Icelandic digital practices on Facebook

Language use in informal online communication

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Abstract

The dissertation addresses informal Icelandic writing practices in online communication, often referred to as *computer-mediated communication* (CMC). Specifically, the dissertation studies the linguistic practices of native Icelandic speakers on Facebook and seeks to gain insight on how the broader public evaluates such practices. Accordingly, the dissertation is influenced by linguistic research on language attitudes, superdiversity, and multilingualism in the context of digital environments. It is interested in the formal characteristics of Icelandic CMC and tries to explore what linguistic and semiotic resources users draw upon, how different communicative functions and contextual factors affect those choices, and how the users' digital practices relate to language regard and linguistic ideology in Iceland.

The dissertation comprises two investigations: First, a language attitudes study examines subconscious language attitudes toward informal language use in online environments. Second, the dissertation presents a detailed quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis of informal digital writing practices of Icelandic native speakers on Facebook.

The research is especially relevant against the backdrop of changing linguistic practices among (young) Icelanders, not least in digital media, that contrast with Icelandic language ideology and that have raised concerns regarding a weakened status of Icelandic in digital environments.

Ágrip

Verkefnið kannar málnotkun Íslendinga á netinu. Nánar tiltekið er fjallað um málnotkun í óformlegum samskiptum á Facebook með tilliti til tilhvata fólks í vali á tungumáli og málsniði, en einnig er hugað að viðhorfum málnotenda til óformlegrar málnotkunar á netinu.

Markmið verkefnisins er að skoða hvaða leiðir málhafar nota til tjáningar á Facebook og af hverju. Í brennidepli rannsóknarinnar er form, hlutverk og félagsmálfræðilegt gildi íslensku í óformlegum netsamskiptum. Gerð er rannsókn á fjöltungumálnotkun (multilingualism) og ofurfjölbreytni (superdiversity) í netumhverfi sem og rannsókn á ómeðvituðum viðhorfum til breytileika í íslensku máli.

Viðhorfskönnuninni á málnotkun á netinu er sérstaklega beint að óformlegri ritmálsnotkun á Facebook og er beitt aðlagaðri útgáfu „grímuprófsins" sem svo er kallað (*matched-guise test*). Meginrannsóknin á raunverulegri málnoktun Íslendinga á netinu beitir aftur á móti megindlegri og eigindlegri rannsókn á Facebook-færslum og byggir á hugmyndum og kenningum sem þróaðar hafa verið í rannsóknum á nýjum lestrar- og skriftarvenjum (new literacies) og í rannsóknum á notkun fleiri en eins tungumáls í ofurfjölbreytilegum félagshópum.

Rannsóknin er sérstaklega tímabær í ljósi þess að breytingar virðast eiga sér stað um þessar mundir í málumhverfi og málvenjum meðal (ungra) Íslendinga, ekki síst í stafrænum miðlum, en það hefur vakið áhyggjur um veika stöðu íslenskunnar í stafrænu umhverfi.

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PART I: BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

Iceland has a history of linguistic stability, conservatism, and an ideology of proper versus improper language use (Árnason, 2003a; Leonard & Árnason, 2011). However, the constant developments of our globalized world have changed Icelandic linguistic practices (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010, p. 228) and constitute new challenges for Icelandic language ideology (Leonard, 2020). Concerns have arisen that the status of Icelandic may be endangered, not least due to the increasing importance of new technology and the internet. According to Statistics Iceland (2015), 97% of the Icelandic population used digital technology on a regular basis in 2014. Correspondingly, Internet World Stats report a 99% internet usage for the Icelandic population in 2020 (Internet World Stats, n.d.). These developments, as well as societal changes, have led to increased contact with other languages (Árnason, 2009; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020; Óladóttir, 2009; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020). As a result, Icelanders have perceived the status of their native language as being weakened, especially compared to English which, from an Icelandic perspective, is perceived to be the predominant language in technology and on the internet (Drude et al., 2018, p. 108; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a, p. 47f.).

Against this backdrop, the research presented in this dissertation addresses informal Icelandic writing practices in online communication, often referred to as *computer-mediated communication* (CMC) (Herring, 1996b; Thurlow et al., 2004; Wright & Webb, 2011). The main objective of this dissertation is to investigate linguistic practices of native Icelandic speakers on Facebook with due regard to persisting ideas about a linguistically conservative and stable Icelandic speech community (Friðriksson, 2009; Kristinsson, 2017, 2019a; Wahl, 2008). In this regard, the empirical research for this dissertation does not only consider the formal characteristics of Icelandic CMC. Instead, it tries to explore what linguistic and semiotic resources users draw upon, how different communicative functions and contextual factors affect those choices, and how the observed digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland. Therefore, the empirical research presented in this dissertation comprises three studies that are based on different theories and methodologies, including a study on language attitudes toward informal digital writing practices, a statistical analysis of Icelandic Facebook data, and a qualitative linguistic analysis of this data that focuses especially on the users' online identity work and audience design. In line with that, the dissertation addresses the following research questions, which relate to the three main themes addressed in the thesis, that is, questions about language attitudes and ideologies, questions about the formal characteristics of Icelandic CMC, and questions about underlying communicative intentions:

Questions about language attitudes and ideologies

1. What are speakers' (subconscious) attitudes toward informal digital writing?
2. How do these evaluations and people's actual digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland?

Questions about the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital practices

1. What are the formal characteristics of digitally written Icelandic?
2. What linguistic resources do users draw upon?
3. To what extent and in what ways are features from these resources mixed and combined?

Questions about communicative intentions

1. What communicative functions do status updates on Facebook serve, and how do users' linguistic choices relate to these communicative functions?
2. How do the stylistic and formal characteristics of Icelandic digital writing practices compare to formal or informal styles of expression?
3. How do linguistic choices relate to users' identity performances and audience design?
4. What is the sociolinguistic role and function of Icelandic in individuals' everyday Facebook practices?

The dissertation is structured in two parts. Part I comprises the theoretical background for this dissertation and consists of Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 2 introduces Iceland as a test case for the study of digital practices by outlining the country's general language situation. First, Iceland's standard language ideology and language policies are explained by describing its linguistic history and continuity and the language's importance as cultural heritage (section 2.1). Next, linguistic variation in Icelandic is examined and relevant research on the topic summarized (section 2.2). Finally, the Icelandic language situation in the digital age is reviewed through the lens of the most recent linguistic research in the field (section 2.3).

Subsequently, Chapter 3 serves to outline the theoretical background of this dissertation. It starts by summarizing relevant key directions in CMC research (section 3.1), including early research strands (section 3.1.1) as well as more recent approaches (sections 3.1.2 to 3.1.4). Furthermore, the chapter introduces two main points of departure of this dissertation, namely, CMC in light of so-called new literacy studies (section 3.2) that view reading and writing in digital spaces as social practices and analyze them accordingly; and the notion of polylanguaging, which argues that speakers employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative goals (section 3.3). Following this, two main influential factors for users' digital choices will be examined. Firstly, section 3.4 addresses identity work

in digital environments, and secondly, section 3.5 reflects on the importance of the audience for users' linguistic choices online.

Part II addresses the empirical study of Icelandic digital practices and people's evaluations of such practices in Chapters 4 to 9. Part II begins by investigating people's attitudes toward informal language use in CMC. For this purpose, a language attitudes study was conducted as part of the bigger research project *Dulin viðhorf – mat á málnotkun* ("Subconscious attitudes – evaluations of language use"), which was funded by the University of Iceland Research Fund. The project, conducted in collaboration with Margrét Guðmundsdóttir and Stefanie Bade, aimed to examine subconscious language attitudes of Icelanders toward different aspects of language. The study relevant for this Ph.D. thesis specifically addressed informal written language use on Facebook. It is presented in detail in in Chapter 4, which tries to answer the research questions pertaining to language attitudes and ideologies. The chapter firstly outlines the theoretical and methodological background of this study (section 4.1) before it moves on to describe the study's research design (section 4.2). The results of the study are presented in section 4.3. Finally, section 4.4 discusses implications of these results for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of real-life Facebook data that are subsequently presented in Chapter 5 to 8.

Chapter 5 introduces the quantitative analysis of Icelandic Facebook data. The corpus used for this purpose comprises semi-public Facebook activities visible on the Facebook timelines of 28 Icelandic individuals. The chapter aims to answer the research questions about the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital practices by identifying and counting the linguistic means and their respective items used in the collected Facebook data. This is a relevant analysis step as it will allow to verify or falsify popular stereotypes about the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital practices. The chapter begins by describing the data collection (section 5.1) and the methodology used for the quantitative analysis (section 5.2). Subsequently, the results of the quantitative data analysis are presented in detail in sections 5.3 and 5.4.

Next, Chapter 6 introduces data and methodology for the qualitative data analysis, which aims to answer the dissertation's research questions about communicative intentions and motivations. Chapter 6 firstly reflects on the empirical methods that inform the qualitative analysis (section 6.1). On the one hand, the qualitative analysis draws on so called *discourse-centered online ethnography* (DCOE), which relies on the systematic and continuous observations of websites and direct contact with selected users. On the other hand, it is influenced by the notion of polylanguaging, which moves the analysis of any given production beyond the level of individual languages and focuses instead on the use of individual features. Subsequently, the chapter outlines the research design of the qualitative study in section 6.2. This includes a detailed description of the online ethnographic fieldwork and the interviews as well as a description of the different steps of the qualitative analysis. Furthermore, the chapter

introduces the informants relevant for the qualitative study (section 6.3) and addresses ethical issues faced in the research project and (section 6.3).

The results of the qualitative analysis are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 addresses the informants' identity work, focusing especially on their implementation of multimodal content. The chapter is subdivided into the analysis of identity work executed through multimodal stance-taking (section 7.1) and the analysis of group affiliation through multimodal means of expression (section 7.2).

Chapter 8, in turn, concerns itself with the role of the audience for the informants' digital practices and the analysis of different strategies of audience design. It firstly discusses how digital choices may be scrutinized and negotiated by the audience (section 8.1). The chapter then moves on to describe informants' linguistic strategies to limit their target audience (section 8.2), to maximize the audience (section 8.3), and to alternate between different audiences (section 8.4).

Finally, Chapter 9 completes this dissertation by drawing conclusions from the main results received from the quantitative and qualitative analyses of digital Facebook practices (sections 9.1 and 9.2) and the study of language attitudes toward such practices (section 9.3). Final conclusions about a possible formal development of Icelandic digital practices and the status and role of Icelandic in the digital discourse will be drawn in section 9.4.

2. The case of Iceland – language situation and language attitudes

One of the main research questions of this dissertation is how people's digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland.

Iceland constitutes a special case for the study of digital practices for several reasons. First of all, Icelandic has remained the language of Iceland since the island's settlement and is often described as a conservative language showing no significant form differences between Old and Modern Icelandic writing (Árnason, 2003a, p. 195f.; Leonard & Árnason, 2011, p. 91). Accordingly, the Icelandic nation defines itself in great part through its language (Kristinsson, 2017, p. 162). Icelandic language ideology is rooted in the country's linguistic stability since the settlement as well as the language's significance as a feature of national heritage and a symbol of Icelandic national identity (Leonard & Árnason, 2011, p. 93; Wahl, 2008). Hence, the linguistic ideal is guided by the idea of the "pure" language of Old Icelandic sagas leading to a clear differentiation between "good" and "bad" language use in Iceland (Leonard & Árnason, 2011, p. 94). In recent years, however, developments in society and technology have led to linguistic practices that challenge Icelandic language ideology. Notably, the increasing use of English among young Icelanders, on the internet and while playing computer games, has led to concerns regarding the *digital minorization* of Icelandic (Drude et al., 2018).

Therefore, before this dissertation can direct attention to digital practices among native speakers of Icelandic, it must address the language situation and language attitudes in Iceland in more detail. To do so, section 2.1 starts by summarizing the standard language ideology and language planning in Iceland. Subsequently, section 2.2 sheds light on linguistic variation in Icelandic with a special focus on English borrowings in Icelandic. Finally, section 2.3 addresses the status of Icelandic in digital spaces.

2.1 Standard language ideology and language policies

Icelandic has been described as a rather conservative and homogenous language, especially in comparison to the other Nordic languages (Árnason, 2003a, p. 358). Although there have been changes in the phonological and syntactic system, its lexicon and morphological structure have remained relatively stable over the centuries (Árnason, 2003a; Karlsson, 2004). As a result of this, speakers of modern Icelandic are still able to read and comprehend medieval texts (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010, p. 243). This special quality of Icelandic is rooted in Iceland's long written tradition and a linguistic norm that can be traced back to the 12th and 13th centuries; this has been the topic of numerous linguistic contributions (e.g. Árnason, 2002; Friðriksson, 2009; Ottósson, 1990).

Accordingly, the Icelandic language is often viewed as a symbol of the country's linguistic continuity as well as its national heritage, its "egg of life" (*fjöregg*) (Árnason, 2004, p. 378; 2005b, p. 99; Leonard & Árnason, 2011, p. 93). With regard to Icelandic national and cultural identity, scholars have repeatedly drawn attention to the symbolic function of the standard Icelandic language, describing it as a symbol of national pride (Leonard & Árnason, 2011; Wahl, 2008).

As a result of this, active language planning has long played an important role in Icelandic language policy. Icelandic is often associated with a conservative language policy and linguistic purism. In fact, language planning activities in Iceland, dating at least to the 16th century, have focused almost exclusively on the form of Icelandic with ambitions to keep the language "pure" and "clean" (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010, p. 94; Ottósson, 1990). This purism movement became especially strong in the 19th and 20th centuries when preserving the language became an integral part of Icelandic identity (Ottósson, 1990, p. 145).

Modern official language policy, however, is no longer concerned with merely preserving the form of Icelandic (corpus planning). Instead, it also concerns itself with the domain problem (status planning) and seeks to maintain the status and to promote the use and acquisition of Icelandic (Íslensk Málstefna, 2008; Kristinsson, 2017, 2020). Hence, in a resolution passed by the Icelandic parliament in 2019, three main goals were defined to strengthen the Icelandic language and to ensure its livelihood in the future (Kristinsson, 2020, p. 12):

1. Ensuring the usability of Icelandic in all fields and domains of the society
2. Promoting the teaching of Icelandic as well as teacher education and training
3. Ensuring the future of Icelandic in digital spaces[1]

Nevertheless, although some scholars have proclaimed the decline of linguistic purism in Iceland (e.g. Leonard, 2020) the linguistic ideal of a "pure" language still seems to prevail in society at large (Kristinsson, 2017, p. 80). For example, in a qualitative study on Icelanders' views about their mother tongue, Óladóttir (2007) addresses questions about the value of Icelandic, the perception of neologisms (*nýyrði*),[2] and attitudes toward linguistic purism. Her results indicate that attitudes toward the value of Icelandic have hardly shifted since the Icelandic battle for independence in the 19th century.

Also, in a more recent study on overtly expressed attitudes toward Icelandic neologisms compared to English borrowings in the field of computers and technology, Jökulsdóttir et al. (2019) show that speakers generally support the coining and use of "pure" Icelandic neologisms in this field.

Finally, norms of proper Icelandic still relate to the tradition of lexical purism (Kristinsson, 2019b, p. 102). While Icelandic words are perceived as "good" or "proper" language use and associated with writing, borrowings[3] are associated with spoken and informal registers (Kristinsson, 2017, pp. 135, 143). If, however, used in written texts, borrowings are often adapted to Icelandic orthography, a practice that is more common in Icelandic than in any other Scandinavian language (p. 135f).

[1] The three goals in the original text are phrased as follows: „Íslenska verði notuð á öllum sviðum samfélagsins. Íslenskukennsla verði efld á öllum skólastigum ásamt menntun og starfsþróun kennara. Framtíð íslenskrar tungu í stafrænum heimi verði tryggð" (Alþingi, 2019).

[2] Language planning activities in Iceland address, among other things, the creation and dissemination of native neologisms, or new terms based on the existing phonological and morphological system of Icelandic (Sapir, 2003). The creation of neologisms has a long tradition in Icelandic, as neologisms have been advocated since the 18th century (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2010, p. 243).

[3] Note that the concept of (lexical) borrowing is rather fuzzy. Many languages, as for example German, distinguish between so called loanwords (i.e. *Lehnwort* in German) and foreign words (i.e. *Fremdwort* in German). The former refers to words of foreign origin that are fully adapted to the target language and have thus entered its lexicon. The latter describes words that are not or only partially adapted and that are, therefore, not considered part of the target language's lexicon. As Kvaran (2004) points out, words of foreign origin must fulfill four criteria to be accepted as part of the Icelandic lexicon: 1. They must comply with Icelandic phonology. 2. They must comply with Icelandic morphology. 3. In speaking, the accent must be on the first syllable. 4. They must be written according to Icelandic orthography, that is, with Icelandic letters that correspond with the word's pronunciation (p. 146; see also Jónsson, 2002). However, even though a word may fulfill all four criteria and, therefore, be formally considered a loanword (*Lehnwort*), it may still not be accepted as part of the Icelandic lexicon by the public as it may still "feel foreign" (Kvaran, 2004, p. 146). In Icelandic, the term *sletta* is used in everyday language to describe words of foreign origin that are used with little to no adaption in Icelandic speech or writing. According to the Dictionary of modern Icelandic (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*), *sletta* is „a foreign word or phrase, which is not recognized in the target language due to insufficient adaptation to the phonological- or inflection system or other foreign characteristics" (*erlent orð eða orðasamband sem ekki nýtur viðurkenningar í viðtökumálinu vegna ónógrar aðlögunar að hljóð- eða beygingakerfi eða annars konar framandi einkenna*) (Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók, 2022.; see also Árnason, 2009, p.79). In this dissertation, the term borrowing is defined based on the definition of the Icelandic word *sletta*. Thus, borrowings are defined as words of foreign origin that are not part of the Icelandic lexicon, due to little or no adaption to the target language, or that are not accepted in the Icelandic lexicon by the public for containing characteristics that are perceived as foreign. In the quantitative study presented in Chapter 5, the Dictionary of modern Icelandic (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*) serves as a guideline to distinguish between Icelandic words and borrowings (see section 5.2.2).

2.2 Linguistic variation

While a rather purist language ideal seems to persist in Iceland, and although Icelandic may be described as a homogeneous language showing relatively few regional differences, it is not free from linguistic variation. Differences may be observed between writing and speaking, formal and informal language, and with regard to external factors such as age, education, the context of use, etc. (Kristinsson, 2019b; Wahl, 2008). Furthermore, linguistic variation in Icelandic is connected to what speakers deem appropriate or inappropriate language use in a particular communicative situation, a certain genre, or with regard to their interlocutors (Kristinsson, 2019b, p. 98). Hence, a more formal style may be perceived inappropriate in rather informal contexts (Kristinsson, 2017, p. 187; Óladóttir, 2009).

While earlier research on linguistic variation in Iceland has mostly addressed phonology and syntax (e.g. Árnason, 2005a; Sigurjónsdóttir & Maling, 2001; Svavarsdóttir et al., 1984; Þráinsson et al., 2013; Þráinsson & Árnason, 1992), the interest in variation across linguistic domains, communicative settings, and generations has increased in recent years (e.g. Hilmisdóttir, 2018; Hilmisdóttir, 2020; Kristinsson, 2019b; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013). Ari Páll Kristinsson (2009), for example, focuses on Icelandic radio language, discovering differences between scripted planned and unscripted unplanned speech. He suggests that scripted texts on radio and TV mirror formal written language whereas unscripted texts mirror informal spoken language (Kristinsson, 2003). Furthermore, non-standard variants can be found more often in less planned, informal, and spoken texts, whereas the same features are avoided in more planned, formal, and written texts (Kristinsson, 2009).

Furthermore, Finnur Friðriksson (2009) finds some syntactic variation in research on non-standard features in oral and written language use. While non-standard features are negligible in the written data, they do appear in the spoken material (although not very often).

Finally, Ari Páll Kristinsson and Amanda Hilmarsson-Dunn (2013) study attitudes toward different text styles for different genres among Icelandic students and teachers. By means of a questionnaire, informants were asked to evaluate the suitability of four different texts for different text genres. The overall findings of this research show that both research groups associate standard language features with “more formal, more impersonal, more planned, more edited text genres” and non-standard features with “less formal, less impersonal, less planned, less edited genres” (Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013, p. 350).[4] Still, some differences in the judgements of students and teachers could be detected regarding the evaluation of non-standard features. While teachers deemed non-standard language features as inappropriate for any text genre, students were more positive toward borrowings in informal and more personal genres. Also, students were found either to be unaware of grammatical deviations or to perceive them as not as important in more formal genres.

[4] In the study, the former included the genres of report/dissertation, book, printed daily newspaper, and web-based news, whereas the latter comprised blogs, Facebook, and email.

Besides phonological and grammatical variation, Icelandic linguists have become increasingly interested in lexical borrowings and especially the use of English in Icelandic. As Leonard (2020) points out, translanguaging and especially the use of English borrowings is no longer only practiced by non-native speakers of Icelandic, but it is becoming the discursive norm of young Icelanders too (p. 285f.).

The relationship between English and Icelandic in Iceland has been described as a love-hate relationship. Icelanders are said to use English more often than their Scandinavian neighbors (Kristinsson, 2017, p. 107) and English is becoming increasingly important in Iceland for reasons of globalization, internationalization, and mobility. For example, the Icelandic society today is linguistically more diverse than ever. According to Statistics Iceland (2022a), 15.5% of Iceland's population in 2021 were immigrants.[5] Hence, many people living in Iceland today are non-native speakers of Icelandic and may use English at work and in their day-to-day interactions with the native population and other foreigners, at least until their command over Icelandic has reached a sufficient level.

Beyond that, the tourism industry in Iceland has grown rapidly in the last decade or so. It is currently the country's major export revenue provider (OECD, 2020). As a consequence of this development and because foreign tourists primarily resort to English to communicate in Iceland, the use of English has become ever more important for businesses linked to the tourism industry as well as in public life. Accordingly, English has become more visible in people's everyday lives, as for example on the signs at bus stops, in restaurant menus, or in the displays of small shops and other businesses that try to cater not only to Icelanders, but also to tourists and non-native speakers of Icelandic.

Finally, increasing international cooperation and communication call for the use of English in domains such as the business sector, the financial sector, in science, and in academia (Kristinsson, 201or8, p. 244). Kristinsson & Bernharðsson (2014), for instance, discuss the use of English and Icelandic at Icelandic universities emphasizing the challenges that arise from the demand for academic internationalization and efforts to maintain the status of Icelandic in higher education.

However, while English has become more and more important in Iceland in recent years, the use of English borrowings in Icelandic is perceived rather negatively by the public; borrowings are referred to as (*ensku*)*slettur* ("English blemishes" or "English stains," a term with strongly negative connotations) and often named as a clear manifestation of improper language use, especially in more formal contexts. For example, Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn (2013) note that lexical borrowings are perceived as inappropriate in edited texts such as textbooks and newspapers. Nonetheless, English borrowings have been reported in less formal

[5] Statistics Iceland gives the following definition of immigrants and people with a foreign background: "An immigrant is a person born abroad with both parents foreign born and all grandparents foreign born, whereas a second generation immigrant is born in Iceland having immigrant parents. A person with a foreign background has one parent of foreign origin" (Statistics Iceland, 2022b).

as well as colloquial contexts (Graedler & Kvaran, 2010; Kristinsson, 2019b, p. 101f.; Svavarsdóttir, 2004a). Also, although very little research has been conducted in Iceland regarding Icelandic speakers' vocabulary in oral communication, the use of English in oral and informal contexts can be traced back at least to the early 1980s (cf. Árnason et al., 1982). Consequently, numerous works have addressed the use of English in Icelandic and its presumed impact on the Icelandic language (e.g. Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2018; Árnason, 2005b; Kvaran, 2004; Óladóttir, 2009; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018b; Svavarsdóttir, 2004a, 2004b; Svavarsdóttir et al., 2010). Ásta Svavarsdóttir (2004a), for instance, points to variation between generations when it comes to the use of English borrowings, finding that younger Icelanders use proportionally more English borrowings than older Icelanders. At the same time, younger Icelanders are found to be more exposed to English, for example, through technology and the internet (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2018; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020). This may in turn affect their attitudes toward English. Accordingly, several studies find younger Icelanders to be more tolerant toward the use of English and to perceive it more positively than the older generation (e.g. Árnason, 2006; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013), as they often associate English with fun, travel, technology, and leisure (Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020, p. 174).

Additionally, the research project Modern Imports in the Languages in the Nordic Countries (MIN) studied different aspects of English language influence on languages and their speech communities in the Nordic countries, namely Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian. Among other things, the project was interested in both conscious and subconscious language attitudes toward English. In Iceland, the study showed a strong support for "an active purist word policy" and criticism of the increased use of English words used in modern Icelandic (Ewen & Kristiansen, 2006; Kristiansen, 2010b, p. 64). Furthermore, the study revealed differences in judgments related to age and educational background of the Icelandic informants. Participants under the age of 30 were more positive toward English influence and reported more frequent use of English than the older generations. Also, although the use of English reportedly increased with the degree of education, informants with higher levels of education were more negative toward English than those with a lower level of education (Árnason, 2006).

Overall, English seems to gain ground in domains, such as in the financial sector, academia, tourism, but also in the field of computers and technology (see section 2.3). Studies have found that, although Icelandic computer terminology does exist (Jónsson et al., 2013), many users refer to the English terminology or prefer English user interfaces as the Icelandic terms are often perceived as silly or not fitting (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson, 2009; Kristinsson, 2017, p. 113). This coincides with a study by Hanna Óladóttir (2009), who finds that English receives more public acceptance in contexts where its use is seen as economically

or communicatively useful or necessary, as for example in interactions with non-Icelandic speakers or in the computer domain.

Accordingly, linguists have pointed to the fact that there has never been as much cause to draw on English in Iceland as today due to globalization, technological changes, and an increasing number of people with native languages other than Icelandic (Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020, p. 174; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018b).

2.3 Icelandic in the digital age

In general, the status of Icelandic as a national language is still strong, according to the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2013). It is the only language of a nation state with an established literature tradition and a long tradition in language planning and preservation (Ottósson, 1990). Also, until recently, Iceland was for the most part monolingual. Apart from Icelandic sign language, there are no official minority languages in Iceland, and Icelandic is (almost) the sole language in government, public administration, education, and most other domains of society (Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020, p. 606; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a, p. 49). In digital spaces, however, Icelandic and English exist side by side. This has been described as *digital language contact* (Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018b) and has led to more linguistic insecurity in Iceland (Leonard, 2020, p. 286). Linguists have been concerned with the question of whether the increased use of English, for example in the context of computer games and on the internet, could affect the language practices of young Icelanders (e.g. Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021; R. Jónsdóttir & Hilmisdóttir, 2021; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020). Concerns were expressed that the constant use of English in these domains, especially by the younger generation, may have consequences for the form of Icelandic and/or weaken the status of Icelandic in this generation and eventually jeopardize its future (Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a, p. 51).

Although more recent studies have not confirmed these concerns (e.g. Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021; Sigurðardóttir & Sigurjónsdóttir, 2020; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020), Icelandic is in fact listed among the 21 official languages in Europe that are at risk of becoming digitally extinct (cf. Rehm & Uszkoreit, 2012; Rehm et al., 2016). Kornai (2013) projects the *digital language death* of about 95% of all the languages in the world. This means that the language in question loses its function as a communicative means for day-to-day communication, business, commerce, etc., in digital spaces. Furthermore, the language loses its prestige in digital environments. Finally, the competence for using the language in digital spaces is lost, meaning that it will no longer be possible to raise so-called “digital natives” in the respective language (p. 1). In light of this, Icelandic linguists and language planners have repeatedly pointed out the risk of the *digital minorization* of Icelandic (e.g. Drude et al., 2018, p. 101; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020; Rögnvaldsson et al., 2012; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a). Rögnvaldsson et al. (2012), for instance, call attention to the alarmingly

low support that Icelandic receives through language technology. As a response to this, efforts have been increased that aim at the development and distribution of Icelandic language resources and applications for interaction in digital environments, including speech recognizers, machine translation tools, and digital language corpora (cf. Nikulásdóttir et al., 2020; Nikulásdóttir et al., 2018; Steingrímsson et al., 2018).

Nonetheless, as Drude et al. (2018) point out, "[e]ven national languages such as Icelandic (…) can be digitally weak in their diglossic relation with English, despite national support and a number of important online tools" (2018, p. 104). Sigurjónsdóttir and Rögnvaldsson (2018b) conclude that careful and extensive research on the status of Icelandic in digital spaces has never been more important (p. 2). Accordingly, Kristinsson (2021b) emphasizes the benefits of research on digital language contact and language use for Icelandic language policy, as it can provide new data about people's linguistic beliefs and practices that, in turn, can be implemented in future language management efforts.

As a result, an increasing amount of research has addressed issues regarding Icelandic in digital spaces and the status of Icelandic due to technological changes in recent years (e.g. Drude et al., 2018; Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020; Isenmann, 2014; R. Jónsdóttir & Hilmisdóttir, 2021; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a, 2018b). The research project Modeling the Linguistic Consequences of Digital Language Contact (*Greining á málfræðilegum afleiðingum stafræns málsambýlis*), for example, addresses the impact of digital media and smart technology on Icelandic. More specifically, the project is interested in the linguistic impact of English on lexicon, language skills, the language use of Icelanders, and attitudes towards English and Icelandic, which may have consequences for the status and future of Icelandic. The project investigates, among other things, whether variation or change due to the close contact of Icelandic and English can already be detected in Icelandic. Beyond that, the project studies whether the fields of usage of Icelandic have been decreasing due to the strong status of English in digital spaces (Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a, 2018b).

The results of the project show that the linguistic environment of Icelandic is changing because of digital media. Speakers of Icelandic, and especially the younger generations, receive more and more English input due to their increasing use of computers and the internet. This, in turn, has led to increasing English proficiency and overall positive attitudes towards English (Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020). While these developments seem to have no significant consequences for the form and status of Icelandic (Sigurjónsdóttir & Nowenstein, 2021; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020), they may affect the function of Icelandic as English seems to infringe on the use of Icelandic in the digital world (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2018; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020). This, in turn, may in the future lead to linguistic changes in the "real" world, for example regarding attitudes toward Icelandic and English and the active usage of English among young speakers of Icelandic (Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018b, p. 13).

2.4 Summary

In sum, Iceland forms an interesting test case for the study of digital practices. On the one hand, Icelandic has been described as a comparatively homogenous language with a rather conservative language ideology and a history of linguistic purism and deliberate language planning. On the other hand, language variation can be detected in informal contexts. Not least, the rise of new technology and digital media have led to changing linguistic practices among (young) Icelanders, and concerns have been brought forward regarding a weakened status of Icelandic in digital environments.

Although this dissertation does not aim to evaluate the general status of Icelandic on the internet, the research project is still interested in the form and function of Icelandic in digital communication. By analyzing digital practices on Facebook, the dissertation investigates, among other things, the formal characteristics of Icelandic in informal digital contexts, exploring, for example, to what extent and in what ways Icelandic language features are mixed and combined with other linguistic codes. It furthermore studies the functions these practices may serve and how they relate to people's perceptions about appropriate writing styles in semi-public Facebook spaces. In doing so, the dissertation tries, among other things, to answer questions about language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland in the context of the digital discourse.

3. Theoretical background

Language use in digital spaces has drawn more and more scientific attention in the last two decades, and the number of studies exploring ways of online communication is constantly growing. Linguistic studies have given insight into the characteristics of different communication forms and genres (e.g. Baron, 2000; Bittner, 2003; Crystal, 2006; Giltrow & Stein, 2009; Zappavigna, 2012) or addressed questions of forms and structures in digital communication from a corpus linguistic point of view (e.g. Beißwenger et al., 2014; Fišer & Beißwenger, 2017). Other studies have covered sociolinguistic and discourse analytic questions (e.g. Baron, 2010; Beißwenger, 2003; Herring, 2001, 2004a; Schönfeldt, 2001). Yet others discuss the impact of CMC on language use as well as language change in and through CMC (e.g. Runkehl, 2013; Siever, 2014; Smyk-Bhattacharjee, 2006).

Scholars have highlighted the heterogeneity of online communication and the juxtaposition of different forms, styles, and varieties (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2003; Runkehl et al., 1998). Furthermore, the development of a "new literacy" and new forms of writing in digital contexts have been pointed out (e.g. Barton & Lee, 2013; Lee, 2011; Storrer, 2000).

Linguistic-scientific analyses have focused on "traditional" established forms of online communication such as email (e.g. Baron, 2000), text messages (e.g. Androutsopoulos & Schmidt, 2002; Günthner, 2011), and chats (e.g. Beißwenger, 2003; Hess-Lüttich & Wilde,

2003; Schönfeldt, 2001). In recent years, however, linguistic interest has also addressed Web 2.0[6] applications including blogs (e.g. Herring & Paolillo, 2006; Myers, 2010; Ryshina-Pankova & Kugele, 2013); micro-blogging, as for example Twitter (e.g. Marwick & boyd, 2011; Scheffler, 2017; Zappavigna, 2012); and so-called social network sites (SNS),[7] such as Facebook (e.g. Belling & de Bres, 2014; de Bres, 2015; Dürscheid & Brommer, 2013; Georgalou, 2017; Pérez-Sabater, 2012; Thurlow, 2013; West & Trester, 2013).

In light of an ever-growing research body on language use in the digital world, the following chapter provides the theoretical background pertinent to this dissertation. In section 3.1, directions in linguistic CMC research are outlined; section 3.2 then addresses the relationship of CMC and literacy studies, describing among other things the new literacy practices that characterize the Web 2.0. Subsequently, section 3.3 addresses these digital practices in the light of superdiversity and multilingualism. Finally, sections 3.4 and 3.5 present the theoretical background regarding identity work and audience design in digital spaces.

3.1 Key directions in CMC research

Linguists have addressed digital discourse from varied perspectives and grounded their research in different concepts. Four directions are especially relevant for this dissertation: 1. CMC as structures and features, 2. context-aware CMC studies, 3. language variation approaches, and 4. research on language ideology in CMC.

3.1.1 CMC as structures and features

Early linguistic studies on CMC have often focused on the identification and description of structures and features that seemingly characterize online communication as new linguistic varieties in itself. The descriptive view taken by this approach is grounded in the notion that new technologies and affordances lead to new forms of expression in digital spaces. Based on frequently reported typographic means such as, for example, acronyms (*LOL* for "laugh out loud"), word reductions (*gd* for "good"), and emoticons, labels such as *netspeak* (Crystal, 2006) have tried to holistically describe language use on the internet, sustaining a popular perception of CMC as homogeneous and characterized by distinct set of features (Androutsopoulos, 2006a, p. 420).

Research within this strand has often started from the distinction between synchronous (e.g., chat) and asynchronous (e.g., email) communication and has been concerned, among other things, with the structural description of different communication forms such as "the language of emails" and the "language of chatrooms" (e.g. Crystal, 2006). Furthermore,

[6] The Web 2.0 can, as distinguished from former Web 1.0 sites, be described as websites that emerged since the early 2000s and that allow for and rely on user participation and engagement (Cormode & Krishnamurthy, 2008).

[7] According to boyd and Ellison (2008), SNS 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. The nature and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site" (p. 211).

strategies to meet communicative challenges involved with interaction without visual contact (e.g. Storrer, 2000) have been studied. Online language use has also been compared with traditional modes of communication, including the location of CMC between speech and writing (e.g. Baron, 2000, 2003).

As a result of this fairly dominant tradition in linguistic CMC research, scholars now have a good understanding of characteristic structures and features, differences between synchronous and asynchronous CMC, and the combination of written and spoken language strategies in digital writing (Androutsopoulos, 2006a, p. 420). However, studies of this kind have been criticized for focusing merely on the effects of communication technology on language form, as well as for drawing generalizations based on media-related distinctions while neglecting sociocultural and discursive contexts and linguistic variation across communication platforms and genres (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2007b, 2008; Barton & Lee, 2013). In this regard, the assumed existence of email language, chat language, etc., has been criticized, as users, communicative settings, and purposes of CMC are simply too diverse to generalize any findings gained from feature-based studies (Androutsopoulos, 2007b, p. 280).

3.1.2 CMC and context

More recent CMC studies are not only interested in the structures and features of CMC. Instead, social factors and the specific contexts in which these structures and features are used share equal attention. Informed by sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and discourse analysis, context-aware CMC research starts from the notion that language use online cannot be determined by the medium alone. Instead, digital communication is shaped by various communicative settings such as the users involved (sender and audience), their social background, and the genre in which the communication takes place[8] (Androutsopoulos, 2007b; Barton & Lee, 2013). Studies in this tradition are thus interested in the social and contextual dimensions of language use in digital spaces.

As context plays a critical role in the analysis of online language practices, scholars have repeatedly pointed to a range of contextual factors that need to be considered when interpreting CMC data (cf. Herring, 2004a, 2004b; Jones & Hafner, 2012; Thurlow et al., 2004). According to Page et al. (2014, p. 33), these factors include:

1. The **participants**, i.e., the interlocutors and their relationship to each other along with their identity within the group.
2. The **imagined context**, i.e., the context that is created cognitively by the interlocutors based on their knowledge of the world and cues provided through interaction. This

[8] Genre in this context refers to the different text and communication types to be found in digital spaces, including email, chat, Facebook status update, etc. Genre plays a critical role in the analysis of CMC as users employ different sets of features in different communicative settings. It is one of the characteristics of Web 2.0 applications that genres are no longer strictly separated but may blend and result in hybrid genres. (Androutsopoulos, 2007b, p. 284). This can be seen, for instance, in SNS.

includes the audiences that users imagine they are addressing or communities the interlocutors are assumed to belong to.

3. The **extra-situated context**, i.e., the offline social factors that the interlocutors are involved in and associated with and that may influence their digital practices, including gender, age, and social group membership.
4. The **behavioral context**, i.e., the physical situation in which digital practices are located, as for example time and place (in the real world) as well as the devices used for the interaction.
5. The **generic context**, i.e., the website or SNS where the communication takes place. This also includes the site's purpose, rules, and norms, which are often made explicit in the form of community standards or so-called netiquette.[9]
6. The **textual context**, i.e., the surrounding interactions, such as preceding and following texts, timestamps, and location-based information, etc.

Methodologically, context-aware studies have drawn on a variety of concepts and methods from different research traditions, including discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and the ethnography of communication. Susan Herring's (2004a) computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA), for instance, has informed a range of linguistic works on CMC by offering a framework for the empirical analysis of online behavior that recognizes the importance of contextual factors (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2008; Darics, 2010; Nishimura, 2008).

In addition, studies seeking to gain insight into informants' perspectives on their online behavior have applied ethnographic methods such as (in-depth) interviews with individual users (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2007a; Spilioti, 2011). In doing so, some scholars have used a blend of online and offline ethnographic methods, mixing interviews with door-to-door surveys and the observation of online practices in offline spaces where researchers sit next to the informant during their activities on the internet (e.g. D. Miller & Slater, 2000). Others have relied on thorough observations of relevant digital environments complemented by direct contact (online or offline) with informants, as proposed in Hine's (2000) *virtual ethnography*[10] (e.g. Baym, 2000; Lee, 2011).

3.1.3 A language variationist approach to CMC

One strand in the tradition of context-aware CMC research is the variationist approach to digital language use. Specific structures and features in CMC may occur within or across different communication forms. The use of emoticons, for instance, is not necessarily limited to online chats while emails are not excluded from containing spoken-like language features. At the

[9] Community standards are the rules and guidelines often found in SNS that regulate what can and cannot be posted on the respective site. Facebook, Twitter, and many other SNS, for example, do not allow hate speech or violent or pornographic content on their sites (cf. Meta, n.d. a; Twitter Inc., n.d.). Netiquette, in turn, refers to a set of social conventions that have developed across networks as to what is considered polite behavior on the internet. Netiquette includes, among other things, avoidance of offensive language as well as posting pictures and content about others without their consent (Crystal, 2006, p. 75).

[10] Although Hine's work does not address language use on the internet itself, it has given valuable methodological impulse for linguistic CMC research.

same time, users do not apply the same set of features in all CMC genres. Instead, they adjust their language use according to different contexts in which it may fulfill different purposes (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 6).

CMC studies on language variation are concerned with the quantification and correlation of features against predefined independent variables such as gender, age, and education (Androutsopoulos, 2006a). Originating from a "coding-and-counting" tradition in linguistics, this approach largely relies on quantitative, corpus-based research methods (see Herring, 2004a). However, in order to correlate findings to groups of users, it is also dependent on socio-demographic user data. Scholars have obtained this background information through ethnographic methods including personal contact with informants (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 1997, 2004), for instance, or by drawing on users' online self-descriptions found in screen names, self-categorizations of online communities (e.g., teen chat channels, region-specific chat channels), or user profiles (Androutsopoulos, 2006a, p. 425).

Language variation studies have given valuable insight into the social patterns of language use in different communication forms, demonstrating that the use of certain features correlates with gender, age, and regional location (p. 425). Among other things, studies have addressed linguistic variation across different languages, cultures, and social groups (e.g. Danet & Herring, 2007) as well as questions of identity work and performance in online environments (e.g. Nakumara, 2002; Page, 2011) – especially with regard to gender-related questions (e.g. Danet, 1998; Herring, 1996a; Herring & Paolillo, 2006; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). Moreover, studies have focused on grammatical variation, language choice, the written representations of phonological variation between standard and vernacular, and formal and informal language use, as well as written language phenomena such as emoticons and spelling deviations (e.g. Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2004; Franke, 2006; Paolillo, 2001; Siebenhaar, 2006; Squires, 2012; van Compernolle, 2008).

Critique of variationist CMC research has concerned its methodological approach to data collection and analysis. It has been argued that adapting traditional linguistic methods is not helpful in giving answers to all – and especially new – sociolinguistic questions about digital communication. Accordingly, Androutsopoulos (2011) identifies several limitations of language variation approaches to CMC. These include the exclusion of features that are not easily characterized as linguistic variables, such as emoticons or verbalized laughter, or the marginalization of features that only occur rarely in the data set but may still serve relevant pragmatic functions (p. 279).

Additionally, a traditional variationist approach seems unsuitable for Web 2.0 data, which is often multilingual and multilayered in terms of convergence,[11] affordances, and modes of expression (p. 281). The approach is most productive in settings where communication relies

[11] Convergence refers to the formally distinct modes of communication that intersect and merge in digital environments due to technological advances (Androutsopoulos, 2011, p. 281; Jenkins, 2006).

exclusively on monolingual linguistic elements, and where data is easily accessible in large volumes. As Androutsopoulos (2011) points out regarding communication in Web 2.0 settings, however, "language comes integrated in visually organized environments, verbal exchanges tend to be more fragmented and dependent on multimodal content, and meaning is constructed through the interplay of language and other semiotic means" (p. 279).

3.1.4 CMC and ideologies

A relatively new strand in CMC research devotes its efforts to the study of linguistic and sociocultural ideologies (e.g. Chun & Walters, 2011; Thurlow, 2017; Walton & Jaffe, 2011). Studies of this kind go beyond the level of single language features. Instead, they extend the focus of attention to ways in which social ideologies shape communication and how users discursively construct these ideologies.

Research concerned with (language) ideologies and CMC is mainly interested in Web 2.0 sites such as Flickr, YouTube, and Facebook. It therefore acknowledges the multimodal ways in which ideologies are negotiated.

Studies often respond to public concerns about the impact of new media on everyday language use, including complaints of decreasing linguistic skills and apprehensions about the decline of standards (e.g. Thurlow, 2007; Thurlow & Bell, 2009). Scholars have been concerned with meta-language and users' linguistic "theories" presented in the digital discourse, that is, how people talk about language and (language) ideologies (e.g. Lenihan, 2011; Thurlow, 2014; Thurlow, 2017). Other works have addressed negotiations of sociocultural ideologies in the digital discourse. A central issue in this regard is stance-taking, or how people position themselves relative to what they or others say or do and how they negotiate this positioning.[12] Nevertheless, relevant to the notion of stance in analysis of research interested in ideologies is not only users' stances but also the researcher's stance, that is, the researcher's views regarding the topic of interest. In acknowledging their stance, researchers show awareness of their own positioning and its influence on the data analysis (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 103; cf. Chun & Walters, 2011, p. 270).

Another starting point for the study of language ideologies in CMC is worth mentioning. While most research on ideological issues is concerned with expression *within* the digital discourse, a few studies approach language ideology and CMC from a different angle by examining views and perception *about* digital practices. Zhang (2014), for instance, studies language attitudes toward a feminine language style in Chinese emails. Furthermore, Cougnon and Draelants (2018) investigate language attitudes toward orthographic deviations in digital writing. Their findings suggest that evaluations of spelling deviations relate to informants' self-presentations as well as their moral and cultural beliefs, common beliefs about language in general, and experienced social and cultural evaluations.

[12] For a more detailed introduction of stance, see section 3.4.2.

The dissertation's study of people's evaluations of Icelandic digital writing, presented in Chapter 4, follows this strand of research. The study is interested in language attitudes toward Icelandic informal writing, as often found in CMC, in comparison to more formal writing practices. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the informants of the study favor a more formal writing style over informal practices.

3.2 CMC and literacy studies

Many digital discourse studies are informed by literacy studies that combine the study of texts with the study of practices (e.g. Barton & Lee, 2013; Lee, 2002, 2011; Lee & Barton, 2011; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011). While scholars of other disciplines have viewed literacy as a "tool" or "technology" that can produce valuable output when applied correctly (cf. de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981), literacy studies regard literacy as a social practice (cf. Barton & Hall, 2000).

A critical aspect of the social practices that involve language are the ways in which speakers use language. Therefore, literacy studies start from people's everyday social practices, acknowledging that many of them involve text. They are interested in what people do with (written) language in their day-to-day lives, within certain communities, and in forming and maintaining certain identities (Page et al., 2014).

As literacy studies are one point of departure for this dissertation, the following paragraphs serve to outline their general ideas and concepts.

