Facebook. In example 6.15, Sami shared a video about someone

who is singing and wrote in Algerian Arabic with using a Modern Standard Arabic conjunction 'when (MSA) your belly renders you famous, in your eyes *** and *** (AA)'. The symbol *** is used to anonymise the names of Sami's friends who he tagged in this post. Reading the post was not enough to understand the meaning behind it especially that the use of the laughing face emoji '😆' alludes that there is some kind of a joke in the video – about the person's belly. However, the use of the heart emoji and the fact that the person has a good voice (with no mention to his belly in the video) made this post confusing. It is not apparent whether Sami is making fun of this person or expressing astonishment to his talent. When asked about this, Sami explained the context behind this post. He said that he had an argument the other day with his friends that he tagged in the post. The argument was about how overweight persons are also useful to society, they do not *only eat*. They had an opposite view and he shared the video to prove to them that overweight persons can have talent and become famous. Hence, the post should not be judged as confusing but rather as playful. There is a sense of criticality in writing this post which is translated in Sami's engagement in and use of certain personal ideologies and experiences. This case is evidence of Sami's positioning of himself and his friends that he tagged in the post within a space of expression available only to them. The use of the laughing face emoji in this sense is Sami's way of laughing at his friends when he proved them wrong and not laughing about the person in the video because of being overweight as one might think. This point highlights the importance of involving participants in the analysis an argument that this study follows through a translanguaging perspective. According to Li (2017, p. 13), analysis of linguistic and semiotic resources should move beyond the resources themselves to attain to the 'context in which the expressions occur'. For the intentions behind this post and the message sent though it to be complete, Sami has creatively combined the text he wrote with given emoji. The heart emoji '🤍' expresses his true feelings towards the person in the video and those are feelings of liking and enjoyment. The use of the smiling face with sunglasses emoji '😎' enabled Sami to express his confident attitude that his argument, the other day, was correct and he is proud of what he said. The use of the Modern Standard Arabic conjunction in writing the text could also add to this sense of confidence because Sami is putting more emphasis on it. It feels as if he is accentuating it to highlight the cause relationship between having a belly and becoming famous '**when** your belly makes you famous'. In this sense, Sami's creative and critical way of composing this post in using different ideological, linguistic, and semiotic

elements served an enactment of a confident and assured identity expressed in a constructed exclusive space for himself and his tagged friends.

Example 6.15 using videos for the purpose of entertainment
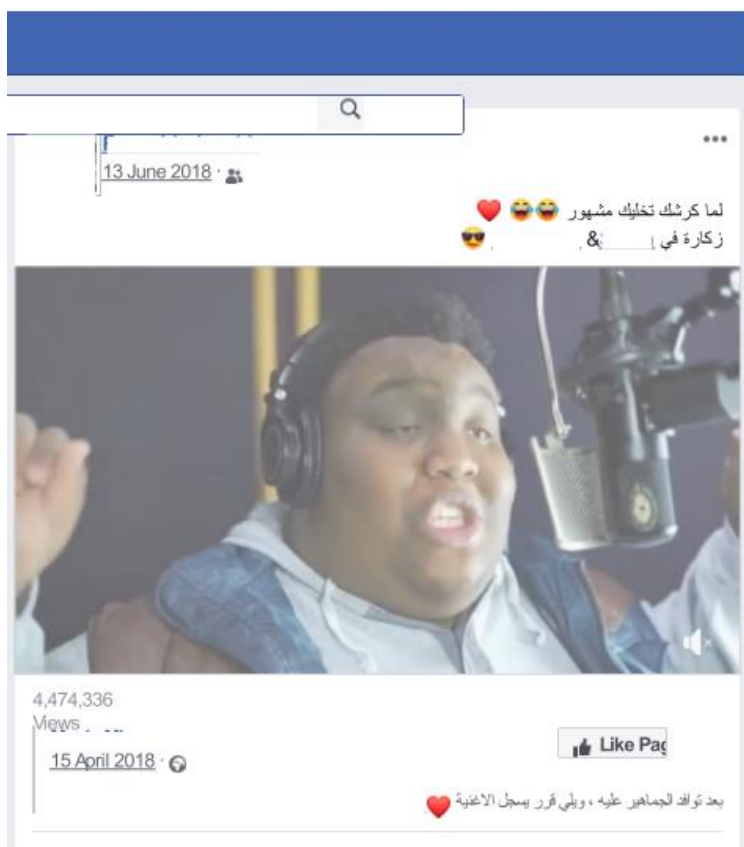
Moving on to other posts that do not necessarily share content related to offline experiences, but which express Sami's digital practice of using emoji alongside other resources for expressing admiration and amusement in examples 6.16 and 6.17. In the first example Sami used a smiling face with heart-eyes '😍' that symbolises feelings of love and adoration to react to a video about a Berber song. By repeating the emoji four times, Sami is expressing how much he loved the song. Not using any text with the emoji hints on how speechless Sami was when listening to the song that no word could express his attitude except for his facial reaction. Accordingly, he used the emoji to mimic that reaction and he considered them to be enough to portray his message. This is an example of how affordances on Facebook, emoji in this case, could serve to communicate meaning even without accompanied by text. Indeed, and through the lenses of the practice-based approach, the use of the smiling face with heart-eyes emoji in this case is viewed as a digital practice that served communicating amusement and an enactment of a global identity expressed through universal symbols.

Example 6.16 Sami's use of emoji
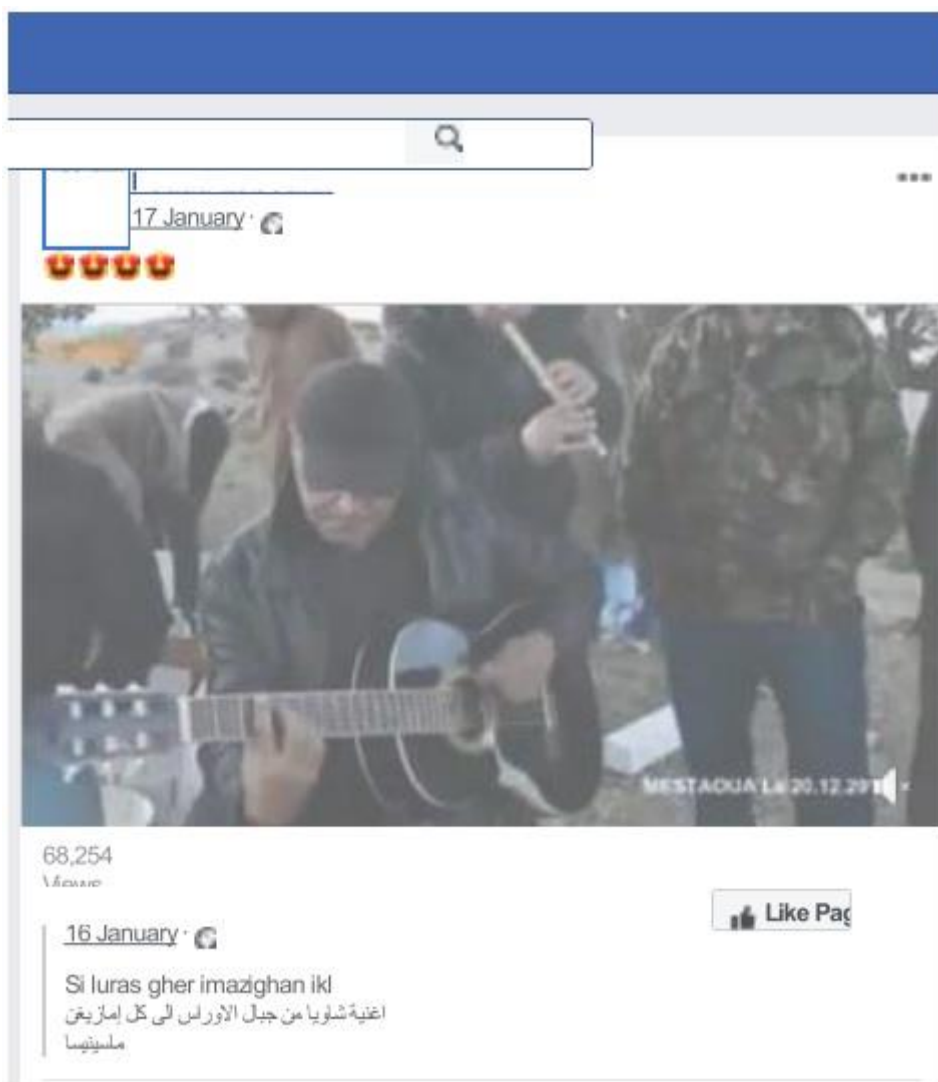
In the second example, Sami shared a video about a group of people who pranked their friend to believing that he became invisible and made fun of him for that. This video made Sami laugh and he creatively expressed this in combining four different resources, all of which to emphasize the fact that this video was hilarious for him. Sami first used the English acronym LOL standing for 'laughing out loud' then moved to the Arabic version of expressing laughter, which is 'hhhh' that stands for 'hahahaha', but because Arabic does not contain short vowels, only the letter 'H' is used. Then, he expressed himself in text in English saying that he cannot stop laughing and finally, he inserted a laughing face with tears '😂'. This emoji further emphasizes the message of the text that not only he cannot stop laughing but he is tearing out of laughter. By this translanguaging act of creatively using and moving between different resources and ways of expressing the same thing, which is laughter, Sami was able to attain the social goal of depicting his actual situation when watching the video to his friends. One could also claim that Sami was able of enacting different identities as reflected by the use of

each resource. He enacted an online global identity through using English, a universal one through using the emoji and an Algerian Arabic one through using the Arabic laughing expression. He then wrote 'this is awesome' followed by a heart emoji '♥' to express his feelings about the video. The heart emoji conveys the message that he not only found the video awesome, but he loved it.

Example 6.17 Sami's use of emoji

Similar to the previous case, the next example is a contribution of many resources brought together to enact humour or an amused identity. In this post, Sami is sharing a video about languages, example 6.18. In the video, someone is making fun of how some languages sound. Sami found the video funny and thought that the bit where the person is speaking Turkish is the most hilarious. He used linguistic resources, namely English and semiotic ones, emoji to comment to the video. He used the acronym 'LOL' and the laughing face emoji '😂' to indicate his amusement and project a global identity. He used the relieved face '☺' to refer to the feelings about good natured humour that he received after when watching the video especially, the Turkish language part. Although the person in the video used French, Sami diverged from his choice and initiated using

146

English to write this post instead which could enable him the projection of a global identity and addressing a larger audience than relying on the use of French alone, these ideas are elaborated in the next chapter. When asked about this, Sami said that he thinks he uses English in funny posts like this one and when he is either happy or serious.

Example 6.18 using videos for the purpose of entertainment
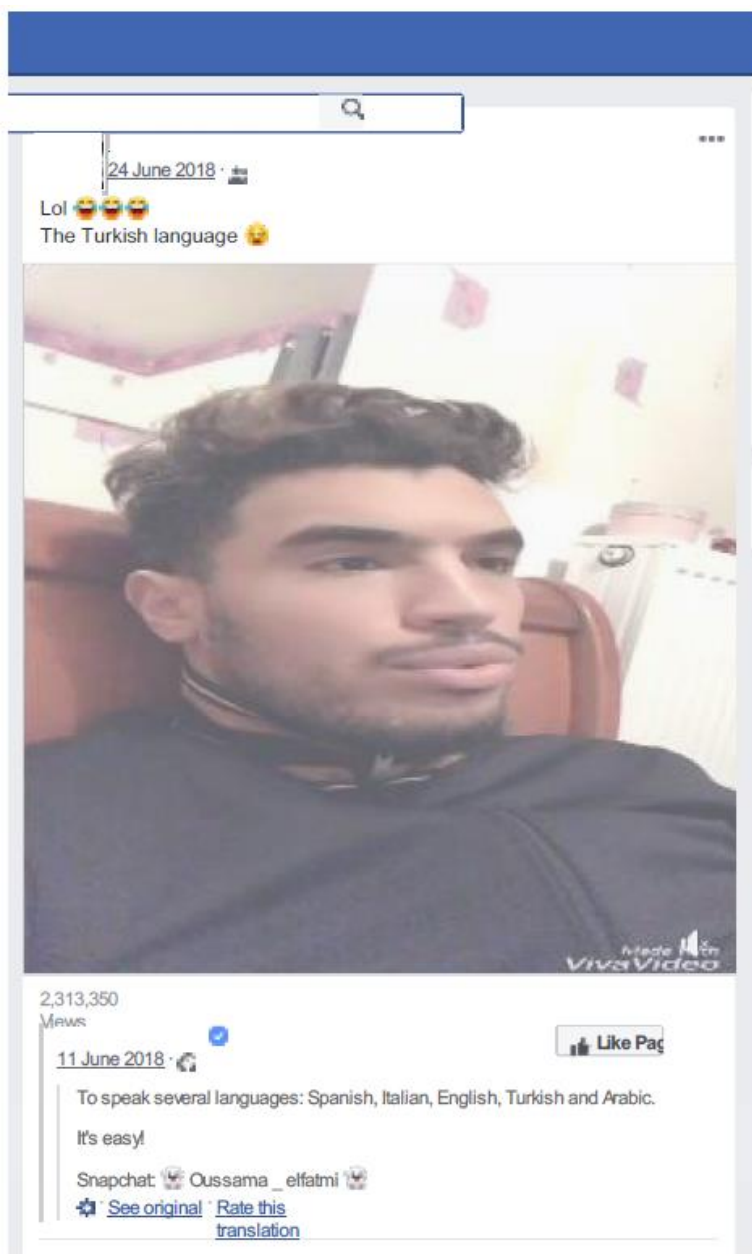
The last case presented in example 6.19 is another creative and critical use of resources to deliver an important message that shows how much Sami is an engaged Algerian citizen. The post features a video that shows a news report about the problem of school transportation and the hardship that some children go through to attend school. Sami used creativity and criticality of using linguistic resources in commenting to this post. He posted in English that watching this video made him cry, then translanguaging

to Algerian Arabic to write the phrase 'We are better than Sweden'. The context of this latter expression relates to what the previous Algerian prime minister said when some Algerians came out against the regime. He said that the situation in Algeria is good and that people should not rebel because what is available to them is not available to Swedish people in Sweden. He used Sweden as part of the comparison because Sweden is viewed by Algerians as a developed country with great life standards. He is arguing that Algerians' life standards are actually better than those in Sweden using the words in Algerian Arabic 'حنا خير من السويد' translated to 'we are better than Sweden'. Because Sami disagrees with this saying, he shared the evidence that the situation in Algeria is worsening and repeated the words of the prime minister. For that, Sami switched to Algerian Arabic because the prime minister's speech was in Algerian Arabic. The switch in this case serves a quoting function (Eldin, 2014; Halim & Maros, 2014) from a codeswitching perspective and represents a case of criticality from a translanguaging one (Li, 2017). Criticality translates to how Sami has used some cultural and political information in expressing meaning. He alluded to the words of the prime minister to deliver his ironic and sorrowful emotions towards this situation. In addition, Sami used the crying face emoji '😢' twice to further articulate his grief. This example shows also that Sami is an engaged citizen in the political matters of his country and the linguistic, semiotic, cultural, and political resources used in this post enabled him to project an identity of an involved and critical citizen.

Example 6.19 using videos for the purpose of expressing emotions

To conclude, it is apparent that Sami constructed through linguistic, semiotic and cultural resources and other Facebook affordances like *tagging* an online space for himself that he used to *upload* his offline experiences and relations. It is evident through example 6.15 that even when he is sharing content from other pages, Sami relates such content through his creativity and criticality to his argument with his friends and other actual events in his offline life creating and occupying some spaces. Creativity and criticality in using varied resources ranging from Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and English to emoji and videos allowed Sami to enact multiple and flexible identities including being Algerian, a critical citizen and other amused and global ones related to the Facebook context as illustrated above.

6.5 Anis's Case

This section presents the case study of Anis. Anis is a multilingual speaker of Algerian Arabic, French and English and he uses Facebook daily. Analysing the Facebook wall of Anis, it was strikingly evident how more engaging he was in his contributions compared to other participants. Similar to Sami, Anis's digital practices showcase his personal photos and offline life enabling the enactment of an offline identity. In addition, Anis relied on linguistic resources, namely English, and other semiotic ones, namely photos and videos, to express an intellectual and an influencer's identity expressed in a constructed influential translanguaging space as will be detailed below.

Two selected posts are presented in examples 6.20 and 6.21, in both of which, Anis's digital practices were creative in serving a giving social goal. He purposefully and creatively selected photos and combined them with matching quotes to send positive messages to his friends. In the first post, Anis produced his contribution relying on different textual and visual resources to communicate the intended meaning. He combined text with emoji and a personal photo. He wrote in English that one should never stop believing in themselves adding emoji to the text to emphasize his ideas. He shared the muscle emoji '💪' that depicts a flexed arm that is showing the biceps muscles, which usually represents strength and working hard, to send a visual message to his friends that to reach good results you have to work for them. He also shared the winking face emoji '😉' which could represent playfulness, jokes and positive energy. By doing this, he further reinforces his idea by sending another visual message that could be read as 'you can do it'. The photo depicts him jumping high in the sky relating to the written quote and expressing that he himself could also fly if he trained hard for it in a hyperbolic tone. Anis's digital practices of creatively combining matching linguistic and semiotic resources to produce this post has served the social action of delivering an important social message to his friends and enacting a given identity of an influencer. The main feature found in Anis's posts that led the researcher to assign this type of identity to him is the way in which his contributions are designed. In that, many of his posts revolve around pieces of advice and positive messages directed to his friends to have an influence on their quality of life as it is demonstrated through this example and others that are presented in this section. Asking Anis about whether he thought of himself as an influencer in an interview, he replied saying 'I dunno, maybe… maybe yes maybe no'. He explained that everyone should be influencers in what they do and

for him he tries to transmit positivity and positive energy. In case of this example, the used textual and visual resources sent a positive message which could be read as 'never stop believing in yourself, train hard because you can do it just like I was able to jump in the desert like that'.

Example 6.20 Anis' use of emoji

In similar veins, in the post below Anis wrote about how it is important for anyone to train as hard as it is needed to achieve a given objective. To achieve the goal of contributing this positive message through an influencer's identity, Anis relied on different resources. He used text in English and shared the muscle emoji, which seems to be a recurrent one in his posts, to implicate hard working and joined it with a raised

fist emoji '✊'. This emoji symbolises resistance and defiance that people need in their quest to attain their goals. He then shared a photo of himself that is used as an analogy of the written quote. Anis is holding a lion cub implicating that he is now training with lions to become one. The creative choice of the photo here contributes to the meaning of the post serving the visual counterpart of the written words.

Example 6.21 Anis' use of emoji
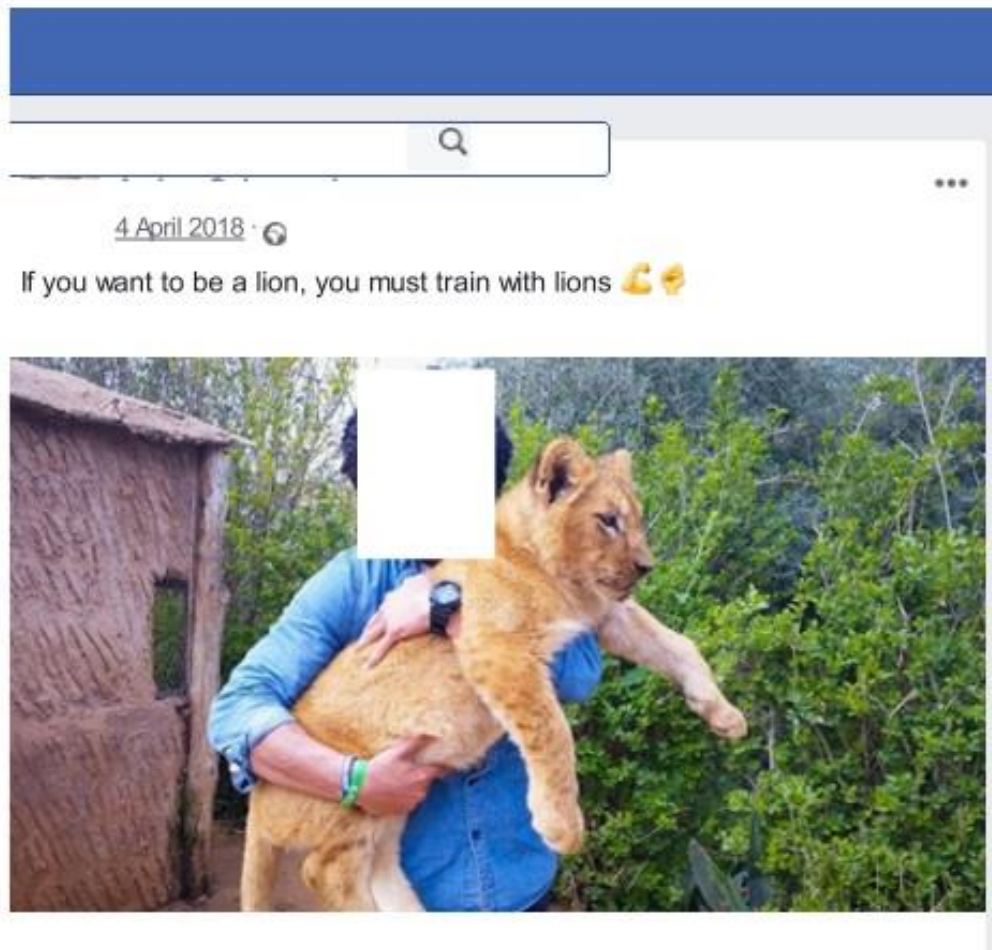
Both of the above examples represent translanguaging acts where Anis relied on more than one mode of communication to express his intended meanings. He relied on digital practices that are afforded by Facebook, mainly sharing photos, to creatively reinforce the textual message and used emoji to replace gestures and send loaded messages. The use of English in these two post shows fluidity in identity expression. The digital practice of using these different resources here allowed the expression of the influencer's identity as has been explain and the choice of English serves a certain identity marker as well. It has been explained in Chapter 2 that English is not widely spoken in Algeria however its use according to Belmihoub (2018) is increasing. Belmihoub (2018) argues that the use of English in Algeria became associated with

prestige and the showcasing of intellectuality and linguistic sophistication. In this sense, Anis's use of English in this post serves the enactment of the identity of a prestigious intellectual who is worthy of being an influencer. In an interview, Anis was asked about his particular use of English in these posts as opposed to other codes or resources. He explained that he loves the English language, and this is the reason he used it considerably on Facebook. In addition, he maintained that he has friends from outside Algeria that would relate to the English posts only. It is interesting to note that Anis does not use Algerian Arabic in any way on his Facebook wall, 0% in table 4.6 in chapter 4. When asked about this, Anis said 'I use Algerian Arabic with my mom and dad' indicating that he only attributes Algerian Arabic to the household context and not the online one which could reinforce the argument that English is used here as an intellectual identity marker which could not be achieved through the use of Algerian Arabic.

