

DIGITAL FACE-WORK: CODE-SWITCHING PRACTICES IN UNIVERSITY COURSE WHATSAPP GROUPS

Rakhmat Wahyudin Sagala*¹, Tri Indah Rezeki²

*¹Universitas Muhammadiyah Sumatera Utara, Indonesia

²STKIP Budidaya Binjai, Indonesia

*¹*e-mail:* rakhmatwahyudin@umsu.ac.id

Abstract: This study examines the discursive dynamics within course-based WhatsApp groups in University. It focuses on code-switching and its implications for identity construction in online academic discourse. Leveraging the ubiquity of WhatsApp, with its extensive user base exceeding 244 million individuals, this research investigates how students navigate linguistic diversity within these digital learning environments. Drawing from the rich landscape of computer-mediated discourse research, the study explores the multifaceted role of code-switching, a prevalent practice wherein individuals alternate between languages within a single conversation. While prior investigations have extensively scrutinized code-switching in spoken contexts, its manifestations within online academic settings, particularly within WhatsApp groups, still need to be explored. The research seeks to unravel the intricacies of language use, identity negotiation, and social interaction within the Indonesian educational context by addressing this gap. The study aims to shed light on the nuanced interplay between language choice, identity construction, and social dynamics in the digital sphere through a unique dual lens of linguistic analysis and sociocultural inquiry.

Keywords: Digital face-work, face threatening act, code-switching practices, whatsapp group, computer-mediated discourse.

Introduction

The ubiquitous mobile application WhatsApp has profoundly influenced communication in Indonesia. Boasting over 244 million active users (Statista, 2024), WhatsApp transcends its original messaging and voice call functions to emerge as a multifaceted platform facilitating news dissemination, commercial transactions, and social interactions (Masip et al., 2021). Its user-friendly interface, accessibility, and cost-effectiveness have spurred widespread adoption, particularly in educational spheres (Bouhnik & Deshen, 2014). Educational WhatsApp groups harness the platform's features to foster communication, collaboration, and knowledge exchange among students and instructors (Alubthane & ALYoussef, 2021). This study delves into the discursive construction of identity within course-based WhatsApp groups in Indonesia. Research in computer-mediated discourse (CMD) acknowledges the unique linguistic terrain in online domains (Herring, 2004). Notably, code-switching, the practice of alternating between languages within a single conversation (Gumperz, 1982), emerges as a salient feature of online interaction. While code-switching in spoken discourse has received extensive scrutiny (Myers-Scotton, 2001), its application in online academic contexts, particularly within WhatsApp groups, still needs to be explored.

This study addresses this gap by probing two primary research questions: (1) How does code-switching influence facework in subject-based WhatsApp groups during online academic discourse? (2) How is facework layered with code-switching to signal contextual information

as an alternative? Through exploring these inquiries, this research endeavors to illuminate the dynamic interplay among language, identity, and social interaction in online academic discourse, specifically within the Indonesian context.

“Face” and its derivatives

The concept of 'face' has garnered considerable attention in incivility research, primarily influenced by the seminal works of Erving Goffman (1955) and Brown and Levinson (1987). Goffman introduced 'face' as a self-image portrayed concerning approved social attributes, underscoring its significance in social interaction and personal identity. He posited that maintaining face constitutes a fundamental social objective, reflecting an individual's adherence to societal expectations and norms (Arundale, 2006; Goffman, 1955). Brown and Levinson (1987) further expounded upon this concept in their politeness theory, delineating the face into two components: the positive face, representing the desire for admiration and acceptance, and the negative face, signifying the desire for autonomy and freedom from imposition. Face work, as delineated by Goffman (1955), pertains to the strategies individuals employ to manage their own and others' faces during interactions. Goffman identified various tactics, including avoidance, humor, and apology, that individuals utilize to uphold their faces and navigate social interactions seamlessly.