3.2.1 Practices

The notion of practices is a central idea across social sciences and a key concept in literacy studies (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 25). Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole (1981) define practices as socially developed "recurrent, goal-directed sequence of activities using a particular technology and particular systems of knowledge" (p. 236). According to this definition, practices require three critical components: knowledge, technology, and skills. In this context, the meaning of technology is not limited to the field of electronics and digitality. Instead, it includes a variety of tools and techniques that are used in the respective activities. Applied to literacy practices, technology includes writing systems, pen and paper, keyboard and screen, etc. (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, p. 65). Skills, in turn, are defined as "coordinate sets of action" (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p. 236), for instance, hand–eye coordination in writing.

The three components – knowledge, technology, and skills – are interrelated and connected to one another. Yet they develop in connection to people's changing ideas, which may lead to changing practices. In other words, as conceptions change about how things should be done, tasks change, and likewise the required knowledge, technology, and skills to fulfill those tasks may be changing accordingly (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, pp. 65, 71).

In sum, literacy does not mean that one simply knows how to read and write – that is to say, that someone is literate as opposed to illiterate. It means that one knows how to make use of this knowledge for a specific purpose in a predefined context (Scribner & Cole, 1981, p.

236). Literacy thus includes many ways of reading and writing, that is, different *literacies* such as letter writing, protocolling, reading the newspaper, list writing, etc. These ways of reading and writing are, however, all somewhat different from each other in terms of technology (e.g., pen and paper), knowledge base (formatting skills, use of correct register, etc.), and physical skills (e.g., hand-eye coordination) (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 12; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, p. 66).

Many scholars have drawn on the concept of literacy but have revised it in terms of its social aspect (e.g. Barton, 1991; Barton & Hall, 2000; Hull & Schultz, 2002; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006; Street, 2001). Lankshear and Knobel (2006), for example, provide a definition for literacy that recognizes both its social aspect and the recurrent ways in which people engage in it. It is thus a useful definition for this dissertation. According to Lankshear and Knobel (2006, p. 64), literacy comprises the "socially recognized ways of generating, communicating and negotiating meaningful content through the medium of encoded text within contexts of participation in Discourses."[13]

With practices playing a fundamental role in literacy studies, the concept of *literacy practices* has, together with the concept of *literacy events*, been theorized and refined extensively (cf. Barton, 1991; Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Street, 1984, 1988, 2000). *Literacy events*, on the one hand, have been defined as any event in which reading and writing constitute a central part: "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (Heath, 1988, p. 350). In other words, any situation in which people make meaning and use of written text for a specific purpose classifies as a *literacy event.*

Literacy practices, on the other hand, have been described as socially determined recurring patterns in the use of reading and writing within a specific situation. To Brian Street (2000), literacy practices refer to "particular ways of thinking about and doing reading and writing in cultural context" (p. 22). Accordingly, David Barton and Carmen Lee (2013) define literacy practices as "common patterns in using reading and writing in a particular situation where people bring their cultural knowledge to an activity" (p. 12). With respect to the aforementioned social practices, literacy practices are "the social practices associated with the written word" (p. 24). *Literacy practices* are thus the socially patterned ways of using reading and writing for a predefined purpose. For example, going grocery shopping encompasses a range of *literacy events*, such as writing a shopping list or reading and comparing product information. In each of these literacy events, people draw on different *literacy practices* for the eventual purpose of buying groceries.

[13] The term *Discourse* refers to James Gee's distinction between *Discourse* (with uppercase D) and *discourse* (with lowercase d). The former refers to discourse in a more general sense, meaning the identity-establishing ways of being integrated with and acting in the world including speaking, acting, gesturing, attitudes, beliefs, self-presentation, and many other factors. The latter refers to language discourse, in other words, the use of language in Discourse (Gee, 1990; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006).

3.2.2 New literacy practices

By fostering new reading and writing activities, the internet has become a space for new literacy practices (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 25). As Lankshear and Knobel (2006) point out, meaning can be assigned to almost everything we find on the internet. Sometimes this meaning might only be accessible to a small group of people; sometimes a large group of users has access to it (p. 67). People develop agreed-upon ways of making sense and use of the internet through communication. This, in turn, creates different sets of agreed-upon practices for different contexts, as different groups of people use and interact in digital environments for different purposes (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 25).

Social practices in which language is embedded are salient in digital spaces (p. 11). Therefore, a growing body of research addresses so-called "digital" or "new literacies" (Carrington & Robinson, 2009; Coiro et al., 2008; Gillen & Barton, 2010; Jones & Hafner, 2012; Panckhurst & Cougnon, 2019). Since digitality has changed the ways in which speakers employ texts, *new literacy studies* try to explain the ways in which new media influence and shape people's literacy practices. Online forums, for example, are a useful tool for filling out and submitting a document quickly and without personal contact with the recipient. However, basic skills for utilizing online forms are required, including knowing where to click and how to convey the needed information. Some online forms may not allow special characters or diacritical marks. Consequently, users must be familiar with such limitations to be able to successfully participate in the digital sphere.

New literacies are new in two senses. Firstly, they are new in the sense of technology. The development and spread of digital-electronic technologies accompanied by new possibilities for storing and retrieving data has led to a shift from analog to digital communication (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, p. 73 ff.). As a consequence of the "digital turn," the basic unit of text has visually shifted from characters to pixels. This has important implications for texts, their distribution, and their display: it allows for easy text editing and the seamless connection of texts with each other and with other modes of expression, such as image, video, and more (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This results in a basic characteristic of new literacies, namely, the "diverse practices of remixing" media content such as copying, cutting, splicing, editing, etc. (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, p. 78). As new affordances allow for constant changes, internet texts have become more dynamic. The online encyclopedia Wikipedia, for example, facilitates the modification and extension of entries, and on Facebook users can change (or even delete) their posts at any time. Thus, digital texts are less stable and fixed than printed texts and subject to constant change and interactive negotiations (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 26).

Furthermore, templates and interfaces enable users to easily change and edit the layout and display of texts. The open-source content manager WordPress, for instance, facilitates the creation and design of websites and blogs without programming skills. In addition, many instant

messaging interfaces support the inclusion of emojis as well as audio, video, and image content. Finally, copy-and-paste and drag-and-drop functions make it possible to easily move text and other media content within and between sites. Accordingly, intertextuality[14] is a crucial characteristic of texts in Web 2.0 environments including social media sites. Texts can be located within a set of other messages, for example, on a website that contains other writing. They can be written by the owner of a website or profile but relocated on other sites by other users. All this results in new connections and relations between texts (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 26).

Accordingly, new literacies are also new in the ways in which people engage and interconnect. Besides intertextuality, another novelty of the Web 2.0 is the *inclusion of everybody*. Unlike conventional forms of publishing characterized by a one-way information flow in which the audience's role is limited to merely receiving information, many new literacies are based on participation, interactivity, collaboration, inter-relation, and the mutual sharing of knowledge and expertise (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006, p. 82 ff.). Connectedness manifests itself, for example, through links on sites providing a direct connection to other content on the same or another website. In addition, connectedness shows as users can subscribe to websites or blogs in order to get notified when content is added or edited (p. 84).

Participation and interactivity, in turn, arise through the integration of content from one source into the discourse of another as well as through options of audience inclusion. These include, for example, commenting sections, "like" buttons, or options of tagging others in posts.

In this regard, the term *sharing* has emerged when describing users' activities in Web 2.0 environments.

3.2.3 Sharing and participation

The concept of *sharing* has become a keyword in numerous (linguistic) studies, and researchers have been trying to tackle what exactly the term entails (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014b; John, 2013; John, 2016). As the Web 2.0 is shaped and constituted by user-generated content, *sharing* describes what users do in SNS and other Web 2.0 settings, for example, by creating content and responding to other users' contributions. Therefore, sharing can be characterized as a digital practice that determines participation in online activities of the Web 2.0 and especially in SNS (John, 2013, p. 167f.). As the Web 2.0 is based and built around users bringing something to the attention of others, some SNS encourage sharing practices. On Twitter, for example, the prompt *What's happening* invites users to tweet something, while Facebook induces status updates with the prompt *What's on your mind* as well as commenting with the prompt *Write a comment.*

According to John (2013), two logics of sharing must be distinguished: Sharing as distribution and sharing as communication (John, 2013, p. 169). Sharing as distribution

[14] Intertextuality describes the relationship of a text with other texts, for example, through referencing other texts. Regarding digital texts, intertextuality refers, for instance, to the embedding of hyperlinks or images containing text in a piece of digital writing.

includes concrete objects such as “sharing a piece of chocolate” or “sharing a room” as well as abstract things such as “sharing values.” Sharing as communication, on the other hand, implies telling someone something, as for example in “sharing one’s feelings.” In the context of the Web 2.0, however, the concept of sharing seems more complex, since certain practices encompass both the logic of distribution and the logic of communication. The sharing of photos, videos, links, etc. can be seen as distribution while they may, at the same time, serve communicative purposes. Therefore, it can be argued that in the context of SNS, sharing has taken on a new meaning which can be summarized in simplified terms as participation (John, 2013, p. 172).[15]

Androutsopoulos (2014b) defines sharing in SNS as the interactional semiotic practice of entextualizing relevant moments. In this regard, Androutsopoulos (2014b) describes three stages of sharing: selecting, styling, and negotiation. Firstly, users select what they want to share. The moments, events, or things they thereby deem worthy of sharing do not have to correspond with their offline activities. In fact, users can leave out certain aspects of their analog lives, hence constructing an online identity that only partially represents their activities and experiences in the offline world or that does not represent them at all (p. 8).

Secondly, users style their posts by drawing on different semiotic resources to entextualize their selected moments. The resources users engage in doing so are not limited to linguistic means of expression but may include text, photos, or video or audio material (p. 7). The entextualization of relevant moments is thus not limited to the “transformation of spoken discourse to written text” but allows for the presentation of all kinds of social activities through different means of expression (p. 5).

Finally, negotiation is an important last step in the sharing process. While selecting and styling are subject to the individual user, negotiating is an interactive activity that is based on audience engagement. Through different response affordances, a user’s audience can show (positive) awareness about a contribution, for example, by clicking the like button, or in more complex ways by commenting. Furthermore, the audience can help to contextualize a contribution, for example, by requesting more information or contributing more to the shared content. A contribution can also motivate future sharing activities. Users may feel more encouraged to share moments or topics that have previously received positive responses by their audience (p. 10).

In this sense, sharing can be described as an interactional and interactive accomplishment by the sharer and their audience that encompass a range of digital practices (p. 17).

[15] Although John’s considerations refer to the English verb *to share*, they can be applied to other languages. This includes Icelandic, as participation in social media is expressed with the verb *deila*, which incorporates the same meanings as its English equivalent *to share.*

3.2.4 Multimodality

Multimodality refers to the juxtaposition of different semiotic modes of expression for the creation of content (Androutsopoulos, 2013b, p. 244). The technological affordances of Web 2.0 spaces allow users to present themselves and interact with one another not only through text, but also with visual and auditory content that is oftentimes mixed and blended. Multimodality is thus a critical part of storytelling in SNS and a key means for the presentation and creation of online identities (Highfield & Leaver, 2016).

In multimodal discourse analysis, it is argued that all discourse is multimodal because communication is always constructed across different modes of expression. While in face-to-face communication speech is generally accompanied by gesture and/or facial expression, written texts comprise not only the written word itself, but also a certain amount of design including font and script as well as paper or screen design (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 29). In digital texts multimodality is furthermore manifest in that textual components are often accompanied by graphic signs such as emoticons or emojis. This is not a new phenomenon. In fact, there is a history of visual content in digital communication (Highfield & Leaver, 2016, p. 48). What can be described as "new," however, is the vast range of multimodal means of expressions and the ways in which they can be applied and mixed in SNS and on other Web 2.0 sites.

Multimodality on the internet unfolds on different levels. It can be found on the entire web, on individual websites, on a web page, in a thread of contributions, and even in a single contribution (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2011 on heteroglossia). Consequently, just like other SNS, Facebook is multimodal as it contains different design and media items such as pictures, videos, etc., as well as different sorts of texts that in themselves contain different fonts, colors, sizes, etc. This applies in equal measure to Facebook as a whole, to individual Facebook profiles and timelines, as well as to single posts.

Visual and audiovisual content especially seems to play a significant part in communication and self-presentation in SNS. Visual content can be found, for instance, in the form of profile pictures, selfies and other photos, videos, GIFs, and memes.[16] Depending on the context, these elements serve different purposes; for example, they allow users to present events they have experienced to their audience, thereby inviting the audience to enter the scene and take part in the experience (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2014, p. 480). Furthermore, (audio)visual means offer a way to share and present new information but also to respond to and comment on selected topics. Examples of this can be found in memes, GIFs, or altered profile pictures, all of which allow users to comment on or show support for a specific cause

[16] GIFs (Graphic Interchange Format) are short, animated pictures or videos without sound. They are often used in digital communication to convey an emotional reaction such as joy, shock, astonishment, etc. (Cyber Definitions, n.d.). Memes, in turn, can be defined as visually edited cultural artefacts in the form of an image, a video, or text that spread through the internet and especially social media, thereby oftentimes becoming changed or modified (Whatls.com, n.d.).

by means of content that is based on visual (and textual) components (Highfield & Leaver, 2016). In particular, memes, which due to the juxtaposition of visual and textual content are multimodal in themselves, often offer a way to humorously comment on political, socio-political, or everyday topics. They can serve to express emotions, position oneself, elicit reactions, or express opinions (Highfield & Leaver, 2016).

Highfield and Leaver (2016) point out how the application of visual content in digital spaces puts emphasis on instant or immediate moments. This can be seen, for example, in the SNS and photo-sharing platform Instagram, which indicates its focus on immediate moments already in its name. On Instagram, users share what they experience at the moment or have experienced just recently. While visual content displaying current events and activities can very well stand alone, posting visual content from the past always requires some sort of explanation. On Instagram and Facebook and in other SNS, for example, users post nostalgic photos from the past under the hashtag *#throwbackthursday*,[17] thereby temporally localizing their pictures and thus asserting the convention of primarily sharing pictures of the immediate (p. 55).

Against this backdrop, the question arises as to what sort of textual unit is best suited for the analysis of new (digital) literacies. Using the example of Flickr, Lankshear and Knobel (2006) demonstrate how Web 2.0 applications allow for the engagement in social practices as a whole "without compartmentalizing it along the lines of 'Now I am commenting; ah, but now I am uploading an image; now I am tagging (…)" (p. 99). As templates of Web 2.0 environments are designed in a way that makes it easy to mix and combine multimodal content into one outcome, the borders between exclusively text-based media and other content become blurred. As a result, Lankshear and Knobel (2006) argue for online photo sharing being just as much a literacy as writing an email or commenting on a blog entry.

As multimodality inevitably becomes a resource for users to express themselves, a sociolinguistic analysis of user engagement in SNS benefits from going beyond text and taking into account digital practices as a whole. This includes not only if and how users employ multimodal means of expression themselves, but also the ways in which multimodal contributions prompt user interactions. As Androutsopoulos notes: "Even when the research question is concerned with the language part, taking into account multimodal prompts may help interpret patterns of variation and style choice" (Androutsopoulos, 2013b, p. 245).

3.3 Multilingualism in digital spaces

Aside from literacy studies, the dissertation is informed by research on multilingualism and superdiversity. More specifically, the analyses presented in Chapters 7 and 8 draw on the notion of *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen, 2008) and the concept of *networked multilingualism* (Androutsopoulos, 2015). Firstly, *polylanguaging* has been theorized by J. Norman Jørgensen.

[17] The hashtag *#throwback Thursday* (or *#tbt*) refers to a social media trend that encourages users to post pictures from their past. Users typically share posts under the hashtag on a Thursday, hence the name Throwback Thursday (Dictionary.com, 2018).

It is based on the distinction between *a language* as a set of words and rules and *language* as a general concept, with the former describing "an ideological sociocultural construct, while the latter is observable everyday behavior" (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 161). Jørgensen's framework starts from the latter conception, that is, language is human behavior. It argues that any linguistic production is better described by reference to the linguistic features it entails than by the language(s) the production is ascribed to.

Secondly, *networked multilingualism* was coined by Jannis Androutsopoulos, who aims to explain multilingual digital practices by taking into account three constraints: 1. the mediation of written language by keyboard-to-screen technologies, 2. access to network resources, and 3. orientation to networked audiences (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 188).

3.3.1 Multilingualism in CMC research

The internet has been described as a rich site for the research of multilingualism (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2015; Danet & Herring, 2007; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Lee, 2017). Consequently, the body of research in the field has been continuously growing in recent years.

Leppänen and Peuronen (2012) identify two strands of research in the field, with the first strand concerned with language diversity and its visibility accompanied by questions about the status of different languages on the internet (e.g. Wright, 2004). Studies of this kind are often motivated by language-political goals and ideologies, especially the concern that English might dominate the digital discourse; they advocate for a better representation in online environments of the world's linguistic diversity (e.g. Paolillo, 2007). Furthermore, scholars have concerned themselves with the question of the extent to which the internet can serve to maintain and revitalize languages, and they have also addressed efforts to strengthen the status of smaller languages (e.g. Buszard Welcher, 2001; Eisenlohr, 2004).

The second strand of research is directed toward language choice and multilingualism on the internet. It focuses on contexts and motivation, as well as the meaning and function of multilingualism and the linguistic choices that are made. Studies of this kind have often tried to explain multilingualism with concepts drawn from spoken interaction including code-switching and code-mixing. In fact, the lack of research on code-switching (CS) in written discourse compared to the large body of research on CS in spoken discourse has been a key motivating factor for many studies in the field (Lee, 2017, p. 41). Some have focused, for instance, on discourse functions of CS in CMC interactions (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2013a; Chen, 2007; Hinrichs, 2006). Others have focused more on identity work through CS (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2006b; Themistocleous, 2015; Q. Zhang, 2014; W. Zhang, 2012) or newer concepts related to CS including script switching, that is, the use of different writing systems (e.g. Huang, 2009); networked multilingualism (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2015; Jaworska, 2014); and audience design (Seargeant et al., 2012).

Many studies have drawn on established definitions and frameworks developed for spoken CS, including Gumperz's (1982) widely cited definition of CS as "the juxtaposition of

passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange." Additionally, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix-Language-Frame model and markedness model as well as Peter Auer's (1999) distinction between insertional and alternational switching have been applied.

However, while some patterns and functions of digital CS seem the same as in spoken interactions, there are also new ones. Androutsopoulos (2013a) argues, for example, that we only find digital CS where different language choices "are in some way dialogically interrelated by responding to previous, and contextualizing subsequent contributions" (p. 673). He describes eight discourse functions of CS in digital discourses, with CS possibly serving more than one function at the same time (p. 681):

- switching for formulaic purposes, as for example in greetings and birthday wishes
- switching to create genres that are specific to a certain culture, including poems, jokes, etc.
- switching to convey reported speech
- switching with repetition of an utterance for emphatic purposes
- switching to direct a message to a specific addressee or to respond to or challenge preceding language choices
- switching to contextualize a shift of topic or perspective, or to distinguish between fact and opinion, information and affect, etc.
- switching to mark what is being said as jocular or serious, or to navigate potential face threats
- switching to index consent or dissent, agreement or conflict, alignment or distancing, etc.

In addition, Halim and Maros (2014, p. 131 f.) list further functions of CS in SNS, including:

- switching for checking, for example, to seek approval, consensus, etc.
- switching for availability, that is, if a word or a phrase is only available in one language
- switching for principles of economy: users tend to choose the shortest and easiest way to communicate
- free switching, that is, switching for no apparent reason or stylistic effect

While Halim and Maros (2014) seem to try to categorize all instances of digital multilingualism within the framework of CS, other scholars argue that many examples of CS seem socially motivated instead of serving discourse functions (Lee, 2017, p. 51). They could thus be better described as code-mixing rather than code-switching.[18] Therefore, despite using

[18] Code-mixing differs from code-switching in that switching always serves a pragmatic function for the speaker whereas code-mixing does not. Code-mixing thus describes language alternations that are not meaningful or relevant for the discourse per se (Auer, 1998).

CS as a point of departure, more recent works especially have criticized the concepts of CS as well as traditional notions of language as insufficient for the research of digital multilingualism (e.g.Jaworska, 2014; Lee, 2017; Thorne & Ivković, 2015). Researchers have argued for moving beyond CS to explain multilingualism online, for example, by studying multilingualism from a literacy practice perspective (see for example Squires, 2012). Several studies have shown how the linguistic resources speakers draw upon online serve stylistic purposes that position users within sociocultural, ethnic, and ideological contexts (Hinrichs, 2006; Leppänen, 2007; Leppänen et al., 2009; Pérez-Sabater & Maguelouk Moffo, 2019, 2020; Warschauer & De Florio-Hansen, 2003). In addition, different forms of texts and sharing processes available to users lead to different forms of multilingualism that cannot be clearly classified with traditional concepts relating to CS. On Twitter, but also in other SNS, users may write a post in one language, but add hashtags in another language. As hashtags serve specific communicative functions, allowing for instance for "ambient affiliation" and "searchable talk"[19] (Zappavigna, 2015), the analysis of contributions with reference to CS depends on whether the contribution is seen as one text or different texts (Lee, 2017, p. 51 f.). Further, Androutsopoulos (2013a) describes CS as a situated practice that could be seen as one of many multilingual practices users can employ in their digital interactions.

3.3.2 New concepts for the study of multilingual practices

In line with this, recent sociolinguistic interest has shifted away from languages (as neatly bound sets of features and rules) and their speech communities and toward the linguistic practices of individual speakers and the ways in which they employ a repertoire of different resources to express themselves in different contexts (Deumert, 2014, p. 118). As a new keyword, the idea of *superdiversity* has been adopted by sociolinguists interested in the study of multilingualism and the linguistic consequences of global mobility, migration, and mediatization (e.g. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Deumert, 2014). Scholars have begun to rethink typologies of linguistic behavior, which has led to new concepts and approaches such as *crossing* or *translanguaging* that try to capture everyday language use in times of global mediatization and mobility[20] (e.g. Auer, 1999; Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Li, 2013; Li, 2011; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Rampton, 1995).

As pointed out by Jaworska (2014, p. 57), the different concepts developed under the umbrella of superdiversity may vary in terms of their general research foci and points of

[19] Hashtags function as keywords that allow for the linking of contributions. As these keywords can be easily searched and tracked, the contributions connected through a hashtag become searchable. By increasing the possibility for contributions to be found, hashtags also increase the likelihood of "ambient affiliation," meaning others may be interested in the same topics and thus start following a particular user's contributions (Zappavigna, 2011, p. 800).

[20] *Crossing* refers to the use of a language (or language style) a speaker has in fact no command over, meaning they do not understand or speak the language in question. An example of this is the imitation of accents, such as imitating a Scottish accent when speaking English (Rampton, 1995). Translanguaging describes the ways in which multilingual speakers employ the full range of their linguistic repertoire in discursive practices. It thus requires linguistic competence in more than one language (Baker, 2003; Li, 2011).

departure, but they all emphasize the fluidity and flexibility of multilingual language use and turn their attention to the individual user and their social contexts. It is furthermore argued that speakers engage in multilingual practices, including CS, code-mixing, translating, transliterations, etc., regardless of their level of proficiency in the individual resources they deploy. In other words, speakers do not use languages as fixed and whole systems but "draw on linguistic resources which are organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions" (Heller, 2007, p. 1).

Jan Blommaert's notion of *truncated repertoires*, for instance, claims that speakers employ linguistic resources rather than "complete" languages,[21] as no speaker possesses all features of a language even if it is their mother tongue. They can be fluent in one domain but limited in another (Blommaert, 2010). The notion of *metrolingualism*, in turn, draws attention to how speakers in predominantly urban societies employ different linguistic codes (i.e., different languages, varieties, dialects, sociolects, etc.) in creative ways and across established ethnic, cultural, social, political, and historical boundaries. It thereby questions traditional ideas about formal and functional aspects of language, including for example notions of language purity or territorial and national affiliation (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015).

Finally, Norman J. Jørgensen's *polylanguaging* framework rejects the idea that speakers treat languages as stable, coherent, and complete constructs, arguing instead that "the specific linguistic feature, and not the specific language, better characterizes a given production" (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 165).

Polylanguaging

Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging is based on the distinction between *a language* as a set of formal characteristics, such as words and rules, and *language* as a general concept. He describes the former as "an ideological sociocultural construct, while the latter is observable everyday behavior" (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 161). Linguistic behavior, Jørgensen argues, is always based on communicative intention and grounded in different linguistic norms. Educational systems and gatekeepers still especially rely on a concept of languages as separable and countable sets of linguistic features. Although a speaker may be bi- or multilingual, monolingual performance is demanded in society at large, whereas multilingual behavior may trigger negative reactions. CS, for example, is often perceived as deviating from the norm.

Nonetheless, speakers in late-modern societies are influenced by many languages other than their mother tongue(s). Therefore, multilingual practices can be observed in day-to-day linguistic behavior, especially among adolescents, with CS and other multilingual practices

[21] Note that the term "complete" language is fuzzy. The question of what can be understood as a "complete" language and the difference between a language and a dialect has been the subject of many sociolinguistic works (cf. Kloss, 1952; Kloss, 1967; Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 28 f.).

occurring between utterances, in the middle of an utterance, or even in the middle of a word (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 33). On these grounds, Jørgensen suggests the notion of *polylanguaging* to describe linguistic practices in interaction. It proceeds from the assumption that "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how much they know from the involved sets of features (e.g. "languages")" (Møller & Jørgensen, 2009, p. 146). Features in this context refer to the formal side of language, as they comprise linguistic rules and items speakers must share in order to form meaningful linguistic combinations according to the situational context (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 162 f.). In other words, features appear in the form of units on all linguistic levels including sounds, words, phrases, etc., but also in the form of linguistic rules that define how those units can be combined into larger meaningful units (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 30).

The degree to which language users draw on different features depends on the number of resources to which they have access. Speakers are said to use all kinds of features on all linguistic levels, i.e., syntax, morphology, pronunciation, etc., including even those ascribed to codes over which they generally have no command (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 170). For example, although a speaker does not speak Spanish, they can still use certain features associated with Spanish including pronunciation, single words, or entire phrases.

To many speakers, certain linguistic features belong together in sets which may then be called *languages*, *language varieties*, etc. (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 167; cf. several papers in Kristiansen & Coupland, 2011). These codes (that is, the languages, language varieties, etc.) and the features ascribed to them are socio-culturally associated with certain speakers, meanings, and values, including vulgar, ugly, poetic, etc. However, these associations are neither fixed nor static. Instead, they are negotiable, context dependent, and fluid (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 30 f.). They are shared by the members of a specific group but may differ from the associations prevailing in society in general. Conversely, the use of certain features helps to develop shared values and identities among the members of a specific group (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 172). As a result, norms may develop as to *who* can use specific features. The values ascribed to features which are generally associated with youth language, for instance, are incompatible with the identities a teacher can take on. Although a teacher may be familiar with youth language, they still do not belong to the in-group of youth language users (Møller & Jørgensen, 2009, p. 146). They can, however, draw on youth language features as stylization. Thus, speakers are not limited by those norms, but may in fact contravene them to elicit certain reactions (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 32).

In the same way, speakers do not necessarily have to consider norms of linguistic correctness or purity even though they may be aware of what sounds "right" or "wrong" in a given context. Instead, they can play with language, for example, by attaching new meaning to features, or by using different codes side by side and intermingled and thus purposefully disobeying what is considered the linguistic norm (p. 32).

Nevertheless, speakers do not just put features together. In fact, they "carefully observe and monitor norms" (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 25). Beyond that, speakers' assumptions about their interlocutors play into their linguistic decisions. This includes expectations about competence, behavior, and attitudes. Therefore, a speaker's communication with a superior, for example, will be quite different from their linguistic behavior within their group of friends and different again from communication with their families. Consequently, reasons for picking certain features over others have to do with the norms and values ascribed to different types of linguistic behavior, speakers' identity work, and solidarity among contributors (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 173).

With polylanguaging, the simultaneous use of features associated with different codes is not seen as deviation but as default linguistic behavior. Therefore, it is a useful backdrop against which to approach digital practices. For instance, Jørgensen et al. (2011) apply the concept of polylanguaging to the study of language use on Facebook and argue that the level of features is better suited for the analysis of real-life language use in superdiverse environments than the level of languages. In their analysis, Jørgensen et al. (2011) show how adolescents make use of features rather than languages to achieve their communicative goals. While some features can be associated with a specific linguistic code, others are hard to categorize on the level of language, as the boundaries between codes are not always neat and clear (e.g., Danish and Youth Danish). Yet other features, such as emoticons or emojis, cannot be assigned to any specific language. Existing concepts of CS, which are based on the idea of languages as stable systems, are therefore not sufficient for the description of real-life language use in digital spaces. They cannot account for content that cannot be categorized into any given language and thus do not consider all resources users have at hand. Polylanguaging, on the other hand, allows for the consideration of all kinds of features, acknowledging CS as one of many pragmatic strategies in linguistic interaction.

Networked multilingualism

With *networked multilingualism*, Jannis Androutsopoulos offers a framework for the description of digital multilingual behavior that acknowledges the aforementioned new concepts of metrolingualism (employing different linguistic codes, especially among speakers in urban societies) (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), translanguaging (multilingual speakers making use of their full linguistic repertoires) (Garcia, 2009; Li, 2011), and polylanguaging (speakers making use of whatever linguistic features are available to them) (cf. Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011). Networked multilingualism puts emphasis on the possibilities of digital practices rather than on the technological affordances of the internet.

It is based on two meanings of the term *networked*: Firstly, *networked* implies being digitally connected with others. Secondly, it means participating in the network, that is, "embedded in the global digital mediascape of the web" (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 188). Networked multilingualism thus describes online linguistic behavior under three preconditions:

1. The user **mediates written language by keyboard-to-screen technologies:** Digitally written language is seen as a mode of linguistic production in its own right and independent from other writing. It cannot be reduced to the written representation of speech-like features. Instead, CMC develops its own linguistic practices (Androutsopoulos et al., 2013, p. 164).
2. The user has access to **network resources:**
   Users can draw on network resources, including other texts and media content, which can be embedded in their posts. This has implications for linguistic behavior as speakers can draw on a range of resources and by doing so extend their linguistic repertoire (p. 166 f.). For example, speakers can post content that contains a code they have no command over, meaning one they usually do not understand or know how to speak. In doing so, they may pick up and start reproducing single features from the code in question.
3. The user addresses a **networked audience:**
   Social networks such as Facebook allow users to create a profile page, to connect with other users by establishing a list of interlocutors (i.e., a network), and to follow and take part in the communication of this network (boyd, 2010). This affects the communicative conditions of CMC in two ways. Firstly, they go beyond temporal, local, and linguistic boundaries. Secondly, a user's network brings together communication partners (e.g., Facebook *friends*) from different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds who have different relationships with the profile owner. They may be family members, colleagues, friends, acquaintances, etc. (Androutsopoulos et al., 2013, p. 165 f.). This leads to competing communicative events which have been described as *context collapse*[22] (Marwick & boyd, 2011).

With networked multilingualism, it is possible to direct attention to the implications of these three preconditions of multilingual language use. In this way, characteristics of digital practices can be highlighted that can be attributed neither to the technological conditions nor to corresponding behavior in spoken language use alone (Androutsopoulos et al., 2013, p. 163). Network multilingualism thus seeks to make sense of the purposeful and playful appropriation, juxtaposition, combination, and display of linguistic features (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 191).

Applying networked multilingualism in different case studies, Androutsopoulos (2015) argues that digital multilingual practices are individualized, shaped by the respective genre, and based on a large, layered repertoire. His findings support the idea that language choices are unpredictable, highlighting the user's "moment-to-moment orientations toward the diversity of their social connections as much as the variety of available stimuli in the global digital network" (p. 201).

[22] For a more detailed discussion of *context collapse*, see section 3.5.

3.4 Identity construction in digital spaces

A recurring topic in research on multilingual digital practices is the study of identity construction and identity performance. While Kroskrity (2000) describes identity generally "as the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (p. 111), Georgalou (2017) differentiates between personal and social identity. In this distinction, personal identity refers to "the summary statement of all our individual traits, characteristics and dispositions; it defines the uniqueness of each human being" (Edwards, 2009, p. 19). Social identity, on the other hand, is defined with reference to Mendoza-Denton (2002) as "the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs" (Georgalou, 2017, p. 11).

Linguistic research that concerns itself with the relationship between language and identity is, among other things, interested in how speakers use language for the creation, affiliation or dissociation, and alteration of groups and group boundaries. Scholars have described identity as fluid, malleable, and dynamically constructed (e.g. Edwards, 2009; Georgalou, 2015, 2017; Ivanič, 1998). Wardaugh and Fuller (2015) state, for example, that identity is not just a list of characteristics and demographic categories, although those categories and characteristics may very well influence one's identity. As they say, "[i]dentity is not something you have, it is something you do" (p. 72). Thus, identity is not owned, but rather performed through social practices, one of which is discourse. In other words, social categories (such as gender, social class, etc.) only come into being when they are acted on, that is, when they are performed linguistically and through social behavior.

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, speakers draw on different resources and practices in different combinations to perform identity. As a consequence, identities are not static, but always situated in context and always negotiated anew (Chau & Lee, 2017, p. 33). Changes may take place over time as well as across space and context. For example, people identify as members of one group in one situation, but focus on their affiliation with another group in another context (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 73). Also, as people may have different ideas about *how* to identify or *how* to be associated with a certain group (p. 8), identity construction always depends on what speakers think their audience expects from them (Amicucci, 2017, p. 39).

3.4.1 Identity work through digital practices

As identity is inseparably connected to discourse, language plays an important role in the construction of identity. Speakers use language to portray themselves both through content (*what* is said) and linguistic form (*how* it is said). These are relevant elements for the construction of identity for two reasons: Firstly, speakers' identities – that is, the identities they bring to the forefront – affect the way they communicate. Secondly, speakers' discursive practices shape the ways they perceive themselves and are perceived by their interlocutors (Georgalou, 2017, p. 12). As Wardaugh and Fuller (2015) note, "[t]here are particular

conventional associations of particular ways of speaking in certain contexts, and speakers make use of these to take stance, and through these stances to construct social identities" (p. 296). As choosing specific linguistic features relates to the desire to belong to or be associated with a certain group and/or category, "identity is not the source, but the outcome of linguistic practices" (p. 72).

This becomes especially relevant in contexts where linguistic practices are the main or sole means of expression. While identity construction in face-to-face interactions can also depend on aspects such as gesture, facial expression, clothing, and overall demeanor, we have hardly any access to these means in digital spaces. As a result, linguistic features become key identity markers (Chau & Lee, 2017, p. 32; Tsiplakou, 2009). Georgalou (2017) even claims that "our identities are created and recreated as we actively type (…) and post ourselves into being" (p. 13).

Research on identity construction on the internet has started from different points of departure. As Chau and Lee (2017, p. 32) point out, early studies have focused on identity performances in anonymous online environments, such as forums, examining how users construct and perform their online selves through linguistic means (e.g. Danet et al., 1997).

With regard to social identity research, studies have often directed attention toward the performance of gender identities (cf. Herring & Stoerger, 2014). Other studies have focused on the resources and practices employed for the construction of identity online, including time and space markers, multimodal means of expression, and language and pictorial features (e.g. Chau & Lee, 2017; Georgalou, 2015; Lee, 2014; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011).

Many scholars have made reference to Erving Goffman's ideas about identity performance (e.g. Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013; Chau & Lee, 2017; Hussain, 2015; H. Miller & Arnold, 2009) in arguing that users are aware of their self-presentation online and develop different linguistic practices for different audiences (Lee, 2014). Goffman uses ideas of dramaturgical social psychology to explain the expression of identity in everyday life (Goffman, 1959). Just like actors create an impression for others on stage, individuals do the same in everyday life in that they deliver a certain performance of their "selves" to create a particular image in a specific situation. Goffman therefore distinguishes between frontstage and backstage behavior. Frontstage, speakers are conscious about being observed and judged by their interlocutors. Thus, certain rules are followed to create or maintain a certain image and to save face. Saving face in this sense refers to maintaining the initial impression someone has made on their audience – their interlocutors – and living up to that impression (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013, p. 102). Also, individuals may "mask" themselves by bringing specific aspects of the self to the foreground while simultaneously marginalizing other aspects. In doing so, speakers do not become someone else. Instead, both the mask and the persona hidden behind it remain aspects of the self (p. 101 f.). For example, in the context of

a formal work meeting, an individual will bring a more formal and politer demeanor to the foreground to persuade their interlocutors of their professionalism.

Backstage, on the other hand, no performance – that is, no self-presentation – is necessary, as the speaker is not watched and evaluated by an audience (J. D. Brown, 1998). For example, the individual acting more formal and politer in their work meeting may relax afterwards when they are alone and hence not observed by anyone.

According to Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013), Goffman's framework is useful for understanding identity construction through interaction in digital spaces as the online world offers a great way to edit the self (p. 110) and to conceal certain aspects of it (p. 102). Users create and maintain their online selves by choosing what to present and which aspects to conceal. Hence, users do not reproduce their entire offline identities, but merely highlight certain aspects of it (p. 107).

Likewise, Hussain (2015) argues for Facebook functioning as frontstage for users' identity construction, as individuals present themselves in front of others by means of different digital practices. These practices comprise, but are not limited to, sharing profile information including profile pictures, sharing status updates and other posts, connecting with selected members of their network, and joining specific groups, as well as liking and commenting on posts. In line with this, Chapter 7 will explore the ways in which Icelandic Facebook users draw on different digital practices to emphasize certain aspects of their identity in front of their network.

Besides applying Goffman's model to online environments, research interested in online identities has highlighted how resorting to different linguistic resources aids the creation and maintenance of personal and social identity, interpersonal relations, and ideological positions (Georgakopoulou, 1997, p. 148). By means of specific discursive features, users can show their belonging to a certain social or cultural group, while these groups in turn can differentiate themselves from other groups (Pérez-Sabater & Maguelouk Moffo, 2019). Users may, for instance, use code-switching and language-mixing to represent a certain aspect of their identities vis-à-vis a specific social group, culture, or lifestyle (Peuronen, 2011, p. 154). In locally situated settings, in turn, group affiliation is often indexed through local code choices, that is, language features associated with the local dialect (Lee, 2017; Tsiplakou, 2009). Language features or jargon, as well as the use of humor, have also been described as group identity markers. The latter can especially be used to emphasize or communicate shared experiences, norms, and values and thus strengthen a sense of belonging to a specific group (Georgalou, 2017, p. 257).

In a fairly recent study, Pérez-Sabater and Maguelouk Moffo (2019) show how linguistic choices affect local and in-group identities among supporters on soccer club websites. In their study, Pérez-Sabater and Maguelouk Moffo (2019) highlight multilingual language choices as key social practices for users to construct and maintain images of themselves. Along these lines, they describe Facebook as a "multilingual virtual space (…) where multilingual written

practices are likely to be closely related to the identity position of its users" (p. 33). Multilingual choices are, in this context, described as pragmatic and social discourse phenomena that serve various purposes in digital interactions, with language-mixing and code-switching often aiming to express in-group alignment and to perform identity (p. 42). Users may switch between languages, for example, to perform formulaic discourse practices, to perform specific cultural genres, or to convey reported speech (p. 35).

In addition, it has been argued that the distinction between local and global identities form an important reason for users' multilingual choices in digital spaces (Warschauer & De Florio-Hansen, 2003). In this context, researchers have often drawn on the term *glocal identities* to describe "the dynamic negotiation between the global and the local" (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou, 2007, p. 143). As will be discussed with an example in Chapter 7 (see page 116 ff.), glocal identities are predominantly performed in translocal online spaces by mixing the global language (often English) with a local language (Lee, 2017). While the global language is used to perform a cosmopolitan identity, the local language serves to establish a local one. For example, on global platforms such as Flickr, non-native speakers of English may prefer to use English in their exchanges in order to represent themselves as global participants, showing they are able to move and interact in global spaces; alternatively, by drawing on their native language, users may emphasize their local identity (Lee, 2017; Pérez-Sabater & Maguelouk Moffo, 2019).

3.4.2 Stance-taking

As expressing feelings and thoughts is an important part of one's identity (Georgalou, 2017, p. 174), identity construction is deeply interwoven with taking stance (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 296) According to Jaworski and Thurlow (2009), stance-taking is in fact the "primary discursive mechanism by which identity is realized" (p. 220). Furthermore, Jaffe (2009a) argues that "social identity can (…) be seen as the culmination of stances taken over time" (p. 11).

Thurlow and Jaworski (2011)Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) describe stance as an act of self-presentation and social judgement through which speakers express something about themselves and others. In line with this, Jaffe (2009a) calls stance "one of the fundamental properties of communication" (p. 3). A more detailed definition that satisfies the needs of this dissertation can be found in du Bois (2007), who defines stance as

> "a public act by a social actor, archived dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (p. 163).

Alignment in this sense happens on a continuum, as speakers may align to a greater or lesser extent with their interlocutors. It can be expressed directly by confirming or challenging the other's view, or indirectly, for instance by imitating the other's style (Walton & Jaffe, 2011,

p. 200). In other words, stance is not obvious per se, but must be inferred and interpreted with regard to its immediate context of use (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 90). Stance-taking is thus a situated practice that must be contextualized within the respective communicative situation (p. 31 f.). Furthermore, stance-taking is always interpersonal, meaning it is always directed at and interpreted by a certain audience. How the speaker and the audience each interpret this stance may, in turn, affect following stances in the interaction (p. 87). In line with this, Barton and Lee (2013, p. 87) name four major components of stance:

1. the stance taker, that is, the speaker expressing the stance
2. the stance object, that is, the topic that is discussed
3. the stance resources, meaning the resources drawn upon to take stance
4. the audience

Linguists distinguish between epistemic and affective stance, with the former referring to what the speaker claims to know, to believe, or is certain about and the latter relating to the speaker's expressions of attitudes and feelings. These two types of stance may, however, overlap. An utterance can show the linguistic qualities of epistemic stance, but it can also function to express affective stance (p. 104). Therefore, it is impossible to draw a clear-cut boundary between epistemic and affective stance (p. 95).

In communication, we find both individual stance-taking, expressed for example through personal evaluations of situations and topics, and sociocultural stances, or the general beliefs and knowledge a speaker shares with other members of the same sociocultural community (cf. Georgalou, 2017, p. 174).

Linguistically, speakers take stance not only through *what* they say, but also by means of *how* they say it. As different ways of speaking have different conventional associations, speakers take stance by making use of these ways of speaking and considering their associated conventions (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 296). In that sense, using a particular language, language variant, or style is also some sort of stance-taking (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 87).

Extensive studies of language choices as stance-taking can be found, for instance, in Jaffe (2007) and (2009b). Both studies focus on teachers in Corsican schools and their use of Corsican and French, claimed to indicate the teachers' stances toward the use of Corsican as the language of education. Jaffe (2009b) concludes that language does not just reflect but also constitutes social identities. Accordingly, code-switches between Corsican and French in the study are politically and ideologically motivated and reveal sociopolitical stance-taking (p. 142).

In the last decade or so, sociolinguistic CMC research has repeatedly focused on stance to explain means of identity performances in digital environments (e.g. Jacknick & Avni, 2017; Myers, 2010; Papacharissi, 2011; Walton & Jaffe, 2011). SNS in particular have been described as stance-rich spheres, since they encourage the production and dissemination of opinions (Barton & Lee, 2013). Facebook, for example, has been identified as a key site for stance-taking, as it triggers stance in multiple ways (Georgalou, 2017). Firstly, the status

update prompt reading *"What's on your mind?"* encourages users to express opinions, feelings, or attitudes. Secondly, the like button can be described as a stance marker, since it can, among other things, function to signal positive affective stance, express interest in a post or its content, signal support to the content and its poster, or show agreement and alignment with the content and its poster (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 88).[23] Finally, the commenting function on Facebook is a key feature for expressing opinion about a previously made utterance. Accordingly, Georgalou (2017) describes both the commenting and the like functions on Facebook as "(dis)alignment builders which can cement affiliation, confirmation, commonality, even difference" (p. 176).

As illustrated in several examples in section 7.1 and in Chapter 8, users may draw on a variety of modes and resources to express stance in SNS. Affective stance, for example, is often indexed through typography including capitalizations, iterations of characters, or exaggerated punctuation marks (p. 174). However, researchers argue that any act of posting in SNS can be interpreted as stance-taking (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 92; Georgalou, 2017, p. 173). Posting photos from a demonstration, for example, can demonstrate political stance. Likewise, stance can be signaled through the language on which a user draws (Georgalou, 2017, p. 173; see also Jaffe, 2007; Jaffe, 2009b). Stance-taking across different modes is also possible and can, for example, be found when users post a picture of a situation indicating their stance toward a certain topic and simultaneously comment on that topic with text (Georgalou, 2017, p. 189). Finally, users may "recycle" ready-made stances, as for example in the form of memes, which carry in themselves positions or attitudes that users can repost and thereby signal alignment or disalignment with the position represented in the meme (p. 190).

3.4.3 Face work

In addition to stance-taking, *face* is inherently connected to ideas of self-presentation. The notion of face is one of the principal concepts in sociolinguistic politeness research. In particular, Erving Goffman's work has greatly influenced studies on politeness in interaction (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 256) and is important to this research project, especially to the analysis presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

As the idea of face is always connected to others, defining face must consider that it is always performed in front of someone. Goffman (1967) describes face as a theoretical concept, "an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (p. 5). Furthermore, in their framework of Politeness Theory, Brown and Levinson (1987) define face as "public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). Their definition of face distinguishes between positive and negative face, with positive face referring to the desire to receive approval from others and the desire to act out the identity one claims for themselves in a specific context (Wardaugh & Fuller, 2015, p. 256 f.). In other words, positive face is what

[23] Barton and Lee (2013) distinguish six pragmatic functions for the like button. Besides the functions listed above, these also include answering yes to a question as well as indicating that the post has been read (p. 89).

speakers deliberately present to others in order to receive positive feedback. Negative face, on the other hand, refers to one's desire to remain unimpeded by others' actions, that is, the desire to be left in peace. In this regard, face threats are acts in which the positive face is not approved, or the negative face does not remain unimpeded. For example, a request may constitute a threat to the interlocutor's negative face as it does not allow them to be left alone (p. 257).