The next post presented in example 6.22, is another case of expression of fluid identities using digital practices. In this example, Anis combined different textual and visual resources to project an identity of an influencer sending an expressive message and enacting his Arabic identity as well. He shared his personal photo, wrote the text in English translanguaging to Modern Standard Arabic and inserted an emoji. Anis posted about the importance of acknowledging one's heritage while progressing in life and he called for his friends to do so too. He wrote in English 'Never forget where you came from, but never let that hold you back from where you want to go. Don't forget your Roots'. He then translated this last phrase to Modern Standard Arabic. Code choice in this sense enabled Anis to enhance the message of his post. Although, he opted for English to write most of the text, he changed to Modern Standard Arabic at the end to reflect that he, as well, is not forgetting his roots as expressed by the post. In doing this, Anis is highlighting that although he has used English, he changed to Arabic because even though he can speak and use English he is still an Arab and he is not forgetting to use his mother tongue. Another function for the use of Modern Standard Arabic in this case, as will be explained in other posts, serves to widen the audience for this post (Androutsopoulos, 2014) an aspect that will be investigated further in the next chapter. He purposefully translated the last phrase of the message only because this is where his influential message resides. In other words, there is no need to translate the whole text as the last phrase captures and summarises the intended message and the enactment of his influential identity. Besides projecting such influencer's identity, the use of Modern Standard Arabic allowed Anis to project his Arab identity as well identifying himself

with his roots and addressing the Arabic speaking audience. He inserted a winking face emoji '😉' between these two phrases depicting another message of 'I am not only telling you to do that but I am doing it myself'. The creative and purposeful digital practice of sharing this particular photo with the post further enhances the message. It is a photo featuring him and his friend and although his friend is wearing a casual outfit, Anis is wearing a traditional one sending once again the message that he himself did not forget his roots and neither should anyone.
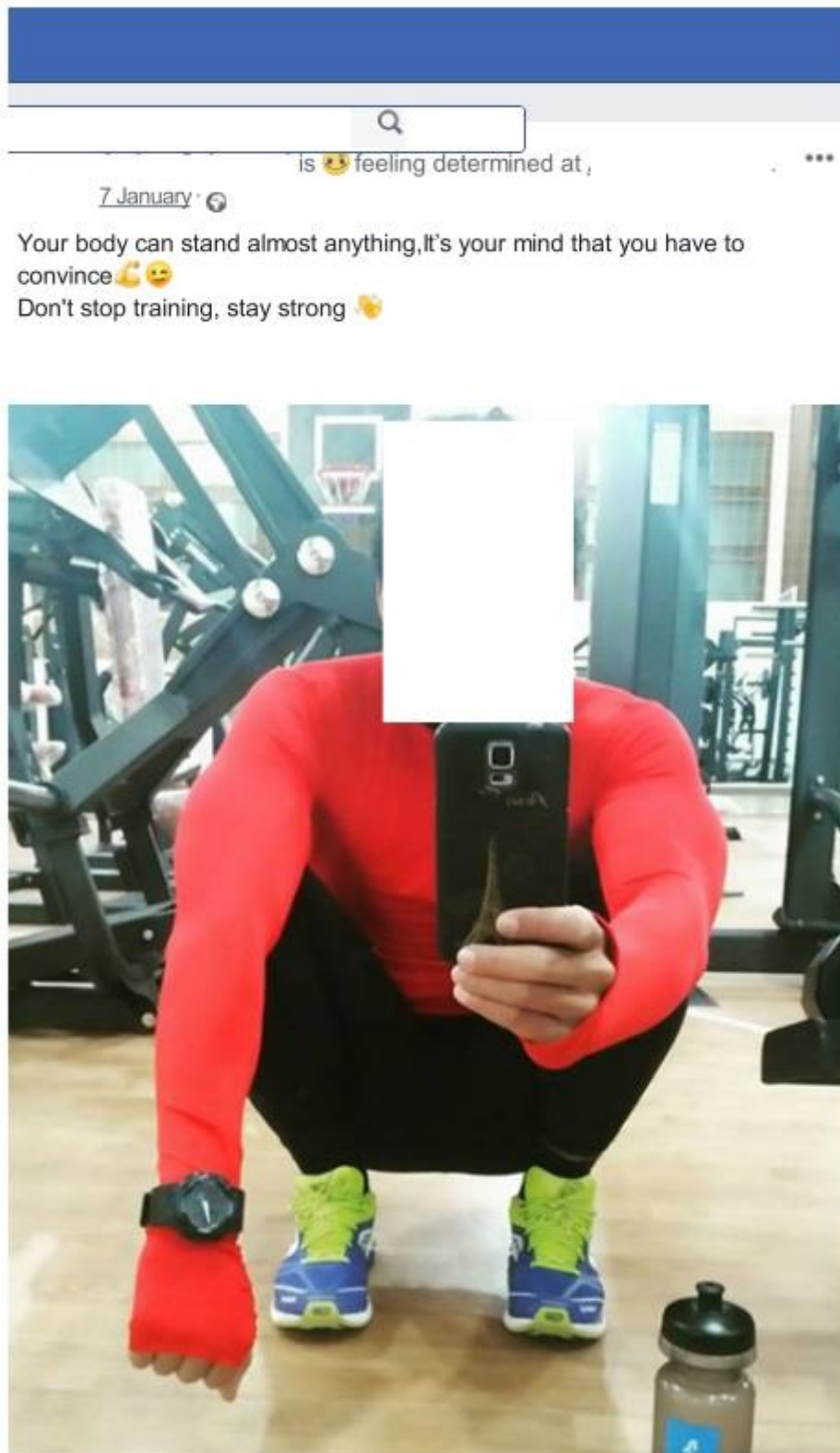
Example 6.22 Anis' expression of influencer's identity

Analysis so far has revealed that Anis's use of multiple digital practices of sharing photos and emoji besides other textual resources rendered his contributions on Facebook

examples of translanguaging acts, that served the expression of multiple identities. Similarly, in example 6.23, Anis used his personal photo as a visual resource along English text to highlight an identity of an intellectual and an influencer. The post is constructed around using the resources of text in English, emoji and a photo. Anis wrote a positive message to his friends about the endurance of one's body and the importance of setting one's mind to achieving intended goals asking them to keep training. He wrote in English 'Your body can stand almost everything, it's your mind that you need to convince. Don't stop training, stay strong'. He used three emoji, first, the muscle emoji '💪' throughout which he is asking his friends to train hard. Second, the winking face emoji '😉' that is used as a reassurance that he believes that his friends could do it. Finally, the waving hand emoji '👋' that he inserted at the end of the text. This emoji could refer to salutations and goodbyes. Because it is used at the end of the text, it could send a message that Anis is finished talking and is now saying good-bye so that he can resume training. Yet, this emoji could also be used to mimic the cultural hand wave movement that someone does when he sees a person he knows, and he wants to attract their attention. The use of this emoji represents Anis' attempt to attract the attention of his friends to the post and a depiction of him attracting the attention of his friends in the gym asking them not to leave but to carry on training. Again, he intentionally shared his photo live from the gym while still being in sportswear. His posture in front of the sports equipment showcasing his own muscles to look stronger emphasises and contribute to the message that 'I am still training, and you should as well be strong and do the same'.

Example 6.23 Anis' expression of influencer's identity

is 😊 feeling determined at ,

7 January ·

Your body can stand almost anything, It's your mind that you have to convince 💪😛
Don't stop training, stay strong 👋

The digital practice of sharing a photo on Facebook served reinforcing the messages that Anis wanted to send to his Facebook friends. He used emoji and code choice to load the message with unspoken messages that could be understood from the context of the post. Both of these strategies have enabled expressing the topic of the post

clearer as visual items tend to be easier to read than long stretches of text especially when scrolling one's Facebook feed on the phone.

Next, Anis constructed another *influential* post through sharing a video of an old person while exercising in the gym (example 6.24). Anis filmed himself addressing a message to his friends saying that this old man should be an inspiration to anyone who is idling and not going to the gym. He accompanied the video with text written in both Modern Standard Arabic and English. What is interesting in this example is that for the first time, Anis wrote the message in Modern Standard Arabic and then translated it to English unlike in other posts where he had done the reverse. The translation in this case is not accurate and he had a maxim written in Modern Standard Arabic that he did not include in the English part of the post. The accurate translation for the text would be [Hello my friends, I present to you my uncle Omar aged 69 years. He exercises daily. What is your excuse young man and young woman? Never wait for tomorrow, start now and never forget that a sound mind is in a sound body]. Anis might have started writing in Modern Standard Arabic because he related best to the message. Also, most people would relate more to the message if it is in their language. Nevertheless, he repeated the text in English, which could serve to emphasize the message. When asked about this, Anis was not sure about why he used Modern Standard Arabic and English in this message, but he thought that his audience might have influenced his choice. He also used four emoji for more visual and motivational effect. He used the winking face emoji '😉' and muscle emoji '💪' in addition to the ok hand emoji '👌' and thumbs-up emoji '👍'. The combination of which expresses the visual message that 'I know you can do it, train hard, okay!' The use of the video in this post, provided further evidence to the text that Anis has wrote. In this video, Anis presented the old man to his friends to show them how he is working out hard in the gym. The video serves as visual illustration of what he wants his friends to keep in mind, namely, if he can do it, you can as well. Such digital practices afforded by Facebook render the communication of meaning easier and more appealing to addresses.

Example 6.24 Anis' expression of influencer's identity

8 October 2018 ·

أهلا اصدقائي
اقدم لكم عمي عمر السن 69 سنة يتدرب بشكل يومي ما هو عذرك أيها الشاب، وايتها الشابة؟
لا تنتظر الغد ابدأ الآن 😋 ولا تنسى العقل السليم في الجسم السليم 💪 👊 👍

Hello my friends
I present to you my uncle omar, he is 69 years old, he train with us
everyday?? 😋 what's your excuses
👍 👊 💪 Don't wait for tomorrow, start now

In other posts in his wall, Anis's digital practices attained other goals besides projecting identities which are about constructing audiences. Two of such posts will be examined below. Both posts refer to Anis' journeys to Italy, one that took place on February and another in April of 2018. In both examples, Anis is using the digital practice of sharing photos to showcase his experience through informing his friends about his departure or arrival. In the first post that was posted on April 2018 and after arriving to his destination, Anis wrote in English 'We have arrived safely here in Italy. All your prayers my friends.' Then, he changed to Modern Standard Arabic to translate the post. He also included a religious expression translated to 'thank you God'. Not writing this expression in English could mean that for Anis, this expression could only express its religious and cultural connotations in Arabic and for the Muslim-Arabic speaking population. Both of these posts reinforce the idea that Anis is using his codes to construct his audience (Androutsopoulos, 2014). In posts discussed above, it was

found that Anis tends to translate his posts from English to Modern Standard Arabic and the reverse, this could relate to addressing different audiences for whom the posts are relatable. That is, an Arabic speaking audience and an English-speaking audience. The fact that Anis travels frequently to Italy, Germany and France, as it is evident in his other collected posts, it is predicted that he has friends from these countries that he wants to include in his posts. In fact, in an interview with Anis, he reported that some of his non-Algerian friends ask him to post on Facebook in English so that they can understand what he is saying. The phrase 'الحمد لله' 'Praise be to Allah', however, is only relevant to his Arabic speaking Facebook friends with whom he is expressing his Islamic and Arabic identities. In addition to text, he shared his personal photo when in the airport. The photo in this case is used to record his trip and also to provide further illustration to the post expressing his offline identity, example 6.25.

In the second post, Anis wrote about his departure to Italy and shared a photo from the airport. Again, he resorted to using the linguistic resources of Modern Standard Arabic and English in writing the text. In this case, he chose to start using Modern Standard Arabic as if addressing the Arabic speaking audience first. He wrote 'traveling to Italy to learn and teach and come back to serve our country and the people of our country. Your prayers my friends.' He then wrote a similar message in English. 'Traveling to Italy for a session training, wish me luck my friends.' In the English part, Anis did not write about coming back to serve the country and the people. This could relate to how the expected audience of this part of the post lives outside Algeria and is not concerned with serving the country. In this sense, Anis has chosen his resources purposefully and creatively to allow his fulfilling the social goal of addressing the desired audience enacting some global vs local identities using Arabic and English. In addition, he uploaded his photos to record these personal experiences and to enact his offline identity, example 6.25. This is because after all, Anis is informing his friends of what he is doing and he is also asking them to pray for him.

Example 6.25 Sharing personal experience through personal photos
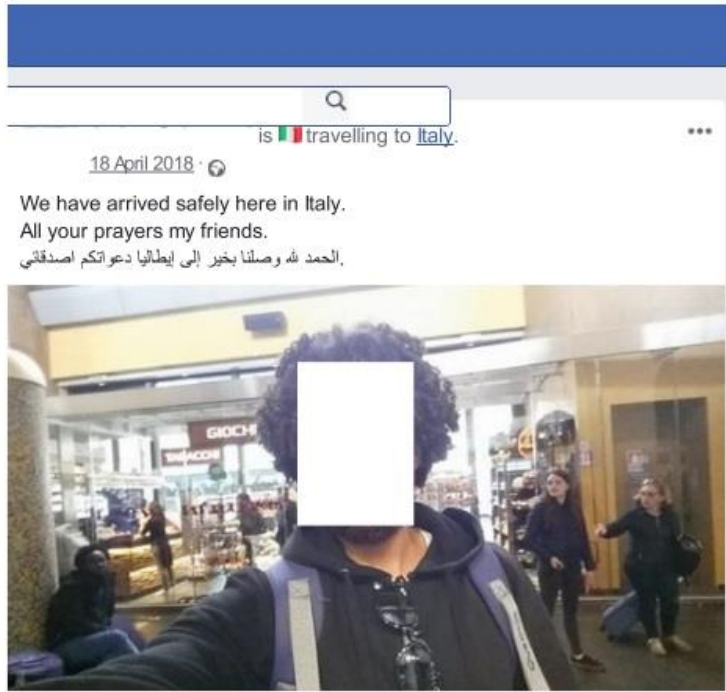
In a nutshell, Anis has used Facebook to enact multiple and fluid identities through some digital practices. He combined textual and visual resources to project an identity of an influencer, an intellectual, a Muslim, an Arab and his own offline and some other global identities. The combination of such resources has also allowed him to attain other

social goals besides identity projection including designing audiences and sharing experiences. In addition, as demonstrated through examples above, Anis was creative in combining given resources afforded by Facebook that allowed him to construct his contributions around some positive messages as well as designing a translanguaging space throughout which he presented such messages to his friends.

6.6 Conclusion

Facebook as a medium of interaction presents a platform that facilitates communication with others but at the same time it presents a stage for self-presentation and expression (Van Dijck, 2013). Facebook presents its users with the possibility of using different linguistic resources (i.e., text) and semiotic ones (i.e., emoji and images and so on) in addition to other affordances (i.e., sharing videos and links and tagging friends etc.). Through combining these resources, users are able to create online social spaces of expression and occupy them under given identities. This chapter referred to this space as an online translanguaging space that allowed the Facebook users to move beyond the practice of combining linguistic and semiotic elements to the expression of socio-cultural identities. The chapter examined the Facebook walls of four Algerian Facebook users: Dina, Souma, Sami and Anis, and examples from their walls were presented and discussed to showcase how each one of them expressed themselves differently through their digital practices.

The findings indicate that each participant perceived and used their Facebook space differently. While Dina constructed it as a space for transmitting and sharing information with her audience through the gatekeeper identity, Souma constructed a space in which she personalized content that she shared by relating it to her experiences adopting student and comic identities. Sami constructed his online space to reflect his offline life while also sharing entertaining content and expressing humoristic identities. Finally, Anis constructed his Facebook space differently by highlighting the influencer's identity and the positive message to his audience through his contributions. All of which is evident through their creative and critical choices of combining given linguistic and semiotic elements to compose relevant posts. What is also evident from interviewing them and analysing their posts is their attentiveness to their audience. Participants have mentioned, as expressed above, that they take their audience into account when choosing a code to write any post. For this reason, the next chapter is going to dig deeper into the influence of an audience on one's contributions on Facebook through the adoption of the Audience Design Framework.

CHAPTER 7 – Digital Practices of Algerians on 'Pleasure'

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated how four Algerian Facebook users employed a plethora of linguistic and semiotic resources to project online identities. It was also revealed that these users are aware of their audience and this awareness is translated through their linguistic practices as they are keen to use resources that are intelligible to the majority of their Facebook friends, to maximize the audience of their posts. Similarly, findings from the online questionnaire presented in chapter 5 show that when participants post on Facebook, they take their audience into account, meaning that they adapt their linguistic practices so that the other party understands. Based on the responses provided by the participants in the online questionnaire, this practice is something that they especially do on their digital communications on Facebook, even more so than on spoken communication, which is perhaps due to the diversity of the audience that they communicate with online. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to further explore how the audience is relevant to and shared by the dynamic and fluid practices of linguistic and semiotic resources employed by Facebook users.

This chapter examines issues of addressitivity in a heterogenous social networking site, namely a public Facebook page, that brings together members that perhaps do not know each other in real life and they may have different linguistic repertoires. It is worth repeating that the studied Algerian community is a multilingual one due to the presence of Algerian Arabic, Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English in it, as has been detailed in chapter 2, but its speakers are not all necessarily multilingual in all these codes (Kissi, 2016). Although, Algerians learn French and English in schools, their proficiency in them can vary from one individual to the other. Having said that, this chapter is interested in how the administrators of page Pleasure select amongst these linguistic resources to write posts in this Facebook page and whether they use other non-linguistic resources as well to shape the audience of the post. The interest also extends to the comments written by the followers of this Facebook page to these posts. In that, it is explored whether followers adopt the same resources as the administrators or

negotiate them. In addition, the combination of the selected resources is analysed in each case to illustrate how meanings are created and identities are projected.

To explore such issues of addressivity in a diverse networked audience, meaning making and identities, the sociolinguistic framework of Audience Design as introduced by Androutsopoulos (2014) is adopted and combined with visions from Translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017). As has been detailed in chapter 3, the Audience Design model allows for analysing how resources are adopted to construct audiences to one's contributions. Incorporating insights from the theory of Translanguaging allows for inclusion of modalities and non-linguistic resources that are widely used on social media platforms. In addition, it guides our understanding of hybrid linguistic contributions to approaching them as creative meaning making processes (Li, 2017).

The selected Facebook page to be explored in this chapter is page 'Pleasure' which, as introduced in chapter 4, is followed by more than 1 million Facebook users. It is an entertaining Facebook page whose administrators (it should be noted that there is more than one administrator who post on this page) share enjoyable and entertaining content on it. A representative sample of examples of these latter's posts and the followers' comments is presented. The first section is devoted to examining the resources, meaning making and audience design strategies in posts by the administrators. The second section presents deeper analysis of comments in terms of responsive and initiative styles in making meanings and reflecting identities. The last section presents a number of metapragmatic cases where followers of the page are explicitly communicating stances towards given codes.

Examples in this chapter are presented so that the first line features the post underneath which are the list of selected comments where 'C1' stands for comment 1 and 'C2' for comment 2 and so on. English translation, when needed, is provided in brackets underneath each line. Algerian Arabic is presented in plain text, *French* is italicized, English is underlined, and *Modern Standard Arabic* is both italicized and underlined. This glossing is also applied to the English translation.

7.2 Designing the Audience: Initiating Contributions in Writing Posts

According to Androutsopoulos (2014), Facebook users utilise linguistic and other non-linguistic resources that are available to them to construct their audience. They

either maximize it or partition it. He maintains that there are three strategies for maximizing the audience including: (1) using the lingua franca which is understood by the majority, (2) reproducing the same content in more than one language, and (3) not using linguistic items completely and instead using other universal non-linguistic signs such as emoticons and punctuation. On the other hand, some Facebook users choose to partition their audience by orienting their posts to a specific slice using contextualization cues that these latter relate to. Such cues include terms of address, content and languages that only the audience of the slice comprehend. This section examines the techniques that post writers used on the page Pleasure to maximize their audience by analysing relevant posts and comments. Cases of partitioning the audience are not featured because the administrators' choices in this particular Facebook page always exhibit an element of maximisation in them, as will be evident through the examples below. It should be noted here that maximisation refers to making content of the posts accessible to as many Algerians as possible. This is because page Pleasure mainly addresses an Algerian audience. Examples are arranged so that cases that use the lingua franca as a maximisation of the audience are presented first, followed by those that employ the replication strategy and lastly by those that utilise non-linguistic resources.