Tracy (1990) contends that face work encompasses the preservation of face and the negotiation and construction of social identity through interaction. This viewpoint aligns with discursive shifts in sociolinguistics, emphasizing fluidity and the construction of social meaning in communication (Locher & Watts, 2005). Brown and Levinson's (1987) delineation of face-threatening acts (FTAs) draws heavily on pragmatics and speech act theory. It involves the interplay between the speaker's intention and the listener's perception. Searle's (1969) speech act theory is a foundation for analyzing how utterances function as face-supportive or face-threatening acts. Eelen (2014) and Watts (2003) advocate for a broader conceptualization of face that transcends the confines of politeness theory, stressing the necessity for finer distinctions and alternative conceptual frameworks. The call for a return to Goffman's encompassing notion of face reflects an endeavor to capture the intricate interplay between individual identity and social interaction. Goffman's treatment of the face concerning self and identity within a sociological context furnishes a more comprehensive understanding of how the face operates across diverse social milieus (Goffman, 1955).

Digital face-work and code switching on WhatsApp Group

Digital face-work, a strategic utilization of linguistic and paralinguistic resources, empowers individuals to navigate self-presentation and relational dynamics in online interactions (Blommaert & Varis, 2015; Goffman, 1955). Code-switching, the practice of shifting between languages or language varieties within a single conversation, emerges as a pivotal discursive strategy in these digital interactions (Auer, 2013; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Face-work, as conceptualized by Goffman (1955), refers to individuals' endeavors to present themselves favorably and uphold their social image during interactions. In digital contexts like WhatsApp, face-work encompasses not only message content but also media-specific features such as emojis, multimedia, and message formats (Dresner & Herring, 2010). Through language switching, users can signal various facets of their identity (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Gumperz, 1982). Additionally, language alternation can serve relational objectives, such as fostering intimacy or solidarity among group members, thereby strengthening group identity and nurturing a sense of belonging (Blommaert, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The amalgamation of digital face-to-face interaction and code-switching in WhatsApp groups underscores the adaptability and versatility of online communication. For instance, a

group member might employ code-switching to align with the linguistic preferences of a specific subgroup within a chat, thereby performing face-work that reinforces their social alignment and promotes relationship harmony (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Blommaert & Varis, 2015). Moreover, WhatsApp's multimodal features augment the efficacy of this strategy. Emojis and GIFs can complement code-switching by imparting emotional nuances and contextual cues that may be absent in text-based communication (Dresner & Herring, 2010; Kress, 2009). Consequently, interactions within WhatsApp groups comprise a rich tapestry where language alternation and digital face-work intertwine to manage social identity and relational dynamics adeptly.

In WhatsApp groups, individuals engage in digital face-to-face work to navigate the intricate social landscape. This encompasses managing group dynamics, signalling group membership, and mitigating potential conflicts. For instance, emojis can soften the tone of messages, rendering them more amicable and less confrontational (Kaye et al., 2017). Similarly, employing humour or self-deprecating statements strategically can enhance relational ties and promote group cohesion (Georgakopoulou, 2011b).

Code-switching as an underlying face-work strategy in digital discourse

Code-switching, a pivotal strategy in the digital discourse landscape, plays a significant role in managing face-work. This linguistic phenomenon, involving the alternation between multiple languages or language varieties within a single conversation, is instrumental in navigating social identity and relational dynamics online (Auer, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Digital platforms like WhatsApp provide a unique context where code-switching is used to negotiate mediated interactions, engage in face-work, and cultivate favourable self-presentation (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2011a). Goffman's (1955) concept of face-work pertains to individuals' actions to maintain a desired social image during interactions. In digital discourse, this encompasses message content and the strategic use of language varieties to manage impressions and relational dynamics. Code-switching enables individuals to align with different social groups, signal group membership, and negotiate power relations, facilitating effective face-work (Blommaert, 2009; Gumperz, 1982). For instance, switching to a formal language or dialect can establish authority and professionalism, whereas reverting to a colloquial or mother tongue can foster familiarity and solidarity among group members (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The intentional and context-driven use of code-switching in digital contexts, such as WhatsApp, is widespread. Users employ this practice to enhance communicative efficiency and manage social relationships within a multilingual and multicultural environment (Tagg, 2015). The ability to code-switch allows them to cater to the linguistic preferences of their audience, thereby facilitating smoother interactions and reducing the likelihood of misunderstandings. Additionally, code-switching can serve as a means to mitigate face-threatening actions by softening directives or criticisms, thereby fostering harmony and maintaining positive group relations (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Danet & Herring, 2007; Georgakopoulou, 2011a), underscoring the role of code-switching in social dynamics. Gumperz asserts that speakers utilize language switching to signal contextual information, manage social relationships, and negotiate meaning. He emphasizes that code-switching functions as a contextualizing cue, implicitly conveying information about the social context, speaker identity, and conversational norms. According to (Myers-Scotton, 2017), speakers code-switch to achieve outcomes that are either salient (unusual or unexpected) or nonsalient (usual or expected), such as signalling informality or solidarity.