In general, however, speakers seek to respect their interlocutor's face. Hence, social encounters always require some sort of face work in terms of acknowledging the other's positive or negative face. To do such work, speakers draw on different politeness strategies. For example, speakers perform positive face-work in favor of their interlocutor by complementing the other or by expressing appreciation or praise. The negative face, in turn, can be protected by apologizing for possible interruptions, for example.

Furthermore, speakers themselves employ strategies to save their own face using different linguistic means (p. 259). In some cases, indirect speech is perceived as politer than direct messages and thus allows interlocutors to save each other's and their own faces (p. 261).

As communication without face is impossible (cf. Goffman, 1959), both outside and within the digital sphere, the idea of face has been repeatedly discussed in connection with digital communication (e.g. Dalsgaard, 2008; Davies, 2012; Maíz-Arévalo, 2019; West & Trester, 2013). West and Trester (2013), for instance, focus on politeness strategies, norms about politeness, and the linguistic means used to accomplish politeness in user interactions on Facebook. They are especially interested in the techniques users draw upon to avoid face-threatening acts. Furthermore, they try to uncover how face-work is accomplished through intertextuality, that is, the process of referring to, drawing on, or re-sharing digital texts in the context of a later text (West & Trester, 2013, p. 135 f.). Facebook, they explain, notably offers two ways to perform positive face-work, that is, to show interest or approval. Firstly, the comment feature allows users to show interest, express praise or approval, etc. Secondly, although the like button could be interpreted as a minimum-effort response, it can also be seen to aid the performance of positive face-work. On the one hand, it may indicate that the initiative post has been noticed. On the other hand, it may show appreciation. At the same time, neither of the interlocutors is committed to any additional reaction. In this sense, liking something on Facebook protects not only the interlocutors' positive faces, but also their negative ones (p. 145).

West and Trester (2013) argue that the need for receiving approval from others is at the core of many posts on Facebook (p. 134). Their findings suggest that users are aware of the norms concerning face in SNS (p. 152). Face-threatening remarks, for example, are more likely to occur between interlocutors who have a close relationship with each other, as only friends can perform face-threatening acts that are not perceived as harmful (cf. Félix-Brasdefer, 2006). This corresponds with the idea that speakers generally wish to protect not only their own but also their interlocutor's face. Among friends, face-work norms can be manipulated in a way that members can playfully mock each other in order to index their friendship and close

relationship (West & Trester, 2013, p. 134). By means of jokes and shared humor, for example, users belonging to a certain social group may perform face-work through intertextuality that enables them to create a common ground (p. 136). The shared knowledge that is necessary to comprehend the joke thus serves to enhance solidarity among group members (Baym, 2006). Examples of this will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

3.5 SNS and audience design

Besides identity performance, audience design can be identified as the main influential factor in speakers' digital practices. According to Bell (1984), speakers' language styles primarily depend on and are shaped by their respective audience. This audience contains not only the direct or intended audience, but also bystanders and overhearers. In his work, Bell (1984) distinguishes between initiative and responsive styles. While the latter refers to speakers meeting their audience's expectations regarding code choice, register, and overall performance, the former comprises divergence from audience expectations. Initiative style includes speakers redefining a communicative situation, thereby leading to a shift in language style. Thus, instead of meeting the audience's expectations, the performance is oriented toward an absent third party, an unidentified audience to which new linguistic choices apply (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 64).

Although Bell (1984) focuses on phonological and morphological phenomena, he emphasizes the overall relevance of audience design for all aspects of language use, including code choices. Accordingly, Androutsopoulos (2014a) argues for Bell's model as applicable to communication in SNS by suggesting that speakers' language styles are first and foremost oriented toward their audience, followed by bystanders and overhearers (p. 64; see also Seargeant et al., 2012). Nevertheless, while in Bell's model initiative style is oriented toward some sort of referee, Androutsopoulos argues that in SNS, initiative style contributions are directed to a different part of the user's network. In other words, in what Androutsopoulos defines as initiative style contributions, users redefine their audience by means of language style. As will be illustrated in detail in Chapter 8, code choice can be described as a key resource for limiting or maximizing the audience (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 71). Lee and Barton (2012) find, for instance, that Flickr users may draw on English in their postings to reach a broader global audience. Further, Lee (2017) finds that similar techniques can even be observed in digital spaces outside SNS. This applies not only to SNS, but to digital communication in general. For example, topics of more local relevance on Wikipedia tend to be written in a specific language only, instead of presented in many languages including English as a global language (p. 35). Thus, resistance to maximizing the audience is not necessarily motivated by a lack of comprehension by the sender and/or the reader(s). It may instead be the result of locally limited interest in the topic of discussion or can be driven by language ideologies or language policies (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 71).

It is impossible to share content on SNS without a potential audience in mind, as audience always influences self-presentation (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 119; see also Goffman 1959). Facebook, for example, offers various ways of addressing someone. It thus creates different kinds and sizes of audiences but at the same time complicates addressivity. Users can direct messages at selected members of their network, for example, by sending direct messages in a chat, tagging them in posts and photos, or by posting something on their timeline. Additionally, users can address a broader audience by posting status updates (Seargeant et al., 2012, p. 514 f.).

Although users oftentimes act as if their audience in semipublic spaces such as the Facebook wall were bound, in theory, at least, it is limitless. The audience users address with their status updates is thus most often an imagined one. Users do not know exactly who is reading their posts, and the imagined audience may in fact be quite different from the actual group of readers (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 115).

Nevertheless, users have a general idea about their Facebook audience, which they index through writing style and sharing content . On the one hand, the topic of discussion gives cues about the imagined audience, as topics are associated with certain social groups (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 64). On the other hand, as further discussed in Chapter 8, the imagined audience is indexed through linguistic choices that include language choice and style (Lee, 2017; Lee & Barton, 2011; Seargeant et al., 2012; Sharma, 2012). The processes at work here correspond with Ivanič (1998) description of writers' voices, which he describes as "shaped, nurtured, or constrained by their anticipation of known or imagined reader(s)" (p. 215). Accordingly, the imagined audience is written into being through practices such as language choice, language style, topic of discussion, contextualization cues[24], etc. (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 116). This means that only as a post is shared does the imagined audience to which the post is addressed come into being.

An ideal audience mirrors the user, meaning it comprises people who share the same perspectives and appreciate the user's posts (p. 120). In SNS, however, we may find overlaps of audiences that would be separated in the offline world. While public sites such as YouTube confront users with a generally unknown audience, Facebook offers an audience of people the writer may or may not know personally. It is not uncommon, for instance, to be connected with friends of friends on Facebook (Lee, 2017, p. 34 f.). In this context, the term *networked audience* has emerged to depict "real and potential viewers for digital content that exist within a larger social graph" (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 129). In SNS, members of a networked

[24] Contextualization cues are signals in interaction that help interlocutors to interpret *how* an utterance is meant. They can occur in the form linguistic signals (e.g. words, prosody, etc.) or non-verbal means (e.g. mimic, laughter, etc.). For example, mimic and intonation may indicate if an expression such as „Great!" is meant literally, that is, the speaker thinks something is very good, or sarcastically, that is, the speaker thinks something is not good at all. Gumperz (1982) initially coined the term in his work on discourse and communication, emphasizing the importance of shared contextualization conventions for social interactions to be successful. As contextualization cues are deeply connected to the interlocutors' cultural background, mutual understanding can only be achieved if the interlocutors share the same conventions about how to interpret these cues.

audience are connected to the profile owner and potentially (but not necessarily) to each other. The audience is possibly unidentified, meaning it is not personally known to the profile owner, although it contains familiar faces. Thus, although the networked audience may contain random unknown individuals, there is still the supposition of personal connection with the profile owner (p. 129).

In sum, networked audiences bring together different social relationships for users to navigate (p. 130). This phenomenon of SNS bringing together formally distinct audiences has been described as *context collapse* (Androutsopoulos, 2014a; Marwick & boyd, 2011). Context collapse occurs when members of a social network reflect different expectations as to what is appropriate (boyd, 2010, p. 50). SNS bring together previously distinct contexts (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 115) and thus audiences including family members, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, etc. This phenomenon is not bound to SNS but can also occur at gatherings such as weddings or graduations that bring together members with different relationships to the individual in question (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 63). Nevertheless, context collapse in SNS is probably the most impactful for everyday life, since weddings, graduations, or the like happen less frequently.

Users are aware of the potential overlaps of audiences in their networked audience and the consequences these overlaps may contain (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p. 120). Users may be hampered, for example, from using "the same techniques online that they do to handle multiplicity in face-to-face conversations" (p. 114). Linguistic studies have shown that users make those choices not coincidently but purposefully, for they are attentive to the different kinds of audiences present in digital environments (e.g. boyd, 2007). Ellison et al. (2006) find, for instance, that users on dating sites and apps act in accordance with their intended audience knowing that everything they share can and will be scrutinized by potential readers, which can thus affect their chances of attracting a partner.

Marwick and boyd (2011), in turn, have studied context collapse and its meaning with regard to users' audience design. They argue that context collapse challenges the individual's ability to shift between the different selves that are deemed authentic by different audiences. Authenticity, in this regard, is a social construct and varies depending on audience, for different audiences may perceive different things about us as authentic: "Whether we are viewed as authentic depends on the definition imposed by the person doing the judging" (p. 124). Consequently, there is no universal authenticity. Instead, authenticity is always local, temporally situated, and context dependent. What we deem authentic in one context may not be so in another In collapsed contexts such as SNS, users are therefore challenged to navigate their self-presentations in front of different audiences so that they are perceived as authentic by everyone. In other words, the collapsed contexts of SNS are the reason for users' need to address target audiences by linguistic, topical, and contextual means (p. 124).

On Twitter, Marwick and boyd (2011) find that users employ two strategies to do this. First of all, with self-censorship users refrain from discussing certain topics, such as controversial or personal matters, in order not to alienate any followers (p. 125). In this scenario, users only post what they deem the broadest possible audience to find non-offensive (p. 122). Second of all, users may balance the information they share. They may strategically target tweets with personal information, thereby constantly maintaining and meeting other users' expectations. Tweets of this kind are always based on audience feedback (p. 124).

Moreover, Androutsopoulos (2014a) investigates the consequences of context collapse for language style and especially language choices in SNS. Among other things, he studies how users align with or deviate from initiative language choices and how those choices are negotiated. As collapsed contexts bring together not only different audiences but consequently different linguistic repertoires, they can cause communicative situations in which only some, but not all, linguistic repertoires are shared by audience members. Users cannot be in command of all linguistic repertoires that exist in the networked audience. Hence, the more heterogeneous a networked audience is regarding their linguistic repertoires, the more challenging it is for the profile owner to address that audience, since it is impossible to meet the linguistic expectations of all audience members (p. 63f.).

Nonetheless, by means of linguistic strategies, users are able to maximize (or delimit) their respective target audience on SNS. Androutsopoulos (2014a) lists three linguistic strategies for users to maximize their audience. Firstly, they may use a common denominator language, that is, a language most of their network can understand (p. 66). The choice of base language thereby depends on various factors. Some researchers have described English as a base language for mixed lingual audiences (see Seargeant et al., 2012), which is corroborated by the results of this research project presented in Chapter 8. Other studies, however, have found other languages to serve as a common denominator language. Androutsopoulos (2006b) finds, for example, that adolescents with ethnically mixed backgrounds in Hamburg prefer German as their base language, as it constitutes the local code.

Secondly, users may share content in more than one language. They may, for instance, address certain audience members in their respective mother tongues. Androutsopoulos (2014a) notes in this context that "[d]oing so (…) seems motivated by positive politeness in the sense that addressing as many segments of the networked audience in their 'own' language is a semiotic effort by which addressees are symbolically individuated and thereby honored by the poster" (p. 67).

Finally, users can refrain from linguistic codes altogether by merely using emojis or through other semiotic means by posting content without any caption. In doing so, the selection of the post's base language is deferred to the first responding contribution that draws on any language. In cases where other media content is shared, the language choice is handed over

to that content (p. 67). An example of this with regard to Icelandic Facebook users is presented in section 8.3.2.

On the other hand, users have techniques at hand to delimit their audience. Any initiative contribution that cannot be assumed to be accessible to as many audience members as possible can be viewed as limiting the audience. Target audiences in those cases are only the members who are competent in the selected language(s) (p. 67).

According to Androutsopoulos (2014a), regularities of maximizing and limiting the audience can be observed among SNS users. While some alternate between audiences, others merely address one specific sub-audience all the time (p. 67). Corresponding techniques were found with the informants of this research project, as will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

In sum, language choices in SNS are not only shaped by users' identity construction, but also by their audiences. The affordances of Facebook (and other SNS) allow for different ways of addressing target audiences including more direct, private ways as well as broader, more public ways. As users are aware of the different audiences brought together in the collapsed contexts of SNS, users must develop strategies to navigate these differences. They may do so by means of topic of discussion and contextualization cues as well as linguistic means, all of which they consciously select and employ to present themselves authentically in front of their target audience. In this way, users' audience design is tightly interlinked with their identity construction.

3.6 Summary and research outlook

In sum, the dissertation is guided by different directions in CMC research. It acknowledges key directions in the field, such as structure and features approaches, context-aware studies, and variationist approaches, as well as research on language ideology in CMC.

Nevertheless, the Ph.D. project is primarily informed by new literacy studies as well as research on superdiversity and multilingualism. New literacy studies view language use in digital spaces as a social practice and seek to understand how digital media shape and influence these practices. With regard to multilingualism and superdiversity, the dissertation draws mainly on Norman J. Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging. Jørgensen argues for linguistic features as better suited to describe a certain production than a specific language, and he describes the simultaneous use of features associated with different languages as default linguistic behavior.

To apply the notion of polylanguaging to the study of digital practices, the Ph.D. project considers networked multilingualism, a concept introduced by Jannis Androutsopoulos. Networked multilingualism starts from multilingualism in superdiversity research acknowledging new approaches to language use, such as Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging. In addition, it considers certain preconditions for digital practices, including the

use of keyboard-to-screen technology, access to network resources, and the presence of a networked audience.

From these points of departure, the dissertation aims to describe Icelandic digital practices with regard to underlying communicative motivations and intentions. As research has shown, these motivations and intentions are often connected to users' online identity creation and performances, including stance-taking and face work as well strategies to attend to specific target audiences.

The research project is especially relevant given the increasing interest in and need for digital language studies in Iceland. Approaching Icelandic digital practices from literacy practices and the notion of polylanguaging adds a new perspective to the Icelandic discourse about language use in digital spaces. So far, studies on Icelandic and digital contexts have primarily focused on the effects of English on Icelandic in digital writing and due to digital language contact (e.g. Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021; Jökulsdóttir et al., 2019; Guðmundsdóttir et al., 2020; Sigurjónsdóttir et al., 2020; Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018b). The approach employed in this dissertation acknowledges the digital language contact of Icelandic and English as one possible facet of Icelandic digital writing. At the same time, however, it broadens the focus by shedding light on the multilayered and multimodal possibilities of digital practices and users' individual communicative intentions that are at the basis of these practices.

Building on the theoretical groundwork presented above, the dissertation will now move on to discuss people's evaluations of informal digital writing and present empirical evidence for the actual digital practices of native Icelandic speakers in social media. This part of the dissertation aims for a better understanding of Icelandic digital practices against the backdrop of Icelandic language attitudes and persisting language ideals. In this regard, the dissertation firstly provides insight into people's evaluations of formal and informal writing by presenting a language attitudes study that aims to unveil subconscious language attitudes of Icelanders toward informal digital practices (Chapter 4). Subsequently the research is interested in the formal characteristics of digital writing practices, that is, what linguistic resources – including linguistic and pictorial features, or other means of expression – Icelandic users draw upon. Therefore, a quantitative analysis of real-life Facebook data addresses frequencies of linguistic resources and features in Icelandic Facebook practices aiming to verify or falsify popular stereotypes about Icelandic digital practices (Chapter 5). Finally, the dissertation studies the ways in which people make use of these different resources to reach specific communicative goals. More specifically, a qualitative data analysis explains users' digital practices and linguistic choices by uncovering underlying communicative intentions which include informants' online identity work (Chapter 7) as well as strategies of audience design (Chapter 8).

PART II: EMPIRICAL STUDY – THE CASE OF ICELAND

4. Language attitudes toward CMC – The *Dulin viðhorf* project

Now that the theoretical framework for this dissertation has been laid out in Part I, Part II concerns the empirical study of digital practices in Iceland and people's attitudes toward those practices. It starts out with a study of language attitudes toward informal language use in digital environments. The study is especially relevant for the dissertation as research on language attitudes is a vital component of sociolinguistics and a "key component of sociolinguistic theory-building" (Garrett, 2001, p. 630). Furthermore, it has been pointed out that speakers' attitudes toward a language may have important implications for the status and the livelihood of that language (Sigurjónsdóttir & Rögnvaldsson, 2018a; UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, 2013, p. 51). Also, Henry Hoenigswald famously argued that linguistics should not only be interested in what goes on in language, but also in what people *think* goes on in language along with their attitudes and feelings about these occurrences (Hoenigswald, 1966, p. 20). This can help to provide explanations for the underlying motivations behind language variation and change (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 12; Labov, 1984, p. 33). It may also reveal "the dynamic identificational and relational forces at work within [linguistic communities]" (Garrett, 2001, p. 630), including prejudices against or in favor of certain styles of speaking and varieties, stereotypes regarding such varieties, and feelings and attitudes toward one's own way of speaking.

Accordingly, language attitude research concerns itself with the relationships between attitudes, linguistic features, and linguistic stereotypes; it looks to explain linguistic variation and change as well as attitudinal differences within and across communities, but also the relationship between linguistic contexts and language attitudes (cf. Bade, 2018; Garrett, 2001, 2010; Giles et al., 1987; Labov, 1972). For William Labov, for instance, the notion of language attitudes is crucial for the definition of speech communities: "In fact, it seems plausible to define a speech community as a group of speakers who share a set of social attitudes toward language" (Labov, 1972, p. 248), for people differ more in the ways they use language than in their attitudes toward language (Kristiansen, 2010a, p. 2).

In this regard, the study of language attitudes toward informal digital writing serves as important groundwork for this dissertation. Gaining insight into people's evaluations of digital practices can help to understand underlying motivations for the use of forms in online contexts. More precisely, learning what people think about digital practices can help explain the form and function of digital writing and will provide valuable insights into the communicative status of Icelandic in this context.

As informal writing practices in digital spaces often seem to fall short of complying with the Icelandic ideal of linguistic purity, the question arises whether these presumed shortcomings affect people's attitudes toward digital writing. People might evaluate informal digital writing, for example, against norms pertaining to a more formal writing style, thus expressing rather negative attitudes toward characteristic digital practices. Another possible scenario is, however, that people are aware of the oftentimes informal arena of digital spaces and therefore accept in these contexts (new) norms of writing that would otherwise deviate from standard writing.

In line with this, Chapter 4 is interested in the following research questions:

1. What are speakers' (subconscious) attitudes toward informal digital writing?
2. How do these evaluations and peoples' actual digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland?

In order to answer these questions, the following sections present the language attitudes study *Dulin viðhorf – mat á óformlegri málnotkun á netinu* ("Subconscious attitudes – assessments of informal language use online"). The study was conducted as part of the bigger research project *Dulin viðhorf – mat á málnotkun* in collaboration with Margrét Guðmundsdóttir and Stefanie Bade and funded by the University of Iceland Research Fund (Rannsóknarsjóður Háskóla Íslands, 2015). The research project aimed to examine subconscious language attitudes of Icelanders toward different aspects of language, including phonological variants in Icelandic (e.g., hard vs. soft speech) (Hlynsdóttir, 2016), foreign accented speech (Bade, 2018), and informal digital writing. The following sections will merely address the study on subconscious attitudes toward informal writing practices.

4.1 Approaches in language attitudes research

There are three core approaches to language attitudes in sociolinguistic research: 1. the societal treatment approach, 2. the direct approach, and 3. the indirect approach. Firstly, the societal treatment approach to language attitudes includes the observation or content analysis of different public sources, such as newspapers, public reports, etc. Furthermore, participant observations and ethnographic studies of language attitudes fall into this category. By evaluating these sources, the societal treatment approach provides insight into how social values and stereotypical associations of language varieties are discussed in a society (Garrett, 2010).

Secondly, the direct approach has been identified as the most dominant strand in linguistic attitudes research (Garrett, 2010, p. 159). Research of this kind applies questionnaires and interview surveys asking direct questions about language evaluation (Baker, 1992; see e.g. Huguet, 2006; Sigurðardóttir & Sigurjónsdóttir, 2020). In this sort of research, informants are

always aware of the study's objectives, with the result that the elicited overt attitudes tend to echo public discourse and "ideologized values" (Kristiansen, 2009, 2010a).

Finally, the indirect approach advances language attitudes in a subtle and at times even deceitful way, as it generally keeps informants in the dark about the true objectives of the research. The indirect approach thus aims to reveal more private and emotional attitudes (Garrett, 2010, p. 41 f.) that do not necessarily coincide with people's conscious language attitudes (Kristiansen, 2010a).

This dissertation follows the argument that subconscious attitudes can provide more useful data than conscious evaluations, for they may show people's "true" beliefs and thus give more accurate indications about possible language variation and change (Kristiansen, 2010a, 2015; Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019). In order to answer questions about a possibly changing language regard and linguistic ideology in Iceland, the following sections present a study that employs the so-called matched-guise technique to uncover subconscious language attitudes toward informal digital writing.

Over the last decades, the matched-guise technique has become a standard research method of the indirect approach to language attitudes; it has been used by scholars to obtain, for instance, information on evaluations of language variation and language varieties (e.g. Fernández-Mallat & Carey, 2017; Paltridge & Giles, 1984; Yilmaz, 2020). The test builds on informants' unawareness of the true objectives of the study, although they are aware that they are rating "something." Traditionally, the test involves recordings of at least two different samples of language use that informants evaluate, not knowing that the language variants in question are presented by the same speaker. Evaluations typically take place according to a semantic-differential scale (friendly/unfriendly, trustworthy/not trustworthy, sociable/ unsociable, etc.) or a Likert scale on which the informants rate statements in terms of the extent to which they agree or disagree (Kristiansen, 2010a).

The matched-guise technique has been criticized for its questionable speaker and style authenticity that results from the use of vocal representations of variation in the research design. Nevertheless, it has a number of significant advantages over other methods in language attitude research. By means of the matched-guise technique, scholars were, for instance, able to establish which features have the greatest effect on speakers' linguistic evaluations. This, in turn, led to a better sociolinguistic understanding of language variation.[25]

Furthermore, due to its design as an indirect method, the matched-guise technique can elicit private and more emotional attitudes and is thus less exposed to socially generated bias. Finally, it has yielded a great number of international and multilingual studies which allow "a fair degree of comparability of findings, and the development of

[25] In their comparative and structuring study of speech, Zahn and Hopper (1985) identify the evaluation measures *superiority*, *dynamism*, and (social) *attractiveness* as the three main factors in speakers' attitudinal judgements. *Superiority* refers to personal traits associated with intellectual and social status as well as speaking competence. *Dynamism* includes traits associated with the speaker's social power, activity level, and self-presentation. Finally, *attractiveness* represents social and aesthetic appeal.

relevant theory" (Garrett, 2010, p. 57). Among others, these include Ball (1983), Ewen and Kristiansen (2006), Kristiansen (2010b), Lambert et al. (1960), and Stewart et al. (1985).

4.2 Research design

The part of the *Dulin viðhorf* study reported in this chapter applied a twisted matched-guise test carried out by an online survey that comprised two texts and a questionnaire measuring reactions to these texts. The project's research design mainly drew on two studies in language attitudes research. On the one hand, the so called MIN project[26] informed the study in terms of the design of the matched-guise test (Árnason, 2006; Ewen & Kristiansen, 2006), as the *Dulin viðhorf* study presented in this dissertation applied the same labels and evaluation dimension as used in the MIN project.

On the other hand, Qi Zhang's study on language attitudes toward a feminine style in Chinese internet language informed the project by applying the matched-guise technique to research concerned with writing rather than speaking (Q. Zhang 2014). Zhang's study employed a twisted version of the matched-guise test to investigate subconscious language attitudes toward feminine writing styles in emails.[27] In her study, the matched-guise test was twisted by means of applying written sample variants instead of recordings. In other words, the informants in Zhang's study were confronted with written texts (not recordings) and were asked to evaluate the "author" of each text on a five-point Likert scale. Based on the model of Zhang's study, the *Dulin viðhorf* project also confronted its informants with written language samples.

4.2.1 Methodology

The study employed a semi-structured online questionnaire based on a twisted matched-guise test (cf. Q. Zhang, 2014). Instead of recordings, the informants were confronted with two written texts with the same content presenting a request for an apartment in the Reykjavík capital area.

[26] MIN stands for *Moderne Importord i språka i Norden* ("modern import words in the languages of the Nordic countries"). The contrastive research project studied and compared different aspects of the influence of English in seven speech communities in the Nordic countries including Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Swedish-speaking Finland, and Finnish-speaking Finland (see also section 2.2). For more information about the MIN project, see for example Kristiansen (2006), Kristiansen and Vikør (2006), and Óladóttir (2009).

[27] While a matched-guise test was also applied to an investigation of written language data by Buchstaller (2006), Q. Zhang (2014) applied the technique to digital communication, which made her work more relevant for the Dulin viðhorf project.

Informal guise

Hæhæ

32ára **kk** óskar eftir **stúdíó** á höfuðborgarsvæðinu, helst í **hfj** eða **kóp** en skoða allt **:)**

er með fasta vinnu, reglusamur, reyklaus og heiðarlegur **:)**

'Oska eftir sanngjarnri leigu hjá góðu fólki. **Hef** góð meðmæli **og endilega athugið að** það er ekkert **partývesen** á mér, **ekkert**! **:)**

íbúðin þarf að vera með sér **klósett aðstöðu**,ingangi og eldhúsi**, greiðslugeta** er **ca** 70-90 þúsund jafnvel **100þús** , fyrirfram þökk! **:D**

Megið endilega hafa samband í **ímeil** (xxx@gmail.com) eða í síma 1234567

Hi

32 year old m. is looking for a studio in the capital area, preferably in hfj or kóp, but I'll view everything :) I have a permanent job, I am tidy, non-smoking and decent :) Looking for a fair lease with good people. Have good references/recommendations and please note that there won't be any party-trouble with me, none! :) the apartment must have a private bathroom, entrance and kitchen, I can pay about 70-90 thousand even 100thous , thank you in advance! :D

You may totally contact me via email (xxx@gmail.com) or by phone at 1234567.

Formal guise

Sæl.

Ég er 32 ára **karlmaður** í leit að **stúdíóíbúð** á höfuðborgarsvæðinu. Helst í **Hafnarfirði** eða **Kópavogi**, en **ég** skoða allt. Ég er með fasta vinnu og er reglusamur, reyklaus og heiðarlegur. Ég óska eftir sanngjarnri leigu hjá góðu fólki. Ég hef góð meðmæli og það er ekkert **partístand** á mér. Íbúðin þarf að vera með sér **klósettaðstöðu**, inngangi og eldhúsi. Greiðslugeta er um 70-90 þúsund krónur, jafnvel 100 þúsund.

Endilega hafið samband í **tölvupósti** (xxx@gmail.com) eða í síma 1234567.

Hello,

I am a 21-year-old man looking for a studio apartment in the capital area. Preferably in Hafnarfjörður or Kópavogur, but I will view everything. I have a permanent job and I am tidy, non-smoking, and decent. I am looking for a fair lease with good people. I have good references and I don't have parties. The apartment must have a private bathroom, entrance and kitchen. I can pay about 70-90 thousand crowns, even 100 thousand.

Please contact me via email (xxx@gmail.com) or by phone at 1234567.

The texts were modeled after several authentic texts from the social network Facebook and varied only in their written style. The first text contained features that are often found in informal digital writing, including the following characteristics:

1. English borrowings (*ímeil* vs. *tölvupósti*)
2. spelling variation, including shortenings (*kk* vs. *karlmaður*), deviations in spacing (*100þús ,..*), as well as the neglect of capitalization (*er með fasta…* vs. *Er með fasta…*) and punctuation (*…en skoða allt :) vs. …en skoða allt.*)
3. emoticons (*:D*)
5. colloquial wording (*Hæhæ* vs. *Sæl*) and simplified/colloquial syntax (*en skoða allt* vs. *en ég skoða allt*).

The second text was adapted by minimizing these characteristics: English borrowings were replaced by Icelandic words, spelling variations were corrected according to the rules of the Icelandic written standard, emoticons were removed, and colloquial wording and syntax were replaced with a more formal style. Finally, both texts were reviewed by a native Icelandic speaker to confirm authenticity.

The study was advertised as a research project about the Icelandic rental market, with a focus on housing requests and tenants, in six relevant Facebook groups concerned with the housing market in Iceland; these included the Facebook group *Leiga* (Rent). The group allows members to look for and advertise apartments all over Iceland and to discuss questions regarding the real estate market. It is the biggest real estate–related Facebook group in Iceland and consisted of about 32,000 members at the time of the *Dulin viðhorf* project.[28] Additionally, the study was advertised on the researcher's private Twitter account as well as on the Icelandic sales, advertising, and discussion website *Bland* (www.bland.is).

The informants of the study were asked to rate the author's personal characteristics on a seven-point Likert scale adapted from the Icelandic study within the MIN project (cf. Ewen & Kristiansen, 2006) with *1* being the lowest and *7* the highest rating. The scale included the following labels for the respective author's characteristics: *sjálfstæður* ("independent"), *duglegur* ("effective"), *gáfaður* ("intelligent"), *metnaðargjarn* ("ambitious"), *afslappaður* ("relaxed"), *áhugaverður* ("interesting"), *aðlaðandi* ("likeable"), and *traustvekjandi* ("trustworthy"). In addition to the Likert scale evaluations, the informants were asked to which author they were more likely to rent an apartment. The questionnaire also included

[28] The other Facebook groups in which the research project was advertised were *Leiga 101* Reykjavík ("Rent 101 Reykjavík"), *Leiga 107, 105, 103, 104, 108*, *Leiga RVK 101.105.107*, *Leiga 109, 110, 111*, and *Íbúðir sem leyfa gæludýr* ("Apartments that allow pets").

demographic background questions to collect information about age, gender, and highest educational degree as well as about participants' daily access to and usage of the internet.[29]

The questionnaire was reviewed by a native Icelandic speaker and piloted with a group of 10 Icelanders to ensure that all questions were clear, comprehensible, and did not point to the true purpose of the research.[30]

4.2.2 Informants

Informants for the study were recruited through the social network sites Facebook and Twitter, as well as in the forum section of the website *Bland*. A total of 220 informants took part in the study. However, nine responses had to be removed from the analysis. These included, for example, questionnaires that were submitted multiple times by the same informant and questionnaires in which only one text stimulus was evaluated. Thus, 211 completed questionnaires were considered in the analysis.

The informants were divided into comparable research groups according to their background information on gender, education, and age. The participant distribution in the different research groups is presented in Table 1.

Research Group	**N total**	**%**
TOTAL	211	100.00%
Gender		
Women	163	77.25%
Men	48	22.75%
Education		
Elementary school degree/apprenticeship certificate	39	18.48%
High school degree	81	38.39%
BA/BS	60	28.44%
MA/MS	31	14.69%
Age		
18–29	81	38.39%
30–49	71	33.65%
50<	30	14.22%
Not specified	29	13.74%

Table 1: Participant distribution in the Dulin viðhorf project.

[29] In the end, information on informants' daily internet usage was not used in the data analysis and interpretation.

[30] Please see Appendix I for the complete questionnaire.

As shown in Table 1, informants comprised 163 women and 48 men. At the time of the study, 39 participants had a primary school degree or apprenticeship certification, 81 participants held a high school degree, 59 had a bachelor's degree, and 32 informants held a master's degree or Ph.D. The age groups consisted of 81 participants in the cohort 18–29 years, 71 participants in the age group 30–49 years, and 30 participants in the cohort 50 years and older.

4.2.3 Analysis

The first step of the analysis concerned calculating average values for all traits (and the likelihood to rent out an apartment) both in the general data set comprising all informants and the research groups classified according to demographic background information. Since the project sought, among other things, to investigate judgments about informal language use on the internet among and between different demographic groups, the comparison of the results of individual groups constitutes a vital component of the analysis.

In the second step, the single traits were grouped together in four different evaluation dimensions: *competence*, *superiority*, *dynamics*, and *sociability*. These dimensions were drawn from the MIN project using a variation of Zahn and Hopper's (1985) framework of evaluation dimensions in the study of unconscious attitudes toward English in the Nordic countries. The four dimensions with their respective character traits are illustrated in the following matrix:

	Dynamism	**Superiority**
Competence	independent (sjálfstæður) effective (duglegur)	intelligent (gáfaður) ambitious (metnaðargjarn)
Sociability	relaxed (afslappaður) interesting (áhugaverður)	likeable (aðlaðandi) trustworthy (traustvekjandi)

Figure 1: Matrix of evaluation dimensions with their respective labels.

Competence includes personal traits related to aptitude and self-presentation including the labels *independent*, *effective*, *intelligent*, and *ambitious*. Sociability refers to characteristics associated with a person's social appeal comprising the labels *relaxed*, *interesting*, *likeable*, and *trustworthy*. Dynamism reflects a person's activity level with the labels *independent*, *effective*, *relaxed*, and *interesting*. Finally, superiority refers to social and intellectual status including the labels *intelligent*, *ambitious*, *likeable*, and *trustworthy* (Kristiansen, 2006).

4.3 Results

The following section presents the results of the *Dulin viðhorf* project, introducing firstly the general findings obtained from the entire data set (that is, the data from all informants) and secondly the more diversified results obtained through an examination of the different research groups.

4.3.1 General results

The general results for the ratings by all informants are shown in Table 2.

	Labels of personal traits								**Evaluation dimensions**				**Rent**
	Competence Dynamism		Competence Superiority		Sociability Dynamism		Sociability Superiority						
guise	independent	efficient	intelligent	ambitious	relaxed	interesting	likeable	trustworthy	Competence	Sociability	Dynamism	Superiority	Likelihood to rent out apartment
formal	5.31	5.17	4.91	4.82	4.79	4.66	4.52	5.28	20.21	19.25	19.93	19.53	5.47
informal/CMC	4.69	4.51	3.53	3.74	4.74	3.8	3.66	3.83	16.47	16.03	17.74	14.76	3.98
significance	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

*Table 2: General results of the evaluation of the formal and the informal/CMC guise with eight personal traits and four evaluation dimensions as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Significance level: * = p<0.05 ** = p<0.01 *** = p<0.001. Significance was tested with a t-test. Values for the evaluation of personal traits on a seven-point Likert scale: Higher values reflect more positive evaluations. Values for the evaluation dimensions (competence, etc.): Values are obtained from the sum of the evaluation values of the individual traits that are grouped together in the evaluation dimensions. Higher values reflect more positive evaluations. Values for suitability as tenant on a seven-point Likert scale: The values reflect the likelihood to rent out an apartment upon the respective request. Higher values reflect a higher likelihood.*

The results show clearly that the formal guise is rated more positively than the informal/CMC guise. This holds true for all eight labels except for *relaxed*, all four evaluation dimensions, as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment. It also becomes obvious that the formal guise is rated highest in the competence dimension. The informal/CMC guise, on the other hand, receives its highest rating in the dynamism dimension.

These results align with findings of earlier studies (on conscious language attitudes) such as Walton and Jaffe (2011), who find that non-standard writing is almost always associated with some sort of sociolinguistic stigma. Furthermore, the findings coincide with sociolinguistic studies on Icelandic language attitudes, which have found a general skepticism toward linguistic phenomena such as linguistic innovation, borrowings, and informal writing (Árnason, 2006; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013; Óladóttir, 2007, 2009).

In accordance with Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn's (2013) differentiation between text genres, the housing market context could be characterized as "more formal, more impersonal, more planned, more edited" (p. 350). In their study on evaluations by Icelandic teachers and students as to the appropriateness of texts containing various degrees of non-standard language use, Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn (2013) show that both teachers and students identify, for example, lexical borrowings as spoken language features that are

deemed inappropriate in more formal text genres. As the informal/CMC guise contains features associated with spoken, informal, and personal communication, the more negative overall perception of this text relative to the rather formal, impersonal context of real estate is perhaps not surprising. Consequently, the question arises as to whether the housing market is, in fact, a suitable context for the study of language attitudes toward digital practices, and it must be noted that a more informal context may have led to different results.

4.3.2 Results according to background information

A more diversified picture evolves when the results are viewed with consideration of the background variables. Hence, the following paragraphs discuss the results according to the informants' gender, age, and educational degree.

Gender

Table 3 illustrates the results with regard to gender.

	Labels of personal traits								**Evaluation dimensions**				**Rent**
	Competence Dynamism		Competence Superiority		Sociability Dynamism		Sociability Superiority						
	independent	efficient	intelligent	ambitious	relaxed	interesting	likeable	trustworthy	Competence	Sociability	Dynamism	Superiority	Likelihood to rent out apartment
Females (N=163)													
formal	5.42	5.27	4.99	4.88	4.79	4.8	4.58	5.41	20.34	19.58	20.28	19.86	5.6
informal/CMC	4.85	4.68	3.62	3.85	4.85	3.98	3.81	4	17	16.64	18.36	15.28	4.18
mean difference	0.57	0.59	1.37	1.03	-0.06	0.82	0.77	1.41	3.34	2.94	1.92	4.58	1.42
significance	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Males (N=48)													
formal	5.41	4.91	4.57	4.91	4.63	4.14	4.46	4.91	19.8	18.14	19.09	18.85	4.72
informal/CMC	4.49	4.26	3.26	3.16	4.8	3.2	3.26	3.4	15.17	14.66	16.75	13.08	3.54
mean difference	0.92	0.65	1.31	1.75	-0.17	1.2	1.2	1.51	4.63	3.48	2.34	5.77	1.18
significance	*	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

*Table 3: Results according to gender with eight personal traits and four evaluation dimensions as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Significance level: * = p<0.05 ** = p<0.01 *** = p<0.001. Values for the mean difference: Values are obtained by subtracting the value of the informal/CMC guise from the value of the formal guise. Higher values reflect more positivity toward the formal guise or more negativity toward the informal/CMC guise.*

Both females and males are more positive toward the formal guise. This applies to all traits except for *relaxed*, as well as to all four evaluation dimensions and the likelihood to rent out an apartment.

In both research groups, the formal guise scores highest in the competence dimension whereas the informal/CMC guise receives the highest ratings in the dynamism dimension.

To estimate significance between the evaluation differences of the two genders, the Mann-Whitney U test was run with a significance level of $p<0.05$ (socscistatistics.com, n.d.).[31]

As shown in Table 3, the female cohort rates both the formal and the informal/CMC guise slightly higher than the male informants. This holds true for all personal traits and evaluation dimensions except for the trait *ambitious*, for which the males evaluate the formal guise slightly higher than the female informants do.

Furthermore, the mean difference values show that females are slightly more positive toward the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise in all personal traits except *intelligent* and *relaxed*. Nonetheless, according to the Mann-Whitney U-test no significant difference could be detected between the two genders regarding the evaluations of the eight personal traits.

As regards the four evaluation dimensions, the female cohort also seems to be more tolerant toward the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise than the males. In the *competence* dimension, for example, the mean difference between the two guises is 3.34 in the female cohort, but 4.63 in the male one. Similar differences can be found in the *sociability* dimension (females/males: 2.94/3.48), in the dynamism dimension (females/males: 1.92/2.34), and finally in the superiority dimension (females/males 4.58/5.77). Still, according to the Mann-Whitney U-test there is no significant difference between these values.

As for the likelihood to rent out an apartment, however, the female informants appear to be slightly less tolerant toward the informal guise relative to the formal guise than the male informants. The mean difference in the female cohort is 1.42, while it is 1.18 in the male cohort. Nonetheless, the difference is not significant according to the statistical analysis.

In sum, no significant difference in judgments according to gender can be detected in the data set. Instead, both genders share rather negative views toward the informal guise.

These results align with earlier language attitudes research in Iceland insofar as they reproduce findings that both men and women appear to have rather negative attitudes toward non-standard language use (Ewen & Kristiansen, 2006; Friðriksson, 2009). Concerning the differences of evaluations of the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise, however, the results of this study contrast with other Icelandic studies. In the MIN project, for example, men were found to be slightly more tolerant toward the non-standard guise relative to the standard guise (Ewen & Kristiansen, 2006). It must be noted, however, that the MIN project was not concerned with digital writing but researched spoken texts instead. The rather similar views between females and males in the study discussed here may thus be due to the written character and arguably more formal context of the texts in question.

[31] For the detailed statistical analysis, see Appendix II.

Age

Table 4 shows the evaluation results according to three age groups: 18–29 years, 30–49 years, and 50+ years.

	Labels of personal traits								**Evaluation dimensions**				**Rent**
	Competence Dynamism		Competence Superiority		Sociability Dynamism		Sociability Superiority						
	independent	efficient	intelligent	ambitious	relaxed	interesting	likeable	trustworthy	Competence	Sociability	Dynamism	Superiority	Likelihood to rent out apartment
18–29 (N=81)													
formal	5.62	5.33	5.15	5.06	4.9	4.73	4.78	5.51	21.16	19.92	20.58	20.5	5.78
informal/CMC	4.72	4.53	3.46	3.74	5.08	3.82	3.58	3.83	16.45	16.31	18.15	14.61	4.15
mean difference	0.9	0.8	1.69	1.32	-0.18	0.91	1.2	1.68	4.71	3.61	2.43	5.89	1.63
significance	*	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
30–49 (N=71)													
formal	5.25	5.21	4.9	4.9	5	4.79	4.54	5.3	20.26	19.63	20.25	19.64	5.44
informal/CMC	4.79	4.55	3.45	3.61	4.66	3.77	3.66	3.8	16.4	15.89	17.77	14.52	3.89
mean difference	0.41	0.66	1.45	1.29	0.34	1.02	0.88	1.5	3.86	3.74	2.48	5.12	1.55
significance	**	***	***	***	#	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
50+ (N=30)													
formal	5.27	5.17	4.77	4.52	4.6	4.67	4.37	5.33	19.73	18.97	19.71	18.99	5.27
informal/CMC	4.67	4.6	3.87	3.87	4.4	4.2	4.1	3.97	17.01	16.67	17.87	15.81	4.13
mean difference	0.6	0.57	0.9	0.65	0.2	0.47	0.27	1.36	2.72	2.3	1.84	3.81	1.14
significance	**	*	***					***	***	**	*	***	***

*Table 4: Results regarding age groups with eight personal traits and four evaluation dimensions as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment. 29 informants did not give information about their age. Significance level: * = p<0.05 ** = p<0.01 *** = p<0.001, # shows tendency with p<0.1*

All age groups are more positive toward the formal guise. Nevertheless, small differences in the evaluations of the two guises can be detected between the different age groups. Although the oldest age group (50+) is generally more positive toward the formal guise, significantly higher evaluations can only be detected in four out of eight personal traits. These are *independent*, *efficient*, *intelligent*, and *trustworthy*. No significance can be detected for the traits *interesting*, *ambitious*, *likeable*, and *relaxed*. As for the two younger age groups (18–29 and 30–49), significant differences can be found for all personal traits except for *relaxed*. In the four evaluation dimensions and regarding the likelihood to rent out an apartment, all age groups rate the formal guise significantly higher than the informal/CMC guise.

To compare the three age groups and to detect significant differences in their evaluations, a Kruskal–Wallis test was used with a significance level of $p<0.05$.

Comparing the mean difference values of the personal traits, it seems that the oldest age group is a bit more positive toward the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise regarding the traits *trustworthy*, *intelligent*, *ambitious*, and *interesting*. The youngest age group,

in turn, seems to be a bit more positive toward the informal guise regarding the personal traits *relaxed* and *likeable* (see Figure 2). Finally, the 30–49 age group seems a bit more positive toward the informal guise regarding the trait *independent*. Nevertheless, these differences are not significant according to the statistical analysis.

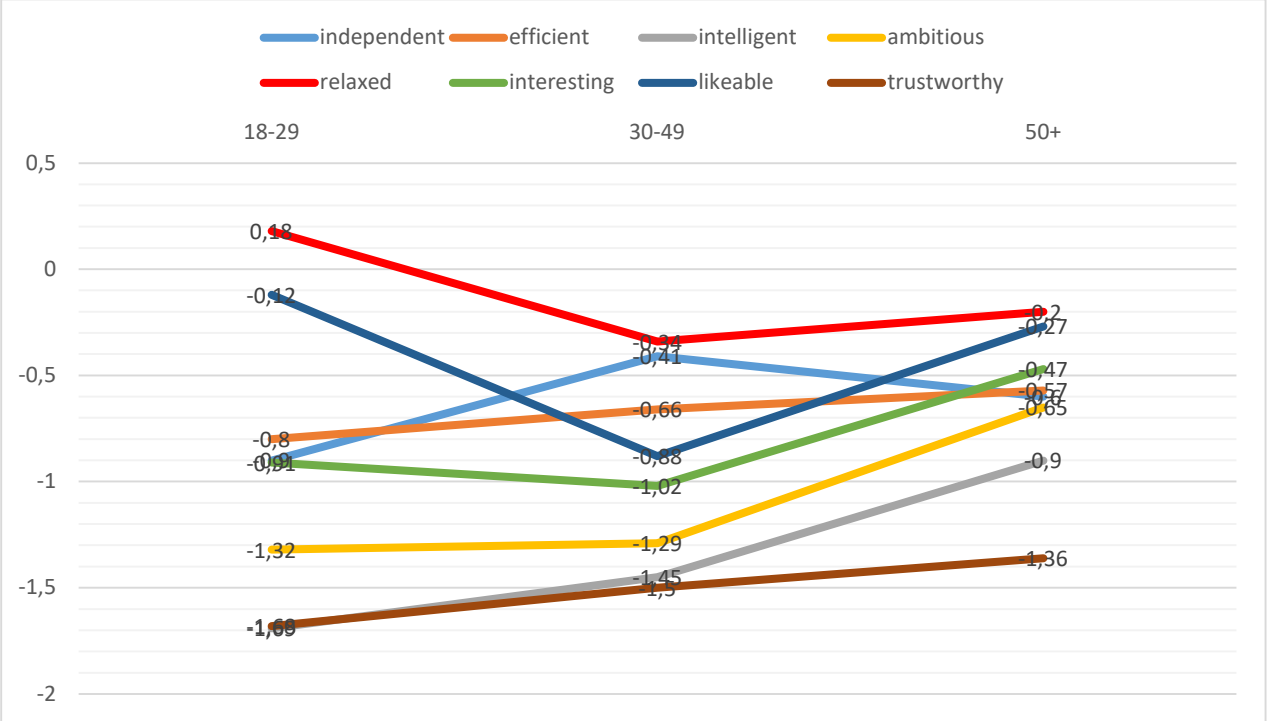

Figure 2: Comparison of the mean difference values in the three age groups concerning the eight personal traits efficient (orange), intelligent (gray), independent (light blue), ambitious (yellow), relaxed (red), interesting (green), likeable (dark blue), and trustworthy (brown). Mean difference was obtained by subtracting the mean value of the informal guise from the mean value of the formal guise. Higher values reflect more positivity toward the formal guise or more negativity toward the informal/CMC guise.