Firstly, cases of using a lingua franca in posts in page Pleasure refer to the use of Algerian Arabic which is the mother tongue of the majority of Algerians. Using the mother tongue of the majority is considered a technique for best maximisation of the audience (Barasa, 2016). One example from the data is post 48 in which the administrator is wishing the followers of the page to enjoy their meals after a long day of fasting. He also used the heart emoji '❤️' after the text to convey a warm emotional context of joy after successfully fulfilling the fast of this day. In so doing, the administrator is extending his warm feelings to all Algerians who are fasting this day of Ramadhan including natives of Tamazight who are not necessarily speakers of Algerian Arabic. It is worth mentioning that the phrase he used 'صحا فطوركم' [Enjoy your meal] is a typical Algerian curtsy used on days of the fast. It is an expression that signals affiliation with Algerian culture and an expression of such cultural identity. Accordingly, this post is not necessarily inclusive of other non-Algerian Muslims who are fasting Ramadhan as this expression might not be intelligible to them. But the next example is.

Example 7.1 Post 48

1. ❤️❤️صحا فطوركم
   [Enjoy your meal (an Algerian expression used for when breaking the fast) ❤️❤️]

164

The administrator in the next example, post 59, used Modern Standard Arabic as an audience maximization strategy. This contribution combines the use of many affordances, in that, the administrator shared a video, used text and inserted emoji. The video is of a sleepy cat whose owner could not wake it up no matter how much she tried. The administrator commented on the video in Modern Standard Arabic text saying, 'the situation right now'. In doing this, he is comparing himself to the cat referring to how sleepy he is feeling. The insertion of the three laughing face emoji '😂' after that renders the context of this post humours. The administrator further accentuated the humour by adding the onomatopoeic expression that represents laughter 'ههههه' which is the equivalent of the English 'hahahahaha'. The combination of these resources shaped the jocular tone of the post. It should be mentioned however that Modern Standard Arabic which is used in this post is not usually attributed with such friendlier contexts. As explained in chapter 2, Modern Standard Arabic in most cases expresses formal connotations. Using Modern Standard Arabic for informal and casual discussions could be actually a marked choice (Ahmed-Sid, 2008). Thus, its use in this particular contribution could serve as an audience design strategy more than serving the humoristic nature of the post. Modern Standard Arabic is used across the Arab world and it functions as a lingua franca in it. This is because as each individual Arab country speaks a different Arabic variety, they all speak Modern Standard Arabic. In fact, the use of Modern Standard Arabic could be a good choice for a maximization of the audience even within Algeria itself. Although, Algerian Arabic is the mother tongue of most Algerians, there is still a minority who does not speak it, but speak Tamazight instead (Chemami, 2011), as discussed in Chapter 2. All Algerians, however, learn Modern Standard Arabic in schools regardless of their mother tongues. Therefore, any Algerian with basic education could understand Modern Standard Arabic. The administrators' choice of using this lingua franca in this contribution maximized the audience of the post to include Algerians and other speakers of Standard Arabic, it is an expression of global Arabic identity.

Example 7.2 Post 59

1. ..هههه الوضع الان 😂😂😂
   [*The situation right now* 😂😂😂 .. *hahahahaha*]
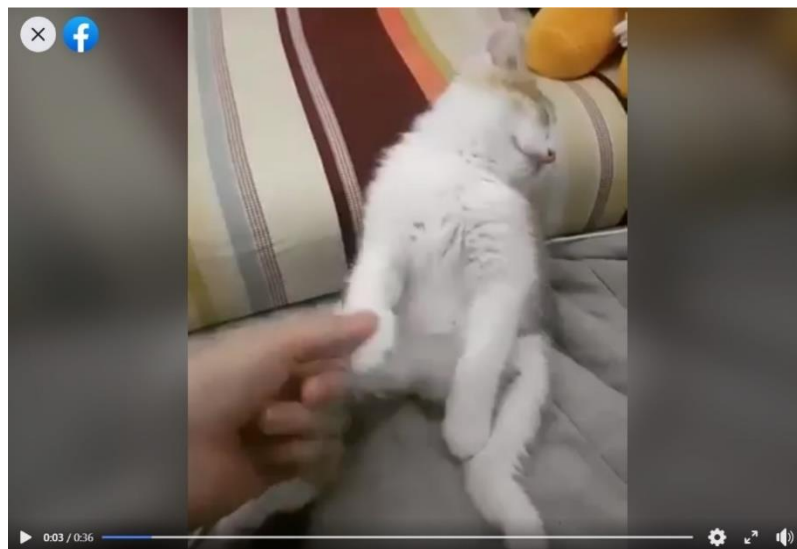
Secondly, the administrator used the replication strategy in expanding the scope of the audience of some posts to include other non-Algerian Facebook users. Particularly, he used the replication strategy in an effort to maximise the audience for post 32 presented in example 7.3. In writing this post, the administrator used different modes, i.e., a combination of text, emoji and image. The shared image contains a phrase written in Modern Standard Arabic and its replicate in English is written underneath it. The codes used in this image allow for it to address an Arabic-speaking audience and an English-speaking audience. In order for the post to include a French-speaking audience too and therefore to expand the audience more, the administrator replicated the content of the image in French. The use of the French translation here allows for a reconfiguration of the audience to include speakers of French as well. This is because the audience that was initially designed for the image encompasses speakers of English and Modern Standard Arabic only. This could also be motivated by a sense of politeness (Planchenault, 2010). In that, administrators are individuating monolingual followers of the page and addressing them in codes they associate with. In addition to the image and the French text, the administrator used emoji to further emphasize the positive message of the post. He inserted a smiling face '🙂' and three hearts '❤' that symbolise an expression of love to the beauty that is found in each one of us. By combining these linguistic and non-linguistic resources into one contribution, the administrators are trying to accommodate various slices of Facebook users. It is evident that the administrator's imagined audience for this post is someone who can either speak French,

166

English or Arabic only. This could go beyond Algerians to other nationalities that are competent in one of these codes. The act of *juxta-positioning* French with other text in the image allows for expressing a global identity. The post could be intended for addressing a global community and as has been explained earlier, Facebook is a platform where context collapse is observed. In that, users of different linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds with only one mutual interest in this particular Facebook page meet. Therefore, this juxtaposition strategy is used here as a maximisation of the audience and addressing such global community.

Example 7.3 Post 32

1. *Chacun de nous est beau d'une certaine manière...* 🙂❤️❤️❤️
    [Every one of us is beautiful, somehow... . 🙂❤️❤️❤️]
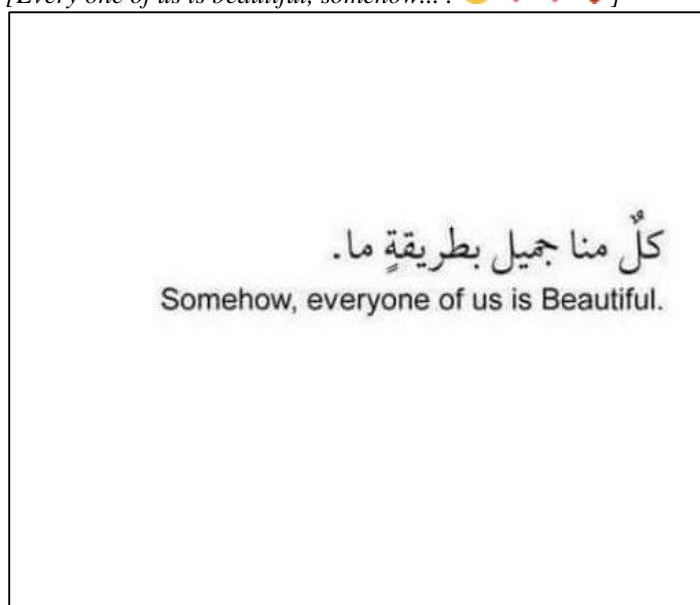
Related to that, the administrator used a similar strategy of using different resources to maximize the audience in post 15 featured in example 7.4. In this post, the administrator shared a video of the starting screen of PlayStation that many Algerians, like many others around the world, played during their childhood. Here, he is referring to an older version that was released around the 2000's. He addressed the people of that generation in French using the expression 'Les anciens' whose literal translation is [the ancients] meaning, 'the oldies', by which the administrator is addressing the older people who were young during the 2000's and played the older version of PlayStation. Then, the administrator changed to Algerian Arabic to ask them to 'show themselves'. He used the Roman script in writing Algerian Arabic. As has been previously explained, Algerian Arabic is an only spoken variety that has no writing system. It is however written on social media platforms in Arabizi (i.e., Arabic words in Roman letters and numbers), or the Arabic scripts. Choosing either the Arabic script or Arabizi has become

another resource in social media users' repertoires to express themselves and their identities. In the current example, the administrator used Arabizi to address a specific partial audience, Algerians who used to play this version of the videogame. The use of Arabizi expresses digital identities and can signal alignment with people who had to use transliteration back in the early days of the internet i.e., during the time that Arabic script was not available (oldies). The administrator then moved to Modern Standard Arabic to write the expression 'those who belong to the golden generation'. This last expression is widely used in media and social media to refer to the generation of people who were born in the 80's and the 90's decades. The use of Modern Standard Arabic allowed the administrator to further extend the audience to include other people that belong to this generation who do not necessarily speak French and/ or Algerian Arabic. This could be the case of Algerians or even of other nationalities. Therefore, the linguistic resources used in this post are establishing membership and identities in both the local and global communities at the same time. In addition, the administrator used two heart emoji to '♥' to index feelings of affection and nostalgia towards the previous and old times.

Example 7.4 Post 15

1. *Les anciens* beynou rohkoum
   اصحاب الجيل الذهبي ♥♥
   [*Oldies* show yourselves.
   Those who belong to the golden generation ♥♥]

Finally, in the last two examples the administrator used universal non-linguistic items such as emoji to comment on some content that they shared. In post 10, the administrator shared a clip of a cute dog and commented on it using a universal onomatopoeic expression 'yummy' and several heart-face emoji '😍'. In this case, the post does not specify its audience because it 'involves embedded content that comes

with its own linguistic signs' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p. 67). In other words, the selection of a language for interaction in this post is deferred to other users who are going to comment on the post. It is evident from the comment section that some Facebook users opted mostly for Algerian Arabic, as in comment 3 in example 7.5, to linguistically contextualise this post while others used French, as in comment 1. In both of these comments, users tagged their Facebook friends to see the video of the dog featured in the post. The writer of comment 1inserted a smiling face with heart-eyes to convey enthusiastic feelings of adoration which are also shared by writer of comment 2. This latter used emoji richly to accentuate their feelings of adoration towards the dog. This semiotic post is assumed to maximise the audience for this contribution as it is mainly relying on resources that are believed to be understood by everyone. Nonetheless, one could argue that the choice of the script is important. Although the onomatopoeic word 'yumy' is universally understood, choosing to write it in Roman letters could be limiting. In that, its meaning could not reach those who are not familiar with this script. Yet, it is assumed that Algerians who are communicating online are familiar with this script and the use of other modalities contributes effectively to overcoming this limitation too. Therefore, this combination of non-linguistic items is acting as a maximisation strategy. The same is true for the last example.

Example 7.5 Post 10

1. YUMYY 😍😍😍😍😍😍

2. **C1**: TAG *regarde moi caaaaa* 😍😍
    [TAG *Look at thiiis* 😍😍]
3. **C2**: 😍😍😍😍😍😍😍🥺🥺😚😚😚
4. **C3**: TAG choufi zin
    [TAG look at this beauty]

169

In post 43, the administrator shared a video clip, wrote a name of a person and inserted a laughing face emoji '😂' and a grinning face emoji '😁'. The video clip features a servant named 'Rajlawi' in a famous Algerian sitcom conversing with someone he has feelings for. The name of the person in the administrator's post is written in Arabic script 'رجلاوي' and even though no language is associated with proper names, the content here is only available to those who can read the Arabic script. Presumably, all Algerians with basic education can read the name. Although, no actual linguistic items were used in the post, the code used in the video clip itself may interfere with the linguistic choices of those who are going to comment on the post, as they 'can revoice some linguistic elements of the embedded content' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p. 68). Indeed, several comments to this contribution were in Algerian Arabic, which is the code used in the video clip. In fact, some of them repeated expressions that were used in the clip itself, such as comment 1 and 2 in example 7.6. This is because the words of Rajlawi are funny, so users repeated them and inserted laughing face emoji '😂' excessively to convey the humoristic tones.

Example 7.6 Post 43

1. رجلاوي 😁😂
   [Rajlawi 😁😂]

2. **C1:** 😂😂😂 تحبني تحبني 😂😂😂 شد في هذاك الخيط😂😂
   [Continue dreaming 😂😂😂 she loves me, she loves me 😂😂😂]
3. **C2:** 😂😂😂 ما تخافيش . طحت غير مالسلّوم برك خخخ 😂😂😂
   [Don't fear for me. I just fell from the ladder hahaha 😂😂😂]
4. **C3:** 😂😂😂

This section illustrated how the administrator of the Facebook page 'Pleasure' used different linguistic and non-linguistic resources to construct his contributions so that they are accessible to the majority of Algerians. It was also demonstrated how some contributions' scope went even beyond Algerians to include other Arabic nationalities

through the use of Modern Standard Arabic and international ones through using English, French and some non-linguistic elements. In the next section, the responses of the audience to these audience design techniques and strategies are explored.

7.3 Audience Responses: Responsive and Initiative Styles in Writing Comments

Audience responses refer to the linguistic choices that Facebook users adopt to write their comments to initiating contributions of post writers. It is worth repeating at this stage that this responsive and initiative design was originally used by Androutsopoulos (2014) to examine responding comments to initiating posts on ego's Facebook profile and the difference here is that the current analysis examines Facebook pages instead. That is, unlike in the case of Androutsopoulos (2014) who examined posts of Facebook users on their personal Facebook profiles and the responses of their Facebook friends in the comments section, this study examines posts of administrators on Facebook pages and the responses of the followers of the page in the comments section. Facebook pages present a heterogeneous platform that brings together followers of different linguistic repertoires and backgrounds who perhaps do not know each other in real life. For this reason, the problem of addressing and designing this imagined audience and the notion of addressitivity that administrators are facing when creating posts in Facebook pages is more persistent and complex than, for instance, in personal profiles where ego is familiar with his/her friends and is more or less aware of the expectations of his/her audience. Androutsopoulos (2014) maintains that the prevalence of the problem of addressitivity is related to the heterogeneity of the audience. Accordingly, this section explores how are administrators using linguistic and non-linguistic resources to design their audience and whether followers are adopting the same resources to create a responsive style or initiating their own instead. A responsive style is when an initiated linguistic choice in writing posts is sustained over several responding comments by Facebook users. In Androutsopoulos (2014, p. 68)'s words 'responsiveness in social networking […] is a user's orientation to the style choice of an interactionally relevant antecedent.' An initiative style on the other hand constitutes a shift in style where the 'the direction of shift is in principle open' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p. 69). The rest of this section presents cases from the data that feature a representative sample of examples of such responsive and initiative styles.

First is the case of post 14 presented in example 7.7. Here, the administrator selected French to initiate this contribution in which he raised a question about

Algerians' alleged trait of 'having ulterior motives' adding also a thinking face emoji '🤔'. The administrator opened the floor for discussing this topic and shared the emoji that gives the expression that he himself is engaged in deep thinking about this. Most Facebook users who commented on this post agreed to this and some representative comments of the recurrent ideas are presented in lines 2 to 5 in example 7.7. In writing these comments, some users relied on text only, namely C1, C4 and C5, while others combined text with emoji to further accentuate their ideas, namely C2 and C3. In terms of text, the writers of comments 1 to 4 used French adopting a responsive style to that of the administrator whereas writer of comment 5 initiated a different style using Algerian Arabic in Arabic script. What is interesting is that this difference in linguistic style reflects difference in opinion too. The writer of comment 1 agreed with the administrator that Algerians have ulterior motives and that no one should insult her for admitting it because it is the truth. The writers of comments 2 to 4 also agreed to that. They admitted in a comic tone that they themselves or people they know have ulterior motives. They relied on different visual and textual resources to highlight the humoristic nature of the situation. They inserted the laughing face emoji '😂' and the grinning squinting face emoji '😆' that conveys hearty laughter. In addition, they used the French acronym MDR which stands for 'Mort de Rire' that translates to the English acronym LOL 'Laughing Out Loud'. Lastly, writer of comment 3 used the letters 'x' and capital letter 'D' to make the visual expression of a grinning squinting face emoji 'i.e., 😆'. Moreover, these writers adopted the same linguistic style of the administrator, i.e., writing their comments in French. In accommodating to the same code choice of the administrator, these writers are expressing agreement and common cultural identity. However, the writer of comment 5 rejected the idea completely. He asked the administrator what he meant by what he said and wrote that he is going to assault him. What is interesting is that the writer of comment 5 chose not to have a responsive linguistic style, as others did, and wrote his comment in Algerian Arabic. This latter's disagreement with what is written in the post is also reflected in his style which unlike being responsive in other comments, it is an initiative style. Choosing to write in Algerian Arabic instead of French denotes this user's redefinition of the linguistic situation at hand. The use of Algerian Arabic changes the setting to a more challenging, confrontational one where he could take the liberty to raise a fight with the administrator. Accordingly, in this case disagreement in opinion has triggered an initiative contribution that established a new situational frame. The choice of Algerian

172

Arabic enables the writer of comment 5 to claim a space that is different from the one indexed by the administrator's post and express his confrontational intentions.

Example 7.7 Post 14

1. *Est-ce que les algériens ont toujours des arrières pensés ?* 🤔

    [Do Algerians always have ulterior motives? 🤔 *]*

2. **C1:** *les algériens ont un esprit tordu. venez pas m'insulter c'est la vérité.*
    [Algerians have a twisted mind. Do not insult me it is the truth.]

3. **C2:** *Les algeriens ont meme des arrières pensées pour les arrières pensées* 😝
    [Algerians have ulterior motives for the ulterior motives 😝 *]*

4. **C3:** *mdddr comme moi maintenant xD TAG , esprit tordu* 😂😂😂
    [Lool just like me at the moment xD, twisted mind 😂😂😂 *]*

5. **C4:** *Oh que oui ! Quand je parle avec ma mère elle n'a que ça*
    [oh That is true! When I talk to my mother she only has this]

6. **C5:** واش قصدك بالسطاتو هذا ؟؟ نجي نكسرلك راسك
    [What do you mean by this status?? I will come to break your head]

The second case to be presented in this section is that of post 7 in example 7.8. In this contribution, the administrator of the Facebook page 'Pleasure' shared a link to an episode of an Algerian TV series, used text to describe it and an emoji to express their personal feelings. The contribution is initiated in Algerian Arabic text written in Arabic script. It provides information on one of the main characters of the series 'Bibisha' saying that in today's episode, Bibisha is sick. The administrator also inserted a sad face emoji '🥺' that allowed him to define the mood of the post to being pessimistic as it is sharing sad news. Most comments to this post were irrelevant to its topic as only few discussed the episode itself such as in C1. The writer of comment 1 wrote in a joking tone that they have the medicine for Bibisha and that they are going to apply an amazing massage to her that will make her better instantly. The writer of the second comment was more focused on the presentation of the actors instead. They wrote a comment asking why is it that only in Algerian series, they remove the make up for the actress to make her look sick. This comment is criticising the amount of make-up some actresses apply to their faces that when removed, it makes them look unwell. The writer used other semiotic modes by inserting a red lipstick emoji '💄' and a magic crystal ball emoji '🔮' to allude to the idea that make-up is like magic in how it transforms people's looks. Both of these comments have a responsive style to the post, in that, the writers used Algerian Arabic to write their comments. However, the writer of C2 used the Arabic script, while the writer of C1 used Arabizi which could be related to their online self-representations. In that, some youth perceive the use of Arabizi as trendy and 'cool' (Allehaiby, 2013). Other comments to this post where critical of the administrators'

choice of topics to post in Facebook page Pleasure. They expressed in angry tones that they do not like it that now administrators are sharing episodes of TV series. What is interesting is that these comments are written in French. Writers in this sense are initiating a different linguistic style in their comments. Initiating comments in French could signal distancing oneself from the post which was written in Algerian Arabic and from the Algerian TV series that use Algerian Arabic as well. Choosing to write in French could also reflect the writers' disagreement with the current situation and their stance for wanting to restore the previous version of page Pleasure, whose posts were written in French and were amusing but did not share series episodes. It is worth repeating here that it was found that most of page Pleasure's posts are written in French (see [Chapter 4](#) for a description of resources used on the selected Facebook page). Indeed, the writer of comment 4 expressed that they want the previous content of the page to be back to what it used to be and the writer of comment 5 accused the administrator of getting paid for sharing TV series on the Facebook page. Finally, the writer of comment 6 relied on visual symbols, three thumb-down emoji '👎👎👎' to refer to how unsatisfied they are with the content of this post. Accordingly, and similar to the previous example, the dissatisfaction with the content of the post triggered an initiative style that allowed writers to establish allusions and references to an absent linguistic and content expected composition.