Auer (2005) underscores that code-switching is not merely a reflection of social structure but an active process through which speakers organize conversation flow, establish an

interaction framework, and construct social reality. In educational settings, such as a university classroom, a lecturer might switch from speaking English (the formal language of instruction) to a local dialect to create a more relaxed atmosphere. This shift aims to make students feel more comfortable and encourage participation. Additionally, using a common language among students can help to build a sense of unity. On social media platforms like Facebook, members of educational and social groups may switch between English and their native language. This change signals a move from formal academic discussions to casual and friendly interactions. This practice can strengthen the bond among group members and create a sense of community.

Method

For this study, screen data from multiple groups were collected to facilitate a richer and more comprehensive analysis. The advantage of utilizing a diverse dataset is the ability to discern subtle changes in code-switching patterns over two semesters within a single group. Particularly noteworthy are the evolving discourse strategies among group members and broader shifts in digital media practices, a phenomenon Androutsopoulos (2011) characterizes as "sites of sociolinguistic change." The unique primary data for this study were derived from a WhatsApp group, a novel and underexplored source, established for communication between students and lecturers enrolled in a linguistics doctoral program at a university in Medan, Indonesia. The group, with its diverse membership of 25, was active for two semesters, from August 2023 to June 2024, generating an average of 45 posts per day.

The WhatsApp group was initiated and administered by linguistics doctoral students to facilitate the dissemination of handouts, course announcements, and discussions on subject-related matters outside the classroom environment. The student cohort encompassed individuals with diverse academic backgrounds, including majors in Indonesian language, French language, English language, and management. However, a significant majority of interactions occurred bilingually, with Indonesian serving as the primary language (L1) and English as an additional language. Thus, the dataset reflects natural communication patterns untainted by what Labov (1972) labels as "paradoxes," including the "observer paradox." Prior to data collection, a clear and transparent process was followed. A notification of our intention to utilize screen data was disseminated to WhatsApp group members, and their consent was obtained. This process ensured the ethical conduct of the study and the privacy of the group members. Posts from members who did not acknowledge this notification were excluded from the dataset. In the forthcoming Results and Discussion section, representative data will be analyzed and discussed, with WhatsApp usernames replaced by pseudonyms to further safeguard members' privacy.

One of the researchers, Rezeki, actively participated in the WhatsApp group. Consequently, researchers assumed multiple roles, including active participant, insider analyst, observer, and external analyst. While the dual roles introduced complexities, reflexivity was employed to navigate these roles effectively and ensure transparent interpretation of the data. The dual perspective conferred an advantage, facilitating thorough data analysis and enabling validation of interpretations from both emic and etic viewpoints. Rather than treating insider and outsider roles as mutually exclusive, as posited by Dwyer & Buckle (2009), qualitative researchers should acknowledge and explore the nuances of these roles. This qualitative study, situated within interpersonal pragmatics Locher & Graham (2010), was guided by Androutsopoulos (2008) discourse-centered online ethnography. Additionally, insights from user-based interviews were incorporated to gain a deeper understanding of participants' code-switching practices and perceived norms. By integrating screen data and interview findings, equal emphasis was placed on textual analysis and observed practices, which aligns with (Lee & Barton, 2013) assertion.