Looking at the mean differences of the four evaluation dimensions and the likelihood to rent out an apartment, the oldest age group seems to be generally more tolerant toward the informal/CMC guise than the two younger age groups (see Figure 3). However, according to the Kruskal-Wallis test the differences are not significant.

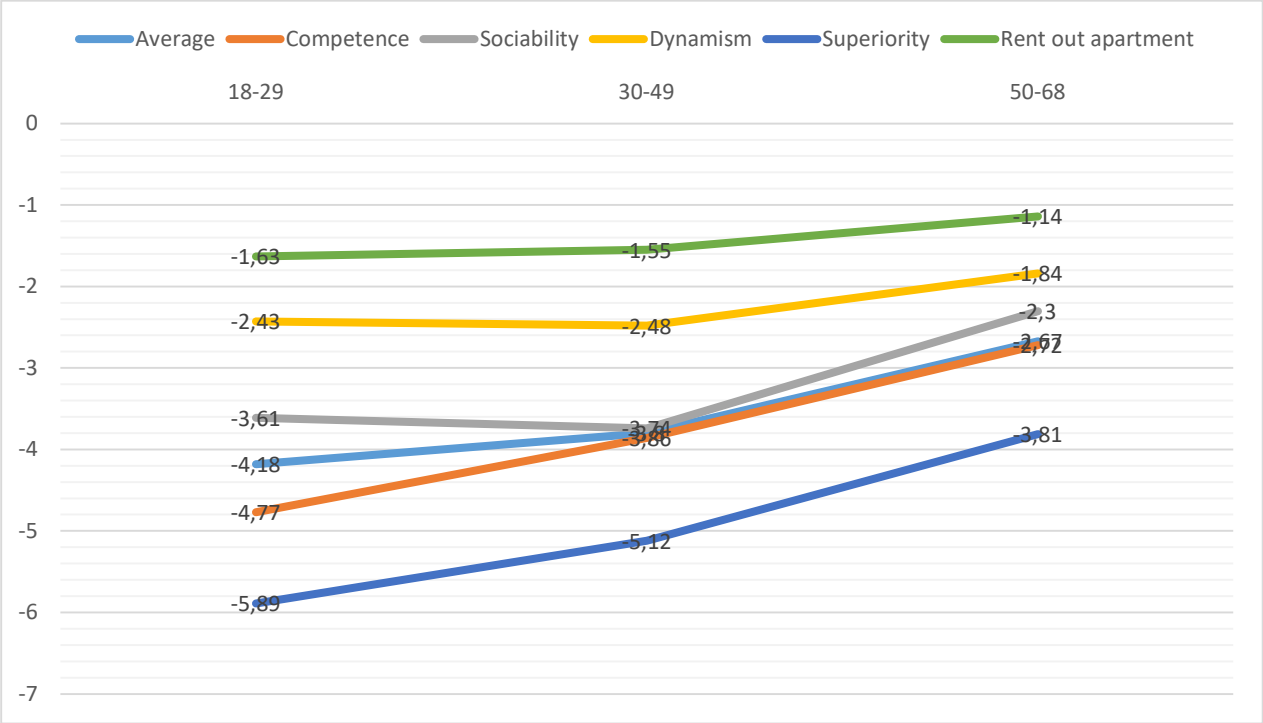

Figure 3: Comparison of the evaluation values in the three age groups concerning the four evaluation dimensions Competence (orange), Sociability (gray), Dynamism (yellow), and Superiority (dark blue), as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment (green). The average values concern the four evaluation dimensions and are displayed in the light blue line. Mean difference was obtained by subtracting the mean value of the informal guise from the mean value of the formal guise. Higher values reflect more positivity toward the formal guise or more negativity toward the informal/CMC guise.

At first glance, the results seem to contradict earlier studies, for younger Icelanders have been reported to be more open and liberal toward informal ways of speaking and especially the use of English borrowings (cf. Árnason, 2006; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013; Óladóttir, 2009). However, since language attitudes are also always shaped by context (Garrett, 2010, p. 22), one may argue that the slightly more liberal evaluations by the older age groups might be a result of the topic under investigation. The Icelandic housing market is highly competitive, especially in the capital area where apartments are scarce. Since older citizens are usually already settled, they do not have to compete on the housing market anymore. Hence, they may be more liberal in their evaluations of self-presentation in this context. The younger age groups, in contrast, represent those who are still directly affected by the situation on the housing market. Their comparatively more negative evaluations may thus stem from their experience in this highly competitive setting. This interpretation corresponds with the findings of a study by Paltridge and Giles (1984) on language attitudes toward local varieties of French. Their results indicate differences in judgements across age groups, with older participants being more liberal in their evaluations than the younger age groups.[32] When asked about the degree of professionalism of the speakers, the oldest age group did not differentiate

[32] It should be noted, however, that local speech varieties and written language style are not necessarily evaluated from the same point of view. In fact, Garrett (2010) points out that Paltridge and Giles's (1984) study gives no indication as to what may have caused the detected age differences (Garrett, 2010, p. 73). The study is merely cited as Garrett (2010) interpretation could serve as a starting point for interpreting the differences in evaluations detected in the Dulin viðhorf project.

between the varieties presented. These views could possibly be explained as the result of the elderly informants being “already retired and institutionalized” while the younger informants were still involved with and affected by the labor market (Garrett, 2010, p. 73).

Education

Results according to the informants’ educational degree are displayed in Table 5.[33]

	Labels of personal traits								**Evaluation dimensions**				**Rent**
	Competence Dynamism		Competence Superiority		Sociability Dynamism		Sociability Superiority						
	independent	efficient	intelligent	ambitious	relaxed	interesting	likeable	trustworthy	Competence	Sociability	Dynamism	Superiority	Likelihood to rent out apartment
Elementary school degree or apprenticeship certificate (N=39)													
formal	4.9	4.59	4.51	4.97	4.36	4.28	4.92	4.51	18.97	18.07	18.13	18.91	4.44
informal/CMC	4.69	4.13	4.85	5.08	5.08	4.05	4.51	4.77	19.02	18.41	17.95	19.21	4.64
mean difference	0.21	0.46	-0.34	-0.11	-0.72	0.23	0.41	-0.26	-0.05	-0.34	0.18	-0.3	-0.2
significance		*			**	#	#						**
High school degree (N=82)													
formal	5.3	5.2	4.51	4.93	4.84	4.82	4.57	5.48	19.94	19.71	20.16	18.49	5.68
informal/CMC	4.72	4.67	3.61	4.01	4.88	3.83	3.79	3.85	17.01	16.35	18.1	15.26	4.01
mean difference	0.58	0.53	0.9	0.92	-0.04	0.99	0.78	1.63	2.93	3.36	2.06	3.23	1.67
significance	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
BA/BS degree (N=60)													
formal	5.56	5.32	4.86	4.71	5	4.76	4.71	5.17	20.45	19.64	20.64	19.45	5.42
informal/CMC	4.73	4.34	3.2	3.22	4.63	3.64	3.44	3.68	15.49	15.39	17.34	13.54	3.76
mean difference	0.83	1.98	1.66	1.49	0.37	1.12	1.27	1.49	4.96	4.25	3.3	5.91	1.66
significance	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
MA/MS degree (N=33)													
formal	4.72	4.78	4.72	4.66	4.34	4.06	4.31	5	18.88	17.71	17.9	18.69	5
informal/CMC	4.44	4.34	3.28	3.5	4.5	3.34	3.31	3.28	15.56	14.43	16.62	13.37	3.31
mean difference	0.28	0.44	1.44	1.16	-0.16	0.72	1	1.72	3.32	3.28	1.28	5.32	1.69
significance		*	***	**		**	**	***	***	***	*	***	***

*Table 5: Results according to educational degree with eight personal traits and four evaluation dimensions as well as the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Significance level: * = p<0.05 ** = p<0.01 *** = p<0.001, # shows tendency with p<0.1*

Informants with an elementary school degree or apprenticeship certification (from now on referred to as ES/AC) show almost no significant difference in the evaluation of the two guises. They rate the formal guise significantly higher in the *efficient* trait but evaluate the informal/CMC guise significantly higher in the personal trait *relaxed*. The other traits as well as the four evaluation dimensions show no significant differences. However, the informal/CMC guise is rated significantly higher regarding the likelihood to rent out an apartment in this

[33] As the informants with an elementary school degree and apprenticeship certification were too few to produce significant results, these two research groups were combined and analyzed as one.

research group. The informal/CMC guise scores highest in the superiority dimensions while the formal guise reaches the highest evaluation results in the competence dimension.

Informants with a high school degree as well as informants with a bachelor's degree, on the other hand, are more positive toward the formal guise. This holds true for all traits except for *relaxed* as well as all four evaluation dimensions and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. In both research groups, the formal and the informal/CMC guise receive the highest ratings in the dynamism dimension.

Informants with a master's or Ph.D. degree rate the formal guise significantly higher in the personal traits *efficient*, *intelligent*, *ambitious*, *interesting*, *likeable*, and *trustworthy* as well as in all four evaluation dimensions and regarding the likelihood to rent out an apartment. In this research group, the informal/CMC guise receives the highest ratings in the dynamism dimension. The formal guise is rated highest in the competence dimension.

Again, a Kruskal-Wallis test was used with a significance level of $p<0.05$ to compare the evaluations by the four research groups and to detect possible significant differences.

The comparison of the single trait values indicates that informants with a BA/BS degree are the most negative toward the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise while ES/AC informants are the most positive. Informants with high school and MA/MS degrees rank in their positivity level toward the informal/CMC guise between the BA/BS and the ES/EA cohort. This is further illustrated in Figure 4. Nonetheless, according to the Kruskal-Wallis test, these differences are not significant.

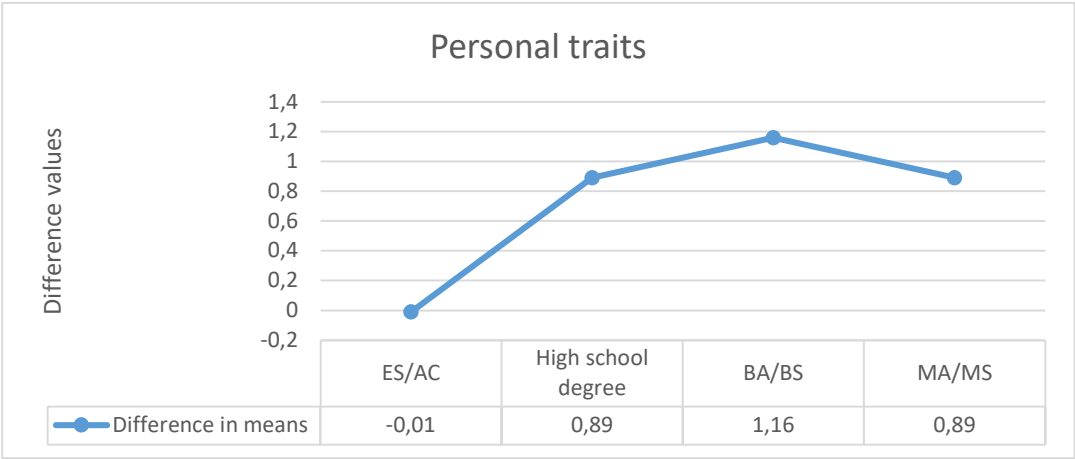

Figure 4: Mean difference of eight personal traits between the formal and the informal guise obtained by subtracting the mean value of the informal guise from the mean value of the formal guise. Higher values reflect more positivity toward the formal guise or more negativity toward the informal/CMC guise.

Regarding the four evaluation dimensions, the ES/AC cohort is the most positive toward the informal/CMC guise relative to the formal guise, followed by informants with MA/MS degrees and informants with high school degrees. Informants with BA/BS degrees are the most negative toward the informal/CMC guise. However, according to the Kruskal-Wallis test, the differences are not significant.

In terms of the likelihood to rent out an apartment, ES/AC informants rate the informal/CMC guise significantly higher than the other research groups. They are in fact the

only research group that evaluates the informal/CMC guise higher than the formal guise concerning this question, as illustrated in Figure 5. Differences between the other research groups, that is, the high school degree cohort, the BA/BS cohort, and the MA/MS cohort, are not significant.

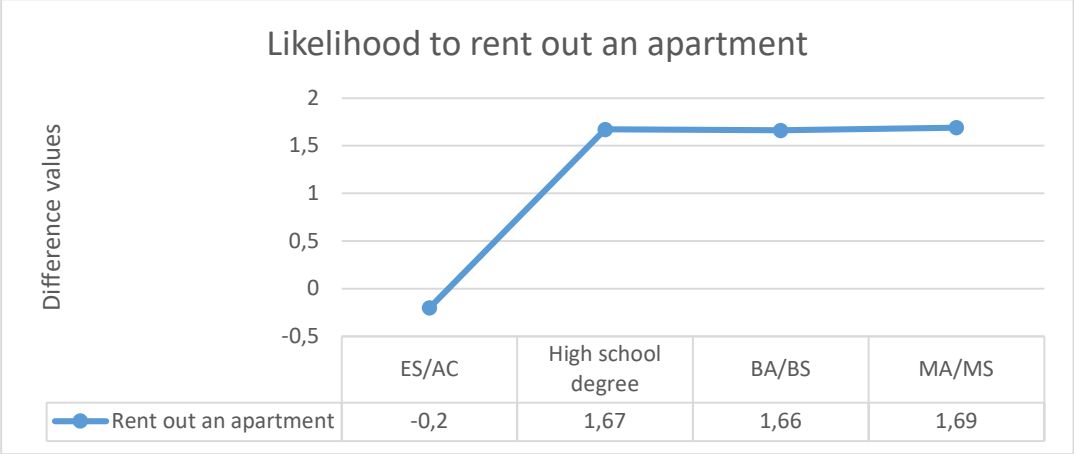

Figure 5: Mean difference regarding the likelihood to rent out an apartment between the formal and the informal guise, obtained by subtracting the mean value of the informal guise from the mean value of the formal guise. Higher values reflect more positivity toward the formal guise or more negativity toward the informal/CMC guise.

Regarding judgments against the backdrop of the informant's education, it remains safe to say that informants with ES/AC degrees are the most positive toward the informal/CMC guise. These results confirm Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn's (2013) findings where students were found to be more positive toward non-standard language use than teachers. In addition, as the informal guise contained English borrowings, the ES/AC group's positive evaluations correspond with findings of a 2002 Gallup survey, which found that the least educated held the most positive attitudes toward English (Árnason, 2006).

4.4 Summarizing discussion for the online data analysis

Through the presentation and discussion of the study *Dulin viðhorf*, this chapter provided insight into speakers' judgments and evaluations of informal digital writing practices in Iceland. These evaluations were obtained by means of an indirect approach in language attitudes research using a twisted matched-guise technique that aimed to uncover subconscious attitudes toward language variation in written texts.

The primary results of the study suggest that informal writing practices are still less accepted than a more formal writing style. Despite minor differences between the different research groups, there is a general preference for the formal guise throughout. The only exception is the EC/AS cohort, which shows no clear preference for either guise. From this perspective, we may assume that the Icelandic language ideal still persists, at least in the more educated parts of society and especially with regard to written texts.

These results have several implications for the data analysis presented in the remainder of this dissertation. First, the question arises as to whether actual Facebook practices reflect

the language attitudes that native Icelandic speakers presumably hold against such practices according to the *Dulin viðhorf* study. As the housing market can in a certain respect be described as a rather formal context, it remains to be seen whether users' day-to-day Facebook experiences are, in fact, comparable to the context evaluated in the *Dulin viðhorf* study. In the *Dulin viðhorf* study informal practices seem to be less acceptable in a rather formal context and among a broad audience that is largely unknown to the respective user. In more familiar daily Facebook communication, however, it could be expected that informal language features are more appropriate, as users act in an informal context directing their messages to an audience that is well known – or at least better known – to them through personal contact.

Additionally, the question of genre must be considered. A housing request as presented in this study, even when posted on Facebook, can be assumed to appear in Facebook groups where users do not know most of the group members. A more formal style may thus appear appropriate in this rather public and impersonal Facebook genre. Status updates, on the other hand, are often directed at contacts personally known to the profile owner. They may thus allow for a more informal language style and therefore contradict the results of the *Dulin viðhorf* study.

Finally, although the informal/CMC guise of the *Dulin viðhorf* project is based on natural posts from relevant Facebook groups, it is still a synthetic text compiled for the sole purpose of this study. Therefore, the analysis of the online data will have to independently address the question of what actual Icelandic Facebook texts look like including, among other things, what features appear in them. For this purpose, Chapter 5 presents a quantitative data analysis of relevant Facebook data with a special focus on the question of which linguistic resources users draw upon in their day-to-day Facebook practices.

Subsequently, the qualitative analysis of Facebook practices outlined in Chapter 6 and its results presented in Chapters 7 and 8 will address questions of speaker motivation and intention regarding the use of certain features and code choices in specific Facebook genres, that is, status updates and comments. Although the qualitative data analysis cannot make any statistical propositions as to correlations between demographic background and language practices, the users' individual backgrounds and experiences are still paramount for the data analysis, as they can give hints toward explanations for their communicative choices.

Finally, by linking the results of the online data analysis to the implications gained from the Dulin viðhorf study, the dissertation can try to answer the question of how speakers' evaluations and people's actual digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland.

5. Preliminary statistics – Linguistic resources in digital writing

The study of speaker attitudes serves as a reference point for this dissertation. Its actual focus, however, are the day-to-day linguistic practices of native Icelandic speakers on Facebook. Hence, the remainder of this dissertation concerns itself with the quantitative and qualitative analysis of real-life Facebook data.

Facebook is structured around user profiles, that allow for various ways of self-presentation, networking, and communication. Each Facebook profile is part of a social network, which generally consists of people who are somehow connected to the profile owner in the offline world (boyd and Ellison, 2008, p. 211). The importance of the user's network lies in Facebook's dependency on user content; Facebook provides the template but content is created collaboratively by its users who thereby build and shape each profile page (Sharma, 2012, p. 501).

After logging in to Facebook, a customized front page leads to different (personalized) experiences for each registered member (Cormode & Krishnamurthy, 2008, p. 3). Its key component is the so called newsfeed which displays a selection of contributions by selected Facebook contacts and other pages that the profile owner follows.[34] Moreover, the profile page itself is integral part of each Facebook profile, allowing users to present themselves in various ways. At the time of the data collection, the profile page typically contained a profile picture and cover photo as well as links with further information about the profile owner, including demographic and personal information, photos, videos, preferences, notes, etc. Since 2011, the so called *timeline* replaces the former *wall* as the key element of each user profile page. It is organized in reversed chronological order, displaying posts shared by the profile owner and the members of their Facebook network. At the time of the research project, both the profile owner and their network could post updates to the profile owner's timeline by means of text, pictorial means such as emojis, photos, videos, or links to other websites.

Another relevant writing space on the users' timelines is the commenting feature. At the time of the study, it formed one of two ways to react to a post, allowing users to share responses by means of text, pictorial features, or links to other media content. In addition to that, users could indicate that they had seen and appreciate a post by clicking the like button.

Besides the semi-public writing spaces on the timeline, Facebook also allows for private communication through a messenger feature. Private messages can thereby take place in form of an online chat, giving the exchange of messages the temporal dimension of quasi-synchronicity, or they can run as an asynchronous communication process, similar to emails, when one of the interlocutors is not active on Facebook.

[34] The contributions appearing on the newsfeed are selected in two ways. On the one hand, the profile owner chooses friends and pages that ought to appear on the newsfeed. On the other hand, Facebook algorithms filter the contributions on a user's newsfeed in non-transparent ways (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 63).

Nonetheless, the empirical study presented in the following chapters is only interested in the semi-private writing spaces of the timeline. More specifically, the study considers the posts and comments published by 28 Icelandic individuals on their respective timelines between September 2012 and end of October 2014. Before the empirical study addresses the ways in which the informants draw on different features and examines the communicative goals at the base of these practices, a quantitative analysis is necessary that identifies and counts the linguistic resources and their associated features appearing in the data set.[35] In doing so, the quantitative analysis aims to verify or falsify popular stereotypes about language use in digital environments (cf. Thurlow, 2006) and hopes to answer the dissertation's research questions about formal characteristics of Icelandic digital practices, including:

1. What are the formal characteristics of digitally written Icelandic?
2. What linguistic resources do users draw upon?
3. To what extent and in what ways are features from these resources mixed and combined?

5.1 Data collection

As no Icelandic data corpus of informal Facebook communication was available at the beginning of this Ph.D. project, the corpus was compiled specifically for the purpose of this study. The corpus design was derived from relevant literature on corpus building methods such as Kennedy (1998) and O'Keeffe and McCarthy (2010). The data collection started in late November 2014. Screen-based data was used, as it allows for the inspection of "natural" communication (Androutsopoulos, 2013b). Beyond that, the data selection followed Susan Herring's sampling paradigm, which includes the following sampling parameters: random sampling, sampling by theme, sampling by phenomenon, sampling by individual or group, sampling by time, and sampling by convenience (Herring, 2004a).[36] Two parameters of Herring's paradigm were regarded: Firstly, data was sampled by individual. Informants were recruited through a snowball system on Facebook. For this purpose, the study was advertised on my personal Facebook profile as well as in different Facebook groups. Additionally, selected individuals were specifically contacted and asked to participate and/or share the study's advertisement with their Facebook network. The project involved only native Icelandic speakers who were older than 18 at the time of the study. Users interested in participating in the study contacted me individually via the Facebook chat or email. The users were asked to sign a consent form, informing them about the purpose of the data collection and the study as well as about what kind of data would be collected.[37] Twenty-four females and four males born between 1946 and 1990 gave consent to access their Facebook data and were thus admitted

[35] *Resources* in this context refers to what is available for use, whereas *features* refers to the individual items that can be ascribed to those resources.

[36] For a more detailed description of the sampling paradigm, see Herring (2004a, pp. 351-354).

[37] Please see Appendix IV for the consent form.

to the study. Table 6 gives an overview of the informants in the study and their respective birth year. For reasons of data protection, informants' names were changed. Also, in the examples used in this dissertation all information that might point to the individuals' identities was removed (see also section 6.4).

Aníta	1990	Andrea	1984	Aldís	1981
Áshildur	1983	Ásta	1972	Erla	1990
Guðlaug	1976	Hafbjörg	1981	Haldóra	1987
Hekla	1983	Hilda	1988	Hrefna	1963
Jóhann	1946	Jónas	1965	Katrín	1977
Kolbrún	1980	Móa	1980	Ósvald	1965
Sigdís	1981	Sonja	1986	Sunneva	1981
Tindra	1987	Tristan	1981	Valgerður	1966
Valdís	1987	Védís	1983	Þóra	1958
Þórdís	1972				

Table 6: Pseudonymized informants and their respective birth year.

Beyond sampling by individual, data was collected for a selected timeframe including all timeline contributions of the selected informants produced between September 2012 and the end of October 2014. In doing so, the research only considered content that was already shared at the time of the data collection. Furthermore, the data collection considered only semi-public contributions (no private messages) and only the individuals' Facebook timelines (no photo albums, etc.). To ensure constant access to the corpus, the informants' Facebook timelines for the respective timeframe were saved and stored as PDF files.

The selection of data by time and individuals proved to be suitable for the purpose of this Ph.D. project, as it provides a corpus that is rich in context and at the same time focuses on individual practices of specific informants.

5.2 Methodology

The quantitative data analysis takes on traditional corpus-based methods. It is directed at data from 2014 and comprises 8,476 Facebook posts. It covers two investigations: Firstly, the corpus is analyzed on the macro level, exploring what linguistic resources users draw upon in their day-to-day Facebook practices and to what extent those resources are employed. Secondly, a micro-level analysis looks more closely into features and their frequencies in the data set.

5.2.1 The macro-level analysis of linguistic repertoires

For the macro-level analysis, the analysis software ATLAS.ti was used.[38] It was directed at all posts made by the informants on their own timelines between January 1 and October 31 of 2014. In a first step, the posts were coded through application of a coding system partially adopted from research on multilingualism and sharing practices on the web (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014b, 2015) and partially developed for the purpose of this study. It considered a total of 16 codes that were categorized into two coding themes, namely, *participatory role* and *linguistic repertoire*.

Table 7 lists both the coding themes and their respective codes used in the macro-level quantitative analysis.

Coding theme	**Code**
Participatory role	initiative responsive
Linguistic repertoire	Icelandic English German Italian Latin Greek … independent features multiple resources no caption

Table 7: Coding themes and their respective codes used in the quantitative macro-analysis.

The coding theme participatory role comprises two codes, initiative and responsive. Accordingly, all posts were coded as either initiative or responsive. For the purpose of this dissertation, initiative posts were defined as status updates on a user's timeline created by the profile owners themselves. Status updates may contain text as well as embedded media content such as videos, articles or links to other websites, application content such as games, as well as localization markers. Responsive posts, in turn, result from the technological affordances of Facebook that allow users to reply directly to an initiative post by commenting on it. Typically, comments are dialogically related to their initiative post and/or preceding responses. Only comments posted by the study's informants themselves were considered in the analysis.

The second coding theme, *linguistic repertoire*, refers to the linguistic resources users draw upon in their posts. Although the question has been discussed as to why the idea of languages as clear and separable sets bears challenges (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010;

[38] Although ATLAS.ti is a research tool for qualitative data analysis, it also allows for basic quantitative tests such as counting codes and code co-occurrences.

Garcia, 2009; Jørgensen, 2004, 2008; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006), the study maintains languages as a coding category as it helps illuminate which linguistic resources users generally draw upon to achieve their communicative goals (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2015). Therefore, the coding theme *linguistic repertoire* includes separate languages such as Icelandic, English, and German. Posts showing single words, phrases, paragraphs, or merely orthography typically associated with a specific language were thus coded as containing the respective language. For example, a contribution was coded as Icelandic if it contained a paragraph, phrase, or single word that is part of the Icelandic lexicon or that is written according to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence. In cases of doubt, the Dictionary of modern Icelandic (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*) was used as a guideline to determine whether a feature is part of the Icelandic lexicon. Features were not counted as Icelandic if they were not represented in the dictionary or if their definition included an addition such as “not fully recognized” (*ekki fullviðurkennt mál*) (cf. Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók, 2022).

Nonetheless, two examples illustrate why the socially constructed idea of languages as clear and separate sets of features is fuzzy. Figure 6 shows a post coded as *Icelandic* and *English*, since it contains features associated with Icelandic as well as features associated with English. Figure 7, on the other hand, shows an initiative post coded as *Icelandic*, as the features used in the post can only be ascribed to the language known as Icelandic.

Figure 6: Example of a post coded as Icelandic and English: “Thank you for the birthday whishes dear friends, the first day being 27 was awesome and also unforgettable! [in Icelandic]. Thanks for the birthday wishes, I had a wonderful and unforgettable day in Berlin [in English]☺”

Figure 7: Example of a post coded as Icelandic: "These two are going to say bye to the sun, 28 degrees, and beer gardens as the stay in Berlin is coming to an end. See you tonight in Iceland!"

Although from a formal perspective English and Icelandic may be distinct languages through more or less clearly defined norms, it can be difficult to ascribe texts to either language, as these texts can be linguistically mixed. The question arises, for instance, how to treat the term *Berlín*. One may argue that Berlin is a German city carrying a German name. Nevertheless, in Figure 7 it is spelled according to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence and even adapted to Icelandic grammar by adding the genitive ending *-ar* (*Berlín**ar**dvöl*). Therefore, both in the quantitative and in the qualitative analysis, names (city names as well as names of people) are treated according to their orthographic and grammatical representation in context. *Berlín* in Figure 7 is thus ascribed to Icelandic, whereas *Berlin* in Figure 6 is categorized as English, since it appears in an otherwise English context and simultaneously corresponds with the English name and spelling of the city (see also Árnason, 2009).

In addition, as users may draw on features that cannot be assigned to any given language, the investigation had to go beyond separate languages. Therefore, features such as emojis, verbalized laughter, expressive orthography, and punctuation, as well as interjections such as *oh*, *ah*, and *wow*, were coded as independent features, a code that was specifically created for this analysis. Nonetheless, interjections were most often coded with two codes, one of which being *independent features* and the other describing the language to which the orthography of the interjection can be ascribed. *Wow*, for instance, represents English orthography. The written representation *vá*, however, is associated with Icelandic orthography. Thus, *wow* was coded as an independent feature and English whereas *vá* was coded as an independent feature and Icelandic.

Furthermore, posts drawing on more than one linguistic resource were additionally coded with the indication *multiple resources*, as for example seen in Figure 6.

Finally, the code *no caption* was used to refer to contributions in which an informant shares other media content alone but does not comment on this content by means of linguistic or pictorial features. An example of this can be found in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Example of an initiative post without a caption.

After coding the data material, codes were counted and proportional values calculated. Next, relationships between participatory role and individuals' linguistic resources were established using the spreadsheet software Microsoft Excel. In doing so, it was noted whether differences between initiative and responsive posts could be detected regarding informants' linguistic repertoire used therein. The linguistic repertoire was also related to the category

multiple resources in order to determine how often and in what combinations the informants mixed and combined features from different resources in their contributions.

5.2.2 The micro-level analysis of feature frequencies

For the micro-level analysis of individual feature frequencies, the data material had to be converted to .txt files and edited by extracting the informants' raw text data. The .txt files were then analyzed using the web-based open-source application Voyant Tools. With the help of Voyant Tools, application word frequencies, collocations, and distributions could be detected. However, emojis could not be counted and analyzed in the micro-level analysis, as they were not supported by the .txt format. In addition, as the Voyant Tools application could not detect or count punctuation marks, iterated punctuation could not be analyzed either. Emoticons, however, could be detected and counted when they contained characters other than punctuation marks. Examples of this are the heart emoticon (<3), which could be detected due to the character *3*, as well as the laughing emoticon (:D) that could be counted as it contains the character *D*.

The Dictionary of modern Icelandic (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*) was used to distinguish between Icelandic features and features associated with other languages.

5.3 Linguistic repertoire and participatory role

The macro-level quantitative analysis is based on a total of 8,476 posts with 4,486 initiative and 3,990 responsive contributions.

5.3.1 All participants

Table 8 displays the number of initiative and responsive posts that contain at least one feature associated with Icelandic, English, independent features, other languages (such as French or German),[39] and multiple resources, as well as posts containing no written text but merely other media content. Furthermore, the proportional values relative to all initiative and responsive posts, as well as to the total number of posts, is presented.

[39] The label *other languages* refers to single languages that occur relatively rarely (<200) in the data set.

	initiative		responsive		total	
	4486		**3990**		**8476**	
Icelandic	2518	0.561	3187	0.799	5705	0.673
English	1307	0.291	907	0.227	2214	0.261
Independent features	1640	0.366	2594	0.65	4234	0.5
Other languages	120	0.027	141	0.035	261	0.031
Multiple resources	1762	0.393	2609	0.654	4371	0.516
No caption	880	0.196	30	0.008	910	0.107

Table 8: Number of initiative, responsive, and total posts containing Icelandic, English, independent, and other features, as well as multiple resources, or no caption; proportional values relative to the number of initiative/responsive/total number of posts rounded to three decimal places.

In the data set, Icelandic is the most prominent language. This is true for initiative and responsive posts as well as for the total number of contributions. Icelandic features, that is, Icelandic words, sentences, or orthography, occur in about 67.3% of all posts. They occur more frequently in responsive contributions, with about 79.9% posts containing Icelandic features, whereas 56.1% of initiative contributions contain Icelandic of some sort.

English features appear in 29.1% of initiative and 22.7% of responsive posts. This adds up to a total of 26.1% of all posts containing English of some sort. The data set also contains languages other than Icelandic and English, as for example German and French. Nevertheless, those languages appear rather infrequently in the material, as can be seen in Table 9.

	initiative	responsive	total	
Danish	13	22	**35**	0.0041
Dutch	1	0	**1**	0.0001
Finnish	0	1	**1**	0.0001
French	12	11	**23**	0.0027
German	54	79	**133**	0.0157
Italian	2	3	**5**	0.0006
Latin	5	5	**10**	0.0012
Norwegian	16	6	**22**	0.0026
Swedish	17	14	**31**	0.0037

Table 9: Number of initiative and responsive posts containing language features other than Icelandic or English; total number of posts containing other languages; proportional value relative to total number of posts rounded to four decimal places.

Table 9 shows, among other things, that German features only occur in 133 of all posts, or 1.57% of contributions. The frequencies of other languages are even lower. Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, French, and Latin can be found in less than 0.5% of all posts. Italian occurs in less than 0.1% of all contributions. Finally, Dutch and Finnish are each found once in the entire data set. For this reason, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Latin, Norwegian, and Swedish are summarized under the label *other languages*.

Nevertheless, as illustrated in Table 8, those “other” languages are rare in the data set even in sum. Only 2.7% of initiative and 3.5% of responsive posts contain other languages.

This adds up to 3.1% of all posts containing features associated with Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Latin, Norwegian, or Swedish.

Independent features (such as emojis or iterated punctuation), in turn, can be found in half of the contributions (50%) in the data set. They are less prominent in initiative posts, with 36.6% containing independent features as opposed to 65% of responsive contributions including features of that kind. Figure 9 presents an example of a post containing independent features in the form of emojis and iterated punctuation.

Figure 9: Example of an initiative post containing independent features (iterated punctuation and emojis): "Well, then one has come home to Trönuhjalli! Today, I am going on a little vacation to the North and then it is just Reykjavík again next week! And yes…..hello Iceland! ".

Moreover, 10.7% of all posts contain no caption but consist merely of other media content such as embedded videos, pictures, or news articles. However, while 19.6% of initiative posts have no caption, only very few responsive posts rely solely on other media content. In fact, contributions containing no caption make up less than 1% of responsive posts.

Finally, multiple resources – that is, the use of more than one linguistic resource in a contribution – can be found in about half the posts in the data set. One example of this can be found in Figure 10.

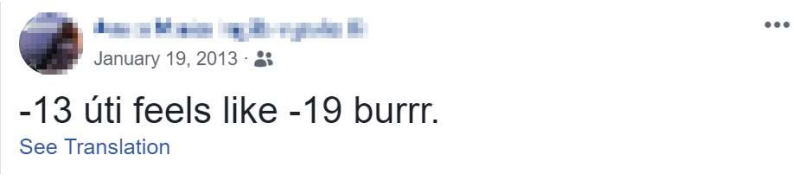

Figure 10: Example of an initiative post containing multiple resources, that is, Icelandic (úti), English (feels like), and independent features (burrr): "-13 [degrees] outside [in Icelandic] feels like [in English] -19 burrr."

The combination of features from multiple resources is more prominent in responsive posts. Multiple resources only occur in 39.3% of initiative contributions, whereas they appear in 65.3% of responsive posts. The informants of this study thus seem more prone to draw on only a single resource in initiative posts while they appear to be more amenable to employing a mix of features from different resources in responsive contributions.

For a more detailed analysis of users' multiple resource usage, Table 10 shows the distribution of multiple and single resource employment throughout the data set.

	multiple res.		single res.		total
	4371		**3144**		
Icelandic	3450	0.605	2255	0.395	5705
English	1654	0.747	560	0.253	2214
Indep. features	3951	0.933	283	0.067	4234
Other languages	215	0.824	46	0.176	261

Table 10: Number of posts containing multiple resources, that is, combinations of Icelandic, English, independent, and/or other language features; proportional values relative to the total number of posts containing multiple resources; number of posts containing features of a single resource; proportional value of single resources; total number of posts containing Icelandic, English, independent, or other language features.

As displayed in Table 10, 60.5% of the posts that contain Icelandic features show other linguistic or pictorial features as well, whereas Icelandic is drawn upon as a single resource in only 39.6% of the cases. Still, Icelandic is more likely to be used on its own than other resources. English features, for example, are used in combination with features of other resources in 74.7% of the cases. Only 25.3% of the posts including English contain no other resources. Furthermore, independent features occur in 93.2% of the cases in combination with other features, whereas only 6.7% of the contributions including independent features do not contain any other resources. Regarding other languages such as German or French, 82.4% of posts carrying such features show multiple resources, whereas merely 17.6% contain only a single resource. In other words, it seems that the form of Icelandic in informal digital texts is somewhat different from what we know as “traditional” or more formal writing as found, for example, in textbooks, the news, etc. Traditional Icelandic writing is characterized by the use of features that are associated with what has been called “pure” Icelandic. Informal Icelandic texts in digital writing spaces, on the other hand, appear to be permeated by or at least mixed with features and texts associated with other resources. These resources include, for example, English in the form of lexical borrowings (so-called *slettur*) and texts, as well as independent features such as emojis or verbalized laughter.

5.3.2 Excluding the user Hekla from the statistics

Looking more closely into the data set, it becomes apparent that one user in particular shows above-average activity on Facebook. The informant Hekla posts much more often on Facebook than any other user in the sample. As 2,693 posts in the data corpus come from Hekla, almost one third of all posts stem from the same user. Although the statistics given in this chapter are in no way representative of the entire Icelandic speech community, Hekla’s proportionally high representation in the corpus may have a considerable influence on the outcome of the preliminary statistics. It is therefore worthwhile to exclude Hekla in a second quantitative analysis to see if and how the statistical results change.

Accordingly, Table 11 displays distributions of different resources in initiative and responsive posts not counting the user Hekla. Furthermore, the proportional value relative to the overall number of initiative, responsive, and total number of posts is shown.

	initiative		responsive		total	
	3090		**2693**		**5783**	
Icelandic	1836	0.594	2088	0.775	3924	0.679
English	806	0.261	615	0.228	1421	0.246
Independent features	1074	0.348	1713	0.636	2787	0.482
Other languages	116	0.038	136	0.051	252	0.044
Multiple resources	1149	0.372	1710	0.635	2859	0.494
No caption	563	0.182	26	0.01	589	0.102

Table 11: Number of initiative and responsive posts excluding the informant Hekla that contain Icelandic, English, independent, and other language features as well as multiple resources or no caption; proportional values relative to the number of initiative/responsive/total number of posts rounded to three decimal places.

To determine the actual influence of the user Hekla, it was calculated as to whether there is a significant difference in linguistic resources between the data set including and the data set excluding Hekla. For this purpose, a Z-test was run with a significance level of $p<0.05$. In cases where a significant difference was found, the degree to which Hekla's posts have an impact on the data was calculated by calculating Cohen's d.[40] The results of this calculation are presented in Table 12. The following section serves to summarize the main results of this analysis.

	Participatory role	Data set including Hekla	Data set excluding Hekla	p	Cohen's d
Icelandic	all posts	5705/8476	3924/5783	0.49	
	initiative	2518/4486	1836/3090	0.01	0.563
	responsive	3187/3990	2088/2693	0.02	2.13
English	all posts	2214/8476	1421/5783	0.04	0.201
	initiative	1307/4486	806/3090	0	0.249
	responsive	907/3990	615/2693	0.92	
Ind. features	all posts	4234/8476	2787/5783	0.04	0.54
	initiative	1640/4486	1074/3090	0.11	
	responsive	2594/3990	1713/2693	0.24	
Other lang.	all posts	261/8476	252/5783	0	0.002
	initiative	120/4486	116/3090	0.01	0.001
	responsive	141/3390	136/2693	0	0.002
Multiple res.	all posts	4371/8476	2859/5783	0.01	0.582
	initiative	1762/4486	1149/3090	0.07	
	responsive	2609/3390	1713/2693	0.14	
No caption	all posts	910/8476	589/5783	0.29	
	initiative	880/4486	563/3090	0.13	
	responsive	30/3390	26/2693	0.35	

Table 12: Number of posts that contain Icelandic, English, independent, and other language features as well as multiple resources and no caption including and excluding the user Hekla; significance level p rounded to two decimal places; effect size (Cohen's d) of excluding the informant Hekla rounded to three decimal places.

[40] *Cohen's d* is an effect size indicator which measures the actual effect of the difference between two means. While the significance value p can show if there is an effect, it cannot say how large this effect is. With *Cohen's d*, however, this effect size can be calculated. Effect size interpretations are suggested as follows: 0.01=very low, 0.2=low, 0.5=medium, 0.8=large, 1.2=very large, 2=huge (Cohen, 1988). For the detailed statistical analysis of Hekla's impact on the data set see Appendix III.

The total number of posts is obviously lower when Hekla is excluded from the analysis. Without Hekla, the corpus counts a total of 5,783 posts. Likewise, the number of initial posts is reduced to 3,090 and the number of responsive posts amounts to 2,693.

Whether the user Hekla is excluded or not, Icelandic remains the most frequently used resource in the data set. In addition, independent features remain the second most frequently used resource, followed by English and other languages.

Furthermore, no significant difference was found for all posts regarding the use of Icelandic. When looking at the two participatory roles, however, significant differences can be detected. For example, Hekla draws less often on Icelandic features in her initiative posts than other users. 59.4% of initiative posts contain Icelandic features when Hekla is excluded from the analysis, as opposed to 56.1% when including Hekla. The actual effect that excluding Hekla has for the analysis, however, is medium (Cohen's d = 0.563).

A reversed picture evolves for responsive posts, as significantly more posts contain Icelandic when Hekla is included (79.9%) than when she is excluded (77.5%). This means Hekla uses Icelandic features in responsive posts significantly more often than the rest of the informants. In fact, 1099 out of Hekla's 1297 responsive posts (84.7%) contain Icelandic features. According to Cohen's d (2.13), Hekla has a huge impact on the data set regarding responsive posts containing Icelandic.

It thus seems that the relatively balanced outcome with regard to the use of Icelandic in all posts, where no significant difference could be detected, derives from the contrary effect that Hekla's contributions have on initiative and responsive posts. Her frequent use of Icelandic in responsive posts appear to compensate for her less frequent use of Icelandic in initiative posts.

As for English, Hekla has no considerable impact on the data material. Regarding all posts, about 26.1% of posts contain English features when she is included as opposed to 24.6% when she is excluded. While this is a significant difference according to the Z-test, the actual impact of this difference is low (Cohen's d = 0.201). Similarly, we find a significant difference in initiative posts, with 29.1% containing English when Hekla's data is included in the analysis but only 26.1% posts containing English features when Hekla is excluded. The impact, however, is still low (Cohen's d = 0.249). Finally, no significant difference can be found for responsive posts containing English features (22.7% including Hekla as opposed to 22.8% excluding Hekla from the analysis).

Regarding independent features (such as emojis or verbalized laughter), a significant difference with a medium impact can be found for all posts, as 50% of posts contain independent features when including Hekla, but only 48.2% of posts do so when excluding her. Looking at the participatory roles, however, no significant differences could be detected for either initiative (36.6 vs. 34.8%) or responsive posts (65% vs. 63.3%).

Beyond that, although other languages seem to be used significantly more often when Hekla is excluded from the analysis, her actual impact on the data material is very low (Cohen's

d = 0.002 for all posts and responsive posts and 0.001 for initiative posts). Furthermore, no significant differences could be found regarding whether or not a post is followed by a textual caption. Hekla thus shares posts without any caption at a similar frequency to other users.

Finally, regarding the use of multiple resources, no significant differences could be found between the participatory roles, that is, initiative and responsive. As for all posts, however, a significant difference occurs with 51.6% of posts containing multiple resources when Hekla is included as opposed to 49.4% when she is excluded from the analysis. The actual effect is medium (Cohen's d = 0.582). Table 13 illustrates how often users draw on the different linguistic resources, that is Icelandic, English, etc., in combination with other resources and as single resource when Hekla's contributions are excluded from the analysis.

	multiple res.		**single res.**		**total**
	2859		**2300**		
Icelandic	2262	0.577	1662	0.424	3924
English	1056	0.743	365	0.257	1421
Ind. features	2563	0.92	224	0.08	2787
Other languages	203	0.806	49	0.194	252

Table 13: Number of posts containing multiple resources with Icelandic, English, independent, or other language features and proportional values relative to the total number of posts containing those features; number of posts containing only a single resource and proportional values relative to the total number of posts containing those features; total number of posts containing Icelandic, English, independent, or other language features.

Additionally, Table 14 shows the significant difference value p (with a significance level of $p<0.05$) for differences between the entire data set and the data set excluding Hekla regarding the combination of the different resources (Icelandic, English, etc.) with features of other resources.

	Data including Hekla	**Data excluding Hekla**	**p**	**Cohen's d**
Icelandic	3450/7515	2262/5159	0.02	0.462
English	1654/7515	1056/5159	0.04	0.162
Ind. features	3951/7515	2563/5159	0	0.612
Other languages	215/7515	203/5159	0	0.003

Table 14: Number of posts containing multiple resources with Icelandic, English, independent features, or other languages against total number of posts containing multiple resources including and excluding the user Hekla; significance level p rounded to two decimal places with $p<0.05$.