> Example 7.8 Post 7
>
> 1. اليوم بيبيشة راهي مريضة 🤢
>   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fc7XH7TBXTc&feature=youtu.be
>   [Bibisha is sick today 🤢]
>
> 2. **C1:** raho andi dwa ndirlha massage tabra lihlih dharba b dharba
>   [I have a cure for her I will apply massage to her and she will get better instantly]
>
> 3. **C2:** ج🙂🔒 علاه فالمسلسلات تع دزاير برك تبان تكون وحدة مريضة ينحولها الماكياااااااااااج
>   [why is it that in Algerian series only, that for an actress to look sick, they remove her make-up 🔒🙂]
>
> 4. **C3:** Mafhmtesh *est ce que ta page* ta3 *des emission ou bien une ature chose?*
>   [I do not get it *is your page* for *series or something else?*]
>
> 5. **C4:** *Vous vous faite payer par ces séries ou quoi , On veut plus de 'page Pleasure' ... Parkingueur*
>   [*Are you getting paid by these series or what, we want more of 'page Pleasure' ... fraudulent*]
>
> 6. **C5:** *Ils vous payent combien pour nous saouler tous les jours avec leurs series a la con?*
>   [*How much do they pay you so that you are feeding us these series every day?*]
>
> 7. **C6:** *C est quoi sa?* 👎👎👎
>   [*What is this?* 👎👎👎]

The third case is of post 37 from page Pleasure which is a contribution that combines the use of different resources including text and an image. This post is initiated in French to invite followers of the page to comment on a chat between a girlfriend and

a boyfriend. The image that the administrator shared allowed him to present a messenger screen shot of the actual chat reserving the semiotic nature of the chat itself that is crucial for conveying the intended sarcastic meaning. The chat in the screen shot consists of three turns that contain mixing between linguistic resources that writers drew upon in addition to another visual resources which is a photo. The first turn is written in mixing between French and Algerian Arabic where the girlfriend wrote that she was outside shopping with one of her friends and that she just returned home. The second turn is also written in mixing between Algerian Arabic and French where in a sharp tone the boyfriend told her that she should not have gone outside without telling him and that she should tell him before going out next time. In the last turn, the girlfriend did not use any text, but she sent him a photo of her hand with two question marks on her ring finger instead. The photo here sends an implied message that 'you are not my fiancé so you cannot tell me what to do'. Although this contribution is initiated in French by the administrator and some writers had a responsive style in writing their comments in French, the text in the screenshot seems to have influenced other writers, as several comments were written in Algerian Arabic. Some Facebook users approved the act of the girl and maintained that she is right; he needs to be engaged to her for him to control her actions, as in comment 1 which is a responsive style to the initiative post. However, some of other comments neglected the issue at discussion and focused on the hand in the photo. For example, the writers of comments 3 to 5 joked about the length of the girlfriend's fingers. They wrote that the fingers are abnormally long, and they used Algerian Arabic for that. It seems that for these comments' writers the best code to express their sense of humour is the mother tongue Algerian Arabic, so they diverged from French that is used in the text of the post and adopted the code used in the screenshot itself. This could also suggest a deviation of interest from commenting on the post, therefore, reacting to the girlfriend and boyfriend issue to commenting on the screenshot, therefore, reacting on the photo of the hand. Comment 2 is also written in Algerian Arabic which seems to be an intentional move as the joke expressed in it relates to using a specific Arabic word. The writer used the word 'قصف' meaning 'bombardment' to refer to how the girlfriend 'burned' her boyfriend with the photo that she shared. This word is widely used nowadays in social media, namely 'bombarding the forehead', when someone proves another wrong or silence them with a decisive argument that would leave them speechless and susceptible to mockery. As such, the use of Algerian Arabic in this comment in necessary to achieve these connotations. The writer of this comment expressed how much the girlfriend's action, using the photo

instead of text, allowed her to prove her point and end the discussion with one gesture. In addition, the writer emphasised the jocular tone of their comment by typing the onomatopoeic Arabic expression 'ههههه' which is the equivalent of the English 'hahahaha' and inserting five laughing face emoji '😂'. This case of purposefully using Algerian Arabic along with the onomatopoeic expression and the emoji allowed for this user to convey such mockery and the jocular content. It is evident from this example that some writers diverged from being responsive to the initial French contribution but used Algerian Arabic instead that allowed them to establish a new linguistic frame and express humour and comic identities. The use of the non-standard code to express humour was also reported in online activities of Cypriot-Greeks (Sophocleous & Themistocleous, 2014).

Example 7.9 Post 37.

1. *À vos claviers !*
   [*To your keyboards!*]

[*Sorry* I went out for shopping *with a friend* I am just back home]
[*Oh really*?? And without telling me!!]
[*Next time tell* me before going out okay]

2. **C1:** *Jluii donne vraiment raison *-* Car Tant que la bague n'est Pas sur son doigt ,personne peux l'a commendé*
   [*She is so right *-* because if the ring is not on her finger, no one can control her*]

3. **C2:** ديراكت قصفتو ههههه 😂 😂 😂 😂 😂
   [She burned him hahahahaha 😂 😂 😂 😂 😂]

176

4. **C3:** صباعها طوالو من غسيل لماعن و التنشاف برك هههه
   [Her fingers just got taller from washing dishes and cleaning the floor hahaha]
5. **C4:** اصبعها الصغير كثرمن صبعي لكبير...
   [Her small finger is bigger than my biggest finger]
6. **C5:** مانعرف ادا النعاس ولا صبعتيها ماشي نورمال
   [I don't know whether I am sleepy or her fingers are not normal]

The fourth case is a contribution that is initiated in French. Post 2 was posted during the month of Ramadhan which is the month were Muslims around the world fast from sunrise to sunset. It is a month that reinforces family ties and unions as all members of the family get together to break the fast. People usually avoid being alone during this month therefore the administrator shared this post to remind the audience that there are people who are sick and alone in hospitals and there are others who for some reason cannot join their families. In addition, he shared a photo of a female patient lying in bed in a hospital room. The use of this photo enables triggering a deeper sense of sympathy and thoughtfulness towards patients for, first, being ill, and second, being away of their families during this religious occasion. Indeed, many comments to this post are prayers for the sick people wishing them a fast recovery. What is interesting is that these comments are also initiative in their linguistic styles as they are written in Algerian Arabic. In fact, comment 1 combines both the use of French, Algerian Arabic and a raised hand emoji '✋'. Initially, the writer of comment 1 had a responsive style to that of the administrator, i.e., using French, and the use of the emoji in line (2) confirms this. The use of this emoji symbolises a virtual high five that the writer wants to exchange with the administrator because they agree on what is communicated in the post. However, the writer changed to Algerian Arabic to complete his comment. The choice of Algerian Arabic could be triggered by the locality of the expressed content and allowed the writer to project their religious and cultural identity. Although, the post is initiated in French but its content shares local and religious themes, the reason for which, the writers of comments 1 to 4 negotiated the linguistic style of the administrator and initiated Algerian Arabic that could allow the expression of such religious meanings. The writer of comment 4 went further in expressing his local and religious identity by using the Arabic script as opposed to the Roman one that is used in other comments.

Example 7.10 Post 2

1.   *Une pensée particulière aux malades, et à leur entourage, et à tous ceux qui vivent le Ramadan loin de leur famille.*
     [A particular thought for the sick, and their surroundings, and all those who are away from their families in Ramadan].
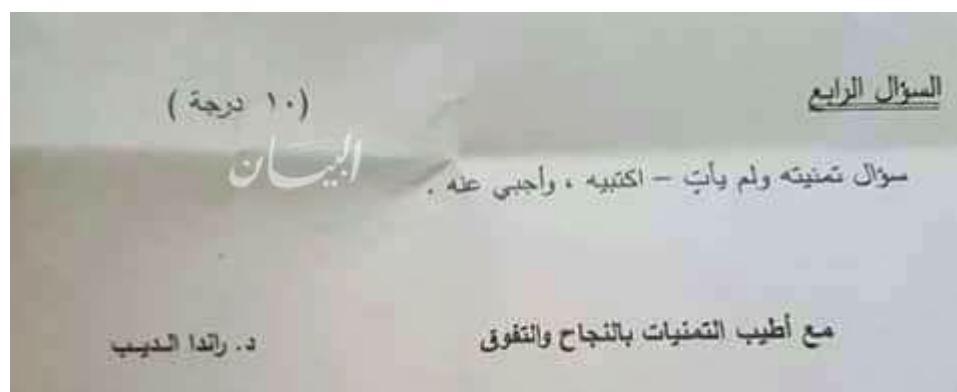

2.   **C1:** *Oui bien dit 🤚 Vraiment* rebi m3aahom !!
     [*Yes well said 🤚 indeed* may God be with them!!]
3.   **C2:** Rabi yechfii koul mrid inchallah
     [May God cure all the sick]
4.   **C3:** Rabi ychafihom
     [May God cure them]
5.   **C4:** ربي يعجل شفاهم
     [May God fastens their recovery]

The fifth case that is presented in this section is post 31 in example 7.11. The administrator used linguistic and semiotic digital practices by employing various resources like text and image. He initiated the contribution in French and shared an image featuring a question in an exam paper and this question is written in Modern Standard Arabic. The administrator asked the followers to imagine that they had a similar question in a real exam. The question says: 'write any question you wish and answer it'. Although the post was initiated in French, sharing the snapshot of the exam paper written in Modern Standard Arabic added an educational theme to the context of the contribution. Modern Standard Arabic is the language associated with education in Algeria which explains its use in writing the question and its adoption in several comments. In particular, the writers of these comments initiated a different linguistic style using Modern Standard Arabic that is deemed appropriate to writing and answering an exam question. However, the content of their comments reveals how they approached this contribution playfully. The writers of comments 1 to 3 wrote unrelated trivial questions whose answers are obvious like 'what is your name', 'what is the name of your father' and 'what is your date of birth' and the writer of comment 2 inserted a laughing face emoji '😂' to highlight their amusement. The last comment is also an

178

initiated contribution, but this time in translanguaging between Algerian Arabic and English. The writer of comment 4 expressed her ideas in Algerian Arabic but changed to English at the end of the comment to write the word 'hair'. The word 'hair' is sometimes used in Algeria to refer to the ineffectiveness and worthlessness of something. Algerians for example might say 'having hair' to mean 'having nothing'. However, this use is culturally loaded and could offend others this is why it is considered impolite to a sense. This could explain the choice of initiating English in this case and not using Algerian Arabic for the rest of the comment. Because despite being a global language, English might not be understood by the majority of Algerians as statistics also revealed that only 7% of Algerians are competent in communicating in English (Benrabah, 2014). Hence, its use might partition the audience for this comment. It is also worth mentioning that this expression is related to Algerian culture that others who might understand both Algerian Arabic and English and are not familiar with this use would not comprehend the implications of the word 'hair'. What this writer did is the reverse of other cases in this section. While others are initiating a linguistic style to express local and cultural content, this person initiated a style in an effort to limit the local and cultural implications and design and address an audience that is familiar with Algerian Arabic, English and Algerian culture. The fact that writer of this comment critically employed such cultural element in composing this contribution to limit the addressitivity of it means that cultural resources could be used as tools for designing audiences. This idea will be elaborated more when analysing example 7.13 below.

Example 7.11 Post 31

1. *Quelle réaction auriez vous eu si vous trouvez une question comme ça sur 10 point lors d'un examen !? Lol*
   [What would your reactions be if you had a similar question worth 10 marks in your exam !? Lol]

السؤال الرابع (١٠ درجة)

سؤال تمنيته ولم يأتِ – اكتبيه ، وأجبي عنه .

مع أطيب التمنيات بالنجاح والتفوق

د. راندا الديب

[*Question Four   (10 marks)*]
[*A question you wished for and was not included – write it, and answer it.*]
[*With best wishes of success   Dr.Randa El-Dib*]

179

2. **C1:** <u>ما اسمك ؟؟</u>
   [What is your name?]
3. **C2:** <u>اسم الاب</u> 😂
   [name of father 😂]
4. **C3:** <u>السؤال : ما هو تاريخ ميلادك ؟! ؟</u>
   [The question: what is your date of birth?!]
5. **C4:** Ni khayfa hadaw ndi 00 , tetkhaltli w ndi <u>hair</u>
   [I am afraid that even if it is the case I get 00, I will lose it and get <u>hair</u>]

The next case is post 20 that was initiated in Modern Standard Arabic where the administrator is asking Facebook users whether they realised one of their dreams. The selected comments to this contribution in example 7.12 are initiative in their linguistic style. This could be related to the topic of the post itself; writing about one's dreams in a social networking site is not a formal topic that necessitates the use of Modern Standard Arabic, which as explained in chapter 2 is usually associated with formal contexts and formal writing. This explains the choice of initiating comments in the mother tongue Algerian Arabic as in lines (2) and (5) and in French as in lines (3) and (4). The writer of comment 3 started his comment in French then changed to Algerian Arabic to include the religious expression 'el hamdoulah' translated to 'Thank God'. This purposeful translanguaging act to specific words which carry some cultural or religious connotations is deliberate to highlight a cultural and Islamic identity. The writer of this comment further expressed their acknowledgment and gratitude to God for helping them achieve their dreams by using the symbol '<' and the number '3' which when put together provide the shape of a heart. Such symbols are used to textually express one's feelings on the internet because this latter 'lacks the facial expressions, gestures, and conventions of body posture and distance (the kinesics and proxemics) which are so critical in expressing personal opinions and attitudes and in moderating social relationships' (Crystal, 2001, p. 36). Translanguaging and the textual emoji allowed the writer to express their religious identity. Another translanguaging case in this example is featured in C1. The writer initiated their comment in French then changed to Algerian Arabic. What is interesting is that the French in this comment is written in Arabic script 'وي = oui [yes]'. The same is the case in C4 where the comment was initiated in Algerian Arabic then a change for French alphabets in Arabic script occurred for 'د.ز = DZ [Acronym for Algeria]'. This seems to be a new practice of transliteration that is found in digital communications and online platforms. Spilioti (2020) also reported cases of vernacular transliteration of English in which English words are written in Greek alphabets 'Greek-Alphabet English'. In case of the present example, this use could be associated with stylised speech of Algerians.

Example 7.12 Post 20

1. *هل سبق لك و أن حققت حلم من أحلامك ؟*
   [Have you ever realised one of your dreams?]

2. **C1:** وي الحمد الله تحقق لي حلم و مازال عندي انشالله يزيدوا يتحقولي
   [*Yes* thank God I realised one dream and I still have other that If God wills will realise as well]

3. **C2:** *j'ai réalisé mon rêve d'enfance d'être un pilot <3*
   [I have realised my childhood dream of becoming a pilot <3]

4. **C3***: j'ai pas des rêves , j'ai des objectifs et la réponse c'est oui* el hamdoulah <3
   [I don't have dreams, I have objectives and the answer is yes thank God <3]

5. **C4:** انا في منام مقدرتش نحقق حجا جايحة اك حاب تقول تحقق حلمك في د.ز
   [I have not realised anything even in my dreams and you are telling me about realising my dreams in Algeria]

In example 7.13, the administrator initiated a post in French asking Facebook users whether they have any food recipes that they would like to share. Several comments to this contribution have an initiative style in Algerian Arabic which configures the linguistic situation to enable a projection of a cultural and ethnic identity. This could be explained by the fact that Algerian Arabic is the code associated with Algerians' ethnic culture, an element of which is food. Throughout the use of Algerian Arabic, as opposed to French, these Facebook users expressed such local ethnic identity especially as the shared recipes have an Algerian touch to them and have nothing to do with French cuisine. This is because the writers of comments 1 to 3 wrote about recognized cultural snacks using a humorous tone. The writers of comments 1 and 3 highlighted the fact that bread is eaten with almost every meal in Algeria and even as a snack including eating bread with cheese or with tomatoes. They joked about this in making the straightforward act of eating bread with cheese or tomatoes a difficult recipe that needs explanation. The writer of comment 2, however, touched on another cultural element that relates to French fries. French fries are very common in Algerian culture and they are notorious for being an easy meal to prepare that even people who do not know how to cook are able to prepare them. By mentioning that she 'knows French fires', writer of comment 2 is implying that she cannot cook, therefore, she cannot share food recipes. When the same writer used Algerian Arabic to write her comment, she is further highlighting this cultural connotation that one needs to be familiar with Algerian culture to understand. One could argue that from a translanguaging perspective, this is a case of criticality in which the writer of this comment relied on some cultural information to imply a given message as will be elaborated below. In addition to the fact that these comments are written in the Arabic as opposed to Roman script which further expresses the Arabic identity, the choice for using the Arabic script in comments 1 and 3 could be explained by the writers' attempts to mimic food recipe books. The structure

in which the comments are presented, i.e., presenting ingredients then the preparation method, is an evidence for that. Food recipe books are written in Modern Standard Arabic in Arabic script. Choosing Algerian Arabic to write the recipe instead of Modern Standard Arabic, increases the locality and ethnicity of the content. Similarly, the writer of comment 2 used Arabic script to give such connotations to the content of her comment. What is interesting here is that she wrote the French word 'les frites' to refer to 'French Fries' in Arabic script 'ليفريت', despite having an alternative in Algerian Arabic. The translanguaging act here could also serve as an audience design technique where only readers of Arabic script that understand French and the Algerian culture are addressed. This is a novel practice of using criticality of some culture related practice to design an audience. Previous examples in this section and in works that adopted the audience design model (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014; Seargeant et al., 2012) reported that linguistic and semiotic items are used for designing audiences but no study to the researcher's knowledge had reported that cultural conceptualisations could design an audience. This is only evident because the present study combined the Translanguaging and Audience Design models. This use serves highlighting cultural identity and membership to ingroups and local communities.

Example 7.13 Post 18

1. *Coucou l'équipe, Y a t-il des recettes à partager !*
   [Hi guys, do you have any recipes to share!]

2. **C1:** خبز بالطوماطيش: المقادير : نص خبزة و حبة طماطم و كيلة ملح. طريقة التحضير : قطع الطماطم و ديرها فالخبز بشوية ملح
   [Bread with tomatoes: Ingredients: half loaf of bread and one tomato and pinch of salt. Method of preparation: cut the tomatoes and put it inside the bread with a bit of salt]

3. **C2:** نعرف/ليفريت خخخخخخ
   [I know *French fries* hahahaha]

4. **C3:** خبز بالفرماج .. المقادير : نص خبزة و الفرماج قدما تقدر 2 ولا 3 طريقة التحضير : افتح الخبز و حط الفرماجات و كوووول ملاحظة : الفرماج نحولو الغلاف و شكرا خخخخخ
   [Bread with cheese .. ingredients: half a loaf of bread and cheese triangles as many as you like, 2 pieces or 3. Method of preparation, cut the bread open and put the cheese and eaaat. NB: don't forget to uncover the cheese triangles and thank you hahahaha]

The last example in this subsection is the case of post 30. In this contribution (example 7.14), the administrator shared a videoclip of an iconic Algerian comedian singing what could be considered to be a hilarious song. The administrator wrote the name of the singer and the title of the song in Arabic script and shared a heart emoji '❤' to express admiration towards the song. Yet, the writer of comment 1 did not find it funny despite that other comments' writers did and some shared laughing face emoji to express laughter and enjoyment like in line (5). Some others even called it 'memorable sayings', line (3), where they are basically referring to how most Algerians are familiar with the lyrics. However, the writer of comment 1 distances himself from other

Facebook users who find this comedian funny. He also wrote about other things that he does not like about Algerians. For example, the use of the words 'boyish','Chkopistan' and 'Won't vote'. In fact, these three expressions are innovative translanguaging instances where Algerians used creative and critical elements when designing them. The first ' موسطاشة = moustasha' [boyish] is derived from the French word 'moustache'. Moustache is a symbolic reference to men this is why young Algerians begun using this term to refer to girls who act like men. They add the feminine suffix ' شة = sha' to the root 'moustache' to feminise it. The second word 'Chokopistan' which was introduced in chapter 4 refers to the country of Algeria itself and the fact that despite its richness, Algerian youth are facing unemployment and poverty. The last word is ' مانسوطيش = mansotish' [will not vote] which is derived from the French word 'sauter' meaning 'to jump'. This word is used in its negative form producing 'mansotish'. It is used to refer to political issues and mainly to the presidential vote. Young Algerians opposed the re-election of the previous President Abdelaziz Boutaflika so they organised a campaign in which they expressed their unwillingness to cast their votes using the expression 'mansotish' which literal translation is [wont jump] but its connotative translation is 'wont vote'. This is because they do not want to jump into the chaos of politics and the plotting of some politicians. All of these are cases of critical use of available political, social and cultural information to creatively combine more than one linguistic resource in designing words and expressing meanings. Moving back to the case at discussion, it is interesting to see that the writer of comment 1 chose to write his comment in Modern Standard Arabic. What is more interesting is that he wrote about his disagreement with Algerians in Modern Standard Arabic then he moved to Algerian Arabic to ask people whether he is right in what he said. This act of translanguaging here enabled him first to impersonate an educated identity. Someone who can be fluent in Standard Arabic and may 'know better' than everyone else that he does not use such innovated terms. Then, he changes to his Algerian identity and addresses other Algerians in Algerian Arabic. As if these latter cannot understand him when using other languages. Accordingly, the writer initiated this linguistic style in Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic to explicitly resist some Algerian Arabic innovative terminology. In the next section, cases of explicit resistance to linguistic choices are explored further.