Result and Discussion

Code switching as language alternation to signal contextual information

Code-switching, a linguistic phenomenon that allows speakers to alternate between languages, serves various functions, such as signalling contextual information, managing social relationships, and negotiating meaning. Gumperz's (1982) seminal work underscores the role of code-switching as a contextualization cue, offering implicit insights into the social context, speaker identity, and conversational norms.

Excerpt 1: "GUUUUYYYYSSSSS"

[13:31, 5/16/2024]	
<Ridho>	GUUUUYYYYSSSSS. WE HAVE A GOOD NEWS
<Amel>	Whattttttttt
<Jontra>	<i>Apa itu bg</i>
<Ridho>	<i>Prof baru aja nelpon saya beliau berhalangan, jadi masuk dan pengumpulan tugas tanggal 23 hari kamis</i>

Ridho's statement started in English and then followed by Indonesian (GUUUUYYYYSSSSS, WE HAVE A GOOD NEWS. Prof baru aja nelpon saya beliau berhalangan, jadi masuk dan pengumpulan tugas tanggal 23 hari kamis [Translation: The professor just informed me that he will be absent. Therefore, please submit the assignment on Thursday, June 23rd]) This sentence is entirely in Indonesian. Ridho uses English to emphasize important or exciting news. Increases the atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm among classmates. Ridho's statement (GUUUUYYYYSSSSS) expresses a negative face because it aims to attract the attention of classmates with an enthusiastic greeting. The same goes for the expression (WE HAVE A GOOD NEWS).

In the statement "*Prof baru aja nelpon saya beliau berhalangan, jadi masuk dan pengumpulan tugas tanggal 23 hari kamis*" [Translation: Prof just called me he is absent, so come in and submit the assignment on Thursday 23rd]), the use of 'negative face' is a strategic move to convey important information that is beneficial to classmates. This use of 'negative face' in code-switching is a clear example of how language is used to manage social relationships and negotiate meaning.

Like Amel, the expression "Whattttttttt" shows a negative face that directly shows shock and enthusiasm that supports the positive atmosphere of the news delivered. Similarly, Jontra's expression (*Apa itu bg* [What's that brother]) as he shows interest in the information to be conveyed.

Excerpt 2: "it has been seen regularly"

[09:13, 5/22/2024]	
<Melboy>	<i>Mantap pengalaman pak dosen kita ini ya. Banyak kasus2 kebahasaan lintas bangsa diketahui beliau. Hehe.</i>
<Sahat>	<i>Prof itu cerdas loh, it has been seen regularly.</i>

The excerpt in Excerpt 2 demonstrates code-switching in Melboy's statement, "*Prof itu cerdas loh, it has been seen regularly.*" This sentence begins in Indonesian "*Prof itu cerdas loh*" [Prof is smart] and concludes in English ("it has been seen regularly"). The use of English in this context may serve to emphasize a particular point or showcase mastery of English in an academic setting, thereby imparting a more intellectual or professional impression. Melboy's subsequent statement, "*Mantap pengalaman pak dosen kita ini ya. Banyak kasus2 kebahasaan*

lintas bangsa diketahui beliau. Hehe" [Translation: the experience of our lecturer is excellent. He knows many cross-national linguistic cases. *Hehe*] serves as a prime example of the effective use of positive politeness strategies. By lauding the lecturer's experience and knowledge, Melboy significantly bolsters the lecturer's approving face, thereby fostering a heightened sense of value and recognition. The inclusion of light humor ("Hehe") further contributes to the creation of a warm and friendly atmosphere. "hehe" is increasingly common to express laughter or a cheerful and humorous mood. However, its actual meaning can vary depending on the degree of repetition, capitalization, punctuation, and accompanying words. In this instance, Melboy employs strategies that appeal to the interlocutor's negative side, including indirect language, minimizing coercion, and acknowledging the listener's freedom to respond in their own way. On the other hand, "hehe" is more prevalent among women and younger users. This phenomenon may be attributed to its perception as a more feminine or youthful way of expressing laughter (Sifianou & Tzanne, 2021).