While these differences are significant for all linguistic resources, Hekla's actual impact on the data set is very low regarding the combination of other languages with other resources (Cohen's d = 0.003) and low regarding the combination of English with other resources (Cohen's d = 0.162). For the combination of Icelandic with other resources, Hekla's impact is medium (Cohen's d = 0.462). Also, regarding the combination of independent features with other resources, a medium impact could be detected (Cohen's d = 0.612).

In sum, while Hekla seems to partly affect the results of the statistical analysis, it can be shown that the actual effect her contributions have on the data set are low to medium, as measured by Cohen's d. Only regarding responsive posts containing Icelandic features do

Hekla's contributions appear to have a huge effect, with significantly more posts containing Icelandic when Hekla is included in the analysis. This effect, however, is compensated for by the contrary medium-size impact Hekla's contributions have on initiative posts, which show significantly more posts with Icelandic when Hekla is excluded from the analysis. Therefore, it can be said that the data material collected from the user Hekla has no considerable impact on the general outcome of the quantitative analysis.

5.4 Linguistic Features

The macro-level quantitative analysis looked more broadly into the corpus, investigating what linguistic and non-linguistic resources the users employ and how often those resources occur in the corpus. The following micro-level analysis, on the other hand, concerns itself more closely with the individual features, that is, words or linguistic items appearing in the data set. It investigates how often individual features appear in the corpus.

For this analysis, the entire data set including the user Hekla was considered. The corpus counts 23,930 individual features and a total frequency of 120,442 forms or items. In the analysis, primarily features that can be ascribed to a specific language were counted. However, non-words, as for example emoticons or verbalized laughter, could be detected as well and are therefore included in the total item count. The 50 most common features and their frequencies in the data set are shown in Table 15.

1	að	4092	**18**	fyrir	653	**35**	in	325
2	í	3057	**19**	a	614	**36**	þar	309
3	og	2988	**20**	um	577	**37**	þegar	308
4	á	2341	**21**	and	561	**38**	eða	307
5	er	2306	**22**	af	554	**39**	is	306
6	ég	2070	**23**	svo	529	**40**	my	281
7	það	1522	**24**	to	514	**41**	it	266
8	ekki	1294	**25**	bara	494	**42**	hún	259
9	sem	1141	**26**	því	477	**43**	mig	258
10	en	1029	**27**	mér	468	**44**	this	249
11	til	857	**28**	þá	456	**45**	you	249
12	I/i	841	**29**	hann	406	**46**	nú	247
13	þetta	834	**30**	of	395	**47**	that	243
14	við	821	**31**	eftir	358	**48**	vera	243
15	var	806	**32**	já	339	**49**	upp	241
16	með	805	**33**	eru	330	**50**	frá	231
17	the	788	**34**	takk	326			

Table 15: The 50 most common unique features and their frequencies in the data set.

The Icelandic word *að* is the most common feature in the data set with 4,092 occurrences. Its high frequency in the corpus is due to the multilayered linguistic function of *að* in Icelandic. It can be used as a conjunction ("that") as well as a preposition ("to" or "toward"). Finally, *að* functions as the infinitive particle (e.g., *Ég ætla að sofa allan daginn.* – "I am going to sleep all day.") and is the infinitive marker in Icelandic (*að sofa* – "to sleep"). Accordingly, *að* appears in various contexts in the corpus, for example in the Icelandic progressive form *vera að + infinitive* ("to be doing sth."), as a preposition (e.g., *fram að 17. Júni* – "until June 17th"), and as a subordinating conjunction between sentences (e.g., *Vona að þú vinnir* – "I hope that you will win") (Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*,* 2022.).

After *að*, the Icelandic words *í* (3,057 occurrences) and *og* (2,988 occurrences) are the most common features in the corpus. *Í* appears both as a preposition (e.g., *í heimi* – "in the world") as well as in adverbial and adjectival word combinations (e.g., *allt í einu* – "suddenly"). *Og* appears as a coordinating conjunction (e.g., *Þessi skrifar og skrifar* – "This one writes and writes) as well as in adverbial word combinations (e.g., *eins og alltaf* – "as always") (cf. Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók, 2022).

The frequency count reveals that Icelandic features overall outnumber other linguistic features in the data set. Thirty-seven out of the 50 most frequent features can be ascribed to Icelandic, whereas 11 features can be ascribed to English. The most common English feature in the data set is the article *the*, which occurs 788 times. The words *I/i* (841 occurrences) and *of* (395 occurrences) also appear among the most frequent features but cannot exactly be ascribed to either Icelandic or English, since they occur both in Icelandic and in English contexts.[41] The feature *I*, on the one hand, may appear both as the English first-person singular personal pronoun as well as an orthographically deviated form of the Icelandic preposition *í.* The feature *of*, on the other hand, may appear in English contexts as a preposition or in Icelandic contexts as an adverb with the meaning "too," as in *of margir* ("too many") (cf. Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók, 2022).[42]

Finally, as indicated by the macro quantitative analysis, features ascribed to other languages are rare in the data set. The most common feature that can be ascribed to a language other than Icelandic or English is the German pronoun *ich*, which occurs 18 times in the corpus.

These results mirror in part the frequencies of the 50 most frequent word forms in other Icelandic language corpora, at least regarding features associated with Icelandic. The five most frequent features detected in the Facebook corpus correspond, for example, with the five most frequent words of the corpus *Orðtíðnivefur*, an Icelandic language corpus containing 1,396,376,282 words compiled from 42 sub-corpora, which is run by the Árni Magnússon

[41] Although the word *til* could also appear in English contexts, that is as colloquial shortening of *until*, it could only be detected in Icelandic contexts in the data set.

[42] Although a detailed distinction between Icelandic and English occurrences in these two cases was not possible, the collocations detected with the Voyant Tools application suggest a primary English usage of both features I and of. As for the feature of, this is not surprising, as the English preposition of has a number of uses including, for example, to indicate distance or direction, source or origin, reason or motive, material or parts, etc. (cf. Davis, 2018).

Institute. Except for six words (that is, *þetta*, *mér*, *bara*, *takk*, *já*, and *mig*), all Icelandic features found among the 50 most common features of the Facebook corpus also rank among the 50 most common words of the *Orðtíðnivefur* corpus (Orðtíðni, 2021).[43]

Regarding English features, however, differences can be detected between the Facebook corpus and the *Orðtíðnivefur* corpus. While the Facebook corpus shows at least 11 words associated with English among the 50 most frequent features, English words are much less common in the *Orðtíðnivefur* corpus. This is not surprising, however, since the Orðtíðnivefur corpus comprises less personal and more formal language data with sub-corpora stemming from Icelandic news and information websites, radio stations, parliamentary speeches, newspapers, etc., that contain traditionally more "pure" Icelandic. The most common English word in the *Orðtíðnivefur* corpus is the article *the*, which comes in 655th place in the corpus.

The findings were furthermore compared to the iWeb corpus, an English web corpus of 14 billion words from 94,391 websites. Although the corpus contains no interpersonal communication data, it includes websites on a wide range of topics. In comparison to the iWeb corpus, it turns out that 11 out of the 13[44] most frequent English features found in the Facebook corpus rank among the 50 most frequent words in the iWeb corpus. The word *the* is the most common word both in the Facebook and the iWeb corpus (cf. Davis, 2018).

As can be seen in Table 15, the most common features in the data set contain almost exclusively function words, that is, words that describe grammatical relationships such as pronouns, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, and grammatical articles. For this reason, a second frequency analysis was conducted that focused on content words and features typically associated with CMC, including verbalized laughter and interjections. Due to technical limitations, emoji frequencies could not be detected with the Voyant Tools application, as they would not translate into a format detectable by the software. Hence, the analysis cannot make any statements about the frequency of emojis in the data set.

Table 16 presents the 50 most common content words and independent features (such as verbalized laughter) and their frequencies in the data set.

[43] Similar results were obtained from the corpus ÍS-TAL, an Icelandic corpus of spoken language developed by the University of Iceland, the Iceland College of Education, and the University Dictionary. Since no official word list was available for this corpus, the results were not considered any further.

[44] This number includes the features *I* and *of*.

1	takk	326	**18**	þarf	106	**35**	morgun	78
2	haha*	270	**19**	held	104	**36**	reyndar	78
3	maður	202	**20**	veit	104	**37**	fer	77
4	dag	198	**21**	aldrei	103	**38**	tíma	76
5	alveg	193	**22**	folk	103	**39**	ár	75
6	fara	154	**23**	segja	100	**40**	heim	75
7	vel	135	**24**	núna	99	**41**	hægt	74
8	finnst	134	**25**	just	97	**42**	kom	74
9	alltaf	130	**26**	koma	96	**43**	ára	73
10	samt	128	**27**	fá	94	**44**	man	73
11	sjá	126	**28**	mynd	92	**45**	sagði	73
12	gott	119	**29**	saman	90	**46**	know	72
13	gera	116	**30**	sá	89	**47**	gaman	71
14	mjög	113	**31**	rétt	87	**48**	komið	71
15	búin	110	**32**	elsku	81	**49**	now	71
16	meira	110	**33**	taka	80	**50**	fór	70
17	kannski	107	**34**	kvöld	78			

Table 16: The 50 most common content words (including independent features) and their frequencies in the data set.

As shown in Table 16, most features categorized as content words can be ascribed to Icelandic. Forty-five out of the 50 most common content words are Icelandic, whereas only three features are English. These features are the adverbs *just* (97 occurrences) and *now* (71 occurrences) as well as the verb *know* (72 occurrences). Looking at the features' collocations, we find the feature *know* to appear most often in combination with the first-person singular pronoun *I*, as in *I know* (51 occurrences).

The feature *man*, which appears a total of 76 times in the corpus, can be ascribed to different linguistic codes. In 73 cases the feature can be characterized as a content word. Firstly, it occurs 54 times as grammatical variants (first- and third-person singular present tense) of the Icelandic verb *muna* ("to remember"). Secondly, it appears 19 times as the English noun *man* denoting a male person. Finally, it appears three times in the form of the German pronoun *man*, often used to avoid passive voice or to describe an unspecified person or group of people doing something. Due to its function as a pronoun in German, the feature cannot be described as content word in these cases.

The most common Icelandic feature – and at the same time the most common feature in the data set when function words are not considered – is *takk* ("thank you"), with a total of 326 occurrences. After that, the nouns *maður* ("man") with 202 occurrences and *dag* (the accusative singular form of *dagur* – "day") with 198 occurrences rank among the most common content words in the data set.

Furthermore, various Icelandic verbs appear among the most common content words. The most frequent one is the feature *fara* ("to go"), with 154 occurrences. While the form *fara* corresponds both with the infinitive form and the third-person plural present tense, the feature's collocations suggest that the verb is primarily used as an infinitive in the data set, for example in the present progressive form *vera að fara* ("to be going"). The same verb also appears in two other grammatical variants among the most common content words. Firstly, the form *fer* appears 77 times in the corpus. This form appears, for example, in the phrase *sem betur fer* ("fortunately") but also corresponds with the first- and third-person singular present tense. The feature's collocations suggest that the form is most often used in the third-person singular present tense.[45] Secondly, the form *fór*, which corresponds with the first- and third-person singular past tense, occurs 70 times. Here too, the collocations indicate a predominant third-person function in the data set.

Similarly, other verbs appear in different grammatical variants among the most common content words. The verbs *to see*, *to say*, and to *come* occur all in the infinitive or third-person plural present tense forms, which are *sjá* ("to see," 126 occurrences), *segja* ("to say," 100 occurrences), and *koma* ("to come," 96 occurrences). For all three verbs, the infinitive form is more prominent, according to the features' collocations. In addition, these verbs appear in the past tense forms *sá* ("saw," 89 occurrences), *sagði* ("said," 73 occurrences), and *kom* ("came," 74 occurrences). While these forms correspond both with the first- and third-person singular, the features' collocations indicate a predominant third-person function in the data set.

Besides "traditional" content words, independent features such as verbalized laughter and interjections were regarded in the frequency analysis of content words, as they represent features typically ascribed to digital writing practices. In fact, if all orthographic variants are considered, verbalized laughter of the form *haha* is the second most common "content word" in the corpus. It can be detected 270 times in the corpus, the most common variation being a double repetition (*haha*), with 148 examples, followed by a triple repetition (*hahaha*), with 69 examples.

However, while verbalized laughter of the form *haha* is the second most common feature in the data set when it comes to content words, it is also the only independent feature among the 50 most common content words. Other forms of verbalized laughter, such as representations of *hehe* (29 occurrences) and *híhí*[46] (13 occurrences), are less common. The same applies to abbreviations such as *lol*, which counts merely 27 occurrences in the corpus.

[45] This may not come as a surprise, since the third-person singular allows for more combinations and contexts of use, as for example in *það fer* ("it goes"), *hann/hún fer* ("he/she goes"), *sem fer* ("that/which goes"), etc.

[46] The quantitative analysis shows that representations of *híhí* are more common with Icelandic orthography using the Icelandic letter *í* instead of *i*. Thirteen different representations of *híhí* could be detected in the corpus, while representations of *hihi* count only three examples.

5.5 Summary

Overall, the statistical results show that the digital writing practices of the study's informants are characterized by a mix of different linguistic and non-linguistic features. The users' repertoires include a range of resources including but not limited to Icelandic, English, German, French, and independent features. Moreover, certain tendencies could be detected in the choice of resources users draw upon. It can be said that the users most often draw on Icelandic in their initiative and responsive contributions, followed by independent features and English. Other languages, such as German or French, are rarely used in the corpus. The use of what has been defined as multiple resources can be detected in almost half of all posts, but they are more frequent in responsive posts.

For all linguistic and non-linguistic resources, it can be said that they are more likely to be drawn upon in combination with other resources than to appear as a single resource in a contribution. The combination of features associated with different resources is thus a common strategy in the data set and may have important implications for the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital writing, since few posts are "purely" Icelandic, English, etc. Nevertheless, Icelandic is the linguistic resource that is most likely to be the sole code in a contribution, while independent features are most likely to be combined with other linguistic resources. Finally, almost exclusively initiative posts appear without any caption. Hence, posting merely other media content, such as videos, photos, or news articles, is more suitable for initiative posts, whereas responsive posts appear to build on conversational exchange based on linguistic and independent features.

As it turns out, the data from the user Hekla partly affects the results of the macro-analysis. An analysis excluding the user Hekla revealed that some of the analyzed codes show significantly different results from the statistics that include the user Hekla. The resources showing significant differences in the two data sets include Icelandic, English, independent features, and other languages, as well as the use of multiple resources. However, the actual impact of excluding Hekla from the quantitative analysis was found to be low to medium. Additionally, regardless of whether Hekla is included in the data set or not, Icelandic is the most frequently used resource in the corpus followed by independent features and English.

Concerning the quantitative features analysis, the corpus appears to comprise primarily Icelandic features. Some English features can also be detected among the 50 most common features in the data set, but they appear to a much lesser extent than the most common Icelandic features. Features associated with languages other than Icelandic or English, on the other hand, are rare, with single features occurring less than 20 times in the data set.

Similar results were found regarding frequencies of content words, that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, but also independent features. Forty-five out of the 50 most common content words are Icelandic, with the most common feature being *takk* ("thank you").

As for Icelandic verb forms, the frequency analysis showed that the same verbs may appear with different grammatical variants among the 50 most common content words. The most common verb in the data set is *fara* ("to go"), which appears in three grammatical variants: the infinitive form and third-person plural present tense, the first- and third-person singular present tense, and the first- and third-person singular past tense. Other verbs, such as *sjá* ("to see") and *segja* ("to say"), appear in the infinitive form and third-person plural present tense as well as in the first- and third-person singular past tense. The different grammatical functions these variants can take on allow for more contexts of use. This, in turn, may explain their higher frequencies in the corpus compared to other grammatical variants.

Finally, only one independent feature was found among the 50 most common content words. One reason for this are the technical limitations associated with the Voyant Tools application that meant emojis and expressive punctuation could not be detected and counted. As shown in the analysis, however, verbalized laughter of the form *haha* appears frequently in the corpus. Taking different representation variants of *haha* into account, the feature is in fact the second most common "content word," with 270 occurrences in the data set. This, in turn, may emphasize the importance of verbalized laughter (and other independent features) for digital communication.

In sum, the quantitative analysis was useful for this research, as it sheds light on general usage and frequencies of features in the data set. It could provide valuable insight into the different resources drawn upon in informal digital writing in Iceland. However, the analysis also revealed technological limitations. These include shortcomings when it comes to the detection and counting of means of expression that go beyond orthographic representations through letters and numbers, for instance, emojis and most emoticons. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis revealed challenges when it comes to analyzing data on the basis of languages as clear and separate sets of expressive tools.

Finally, although the quantitative analysis aimed to answer questions about the characteristics of Icelandic digital writing, it revealed several shortcomings. For example, the analysis showed that most linguistic resources appear in combination with features of other resources. In other words, Icelandic language features are combined with features of other resources, such as English or independent features, more often than not. This could indicate that informal digital writing is somewhat different from traditional Icelandic writing practices that are characterized by an ideal of linguistic purity. However, from the statistical analysis alone, we cannot make any statements as to how features from different resources are combined – that is, for instance, whether Icelandic texts contain lexical borrowings or if a statement appears perhaps in Icelandic and is additionally translated into another language. In addition, the statistical analysis cannot answer questions about participants' intentions and motivations for using and combining certain features and resources. These questions are, however, paramount for a sociolinguistic study of digital writing practices. Therefore, the remainder of

this dissertation will present a qualitative analysis of the data material that aims to explore *how* and *why* the informants of this study apply certain features on Facebook.

6. Digital practices in status updates – Data and methodology for the qualitative analysis

The analytical methods used in the qualitative study are inspired by concepts of interactional sociolinguistics (cf. Gumperz, 1982) and pragmatics (cf. Levinson, 1983). From interactional sociolinguistics, the study takes an interest in the role of culture concerning the shaping and interpretation of interaction, social dynamics, identity, etc. The analysis thus focuses on the sociocultural meanings indexed through interaction and examines motives such as identity performance, audience design, and alignment with others. From pragmatics, on the other hand, the study takes the view of language as an activity. The analysis aims to interpret speakers' intentions from discourse evidence, that is, what the speaker wants to achieve and what is accomplished through language use.

In line with this, the qualitative data analysis of this dissertation approaches the informants' digital practices through the lens of Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging. Therefore, the analysis does not so much concern itself with the Icelandic speech community and its language as a "bound system" [47]. Instead, it is interested in individual participants and the ways in which they make use of different linguistic and non-linguistic features in their day-to-day digital practices on Facebook. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis aims to expose underlying motivations and intentions for the users' digital practices. In doing so, it follows Jørgensen's polylingualism norm, according to which speakers draw on whatever features are available to them to reach their communicative goals, regardless of how deep their knowledge is of each resource they draw upon (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 163). This means that although a user may not speak a specific language, they can still employ single features associated with that language. At the same time, the analysis seeks to investigate if and how informal digital writing practices diverge from the linguistic ideal in Iceland and how that may relate to people's language regard.

In sum, the qualitative data analysis aims to answer the dissertation's research questions about communicative intentions and motivations, including the following:

1. What communicative functions do status updates on Facebook serve, and how do users' linguistic choices relate to these communicative functions?
2. How do the stylistic and formal characteristics of Icelandic digital writing practices compare to formal or informal styles of expression?
3. How do linguistic choices relate to users' identity performances and audience design?

[47] Heller (2007) points out, for example, that the notion of languages as bound systems does make sense „in the context of the ways language has been bound up in ideologies of nation and state since the nineteenth century" (p. 1).

4. What is the sociolinguistic role and function of Icelandic in individuals' everyday Facebook practices?

Before the results of the qualitative analysis are presented in Chapters 7 and 8, this chapter serves to introduce the data and methodology used for the study of communicative intentions on Facebook.

6.1 Empirical methods for the qualitative study of Icelandic CMC

The qualitative study of this dissertation views digital communication as social practice and therefore draws on approaches applied in new literacy studies. In addition, although the linguistic data analysis of Icelandic Facebook practices is not focused on multilingual language use per se, it does view SNS as spaces in which users from diverse backgrounds come together and discursively construct communities and social groups. Therefore, the study is greatly influenced by linguistic research on superdiversity and multilingualism, namely in the context of digital environments. More precisely, the empirical study presented in the following chapters draws on Norman J. Jørgensen's polylanguaging framework and employs Jannis Androutsopoulos's discourse-centered online ethnography (DCOE).

6.1.1 Polylanguaging and networked multilingualism

Due to its translocal accessibility, Facebook, just like other SNS, offers a mix of linguistic and non-linguistic practices that exceed the resources a single user can draw upon. In other words, users of SNS may be confronted with linguistic and pictorial codes that they themselves have little to no command over. The digital activities observable on Facebook are thus reminiscent of the polylingual practices of modern (urban) societies, which have been characterized by superdiversity and multilingualism (Androutsopoulos & Juffermanns, 2014, p. 4; Jørgensen et al., 2011). In line with this, the methodological approach of this dissertation is greatly influenced by linguistic research on superdiversity and multilingualism in online environments, especially research that has acknowledged and drawn on Norman J. Jørgensen's polylanguaging approach (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014b; Androutsopoulos, 2015; Jørgensen et al., 2011).

Jørgensen's framework builds on the idea that any linguistic production necessarily involves some intention on behalf of the sender, that is to say, the speaker. Furthermore, it only makes sense, and thus only becomes relevant, if it is understood by the addressee (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 162). Therefore, understanding speakers' communicative intentions is crucial for the meaningful interpretation of linguistic data (Møller & Jørgensen, 2009, p. 143).

An important aspect of the polylanguaging framework is to move the analysis beyond the level of individual languages. Recent sociolinguistic research has pointed out that the analysis of any given linguistic production in terms of individual or independent languages is problematic for several reasons: First of all, it has been argued that the idea of languages as neat and

stable sets of features is built on linguistic normativity and ideology rather than on real-life language use. This accounts for all sets of features regardless of what they are called, that is, varieties, dialects, sociolects, genres, etc. (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 27).[48]

Secondly, it remains complex to determine what counts as *a language*, especially with regard to formal definitions of languages – that is, sets of features and rules – and where to draw the line between, for instance, two national languages (cf. Árnason, forthcoming) or two varieties of the same language, for "categories such as languages or varieties do not have clear boundaries" (Møller & Jørgensen, 2009, p. 145).

Consequently, it can be difficult to define the number of languages represented in a production. In other cases, it may be problematic to categorize a linguistic (or non-linguistic) form as belonging to any given language (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 25). This becomes especially relevant for the analysis of CMC where features such as emojis and emoticons[49] are widely used but cannot be ascribed to a specific language.[50] Therefore, the analysis of real-life language use in terms of separate languages may simplify the range of resources upon which speakers draw. It would limit the analysis of linguistic data, as features that cannot be associated with any given language may be neglected or can lead to misconceptions (p. 28). As for CMC, for instance, characteristic features such as emojis and abbreviations have led some to conclude that CMC is a language or variety of its own (cf. Crystal, 2006). More recent CMC research has shown, however, that speakers do not "speak" CMC. Instead, they employ features that are appropriate to context and conversation partners (Androutsopoulos, 2007a, 2014a; Barton & Lee, 2013; Chau & Lee, 2017; Ge & Herring, 2018).

Nevertheless, as the notion of languages as neatly separable and distinguishable entities is still very strong as a sociocultural construct and from the ideological point of view of decision makers and language users, it cannot be abandoned entirely (Jørgensen & Varga, 2011, p. 52). Therefore, the notion of polylanguaging offers a useful approach for the analysis of real-life language use as it involves the discussion of *if* and *how* features are associated with one or more languages. In the polylanguaging approach, linguistic features are thus analyzed as to their sociocultural association with languages, values, speakers, contexts, etc. (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 186). In this way, even features that cannot be assigned to any language can be analyzed in order to find meaning in a certain context (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 25). This is especially useful for the analysis of digital discourse data that naturally involves linguistic as well as non-linguistic features but is also characterized by multimodal means of

[48] Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook, for example, point out how the idea of national languages is a sociocultural construct connected to power struggles and notions of national identity seen all over Europe in the 18th century and later in European colonialism (cf. Møller & Jørgensen, 2009): "[L]anguages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are (…) the invention of social, cultural and political movements" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 2).

[49] Emojis and emoticons differ in their appearance. Emoticons are created by combining symbols such as punctuation marks, numbers, and single letters available on the keyboard. Emojis, on the other hand, are pictures or pictographs that can depict different subjects such as faces, people in action, food, tools, etc.

[50] Nevertheless, distinctions have been made, for example, between Asian and "Western" emoticons (e.g. Tomić et al., 2013).

expression, which are in themselves a mix of different communicative means of expression. As shown for example by Androutsopoulos (2014b), the framework aids the qualitative analysis of written online data, since it perceives "writtenness" in online communication as an "additional semiotic resource that participants can draw upon to evoke indexical associations and multiple readings of their contributions" (p. 8).

A qualitative analysis in this light thus includes scrutinizing how features are associated with languages, varieties, genres, etc. Furthermore, it contains an analysis of how these languages, varieties, genres, etc., are associated with certain context-dependent values. Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging helps not only to shed light on what resources users draw upon, but also discloses underlying values and perceptions of such resources and therefore helps to understand speakers' intentions behind choosing certain features over others.

Jannis Androutsopoulos's *networked multilingualism* offers a way to apply Jørgensen's concept of polylanguaging to the digital discourse, as it allows us to include the technological affordances of the internet as a relevant premise for multilingual digital practices (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2014b; Androutsopoulos, 2015; Androutsopoulos et al., 2013). Therefore, this dissertation will consider networked multilingualism in the qualitative analysis of the collected online data. As described in more detail in section 3.3.2, networked multilingualism describes three preconditions of digital practices: 1. The use of keyboard-to-screen technologies, 2. access to network resources, and 3. the presence of a networked audience (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 188). By considering these preconditions, the qualitative analysis will study the informants' linguistic practices from the point of view that such practices are specific to the digital context in which they are applied.

6.1.2 Discourse-centered online ethnography

Besides drawing on Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging, the linguistic analysis of the research corpus is guided by ideas and approaches applied, for instance, in new literacy studies concerned with reading and writing practices in the online world. New literacy studies try to classify these digital practices in the "bigger context," that is, people's motivations for the use of certain (linguistic) resources, their interpretations and evaluations of those resources, as well as their contextual knowledge about origin, function, and usability of particular features (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2). Accordingly, research under this strand relies heavily on ethnographic approaches to language use (cf. Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1962) that seek to establish patterns in communicative practices by analyzing language use in relation to cultural knowledge and behavior (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 137).

With attention to detail, new literacy studies examine particular events in order to understand the general practices at work. Hence, just as social practices such as reading and writing online are shaped by context while simultaneously creating context themselves (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 13), ethnographic research is beneficial for the study of new literacy practices on three levels (Page et al., 2014, p. 124): Firstly, it helps to select relevant online data and

provides information about how people make use and sense of the online world. Secondly, it affords a set of methods that help to analyze and interpret digital practices. Thirdly, as ethnographic research adds to the understanding of links between online texts and underlying social practices and attitudes, it provides answers pertaining to common patterns of language use (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2 f.). Therefore, the view of digital communication as social practice allows us to move beyond the technological determinism of earlier structure-based approaches to CMC (Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 13).

With regard to the Icelandic context, an ethnographic approach will especially help to make sense of the online data in the light of Iceland's linguistic climate and persisting linguistic ideals that appear to be rather conservative. It can contribute to a better understanding of the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital writing with regard to their communicative function, thus helping us to understand what users perceive to be appropriate Icelandic in informal digital spaces and to draw conclusions about possibly changing language regards.

According to Androutsopoulos (2008), there are two types of online ethnography. The first concerns itself with the internet in everyday life. It tries to answer questions such as "How are new communication technologies integrated into the lives of individuals and communities?" Typically, a blend of online and offline ethnography is used to study activities both in the real world and in digital environments. The second type of online ethnographical research is directed toward representations of everyday life on the internet. It views the online world as a space where culture and community are formed and maintained. Studies of this kind often rely on user observation but involve little to no contact with informants (p. 4).

An effort to bridge the gap between these two strands of online ethnography can be found in Christine Hine's virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000). Virtual ethnography starts from an offline event and studies the online activities related to the event in question. Typical methods include content analyses of websites complemented by contact with the content producers. Building on Hine's approach, Jannis Androutsopoulos proposes discourse-centered online ethnography (DCOE) as suitable methodology for the analysis of digital practices (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2007b, 2008). DCOE is based on the ethnography of communication (cf. Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974) and ethnography in linguistic research that is interested in the social aspects of language use (e.g. Eckert, 2000; Rampton, 2006). It seeks to understand variability in language use from a user's perspective and is "concerned with the dynamics of communication and semiotic production within web environments" (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 5). DCOE thus tries to explain digital discourse data by accounting for the analytical implications of ethnographic background information about its interlocutors as well as the technological and sociocultural context of the online data (Androutsopoulos, 2008). For this reason, DCOE places special emphasis on three conditions regarding linguistic practices involved in CMC: 1. semiotic materiality, 2. access to network resources, and 3. orientation to a networked audience.

Firstly, semiotic materiality relates to the realization of online communication through keyboards. Secondly, access to networked resources means that SNS incorporate the use of pictorial and multimodal means of expression which, in turn, are "recontextualized to local purposes and intermingle with participants' own linguistic resources" (Androutsopoulos, 2014b, p. 6). Thirdly, orientation to a networked audience refers to users' opportunity to create semi-public audiences in SNS that often consist of members from different social backgrounds and with different relationships to the profile owner (p. 6).

Methodologically, DCOE relies on the systematic and continuous observations of websites and direct contact with selected users. In doing so, DCOE strives to uncover relationships and processes rather than to focus on single features (Androutsopoulos, 2008). The observation of online practices shifts attention toward questions such as: What practices are unfolding in specific digital environments? Who are the main actors in these practices? How do they interact and interrelate? What linguistic and non-linguistic resources are recurrently deployed? How do different environments, participants, and genres differ regarding resources that are made use of (p. 6)?

Direct contact with the participants of relevant practices may take place in different ways. Face-to-face or online interviews can be suitable, but other ways of collecting ethnographic information are possible. Moreover, depending on the research questions, contact with actors pays attention to different aspects. These include, but are not limited to, informants' intentions behind certain practices, the linguistic and non-linguistic resources at users' disposal, the users' target audiences, and the users' views and interpretations of their own data material (p. 8 f.).

6.2 Research design

Informed by the polylanguaging framework and discourse-centered online ethnography (DCOE), the qualitative study of Icelandic Facebook practices is based on online ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with selected participants. Four recurring themes on the participants' timelines were selected based on the fieldwork and considered in the qualitative data analysis.

6.2.1 Ethnographic fieldwork

The online ethnographic fieldwork started in December 2014 and was carried out in multiple research rounds. It focused on data that was published during the period from September 2012 until the end of October 2014.

As described in section 5.1, the study of Icelandic digital practices was advertised on my personal Facebook profile, in several Facebook groups, and by specifically contacting selected users asking them to participate and/or share the study's advertisement with their Facebook network. Only native speakers of Icelandic older than 18 years of age were considered in the study. Users interested in the research project contacted me via private message on Facebook or email and signed a document of informed consent before being admitted to the study.

As the research was, among other things, advertised on my personal Facebook profile, most participants were already part of my Facebook network. For this reason, I decided to use my personal Facebook profile for the online ethnographic fieldwork instead of creating a research profile. The profile showed my full name, that is, first and last name, and a profile picture showing my face. Participants, that were not yet part of my Facebook network, received a friend request from me on Facebook upon signing the informed consent document. Although using my personal Facebook account and the fact that most participants in the study were personally known to me partially blurred the boundaries between me being the researcher and me being a "friend", this mixed role never seemed to affect the research project in a negative way. Instead, my status as an immigrant in Iceland and a non-native speaker of Icelandic corroborated my role as an objective outsider, to whom the informants were eager to explain how they did things online.

As the research project was interested in content that was already published, I deliberately took on the role of the observer during the online ethnographic fieldwork. Hence, no interaction between the informants and myself took place at this point of the study. I was, however, "visible" to the users whenever I was online on Facebook, as the setting *available to chat* in the Facebook chat was always activated. The setting showed me as being online on Facebook by means of a green dot next to my name in the chat list.

Methodologically, the ethnographic fieldwork was carried out by repeatedly studying the informants' timelines over several years. As described in section 5.1, the users' timelines were saved and stored as PDF-files. Therefore, the analysis software ATLAS.ti, could be used during the ethnographic fieldwork, for example to signify relevant posts and to take notes. However, repeated access to the informants' actual Facebook timelines was imperative, for example to follow links to embedded news articles or to play embedded videos.

As the ethnographic fieldwork partly coincided with other investigations regarding the study of Icelandic digital practices, the different rounds of ethnographic fieldwork were sometimes many months apart. However, this benefited the research, as it repeatedly allowed for a fresh perspective on the data material and aided in the use of different observation techniques. For example, in the first round of ethnographic fieldwork, the Facebook pages of all 28 users in the study were fragmentarily browsed in order to receive a general overview over the participants' networks and activities on Facebook at the time. More specifically, this stage of the fieldwork focused on how many Facebook friends the users had, in what interest groups they were involved, and how often they shared posts on their timelines. Later, the fieldwork became more thorough, focusing on the topics of discussion that the informants engaged in on their timelines, as well as on digital practices that stood out.

In 2018, it was decided to consider only data published in 2014 and to neglect earlier posts (both in the quantitative and qualitative data analysis). This was done partly because the entire data corpus appeared too big to handle for a single researcher, but also because the

material was already quite “old” at the time.[51] In the course of this decision, recurring themes on the users’ timelines were identified as potentially relevant for the qualitative analysis so that the ethnographic fieldwork was limited to the users that engaged in these themes (see section 6.2.3). The observation was thereby directed at different aspects pertaining to the selected themes on the users’ timelines, including frequency and timespan of the posts belonging to the themes, the involved interlocutors, and the development of the topic in the interaction with others (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2014b, p. 8). Eventually, the observation focused on the users’ digital practices in the selected themes and the comparison of these practices with the users’ choices in other posts.

6.2.2 Interviews

Starting in late 2018, some participants were invited to individual semi-structured interviews that addressed, among other things, the informants’ Facebook practices. The participants invited to the interviews were selected based on the content of their Facebook posts. Only users engaging in the topics of discussion previously selected as potentially relevant for the qualitative analysis were interviewed. Based on the local availability of the informants and their personal preference, the interviews took place via Skype, the Facebook chat or face-to-face, for example in a café, at the University of Iceland, or at another neutral place. While some users were only interviewed once, others were contacted multiple times, as more questions arose during the qualitative data analysis.

In the interviews, all informants were asked about their place of living, what languages they spoke and if they had lived abroad. Also, all informants were asked to characterize their respective Facebook network, in terms of how many contacts they thought to be Icelandic and how many to be non-Icelandic. Finally, all informants were asked to describe their linguistic behavior on Facebook, including, for example, what language(s) they use and why, if their language use can be characterized as more formal or informal, and how careful they would describe themselves when it comes to orthographic correctness.

Other interview questions were more personalized, as they were informed by the digital practices observed during the ethnographic fieldwork. For example, based on the observed Facebook practices, some informants were asked for more background information, including family status and interests. Beyond that, more individualized questions addressed specific Facebook posts and digital practices. Informants were confronted with some of their own posts and asked to describe their content, the reasons for sharing them, and the contacts that would

[51] Social media sites constantly change and develop. Accordingly, users’ digital practices in SNS continue to change and advance. Since the beginning of this research project and the data collection, Facebook has changed in many aspects, including its layout and technological affordances, both of which influence the users’ digital practices. While the participants’ code choices on Facebook today may be similar to their choices in 2014, other aspects of their digital practices have most likely changed. For example, in 2014 users could only react to a post by liking or commenting on it. Today, however, users cannot only like a post but use a wide range of different emojis to show appreciation for it, including for example a heart emoji or a laughing emoji. Also, although Facebook could be accessed on smartphones at the time of the study, many phones did not yet allow for the use of Icelandic special characters or emojis.

react to these posts, for example if these contacts were Icelandic-speaking or not. In this way, the informants' own explanations and thoughts could be considered in the qualitative analysis, which aided the interpretation of digital practices with reference to their respective contexts of use and subsequently the description of the users' communicative intentions.

As the interviews were conducted four to five years after the data in question was published on Facebook, there was a risk that the informants would hardly remember their contributions from 2014 or that they would no longer be interested in the study or talking about their Facebook practices. However, all informants gladly accepted an invitation to talk about their online behavior on Facebook. Although most participants did not have a very detailed recollection of their Facebook practices in 2014, they all had a clear understanding and opinion about their general performances and activities on Facebook. Also, confronted with specific posts published in 2014, all participants were able to convincingly explain their practices in the posts in questions as well as the reasoning behind those practices.

6.2.3 Analysis

The research tool ATLAS.ti was used for the qualitative data analysis, as it allows for a deep and multilayered analysis of the data material. The ATLAS.ti software is specifically developed for the systematic and comprehensive analysis of texts, graphs, and audio and video material. The software proved to be helpful for the analysis, as even large amounts of data can easily be organized and edited. For example, the data sets of the individual informants could be uploaded into ATLAS.ti in separate documents but organized in one analysis project. In that way, documents could be analyzed both individually and across informants. In addition, single codes could be created, which could then be organized in specifically designed code groups. Finally, the software allows the systematic search for correlations between individual codes or between codes and documents.

The qualitative analysis of the data material was carried out in four consecutive steps.

Step 1: Selection of relevant themes

The qualitative analysis did not consider the entire data corpus. Instead, based on Jannis Androutsopoulos's work in the field, the *timeline event* was identified as a suitable basic unit for the analysis. Following Dell Hymes's (1972) notion of *speech events*, Androutsopoulos defines a so-called *wall event* as a "multi-authored sequence of user posts that is displayed on a user's Facebook wall" (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 193). However, as the Facebook wall was replaced by the so-called *timeline* in 2011, Androutsopoulos's *wall events* will be called *timeline events* in the remainder of this dissertation. Timeline events can be identified quite easily, as they are visually separated from each other on a user's Facebook timeline. They comprise at least one post that can be followed by responses in the form of likes and comments, with the latter appearing in reverse chronological order. Furthermore, users can respond to the initial contribution with further initiative posts on the profile owner's timeline by referring to the same

life event. Both the initial contribution and subsequent responses can be posted by the profile owner themselves or by their Facebook audience (p. 193).

Timeline events vary with respect to timespan and participants, with some including dozens of users while others encompass only one or two participants. They may also stretch over a long period of time, that is, days or even weeks and months, or they can unfold within minutes, similar to a group chat. The analysis of timeline events should therefore consider not only the communicative choices made in them, but also participants, timespan, topical development, sequential relations between contributions, and patterns of audience design (Androutsopoulos, 2014b, p. 8).

In order to make the research scope manageable for a single researcher, four themes for respective timeline events were identified. These themes were chosen according to three parameters suggested by Androutsopoulos (2014b), which concern *repetition*, *responsiveness*, and *reflexivity* of certain topics discussed on the participants' Facebook timelines (p. 8). More specifically, *repetition* refers to how certain topics are repeatedly addressed on a user's Facebook timeline. Some topics seem of particular relevance in a user's life, as reflected in multiple timeline events on the informant's profile.

Secondly, *responsiveness* relates to how and in which ways noteworthy topics elicit reactions by the audience. Whereas some posts trigger no or only very few responses by the audience, others prompt extended negotiations in the form of initiative and responsive posts. Typically, life events such as birthdays, weddings, and graduations, for example, trigger lengthy reactions by the audience.

Lastly, *reflexivity* relates to the ways in which informants reflect about certain topics and what topics they themselves find important. Information on these self-reflections was gathered through the described interviews, in which the participants were asked, among other things, about their digital practices in general as well as individual posts and topics of discussion. This information secured a deeper understanding of the users' practices visible in the data material.

Themes discussed by multiple users

Three out of the four themes selected for this analysis refer to topics discussed on the timelines of several users participating in the study. These themes concern both national and international incidents and affairs, including Iceland's end of negotiations for joining the European Union, a Facebook photo challenge, and the Eurovision Song Contest.

End of EU negotiations:

On February 21, 2014, the Icelandic government announced a draft bill to retract the membership application the country had submitted to the European Union in 2010. This political decision contradicted the government's pre-election promise to hold a national referendum on the issue, leading to heated debates in parliament and amongst the public as well as protests in front of the parliament building in Reykjavík. The government's decision, as well as its attempts to justify this step, were also repeatedly discussed among Icelanders on

social media. Therefore, the topic turned out to be a fruitful theme for the analysis, with five users in the corpus addressing the issue in a total of 26 timeline events.

Everyday photo challenge:

The *Hversdagsmyndir* challenge ("everyday photo" challenge) was a Facebook photo challenge carried out mainly in May and June 2014. It revolved around users posting photos of their everyday routines five days in a row. The challenge was carried out specifically within the Icelandic speech community. Eight participants in the corpus took part in the challenge at least to some degree, resulting in a total of 34 timeline events referring to this theme in the data set.

Eurovision Song Contest:

The Eurovision Song Contest is an annual international song competition held by the member countries of the European Broadcasting Union. The song contest enjoys great popularity in Iceland even though the country has never won the competition. In 2014, the band *Pollapönk* won the annual domestic *Söngvakeppni* on February 15, where the Icelandic representative for the Eurovision Song Contest was chosen by a jury and a popular vote. The band presented the song "No Prejudice" at the first Eurovision semifinal on May 6 and made it to the finals on May 11 where they took the 8th place. The winner of the 2014 ESC was Conchita Wurst from Austria, a stage persona by singer and drag queen Thomas Neuwirth. Conchita Wurst's performance drew international attention, as she is characterized by having a full beard despite otherwise showing stereotypical female attributes such as makeup and an evening gown.

In accordance with its popularity in Iceland, the Eurovision Song Contest, including the Icelandic *Söngvakeppni* and its winner *Pollapönk*, are a prominent theme in the corpus. Eleven informants contribute to this theme in a total of 34 timeline events.

Theme discussed by a single user

Besides these three themes discussed by different users, the qualitative analysis also looks into the digital practices of a single informant, namely, the user Sonja. Accordingly, a fourth theme was chosen that only concerns Sonja herself. This theme refers to Sonja's relocation from Germany back to Iceland.

Sonja's relocation to Iceland:

In July 2014, Sonja moved back to Iceland after almost three years abroad in Bielefeld, where she finished her master's degree. This turned out to be a relevant theme in Sonja's data set, as she and her audience repeatedly address it on Sonja's timeline. Furthermore, Sonja reports in her interview that her relocation back to Iceland was an important event at the time. Over a period of eight weeks, Sonja addresses her relocation in a total of seven timeline events. Beyond that, five initiative posts by members of her audience refer to Sonja's relocation.

Step 2: Content analysis

After the relevant themes were identified, the initiative posts of the respective timeline events were coded for content to describe the communicative function of each status update. The coding scheme used for this purpose seized on Lee's (2011) content categories for Facebook status updates which, in turn, were partly developed from Baron et al.'s (2005) classification of away messages.[52] Lee (2011) describes 11 communicative functions for status updates on Facebook including the following: *What are you doing right now?*, *everyday life*, *opinion and judgement*, *reporting mood*, *away message*, *initiating discussion*, *addressing target audience*, *quotation*, *silence and interjection*, *humor*, as well as *Facebook-related discourse* (p. 115ff.).

The content analysis of this dissertation applied Lee's categories except for the categories *away messages*, *addressing target audience*, and *Facebook-related discourse*. Lee's categories of away messages and Facebook-related discourse were not used because they did not occur in the selected themes. The category of addressing target audience, however, was not used because it was not deemed a suitable content category for the research questions explored in the qualitative analysis. Instead, each post is seen to contain specific linguistic and other digital strategies that aim to address a certain target audience.

Furthermore, it turned out that Lee's categories did not suffice to categorize all initiative posts considered in the qualitative data analysis. Therefore, additional categories had to be developed. These categories are *travel notifications*, *contextualization of multimodal content*, *wishes and greetings*, as well as *calls/invitations*.

The categories used to describe the communicative functions of initiative posts in the qualitative analysis are thus as follows:

1. *What are you doing right now?*

   This code refers to initiative posts that report on current activities.

2. *Everyday life*

   Initiative posts with this code describe activities in the users' day-to-day lives.

3. *Opinion/judgement*

   This category can be seen as stance-taking in the narrow sense. Status updates of this type express the informants' beliefs and views about themselves, others, certain things, or events.

[52] Away messages are messages in instant messaging services or automatic replies in emails informing a user's potential interlocutors that no immediate response can be expected at the movement, as the user is momentarily absent (Baron et al., 2005, p. 295). Baron et al. (2005) categorize away messages on the AOL instant messenger (an instant messaging program developed by AOL in the 1990s) based on two communicative categories, that is, informational and discursive away messages on the one hand and entertaining away messages on the other. These two categories include seven semantic subcategories including *"I'm away"*, *initiating discussion or social encounter*, *conveying personal information*, *conveying personal information to selected others*, *humorous content*, *quotations*, and *links to websites* (p. 298).

4. *Reporting on mood*

   This code refers to initiative posts that give insight into the participants' feelings and emotional condition.

5. *Travel notice*

   Initiative posts of this kind report on traveling in the future, present, or past.

6. *Initiating discussion*

   This type of post is mostly created in the form of a question to the entire audience or a part of the audience. With posts of this kind, users actively invite their audience to respond to and/or discuss a certain issue.

7. *Quotation*

   In this kind of initiative post, informants share quotes from songs, movies, books, articles, etc.

8. *Silence and interjection*

   This code refers to posts containing features, which playfully mark speechlessness or interjectional exclamations.

9. *Humor*

   Posts of this kind contain jokes, humorous anecdotes, or the playful usage and combination of linguistic and non-linguistic signs.