Example 7.14 Post 30

1. عثمان عريوات ـ ديوان الصالحين❤️

   [Othman Ariwet – Diwan Salhin ❤️ (Actor's name – title of the song)]

2. **C1:** لا أدري لماذا لكن هناك أشياء لا تعجبني رغم أنها تعجب الجزائرين لماذا !!! مثلا هذا الممثل لايعجبني كذلك
بعض المصطلحات مثل الموسطاشة و شكوبيستان مانسوطيش ... 😄 عندي مشكل فالذوق ولا عندي الحق ؟؟

   [*I do not know why but there are things that I do not like even though most Algerians
   do Why !!! For example, I do not like this actor also I do not like terms such as 'boyish'
   'Chkopistan' and 'Won't vote'* … 😄 do I have a problem in taste or am I right ??]

3. **C2:** أقوال خالدة

   [Memorable sayings]

4. **C3 :** أحسن كوميدي يعجبني بزاف

   [The best comedian I like him very much]

5. **C4 :** 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂

7.4 Negotiating Audience Design: Metapragmatic Discourse

Because context collapse in Facebook pages brings together users of different
linguistic resources, it is deemed expected that cases of negotiation of linguistic choices
would occur. Androutsopoulos (2014) supposes that metapragmatic activity would be
high in multilingual social networks but his findings revealed that participants tend to
take it for granted that some Facebook contributions are not meant for them and only
few participants explicitly negotiated the linguistic choices. This seems to be the case
with the data for this study as well as it only contains few instances of metapragmatic
negotiation. These instances are presented in this section.

The first case is a comment to a post written in English. What is interesting about
this contribution is that although several comments to this post were written in a
responsive style, as seen in lines (2), (3) and (4) which are also written in English, the
comment in line (5) shows explicit resistance to the use of English. The administrator
in this post asked the Facebook users to write about how they would answer the job

interview question 'tell me about yourself'. The administrator used English text and emoji to create this post. He inserted a smiling face emoji ' 🙂 ' and a winking face emoji ' 😉 ' which has created a playful tone to the post that mitigated the formality usually associated with such contexts of job interviews. The writer of comment 1 enhanced the friendly tone of the post by joking about being a movie star and even becoming Messi if it is necessary for them to receive the job offer. Yet, one comment's content was not about answering the job interview question but was a rejection to the use of English. The rejection was expressed in a serious tone that is achieved through a combination of different linguistic resources, namely the use of English, translanguaging to the formal Modern Standard Arabic and the use of the Arabic script. In line (5), the writer of comment 4 rejected the code choice of the administrator as expressed in her comment and also in her code choices. She wrote her comment in English stating that she would like to write in Arabic then changed to Modern-Standard Arabic to write the reason. What is remarkable is her use of the Arabic script in writing the comment including the English part. This practice is a negotiation of code choice as well as a redefinition of the audience of this comment. While post 49 and its comments that are written in English are intelligible to any English speaker around the world, this comment is only intelligible to people that satisfy two criteria, namely understanding English and being able to read Modern Standard Arabic. It seems that the writer of this comment was implying to the online population who speaks and writes both Arabic and English, and has access to her comment, that when you are able to read Arabic you should write in it instead of English. This is a case of creatively mixing resources that are available in the repertoire of this user to shape an audience. A similar case of shaping an online audience using codes and scripts is reported in a study by Seargeant et al. (2012) of Thai speakers. They found that one participant used the Thai script to write about some information in London. This has enabled her to address not only Thai speakers but those that could also read the Thai script, and which reside and/ or are familiar with London. Contrary to this case, the next example presents a direct request for using English.

Example 7.15 Post 49

1. Tell me about yourself ? 🙂
   its a job interview question 😉

2. **C1:** I'll tell what, if this was a movie and you'r chosing actors i will defenetly be your star
   and if it is a football game then iam messi ;-)

3. **C2:** I had that kind of question in my job interview :p just change je subject and you'll get the job

4. **C3:** I don't think that it would be wise to tell stuf about yourself to Algerians and especialy in facebook.

5. **C4:** انغليش *لغة الكفار* ؟ كان اي رايت ان ارابيك
   [Can I write in Arabic? English is *the language of disbelievers*]

The second case is of a comment to a post written in French. The content of this comment deviates from the topic of the post completely to express metapragmatic intentions. In this post, the administrator used French and emoji to write about how some children have a favourable position in their parents' hearts that prevents them from being punished. He wrote the phrase that other siblings with 'less favourable position' usually say to their parents when they get punished, i.e., 'if they did it, you would not punish them'. He refers to this matter jokingly as the insertion of the laughing face emoji '😂' allowed for expressing humour. The writer of C1, however, touched on another matter which is the code in which this post is written. They expressed positive attitudes towards the use of English on page Pleasure and wished that all posts are written in English. As has been described in previous chapters, English is not usually used in Algerian spoken communication. An example from the literature shows that more than 73% of informants in a study by Chemami (2011) report that they use English 'rarely' of 'very rarely' in spoken communication. However, (Benrabah, 2014) proposed the hypothesis that English could be used more if there are more opportunities for its use. He points out that English would be used more by Algerians if the economy of Algeria becomes more integrated in the world instead of being attached to France and speaking French. This would present more situations for the use of English and hence the mitigation of using French and promoting English.

Example 7.16 Post 17

1. *Si tu as des frères et sœurs , obligé tu as déjà dit cette phrase*
   à tes parents: " Quand c'est lui tu ne dis rien " 😅😅😅
   [If you have brothers or sisters you must had said this phrase to your
   parents: " you would say nothing if it was them" 😅😅😅 *]*

2. **C1:** what if ' Page Pleasure ' is in english ! that will be so fucking awesome

The last case in this section concerns a comment to post 11 that features a video shared on the page. This post consists of different linguistic and non-linguistic items, namely text written in Modern Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic both in Arabic script, heart emoji and a video of a prank show. In this prank show, young Algerians were asked to give bribes to be allocated a job. It is evident from the video that many of them refused to do so. The administrator introduced this video using Modern Standard

186

Arabic and then changed to Algerian Arabic to include an example from the video itself. He used a non-linguistic symbol '❤' that allowed him to express his feelings of pride that the text is not necessarily conveying. One Facebook user who commented on this post referred to the linguistic choices used by Algerians in the video. They explicitly expressed resistance to the use of French and accused those who use it of being ashamed of Arabic, their own language. They maintained that those who use foreign codes think of themselves civilised and educated which is not correct as being ashamed of one's language makes them illiterate no matter how educated they are. This user clearly associates the use of Arabic to cultural and religious identities and an alignment to Arabic and Islamic values that the use of French does not necessarily convey. Negative attitudes of Algerians towards French are widely reported in the literature. For example, in a study by Ahmed-Sid (2008), several participants expressed how using French makes them feel that Algeria is style colonised and that it has a bad influence on one's identity.

Example 7.17 Post 11

1.   *الشباب الجزائري الجامعي يرفض الرشوة للتوظيف* ❤
واحدة قالتلهم ما نمدش رشوة يا لكان نخدم في رئاسة الجمهورية

[Algerian students refuse to give bribes for being recruited ❤
One lady said that she will never give a bribe even if that meant she will work as a president of the republic.]

2.   **C1:** ما فهمتش احنا لغتنا الرسمية العربية وهي لغة القرآن ولغة اهل الجنة يحشمو يحكو بيها ويحكو بالفرنسية لغة الاستعمار حطينها كي يحكو بلغة اجنبية هو المتحظر وقاري بففف مدامك تحشم بلغتك فأنت متخلف مهما كنت متعلم

[I do not understand, our official language is the Arabic which is the language of the Holly Quran and the people of paradise. They feel ashamed to speak it and they speak in French instead which is the language of the colonizer. They think that by speaking a foreign language they sound civil and educated pfffff since you are ashamed of your language, you are illiterate no matter how educated you are]

7.5 Conclusion

Large social media platforms such as Facebook present contexts where the audience for one's contributions is large and enormous. For this reason, as argued by Androutsopoulos (2014), social media users employ linguistic and non-linguistic resources to separate or bring together the various slices of the audience serving their linguistic and thematic needs. This chapter combined ideas from the Audience Design model and insights from the theory of Translanguaging to investigate how linguistic and semiotic resources are used to construct an audience to a given Facebook post and to investigate how a linguistically constructed audience could be challenged and negotiated through Facebook comments as well.

The findings contribute to our understanding of Algerians' digital communicative practices. They show that a mishmash of resources was used to achieve meaning-making goals and project different kinds of identities and index membership to local and global communities. The administrator(s) of page Pleasure used resources strategically by combining text, videos, images and emoji to express the humoristic content of their posts which also served as an audience design technique. In addition, followers relied on their full linguistic repertoires and the available digital semiotic affordances to construct contributions reflecting multiple identities, cultural alignment and signalling memberships while also negotiating and designing audiences. Some followers used Arabizi and transliteration of French and English to adopt digital identities and relied on textual and visual emoji to express emotions and enthusiastic feelings. Others localised French to express cultural identities and rejected ideas and expressed linguistic resistance through their stylistic choices.

One finding from the data suggest that language style is shaped to project locality and negotiate content of posts where script could function as an audience designing technique. Although, Androutsopoulos (2014)'s data did not draw on script use, he clearly states that 'initiation is open' referring to the wide choice of linguistic resources that one could draw from when initiating a linguistic style. An emergent and novel finding encountered in the data is the use of cultural resources to design an audience for one's contributions on Facebook as mentioned above. To conclude, the adoption of the initiative and responsive design along with translanguaging to this dataset was successful in, first, highlighting addressivity of linguistic resources, and second, provide a deep understanding of individuals' linguistic and thematic practices due to the focus on textual and visual resources and social and cultural elements.

CHAPTER 8 – Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This study examined the digital communicative practices of Algerians on Facebook as a contribution to the literature on Algerian linguistic studies. Most previous studies in this field have focused on spoken discourse (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Bagui, 2014; Ben-Yelles, 2011; Benguedda, 2015; Slimane, 2014) and also discourse which is mediated through mobile phones (Mostari, 2009). The fewer works that addressed Algerian digital communications focused on linguistic aspects only (Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016) and on precise aspects of male religious identity projection (Saoudi, 2018). However, they have not examined how the use of linguistic and semiotic elements on digital discourse is linked to identity projections and addressitivity. This study tries to bridge this gap by discussing how resources and tools could be used on Facebook by Algerians to create and project identities and address and negotiate audiences. The aims of the study were to explore Algerians' digital practices on Facebook and to investigate how they use different resources to construct and negotiate online identities and audiences.

The study approached digital communication as a product of a fluid flow of linguistic and semiotic resources found on Facebook. The analysis has acknowledged this heterogeneity of use and approached it as *creative* contributions. Using linguistic and semiotic resources is approached as signaling different sets of social of practices including the enactment of different identities where the study approached identity projection online from a constructionist perspective which states that identities are constructed, fluid and emergent. Although some previous research had similar interests (Albawardi, 2018; Schreiber, 2015; Solmaz, 2018), the study's contribution to the field of digital communication is its attention to the audience element through the adoption of a theoretical framework that combines the framework of Audience Design (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Bell, 1984, 2009) and the Translanguaging theory (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011a, 2017).

Data collection for the study combined an online questionnaire (which was set to investigate participants' perceptions of their communicative practices), posts from

Facebook walls of participants (which were used to investigate use of different resources on Facebook), interviews with the participants (that were used to enrich the analysis of examples selected from their Facebook walls) and posts and comments from a public Facebook page (which were used to investigate the influence of an audience on one's contributions). This chapter presents the findings of the study, its contributions and limitations and some recommendations for further research.

8.2 Main Findings

It is worth repeating at this stage that the study set out to answer the following research questions:

1. What are Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their spoken and digital practices on Facebook?
2. How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct identities within an online translanguaging space?
3. How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct and negotiate an audience online?

The main findings of this study are based on the analysis of data that originated from the questionnaire, examples of posts extracted from participants personal Facebook profiles and examples of posts and comments extracted from a selected public Facebook page as was detailed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. The main findings are:

1. The participants' perceptions of their spoken and digital communications are multilingual, in that, participants use different linguistic resources in constructing their communications.
2. The participants rely on combining linguistic, semiotic, social and cultural elements to create and situate themselves in an online translanguaging space.
3. The audience is a key element that shapes participants' linguistic and semiotic choices to construct contributions on Facebook and it is shaped by them as well.

This section is divided into three subsections in each of which a finding of the study is discussed.

8.2.1 Multilingual Practices

This subsection discusses how the first research question '*What are Algerian Facebook users' perceptions of their digital practices on Facebook?*' was answered.

Participants' perceptions of their spoken and digital communications show that such communications can be characterized as *multilingual*. The Analysis shows that

participants employ multiple codes in their spoken and digital communications including Algerian Arabic, Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English and they switch between them. This finding is in line with previous research that is interested in Algerians' linguistic practices (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Amazouz et al., 2017; Bagui, 2014; Benguedda, 2015; Benrabah, 2007a; Chemami, 2011; Mostari, 2009; Slimane, 2014). Yet, what this study adds to the previous literature on Algerians' communication is the finding related to English. Many participants reported that they are able to speak and write in English and that they use this latter in their spoken and digital communications which was not evident in previous studies. Indeed, English is one of the linguistic resources that Algerian Facebook users depended on in writing their posts and comments as was reported in section 4.6 in chapter 4. The extent to which this code is used vary significantly from one Facebook user to another as it was illustrated in the case of personal Facebook profiles that Sami used English in writing his posts almost double the times that other participants did; and in the case of the Facebook page 'Pleasure' it was found that English is drawn upon as a linguistic resource to a lesser extent. Yet, English was used in the data more than Modern Standard Arabic was. Belmihoub (2018) explains that the increased use of English in Algeria is related to the prestige and status of this latter. He maintains that 'English in Algeria has come to be regarded as synonymous with modernization and the idealized lifestyle portrayed by the Hollywood entertainment industry' (Belmihoub, 2018, p. 12). English according to him is used by Algerians to sound linguistically sophisticated, to convey memberships to the elite and portray intellectual identities. This could be the explanation for why Anis has used English in constructing many posts in his wall. In that, for him to convey an influencer's identity, he relied on English that enabled him expressing an identity of an intellectual and sophisticated speaker. This suggests a need for more research with regard to the use of English in Algeria notably because the use of English was a limitation to studies such as Ahmed-Sid (2008) which disregarded its analysis because only few instances of the data contained English.

The study also found that participants relate their multilingual communications to the multilingual context that they live in. That is to say, participants explain that they produce multilingual discourse because they live in multilingual Algeria. The history of Algeria as demonstrated in chapter 2 explains why many words of Algerian Arabic originate from different codes including Spanish, Turkish and French. As has been demonstrated throughout the examples in this work, Algerians' speech is a product of different resources coming together to articulate given meanings. For this reason such

discourse is viewed by many other Arabs as complex, difficult and even unintelligible (Ryding, 2005; Sayahi, 2014). On an anecdotal evidence, the researcher was told many times by her Arab friends that she was speaking French when she was using Algerian Arabic with them. Even some Algerians share these same views as linguists like Mouhadjer (2002, p. 3) comments that:

> The linguistic situation is so intricate that the Algerians speak two minutes in French, thirty seconds in Arabic then one minute in French and so on. Sometimes the two languages are mixed to such a point that the result is a bizarre unintelligent language.

Fueled by such views, Mostari (2005) maintains that some linguists and policy makers in Algeria sought to impose the use of Modern Standard Arabic at the expense of Algerian Arabic which is deemed corrupted when any proposals for its standardization are rejected (Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016). This study stems from a different point of view. It opposes offers of replacing a code with another or imposing a given code on any people.

The study calls for highlighting such *dynamic*, *heterogeneous* and *hybrid* discourses and study their purposes instead. This view does not mean in any way a discredit or disregard to Modern Standard Arabic, it is however an acknowledgment of the Algerian history and identity. Many Algerians and linguists who share pejorative views towards Algerian speech that is mixed with French blame the French colonialism for it and aspire for an Algeria that speaks Arabic only. Sahraoui (2009, p. 16) maintains that:

> فالاقتصـار على استعمـال اللغة العربية هو وحده الذي يمثل تناغما وانسجاما مع بقية العناصر المكونة للهوية الجماعية، كما أن استعمالها استعمالا كاملا وشاملا لا يمكن إلا أن يعزز من الانتماء إلى الهوية الجماعية عند المتحدثين بها.
> [The exclusive use of Modern Standard Arabic is the only thing that presents harmony with other elements of a unified identity. In addition, the total and holistic use of Modern Standard Arabic would not but reinforces belonging to the unified identity for people who use it.]

It is however difficult to ignore the history of the country and the historical development of codes used in Algeria especially that French could have survived due to the prestigious status associated to its use. It is not an easy process of simply removing all French items form Algerian Arabic. Languages are fluid and changing and examples from the data of this study show that. Despite the dread and the horrors of colonialism and the war, this latter is part of the Algerian history that cannot be erased and a consequence of which is the French Language. The study adopts the idea that creative

use of French items along Arabic ones and even with other resources which translates individuals' cultures, history, experiences and identities 'is an important and integral part of language evolution' (Li, 2017, p. 14).

In understanding Algerians' communicative practices as such and more precisely under the lenses of the translanguaging theory, the creative acts of the users and the fluidity and complexity of constructing contributions while reflecting cultural identity is acknowledged. Translanguaging is a complex process that includes combining different linguistic, semiotic and cultural resources at one moment as seen in different examples in chapters 6 and 7. Instances such as the creative use of items like *chkopistan*, *moustasha* and *mansotish* are indications of individuals' competences in linking between linguistic, social and cultural elements. In addition, descriptive data, that is presented in tables 4.4 to 4.12 in chapter 4 which summarize the array of resources that Algerian users of Facebook relied on in constructing contributions on Facebook, is best understood as the array of tools that users utilized to construct the context, situation and space that they situated themselves in and within which they were communicating. This is because as argued by García and Li (2014) people create their cultures and experiences through how they utilize different resources or tools. This idea is detailed further below.

The finding that many linguistic resources are drawn upon by users of Facebook challenges the monolingual norm or the strive for the sole use of Modern Standard Arabic in Algeria and in social media alike. It is worth explaining at this point that the translanguaging concept was also set to challenge the monolingual norm exercised in education. Although this study is not interested in the educational context but it shares the same frustration to the monolingual ideology. Li and Lin (2019) explain that even though bilingual learners switch between codes in every aspect of their lives including the classroom; switching between codes in education is unacceptable and in many cases it is deemed an inappropriate practice that learners should not engage in. Li (2011b) reports that children of immigrant parents are seen to have problems with their languages when they mix between codes in the classroom and they are even judged as incapable of clear thinking because of that. Translanguaging through studies such as the ones conducted and illustrated by García (2009) and García and Li (2014) have shown to have very positive pedagogical effects and can help direct the attention of teachers and learners to the different resources that multilingual learners have which can assist in their meaning making and knowledge construction processes (García & Lin, 2017).

In such, mixing between codes becomes a resource for building knowledge as opposed to being a problem. Similarly, and even on the internet where communication is typed, the prediction was that multilingual discourse would be disfavoured because of the writing function of the medium and that users would produce monolingual discourse (Paolillo, 2011). Findings from this study and others on online communication including Barasa (2016); Dąbrowska (2013); Halim and Maros (2014); Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) and Zitouni and Saaid (2019) found that contrary to such predictions, communication online and most precisely on Facebook is multilingual and even multimodal (Solmaz, 2018). As for the Algerian context, findings from this study challenge the monolingual ideologies in Algeria and highlight the importance of acknowledging that what Algerians are doing with the linguistic resources at their disposal is everyday communicative practices.

8.2.2 Online Translanguaging Spaces

This subsection discusses how the second research question '*How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct identities within an online translanguaging space?*' was answered.

It should be clarified at the beginning of this subsection that while this study adopts the *translanguaging* concept; it does not disregard other work that has been done with relation to language contact under the concept of *codeswitching* nor does its adoption goes at the expense of the concept of *codeswitching*. The present work does not share the claims of other research on Translanguaging that Auer (2019, p. 2) refers to in the following quote:

> It is further claimed that the research on codeswitching or language mixing, which has been accumulated in (socio-)linguistics and bilingualism research over the last decades, can and must be discarded as irrelevant and misleading as it is based on a fundamentally mistaken idea of separate 'languages' ("additive approach").

The present study acknowledges that codeswitching as a concept is valuable and has been useful in analyzing and discussing spoken as well as digital communications as was seen in chapter 3. Studies such as those conducted by Barasa (2016) and Dąbrowska (2013) have adapted models of analysis of codeswitching to the computer mediated context by proposing new categories of functions including 'language economy' and 'least effort'. This is great evidence that codeswitching as a model of analysis can be expanded to other genres of discourse and can account for various cases of language contact.

Nonetheless, the intricacy of the Algerian discourse and the nature of the medium of interaction called for the adoption of a framework that is more *flexible* with regard to: (1) labels assigned to codes; and (2) modes of expression. As has been explained, while dealing with Algerian communicative data it is sometimes problematic to assign a code for given linguistic items which is why this framework was helpful in approaching them as creative uses rather than wrong doings. Moreover, translanguaging enabled access to other modalities that do pose a limitation to a codeswitching model. In addition, relying exclusively on pragmatic tools used in models of codeswitching to analyze digital communications is deemed not sufficient (Albawardi, 2018) because mainly these latter are judged to be 'decontextualized' (Jones, 2004). In other words, they will not allow for a link between linguistic and semiotic use and broader social relationships and cultural context. In this sense, adopting a translanguaging theory enables going beyond codeswitching to enriching the literature on bilingual and multilingual matters by gaining insights from different combinations of linguistic resources and semiotics and social spaces.