In Sahat's statement, "Prof is smart, it has been seen regularly," the negative face corresponds to Brown & Levinson (1987) concept of negative politeness, which aims to mitigate imposition and acknowledge the interlocutor's desire not to be imposed upon. By complimenting the professor's intelligence, Sahat enhances the professor's positive face, thereby increasing feelings of appreciation and recognition. Incorporating English phrases is an attempt to provide additional emphasis to the compliment, reinforcing its impact.

Excerpt 3: "print file"

[12:02, 5/26/2024]	
<Dedy>	<i>D grub aja bg biar file nya nggak serak2 ya bg PENGUMUMAN Abg kakak besok saya print File nya jam 10 pagi, jadi buat kawan2 yg mau nitip d printkan kirim File nya paling lama besok jam 9 pagi. Diatas jam 9 pagi antar sendiri hard copy nya ke saya ya. karena jam 12 siang akan saya antar hard copy nya ke Ibu Dardanila. Terimakasih abg kakak 🙏😊</i>

Dedy's statement in Excerpt 3 "*D grub aja bg biar file nya nggak serak2 ya bg.*" [Translation: "Hey guys, can we just put everything in the group chat so the files aren't all over the place?"]) illustrates a mix of Indonesian with the English term "file" and the informal use of "grub" instead of "group." Code-switching in this context is evident with the term "file," which is more commonly used in digital contexts. In another statement ("*PENGUMUMAN: Abg kakak besok saya print **File** nya jam 10 pagi, jadi buat kawan2 yg mau nitip d printkan kirim **File** nya paling lama besok jam 9 pagi.*"), There is a similar mix of Indonesian and English terms "print" and "file."

According to Brown & Levinson's (1987) concept of negative face, offers can coerce interlocutors by creating an obligation to accept or reject, potentially limiting their freedom to act independently. In Dedy's announcement ("*PENGUMUMAN: Abg kakak besok saya print File nya jam 10 pagi, jadi buat kawan2 yg mau nitip d printkan kirim File nya paling lama besok jam 9 pagi. Diatas jam 9 pagi antar sendiri hard copy nya ke saya ya. karena jam 12 siang akan saya antar hard copy nya ke Ibu Dardanila. Terimakasih abg kakak 🙏😊*" [Translation: I will print the files tomorrow at 10:00 AM. Please send the file by 9:00 AM tomorrow if you'd like yours printed. Files received after 9:00 AM must be delivered as hard copies directly to me. I will be providing all printed materials to Mrs. Dardanila at noon]); the offer to print files may pressure interlocutors to accept the help, even if they would prefer to manage independently, thus threatening their negative face.

Excerpt 4: “share ulang linknya”

[10:49, 5/29/2024]	
<Juni>	<i>Bu Yo, coba share ulang link nya</i>
<Amel>	<i>Tak bisa di pencet submitnya yoan</i>

The statement "*Bu Yo, coba share ulang link nya*" exemplifies non-standard or informal Indonesian, incorporating the English terms "share" and "link." Using these English terms may facilitate comprehension within the context of digital and online communication, where such terminology is frequently employed. Amel's expression, "*Tak bisa di pencet submitnya yoan*" is evident in code-switching, where she integrates Indonesian with the English term "submit." This switch likely occurs because "submit" is commonly used when completing online forms or tasks.