10. *Contextualization of multimodal content*

    Initiative posts in this category introduce and contextualize multimodal content, for example, in the form of captions or explanations.

11. *Wishes/greetings*

    This label describes posts in which the audience (or parts of the audience) are greeted.

12. *Call/invitation*

    With this type of initiative post, users invite their audience to take part in an activity or come to an event.

As contributions can be multifarious regarding their content, the relevant initiative posts were not limited to one content code but could be coded with more than one content category.

Step 3: Feature analysis

In the third step of the qualitative analysis, the identified timeline events were analyzed more closely with regard to the linguistic practices displayed in them and the values and associations linked to those practices. The relevant timeline events were thus coded for linguistic and non-linguistic features as well as for media content. The coding categories used for this step of the analysis are based on recurring themes in CMC studies including, for example, linguistic repertoires (Androutsopoulos, 2015; Lee & Barton, 2011; Leppänen et al., 2009), visual features and multimodal content (Dresner & Herring, 2010; Ge & Herring, 2018; Highfield &

Leaver, 2016), and also colloquial writing and deviations from standard writing forms (Dürscheid & Stark, 2011; Salomonsson, 2011; Shaw, 2008).

The codes used in this step of the analysis thus include the following:

abbreviation: This code marks features such as standardized abbreviations (e.g., *kl.* instead of *klukkan* – ("o'clock"), short forms (e.g., *tengdó* instead of *tengdamamma* – "mother-in-law" or *tengdapabbi* – "father-in-law"), and acronyms (e.g., *lol*).

colloquialism: The code *colloquialism* refers to features that display colloquial language use (e.g., *tengdó* instead of *tengdamamma* or *tengdapabbi*).

deviation in spelling/punctuation: Deviation in spelling and/or punctuation relates to the neglect of punctuation marks and careless mistakes, the orthographic replacement of certain characters (e.g., *d* instead of *ð*), the omission of diacritical marks, as well as the omission of capital letters at the beginning of sentences and/or names.

independent feature: The code marks features that cannot be ascribed to any given language and includes features such as emoticons and emojis, verbalized laughter, and interjections.

language feature (e.g., Icelandic feature, English feature, etc.): This code refers to features that are associated with a certain language. Items can be categorized with more than one language code. For instance, *kúl* derives from English *cool* but is spelled according to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence. It is thus coded both as an Icelandic and as an English feature, with Icelandic referring to its orthography and English referring to the language the term itself is associated with in the specific context.

media content: Media content refers to videos, pictures, photos, weblinks, and application content embedded in the respective contribution.

Features could be assigned more than one code. The expression *tengdó* was thus coded as both colloquial language and as an abbreviation.

Step 4: Contextualization of results

Finally, in the last step of the analysis, users' digital practices were interpreted and underlying communicative intentions and motivations were brought to light. This was done by means of a thorough interpretation process that considered not only the online data material itself but also relevant background and contextual information. The users' digital practices were thereby related to values and associations ascribed to the respective features used in their posts. Furthermore, the posts' formal and structural characteristics were linked to contextual factors, including the designated content (as characterized in the content analysis, e.g., *everyday life*) and communicative settings such as communication partners and affordances, as well as background information obtained in the interviews with the informants. In this way, a more accurate and more profound interpretation of the data material was facilitated.

6.3 Informants

The qualitative analysis considers only informants engaging in the four selected themes and thus discusses contributions from 12 informants. Since the personal background of the informants necessarily influences their online practices, the following section will briefly introduce the 12 informants.

Hafbjörg

Born in 1981, Hafbjörg was in her early thirties at the time of the study. She is from the north of Iceland but lived in Germany throughout the study, where she finished a master's degree and later found work.

Hafbjörg joined Facebook in late 2007 and reports that she uses it primarily to stay in touch with family and friends. At the time of the research, she had a network of about 1,000 Facebook contacts. This network can be described as quite international, with Facebook friends coming from different backgrounds, but most of them being Icelandic. At the time of the study, Facebook was the only SNS Hafbjörg used. She accessed it using a computer or her smartphone.

Hafbjörg is a rather active user, as she shares content every two to three days on average. Her initiative contributions in the data set concern mainly everyday life events, such as food, weather, or encounters in Germany. In her interview, Hafbjörg describes herself as a frequent traveler who regularly visits both her native country Iceland as well as new places in Europe and overseas. Accordingly, travel notifications reporting on future or ongoing trips are another frequent theme in Hafbjörg's initiative contributions. Furthermore, the contextualization of media content can be found quite often in Hafbjörg's data set.

Hafbjörg's linguistic choices in the data set contain mainly Icelandic, German, and independent features.

Hekla

Hekla was born in 1983 and lived in Reykjavík at the time of the study. She joined Facebook in 2007 and reports that she uses it mainly for its interest groups. Accordingly, Hekla was a member of various Facebook groups regarding interests such as crochet, sewing, and flowers at the time of the study. While most of Hekla's contacts in 2014 were Icelandic, her network included numerous international Facebook friends too, as for example in the UK, where Hekla went to graduate school. Besides Facebook, Hekla also has accounts on Tumblr, Twitter, Snapchat and Instagram.[53] She reports, however, to have used mainly Facebook and Instagram at the time of the study, both of which she accessed using a computer or a smartphone at the time.

[53] Just like Twitter, Tumblr is a micro-blogging and social media website. In contrast to Twitter, however, user posts are primarily based on multimedia content. Snapchat is an instant messaging app that allows its users to share multimedia content for limited amount of time. Finally, Instagram is a social media platform where users can share (edited) media content, that is, photos and videos with their so-called followers.

In comparison to other informants, Hekla is a very active user in the corpus. She sometimes posts updates on her timeline five or six times per day (see also section 5.3.2). Hekla's main topics thereby revolve around the contextualization of media content, everyday life, and the expression of opinion and judgment, as well as the initiation of discussions. In Hekla's data set, Icelandic and independent features are the most common linguistic resources. However, English features appear in about one-fifth of her posts.

Hilda

Hilda was born in 1988 and lived in Reykjavík when the study was conducted. She joined Facebook in 2007, primarily to stay in touch with friends abroad. Later, however, Hilda started using Facebook first and foremost for its messenger function and to follow up on friends and family. Her Facebook contacts at the time of the study were predominantly Icelandic. Facebook was the only social media site Hilda used and she accessed it only on computers.

Hilda shares initiative posts on average once or twice per week. These posts most often contextualize media content, report on everyday life activities, or express Hilda's opinion on different issues. As her husband is German, Hilda reports to use both Icelandic and German in everyday life. Hilda's practices in the data set, however, are dominated by Icelandic and independent features, although English features and occasionally German features occur as well. In her interview, Hilda reports that she prefers to post in Icelandic as it is her mother tongue, and she does not want to make any lexical or grammatical mistakes when sharing a post on Facebook.

Hrefna

Hrefna was born in 1963 and lived in Reykjavík with her husband at the time of the study while her two daughters lived abroad, one in Germany and one partially in Denmark. Accordingly, Hrefna regularly spent time in Germany and Denmark.

Hrefna started using Facebook in 2008 and reports daily use, primarily to stay informed about friends and family. At the time of the study, Hrefna had about 320 Facebook contacts, most of them being Icelandic, although some contacts were international, for example from Germany and Japan.

In 2014, Hrefna started using a smartphone to access Facebook, in addition to accessing it on a computer. Compared to other users in the corpus, she shares initiative posts rather infrequently. Her contributions contain mainly reports on everyday life activities as well as travel notifications and show predominantly Icelandic features, although independent features can be found as well. Additionally, several posts show other linguistic resources, especially German.

Jóhann

The user Jóhann was born in 1965 and lived in Reykjavík at the time of the study. He joined Facebook in 2008. Jóhann reports to use Facebook daily, primarily for its messenger function and to receive information about events as well as gatherings of family and friends. Beyond that, Jóhann uses Facebook to stay informed about general news. Jóhann describes his Facebook contacts as family members, friends, and colleagues, most of them are Icelandic.

At the time of the study, Facebook was the only social media platform Jóhann used. He accessed it through a computer. Jóhann shares initiative posts about once or twice per week. These contributions most often contain multimodal content in the form of links to news articles that relate to Icelandic politics, culture, and social life. Initiative posts that consist solely of textual content, however, are rare in Jóhann's data set. In accordance with his audience and topics of interest, Jóhann's posts show predominantly Icelandic features.

Móa

Móa was born in 1980 and lived in Reykjavík at the time of the study. Although not raised bilingual, Móa describes herself as bilingual with Icelandic and English being equally important in her daily life.

Móa joined Facebook in 2008 and reports to use it as a medium to stay in touch with people she knows. Furthermore, Móa reports that she uses Facebook to receive general information and to share funny, interesting, or pop cultural content. At the time of the study, Facebook was the only social media platform Móa used, and she accessed it both with her smartphone and on computers. Her network at the time comprised more than 1,000 contacts, most of them being Icelandic, but some coming from the United States, Russia, and Europe.

In comparison to other contributors to the corpus, Móa is a rather active Facebook user, as she shares initiative posts daily or sometimes even multiple times per day. Her status updates concern mainly the contextualization of other media content as well as everyday life events. In accordance with her Facebook network, Móa's linguistic choices show predominantly English, Icelandic, and independent features.

Sonja

Sonja was born in 1986. At the beginning of the study, Sonja finished her studies in Germany and later moved back to Iceland, where she found work shortly after her return.

Sonja has been a Facebook member since 2008. Besides its messenger function, she uses the platform primarily to stay in touch with friends and family members, especially the ones she does not meet on a regular basis. At the time of the study, Sonja had about 560 Facebook contacts. She describes her Facebook network as being predominantly Icelandic, although international contacts, as for example from Germany, can be found as well.

At the time of the study, Facebook was the only social media platform Sonja used. She accessed it on computers or with her smartphone. Sonja reports that she used Facebook more

frequently during her time in Germany, mainly to inform friends and family about her life abroad. Accordingly, Sonja's initiative contributions in 2014 primarily concern everyday life events or contextualize media content. Regarding linguistic choices, the contributions show primarily Icelandic and independent features, but English and German features can be found as well.

Sunneva

Sunneva was born in 1981 and lived in Keflavík on the Reykjanes peninsula at the time of the study. She joined Facebook in 2008 and uses it primarily for its messenger function but also to stay informed about people with whom she normally would not stay in touch. In 2014, accessed Facebook on computers or using her smartphone. She also used Instagram at the time. Her Facebook network contained about 900 contacts, with the majority coming from Iceland. Some contacts, however, were international, for example, from the United States.

Sunneva is rather active on Facebook, as she shares initiative posts once or twice per day. By far, most of her posts in the research corpus contextualize media content. Other than that, Sunneva's contributions report on everyday life events. Linguistically, Sunneva draws predominantly on Icelandic, but independent and English features are prominent as well.

Tindra

Tindra was born in 1987 and lived in Selfoss in the south of Iceland at the time of the study. She joined Facebook in 2007 and reports to use it daily, mainly to communicate with friends and to stay informed about her community. Her network at the time included mainly Icelandic contacts, but also international friends from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In 2014, Tindra accessed Facebook on computers. Besides Facebook, she also used Instagram and Snapchat, but the latter one only with close friends and family members.

Tindra reports that she posts on Facebook mainly for herself, her friends, and her relatives. Accordingly, her initiative contributions relate primarily to everyday life events, including work and leisure activities. As Tindra likes to travel, many contributions also report on travel activities. Although Tindra reports that she speaks English and Danish in addition to her mother tongue of Icelandic, her Facebook practices predominantly draw on Icelandic and independent features, but English features are sometimes mixed in as well.

Tristan

The user Tristan was born in 1981. In 2014, he lived and worked in the greater capital area. Tristan joined Facebook in 2009 and reports having also used Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat at the time of the study. Tristan says he checks Facebook daily in order to stay informed about the people in his network and everyday topics. In 2014, Tristan accessed Facebook using either a computer or his smartphone. He had about 400 contacts at the time, most of whom were Icelandic.

Tristan shares initiative contributions only two or three times per month. In these contributions, Tristan often reports on everyday life events or contextualizes other media content, such as news articles, which often discuss political topics. Furthermore, Tristan often expresses his opinion on selected matters. Icelandic features are by far the most prominent resource in Tristan's data set. Beyond that, he occasionally makes use of independent features.

Þóra

Þóra was born in 1958 and lived in the greater capital area during the study. She joined Facebook in 2008 and reports that she logs in daily as a pastime and to stay informed about family and friends. In addition, she uses Facebook as a source of news as well as information about her community and events in her vicinity. At the time of the study, Þóra had about 350 Facebook friends, with the majority being Icelandic. Nevertheless, her network also contained Facebook friends from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds, as for example in Argentina, Sweden, and Denmark. In 2014, Facebook was the only social media platform Þóra used. She accessed it merely through computers.

Although Þóra reports to often show interest in and appreciation for her friends' posts by liking them, her data set indicates that she rarely shares contributions herself, only about two or three times per month. The topics of Þóra's initiative posts include mainly the contextualization of media content and the expression of opinion and judgment. Linguistically, Þóra's contributions are almost exclusively shaped by Icelandic features, with only a few posts containing independent or English features.

Þórdís

Þórdís was born in 1972 and lived in Selfoss in the south of Iceland at the time of the study. She joined Facebook in 2008 and reports to use the platform in order to stay informed about family, friends, and her community. Besides Facebook, she reports to have also used Snapchat and Instagram in 2014. Þórdís' Facebook network at the time of the study comprised mainly Icelandic and some international contacts, as for example from Germany.

In 2014, Þórdís accessed and posted on Facebook using either a computer or her smartphone. She shares initiative posts about once or twice per week. The topics of her posts concern mainly the contextualization of multimodal content, as well as everyday life activities and the expression of opinion or judgement on different topics.

In her teenage years, Þórdís spent one year in Germany and a few months in the USA. Accordingly, Þórdís reports that she speaks German and English in addition to her mother tongue of Icelandic. In the data set, however, Þórdís uses primarily Icelandic features, although independent features can be found quite often as well. When it comes to other resources, only English features occur in a few posts.

6.4 Research ethics

Research on digital language use often faces challenges when it comes to research ethics, not at least due to the new possibilities and affordances regarding the dissemination and collection of data in digital environments (Spilioti & Tagg, 2017a, p. 164). While general principles for ethical research exist for medical research and scientific fields outside the internet (see for example the *Declaration of Helsinki* or the *Belmont Report*[54]), there is no general set of ethical rules or best practices to draw upon for scholars interested in digital spaces (Page et al., 2014, p. 59 f.; see also Markham & Buchanan, 2012). Nevertheless, as a sociolinguist research project interested in the digital practices of human actors, the study presented in this dissertation was confronted with different ethical questions, pertaining, among other things, to participant consent and the protection of the users' privacy.

6.4.1 Research ethics and CMC studies

Linguists have repeatedly called attention to the challenges resulting from a lack of research and guidelines regarding ethics in CMC research (e.g. Spilioti & Tagg, 2017a). As pointed out by Page et al. (2014), ethical issues must be assessed and answered anew in each research project (p. 60f.). Sometimes, national and/or institutional legislations are in place that help researchers to navigate ethical questions, for example with regard to data protection and copyright (p. 62). Also, the terms of services of the respective website or social media site can guide scholars in their decision making (p. 63). Beyond that, linguists interested in digital language use have followed ethical guidelines used in applied linguistics (e.g. BAAL, 2016) or drawn on ethical reflections presented in internet research in general (e.g. Elm, 2009; Whiteman, 2012) and in research projects similar to their own.

Informed by the latest recommendations published by the *Association of Internet Researchers* (cf. Markham & Buchanan, 2012) and other works on ethics in general internet research, Page et al. (2014) provide a comprehensive overview of the most common ethical issues and questions that may occur in linguistic research on social media. In doing so, Page et al. (2014) discuss, among other things, the general importance of ethics in digital language research. As digital language studies are by definition concerned with the productions of real people, they must consider general ethical principles and possible consequences of their research for the involved participants. Nonetheless, CMC poses (new) challenges for linguists in this regard, as ethical issues may appear to be less clear than in offline research environments. For example, the different degrees of publicness of online interactions can complicate questions of copyright, participant consent, and user privacy. Moreover, it might not always be easy to determine exactly who the actors in a digital interaction are (Page et al.,

[54] The Declaration of Helsinki describes ethical principles for medical research involving human participants and was developed by the World Medical Association (WMA, 2022). The Belmont Report, in turn, is a statement of ethical principles and guidelines for biomedical and behavioral research developed by the American National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research (OHRP, 2018).

2014, p. 58; see also Spiliotti 2017). Accordingly, researchers must ask themselves, among other things, when, how, and from whom to obtain informed consent (cf. Rüdiger & Dayter, 2017). Also, to what extend must user anonymity be protected and how should productions containing information about the informants' identity be treated? (Page et al., 2014, p.60)?

In Spilioti & Tagg (2017b), scholars discuss ethics in CMC research from different perspectives, thus providing a useful overview over different approaches and issues in the field. The papers in Spilioti & Tagg (2017b) call attention to four key areas that should inform ethical decision making in digital language research. Firstly, they argue for a process-based approach to ethics, in which ethical decisions are constantly revisited, as objectives, contexts, and/or participants may change in the course of the research process (cf. Georgakopoulo, 2017; Spiliotti, 2017; Pilhlaja, 2017). Secondly, as researchers, we must review our conceptions of publicness and privateness because users' may have divergent understandings of what is public and what is private content and information. As an example of this, Spiliotti (2017) addresses the complex and diverse understanding of publicness in digital environments in contrast to traditional mass media and the ethical challenges that come with it.

Thirdly, as they might influence the researcher's ethical decision making, scholars must continuously scrutinize their own role in the research, that is, reflect on their own stance and ideologies. Rüdiger & Dayter (2017) address this issue by outlining the ethical challenges they faced in their research on linguistic practices in an online forum for so called pick-up artists[55], a community with which they do not agree.

Finally, ethical CMC research must consider the participants' roles within and views on the research process. Moreover, scholars must reflect on their relationship with the participants. This includes for example, the ways in which researchers make themselves known to the participants or the ways researchers choose to communicate with them (Spilioti & Tagg, 2017a, p. 166).

6.4.2 Ethical reflections in the study of Icelandic Facebook data

Informed by the four key areas for ethical decision making highlighted in Spiliotti & Tagg (2017) and based on relevant ethical questions presented in Page et al. (2014), the following section will summarize ethical reflections and challenges pertaining to the study of Icelandic Facebook practices.

Facebook is a semi-public online space that users can only access by registering, and where participants can control the degree of publicness of their accounts (cf. Elm, 2009). Furthermore, users' Facebook timelines have been described as semi-private, as only selected users have access to them and only the profile owners themselves and their respective network can share content on them (Page et al., 2014, 65). Therefore, following Icelandic data

[55] According to Rüdiger & Dayter (2017), pick-up artists are a loose community of heterosexual men who use and teach manipulative strategies to seduce and sexually conquer women (p. 253).

protection laws and the University of Iceland's research ethics guide (University of Iceland, 2020), it was considered imperative to obtain the participants' consent to use their data in the study and to provide them with appropriate information about the research. Consequently, all users interested in the study were asked to sign a consent document that explained the purpose of the research, what kind of data would be collected, as well as who would have access to this data. More specifically, the consent form stated that the study addressed Icelandic language use on Facebook and that it was part of a Ph.D. project interested in the form and use of Icelandic in online communication, as well as people's perceptions toward that form and use. Beyond that, the consent form specified that the study would merely consider the participants' status-updates and comments posted on their own timelines between September 1, 2012, and November 8, 2014, and that they would be collected in a research corpus. The consent document explained further that only I, as the sole researcher in this study, would have access to the research corpus. Finally, the consent form guaranteed anonymity and stated that the participants could withdraw from the study at any point in time without giving reasons.[56]

While the users' timelines were downloaded and saved as PDF-files for both the quantitative and the qualitative data analysis (see also section 5.1), the ethnographic fieldwork was primarily carried out on Facebook itself. As the study was only interested in content that was already published at the time of the study and because the informants were not always online during the ethnographic fieldwork and data collection, I decided not to inform them specifically every time I was online to investigate their material. However, as the chat function was activated on my Facebook account, all informants that were online at the same time could see me being active on Facebook too.

Moreover, protecting the informants' privacy was one of the main concerns in the study regarding ethical standards. Accordingly, in the examples used in the dissertation all names were replaced with pseudonyms and pictures showing people's faces or other content that might point to the identity of the informants were pixelated beyond recognition. However, while most examples depict content that can be considered general enough to not give away the informants' identities, the analysis discusses one post in which a user shares a newspaper article about herself that describes, among other things, the user's anatomic features. By discussing the article's content, the analysis may reveal too much information about the informant in question so that her anonymity could be jeopardized (see section 7.1.2). Therefore, the informant has been especially asked for permission to use the example in the analysis while it has been pointed out that her anonymity cannot be guaranteed in this case. The informant approved the use of the example in the analysis.

Another issue, that had to be addressed with regard to consent and data protection, was how to deal with users who commented on the informants' posts, but that were not themselves

[56] Please see Appendix IV for the original (Icelandic) consent document.

part of the study and had thus not given consent to using their content. At the beginning of the research project, it was not foreseen that comments by third-party users would become relevant for the analysis. Still, some comments form relevant context for the interpretation of the informants' digital practices and, therefore, cannot be ignored entirely in the qualitative analysis. However, except for their linguistic backgrounds, the users posting these comments are not of interest for the study, nor was ethnographic data collected from them. Therefore, the contacts in question were not specifically asked for consent to use their comments in the analysis, but necessary measures were taken to protect their privacy. Accordingly, in the relevant examples discussed in the thesis, the contacts' names were replaced with a code[57], and profile pictures were pixelated beyond recognition.

Facebook's terms of services state that comments are subject to the privacy settings of the post they respond to and can be seen (and possibly reused) by all users that have access to that post (Meta, n.d. b). However, we must acknowledge that only few users read and perhaps fully comprehend Facebook's terms of services and the consequences they may entail. Therefore, in retrospect, it would have been more responsible to add a paragraph to the consent document that asked the study's participants to inform their networks about the research project and the fact that single comments posted by the network could become relevant in it.

6.5 Summary and analysis outlook

This chapter served to outline the data and methodology used in the qualitative study. It started out by describing the methodological approaches, that informed the qualitative analysis. On the one hand, the dissertation draws on research on superdiversity and multilingualism. This benefits the qualitative study as it shifts the focus from conventional sociolinguistic analysis of shared speech patterns toward individual practices characterized by individual uniqueness, creativity, and unpredictability. Furthermore, it moves beyond traditional pattern analysis and places an emphasis on the microanalysis of relevant phenomena with due consideration of ethnographic information such as age, gender, linguistic biography, etc. The notion of polylanguaging is especially helpful in this context as it responds to the ways in which speakers make use of different resources, including different linguistic and pictorial features as well as other means of expression, to reach specific communicative goals.

On the other hand, the qualitative analysis relies on ethnographic insights which aid in the selection, analysis, and interpretation of relevant online data and the understanding of the links between online texts and underlying social practices and language attitudes (also with reference to language as a social construct). This in turn helps to provide answers for common patterns of language use (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2 f.). More specifically, discourse-centered online

[57] The code used to anonymize contacts commenting on the participants' posts comprises the letter *C* for *contact* as well as a number that depicts at what point the contact has entered the interaction. For example, the first contact commenting on a post is coded as *C1*, the second contact as *C2*, and so forth.

ethnography (DOCE) is employed as it allows for the interpretation of digital discourse data against the backdrop of the users' individual backgrounds, the sociocultural conditions of their networks, and the technological affordances of Facebook.

Accordingly, the research design for the qualitative study is based on numerous rounds of ethnographic fieldwork and participant interviews. During the ethnographic fieldwork, the users' Facebook timelines were repeatedly observed applying different observation techniques. In addition to that, individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected informants that were chosen based on their contributions on Facebook. The interviews served to receive more background information about the informants and to get a better understanding of their own reasoning behind certain digital practices.

Based on the ethnographic fieldwork and the interviews, four main themes were selected for the qualitative analysis. These themes include the end of Iceland's membership negotiations with the European Union, a Facebook photo challenge called *Hversdagsmyndir* ("everyday photos"), and the Eurovision song contest 2014. 12 participants engage in these themes on their respective timelines. Furthermore, the relocation of the user Sonja from Germany to her home country Iceland was selected as a theme in the qualitative analysis. Besides the selection of relevant themes, the qualitative analysis comprised a content analysis, a detailed feature analysis, and the contextualization of the users' digital practices against the backdrop of content, ethnographic information, and the users' own accounts of their digital practices obtained in the participant interviews.

As a sociolinguist research project, interested in the real-life language practices of human actors, the study faced ethical challenges, for example regarding user consent and the protection of the informants' privacy. Following Icelandic data protection laws and the University of Iceland's research ethics guide, informed consent was obtained from the participants of the study before the data collection. Moreover, all informants were anonymized, and pictures were pixelated to protect the participants' identity. In a case where the example discussed in the analysis may jeopardize the informant's anonymity, special permission was acquired from the participant to use the example in question in the dissertation.

The remainder of this dissertation will now address the participants' digital practices from different points of view. For example, underlying motivations for the employment of individual linguistic strategies are explained and the users' communicative goals discussed. In this way, the qualitative analysis will help draw conclusions about the formal characteristics of informal digital writing in Iceland and aid in assessing the status and role of Icelandic in the users' digital writing practices.

Chapter 7 first sheds light on the users' identity work in multimodal contributions. Second, Chapter 8 addresses the relationship between the users' polylingual practices and their audience design.

7. Identity work beyond words: The interplay of polylanguaging and multimodal content

As discussed in section 3.4, the ways in which participants construct and perform their identities in digital spaces and thus position themselves in comparison to others are of great sociolinguistic interest. It can therefore serve as a point of departure to investigate underlying communicative intentions for the use and combination different features in digital communication.

Users do not execute identity work through text-based communication alone. In agreement with earlier research on new literacy practices, the data analysis shows that linguistic codes constitute only one part of the range of resources upon which users draw to create and perform their online identities (Lee, 2017, p. 30). In fact, users' digital practices on Facebook go beyond the implementation of text-based content. Instead, depending on context, they build on the meaningful composition of textual, pictorial, visual, and auditory material. Therefore, this chapter explores how the participants employ and arrange visual, auditory, textual, and pictorial material to digitally create identity. As will be seen in the analysis, the informants' contributions become meaningful only when all modes of expression are considered together. In other words, depending on the context, sharing a photo alone may not be sufficient to create meaning. Only in combination with a textual caption are users able to position themselves vis-à-vis the shared picture. Hence, it is the intentional combination of visual and textual content that creates meaning in the specific context.

Furthermore, some contributions become relevant only in the context of preceding or subsequent posts. This means their communicative meaning depends on either previously shared content or is comprehensible only in the context of following contributions.

Although the use of multimodal means of expression is not unique to Icelandic users, multimodality broadens the communicative resources participants can draw upon in digital environments (Burgess, 2010; Danet, 2001; Newon, 2011). Sociolinguistic research in new literacy practices has repeatedly emphasized the importance of linguistic means for the construction of identity online (Chau & Lee, 2017; Georgalou, 2017; Tsiplakou, 2009). As will be seen in this chapter, however, visual and/or auditory means can be just as important in users' online identity work. Facebook users are not dependent on textual content alone but can make use of a range of resources that go beyond the constraints of linguistic resources. Put another way, by means of multimodality, participants are able to add new layers of meaning to their online performances which they could not draw upon solely through linguistic means. In addition, as studies of digital practices in Iceland are still few and far between, it is reasonable for this dissertation to investigate multimodality in the research corpus.

Moreover, employing visual, auditory, and other means of expression alongside different linguistic resources adds to the mixing-and-matching principles of digital practices. It

furthermore supports Jørgensen's idea that users apply whatever resources are at their disposal to express themselves and to create meaning in a specific context.

In line with these thoughts, the following sections show how multimodal means of expression may fulfill an array of pragmatic and stylistic functions with regard to identity indexation and group affiliation. More specifically, the chapter looks at two ways of self-presentation through multimodal means of expression. Firstly, instances of stance-taking are examined (section 7.1) by focusing on affective stance. Secondly, the chapter presents examples of social identity performance (section 7.2).

7.1 Identity work through stance-taking

As described in section 3.4.2, taking stance is one way to perform identity in online spaces. Accordingly, the following paragraphs show how participants use stance to bring certain aspects of their identity to the forefront. Firstly, the user Hekla expresses stance in multiple posts about the Icelandic government's decision to cease EU negotiations without a referendum. Secondly, the informant Móa takes stance toward her own physical appearance in a post relating to the Eurovision theme.

7.1.1 Hekla

A first example of identity work through multimodal means of expression can be found in the data set of the user Hekla. In several posts regarding the government's intention to cease membership negotiations with the European Union without holding a referendum, Hekla employs multimodal means of expression through which she positions herself regarding the topic.

The first contribution is posted on February 25. Hekla invites her audience to join a demonstration in front of the parliament building in Reykjavík to protest the government's plans. The post is shared about half an hour before the protest is supposed to start.

(1) Hekla (16:26): Fyrir þa sem ekki vita þa eru önnur mótmæli fyrir utan alþingishúsið nuna klukkan 5! Be there or be square!
For those who don't know, there is another protest outside Parliament House at 5 o'clock! Be there or be square![58]

In (1) Hekla draws both on Icelandic and English features in this exclusively text-based contribution. She starts with Icelandic, informing her audience about the planned protest. The Icelandic part neglects some diacritics on characters but otherwise regards Icelandic orthography (*þa* instead of *þá*, *nuna* instead of *núna*). As Hekla carefully follows orthographic norms in other posts, however, these deviations might be the result of time pressure, since Hekla posts this call for action shortly before the event.

[58] In the examples, the users' original quotes are shown in normal font, my translation of the content is shown in italics.

The Icelandic part of the post is followed by the English idiom *Be there or be square*, through which Hekla encourages her contacts to join the demonstration. Thus, while the Icelandic part of the contribution provides information about the protest, it is in fact the English phrase that serves as a call to join the protest. By drawing on both Icelandic and English features, Hekla stresses her multilingual and multicultural competence. The Icelandic part of the contribution refers to a local event, namely, the protest in response to the Icelandic government's politics. The English phrase, on the other hand, portrays Hekla as a young, urban, and multicultural individual who is not only familiar with but also competent enough to use the expression *be there or be square* in a specific context.

As the protest is a local event and the post's base language is Icelandic, the targeted audience can be assumed to be located in Iceland, or more precisely in the greater capital area. Furthermore, it can be expected to share or relate to Hekla's political views, as Hekla encourages her target audience to join the protest. By using the idiom *be there or be square*, Hekla turns the protest into a social event that one must attend if one wants to belong to a certain "in-group," that is, people who are against the government's decision to cease EU negotiations without a referendum. At the same time, Hekla portrays herself as belonging to this in-group, implying that she herself will attend the protest.

About one hour later, Hekla shares another post, namely, a video from the previously announced protest at the parliament (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Hekla's post shared from the protests in front of parliament on February 25: #protesting [in English] #protesting [in Icelandic]

The video itself shows people in front of the Icelandic parliament, some whistling and booing, some carrying Icelandic flags. The post's caption consists of two hashtags that share the same meaning. The first hashtag draws on English, reading *#protesting*, whereas the second one employs the Icelandic word for "protest" (*mótmæli*). The textual caption to this post allocates meaning to the video, describing the scene as showing a demonstration. Thus, the post becomes meaningful only through its multimodality. Simultaneously, the shared video relates the post to the actual event by giving evidence of the factual protest that happens in the "real" world.

The contribution indicates Hekla's involvement in the protest, as the video is proof of her attendance. It thus seems important for Hekla not only to have been at the protest, but also to provide her audience with evidence about having attended. As Hekla captions the video both in English and Icelandic, this proof is meant to reach an audience that goes beyond her Icelandic contacts. In doing so, Hekla presents her interest and engagement in local events to an online audience inside and outside of Iceland. At the same time, however, the post derives its full meaning only in the context of the previous post in which Hekla invites (only) her Icelandic-speaking contacts to join the demonstration. Taken on its own, the second post (Figure 11) could simply show a protest that Hekla witnessed. Her self-presentation as being active in the matter thus emerges only in the context of the previous post. In other words, while Hekla presents proof to a broader audience that she has been at a protest, it is only the interplay of both contributions (contribution (1) and Figure 11) that enables Hekla to take a stance and show her political engagement and action-taking. However, as the first post is primarily based on Icelandic, this self-presentation solely concerns Hekla's Icelandic network, that is, the part of the network that is affected by the government's decisions.

Although Hekla does not per se explain the protest's relationship to the EU membership negotiations in the first two contributions, the connection becomes evident through certain background information. It can be assumed that due to the political scope of this decision at the time, Hekla's Icelandic audience sufficiently understands the context of these posts so that further explanation in the captions becomes redundant for those contacts. Still, in two posts both shared on February 27, the timeline events' connection to Iceland's EU negotiations shows more clearly.

Figure 12: Hekla's invitation to sign an online petition from February 27: "Everybody should sign this! You don't even have to be for the membership, only that the government keeps its word! We have to have the choice whether this is being ceased or not!"

Firstly, Hekla shares a link to an online petition, which demands the government keep its pre-election promise regarding a referendum over discontinuing EU negotiations (Figure 12). The media content Hekla shares is in Icelandic. Accordingly, the caption through which Hekla invites her contacts to sign the petition is also in Icelandic. Once again, Hekla emphasizes her political interest and engagement in the matter. This time, however, her call for action concerns digital engagement. Hekla urges everybody (*allir*) to sign the petition, whether they are in favor of Iceland's membership in the EU or not. Due to the linguistic choices made, however, "everybody" in this scenario does not refer to everybody in Hekla's Facebook network, but only to "everybody" affected by the government's decision, that is, Icelandic contacts.

Later the same day, Hekla invites her network to another protest against the government's decision (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Hekla's protest invitation from February 27.

The contribution contains multimodal content in the form of a link to a Facebook event announcing the protest and a text-based caption. A graph below the link displays a pie chart showing how many Icelanders are in favor of a national referendum about the EU membership negotiations, with the header reading: "Do you want a national referendum about the continuation of the EU negotiations in connection with the local elections next spring?" While the Facebook event announces the protest in Icelandic, Hekla employs solely English features to invite her audience to the protest. Here again, Hekla employs English features for reasons of self-display asserting her humor and wit.

The caption, comprising a modification of the earlier used idiom *be there or be square* and now reading "be there or be a triangle," becomes meaningful only in the context of the attached graph. The modification of the idiom refers to the pie chart and the fact that, according to the graph, only one-fourth of Icelanders do not want a national referendum about the EU membership negotiations. The play on words thus only makes sense in combination with the shared graph. Moreover, although drawing on English, the post is clearly directed toward an Icelandic-speaking audience, which can be assumed to understand the humorous play on words. By picking up the previously used phrase *be there or be…*, Hekla linguistically creates a connection between the protest invitations from February 25 (1) and February 27 (Figure 13) while simultaneously relating them to the same political event in the real world.

In sum, Hekla shares four posts on the theme, all of which invite her contacts to take action in the form of protests in the real world and in the form of signing a petition online. Hekla thus brings a part of her offline persona to her Facebook network. By repeatedly inviting her target audience to take action against the government's decision, she takes a stance against the end of EU negotiations without a referendum, thereby presenting herself as politically interested and engaged. More specifically, she reveals her political views on the matter and

shows herself as belonging to a certain in-group, namely, the group of people who are in favor of a national referendum. Linguistically, Hekla draws on both Icelandic and English features for this theme. While she uses Icelandic as the base language of her posts that convey the relevant information, English serves a more stylistic function, portraying Hekla as a young, urban, and witty person.

7.1.2 Móa

Another example of how users create and perform identity through multimodal means of expression can be found in the ESC theme. On May 14, the user Móa shares a photo of a newspaper article that has been published on the same day in the Icelandic daily paper *Fréttablaðið* (Figure 14). As Móa has substantial facial hair growth, the article introduces Móa in the context of the Eurovision Song Contest 2014 and its winner, Conchita Wurst, who provoked discussion and awareness about what constitutes femininity.

Sharing a picture of this article is in itself multimodal, as the photographed newspaper article contains text, two photos of Móa, different fonts, etc. By sharing a photo of the article, Móa contributes to its dissemination, at least within her Facebook network. She captions the post with a mix of Icelandic and English features, including the Andy Warhol quote *fifteen minutes of fame* followed by the Icelandic word *dagsins* ("of the day"). She thus describes the newspaper article as her personal 15 minutes of fame of the day. The caption does not explain the article but functions as a sort of headline that complements it. Although Móa's Facebook network can be assumed to be familiar with her appearance due to her profile picture and other shared photos and videos, the newspaper article provides publicly accessible evidence for Móa's looks and especially her facial hair. It furthermore presents Móa as a woman who is proud to have facial hair. By means of sharing the article and expressing a positive stance toward it, Móa shows pride regarding her own appearance that due to her facial hair may contradict stereotypical ideas about women. While facial hair on women is socially stigmatized, Móa's positive attitude about her appearance corresponds with that of 2014 ESC winner Conchita Wurst who wears a full beard herself, challenging stereotypes about female appearances.

While Móa's caption draws on both English and Icelandic features, the article in the photograph is in Icelandic. The post is thus directed at an Icelandic-speaking audience. The English quote serves merely stylistic purposes and emphasizes Móa's humor, indicating a certain self-irony. The Andy Warhol quote implies some pop cultural knowledge and awareness about the fast-paced nature of stories of this kind. Hence, despite enjoying being covered in a newspaper article, Móa shows that she does not take it too seriously.

Figure 14: Móa's post from May 14: "15 minutes of fame [in English] of the day."

Móa's linguistic choices in this contribution correspond with her self-image as being bilingual. In her interview, Móa reports that English plays a significant role in her life, as she uses it on a daily basis and to a similar extent as Icelandic. As will be seen in the following examples, English allows Móa not only to communicate with non-Icelandic speakers, but constitutes an important resource for her communication with Icelandic contacts too. It thus forms a central part of Móa's identity work both online and offline.

The post triggers multiple positive responses. By drawing on different modes of expression to show appreciation, Móa's contacts not only add to the post's multimodal character, but also support Móa's self-presentation. For example, 214 contacts like the post, most of whom are Icelandic(-speaking), and four Icelandic contacts even share the contribution on their own respective timelines, thereby further disseminating the article to their respective networks. In addition, several members of Móa's network comment on the post on the same day and express their support through linguistic and pictorial means. Although all contacts are either Icelandic or Icelandic-speaking, comments appear both in Icelandic and in English, as shown for example in Figure 15.

Figure 15: Comments on Móa's post from May 14: C1: "Most excellent m'dear [in English] 😅 xx" – C2: "Good picture of you" – C3: "Nice [in English]! 😊" – C4: "lol. Just read that online. [in English] XD" – C5: "I was just about to send this to Silja's wall 'spitting mad' that there is no caption in the printed version, but it is here [followed by an Icelandic weblink]".

C1 starts by commenting "Most excellent m'dear" followed by a laughing emoji and a double x. She thus draws both on English and independent features indicating a close relationship with Móa. For example, although C1 is Icelandic like Móa and their language of communication can be assumed to be Icelandic, English constitutes the base language of this comment. By drawing on English, C1 mirrors Móa's code choices made in the caption. English

thus constitutes a tool through which C1 can emphasize the close relationship between herself and Móa in a playful way. This closeness is further expressed through the expression “m’dear” – a shortened form of “my dear” – as well as the following laughing emoji and the double x, a symbol for two kisses. C1’s response thus expresses not only approval of Móa’s post but also signals alignment and support for Móa herself.

The following comment posted by C2, however, draws on Icelandic, saying *Goð mynd af þer* (“Good picture of you”). The comment refers to one of the photos published in the newspaper article and thus expresses approval of both the shared post and Móa’s appearance. The comment neglects correct orthography as diacritics are omitted (*goð* instead of *góð* and *þer* instead of þér). Since C2 uses other special Icelandic characters, such as *ð* and *þ*, the omission of accents is hardly the result of keyboard limitations but can possibly be attributed to time saving reasons. Furthermore, neglecting orthographic norms can create an informal and personal style which indicates, in turn, a close and friendly relationship between Móa and C2.

Following this, C3 draws on the English word “nice” followed by an exclamation mark and a smiling emoji to express approval of the newspaper article and thus support for Móa. The English feature “nice” is often used as a positive exclamation, especially among younger Icelanders. Therefore, it can be said that the use of “nice” follows not only Móa’s linguistic choices, but also constitutes a way for C3 to express approval that is appropriate between younger interlocutors.

Furthermore, despite being Icelandic as well, C4 also draws on English as base language in a comment that says “lol. Just read that online. XD”. *Lol* is an abbreviation for “laughing out loud” and the emoticon XD expresses laughter, with X standing for closed eyes and D for laughing. C4 thus expresses amusement about having read the same article on the website of the newspaper shortly before seeing Móa’s post. By drawing on English features, C4 follows not only Móa’s code choice but also the code choices made by C1 and C3, thereby repeating their strategy of aligning with Móa and supporting her identity work.

Finally, C5, responds in Icelandic and shares the online article to which C4 was previously referring, thereby adding to the multimodal character of the exchange. In the comment, C5 states the following: “I was just about to send this to Silja’s[59] wall “spitting mad” that there is no caption in the printed version, but it is here”. C5 compares the printed newspaper article and its online version and complains about the printed article not containing any captions under the photos of Móa. One of the photos shows Móa with her girlfriend who is, due to the lack of caption, not mentioned in the printed version of the news article. In the online article, on the other hand, the girlfriend is in fact mentioned in a caption under the photo in question.

[59] To secure anonymity, females talked about in initiative or responsive posts, that were not active participants in the interaction, were called Silja. Males were called Axel.

In sum, Móa's multimodal identity work in this post is not only executed by Móa alone but mutually created and supported through interaction within her network. Móa's contacts support her identity work and add to the multimodal character of the contribution, for example, by liking or sharing it but also by commenting on it and implementing multimodal means of expression in their responses.

Corresponding with the language of the newspaper article, the members reacting to the post are primarily Icelandic or Icelandic-speaking. While Móa draws on English for stylistic reasons in her caption, Icelandic is the language of the newspaper article and thus constitutes the base language of the contribution. Nevertheless, Móa's Icelandic contacts may draw on either Icelandic or English in their responses. In doing so, they agree with and support Móa's identity work as bilingual, as they not only approve but also mirror Móa's linguistic choices.

7.2 Demonstrating group affiliation

The following examples show how users demonstrate group affiliation and social identity by taking part in the everyday photo challenge. The challenge serves as a stage for the display of group affiliation in several ways. First of all, as the everyday photo challenge is carried out exclusively within the Icelandic speech community, the users indicate their belonging to this community by taking part in the challenge. Further, the challenge allows users to portray themselves as part of smaller social groups, such as families or sports teams. Finally, by forwarding the challenge to other Facebook contacts, the participants foster social ties within their network.

7.2.1 Hrefna

One example illustrating social identity performance through the everyday photo challenge is provided by the user Hrefna. Hrefna is invited to the challenge on May 30. The theme unfolds on her timeline over the next 12 days. However, although accepting and taking part in the challenge, Hrefna does not extend the circle of participants as she does not forward the challenge to other users in her network. For Hrefna, the primary value of the challenge is thus not to foster social ties within her Facebook network but to showcase her everyday experiences and everyday social affiliations in her local community. Hrefna shares a total of five contributions in the everyday photo challenge, three of which shall be analyzed in more detail.

The posted photos are followed by short captions that allocate the respective picture to the timeline event by numbering it within the challenge and furthermore describe the photo's content. As the captions complement the images and put them into context, the challenge comes into being only through the combination of picture and text-based contextualization.

On May 31 Hrefna shares her first picture in the challenge (Figure 16). The picture shows a view over Reykjavík, easily recognizable due to the inclusion of *Hallgrímskirkja* (Church of Hallgrímur), Reykjavík's most prominent landmark. The picture is taken from the perspective seen from the University of Iceland.

Figure 16: Hrefna's first post in the everyday photo challenge: "Everyday photo 1/5 spring evening in Reykjavík".

The picture is contextualized with a caption drawing solely on Icelandic, thereby keeping the challenge within the Icelandic speech community. It reads "Everyday photo 1/5 spring evening in Reykjavík". Hrefna refrains from using a finite verb form in the caption, thus creating a style reminiscent of headlines. By sharing the picture within the everyday photo challenge, Hrefna claims this view over Reykjavík to be an everyday experience for her. In doing so, Hrefna indexes her affiliation with the capital area on the one hand, and on the other hand, with the University of Iceland, where she is enrolled as a student at the time. Hrefna thus executes identity work in this post through asserting "localness." According to Jacknick and Avni (2017), localness refers to users' understanding of themselves as being a local of a specific place which includes, among other things, having insider knowledge about that place that outsiders do not have (p. 58). Furthermore, it means affiliating oneself with the people sharing localness to the place in question.

In other words, the everyday photo challenge provides the background against which Hrefna can present herself as a local of Reykjavík and more specifically as affiliated with a certain place in Reykjavík, namely, the University of Iceland.

Hrefna shares a second post in the everyday photo challenge on June 1 (Figure 17). While in the first post Hrefna presents herself in reference to a local affiliation, the second post displays a different facet of Hrefna's identity, namely, her family ties.

The photo shared in this post shows one of Hrefna's daughters standing in the kitchen in front of a baking sheet with cinnamon buns and holding one bun in her hand. The Icelandic caption following this post describes the scene as showing Hrefna's daughter at breakfast. The caption, however, does not describe the person in the picture as Hrefna's daughter; instead, it merely mentions her name. While Hrefna clearly indicates a close relationship with the person

in the photo through this post, the family connection between Hrefna and the person is only understandable for a selected group of contacts. Hence, only family members and contacts who know Hrefna's daughter are able to comprehend the post fully.

In this way, Hrefna limits the number of people for whom this specific post and potentially the entire theme is shared, as she keeps the everyday photo not only exclusively in the Icelandic speech community but furthermore within a tight social network of selected users.