Having said that, in adopting translanguaging to the present study it was found that participants used different semiotic and linguistic resources to enact identities in a designed online Translanguaging Facebook space. García (2009) maintains that through translanguaging, bilinguals are able to make sense of the bilingual (or multilingual) space that they occupy. Li (2011a) explains that multilingual practices and translanguaging have a power of creating a space for the multilingual users where their varied linguistic resources co-exist to present their identities, values and social practices. Furthermore, it is a space that enables the creation of new identities, values and social practices for its users. Such space exists in the mind of the individual who created it and it represents an ongoing process.

This study's contribution to this argument is its understanding of Facebook as a *space* which represents and reflects the identities of its users, and which exists online. It is also a space which further enables users to create new identities and experiences online. For example, it was found that Dina's contributions on her Facebook wall are situated in a space dedicated for gatekeeping purposes that allowed her to enact Islamic and global identities and create informative experiences to her community of Facebook friends. Similarly, Anis' space on Facebook was found to be an influential one throughout which Anis projected some Arabic, global and intellectual identities and was able of communicating positivism and good advice to his audience. This idea is in line with the argument presented by other studies that also applied the concept of

195

translanguaging to the online context. Oliver and Nguyen (2017) found that Facebook is considered a virtual *educational space* in which participants in their study developed their competence in using Standard Australian English. Han (2019) found that Facebook was used by participants as a *transnational space* in which Chinese visiting scholars had cross-boarder interactions. However, the novelty in the present study's findings is the fact that Facebook could serve a different space from that which attains educational purposes (Oliver & Nguyen, 2017) and that which is of transnational orientations (Han, 2019); it is a *translanguaging space of expression*. Within such space multilingual participants were found to achieve certain social goals including enacting identities and sharing offline experiences. This was possible though digital practices of using linguistic resources and other semiotic ones that are afforded by the Facebook website.

Indeed, findings of this study as discussed in <u>chapters 4</u> and <u>6</u> have shown that through translanguaging acts, participants have drawn upon an array of linguistic and semiotic resources. It was found that participants used Algerian Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French and English with emoji, images and videos to construct posts. They even combined these resources in singular translanguaging acts. This finding is consistent with previous research that also found that users of social networking sites tend to make use of multiple resources online. Aleksander, For example, who is the case study of Schreiber (2015) was found to use Serbian, English with videos when constructing Facebook posts. Also, participant Yeong in a study by Solmaz (2018) was found to use Korean and English with photos on Facebook posts.

Participants in this study were also found to use such linguistic and semiotic resources combined with other cultural and social ones creatively and critically. Li (2011a) explains that a translanguaging space embraces both creativity and criticality which are about following or flouting the norms of linguistic behaviour and the use of available information in a systematic way to express views. Multilingual Chinese youth in Li (2011a)'s study were reported to make use of their linguistic resources, namely Chinese and English creatively and critically by flouting some linguistic and cultural conventions to situate themselves in transnational spaces. Similarly, Chinese visiting scholar were reported to engage in similar creative and critical linguistic practices on social networking sites (Han, 2019). Han (2019)'s findings show that participants used a creative wordplay of English and Chinese to connect between and situate themselves in some transnational spaces on WeChat. Findings of the present study are extensions to such research giving evidence from the Algerian linguistic context. It was found, for example, that Sami engaged in creative and critical wordplay in using Algerian Arabic

and Modern Standard Arabic to construct a given space on Facebook, see example 6.13 and 6.15. Also, Souma used Algerian Arabic and French creatively and critically to manipulate the tone of a Facebook post rendering it less rigid, example 6.6.

Indeed, translanguaging is not limited to drawing between one's multiple resources creatively and critically but it is a performative act as well (Canagarajah, 2011b). In that, translanguaging in this study was found to be a digital practice serving the function of constructing and projecting multiple identities. Relying on a practice-based approach has allowed the researcher to approach translanguaging and/ or creative and critical acts as some digital practices serving social actions (Jones et al., 2015). For example, it was found that the creative use of Algerian Arabic, French, emoji and images by Souma served projecting a student identity in example 6.6 and an Algerian identity in example 6.10. Similarly, sharing informative and comedic videos or photos was found to serve enacting a gatekeeping identity of informative, religious, and comedic content by Dina. This same practice was reported also by Alexander in a study by Schreiber (2015). Alexander projected a gatekeeping identity to the hip-hop community through sharing links and videos of hip-hop songs on his Facebook wall. Approaching linguistic and semiotic resources as tools serving particular actions as such is in line with previous research including a study by Albawardi (2018) who found that Saudi women in her study used multiple linguistic and semiotic resources as tools to perform certain actions and create some cultural identities including being Saudi, students, and women.

To sum up, translanguaging served being a strategy for this study's participants to create and occupy different online spaces within which the enactment of the aforementioned identities is possible. These spaces are not static but rather dynamic and their evolution is ongoing. Identities within these spaces are also dynamic, fluid and multiple. The audience to these spaces has an influence on such identities and its impacts are also seen on the resulting combination of resources used to create these spaces as will be elaborated in the next section.

8.2.3 Audiences

This subsection discusses how the third research question '*How do Algerian Facebook users use different linguistic and semiotic resources to construct and negotiate an audience online?*' was answered.

Findings of the interview conducted with participants as presented in chapter 6 show that the audience is a key element that participants always considered when translanguaging on Facebook. For this reason, the study was extended to gain insights on how the audience can shape contributions online. To enable the theory of

Translanguaging to accommodate for the audience element, an established framework in sociolinguistics, the Audience Design was combined with it. The resulting theoretical framework as was discussed in chapter 7 entails that the analysis of posts on Facebook and comments is interested in how resources are used in posts to shape the audience and how the resources are used in comments to negotiate the constructed audience. Audience Design has been previously applied to Facebook data by Androutsopoulos (2014) to study the construction and negotiation of an audience in Facebook profiles of individuals that have regular transnational mobility.

This study's contribution to the research on multilingualism in digital communication is the combination of the framework of Audience Design and the theory of translanguaging which was not done in other studies before. Translanguaging adds flexibility to the Audience Design framework in addition to access to the use of different linguistic, semiotic, cultural and social resources besides the notion of social spaces. On the other hand, the Audience Design adds the audience element to the translanguaging theory. There exists one limitation however to the use of the combination of these two frameworks together in this study that would be discussed in the next section. Another contribution to the work conducted on Audience Design on digital communication is that the present study collected and analyzed data from a public Facebook page which is judged to be a more heterogeneous context (compared to Facebook profiles Which were studied by Androutsopoulos (2014)) where the problem of addressitivity and designing an audience is more persistence. In addition, the context of data collection in the present study is different from that in other studies. It is not a transnational context as in the work of Androutsopoulos (2014) nor it is a translocal one as in the study by Seargeant and Tagg (2014), but it is a multilingual context.

Findings of this study as discussed in chapter 4 and 7 have shown that Facebook users mix resources freely drawing upon their full linguistic repertoire and other semiotic ones which is enabled by the affordances of Facebook. These resources are purposefully brought together to either maximise or minimise one's audience in the creation of posts by administrators. It was illustrated in chapter 7 that reproduction of the same content and the use of global Modern Standard Arabic and emoji were strategies that the administrators of page 'Pleasure' drew upon in an effort to maximise the scope of the audience to their Facebook contributions, see examples, 7.1 to 7.6. In addition, such strategies and combinations of resources have allowed the administrators to signal affiliation and membership of global and local communities. This finding is an

extension to previous research providing examples from the Algerian context. Androutsopoulos (2014) also found that participants rely on global linguistic resources like English and other semiotic ones like emoji to maximize the audience of their contributions on Facebook.

Findings of the study with regard to the audience responses to the designed audience show that followers are often responsive in their styles but there are instances where they are initiative. It has been demonstrated through different examples that followers have used resources including the use of the same or at times different linguistic resource that the administrator opted for to signal their responsive styles. This meant the use of the same code or combination of codes and script to produce responsive comments or changing them to produce initiative ones. Throughout this process, they have adopted multiple identities that include local, global, digital and comic ones. The study found that the script of writing besides code choice could function as a strategy for initiating a different style and negotiating the designed audience and furthermore a resource for reshaping the audience. This finding is in line with previous research as Seargeant et al. (2012) also found that the script of writing was used by their participant Dream to design an audience to her post on Facebook.

One novel finding that emerged from the analysis of the resources that participants drew on to address an audience is the use of cultural besides linguistic resources to design an audience. It was explained before in example 7.13 that writer of comment 2 relied on Arabic script to write a French word (French fries) and the cultural connotations associated with it to express the message. She designed an audience who is familiar with Arabic script, the French word and the cultural connotation. It is only through a combination of the theory of Translanguaging and the Audience Design framework which allowed accessing the cultural aspect of this message that such interpretation was possible.

Also, the study documented the creative and critical use of some items like *chkopistan*, *moustasha* and *mansotish,* as reported in [section 7.3](#), in which users are drawing on linguistic, social and cultural resources. Slimane (2014) maintains that Algerian youth engage in a process of creating innovative expressions that are based on items of French origins, but which are assimilated to Algerian culture. She explains that Algerians' use of French words is because of the prestigious status and the practicality of the French language. The present study presents a different perspective and argues

that such linguistic and cultural elements are in fact resources for the users. Furthermore, combining them to produce meanings as the spur of the moment necessitates in terms of translanguaging acts is a creative and critical practice instead of being careful and conscious choices for one prestigious code as opposed to others.

In addition, findings of the present study suggest that there are other strategies that followers depended on in negotiating the audience including the explicit statement of their linguistic perspectives or producing metapragmatic discourse. Some participants have shown explicit attitudes with regard to the use of French and English on Facebook. Two followers had negative attitudes towards the use of French, and towards the use of English respectively, while one follower had positive attitudes towards the use of English. Negative attitudes towards the use of French have been already documented in the literature and mostly from males' perspective (Ahmed-Sid, 2008; Ben-Yelles, 2011). Such attitudes that relate the use of Arabic to Algerians' religious and cultural identities are what were referred to above when discussing the calls for purifying Algerians' speech. Although this was not an interest in the current study but an observation with relation to the use of French by the male participants in this study shows that these latter used French considerably less than their female counterparts. This study could open doors to gender related research as will be elaborated below. As for the use of English, more research is needed for this matter to account for the tendencies towards its use. Yet, previous research have shown positive attitudes towards it (Chemami, 2011).

To sum up. This study found that users of Facebook are aware of their audience which is in line with previous research that examined audiences online (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Birnie-Smith, 2016; Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). The fact that users of Facebook are not only aware but also careful in their linguistic choices when addressing their audience is also in line with previous research on this matter (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). What this study adds is the finding that when multilinguals *translanguage* on Facebook, they are also aware of their audience, and they utilize different linguistic (Algerian Arabic, French and Arabic script), semiotic (the use of emoji) and cultural (local connotations) resources to manipulate their audience as has been explained above.

8.3 Contributions

The findings of the study are the result of a mixed method approach in data collection and analysis. The study relied on an online questionnaire, posts and comments

from Facebook profiles and a Facebook page in addition to conducting semi-structed interviews with participants. The use of these tools in the study allowed for understanding the phenomenon of investigation from different perspectives. From the perspective of lay Algerian Facebook users who completed the questionnaire, to an objective perspective of quantifying the actual linguistic and semiotic practices on Algerian Facebook profiles and a public page, to a more-or-less subjective perspective of the researcher's qualitative analysis of a representative sample of examples, and finally, to an authentic perspective obtained from the actors themselves, i.e., the participants who posted the data. The analysis in the study has moved from a broad snapshot overview of the collected data and the resources used in it to the perceptions of participants to a more of an in-depth qualitative analysis of use of such resources.

The data in this study is considered to be rich and authentic. This type of data is considered sometimes difficult to attain of as users are not always keen to share their personal photos and comments with others. In addition, data collected though the interviews is considered very valuable as it helped direct the focus of the study to include data from the audience. For this reason, the study has followed a *holistic* and *flexible* model of analysis. The model is holistic because through the different data collection tools and the phases of the analysis, the model was able of providing deeper understanding of linguistic social practices on Facebook departing from micro-analyses of examples of digital communicative use. It is flexible because it allowed analyzing all different types of resources that Facebook users opted for.

The present study is a contribution to the literature on Algerian linguistics and to the debate on Algerians' discourse. It concludes that when communicating, Algerian participants are engaged in translanguaging processes that enable them to make use of their entire linguistic, social and cultural repertoires. Through a translanguaging perspective, the study promotes the idea that mixing resources in communication is a creative act that attains given communicative needs. Its findings are in line with previous research that found that Algerian participants mix codes when communicating on Facebook (Kerras & Baya Essayahi, 2016; Zitouni & Saaid, 2019). What this study contributes to this research is the sociolinguistic investigation of Facebook multilingual contributions which were not covered by these studies or others in the literature.

Although the translanguaging concept has been widely studied in the field of education, its application to other fields is still under-researched (Canals, 2021). The present study is an extension to the few studies which has adopted it to the field of digital communication (Han, 2019; Ng & Lee, 2019; Oliver & Nguyen, 2017; Schreiber, 2015).

What this study adds to such research is the emergent finding that besides functioning as an educational, transnational and translocal space as reported in previous works (Han, 2019; Ng & Lee, 2019; Oliver & Nguyen, 2017), Facebook could be an online space of expression for its multilingual users to attain social goals and enact identities.

The study's main contribution to the theory in the field of multilingualism and digital communication is the attention to the audience element when adopting a translanguaging theory. Hence, analyzing Facebook data from a combined analytical perspective of Translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011b, 2017) and Audience Design (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Bell, 1984, 2001, 2009). The two theories complemented and served each other. In that, the audience could only be accounted for through the use of Audience Design and notions of resources, creative and critical and spaces could only be considered through Translanguaging. Analyzing data from this analytical perspective enabled the researcher to approach data differently which led to the novel finding related to the construction of audiences. It was found that besides the linguistic and semiotic resources as documented in other studies (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014), social and cultural resources could function as tools for designing and addressing audiences which has not been reported in previous research before.

8.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The study has limitations with regard to data collection tools and ethics for collecting data. As has been explained in chapter 4, the tools for collecting data form the Facebook page were unable of collecting graphical elements, the reason for which, the use of images and other memes and GIFs as graphical semiotic resources on Facebook was not examined. In addition, due to ethical challenges, it was not possible to collect comments from the friends of the four participants in the data. The researcher only gained ethical consent from the four participants and not from every Facebook friend that wrote a comment on these latter's Facebook profile. Because it was judged to be very challenging to gain consent from all Facebook friends, data from the Facebook public page was selected for analysis using the Audience Design framework instead. This has prevented the researcher from exploring how Facebook friends of the four participants have responded to and negotiated the online translanguaging spaces created by these latter. In addition, although the data contains instances of use of Tamazight, these were not qualitatively analyzed because the researcher is not a speaker of this code.

Based on the mentioned contributions and limitations, the following are some suggestions for future research. Other studies can collect data from Facebook users and their friends as well to investigate how the audience responds to the online translanguaging spaces of users. They can also collect other types of data that includes other affordances such as memes and Gifs to investigate their use. Moreover, it has been explained above that there is a clear tendency for Algerian males to avoid the use of French which need more research so as how gender could affect the resources used on Facebook. In addition, the use of English and Tamazight could be examined online to investigate issue related to local and global identities and ethnic communities. The study recommends the investigation of Algerians' linguistic use that serves cultural connotations. Finally, the same combination of theories could be applied to other contexts.

This study is a contribution to the field of digital media studies. It argues that Algerians' digital practices on Facebook are not wrong or even random. It has been demonstrated through the selected examples that Algerians' linguistic and semiotic choices have enabled them projecting their social and cultural identities. In addition, these choices were resources for manipulating their audiences. The study has found that even one's social and cultural resources could serve as audience construction tools. Finally, the study highlights existing links between digital practices and broader issues related to social and cultural identities, indexing membership to communities and addressitivity.

REFERENCES

Abdelhamid, F. (2018). *Investigating Algerians' Codeswitching on Facebook Pages.* Paper presented at the Language at the University of Essex (LangUE) conference, Essex, UK.

Ahmed-Sid, H. (2008). *Code-Variation among Algerian University Students: A Case Study.* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). Mentouri University, Constantine.

Al-Shaer, I. M. (2016). Does Arabizi Constitute a Threat to Arabic? *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ), 7*(3), 18-30.

Albawardi, A. (2018). The translingual digital practices of Saudi females on WhatsApp. *Discourse, context & media, 25*, 68-77.

Alimi, M. M., & Matiki, A. J. (2017). Translanguaging in Nigerian and Malawian online newspaper readers' comments. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 14*(2), 202-218.

Allehaiby, W. H. (2013). Arabizi: An Analysis of the Romanization of the Arabic Script from a Sociolinguistic Perspective. *Arab World English Journal, 4*(3), 52-62.

Amazouz, D., Adda-Decker, M., & Lamel, L. (2017). *Addressing code-switching in French/Algerian Arabic speech.* Paper presented at the Interspeech 2017 Conference, Stockholm, Sweden.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2006). Introduction: Sociolinguistics and computer-mediated communication. *Journal of sociolinguistics, 10*(4), 419-438.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2008). Potentials and limitations of discourse-centred online ethnography. *Language@ internet, 5*(8).

Androutsopoulos, J. (2011). From variation to heteroglossia in the study of computer-mediated discourse. In C. Thurlow & K. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 277-298). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2013). Code-switching in computer-mediated communication. In S. Herring, D. Stein, & T. Virtanen (Eds.), *Pragmatics of computer-mediated communication* (Vol. 9, pp. 667-694). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2014). Languaging when contexts collapse: Audience design in social networking. *Discourse, Context & Media, 4-5*, 62-73.

Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 19*(2), 185-205.

Androutsopoulos, J., & Juffermans, K. (2014). Digital language practices in superdiversity: Introduction. *Discourse, Context & Media, 4-5*, 1-6.

Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages : cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 115-135). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, P. (2019). Translanguaging" or "doing languages"? Multilingual practices and the notion of "codes.". *Multilingualism and Its Consequences, Bristol: Multilingual Matters*.

Back, M. D., Stopfer, J. M., Vazire, S., Gaddis, S., Schmukle, S. C., Egloff, B., & Gosling, S. D. (2010). Facebook profiles reflect actual personality, not self-idealization. *Psychological science, 21*(3), 372-374.

Baek, K., Holton, A., Harp, D., & Yaschur, C. (2011). The links that bind: Uncovering novel motivations for linking on Facebook. *Computers in human behavior, 27*(6), 2243-2248.

Bagui, H. (2014). Aspects of diglossic code switching situations: A Sociolinguistic Interpretation. *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences, 2*(4), 86-92.

Barasa, S. (2016). Spoken Code-Switching in Written Form? Manifestation of Code-Switching in Computer Mediated Communication. *Journal of Language Contact, 9*(1), 49-70.

Barton, D. (2001). Directions for literacy research: Analysing language and social practices in a textually mediated world. *Language and education, 15*(2-3), 92-104.

Barton, D., & Lee, C. (2011). Constructing glocal identities through multilingual writing practices on Flickr. com®. *International Multilingual Research Journal, 5*(1), 39-59.

Barton, D., & Lee, C. (2013). *Language online: Investigating digital texts and practices*: routledge.

Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in society, 13*(2), 145-204.

Bell, A. (2001). Back in style: Reworking audience design. In P. Eckert & J. R. Rickford (Eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation* (pp. 139-169). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, A. (2009). Language style as audience design. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The new sociolinguistics reader* (pp. 265-275). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Belmihoub, K. (2018). English in a multilingual Algeria. *World Englishes, 37*(2), 207-227.

Ben-Quabailia, M. (2011). مسيرة اللغة العربية في الجزائر [The Journey of the Arabic Language in Algeria]. حوليات التراث, 11, 67-78.

Ben-Yelles, F. (2011). *French and Algerian Arabic in a Bilingual Situation Case Study of Tlemcen Speech Community.* (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Aboubekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen.

Benahcene, M. (2016). Attitudes Towards Code-Switching: a case study of Kabyle speakers living in Oran. *Tradtec, 15*, 305-315.

Benguedda, A. (2015). Consequences of language contact: Case of social factors that affect code switching. *Bulletin VALS-ASLA, 3*, 13-29.

Benrabah, M. (2004). Language and politics in Algeria. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 10*(1), 59-78.

Benrabah, M. (2005). The language planning situation in Algeria. *Current issues in language planning, 6*(4), 379-502.

Benrabah, M. (2007a). Language-in-education planning in Algeria: Historical development and current issues. *Language policy, 6*(2), 225-252.

Benrabah, M. (2007b). Language maintenance and spread: French in Algeria. *International Journal of Francophone Studies, 10*(1-2), 193-215.

Benrabah, M. (2013). *Language conflict in Algeria: From colonialism to post-independence* (Vol. 154): Multilingual matters.

Benrabah, M. (2014). Competition between four "world" languages in Algeria. *Journal of World Languages, 1*(1), 38-59.

Bensafi, Z. (2002). *Bilingualism in Algeria and the making of the nation.* Paper presented at the Actas/Proceeding II Simposio International Bilingüiso Conference.

Benwell, B., & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and identity*: Edinburgh University Press.

Birnie-Smith, J. R. (2016). Ethnic identity and language choice across online forums. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 13*(2), 165-183.

Blom, & Gumperz, J. (1972). Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway. *Direction in Sociolinguistic: The Ethnography of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston*.

Blommaert, J. (2013). Writing as a sociolinguistic object. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 17*(4), 440-459.

Bolander, B., & Locher, M. A. (2015). "Peter is a dumb nut": Status updates and reactions to them as 'acts of positioning'in Facebook. *Pragmatics, 25*(1), 99-122.

Boukreris, L., & bouchegra, A. (2016). The Language of Advertising: The Case of Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in the Algerian Advertising Scenery. *Tradtec, 15*, 40-50.