Excerpt 5: “Thx dek”

[08:13, 5/30/2024]	
<megawili>	<i>pak ketut blm ada response ya gmn ,,super sibuk beliau minggu ini,,</i>
<megawili>	<i>cek schedule hari ini jam brp aja,,,</i>
<Ridho>	<i>Prof wan kak masuk luring</i>
<Carolina>	<i>Jam berapa dek</i>
<Carolina>	<i>Di ruangan mn</i>
<Ridho>	<i>13.30 di pusba</i>
<Carolina>	<i>Thx dek</i>

Megawili's statement in Excerpt 5 indicates that her lecturer is busy because the lecturer has not responded to the lecture schedule inquiries. The statement mixes Indonesian, "*pak ketut blm ada response ya gmn,*" with English, "*super sibuk.*" The term "*super sibuk*" [super busy] is likely employed to emphasize the lecturer's high level of busyness by using a more expressive phrase in English. Additionally, intra-sentential code-switching occurs in Megawili's statement, "*cek schedule hari ini jam brp aja*" [check today's schedule at what time], where she opts for the English word "schedule" to provide emphasis. The nuances of intra-sentential code-switching allow for varied expressions and convey a particular focus. In Carolina's expression, "*Thx dek,*" the sentence blends the Indonesian "dek" with the English abbreviation "Thx," meaning "Thanks."

Excerpt 6: “provide the zoom link ya”

[10:05, 5/30/2024]	
<Sahat>	<i>Teman-teman, besok kita kuliah dgn Pak Erikson zoom jam 08.00-09.45 WIB ya.</i>
<Ridho>	<i>Siap bang trims infonya</i>
<Sahat>	<i>Bro, help us to provide the zoom link ya,</i>

Sahat's post in Excerpt 6, sent while preparing for the lecture from 08:00 to 09:45, requests assistance in providing a Zoom link. The statement, "Bro, help us to provide the zoom link ya," involves a request that could burden the interlocutor's time and resources, thereby challenging their autonomy. This reflects Brown & Levinson's (1987) concept of negative face, as the request imposes on the interlocutor's freedom to manage their time and tasks independently. Furthermore, the code-switching tag, "Bro, help us to provide the zoom link ya,"

where "ya" is inserted for emphasis or to seek agreement, illustrates how tags can perform pragmatic functions in conversation (Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The strategic use of code-mixing in academic communication, as demonstrated in this analysis, plays a crucial role in conveying information effectively and demonstrating mastery of English. The use of code-mixing to provide important information, make polite requests for help, and express appreciation enhances the feeling of being valued and accepted. This analysis further emphasizes the role of code-mixing in reinforcing positive face-threatening acts (FTAs) in academic contexts, thereby maintaining a positive and respectful communication atmosphere (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Conclusion

WhatsApp, a pervasive mobile application, has fundamentally transformed communication in Indonesia. It serves as a multifaceted platform for various interactions beyond its initial purpose of messaging and voice calls. Its widespread adoption, driven by its user-friendly interface and accessibility, has made it particularly prevalent in educational settings, where online course groups utilize its features to facilitate communication, collaboration, and knowledge sharing among students and instructors. This study has delved into the intricate dynamics of online academic discourse within subject-based WhatsApp groups in Indonesia, specifically focusing on code-switching and its implications for identity construction. Drawing on the conceptual frameworks of facework by Brown & Levinson (1987) and Goffman (1955), as well as code-switching proposed by Gumperz (1982), the research has shed light on the complex interplay between language use, identity negotiation, and social interaction in the digital realm.

In subject-based WhatsApp groups, code-switching emerges as a strategic communicative tool, allowing users to express their identity, establish rapport, and manage relationships with fellow group members. It serves as both a means of navigating linguistic diversity and a mechanism for signalling group membership and asserting individuality. Moreover, the interaction between facework and code-switching reveals a layered effect, where code-switching functions as an alternation of contextual information signals, enhancing the communicative effectiveness of facework strategies. The research has uncovered the multifaceted role of code-switching in online academic discourse by exploring discursive practices in virtual learning environments. However, despite its widespread adoption, the manifestations of code-switching in WhatsApp groups still need to be explored in the existing literature. This study fills this gap by offering insights into how code-switching operates in Indonesia's specific context of digital academic discourse. Furthermore, the research highlights the socio-cultural factors that shape language use and identity negotiation in online academic discourse. Cultural norms, social hierarchies, and group dynamics significantly influence participants' language choices and identity performances, with the Indonesian cultural context playing a pivotal role in shaping discursive practices within WhatsApp groups.