Figure 17: Hrefna's second post in the everyday photo challenge: "everyday photo 2/5 Silja during breakfast and (with) pastries".

Amicable relationships and family ties as well as her own role in social groups is a recurring theme on Hrefna's timeline and the everyday photo challenge. Accordingly, Hrefna shares a second post in the everyday photo challenge that presents herself with reference to her social relationships (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Hrefna's fifth post in the everyday photo challenge: "Everyday photo 5/5 Sunday's catch grilled and eaten with best appetite".

In this last contribution to the everyday photo challenge, posted on June 10, Hrefna shares a picture of five people sitting around a table full of food. The caption draws again on Icelandic features only, thereby limiting the challenge one more time to speakers of Icelandic. Besides allocating the picture to the everyday photo challenge, it expresses delight about the food, reading "Everyday photo 5/5 Sunday's catch grilled and eaten with best appetite". In this way, Hrefna shows appreciation of good food. On the other hand, however, the contribution serves Hrefna again as a stage to present herself through her relationships with others, as she shows social ties and group experiences as part of her everyday life. To be precise, Hrefna's social identity work in the contribution is built on her affiliation with the group of people depicted in the photo. As before, however, Hrefna does not explain the identity of the people in the picture, nor does she mention them in the caption. She thereby limits the circle of Facebook contacts who can fully appreciate the post, since only contacts who are part of the group or who know the people depicted can relate them to Hrefna and acknowledge their relevance for Hrefna's everyday life.

In sum, Hrefna highlights several elements of her everyday experiences in the everyday photo challenge, thereby presenting herself based on different social and local affiliations. A local Icelandic identity, for example, is expressed through the contextualizing captions which show exclusively Icelandic features. In this way, Hrefna allocates herself to the Icelandic speech community while simultaneously keeping the challenge within this speech community. Furthermore, localness is indicated in a specific post within the theme in which Hrefna demonstrates her affiliation to the city of Reykjavík and the University of Iceland (Figure 16).

Social relations, on the other hand, are displayed in two posts (Figure 17 and Figure 18) showing people with whom Hrefna maintains close relationships. By not describing the people in the shared pictures or their relationship to her, Hrefna limits the number of contacts she targets with the everyday photo challenge. Only contacts who are themselves close enough to Hrefna to know the people in her (everyday) life may fully comprehend the posts. In this way, Hrefna demonstrates closeness and further fosters relationships with these contacts.

7.2.2 Þórdís

In addition to Hrefna, the user Þórdís takes part in the everyday photo challenge as well. She is invited to the challenge on May 26. After this, the event unfolds over five consecutive days on Þórdís's timeline. Two posts in particular shall be analyzed in more detail (Figure 19 and Figure 20).

Like Hrefna, Þórdís presents different aspects of her social self through the everyday photo challenge. Firstly, she performs a local Icelandic identity by means of contextualizing captions following each picture that show a mix of Icelandic and independent features but no other linguistic codes. Secondly, Þórdís executes identity work by affiliating herself with different social groups. For example, Þórdís forwards the challenge to other users in her Facebook network, thereby showing and fostering social ties in two ways: On the one hand, Þórdís fosters her relationships with the contacts she invites to the challenge as she admits them to a selected circle of friends. On the other hand, she demonstrates a close relationship with the invited contacts in front of her Facebook audience.

In addition, Þórdís portrays affiliations with selected groups and communities outside her Facebook network.

On May 29 Þórdís shares her fourth contribution to the everyday photo challenge (Figure 19). The post includes a photo of breakfast and a caption in which Þórdís draws on Icelandic as base language and uses two laughing emoticons. Both the orthography in the caption as well as the two emoticons indicate the usage of a keyboard that does not allow for special Icelandic characters, as diacritics and other special characters are neglected. Examples of this are *með* ("with") spelled as *med* (using *d* instead of *ð*) and *frábæran* ("fantastic") spelled as *frabaeran* (*ae* instead of *æ*).

Figure 19: Þórdís's fourth post in the everyday photo challenge: "Photo 4/5 breakfast after a fantastic Metabolic class :-D :-D [I] challenge Silja to come with photos for the next 5 days."

Regarding its content, the caption refers not only to the food in the photo but additionally puts it into a chronological context as she describes her everyday routine as including breakfast after a Metabolic workout. *Metabolic* is a training concept in which athletes perform a set of selected exercises in workout groups and under the supervision of a trainer. Several posts on Þórdís's timeline address her affiliation with the Metabolic community in her hometown of Selfoss. Furthermore, by means of the adjective "fantastic" and iterated laughing emoticons, Þórdís expresses a positive attitude toward this community. The photo challenge hence ratifies the Metabolic community as part of Þórdís's everyday life despite not being captured itself in the picture. Both Þórdís's association with the community and her positive stance toward it are expressed through the caption. It is thus the multimodal nature of the timeline event that allows Þórdís to allocate herself to the Metabolic community through this contribution.

On May 30 Þórdís shares her last picture in the photo challenge, this time presenting herself by means of her family relations (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Þórdís's fifth post in the everyday photo challenge: "5/5 very everyday here taken with a little puzzle after playschool:-):-) [have a] nice weekend [I] challenge Silja".

Þórdís shares a picture of one of her sons doing a jigsaw puzzle on the floor. The everydayness of the picture is emphasized through the caption reading "very everyday here taken (…)". Once again, the caption indicates the use of a keyboard that does not allow for special Icelandic characters, as diacritics are omitted and characters such as *ð* are replaced.

The post fulfills two affiliation purposes: On the one hand, it associates Þórdís with her family, as she presents herself as a mother expressing positive feelings toward her son through the iterated smiling emoticons. On the other hand, the contribution serves to cultivate an amicable relationship between Þórdís and her audience, which she addresses by means of the greeting "nice weekend" before forwarding the challenge to another user by saying "[I] challenge Silja".

Linguistically, Þórdís's posts are interesting not only because she neglects special characters, but also because the captions indicate a selected target audience. For example, by drawing on Icelandic as base language Þórdís keeps the everyday photo challenge within the Icelandic speech community. Also, inferential work is required to connect the contributions

to the everyday photo challenge, so that only contacts who know about the challenge comprehend the context of Þórdís's posts. The posts' captions show headline-like characteristics that, without mentioning the everyday photo challenge explicitly, put the contributions into context by numbering the photos within the challenge, describing the portrayed content, and challenging other network members. In this way, Þórdís allocates herself to a selected part of her Facebook network, that is, users who participate in, or are at least familiar with, the everyday photo challenge.

7.2.3 Móa

Beyond the examples described above, the user Móa forms an interesting case within the everyday photo challenge, as she makes the challenge linguistically accessible to participants outside the Icelandic speech community.

Figure 21: Móa's first post in the everyday photo challenge: "The everyday photo challenge does not start well for me. Already started with a delay! For that I will try to do this heroically for 10 days instead of 5. Everyday photo/Snapshots of my life. 7th of June. Bench coach for Roller Derby Ísland. Go Red Lions! [in English]".

Móa starts the everyday photo challenge on June 8 and takes part in it in six contributions, with the last post being shared on July 12. Three of these contributions shall be analyzed in detail in the following paragraphs.

It is not evident who invited Móa to the challenge or if she had been invited at all. Nevertheless, Móa posts a first picture in the challenge on June 8. It shows a selfie of Móa with a roller derby match being played in the background (Figure 21). The photo is followed by a caption containing two textual parts that are visually separated from each other by a space (2).

(2) Móa (14:26): Hversdagsmyndarátakið byrjar ekki vel hjá mér. Strax komin með töf! Þess í stað skal ég reyna að gera þetta hetjulega í 10 daga í stað 5.
Hversdagsmynd/Snapshots of my life. 7th of June. Bench coach for Roller Derby Ísland.
Go Red Lions!
The everyday photo challenge does not start well for me. Already started with a delay! For that I will try to do this heroically for 10 days instead of 5.

Móa starts out by stating that she is late to the challenge, as she posts a picture that was taken the previous day. To make up for her late participation in the everyday photo challenge, Móa announces that she will post 10 pictures instead of five, thereby actively advocating for her participation in the challenge and her membership in the group of challenge participants.

In the first part of the caption, Móa draws solely on Icelandic and thus addresses an Icelandic-speaking audience. In doing so Móa acknowledges the local focus of the everyday photo challenge and validates her own participation through her membership in the Icelandic speech community. The second part of the post, however, draws mainly on English. This part of the caption starts with a formulaic title of the challenge, which Móa states both in Icelandic (*Hversdagsmynd*) and in English (*Snapshots of my life*), and thus allocates the picture to the everyday photo challenge.

It is followed by an English image description. In this part of the caption, Móa describes herself as "bench coach for Roller Derby Ísland." *Roller Derby Ísland* was the name of the team at the time and is used unadapted as such in the contribution. By not translating the word *Ísland* to its English equivalent *Iceland*, Móa emphasizes her affiliation with the team. Moreover, she verbalizes support of the team by means of a cheer of encouragement (*Go Red Lions*). While the posted picture alone may validate Móa's presence at the game, it is the combination of photo and textual caption that allows Móa to visually and linguistically demonstrate support for and affiliation with the roller derby team. By drawing on English, Móa can furthermore share this identity with a broad audience that includes both Icelandic and non-Icelandic speakers.

On June 9 Móa shares her third contribution to the everyday photo challenge.[60] Once again, Móa demonstrates group affiliation through multimodal means of expression. The picture shows a selfie of Móa in her apartment. The textual caption following the photo starts with the formulaic referencing of the picture to the everyday photo challenge, both in English (*Snaps of my life*) and Icelandic (*Hversdagsmyndir*), followed by the number of the picture within the theme. Once again, Móa acknowledges the Icelandic nature of the photo challenge by allocating it to the challenge both in English and in Icelandic, thereby emphasizing her own

[60] The second post in the challenge is shared on June 8, only six hours after Móa's first post in the challenge.

membership in the Icelandic speech community. At the same time, however, Móa further builds on a multilingual identity, as she continues to refer to the challenge in English.

Figure 22: Móa's third post in the everyday photo challenge.

In addition, the following description of the photo, in which Móa describes the selfie as her *Game of Thrones face*, draws exclusively on English. Hence, as before, Móa's code choices broaden the audience for the everyday photo challenge.

Beyond that, the caption indicates that Móa is a fan of the TV show *Game of Thrones*, which was broadcast between 2011 and 2019 and enjoyed great popularity at the time. Móa claims the series to be part of her everyday experiences. She thus portrays herself not only as an occasional viewer of the TV show but identifies as a member of the series' fan base. Additionally, as *Game of Thrones* was popular in many parts of the world, claiming fanhood in English allows Móa to align with other fans in her Facebook network no matter their linguistic background.

Despite her announcement that she would post ten pictures, Móa shares only six photos in the everyday photo challenge. The last contribution appears on June 12 with the photo of a young boy sitting on the floor. In her interview, Móa reports that the boy is the son of friends.

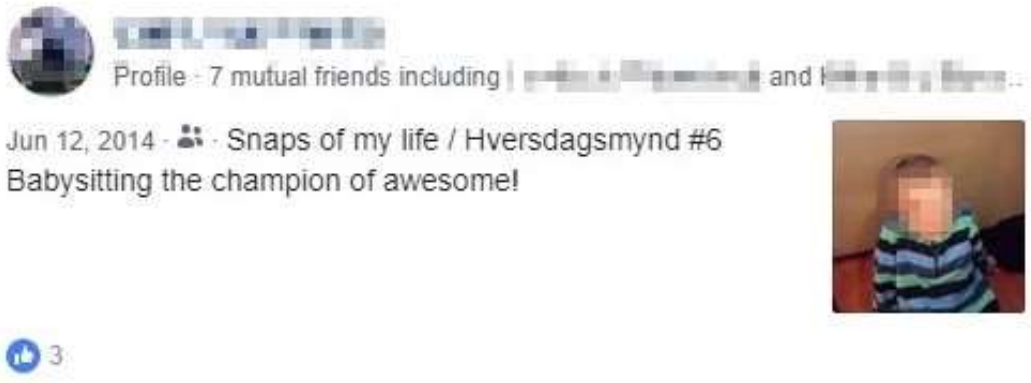

Figure 23: Móa's sixth post in the everyday photo challenge.

As in the previous posts, Móa starts the textual caption by referring to the picture as part of the everyday photo challenge both in English and Icelandic and by numbering it within the series. This is followed by an English description that declares the boy as *the champion of awesome* and introduces Móa as the boy's babysitter for the day. In doing so, Móa indicates a rather close relationship with the boy while simultaneously stating a positive attitude toward him. In this way, Móa presents herself through social ties with the boy and his family, both of whom can be assumed by the audience to have a rather close relationship with Móa. Nevertheless, Móa does not reveal her actual relationship with the boy or his family. While this information is exclusive to contacts knowing the boy (and his family), it is not necessary for Móa's identity performance in front of the broader target audience. In fact, Móa's main identity work in this post concerns her bilingual self-image as well as the presentation of herself as a caring member of a particular social circle, namely, that of the boy and his family.

In sum, Móa uses the everyday photo challenge to emphasize affiliations and relationships with selected groups and individuals while simultaneously emphasizing her bilingual identity. On the one hand, Móa seizes on the Icelandic nature of the challenge by allocating her posts to the challenge in Icelandic, thereby affiliating herself with the Icelandic speech community. On the other hand, she brings different aspects of her social identity to the forefront by presenting herself as a member of different groups, including a sports team and a broad community of fans, as well as having close social ties with family and friends.

Linguistically, Móa's contributions are interesting as she is the only participant who opens the everyday photo challenge to contacts outside the Icelandic speech community. This corresponds with Móa's self-image as bilingual; she reports that English plays a substantial role in her daily communicative practices, especially with non-Icelandic speakers. Accordingly, Móa reports that she used English in the everyday photo challenge to make it accessible to more contacts in her Facebook network (see also section 8.3.3). However, while Móa makes the challenge linguistically accessible to non-Icelandic speakers, she does not forward the challenge to other contacts in her Facebook network. In this way, the challenge continues to be negotiated exclusively among Icelandic-speakers.

7.3 Summary

The chapter showed how participants draw on multimodal resources to create and perform identity on Facebook. As shown in different case examples, the informants mix selected means of expression, including linguistic and pictorial means of expression but also visual or auditory material, to take stance and to show group affiliation or perform social identity. With the user Hekla, for instance, cases were presented in which posts become meaningful not only by the combination of the different means of expression but also through their interrelation with other preceding or subsequent posts. These connections between posts are oftentimes themselves characterized by multimodality.

The everyday photo challenge presented a good example of the interplay of multimodal content in the display and performance of group identity as it builds on a mix and blend of visual and textual features. The challenge only comes into being through the simultaneous employment of photo and text. At the same time, it depends on dissemination through users who invite more members of their network to take part in the challenge. As the challenge is distributed through a snowball system, social ties between the users who accept and further advertise the challenge are created and fostered. Nevertheless, with the user Móa, an example was discussed in which the user takes part in the theme seemingly without being invited to it. Hence, being invited to the everyday photo challenge is no precondition for one's affiliation with the group of challenge participants. Instead, merely taking part in the challenge affiliates the users with this group.

Furthermore, the main function of the everyday photo challenge is not necessarily to perform social connections with selected contacts by forwarding and accepting the challenge. Instead, as shown in the examples in section 7.2, taking part in the everyday photo challenge can serve users' identity work as it enables them to display different aspects of their social identity through multimodal means of expression.

Linguistically, the examples presented in this chapter could show that informants draw on different linguistic resources and features for different purposes. Individual features such as emoticons or single words may be used, for instance, to convey positive attitudes toward something, someone, or a selected group of people. Linguistic resources such as Icelandic or English, in turn, are employed for stylistic reasons or to demonstrate the users' membership in a specific speech community. In the everyday photo challenge, for example, the informants use Icelandic to demonstrate their belonging to the Icelandic speech community. As the challenge is carried out solely among Icelandic speakers, resorting to Icelandic validates the informants' participation in the challenge. Even the user Móa, who is the only participant in the research corpus who shares English photo captions, acknowledges the Icelandic nature of the challenge by continuously labeling her posts in the theme with the Icelandic title *hversdagsmynd.* In doing so, she seizes on the challenge's Icelandic focus and simultaneously validates her own participation in it. In her own report, Móa states that she used English in the

challenge merely to make it understandable for non-Icelandic speakers in her network. In this way, Móa can demonstrate affiliation with different social groups in front of a broader network. At the same time, however, drawing on both Icelandic and English in the challenge can in itself be understood as part of Móa's identity work. Since English plays such an important role in Móa's life, the display of multilingual skills emphasizes Móa's "glocal" self-image, which is characterized by Icelandic as the local code as well as the global language of English.

In other examples, users draw on different linguistic codes for different purposes. As discussed in the examples, users employ Icelandic resources to convey relevant information to local contacts, as seen, for example, with the user Hekla in the EU negotiations theme and the user Móa in the Eurovision theme. Hekla draws on Icelandic to address local events, namely, protests and an online petition against the government's decision to cease EU negotiations without a referendum, and to mobilize her Icelandic contacts to whom these events are of importance. Móa, in turn, shares an Icelandic news article about herself and her physical appearance to emphasize a positive self-image in front of her local community. Both users also draw on English features in various ways in these posts, including for example the use of English quotes and idioms as well as the translation of specific terms or statements. They may use quotes and idioms for stylistic purposes, that is, to demonstrate humor and wit, but also to perform a "glocal" identity by proving their multilingual and multicultural competence. Translations in turn serve to present certain aspects of the users' personality in front of a network that exceeds Icelandic contacts, as seen, for example, with the user Hekla at a protest in front of the Icelandic parliament (Figure 11).

In sum, the analyzed examples suggest that users employ selected resources and features for reasons of identity work. Icelandic, for example, may serve the users to affiliate themselves with the Icelandic speech community while other features, such as English idioms or quotes, can be employed for stylistic purposes or to emphasize users' glocal self-image. These results corroborate the findings of Kristinsson (2021a), who analyzes the linguistic performances of Icelandic TV host and former politician Gísli Marteinn Baldursson on Twitter, a blog, and in TV interviews. Kristinsson's analysis shows how the speaker creates and performs different personae in different media contexts by drawing on various linguistic means and forms. Kristinsson (2021a) concludes, among other things, that speakers' language use does not merely mirror context and genre, but that language users make conscious decisions and can freely vary their linguistic practices depending on their self-image and the image they want to project to others (p. 26).

Besides identity work, sociolinguistic studies have identified the audience as an important driving force for users' linguistic choices (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014a; Seargeant et al., 2012). Therefore, the ways in which users employ polylingual repertoires to tailor and target selected audiences within their Facebook network will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

8. Linguistic practices and audience design

Intrinsically connected to identity work in digital spaces are questions of audience design, which have been specifically discussed in section 3.5. It has been argued that audience is one of the main influential factors behind users' digital practices. It is therefore the second point of departure in the investigation of linguistic choices in the research corpus.

On the basis of different case examples, the analysis will show how the participants in this study navigate the collapsed contexts of their Facebook networks. As described in section 3.5, context collapse refers to the convergence of contexts from different social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds (Marwick & boyd, 2011). It will be seen that the study's informants exert strategies previously described in sociolinguistic research on computer-mediated communication (CMC) (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2014a) to manage these collapsed contexts and to maintain authenticity in front of varying target audiences.

To start with, the chapter will discuss the audience's role in the informants' digital practices, showing how both linguistic and multimodal practices may be scrutinized by and negotiated with the networked audience (section 8.1). Subsequently, patterns and strategies to delimit the target audience will be discussed (section 8.2), followed by users' techniques to maximize their target audience (section 8.3). Finally, the chapter addresses ways to alternate between audiences (section 8.4).

8.1 Negotiating digital practices

As described in section 3.5, context collapse occurs wherever members of formerly different social contexts come together. A user's SNS network can bring together family members, friends, colleagues, and close acquaintances who all have different expectations as to what is genuine and appropriate behavior for the user. Hence, context collapse causes one of the main communicative challenges in SNS.

The following sections will exemplify these points by discussing two case examples that highlight the audience's importance for the users' digital choices. As will be seen, not only linguistic, but also multimodal choices depend in great part on audience expectation. Strictly speaking, all digital practices, independent of the selected means of expression, are guided by efforts to receive approval from the respective audience.

First, contributions by the informant Sonja about her relocation to Iceland will be analyzed, as they emphasize the communicative consequences of collapsed contexts. Secondly, a post by the informant Þóra shows how users work out together how the everyday photo challenge should be carried out in order to be meaningful for the audience.

8.1.1 Negotiating linguistic choices

The user Sonja lives in Germany during part of this study. Consequently, her linguistic practices in the data set suggest Icelandic- and German-speaking target audiences. Sonja carefully distinguishes between her Icelandic- and her German-speaking contacts, choosing different strategies to attend to the two subgroups. Sometimes, Sonja directs posts at both audience groups by sharing contributions both in Icelandic and in German. In other cases, however, she distinguishes between her audiences, directing messages only at one target group by using either Icelandic or German as the main language resource. As will be seen in the following examples, this may have consequences for the subsequently emerging discussion as Sonja's code choices are scrutinized by members of her network.

Sonja's relocation to Iceland forms an important theme in her data set that both Sonja herself as well as several contacts in her network report on. While Sonja's Icelandic contacts excitedly await her return to Iceland, her German friends express regret about Sonja's departure from Bielefeld.

Over a period of eight weeks, Sonja shares six initiative posts about leaving Germany and moving back to Iceland. Sonja starts the theme with a report on the purchase of a flight ticket to Iceland (Figure 24). Further posts then report on everyday and organizational events connected to the relocation such as packing (Figure 25) and sending personal items back home.

Figure 24: Sonja's first post about relocating to Iceland: "bought my flight ticket home to beautiful Iceland! ☺ July 22 it is! [in English] See you then ☺ Now it's just organizing to get all my stuff home! 😉 ".

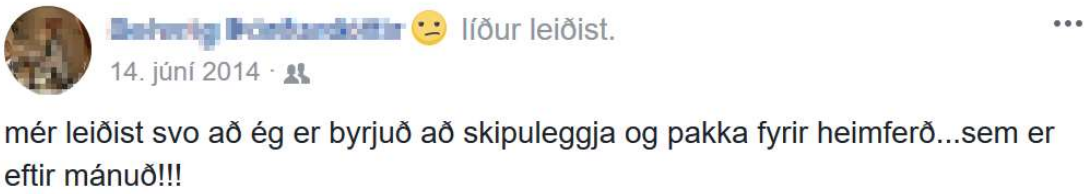

Figure 25: Sonja's second post about relocating to Iceland: "I'm so bored that I started to organize and pack for the journey home…which is in a month!!!"

Linguistically, the theme is interesting, as Sonja's code choices change from primarily Icelandic to primarily German. In doing so, Sonja moves between different audiences in this theme, first addressing Icelandic but later German-speaking contacts.

The first posts shared in the theme, for example, draw on Icelandic as base language with added independent features and a stylistic English expression (Figure 24: *22. júli it is*). In Figure 24, Sonja expresses anticipation about moving back to Iceland both verbally, as for

example by calling her homeland “beautiful” when she writes “home to beautiful Iceland” (*heim á Íslandið fagra*), as well as pictorially through positively connoted emojis. The post in Figure 25, in turn, constitutes a typical everyday life report that can be found often in Sonja’s data set. Sonja informs her audience about her being bored and therefore having started to pack her belongings in preparation for returning to Iceland. By drawing primarily on Icelandic features in both contributions, Sonja excludes her German friends in Bielefeld from these two messages, although the content might be equally relevant for them. However, in her interview Sonja reports that she posted updates about everyday life events quite often during her time in Bielefeld. These updates were mostly directed at her Icelandic family and friends, keeping them informed about her life abroad. The contributions in Figure 24 and Figure 25 thus correspond with this practice. Accordingly, both contributions receive likes and comments exclusively from Icelandic-speaking contacts. Furthermore, while Sonja and her Icelandic audience look forward to her return to Iceland, Sonja’s German contacts regret her departure. Therefore, sharing anticipation about relocating to Iceland seems more appropriate for an Icelandic audience.

Later, however, Sonja alters her practices, now referring to her relocation by drawing on both Icelandic and German as main language resources. On July 18 Sonja reports on deregistering her residence in Germany from the city of Bielefeld (Figure 26). Finally, on July 21, Sonja announces her departure the next day (Figure 27).

Figure 26: Sonja’s fifth post about relocating to Iceland: “4 days until Iceland! It’s giving notice of departure from Bielefeld! [in Icelandic] Deregistration! [in German]”.

Figure 27: Sonja’s sixth post about relocating to Iceland: “Returning home tomorrow! [in Icelandic] Tomorrow back home [in German]”.

Both the report on deregistering and the last post from Bielefeld the day before the departure comprise two parts respectively separated by a line break. In both cases, the first part is in Icelandic while the second part draws on German. In the former post, Sonja draws on Icelandic to count down the last four days before her departure and to inform her Icelandic contacts about deregistering from the city of Bielefeld the same day. In the German part, on the other hand, Sonja merely notifies the audience about her deregistration. Both parts end

with a turn-final smiley emoji. Although German contacts are linguistically not excluded from this post, they do not receive all the same information as Sonja's Icelandic audience. No countdown until leaving Bielefeld is given in the German part. This corresponds with Sonja's previous practice in which excitement about returning to Iceland is only shared with an Icelandic audience. At the same time, the post differs from previous contributions in the theme, as it now includes a German audience for at least part of the information. The post receives a total of 29 likes, 26 from Icelandic contacts and three from German Facebook friends.

In the latter contribution (Figure 27), Sonja notifies her audience about returning to Iceland the next day both in Icelandic and in German, with each part being followed by a turn-final smiley emoji. By referring to going home (*heimferð/nach Hause*) in both languages, Sonja emphasizes her strong connection and relationship to Iceland in front of both audiences.

Orthographically, the two messages differ in that Sonja neglects capitalization in the beginning of the Icelandic message (*heimferð á morgun* instead of *Heimferð á morgun*) while she is careful about capitalization in the beginning of the German message. In fact, capitalization (and at times punctuation) is disregarded in most Icelandic contributions in the theme (see Figure 26, 25, and 27) while it is carefully considered in the German messages (see Figure 26, 27, and 28). Since Sonja studied to become a teacher of German, it is perhaps not surprising that she prefers a more norm norm-oriented writing style, that reflects her German language competence, to appeal to her German speaking target audience. The less norm-oriented spelling practices found in the theme's Icelandic messages, in turn, suggest a rather close and personal relationship with the Icelandic target audience that can be assumed to accept and perhaps even expect such informal writing practices.

Corresponding with both audience groups receiving all the same information, the post displayed in Figure 27 obtains likes and comments from Icelandic and German contacts alike. Sonja's orthographic choices are thereby silently accepted by all participants as no contact comments on them.

Finally, Sonja creates her last post in the theme on July 22, the day of her return, more precisely after having arrived back in Iceland (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Sonja's last post about her relocation to Iceland: "Dear friends in Bielefeld! ☺ Now I am back with my parents in Iceland! I thank you for the beautiful time that I spent with you in Bielefeld and hope that we will soon see each other again in Germany! ☺ I wish you all the best and [please] get in touch when you come to Iceland 😉 Lots of love Sonja" [in German].

Unlike previous posts, this contribution draws on German as its only language resource and is thus directed at a German-speaking audience, excluding Sonja's Icelandic contacts. In the post, Sonja informs her friends in Bielefeld about her return to Iceland, thanks them for her time in Germany and, finally, expresses the wish to meet again. In Sonja's data material, this is one of very few initiative posts written in German only, and it is by far the longest one of this form. Although Sonja uses Facebook during her time in Bielefeld to stay in touch and share her experiences with friends and family in Iceland, she now neglects these contacts linguistically by forgoing an Icelandic report. As this is an obvious deviation from Sonja's usual Facebook behavior, it does not remain unnoticed by the Icelandic audience. On the one hand, the post receives likes from both German and Icelandic contacts, which shows that several Icelandic contacts silently accept Sonja's code choice. In addition, the post receives several comments from German-speaking contacts who do not comment further on Sonja's code choice but mainly greet her farewell. On the other hand, responses in the comment section show how Sonja's linguistic choice – and, as a consequence thereof, the exclusion of Icelandic contacts – right after Sonja has left Germany for good is meta-linguistically addressed by Icelandic network members (Figure 29).

Figure 29: Excerpt from the comments following Sonja's post on July 22: C1: "Icelandic is our language. I don't want to see such nonsense from you! 😉" – C2: "It's our time with you now, looking forward to getting you on the Ice" – C3: "Welcome home dear Sonja 😊" – C4: "welcome to Iceland dear Sonja" – C5: "It was very nice to have met a lovely person like you [in German]!!!" – C6: "Don't understand what you are trying to express there, buuuttt who cares, you are back home and have to learn Icelandic again 😉".

Firstly, C1 comments, "Icelandic is our language. I don't want such nonsense from you!" thereby posing a potential face threat for Sonja: the comment seemingly criticizes her code

choice, which goes against the fact that she is back in Iceland. However, the face threat is mitigated through a turn-final winking emoji that reduces the critique to playful mocking. Sonja, in turn, meets the criticism by liking the comment. As West and Trester (2013) report, face threats in SNS are more common among friends who index their friendship and close relationship through playfully mocking each other (p. 134). Thus, by jokingly criticizing Sonja's linguistic choice, C1 signals a close relationship with Sonja, which Sonja confirms by liking the comment.

Secondly, C2 responds: "It's our time with you now, looking forward to getting you on the Ice". By speaking of "our time with you," C2 distances Sonja's Icelandic friends from her German contacts. "Our" in this context refers to Sonja's Icelandic friends, both online and offline, who distinguish themselves from Sonja's German friends by a different language of communication. In doing so, C2 indirectly criticizes Sonja's code choice, as the statement indicates that for Sonja the time to use German is over. At the same time, however, C2 mitigates this potential face threat by expressing excitement about Sonja's return to Iceland followed by a thumbs-up emoji. Once again, Sonja responds to the post by liking it, thereby confirming the friendly relationship between C2 and herself.

Next, two Icelandic contacts silently accept Sonja's language choice: Firstly, C3 signals agreement with Sonja's code choice as she does not comment on it, but simply reacts to Sonja's post by welcoming her back to Iceland. Secondly, C4 accepts Sonja's code choice and even signals alignment by taking it up and responding in German: "welcome home dear Sonja". Sonja responds to both posts by liking them.

Finally, while C5 appears to be a friend from Bielefeld, greeting Sonja in German, C6 openly resists Sonja's language choice with a statement translating to: "Don't understand what you are trying to express there, buuuttt who cares, you are back home and have to learn Icelandic again". The comment is followed by a winking emoji. C6 remarks that Sonja must have lost her ability to speak Icelandic as she quite unusually posts in German. In this way, C6 points to her and Sonja's shared local practices, which are based on Icelandic as the primary means of communication. Nevertheless, the potential face threat indicated in this comment is mitigated by means of independent features such as iterated characters ("buuuttt") and a winking emoji, both of which suggest a joking tone. Also, by liking the comment, Sonja eases the potential face threat, thereby confirming the close relationship that allows C6 to publicly mock Sonja.

In sum, Sonja's relocation to Iceland provides an interesting example of how changing linguistic choices can result in a transformation of the target audience. While Sonja starts by directing the theme only to Icelandic contacts, she slowly shifts to addressing both Icelandic and German contacts but ends with a contribution merely directed at friends in Bielefeld. Sonja's Icelandic contacts accept her informal language choices in Icelandic contributions, including the use of English borrowings (Figure 24: *22. júli it is*) and the neglect of

capitalizations at the beginning of sentences, as they do not comment on them. Also, directing posts at only Icelandic or both Icelandic and German contacts seems to be acceptable linguistic behavior that is not publicly scrutinized by the audience. By refraining from Icelandic altogether, however, Sonja's last post in the theme does not correspond with her typical Facebook practices at the time and therefore disobeys expectations of parts of Sonja's network. Nonetheless, the post is not necessarily perceived as inauthentic. Instead, it serves as the backdrop in front of which members of Sonja's Icelandic-speaking audience get to demonstrate their close relationship and friendship with Sonja. They do so by both drawing on and referring to their common language of communication, Icelandic.

8.1.2 Negotiating content

It has been observed in earlier research that users of SNS follow mutually agreed-upon ways of creating and making sense of content (cf. Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 25). In the dissertation's corpus this becomes especially evident in the everyday photo challenge. Beyond showing how participants rely on multimodality to take part in the challenge, the theme also functions as an example to display how meaning is mutually created and negotiated through multimodal interaction in users' networks. An example of this can be found in the data set of the user Þóra.

Þóra accepts the challenge on June 8. A day later, she refers to the theme for the first time on her timeline by initiating a discussion about what would count as everyday content (Figure 30). Þóra's initiative question builds on a play on words (*hverslags/hversdags*) that is based on the words' similar morphological and phonological structure. Both words begin with the morpheme *hvers*, which by itself could perhaps be translated with "whose". However, the term *hverslags* is an adjective meaning "what kind of", whereas *hversdags* ("everyday") is the first element to the compound *hversdagsmyndir*, which means "everyday photo". By means of this play on words, Þóra signals humor but also shows awareness about the fact that meaning is mutually created by network members: It is not only the challenge participants alone who decide what content is suitable in the challenge. Instead, for a contribution to become meaningful in the everyday photo challenge, the audience must be able to link the content to the challenge. This is further exemplified in the discussion which unfolds in response to Þóra's question over the next ten hours.

[redacted]
9. júní 2014 ·

Er að spekúlera: Hverslags myndir eru hversdagsmyndir?

[redacted] og 5 aðrir 11 ummæli

Líkar þetta Skrifa ummæli

[redacted] Ekki sparimyndir?
1
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] Veit ekki en allar myndir sem ég tek eru sko ekki hversdagsmyndir 😊
1
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] Þær myndir sem þú vilt telja vinum þínum trú um að séu af atburðum sem gerist oft í þínu lífi.
1
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] En auðvitað ekki af óhreina þvottingum
1
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] jahhh hef nú séð myndir af fólki tannbursta sig, sitja á klósettinu og fleira í þeim dúr annars finnst mér þetta leiðinlegt dæmi !
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] verð að sofa á þessu
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

[redacted] Allavega ekki helgimyndir.
Líkar þetta · Svara · 4ár

Figure 30: Discussion about the question of what counts as an everyday picture on Þóra's Facebook wall: Þóra: "I am speculating: What kind of pictures are everyday pictures?" – C1: "Not special occasion pictures?" – C2: "Don't know but all pictures that I take are not everyday pictures 😉" – C3: "Those pictures that you want to convince your friends are events that happen often in your life." – Þóra: "But certainly not of dirty laundry" – C4: "yeahhh have seen pictures of people brushing teeth, sitting on the toilet and more in this manner anyway I think that is a bad example!" – Þóra: "I have to sleep on that" – C5: "At least not pictures of saints." – C2: "Many of those here with me…." – C5: "Yes one can always use the process of elimination" – C5: "I am now thinking of holding back my nonsense now. Because it is so everyday-like but there is no picture of it. Just wish you a good night." – C6: "in my mind everyday pictures are just that, pictures that show daily life. If someone did a study on pictures that people publish on social media (which somebody might have done) it would show a very distorted picture of life. Teenage girls would be…."

The post receives six likes. Beyond that, six contacts respond to the post in a total of 11 comments, with the first ten comments being posted within an hour of Þóra's initiative post. Þóra's friends use the discussion for their own identity work and to display humor, but also to report what they consider everyday photos and what they have seen in the challenge, thereby meta-discursively negotiating the challenge. Some contacts report what one might not consider an everyday picture. C1, for instance, responds to the post with the question "Not pictures of special occasions?" thus excluding photos of that kind from what could be considered suitable for the challenge. The comment receives a like by Þóra who thereby acknowledges the contribution.

Subsequently, C2 reports that all pictures he takes would not be considered everyday pictures. Other contacts, in turn, try to find descriptions of what pictures would be considered suitable for the everyday photo challenge. C3, for example, tries to explain the everyday photo challenge with regards to Þóra's audience (Figure 31).

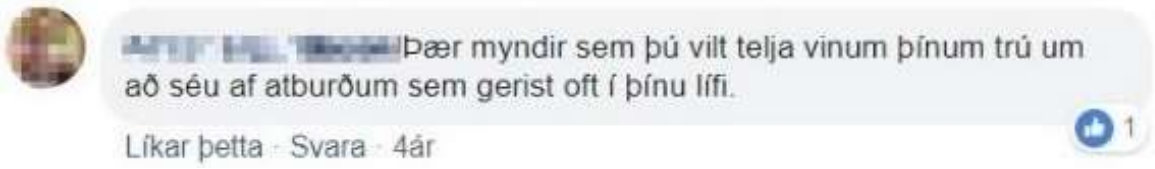

Figure 31: Comment by C3 following Þóra's post from June 9: "Those pictures that you want to convince your friends are events that happen often in your life."

According to C3's explanation, the audience is a crucial factor in the everyday photo challenge, as she describes everyday photos as pictures that "convince" the audience that they show typical events in the participant's life. Put another way, posts shared in the everyday photo challenge must bear the respective audience in mind as well as what that audience would deem authentic everyday content. Þóra responds in two ways to this comment. Firstly, she likes C3's response. Secondly, she answers with another comment stating: "But certainly not of dirty laundry". By liking the contribution, Þóra shows acknowledgment of and appreciation for C3's input. At the same time, she discards "dirty laundry" as a motive for the everyday challenge, even though it would constitute everyday content. In doing so, Þóra suggests that not all everyday events would qualify for the challenge, that is, would be deemed acceptable by the audience. While C3 does not respond to this, Þóra's comment receives a like and therefore validation by a contact not taking part in the discussion.

Moreover, C4 responds to Þóra's comment by stating that she has seen pictures of ordinary events in the challenge such as brushing one's teeth and being on the toilet. At the same time, however, she articulates disapproval of this kind of content, stating: "anyway I think this is a bad example". Þóra responds by saying that she will have to sleep on these ideas, meaning she will need to think some more about what to share in the challenge.

The conversation is followed by a response from C5, who excludes another motive for the challenge, namely, images of saints (Figure 32).

Figure 32: Excerpt from the comments following Þóra's post from June 9: C5: "At least no images of saints." – C2: "Many of those here with me....."

This comment is answered by C2, who responds by stating "Many of those here with me" and sharing a picture of a Madonna statue. In doing so, C2 displays again a humorous approach to Þóra's inquiry and emphasizes his previous comment about usually not taking or posting everyday photos. In doing so, C2 does not so much take part in the previous exchange as to what would be suitable for the everyday photo challenge, but uses the discussion to present himself in amusing ways in front of Þóra and other readers of the timeline event.

Following this, C5 declares that eliminating what is not suitable for the challenge could be a useful way to find out what to share in the everyday photo challenge. Five minutes later, C5 responds again stating that he will now stop talking nonsense, even though talking nonsense is an everyday event for him despite the fact that there is no photo evidence for that. In this way, C5 takes up the humorous tone introduced into the discussion by previous commentators (e.g., C2). He ends his comment by wishing Þóra a good night, thereby signaling that he will step out of the conversation. Interestingly, the debate ends altogether at this point. Only the next morning, one more contact, C6, comments on Þóra's post with a lengthy explanation about why she likes the everyday photo challenge. In her opinion, typical pictures posted on social media do not reflect everyday life (Figure 33). While the discussion does not start anew, Þóra shows approval of C6's comment by liking it.

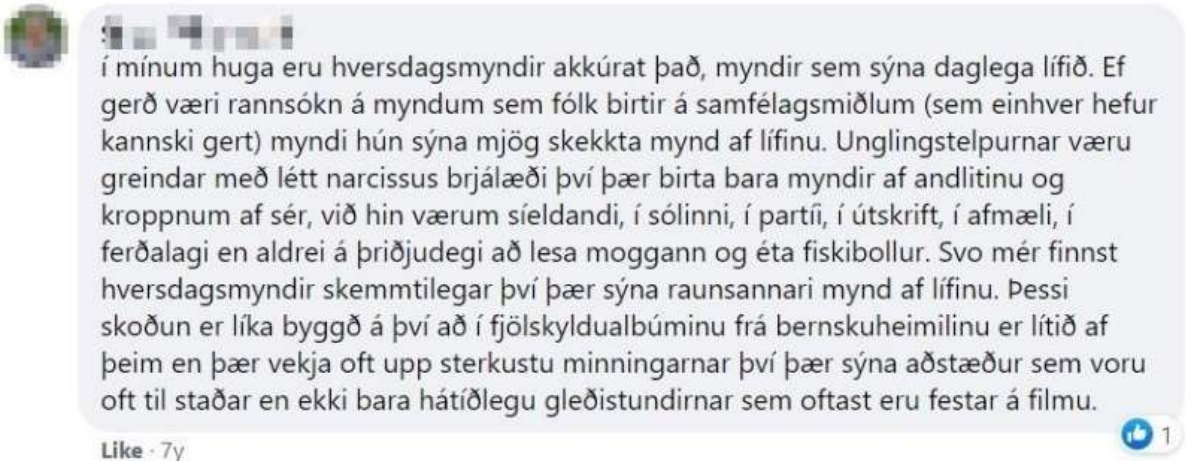

Figure 33: Comment by C6 following Þóra's post from June 9: "in my mind everyday pictures are just that, pictures that show daily life. If someone did a study on pictures that people publish on social media (which somebody might have done) it would show a very distorted picture of life. Teenage girls would be diagnosed with mild narcissus madness because they only published pictures of their faces and bodies, the rest of us would be constantly, in the sun, at a party, at graduation, at birthdays, on trips, but never on Tuesdays reading Morgunblaðið and eating fish balls. So I find everyday pictures fun because they show a more realistic picture of life. This view is also based on the fact that there are few of them in the family album from the childhood home, but they often evoke the strongest memories because they show situations that were often present and not just the solemn happy moments that are usually captured on film."

In sum, the contacts participating in the discussion following Þóra's inquiry may use the exchange for their own self-presentation. At the same time, however, they meta-discursively negotiate the challenge, showing that meaningful content in the everyday photo challenge can only be created by exerting specific practices that go beyond the mere sharing of an image. Besides linking the respective photo to the challenge, it is necessary to share content the audience considers everyday, authentic, and appropriate. Participants in the challenge must provide content that "convinces" their audience they are presenting an everyday event. As shown in the discussion above, participants in the challenge are confronted with audience members who are not only from different backgrounds but who also have potentially different ideas as to what is appropriate everyday content for the challenge. This, in turn, may influence their decisions regarding what to share in the challenge.

Therefore, in the everyday photo challenge, as well as in other contexts, the audience and its expectations play a key role in users' digital practices when it comes to creating meaning in SNS. This relates both to users' linguistic choices but also to decisions regarding what kind of content (including other media content) to share.

The following sections will address these issues by discussing different strategies users employ to navigate the collapsed contexts of their Facebook network, as well as the different expectations that result from these collapsed contexts.

8.2 Limiting the audience

Now that the relevance of the audience for users' digital choices has been discussed in section 8.1, the following section will present and discuss strategies for limiting target audiences. First, contributions by the user Tristan in the theme of Iceland ceasing EU negotiations are analyzed in order to show how users may employ humor as a strategy to delimit their target audience. Secondly, the use of an informal language style will be discussed by means of two case examples, namely, the user Tindra in the everyday photo challenge and the user Hilda in the Eurovision theme.

8.2.1 Employing humor

Contributions by the informant Tristan on Iceland ceasing EU negotiations constitute a good example of participants using humor as a strategy to delimit their target audience and to indicate closer, more informal relationships with that audience.

Tristan shares two posts in the theme. His contributions, which draw predominantly on Icelandic, presuppose contextual knowledge about the ongoing political events and peoples' reactions to them. On February 24, for instance, Tristan refers to the events of the past days with a sarcastic status update asking where he could sign out of the Icelandic nation (3). Tristan ends the post with a stylistic ellipsis signaling silence and an ongoing chain of thought.

(3) Tristan (February 24, 2014): Hvar segir maður sig úr íslensku þjóðinni? Hjá Sýslumanninum í Kópavogi kannski...
Where does one resign from the Icelandic nation? Maybe at the District Commissioner's office in Kópavogur...

The post triggers six likes as well as seven comments from five different contacts, all of them in Icelandic. As displayed in the excerpt in Figure 34, contacts responding to Tristan's initiative post align with him by adopting the humorous style in their own comments.

Figure 34: Excerpt from the comments following Tristan's post on February 24: C1: "I think that is [done] at the consul of Malta." – C2: "what is this Tristan is iceland not the best place in the world…….or is it just after a multipack of thule [beer]." – Tristan: "I just don't want to have anything in common with people who voted for the Progressive Party. Good to start with that." – C1: "Still, it's so fun how gullible Icelanders are" – C3: "Have looked into that a lot lately. It is too much trouble to become a German citizen (they demand in fact that one gives up being Icelandic). Have heard that it is fastest to become Swedish."

For example, C1 responds with a joke saying he thinks one can sign out of Iceland at the Consul of Malta. As Tristan does not clarify what motivated his initiative post, C2 then mockingly asks him why Iceland is not the best country in the world anymore. In the following interaction between Tristan and C2, the reference to the EU issue becomes more obvious as Tristan states his disagreement with the Progressive Party, one of the parties in government and responsible for the draft bill to withdraw from EU negotiations. He adds that he does not want to have anything to do with people who voted for the party, therefore leaving the Icelandic nation would be a good start. To this, C2 responds again, saying that it is still funny how gullible Icelanders are. Finally, C4 humorously remarks that he has looked into becoming a citizen of another country, but that it is too much trouble to become German and perhaps fastest to become Swedish.

Following this exchange, Tristan shares a second post in the theme on March 3 (Figure 35).