Boumarafi, B. (2015). Social Media Use in Algerian Universities: University of Constantine 2 Case Study. *IAFOR Journal of Education*, 31-41.

Boutelis, M. (2014). تطور التعليم في الجزائر من 1830 الى 2011 *[The Development of Education in Algeria from 1830 to 2011]*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis). Oran University, Oran.

Bouvier, G. (2012). How Facebook users select identity categories for self-presentation. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 7*(1), 37-57.

Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of computer-mediated Communication, 13*(1), 210-230.

Boztepe, E. (2003). Issues in code-switching: competing theories and models. *Studies in Applied Linguistics and TESOL, 3*(2).

BPS. (2017). Ethics Guidelines for Internet-mediated Research *INF206/04.2017*. Retrieved from www.bps.org.uk/publications/policy-and-guidelines/research-guidelines-policy-documents/researchguidelines-poli

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse studies, 7*(4-5), 585-614.

Cameron, D. (2005). *Verbal hygiene*: Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. (2011a). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal, 95*(3), 401-417.

Canagarajah, S. (2011b). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied linguistics review, 2*, 1-28.

Canals, L. (2021). Multimodality and translanguaging in negotiation of meaning. *Foreign Language Annals*.

Chami, A. (2009). A Historical background of the linguistic situation in Algeria. مجلة المواقف للبحوث والدراسات في المجتمع والتاريخ, 4, 387-395.

Chau, D., & Lee, C. (2017). Discursive construction of identities in a social network-educational space: Insights from an undergraduate Facebook group for a linguistics course. *Discourse, context & media, 18*, 31-39.

Chemami, M. A. (2011). Discussing plurilingualism in Algeria: The status of French and English languages through the educational policy. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences, 4*(18), 227-234.

Collins, K. M., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Sutton, I. L. (2006). A model incorporating the rationale and purpose for conducting mixed methods research in special education and beyond. *Learning disabilities: a contemporary journal, 4*(1), 67-100.

Coupland, N. (2001). Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in society, 30*(3), 345-375.

Coupland, N. (2012). Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives. In J. Adam, C. Nikolas, & G. Dariusz (Eds.), *Stylised deception* (pp. 249-274): De Gruyter Mouton.

Crystal, D. (2001). *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dąbrowska, M. (2013). Functions of code-switching in Polish and Hindi Facebook users' posts. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis*(130), 63-84.

Danet, B., & Herring, S. C. (2007). *The multilingual Internet: Language, culture, and communication online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Darwish, K. (2013). Arabizi detection and conversion to Arabic. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1306.6755*.

Derradji, Y., Queffélec, A., & Smaali-Dekdouk, C. B. Y. (2002). *Le français en Algérie: lexique et dynamique des langues*: De Boeck Supérieur.

Dorleijn, M., & Nortier, J. (2009). Code-switching and the internet. In B. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching* (pp. 127-141).

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eldin, A. A. T. S. (2014). Socio linguistic study of code switching of the Arabic language speakers on social networking. *International journal of English linguistics, 4*(6), 78-86.

Ellison, N., Heino, R., & Gibbs, J. (2006). Managing impressions online: Self-presentation processes in the online dating environment. *Journal of computer-mediated communication, 11*(2), 415-441.

Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *word, 15*(2), 325-340.

Frankel, M. S., & Siang, S. (1999). Ethical and legal aspects of human subjects research on the Internet. In: Washington DC.

Friedrich, P., & de Figueiredo, E. H. D. (2016). *The sociolinguistics of digital Englishes*: Routledge.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*: John Wiley & Sons.

García, O. (2011). Educating New York's bilingual children: Constructing a future from the past. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14*(2), 133-153.

García, O., & Li, W. (2014). *Translanguaging : language, bilingualism and education*. Hampshire, [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.

García, O., & Lin, A. M. (2017). Translanguaging in bilingual education. *Bilingual and multilingual education*, 117-130.

Georgalou, M. (2017). *Discourse and identity on Facebook*: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday

Gosling, S. D., Vazire, S., Srivastava, S., & John, O. P. (2004). Should we trust web-based studies? A comparative analysis of six preconceptions about internet questionnaires. *American psychologist, 59*(2), 93-104.

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis, 11*(3), 255-274.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*: Cambridge University Press.

Gündüz, U. (2017). The effect of social media on identity construction. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 8*(5), 85-85.

Habash, N., Diab, M. T., & Rambow, O. (2012). *Conventional Orthography for Dialectal Arabic.* Paper presented at the LREC Conference.

Halim, N. S., & Maros, M. (2014). The functions of code-switching in facebook interactions. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 118*, 126-133.

Han, Y. (2019). Translanguaging as transnational spaces: Chinese visiting scholars' language practices on WeChat. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 17*(2), 174-195.

Herring, S. C. (1999). Interactional coherence in CMC. *Journal of computer-mediated communication, 4*(4).

Herring, S. C. (2007). A faceted classification scheme for computer-mediated discourse. *Language@ internet, 4*(1).

Herring, S. C. (2010). Computer-mediated conversation Part I: Introduction and overview. *Language@ internet, 7*(2).

Herring, S. C. (2013). Discourse in Web 2.0: Familiar, reconfigured, and emergent. *Discourse, 2*(0), 1-26.

Hewson, C. (2015). 14 Research methods on the Internet. In L. Cantoni & J. A. Danowski (Eds.), *Communication and Technology* (pp. 277-302): Walter de Gruyter.

Hewson, C., Vogel, C., & Laurent, D. (2016). *Internet Research Methods* (Second Edition ed.): SAGE.

Hinrichs, L. (2006). *Codeswitching on the web: English and Jamaican Creole in e-mail communication* (Vol. 147): John Benjamins Publishing.

Jaspers, J., & Madsen, L. M. (2016). Sociolinguistics in a languagised world: Introduction. *Applied Linguistics Review, 7*(3), 235-258.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of mixed methods research, 1*(2), 112-133.

Jones, R. H. (2004). The problem of context in computer-mediated communication. In P. LeVine & R. Scollon (Eds.), *Discourse and technology: Multimodal discourse analysis* (pp. 20-33). Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Jones, R. H., Chik, A., & Hafner, C. A. (2015). *Discourse and digital practices: Doing discourse analysis in the digital age*: Routledge.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2003). Languaging among fifth graders: Code-switching in conversation 501 of the Køge Project. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 24*(1-2), 126-148.

Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism, 5*(3), 161-176.

Kerras, N., & Baya Essayahi, M. (2016). A Sociolinguistic Study of the Algerian Language. *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ), 3*, 141-154.

Khalifi, S. (n.d.). بين الفصحى والعامية في الجزائر *[Between the Standard language and the non-standard variety in Algeria]*

Kissi, K. (2016). A Glance at the Position of Colloquial Forms in Education along Sociolinguistic Realities in Algeria. في الترجمة, 3, 163-170.

Kress, G. (2009). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*: Routledge.

Lee, C. (2014). Language choice and self-presentation in social media: the case of university students in Hong Kong. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 91-111): Springer.

Lee, C. (2016a). Multilingual resources and practices in digital communication. In A. Georgakopoulou & T. Spilioti (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language and digital communication* (pp. 118-132): Routledge.

Lee, C. (2016b). *Multilingualism online*: Taylor & Francis.

Li, W. (2011a). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of pragmatics, 43*(5), 1222-1235.

Li, W. (2011b). Multilinguality, multimodality, and multicompetence: Code-and modeswitching by minority ethnic children in complementary schools. *The Modern Language Journal, 95*(3), 370-384.

Li, W. (2017). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied linguistics, 39*(1), 9-30.

Li, W., & Lin, A. M. (2019). Translanguaging classroom discourse: pushing limits, breaking boundaries. *Classroom Discourse, 10*(3-4), 209-215.

Lillis, T., & McKinney, C. (2013). The sociolinguistics of writing in a global context: Objects, lenses, consequences. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 17*(4), 415-439.

Litt, E. (2012). Knock, knock. Who's there? The imagined audience. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media, 56*(3), 330-345.

Markus, M. L. (1994). Finding a happy medium: Explaining the negative effects of electronic communication on social life at work. *ACM Transactions on Information Systems (TOIS), 12*(2), 119-149.

Markus, M. L., & Robey, D. (1988). Information technology and organizational change: causal structure in theory and research. *Management science, 34*(5), 583-598.

Marwick, A. E. (2013). Online identity. *A companion to new media dynamics*, 355-364.

Marwick, A. E., & Boyd, D. (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New media & society, 13*(1), 114-133.

Maybin, J. (2013). Working towards a more complete sociolinguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 17*(4), 547-555.

Mayr, P., & Weller, K. (2017). Think before you collect: Setting up a data collection approach for social media studies. In L. Sloan & A. Quan-Haase (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social media research methods* (pp. 107-124).

McCay-Peet, L., & Quan-Haase, A. (2017). What is social media and what questions can social media research help us answer. In L. Sloan & A. Quan-Haase (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social media research methods* (pp. 13-26).

Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (1995). Introduction: Code-switching and bilingualism research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mostari, H. A. (2003). Arabisation and language use in Algeria. *Journal of Humanities, 17*, 26-41.

Mostari, H. A. (2005). The language question in the Arab world: evidence from Algeria. *Journal of Language and Learning, 3*(1), 36-52.

Mostari, H. A. (2009). What do mobiles speak in Algeria? Evidence from SMS language. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 10*(4), 377-386.

Mostari, H. A. (2011). A New Sociolinguistic Insight Into Language Contact Phenomena: Evidence From Arabic/French Languages Pair. *Language Discourse &Society*, 126-139.

Mouhadjer, N. (2002). *Algeria: An Intricate bilingual and diglossic situation.* Paper presented at the Actas/Proceeding II Simposio International Bilingŭiso Conference.

Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1988). Codeswitching as indexical of social negotiations. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives, 151*, 86.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). Common and uncommon ground: Social and structural factors in codeswitching. *Language in society, 22*(4), 475-503.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2005). *Multiple voices*: Blackwell publishing.

Negrón Goldbarg, R. (2009). Spanish-English codeswitching in email communication. *Language@ internet, 6*(3).

Ng, L. L., & Lee, S. L. (2019). Translanguaging practices and identity construction of multilingual Malaysian university graduates in digital media. *English Teaching & Learning, 43*(1), 105-123.

Oliver, R., & Nguyen, B. (2017). Translanguaging on Facebook: Exploring Australian Aboriginal multilingual competence in technology-enhanced environments and its pedagogical implications. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 73*(4), 463-487.

Orellana, M. F., & García, O. (2014). Language brokering and translanguaging in school. *Language Arts, 91*(5), 386.

Orsatti, J., & Riemer, K. (2015). Identity-making: A multimodal approach for researching identity in social media.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International journal of multilingualism, 7*(3), 240-254.

Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2011). Social inclusion and metrolingual practices. *International journal of bilingual education and bilingualism, 14*(4), 413-426.

Page, R. (2014). Hoaxes, hacking and humour: analysing impersonated identity on social network sites. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 46-64): Springer.

Page, R., Barton, D., Unger, J. W., & Zappavigna, M. (2014). *Researching language and social media: A student guide*: Routledge.

Paolillo, J. C. (2011). "Conversational" codeswitching on usenet and internet relay chat. *Language@ Internet, 8*(3).

Petrocchi, N., Asnaani, A., Martinez, A. P., Nadkarni, A., & Hofmann, S. G. (2015). Differences between people who use only Facebook and those who use Facebook plus Twitter. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction, 31*(2), 157-165.

Planchenault, G. (2010). Virtual community and politeness: The use of female markers of identity and solidarity in a transvestites' website. *Journal of Politeness Research, 6*(1), 83-103.

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics, 18*(2), 581-618.

Poplack, S. (1988). Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities. *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives, 48*, 215-244.

Ryding, K. C. (2005). *A reference grammar of modern standard Arabic*: Cambridge university press.

Saadane, H., & Habash, N. (2015). *A conventional orthography for Algerian Arabic.* Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Arabic Natural Language Processing.

Sahraoui, I. A. (2009). اللغة العربية في الجزائر: التاريخ والهوية [The Arabic Language in Algeria: History and Identity]. مجلة كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية والإجتماعية, 5.

Sankoff, D., & Poplack, S. (1981). A formal grammar for code-switching. *Research on Language & Social Interaction, 14*(1), 3-45.

Saoudi, F. (2018). Language and Identity on Facebook: an Online Ethnographic Study of Nicknames, Self-presentation and Religious Identity among a Sub-religious Group in Algeria. مجلة العلوم الإنسانية, 4-23.

Sayahi, L. (2014). *Diglossia and language contact: Language variation and change in North Africa*: Cambridge University Press.

Schreiber, B. R. (2015). "I am what I am": Multilingual identity and digital translanguaging. *Language Learning & Technology, 19*(3), 69-87.

Seargeant, P., & Tagg, C. (2014). Audience design and language choice in the construction and maintenance of translocal communities on social network sites. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 161-185): Springer.

Seargeant, P., Tagg, C., & Ngampramuan, W. (2012). Language choice and addressivity strategies in Thai-English social network interactions. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 16*(4), 510-531.

Sebba, M. (2012). Researching and Theorising Multilingual Texts. In M. Sebba, S. Mahootian, & C. Jonsson (Eds.), *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: Approaches to mixed-language written discourse*: Routledge.

Sebba, M., & Wootton, T. (1998). We, they and identity. *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 262-289.

Sessions, L. F. (2009). "You looked better on MySpace": Deception and authenticity on the Web 2.0. *First Monday*.

Slimane, H. M. K. (2014). Bilingualism and biculturalism: exploring youth language, culture and identity in today's Algeria. *International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature (IMPACT: IJRHAL), 2*(2), 11-18.

Solmaz, O. (2018). Multilingual and multimodal repertoires as part of identity management on Facebook: A case of international students. *Journal of International Students, 8*(4), 1662-1680.

Sophocleous, A., & Themistocleous, C. (2014). Projecting social and discursive identities through code-switching on Facebook: The case of Greek Cypriots. *Language@ Internet, 11*(5).

Spilioti, T. (2020). The weirding of English, trans-scripting, and humour in digital communication. *World Englishes, 39*(1), 106-118.

Statista. (2020). Most popular social networks worldwide as of January 2020, ranked by number of active users. *The Statistics Portal*. Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/

Street, B. (2012). New literacy studies. *Language, ethnography, and education: Bridging new literacy studies and Bourdieu*, 27-49.

Sugiura, L., Wiles, R., & Pope, C. (2017). Ethical challenges in online research: Public/private perceptions. *Research Ethics, 13*(3-4), 184-199.

Sultana, S., Dovchin, S., & Pennycook, A. (2013). Styling the periphery: Linguistic and cultural takeup in Bangladesh and Mongolia. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 17*(5), 687-710.

Tagg, C. (2015). *Exploring digital communication: Language in action*: Routledge.

Themistocleous, C. (2015). Digital code-switching between Cypriot and Standard Greek: Performance and identity play online. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 19*(3), 282-297.

Thurlow, C., Lengel, L., & Tomic, A. (2004). *Computer mediated communication*: Sage.

Van Dijck, J. (2013). 'You have one identity': performing the self on Facebook and LinkedIn. *Media, culture & society, 35*(2), 199-215.

Vásquez, C. (2014). 'Usually not one to complain but…': Constructing identities in user-generated online reviews. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 65-90): Springer.

Versteegh, K. (2014). *Arabic language*: Edinburgh University Press.

Weinreich, U. (1968). *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*: Walter de Gruyter.

Williams, C. (1994). *Arfarniad o ddulliau dysgu ac addysgu yng nghyd-destun addysg uwchradd ddwyieithog [An evaluation of teaching and learning methods in the context of bilingual secondary education]*. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). University of Wales, Bangor.

Wilson, R., & Dewaele, J.-M. (2010). The use of web questionnaires in second language acquisition and bilingualism research. *Second Language Research, 26*(1), 103-123.

Yaghan, M. A. (2008). "Arabizi": A contemporary style of Arabic Slang. *Design issues, 24*(2), 39-52.

Yates, S. J. (1996). Oral and written linguistic aspects of computer conferencing. *Pragmatics and beyond New Series*, 29-46.

Zappavigna, M. (2012). *Discourse of Twitter and social media: How we use language to create affiliation on the web* (Vol. 6): A&C Black.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York. *Lingua, 1*(103), 59-74.

Zhao, S., Grasmuck, S., & Martin, J. (2008). Identity construction on Facebook: Digital empowerment in anchored relationships. *Computers in human behavior, 24*(5), 1816-1836.

Zitouni, M., & Saaid, Y. (2019). Why Do Algerians Code Switch on Facebook? Attitudes and Motives. *ALTRALANG Journal, 1*(01), 108-124.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethics Documents
1. Ethics Documents for Page Administrators

School of Literature and Languages
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

University of Reading

ETHICS COMMITTEE

Project Submission

<u>Note</u>   All sections of this form must be completed.

Principal Investigator (Supervisor):   Dr Christiana Themistocleous

Student name: Firdous Abdelhamid

Department: English language and Applied Linguistics

Title of Project: Investigating Algerians' Codeswitching on Facebook Pages

Proposed starting date: 26th May, 2017

Number of participants that you require consent from (approximate): 5 to 10 Facebook page Admins and 10 to 20 page members

Please see separate sheet for a description of the project

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge the Ethics Committee have been made aware of all relevant information. I undertake to inform the Committee of any such information which subsequently becomes available whether before or after the research has begun.

I confirm that a list of the names and contact details of the participants in this project will be compiled and that this, together with signed Consent Forms, will be retained by the researcher under secure storage. All (or in large sample cases a selection) of the signed copies will be submitted with a copy of the dissertation.

Signed:

…………………………….(Supervisor)   Date…………………………….

……………………………(Student)   Date…………………………….

Description of the project

Algerians have at least four different varieties in their linguistic repertoires. These varieties include the Majorities' mother tongue: Algerian-Arabic, the official language of the country: Modern-Standard-Arabic, and both French and English as first and second foreign languages learnt at schools. Due to this linguistic diversity, Algerians are reported to be heavy code switchers in spoken communications (Bagui, 2014). The purpose of this project is to explore whether this codeswitching phenomenon is carried out to the Internet setting as well. It seeks to identify which among these varieties are used by Algerians when they are communicating via the Internet and for which topics.

The selected Internet source of data is the social network site: Facebook. It is chosen because it is widely used in Algeria and Algerians are reported to be the fourth biggest users of Facebook in Africa (Statistics from 2016). The data will be collected from about five Facebook pages; it will include 100 posts and the chain of comments underneath them. The interest is in categorizing each of these posts and the comments according to the chosen variety in writing them. This will enable statistical accounts on the frequency of the use of each variety within a single Facebook page and across the selected pages. Then, the most frequently discussed topics in each variety are identified and are quantified.

The criteria for choosing a Facebook page are as follows: first, it has to be publically available to Facebook users. Second, it is an active Algerian page that is designed for a specific purpose. Last, a number of varieties are observed to be used by the members of the page. Only, the admins of these Facebook pages are the participants from which to seek ethical approval for collecting the data. Other member of the page are not approached for ethical approval as the project includes only identifications of their linguistic practices that are publically available to visitors of the page. However, members whose comments are selected to be included in the project are approached for ethical approval.

Both the admins and the selected members are asked to answer a number of questions on their language choice via private messages in Facebook as a form of a semi-structured interview. They are not asked to do anything further as the process of analysis includes observations of the pages and categorizations of language use in posts that were already posted.

The data will be stored in Pdf forms; it will be securely kept on a password-protected computer and on a OneDrive account. Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data. The data will be destroyed after the completion of the project.

Bagui, H. (2014). Aspects of diglossic code switching situations: A sociolinguistic interpretation. *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, *2(4)*, 86-92.

School of Literature and Languages
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

University of
Reading

ETHICS COMMITTEE

Consent Form for Facebook page admin (To be translated into Modern-Standard-Arabic)

Project title: INVESTIGATING ALGERIANS' CODESWITCHING ON FACEBOOK PAGES

I understand the purpose of this research and understand what is required of me; I have read and understood the Information Sheet relating to this project, which has been explained to me by Firdous Abdelhamid. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Researcher:
[Firdous Abdelhamid]
Email:

Supervisor:
[Christiana Themistocleous]
Phone:
Email:

Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

URS Building
The University of Reading
Whiteknights, PO Box 219
Reading RG6 6AW

Phone

ac.uk

INFORMATION SHEET – FACEBOOK PAGE ADMIN – TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC

The purpose of this research is to look at language practices of Algerian Facebook users on a selected number of Facebook pages. This will help me write a dissertation for the PhD in Applied Linguistics (taught track & thesis) program.

The Facebook pages have been selected based on their purposes and the assumption that more than one language are used in them. You are asked to give consent so that your posts on the page are collected to be analysed. The sole interest of the project is in the language they have been written in and the general topic they are about. You might be approached at latter stages of the research for a short interview via private messages to answer some questions about your language choices.

The data collected from you will be treated confidentially and will be destroyed at the end of the research. The data will be securely kept on a password-protected computer. Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data.

Your real name and the Facebook page title is not going to be mentioned in the dissertation and they are going to be anonymised. You can withdraw from this research at any time you want to and in this case the data collected from you and your Facebook page will not be analysed or used in the research.

This project has been subject to ethical review by the School Ethics Committee, and has been allowed to proceed under the exceptions procedure as outlined in paragraph 6 of the University's *Notes for Guidance* on research ethics.