In conclusion, this study contributes to our understanding of the complex dynamics of online academic discourse, emphasizing the crucial role of code-switching in identity construction and social interaction within subject-based WhatsApp groups in Indonesia. Further research is warranted to explore the nuanced complexities of code-switching and its implications for online communication in diverse cultural contexts

Bibliography

Alubthane, F., & ALYoussef, I. (2021). Pre-Service Teachers' Views about Effective Use of the Whatsapp Application in Online Classrooms. *Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology-TOJET*, 20(1), 44–52.

- Androutsopoulos, J. (2008). Potentials and limitations of discourse-centred online ethnography. *Language@ Internet*, 5(8).
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2011). Language change and digital media: a review of conceptions and evidence. *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe*, 1, 145–159.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2013). 27. Code-switching in computer-mediated communication. *Pragmatics of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 667–694.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 19(2), 185–205.
- Arundale, R. B. (2006). *Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework, and politeness*.
- Auer, P. (2005). A postscript: Code-switching and social identity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(3), 403–410.
- Auer, P. (2013). *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (2009). Language, asylum, and the national order. *Current Anthropology*, 50(4), 415–441.
- Blommaert, J., & Varis, P. (2015). Conviviality and collectives on social media: Virality, memes, and new social structures. *Multilingual Margins: A Journal of Multilingualism from the Periphery*, 2(1), 31.
- Bouhnik, D., & Deshen, M. (2014). WhatsApp goes to school: Mobile instant messaging between teachers and students. *Journal of Information Technology Education. Research*, 13, 217.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Vol. 4). Cambridge university press.
- Danet, B., & Herring, S. C. (2007). *The multilingual Internet: Language, culture, and communication online*. Oxford University Press.
- Dresner, E., & Herring, S. C. (2010). Functions of the nonverbal in CMC: Emoticons and illocutionary force. *Communication Theory*, 20(3), 249–268.
- Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 54–63.
- Eelen, G. (2014). *A Critique of Politeness Theory: Volume 1*. Routledge.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2011a). Computer-mediated communication. *Pragmatics in Practice*, 9, 93.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2011b). “On for drinkies?”: Email cues of participant alignments. *Language@ Internet*, 8.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry*, 18(3), 213–231.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies* (Issue 1). Cambridge University Press.
- Herring, S. C. (2004). Computer-mediated discourse analysis: An approach to researching online behavior. *Designing for Virtual Communities in the Service of Learning*, 338, 376.
- Kaye, L. K., Malone, S. A., & Wall, H. J. (2017). Emojis: Insights, affordances, and possibilities for psychological science. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 21(2), 66–68.
- Kress, G. (2009). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. routledge.
- Labov, W. (1972). The social setting of linguistic change. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, 260–325.
- Lee, C., & Barton, D. (2013). *Language online: Investigating digital texts and practices*. routledge.
- Locher, M. A., & Graham, S. L. (2010). *Introduction to interpersonal pragmatics*.

- Locher, M. A., & Watts, R. J. (2005). *Politeness theory and relational work*.
- Masip, P., Suau, J., Ruiz-Caballero, C., Capilla, P., & Zilles, K. (2021). News engagement on closed platforms. Human factors and technological affordances influencing exposure to news on WhatsApp. *Digital Journalism*, 9(8), 1062–1084.
- Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (1995). *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (Vol. 10). Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2001). The matrix language frame model: Development and responses. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs*, 126, 23–58.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2017). Code-switching. *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 217–237.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language* (Vol. 626). Cambridge university press.
- Sifianou, M., & Tzanne, A. (2021). Face, facework and face-threatening acts. *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociopragmatics*, 249–271.
- Tagg, C. (2015). *Exploring digital communication: Language in action*. Routledge.
- Tracy, K. (1990). *The many faces of facework*.
- Watts, R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge University Press.