If you have any queries or wish to clarify anything about the study, please feel free to contact my supervisor at the address above or by email at c.themistocleous@reading.ac.uk

Signed

Ethics documents generated using google.docs in English and MSA for Page Administrators

INVESTIGATING ALGERIANS' CODESWITCHING ON FACEBOOK PAGES
*Obligatoire

INFORMATION SHEET – FACEBOOK PAGE ADMIN –

The purpose of this research is to look at language practices of Algerian Facebook users on a selected number of Facebook pages. This will help me write a dissertation for the PhD in Applied Linguistics (taught track & thesis) program.

The Facebook pages have been selected based on their purposes and the assumption that more than one language are used in them. You are asked to give consent so that your posts on the page are collected to be analysed. The sole interest of the project is in the language they have been written in and the general topic they are about. You might be approached at latter stages of the research for a short interview via private messages to answer some questions about your language choices.

The data collected from you will be treated confidentially and will be destroyed at the end of the research. The data will be securely kept on a password-protected computer. Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data.

Your real name and the Facebook page title is not going to be mentioned in the dissertation and they are going to be anonymised. You can withdraw from this research at any time you want to and in this case the data collected from you and your Facebook page will not be analysed or used in the research.

This project has been subject to ethical review by the School Ethics Committee, and has been allowed to proceed under the exceptions procedure as outlined in paragraph 6 of the University's Notes for Guidance on research ethics.

If you have any queries or wish to clarify anything about the study, please feel free to contact my supervisor at the address above or by email at c.themistocleous@reading.ac.uk

Consent Form for Facebook page admin
Please tick the following boxes if you wish to take part in the project

1. *
Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ I have read and had explained to me by Firdous Abdelhamid the Information Sheet relating to this project.

2. *
Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

3. *
Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ I agree to the arrangements described above in so far as they relate to my participation.

222

4. *
Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project any time.

5. **Please sing your name below** *

_____

Fourni par
Google Forms

223

تحقيق في الاستعمالات اللغوية للجزائريين على صفحات فيسبوك

*Obligatoire

استمارة معلومات – أدمن صفحات فيسبوك -

الهدف من هذا البحث هو النظر في الاستعمالات اللغوية لمستخدمي فيسبوك الجزائريين على عدد من صفحات فيسبوك وهذا سيمكنني من كتابة أطروحة لمتابعة مساري التعليمي لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه.

اختيرت الصفحات للمشاركة في البحث بناء على الهدف وراءها والافتراض أنها تستعمل أكثر من لغة. كل ما هو مطلوب منك هو الموافقة على أن يتم جمع منشوراتك لتتم دراستها حيث أن الغاية من هذا هو تحديد اللغات المستعملة في كل منشور والمواضيع التي تناقشها. قد يتم الاتصال بك لاحقا وذلك للإجابة عن بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة باللغات التي تستخدمها عن طريق الرسائل الخاصة.

سيتم التعامل بسرية مع كل البيانات التي تقدمها للبحث حيث سيتم حذفها عند الانتهاء من العمل على البحث. ستحفظ البيانات على جهاز كمبيوتر محمي بكلمة سر ولن يصل إليها سوى الباحث والمشرفين عليه.

لن يتم ذكر اسمك الحقيقي ولا عنوان الصفحة في البحث بل سيتم استخدام أسماء مستعارة. يمكنك الانسحاب من هذا البحث في أي وقت تشاء وفي هذه الحالة لن يتم استخدام البيانات التي قدمتها.

يخضع هذا البحث لاتفاقية الأخلاقيات وقد راجعته لجنة الأخلاقيات ووافقت عليه تحت اجراء الاستثناءات كما هو موضح في الفقرة السادسة من قواعد أخلاقيات البحث الخاصة بالجامعة.

لأي استفسارات أو توضيحات عن المشروع يمكنك مراسلة المشرف على البحث على العنوان البريدي التالي
c.themistocleous@reading.ac.uk

استمارة القبول والمشاركة في البحث

الرجاء منك النقر على جميع الخانات التالية إن أردت المشاركة في البحث

1. *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ لقد قرأت استمارة المعلومات الخاصة بهذا البحث وشرحتها لي فردوس عبد الحميد

2. *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ لقد شرحت لي الغاية من هذا البحث وما هو متطلب مني وأجابت على كل استفساراتي

3. *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ أوافق على ما ذكر في ما يتعلق بمشاركتي في هذا البحث

4. *

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

☐ أفهم أن مشاركتي تطوعية ويمكنني الانسحاب من البحث في أي وقت أشاء

5.   الرجاء منك الإمضاء بكتابة اسمك في الأسفل

224

2. Ethics Documents for Facebook Users

School of Literature and Languages
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

ETHICS COMMITTEE

Project Submission

<u>Note</u>   All sections of this form must be completed.

Principal Investigator (Supervisor):   Dr Christiana Themistocleous

Student name: Firdous Abdelhamid

Department: English language and Applied Linguistics

Title of Project: Investigating Algerians' Multilingual interactions on Facebook

Proposed starting date: 1st May, 2018

Number of participants that you require consent from (approximate):   160 to 200 participants to respond to the questionnaire and 5 to 10 to be part of the focus group

Please see separate sheet for a description of the project

I confirm that to the best of my knowledge the Ethics Committee have been made aware of all relevant information. I undertake to inform the Committee of any such information which subsequently becomes available whether before or after the research has begun.

I confirm that a list of the names and contact details of the participants in this project will be compiled and that this, together with signed Consent Forms, will be retained by the researcher under secure storage. All (or in large sample cases a selection) of the signed copies will be submitted with a copy of the dissertation.

Signed:

……………………………(Supervisor)   Date…………………………….

……………………………(Student)   Date…………………………….

Description of the project

In Algeria, besides the native tongue Algerian Arabic, people learn three mandatory languages in schools; these are Modern Standard Arabic, French and English. In everyday spoken interactions, Algerians tend to mix between these codes (Bagui, 2014) and a preliminary study revealed that they mix these codes in online interactions, namely on Facebook, as well (Abdelhamid, 2017). The purpose of this project is to qualitatively examine selected Facebook posts that contain instances of codeswitching. In addition, the study will consider the use of semiotic/multimodal signs such as emojies and emoticons adopting the translanguaging approach in exploring these aspects of digital communication.

The targeted participants for this study are Algerians who use Facebook regularly. They will be asked to complete a questionnaire that was designed to gather information about Algerians' Facebook users' attitudes towards language use both online and in spoken communication. The questionnaire will be developed in an electronic format and will be distributed online via Facebook pages. It will take the participants about 15 minutes to complete. The questionnaire will end with a polite request for the participants to leave their contact details if they wish to take part in the main project where their Facebook profiles will be examined for qualitative analysis.

Amongst those volunteered to have their Facebook profiles examined, those who answered in their questionnaire that they are active Facebook users will be selected if more than one language is observed to be used by them. The selected participants will be required to allow the researcher to, first, observe their Facebook profiles and select interactions to be analysed. The researcher is aware that some of the collected interactions may include other Facebook users that are not aware of the project and they are going to be approached for ethical consent to use their posts in the analysis. Second, the participants will be asked to complete language diaries of 10 posts on Facebook. The language diaries will include short questions about their choice of codes and other signs in their Facebook posts and the reason behind them. Finally, after the primary analysis of the collected data is complete, a semi-structured interview will be conducted with the participants to ask about their language use.

The data will be securely kept on a password-protected computer and on a OneDrive account. Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data. The data will be destroyed after the completion of the project.

References

Bagui, H. (2014). Aspects of diglossic code switching situations: A Sociolinguistic Interpretation. European Journal of Research in Social Sciences, 2(4), 86-92.

School of Literature and Languages
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

University of
Reading

ETHICS COMMITTEE

Consent Form (To be translated into Modern-Standard-Arabic)

Project title: INVESTIGATING ALGERIANS' MULTILINGUAL INTERACTIONS ON FACEBOOK

I understand the purpose of this research and understand what is required of me; I have read and understood the Information Sheet relating to this project, which has been explained to me by Firdous Abdelhamid. I agree to the arrangements described in the Information Sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and of the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Researcher:
[Firdous Abdelhamid]
Email:

Supervisor:
[Christiana Themistocleous]
Phone:
Email:

Department of English Language and Applied
Linguistics

URS Building
The University of Reading
Whiteknights, PO Box 219
Reading RG6 6AW

Phone

ac.uk

INFORMATION SHEET – TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC

The purpose of this research is to look at communicative practices of Algerian Facebook users on a selected number of Facebook profiles. This will help me write a thesis for a PhD in Applied Linguistics.

Your Facebook profile has been selected because you indicated in the questionnaire that you are a frequent Facebook user and it has been observed that you use more than one language in your profile. You are asked to give consent so that your posts and comments are collected to be analysed. The sole interest of the project is in the language they have been written in and the general topic they are about. You are also asked to complete a language diary where you are asked to answer questions about the language you use to post 10 publications and the reasons behind your choice. Finally, you will be approached at latter stages of the research for a short interview to answer some questions about your language choices.

The data collected from you will be treated confidentially and will be destroyed at the end of the research. The data will be securely kept on a password-protected computer. Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data.

Your real name and Facebook username are not going to be mentioned in the dissertation and they are going to be anonymised. You can withdraw from this research at any time you want to and in this case the data collected from you and your Facebook profile will not be analysed or used in the research.

This project has been subject to ethical review by the School Ethics Committee, and has been allowed to proceed under the exceptions procedure as outlined in paragraph 6 of the University's *Notes for Guidance* on research ethics.

If you have any queries or wish to clarify anything about the study, please feel free to contact my supervisor at the address above or by email at c.themistocleous@reading.ac.uk

Signed

First page of questionnaire

University of
Reading

Investigating Algerians' Multilingual interactions on Facebook

The purpose of the current project is to examine the multilingual interactions of Algerians on Facebooks. This questionnaire serves to gather information on Algerians Facebook users' attitudes towards language use both online and in spoken communications.

By completing and returning this questionnaire, you are giving consent for your responses to be used for the purposes of this research project.

Section 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Gender:

   ☐ Male
   ☐ Female

2. Age: _____

3. Nationality: _____

4. Do you currently live in Algeria?

   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No
   If no, please say where you are currently living _____

5. Occupation: _____

6. Please tick your highest educational level

   ☐ High school level

   ☐ BA

   ☐ MA

   ☐ PhD

Section 2: LANGUAGE MASTERY AND USE

1. What is the language you first spoke at home? _____
2. What other languages do you know/speak (Please order them according to mastery level)
1 _____ 2_____ 3_____ 4_____ 5_____

3. Please classify the above languages in the following table:

I can speak in these languages	I can write in these languages	I can speak and write in these languages

**School of Literature and Languages
Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics**

University of Reading

Please go through the checklist below and make sure all the boxes can be ticked before submitting your ethics document. Enclose a copy of the completed checklist to your ethics document.

A. Does your ethics document include

a Project Submission, Project Description, Information Sheet & Consent Form?	✔

B. In your Information Sheet for the participants, have you mentioned the following points? Put a tick in if you have.

The data will be securely kept on a password-protected computer **or** in a locked drawer.	✔
Only the researcher and their supervisors will have access to the data.	✔
The data will be used for academic purposes only.	✔
The data will be anonymous **or** pseudonyms will be used.	✔
The data will only be used for the purposes of academic study, restricted by terms of the Data Protection Act.	✔
The participants' privacy and confidentiality will be carefully observed.	✔
The participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time they wish to.	✔

C. Ensure you have done all the necessary checks.

Have you used the University of Reading logo on all the ethics document pages?	✔
Have you checked your ethics documents with your supervisor?	✔
Have you and your supervisor signed the finalised ethics documents?	✔
Have you included a copy of the first page of your questionnaire, if you are using one?	✔

D. Only for those who will be working at schools with children and if the school has required for a DBS check.

Have you submitted a copy of your DBS check?	NA

Ethics Documents in MSA

ETHICS COMMITTEE

<div dir="rtl">

استمارة القبول والمشاركة في البحث

عنوان البحث: تحقيق في الاستعمالات اللغوية للجزائريين على فيسبوك

لقد قرأت وفهمت استمارة المعلومات الخاصة بهذا البحث وفهمت الغاية من البحث وما هو متطلب مني فقد شرحت لي فردوس عبد الحميد وأجابت على كل استفساراتي. أوافق على ما ذكر في استمارة المعلومات فيما يتعلق بمشاركتي في هذا البحث.

أفهم أن مشاركتي تطوعية ويمكنني الانسحاب من البحث في أي وقت أشاء.

لقد حصلت على نسخة من استمارة القبول هذه إضافة الى استمارة المعلومات المرافقة لها.

الاسم:

الامضاء:

التاريخ:

</div>

University of Reading

Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics

URS Building
The University of Reading
Whiteknights, PO Box 219
Reading RG6 6AW

Phone

ac.uk

Researcher:
[Firdous Abdelhamid]
Email:

Supervisor:
[Christiana Themistocleous]
Phone:
Email:

استمارة المعلومات

أهدف من خلال هذا البحث الى التحقيق في استعمال اللغات على صفحات فيسبوك الشخصية لمستخدمي موقع فيسبوك الجزائريين. هذا سيمكنني من كتابة أطروحة لمتابعة مساري التعليمي لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه.

لقد اخترت العمل على صفحتك الشخصية لأنك أشرت في الاستطلاع الى أنك تستخدم فيسبوك بشكل يومي إضافة الى ملاحظتي لاستخدامك لأكثر من لغة على صفحتك. كل ما هو مطلوب منك هو الموافقة على أن أقوم بنسخ منشورات وتعليقات من صفحتك. الغرض من هذا هو التحقيق في اللغات المستخدمة في هذه المنشورات وطبيعة المحتوى بشكل عام. كما أنني سأسألك أسئلة بخصوص هذه اللغات في وقت لاحق.

سيتم التعامل بسرية مع كل البيانات التي تقدمها للبحث حيث سيتم حذفها عند الانتهاء من العمل على البحث. ستحفظ البيانات على جهاز كمبيوتر محمي بكلمة سر ولن يصل إليها سوى الباحث والمشرفين عليه.

لن يتم ذكر اسمك الحقيقي ولا عنوان الصفحة في البحث بل سيتم استخدام أسماء مستعارة. يمكنك الانسحاب من هذا البحث في أي وقت تشاء وفي هذه الحالة لن يتم استخدام البيانات التي قدمتها.

يخضع هذا البحث لاتفاقية الأخلاقيات وقد راجعته لجنة الأخلاقيات ووافقت عليه تحت اجراء الاستثناءات كما هو موضح في الفقرة السادسة من قواعد أخلاقيات البحث الخاصة بالجامعة.

لأي استفسارات أو توضيحات عن المشروع يمكنك مراسلتي على

f.abdelhamid@pgr.reading.ac.uk

او مراسلة المشرف على البحث على العنوان البريدي التالي

c.themistocleous@reading.ac.uk

الامضاء

Appendix B: Online Questionnaire

By completing and returning this questionnaire, you are giving consent for your responses to be used for the purposes of this research project.

Section 1: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

6. Gender:

   ☐ Male
   ☐ Female

7. Age: _____

8. Did you born in Algeria?

   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

   3. a. If no, please say where did you born?

   _____

9. Are you a holder of the Algerian nationality

   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

   4. a. If no, please say what your nationality is

   _____

10. Do you currently live in Algeria?

    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

    5. a. If yes, please say in which city do you live?

    _____

    5. b. If no, please say where do you live?

    _____

11. What is your occupation? _____

12. What is your educational level

- ☐ High school level
- ☐ BA
- ☐ MA
- ☐ PhD
- ☐ Other

    7. a. If you chose 'other', write you educational level here:

    _____

Section 2: ABOUT LANGUAGE MASTERY AND USE

13. What is your mother tongue (s) (The language or dialect that you first spoke at home)?

    _____

14. Do you consider yourself:
- ☐ Someone who knows one language
- ☐ Someone who knows more than one language

9.a. What other languages do you know/speak (Please order them according to your command of them)

1 _____ 2_____ 3_____ 4_____ 5_____

Please classify the above languages in the following table:

9.a.i. I can only speak in these languages	
9.a.ii. I can only write in these languages	
9.a.iii. I can speak and write in these languages	

15. Do you mix between the languages that you know when you speak?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I do not know

    10. a. If yes, please say which languages do you mix between?

_____

    10. a.i. Please say why

_____

    10. b. If no, Please say why

_____

Section 3: ABOUT USING FACEBOOK

16. How often do you use Facebook?
- ☐ Several times a day
- ☐ Three to seven times a week

☐ Once a week
☐ Once a month
☐ Never

17. Which languages do you use on Facebook?

_____

18. Do you mix between languages on Facebook?
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ I do not know

13. a. If yes, please say which languages do you mix between?

_____

13. a.i. Please say why

_____

13. b. If no, Please say why

_____

19. Please add any other comments about use of languages on Facebook profiles.

_____
_____
_____
_____

✓ Please leave your Facebook account information if you agree that I take a look at the languages that you use on it. That will help me in the second phase of my study:
………………………………………………………

Many thanks for your time and efforts in completing this questionnaire!!

Appendix C: Sample Questions for Interviews

Active on Messenger

Welcome

1- why dont you use Algerian Arabic and French on you Facebook wall?

2- why do you mostly use english?

3- why did you comment on this video in English although the video's language was not english?

4- what do you mean by this post?
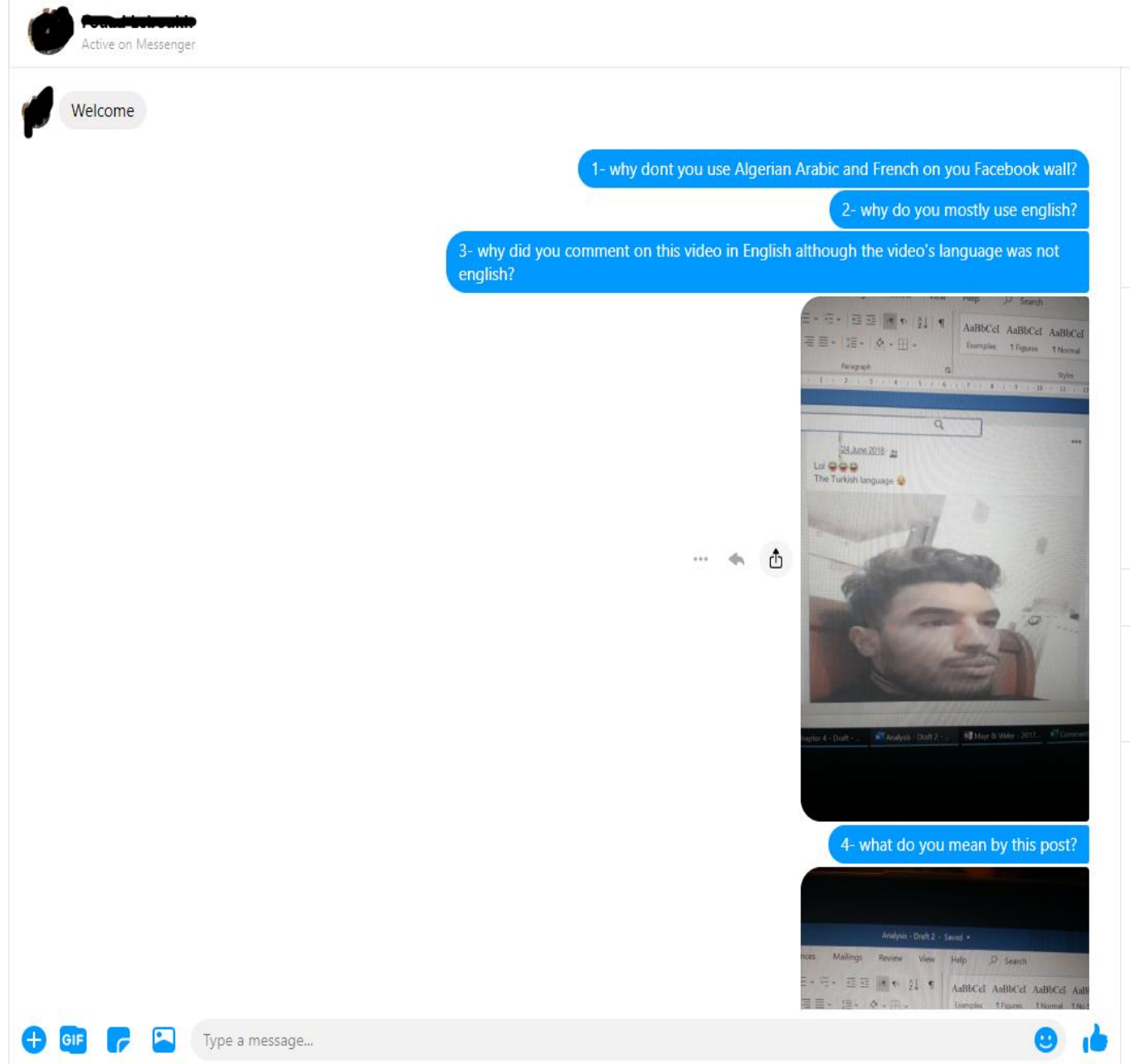
Type a message...

3ndi 2 questions 3la 2 posts f mur ta3k

1. 3leh f had post derti emoji brk wmakanch loghat?

2. 3leh hnaya ktebti b francais?

نعم عندي أصدقاء في الخارج ايضا

ربما هذا أيضا من بين الدوافع

1 👍

اوكي.. لاحظت انك احيانا تكتب باللغة العربية والإنجليزية معا.. هل هناك سبب معين ولا لا؟

نعم ربما السبب هو أن لي أصدقاء أجانب لا يفهمون اللغة العربية

1 👍

اوكي

شكرا ربي يحفظك

العفو بالتوفيق

😊