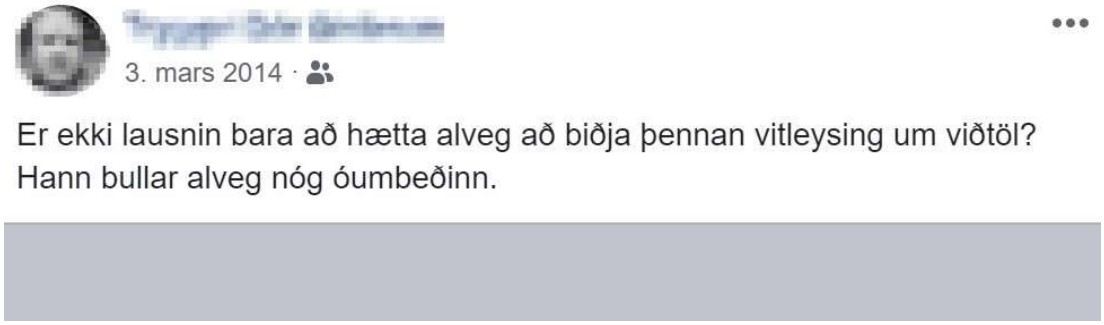

Figure 35: Tristan's second post in the EU theme: "Is the solution not simply to stop asking this idiot for interviews? He drivels enough unsolicited."

The post contains a news article about the minister of foreign affairs refusing to give interviews to RÚV, Iceland's national broadcasting station, and Tristan's opinion on this matter. Tristan's caption above the article asks whether the best reaction to the minister's refusal would be to stop asking him for interviews, since he supposedly gives his unsolicited opinion anyway. Again, Tristan employs humor to expresses negative sentiments against the government. Firstly, he calls the state secretary "an idiot" (*vitleysing*), and secondly, he uses the negatively connoted term *bulla* ("to talk nonsense") when claiming that the secretary would express his opinion anyway.

Linguistically, both posts draw on Icelandic and are thus intended for an Icelandic audience. This corresponds with the topic of discussion, which is first and foremost relevant for Icelandic contacts. Furthermore, Tristan reports that he uses Icelandic almost exclusively in his Facebook contributions, as most of his contacts are native Icelandic speakers and he would feel "stupid" using another code than their common mother tongue. Drawing on Icelandic in the posts discussed here thus corresponds with Tristan's overall Facebook practices.

In addition, by employing sarcasm and humor to express his political views, Tristan is very explicit in voicing negative opinions toward the government's parties and members. This most likely appeals more to contacts who share Tristan's views. In his interview, he reports that he posts on political matters mainly when he disagrees with the issue in question. In this sense, Tristan's contributions in the EU theme also correspond with his general Facebook practices and can thus be assumed to be perceived as authentic by his audience.

At the same time, drawing on humor and sarcasm to express his views allows Tristan to indicate a close and informal relationship with the target audience. By taking up the humorous style introduced in the initiative post, the contacts responding to Tristan's posts indicate agreement with his views while simultaneously showing their close relationship with Tristan that allows them to communicate in mocking and joking ways.

8.2.2 Informal language styles

Another strategy to delimit the target audience is the use of an informal language style. Two case examples will be examined in the following sections to show how informants may draw on informal writing practices, such as the neglect of punctuation marks or the use of colloquial features, to direct their contributions to individual users or specific sub-audiences. Firstly, a contribution by the user Tindra within the everyday photo challenge is analyzed. Secondly, two contributions by the informant Hilda in the Eurovision theme are discussed.

Tindra

The user Tindra is invited to the everyday photo challenge by her brother on June 3. According to the invitation on Tindra's timeline, which does not ask her to post pictures for several days in a row, Tindra merely takes part in the challenge in a single post on June 6 without forwarding the challenge to other contacts in her network (Figure 36).

Figure 36: Tindra's post in the everyday photo challenge: "Dear beautiful lupines (Everyday photo for you my favorite Axel) #sopretty".

The caption following the posted picture consists of three elliptic segments. Firstly, the image is described in a headline-like phrase reading "Dear beautiful lupines". Secondly, Tindra contextualizes the post in the everyday photo challenge while simultaneously directing it explicitly to her brother by tagging him in the post. Finally, the caption ends with a hashtag deeming the picture and the depicted flowers as beautiful. While the first two segments show exclusively Icelandic features, the last segment, consisting of a single hashtag, shows a mix of Icelandic and English features. The morphological components of this last part of the contribution can be associated with English ("so", "pretty"), but their orthography is based on Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence. Generally, hashtags connect contributions with other posts carrying the same hashtag. In fact, the hashtag #sopretty is associated with more than 100,000 posts. However, as Tindra stylizes the rather popular hashtag by adapting it to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence, no other posts with the same hashtag exist. The hashtag in this context rather serves as a strategy for Tindra to express positive

judgement about the depicted flowers in a way that is visually set apart from the rest of the caption. Simultaneously, it emphasizes Tindra's social media skills by showing familiarity with contemporary social media practices as well as with the English impact on those practices.

Tindra confines the target audience for this post in two ways. On the one hand, the audience is defined by means of using Icelandic as the base language, making the post solely accessible for Icelandic-speaking contacts. The English features used in the hashtag serve merely stylistic purposes, that is, the stylization of typical SNS practices and the performance of informality and casualness. The latter is furthermore expressed by directly addressing her brother in the second segment of the post. Tindra's target audience can thus be assumed to consist of Icelandic close friends and family members, including her brother.

In her interview, Tindra states that although her Facebook network comprises contacts all over the world, including Asia, North America, and Europe, she writes mainly in Icelandic. Accordingly, Tindra describes her primary target audience on Facebook as consisting of friends and family. Tindra's linguistic practices in the everyday photo challenge thus align with her general digital practices and her assumed audience, which is Icelandic-speaking, on the one hand, and having a rather close, informal relationship with her, on the other.

Hilda

Finally, two posts by the informant Hilda shared in the Eurovision theme shall be analyzed to show how Hilda employs informal language features to limit her target audience. The two posts in question are shared on May 6, the day of the first international ESC semifinal.

(4) Hilda (19:11): Aram MP3? Really?

In her first contribution (4), Hilda wonders about one of the contestants in the ESC semifinal, that is, the Armenian contribution. The post consists merely of the name of the Armenian performer as well as the English adjective *really* followed by a question mark. Although being linguistically accessible to a multinational audience, the post's reference to Eurovision is only comprehensible to contacts who watch the semifinal and are thus familiar with the individual performers in the competition. In addition, despite resorting to English features, the contribution triggers responses exclusively from Icelandic contacts. For example, three Icelandic-speaking contacts acknowledge the post by liking it. Further, a near-synchronous discussion develops between Hilda and an Icelandic friend (C1) in the comment section, with a total of 105 comments being shared between the two interlocutors.[61] An excerpt of this exchange is presented in Figure 37.

[61] Four comments are posted by another contact but are not relevant for this analysis.

Figure 37: First excerpt from the comments following Hilda's post on May 6: C1: "[I] predict it will go on to the finals despite the [in Icelandic] weird name [in English]. Me and the guys from work have a bet going on [in Icelandic]. Hope I win [in English]" – Hilda: "yeeees... but the guy is like the guy from twilight without makeup [in Icelandic]… or some[thing] [in English]…" – C1: "A little better is the [in Icelandic] f-ing Cake to bake [in English] quartet" – Hilda: "yeeees… but the 80's man with the shaker!!! 😅" – Hilda: "EUPHORIA COPY PAAAAAASTE [in English]!!!! but… with two… who cannot sing [in Icelandic]…"

The exchange appears to be a live commentary on what is happening in the semifinal. Although the communication is primarily based on Icelandic, Hilda and C1 draw repeatedly on other resources and a mix of features that mirror the colloquial character of informal interaction between young Icelanders including, among other things, English borrowings (*enskuslettur*), shortenings, emojis, verbalized laughter, and interjections. It is especially the extensive use of English borrowings – in the form of idioms, phrases, and slang features, oftentimes mixed with independent features such as capitalizations or iterated characters – that contributes to the informal and personal character of the exchange. While many of these borrowings appear in the form of phrases or expressions and remain unadapted to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence, some are in fact adapted to Icelandic. An example of this can be found in the following excerpt (Figure 38).

Figure 38: Second excerpt from the comments following Hilda's post from May 6: Hilda: "she is inline skating to the titanic song [in Icelandic]… don't think so [in English] 😀" – Hilda: "I know!!!" – C1: "My heart will go home [in English]…." – Hilda: "hahaha".

First, Hilda uses the phrase *don't think so* with English spelling. In the subsequent comment, however, she writes *ænó* – that is, the English phrase "I know" according to Icelandic phoneme-grapheme correspondence and written as one word. Hilda's changing practices regarding English features in the exchange could be explained by the near-synchronous character of the conversation that unfolds between Hilda and C1 in the comment section. As can be seen in Figure 37 and Figure 38, the exchange is not necessarily chronological. In fact, the two interlocutors sometimes post contributions at the same time, almost like in the Facebook chat or messenger service. This in turn may affect the interlocutors' writing practices, as correct or consistent spelling may be neglected in favor of prompt responses.

Also, the near-synchronous interaction has implications for other audience members too. While the mutual responses may be comprehensible for Hilda and C1, who actively take part in the conversation, they remain rather obscure to bystanders or only make sense through substantial inferential work. In this way, Hilda and C1 mutually create a one-on-one discussion in the comment section by means of informal language features as well as a fast-paced interaction.

In addition to the contribution discussed above, Hilda publishes a second post in the ESC theme, this time resorting almost entirely to Icelandic features (5).

(5) Hilda (19:50): Það er eurovision og nágrannarnir eru að hlaupa fram og tilbaka og færa húsgögn... það finnst mér skrítinn siður... *It's eurovision and the neighbors [on the floor above] are running back and forth and moving furniture… I find that a weird custom…*

In the contribution, Hilda judges the behavior of her neighbors, who seem to be moving furniture, as unnatural behavior during a Eurovision semifinal. The employment of Icelandic in

this case could be explained by the fact that Hilda reports on a local event, that is, unusual noise in the apartment above. What is happening in the neighbors' apartment is probably of more interest to contacts in Hilda's local vicinity. Accordingly, the post triggers several responses from Icelandic-speaking contacts, including four likes and three comments, all of which drawing primarily on Icelandic. As before, Hilda engages herself in the evolving discussion that develops in the comment section over the next 16 hours (Figure 39). Parts of the exchange thereby overlap with the previously described interaction, so that Hilda is briefly involved in two discussions on ESC topics on her Facebook timeline at the same time.

Figure 39: Comments following Hilda's post from May 6 at 19:50: Hilda: "and have been doing that all the time [in Icelandic]… thats weiiiiird [in English]…" – C2: "[I] also have an overactive one above me playing piano as if it was the last minute of her life! don't you think there is something that can cure it? ☹" – Hilda: "hmmm… would like to invent it at least 😅" – Hilda: "it's been an hour and a bit more… dropping heavy things on the floor… weeee!" – C3: "aren't they just dancing 😉" – C4: "tap dance ….aren't they Icelandic champions??" – Hilda: "yes… could be… [we] were also wondering if they are playing basketball… or bowling…"

The comments start with Hilda responding to her initiative post by adding that the noise has been going on for a while. Five minutes later, C2 responds that she has very active neighbors too, with hers playing music. She ends her comment by asking Hilda if she thinks

there could be a cure (for the noise from the neighbors). Hilda, in turn, responds by stating she would like to find out if there was a connection. Two minutes later, however, Hilda posts another responsive post in which she reports that the noise in the apartment above has now been going on for about one hour. While Hilda's first comment is aimed directly at C2, the second responsive post seems to be aimed at a broader audience, since no cues point to a specific addressee. Following this, two more contacts react to Hilda's post. C3 asks if Hilda's neighbors might just be dancing, to which C4 adds that they might be tap dancing and suggests they are the Icelandic tap dance champions. Following these comments, Hilda responds once more by saying *já…gæti verið* ("Yes…could be"). It remains unclear as to which of the two previous responses Hilda answers exactly. In fact, she might be responding to both, as her answer offers a possible reply to both C3's and C4's suggestions.

Linguistically, the interaction shows similar signs of informality as the previous exchange. In both conversations Hilda employs a range of resources, including Icelandic as base language mixed with English borrowings (*thats weiiiird*), as well as independent features such as iterated characters, interjections, and emojis. Furthermore, the timeline event constitutes a good example of Hilda's typical writing practices in initiative and responsive posts that often differ in terms orthographic correctness and consistency. For example, although Hilda reports that she is rather informal in general on Facebook, her data set suggests that she is more careful regarding orthographic correctness and rules of punctuation in initiative posts, as shown for instance in (5). In responsive posts on the other hand, Hilda often deviates from standard writing norms, for example, by neglecting capitalizations at the beginning of sentences and by omitting punctuation such as in *thats* (instead of "that's") in Figure 39. An explanation for this could be that Hilda feels less monitored in personal interactions. Especially in more private interactions with close contacts, consistent and correct spelling may be disregarded, as users feel less watched than in more public exchanges where spelling might by scrutinized by more and potentially lesser-known contacts. Corresponding with Goffman's ideas about frontstage and backstage behavior, Hilda seems to feel the need to show correct and consistent orthography and punctuation in more public interactions to avoid reproofs and to not give an impression to her audience of being uneducated. Other signs of informality, however, including English borrowings, seem acceptable.

English features can be found twice in Hilda's responses displayed in Figure 39. In her very first comment, Hilda ends with an English phrase (*thats weiiiird*). Moreover, the turn-final interjection *weeee* in Hilda's third response can be interpreted as representing English orthography. Beyond that, no more English features occur in the comment section. This contrasts with Hilda's practices displayed in Figure 37 and Figure 38 in which she draws much more on English. However, the seemingly overproportioned use of English features in the first exchange may be triggered in part by Hilda's conversation partner, who himself uses English extensively. The considerable use of English features in the first exchange can thus be seen

as serving stylistic and social purposes. On the one hand, it adds to the informal character of the interaction between Hilda and C1. On the other hand, it offers a way of mutual linguistic alignment between Hilda and C1, which in turn demonstrates closeness between the two.

In general, this practice verifies what previous studies have suggested: English as a communicative resource is not limited to communication between multinational friends, but may appear in local discourses too (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p. 72). In the case of Hilda, the use of English features in the form of borrowings (*enskuslettur*) contributes to her personal informal language style directed toward peers and specific contacts in her network, while Icelandic remains the base language for communicating with local network members.

8.3 Maximizing the audience

After the previous sections discussing strategies to limit the target audience, the following sections serves to show how the informants of this study try linguistically to maximize their audiences. First, posts by the user Jóhann in the theme of Iceland ceasing EU negotiations will be examined, showing how a more formal language style may serve to broaden one's audience. Subsequently, the analysis directs attention to the user Sunneva, who refrains from linguistic features altogether to maximize her target audience in the EU theme. Finally, the use of English as a common denominator language will be discussed with reference to posts by the user Móa in the everyday photo challenge.

8.3.1 Formal language styles

The user Jóhann shares a total of three posts in the EU theme, with the first post appearing on February 24 and the last one on March 1. Two of these posts shall be analyzed in more detail. The theme aligns with other topics discussed on Jóhann's Facebook timeline, as his contributions are dominated by political, cultural, and social topics. In his interview, Jóhann reports that he never shares contributions (pictures or other information) about his family or friends, but rather public content that he deems interesting for his Facebook network.

Regarding the end of EU negotiations, Jóhann shares news articles on which he comments in a textual caption. His posts are directed at an Icelandic-speaking audience, as his textual contributions show exclusively Icelandic features. This furthermore corresponds with the language employed in the shared articles.

On February 24 Jóhann posts a link to a news article announcing a spontaneous protest in front of the parliament building later that day (Figure 40).

Figure 40: Jóhann's post from February 24: "This is heading toward a major protest. This government will hardly survive the term."

In the textual caption accompanying the shared link, Jóhann contextualizes the article by stating his own assessment of the possible future course of events. Both the article and Jóhann's caption are in Icelandic. Accordingly, the post receives four likes and one comment from Icelandic contacts. A day later and directly following this post on his timeline, Jóhann shares another news article, which reports on the prime minister's opinion about people's reactions to the EU issue (Figure 41).

Figure 41: Jóhann's post from February 25: "This was probably just a general misunderstanding. A great number of people did not understand what was being said. Strange that the reporters didn't see it either, but that explains why the reporting was so one-sided. It is probably hard to see through the "political impossibilities" of Sigmundur [David Gunnlaugsson] and Bjarni [Benediktsson] and all the others."

Again, Jóhann draws solely on Icelandic with both the article and his textual contribution, thus directing the posts to contacts who understand the language. In the caption, Jóhann sarcastically comments on the prime minister's remarks that people should calm down, since they cannot fully understand the issue and the politics behind the government's decision. In doing so, Jóhann explicitly positions himself against the government's decision, actions, and statements and thus indirectly advocates a referendum. The post receives seven likes from Icelandic-speaking contacts.

Linguistically, Jóhann's textual contributions in the two posts show a style reminiscent of more public and formal writing as well as conventional spelling and punctuation. This is

consistent with Jóhann's general Facebook practices in which he primarily draws on Icelandic features and furthermore on a more norm-oriented style. Only a few posts in Jóhann's data set are formulated in English and thus address a broader audience. The EU issue, however, is first and foremost relevant for Jóhann's Icelandic-speaking audience, as they are directly affected by the government's decisions. It is therefore not surprising that Jóhann directs the post solely at Icelandic contacts.

The rather formal language style can furthermore be explained by Jóhann's age. Born in 1965, Jóhann is too old to belong to the age group of speakers for whom the use of informality markers, such as English borrowings or colloquialisms, might be perceived as authentic by the audience.

Furthermore, the more norm-oriented language style allows for a rather broad Icelandic target audience. While informal language features often point to closer contacts such as family and friends, more formal writing practices can index a more heterogeneous target audience that comprises family and close friends as well as acquaintances and less-known contacts. This may be especially relevant in the EU theme, since the matter concerns all Icelandic contacts in Jóhann's network and thus a rather heterogeneous group. By explicitly expressing his political views and his opposition to the Icelandic government, however, Jóhann's posts may appeal more to contacts with comparable political opinions, at least regarding the EU issue. Contacts agreeing with the government's decision to end EU negotiations without a referendum, on the other hand, might be alienated by Jóhann's posts.

In short, Jóhann's more formal and norm-oriented language style corresponds with what is perceived authentic for Jóhann's age group and suggests a rather broad and heterogeneous Icelandic target audience.

8.3.2 Non-linguistic means of expression

The informant Sunneva takes part in the EU theme with two contributions. Unlike Jóhann, however, Sunneva refrains from textual captions altogether in her posts and relies merely on visual content and pictorial features.

Sunneva's first post in the theme appears on February 21 (Figure 42), the day the Icelandic government announces the draft bill to withdraw from EU membership negotiations.

Figure 42: Sunneva's post from February 21: "…the nation will decide on accession talks with the EU through a referendum during the parliamentary term…."

The shared post contains a quote from the 2013 election campaign of the Independence Party, one of the two governmental parties at the time, promising a referendum about accession talks with the EU. Sunneva's caption to this post shows a winking smiley emoji that can be read as indirectly signaling critique of the government's announcement to end the negotiations without a referendum.

Three days later, Sunneva shares a second contribution in the theme. The post contains a news article giving ten reasons not to end the negotiations with the EU (Figure 43).

Figure 43: Sunneva's post from February 24: "Ten reasons for not withdrawing the EU application!"

Sunneva expresses agreement with the article by means of two exclamation marks in the caption.

Both posts target an Icelandic-speaking audience, as the shared media content draws primarily on Icelandic. In her interview, Sunneva reports a use of different languages on Facebook. As her Facebook audience consists, by her own estimate, of 60% Icelandic and 40% non-Icelandic contacts, Sunneva shares contributions for different audiences in different languages including Icelandic, English, and Danish. However, as the EU theme concerns first and foremost Icelandic network members, it is not surprising that she directs her contributions in the theme at Icelandic contacts. Furthermore, by using independent features in the form of exclamation marks to typographically emphasize the shared content, Sunneva takes a stance about the issue without explicitly verbalizing it.

Hence, both posts require inferential work on behalf of the audience to determine that Sunneva opposes the government's decision to end membership negotiations with the EU. This behavior corresponds with Sunneva's general Facebook practices as taking stance, in general, is not very common in Sunneva's data set. In fact, only 27 out of a total of 437 initiative posts contain an expression of opinion of some sort. Correspondingly, Sunneva states in her interview that she almost never posts on political matters on Facebook. Since Sunneva generally refrains from sharing her beliefs or views on Facebook, a more explicit expression of opinion might be perceived as inauthentic by the audience. Therefore, by choosing a rather opaque way of expressing her view on the EU issue, Sunneva retains authenticity in front of her Facebook network.

In addition, drawing on indirect ways of stance-taking may counteract possible conflicts with network members who do not share Sunneva's opinion. While this strategy seems to work in the former post, for which she receives eight likes, Sunneva is less successful in the latter contribution, as the post receives a rather negative response from one of her contacts (C1):

(6) C1 (15:23): Burt séð frá því hvort við ættum að draga umsóknina til baka eða ekki þá er þessi gella alveg úti að aka. Hún hlýtur að hafa verið full eða á lyfjum þegar hún skrifaði þetta.
Regardless of whether we should withdraw the application or not, this chick is absolutely clueless. She must have been drunk or on drugs when she wrote this.

Despite her caution in expressing assessment, the negative response can be seen as face-threating for Sunneva as it opposes her choice of content in the EU theme and thus does not approve of the way in which she presents her opinion on the matter (see also section 3.4.3 on face work). This may also explain why Sunneva is careful about expressing her views in general.

Hence, Sunneva's rather cautious and indirect way of stance-taking in the theme may result from an awareness about possibly opposing opinions within her Facebook network. It

can be assumed that Sunneva refrains from a more direct way of expressing her opinion in order to not alienate any contacts.

8.3.3 English as common denominator language

Finally, the user Móa's contributions in the everyday photo challenge will be examined regarding strategies of audience design. While some posts have already been discussed in section 7.2.3 with regards to Móa's identity work and group affiliation, the following section will look at all of her contributions in this theme, analyzing the ways in which Móa indexes target audiences in the individual posts and the entire theme.

As discussed before, there is no evidence on Móa's timeline as to whether she was invited to the challenge by another user (see section 7.2.3). It is in fact very well possible that Móa takes part in the challenge on her own initiative. She does not forward the challenge to other users, either, and therefore refrains from extending the circle of challenge participants. Nevertheless, Móa's case is especially interesting, as her linguistic choices move from Icelandic and English to mainly English features.

Móa's first contribution in the challenge shows a selfie in front of a roller derby game (see also Figure 21 in section 7.2.3). The post contains two textual parts visually separated by a space.

(7) Móa (14:26): Hversdagsmyndarátakið byrjar ekki vel hjá mér. Strax komin með töf! Þess í stað skal ég reyna að gera þetta hetjulega í 10 daga í stað 5.
Hversdagsmynd/Snapshots of my life. 7th of June. Bench coach for Roller Derby Ísland.
Go Red Lions!
The everyday photo challenge does not start well for me. Already started with a delay! For that I will try to do this heroically for 10 days instead of 5.

Móa begins by stating in Icelandic that the challenge does not start well for her, but that she will therefore take part in the challenge for ten instead of five days. The second part of the caption encompasses the title of the challenge – which Móa states in Icelandic (*Hversdagsmynd*) and in English (*Snapshots of my life*) – followed by a description of the image that solely employs English features. Móa dates the picture and describes the scene displayed in the photo. She ends with a cheer for her roller derby team. The post suggests two target audiences: an Icelandic-speaking audience, who is addressed in Icelandic, as well as a non-Icelandic speaking audience, to which the English part of the caption is directed.

On the one hand, Móa signals awareness of the everyday photo challenge as a phenomenon in the Icelandic speech community. She therefore directs the first part of the caption to an Icelandic audience, affirming her participation despite being late. With the second

part, however, Móa opens the challenge to non-Icelandic speakers by directing this and the following posts to an English-speaking audience. Furthermore, Móa broadens the audience not only by resorting to English features but also by explaining her role in the posted picture, that is, being the bench coach for the team she supports. While contacts close to Móa might be familiar with her role on the roller derby team, it can be assumed that the great majority of Móa's Facebook network is not. Therefore, giving a more detailed description of the scene depicted in the shared photo can also be understood as a way of extending the target audience.

In the second post (Figure 44), Móa draws on Icelandic and English features too, thereby addressing two audience groups.

Figure 44: Móa's second post in the everyday photo challenge: "Snaps of life / Everyday photo #2 Mom shows me the land that I will inherit. Mom shows me the farm #PostDinnerChill [in English]".

The post's caption contains four parts separated from each other by line breaks: Firstly, Móa numbers the post both in English and Icelandic within the everyday photo challenge. Secondly, she describes the photo in Icelandic. Thirdly, Móa describes the picture in English, and finally she ends the caption with a hashtag employing English features once more. Although Móa describes the image in Icelandic and English, the descriptions are not word-by-word translations. The Icelandic description is a humorous comment on the photo, which shows a computer game played on a laptop, translating to "Mom shows me the land that I will inherit." The English description, on the other hand, simply states *Mom shows me the farm*. As before, Móa targets both Icelandic and non-Icelandic speakers, thereby acknowledging the Icelandic origin of the everyday photo challenge while simultaneously opening it to non-Icelandic speakers.

In contrast to this, Móa alters her linguistic choices in the remaining four posts of the challenge: She resorts mainly to English, with Icelandic only used in the formulaic titles of the challenge (*Hversdagsmyndir*), as seen in examples (8) - (11) . English, on the other hand, is employed both in ascribing the images to the challenge and in describing their content.

(8) Móa (June 9, 2014): Snaps of my life / Hversdagsmynd #3
My Game of Thrones face

(9) Móa (June 11, 2014): Snaps of my life /Hversdagsmynd
Katamari Damacy & me in my pj's

(10) Móa (June 11, 2014): Snaps of life / Hversdagsmynd #5
Laundry is cool.

(11) Móa (June 12, 2014): Snaps of my life / Hversdagsmynd #6
Babysitting the champion of awesome!

Móa is the only participant in the corpus who draws on English to describe photos in the challenge. At the same time, she acknowledges the Icelandic focus of the challenge by ascribing the pictures to the challenge both in English and Icelandic throughout the theme. In doing so, Móa keeps including Icelandic contacts even though she otherwise directs the posts at an audience that exceeds her Icelandic Facebook network.

In addition, even though Móa makes the everyday photo challenge understandable for non-Icelandic speakers, it is kept within the Icelandic speech community as Móa does not distribute the challenge further. Beyond that, certain information is kept within a rather close circle. In (11), for example, Móa does not describe in detail the boy whom she is babysitting. While she posts a picture of him, his name as well as his relationship to Móa remain known only by contacts who know both Móa and the boy in the picture (see also section 7.2.3).

In sum, Móa transforms the everyday photo challenge by extending its scope to a multinational audience and uses the challenge to socialize with a network that exceeds her Icelandic contacts. The use of English in the theme corresponds with Móa's general Facebook practices. Looking at the statistics, 461 of Móa's 810 posts in the data set contain English features, compared to 433 posts that contain Icelandic features. The findings also align with Móa's communicative practices offline, as she reports that English plays a significant role in her life. On Facebook, Móa states that she uses Icelandic only for topics that are merely relevant for her Icelandic contacts, while she draws on English for everything else, since, in her own words, it is the language most of her contacts understand. For the everyday photo challenge too, Móa reports to have used English so more people in her Facebook network could understand the purpose of her posts. While in other instances Móa uses English for stylistic purposes, she seems to have rather practical reasons for her linguistic choices in the everyday photo challenge. At the same time, however, Móa's linguistic choices in the theme also add to her general identity, which is among other things characterized by her self-image as bilingual (see Chapter 7).

8.4 Alternating audiences

Finally, the following section will discuss how participants alternate between different audiences. To begin with, the user Hekla's contributions in the Eurovision theme serve as an example of how users may vary between local and global audiences depending on the topical context. As will be seen in the analysis, Hekla directs posts about the Icelandic pre-qualification *Söngvakeppni* exclusively at an Icelandic audience, whereas posts about the ESC semifinal and final can address both Icelandic and non-Icelandic contacts.

In addition, posts by the user Hafbjörg in the ESC theme and contributions by the user Sonja in the everyday photo challenge will illustrate how users alternate between Icelandic contacts and a local German audience.

8.4.1 Alternating between the local and the global

The informant Hekla is rather active in the ESC theme as she shares 11 initiative posts regarding the song contest, three of which concern the Icelandic pre-qualification *Söngvakeppni.* The following analysis will examine two posts regarding the Icelandic pre-qualification as well as four posts concerning the ESC semifinal and final.

All three posts about the Icelandic pre-qualification are based on Icelandic features. Two of these contributions are shared on February 15, the day of the Icelandic *Söngvakeppni* final (12 and 13).

(12) Hekla (21:34): Iss piss. Ég varð fyrir vonbrigðum. Þá vil ég að Pollapönk fari #eurovision
Iss piss. I got disappointed. Then I want Pollapönk to go #eurovision

(13) Hekla (22:26): Fínt að pollapönk fari! ☺
Good that Pollapönk is going! ☺

In (12), Hekla shares a post during the *Söngvakeppni* final expressing disappointment about her preferred candidate being knocked out of the competition and reporting her second preference to be the song by the band *Pollapönk*. The post starts with an interjection (*iss piss*) signaling Hekla's sentiment. In the following two segments, Hekla draws on Icelandic to verbalize her disappointment and to express her support for *Pollapönk*. The post ends with the hashtag #eurovision, which connects the post to other contributions under the same hashtag and helps her audience apprehend the statement in the context of the ESC.

The post displayed in (13) is created about one hour later, or right after the final. Here, Hekla articulates her acceptance of *Pollapönk* representing Iceland at the Eurovision Song Contest. A positive attitude is not only expressed in words but also by pictorial means, namely, an exclamation mark at the end of the statement and a turn-final smiley emoji. On Hekla's timeline this post directly follows the contribution presented in (12). Therefore, no cues are

given regarding its relation to the song contest. In order to understand the posts' connection to *Söngvakeppni* and the ESC, the target audience must know that *Pollapönk* is competing to represent Iceland in the ESC or perform inferential work in terms of reading the post as a continuation of the previous contribution.

Besides the three contributions about *Söngvakeppni*, Hekla shares another eight posts about the ESC semifinal, the ESC final, and its winner, Conchita Wurst. In contrast to the posts about the Icelandic pre-qualification, Hekla does not necessarily limit the target audience to Icelandic-speakers, as some contributions draw primarily on English. For example, on May 6, the day of the first ESC semifinal, Hekla shares two posts, one before and one after the semifinal. While the first post (14) employs Icelandic as the base language, the second contribution (15) draws on English.

(14) Hekla (19:36): Aaaah marr er svo fullorðinn! Grill á svölunum - annars var Island flott eins og alltaf 😛
Aaaah one is so mature! Barbecue on the balcony - other than that Iceland was great as always 😛

(15) Hekla (20:58): Yaaaaaay! Iceland is through to the finals!

In (14) Hekla shares a humorous remark about herself feeling mature for grilling on the balcony, to which she adds her opinion about the Icelandic performance in the first Eurovision semifinal. Due to the employment of Icelandic, the post is only directed at an Icelandic audience. A humorous and colloquial style is achieved, for instance, through the turn-initial interjection *Aaaah* and the use of the feature *marr* as a short colloquial variant of *maður* ("man" or "one"). Finally, the post ends with a laughing tongue emoji. The colloquial style of the post narrows the targeted audience to contacts who have a rather close and personal relationship with Hekla. Beyond that, as no explanatory clue is given about the contribution's reference to the Eurovision Song Contest except for the remark that Iceland did fine as always, Hekla endorses the ESC's popularity in Iceland while simultaneously limiting the target audience to contacts who know about Iceland's participation in the song contest's first semifinal.

Later the same night, Hekla shares another post expressing happiness about Iceland being voted into the ESC final, as seen in (15). Unlike the previous post, this contribution draws on English as the base language, which broadens the audience by including contacts outside the Icelandic speech community. However, as the post gives no clear context as to what kind of final Hekla is referring to, it is only comprehensible to an audience familiar with the song contest, its rules, and its broadcasting dates. By means of the independent feature *Yaaaaaay*, Hekla indexes her affiliation with Iceland as she expresses joy about Iceland's qualification. The iterated character *a* in *Yaaaaaay* puts further emphasis on Hekla's positive evaluation of the semifinal's outcome.

Hekla's shifting practices in the two contributions could be explained as follows. At the time of the post in (14), it is not clear yet whether *Pollapönk* will make it to the ESC final or not. Hekla's Icelandic statement meaning "Iceland was great as always" indicates some sort of patriotism that is, at this state of the competition, more relevant for an Icelandic audience who may feel the same and who will, due to the ESC's popularity in Iceland, understand the context of this statement. In the second post, however, it is clear that Iceland has made it to the Eurovision final, so stating joy about this achievement seems worth sharing with international contacts as well.

Beyond these posts, Hekla shares a list of her favorite ESC performances during the final on May 11, as displayed in (16).

(16) Hekla (21:21): #1 austurriki
#2 ítalia
#3 grikkland
#4 holland
Island #8

C1 (21:38): I really loved Iceland ☺

The hashtags in this post do not serve as hyperlinks to connect the contribution with other posts and are thus not meant to signify keywords. Instead, they serve to number the participating countries according to Hekla's personal list of favorite performances. Although the list primarily uses Icelandic features, the post is not necessarily limited to members of the Icelandic speech community, as the country names are understandable to non-Icelandic speakers too. This can be seen, for instance, in the responses the post triggers. It receives likes from non-Icelandic speaking contacts as well as an English verbal response from a contact (C1) outside of Hekla's Icelandic network. Nonetheless, although the post does not limit the target audience based on their linguistic competence in Icelandic, it does require inferential work in that readers must be able to link the post to the ESC final. Therefore, once again, Hekla defines her target audience rather by means of knowledge and interest in the ESC final than by membership in a specific speech community.

In another example from the same day, Hekla shares a post about the results of the contest (17). The post draws primarily on English and is thus not limited to Icelandic users either. However, as before, common knowledge about the ESC is necessary to understand the contribution.

(17) Hekla (01:45): I must admit that I wished holland to be in second place after Austria... I just didn't believe Europe would give holland that many votes! Last year holland had a greeeeeat song but they didn't get that high!

C1 (09:10): They sure got high after that defeat. 😉

In the post, Hekla deviates from English orthographic norms. While she capitalizes both *Austria* and *Europe*, Hekla repeatedly lowercases *holland*. She thereby indicates a rather close and personal audience that may be multilingual, on the one hand, but does not necessarily prioritize orthographic norms, on the other hand.

The post triggers only two reactions, in the form of one like and one comment. Interestingly, both reactions come from Icelandic Facebook contacts. Although Icelandic would be the language of interaction between Hekla and these contacts in the offline world, English seems to be accepted as the default language for the post. For example, the contact commenting on Hekla's contribution (C1) takes up Hekla's code choice in his contribution as well. By continuing the interaction in English, C1 keeps the exchange open for multinational readers while at the same time aligning with Hekla. In addition, choosing English over Icelandic in this comment allows C1 to employ a play on words that would otherwise get lost in translation. The remark *They sure got high (…)* refers, on the one hand, back to Hekla's post in which she comments on the Netherlands' high ranking in the ESC final. On the other hand, it relates to the legal consumption of marijuana in the Netherlands. Therefore, while Hekla draws on English in her initiative post to include ESC fans outside the Icelandic speech community and thus to broaden the audience, C1 draws on English for stylistic and alignment reasons.

In short, Hekla distinguishes in the ESC theme between the Icelandic pre-qualification *Söngvakeppni* and the ESC semifinal and final. By drawing on Icelandic as a base language, Hekla limits the target audience for her posts about *Söngvakeppni* to Icelandic-speakers, which seems sensible, since it can be assumed that the Icelandic pre-qualification is more relevant to Hekla's Icelandic contacts. Some of Hekla's posts about the ESC semifinal and final, in turn, draw primarily on English and therefore allow for a multilingual audience. The posts about the ESC semifinal and final that Hekla shares in Icelandic are either more relevant to the Icelandic speech community or understandable by non-Icelandic speakers despite the Icelandic features employed in them. Nonetheless, all posts shared in this theme require a certain background knowledge about the Eurovision Song Contest. Therefore, it can be said that Hekla defines her target audiences not only by language choice but just as much by interest in the Eurovision Song Contest.

8.4.2 Alternating between Icelandic and local German audiences

The informants Hafbjörg and Sonja both lived in Germany at least for some of the time during this study. Consequently, their Facebook networks contain a number of German contacts. The following case examples will thus analyze how Hafbjörg and Sonja switch between German and Icelandic contacts by sharing some messages in German while other posts draw solely on Icelandic. As for the user Hafbjörg, posts in the Eurovision theme are analyzed. For Sonja, the everyday photo challenge will give some examples of alternating target audiences.

Hafbjörg

Hafbjörg shares two posts about the Eurovision Song Contest: one on May 6, the day of the first Eurovision semifinal, and one on May 10, the day of the final. Although Hafbjörg emphasizes her affiliation with Iceland in both contributions, she carefully distinguishes between two linguistically different audiences in the theme, with the first post addressing Icelandic contacts and the second post addressing her German network.

The first post (18) is shared on May 6. Hafbjörg, who lives in Germany at the time, complains that she is not allowed to vote in the first Eurovision semifinal.

(18) Hafbjörg (20:20): Piff, ég má ekki kjósa í kvöld! ☹

Piff, I am not allowed to vote tonight! ☹

The post starts with an interjection (*Piff*) expressing Hafbjörg's disappointment and irritation followed by the statement about not being allowed to vote; it draws on Icelandic features and ends with a frowning emoji that once again signals Hafbjörg's disappointment. By drawing on Icelandic, Hafbjörg directs the post at her Icelandic contacts. However, as no direct reference to the ESC is verbalized in the post, it is only comprehensible for contacts who know about the ESC semifinal and Iceland's participation in it. In this way, Hafbjörg builds on the ESC's popularity in Iceland, thus emphasizing her cultural affiliation with Iceland and asserting her Icelandic identity despite living abroad – while at the same time narrowing the target audience to contacts sharing her interest in the ESC.

The status update triggers several responses from both Icelandic- and German-speaking contacts, leading to exchanges in Icelandic between Hafbjörg and her Icelandic friends and German interactions between Hafbjörg and her German contacts (Figure 45).

Figure 45: Comments on Hafbjörg's post on May 6: C1: "why not?" – Hafbjörg: "Germany is only allowed to vote on Thursday, don't know why… 😕" – C2: "same here in England 😕" – C3: "Bleh pretty lousy" – C1: "it worked out though 😊" – C4: "What about Germany [in German]?" – C5: "They always take part, C4 [in German]" – Hafbjörg: "C4, I was upset that I wasn't allowed to vote yesterday, for some reason Germany is only allowed to vote tomorrow in the second semifinal, but it still worked out for Iceland [in German]😅" – C4: "Because there is nothing more important than the ESC [in German]😅" – Hafbjörg: "RIGHT [in German]😅" – C4: "Tssssss. But I am happy that I at least understood Germany [in German] 😊" – C6: "You just vote right on Saturday 😉".

First, the post triggers responses from Icelandic contacts, to which Hafbjörg responds in Icelandic. C1 comments about 15 minutes after the initiative post has been shared, asking why Hafbjörg is not allowed to vote. Ten minutes later, Hafbjörg responds to this comment

explaining that Germany is only allowed to vote in the second semifinal. In alignment with C1, Hafbjörg's comment draws on Icelandic features, followed by iterated punctuation and a frowning emoji signaling Hafbjörg's confusion and frustration. Beyond that, two other contacts respond in Icelandic. C2 states that the same rules apply for the UK, which is not allowed to vote either, and C3 agrees this is deplorable. Both comments remain unanswered by Hafbjörg. Finally, after the voting and once it is clear that the band *Pollapönk* has advanced to the ESC final, C1 responds again saying that things still worked out for Iceland. Hafbjörg responds to this comment by liking it.

Subsequently, the exchange switches to German when a German-speaking user (C4) asks what Hafbjörg had written about Germany. The response refers to Hafbjörg's comment answering C1 in which she explains that Germany was not allowed to vote in the first semifinal. C4 thus signals that she understood one part of Hafbjörg's responsive contribution, namely, the Icelandic name for Germany (*Þýskaland*). Although neither the initiative nor Hafbjörg's responsive post are directed at German contacts, C4 requests an explanation in German. The comment is followed by another German response posted by C5, who seems to misunderstand C4's comment as a question about the German competitor's performance in the semifinal. She therefore explains that Germany is always automatically through to the finals and does not have to compete in the semifinals. Hafbjörg, in turn, interprets C4's question correctly and explains in German what her initiative post and the following Icelandic exchange were about. She directs this explanation specifically at C4 by tagging her at the beginning of the response. C4 as well as C3 respond to this explanation by liking it. Further, C4 ironically remarks that there seems to be nothing more important than Eurovision. The remark is followed by a grinning squinting emoji, which mitigates the potential face threat entailed in the statement and thus signals a close and friendly relationship with Hafbjörg. Hafbjörg, in turn, meets C4's mocking remark with a German response, saying "right" (*RICHTIG*) in all capital letters followed by a tongue emoji. In doing so, she stresses her Icelandic identity indexed through her enthusiasm for the ESC while simultaneously mitigating the face threat and signaling alignment with C4.

The German exchange ends with a responsive comment from C4, who first jokingly expresses disapproval of Hafbjörg's excitement about the ESC by means of the interjection *Tssssss*; she then states that she at least understood the word "Germany" in Hafbjörg's first comment. C4's responsive post ends with a turn-final smiley emoji. Hafbjörg does not further comment on this response but shows approval by liking it.

Finally, one last Icelandic contact (C6) responds to Hafbjörg's initiative post in Icelandic, followed by a winking emoji, stating that Hafbjörg will just have to vote for the right song in the ESC final. C6 draws on Icelandic, which corresponds with Hafbjörg's initial language choice. She suggests that Hafbjörg will vote for Iceland in the final without directly saying it. Hafbjörg, in turn, aligns with C6's suggestion by liking the comment.

Furthermore, Hafbjörg shares a second post on May 10, the day of the ESC final, in which she indicates having voted for Iceland (19).

(19) Hafbjörg (21:20): Ihre Stimme für Island wurde gezählt, vielen Dank ☺
Your vote for Iceland has been counted, thank you very much ☺

Unlike the first post, the second contribution is directed at Hafbjörg's German audience, as she draws primarily on German features followed by a turn-final smiley emoji. As before, the post requires contextual knowledge by the target audience, that is, knowing about the ongoing Eurovision final. The post triggers six likes, four from German contacts and two from Icelandic ones. Additionally, one German contact responds to the post in the comment section. Although the post addresses a German audience, it once again concerns Hafbjörg's support for Iceland in the song contest. Hafbjörg thus draws on German to emphasize her affiliation with Iceland and her Icelandic identity in front of a German target audience.

Hafbjörg's distinction between the two audiences in this theme reflects the different attention that the ESC semifinal and final receive in the two countries. In general, the Eurovision Song Contest enjoys great popularity in Iceland but is less popular in Germany. Moreover, as one of the main sponsoring countries of the ESC, Germany always participates in the final, whereas Iceland must qualify for the ESC final in one of the semifinals. Accordingly, the ESC semifinals are rather uninteresting for a German audience while they are of more importance for an Icelandic one. Hafbjörg's linguistic differentiations in the theme account for this fact. Furthermore, demonstrating excitement about the ESC and support for the Icelandic contestant in both languages allows Hafbjörg to affiliate with her Icelandic peers and to emphasize her Icelandic identity in front of her German contacts.

Sonja

Finally, two posts in the everyday photo challenge shared by the participant Sonja shall be analyzed with regard to Sonja's strategies for alternating between an Icelandic and a German audience.

Sonja is invited to the challenge on June 2. After that, the theme unfolds over six days on her profile. Following the invitation Sonja shares a first picture in the challenge on June 3 showing students walking through a crossover to the University of Bielefeld (Figure 46).

Figure 46: Sonja's first post in the everyday photo challenge: "Everyday photo 1/5! Went to school to revise the thesis! I challenge my Silja to do the same and present one everyday photo per day for 5 days!"

The caption to this post contains the numeration of the post within the challenge, a description of the image, and finally an invitation to the challenge for another Facebook friend, all in Icelandic. In doing so, Sonja, meets the target audience's expectations, as she situates the post within the everyday photo challenge that is exerted within the Icelandic speech community. Further, she passes the challenge on to another Icelandic friend, thereby keeping the challenge within this community.

Directing the post at an Icelandic audience corresponds with Sonja's general Facebook practices at the time. As discussed in section 8.1.1, Sonja shares posts primarily to keep her Icelandic family and friends informed about her life in Germany.

Nonetheless, as Sonja shares a picture from a place connected to her life in Germany accompanied by an Icelandic caption, a contact outside the challenge's target audience asks for clarification in the comment section (20).

(20) C1 (08:38): und auf Deutsch?
and in German?

Sonja (08:39): Ein Alltagsfoto 1/5. In der Uni, um meine Arbeit zu überarbeiten! Eine Freundin sollte das gleiche machen und ein Alltagsfoto pro Tag für 5 Tage posten
An everyday photo 1/5. At the uni to revise my thesis! A friend Should do the same and post one everyday photo per day for 5 days

In response, Sonja translates her initiative post into German. While the first two segments constitute word-by-word translations of her initiative post, the last part of Sonja's response merely explains the meaning of the last segment saying that another friend is now supposed to post five everyday photos. In doing so, Sonja explains the everyday photo challenge to C1 while keeping it within the Icelandic speech community, as no German-speaking contact is invited to the challenge. By drawing on the same linguistic code as C1, Sonja signals alignment, as she follows not only C1's request to explain the challenge but also meets the linguistic expectations of this request.

Although keeping the everyday photo challenge within the Icelandic speech community, Sonja uses another contribution in the challenge to address a German audience. Sonja's third post in the challenge comprises a collage of two photos, with the first photo showing Sonja with her master's thesis at her university and the second one showing the printed thesis (Figure 47).

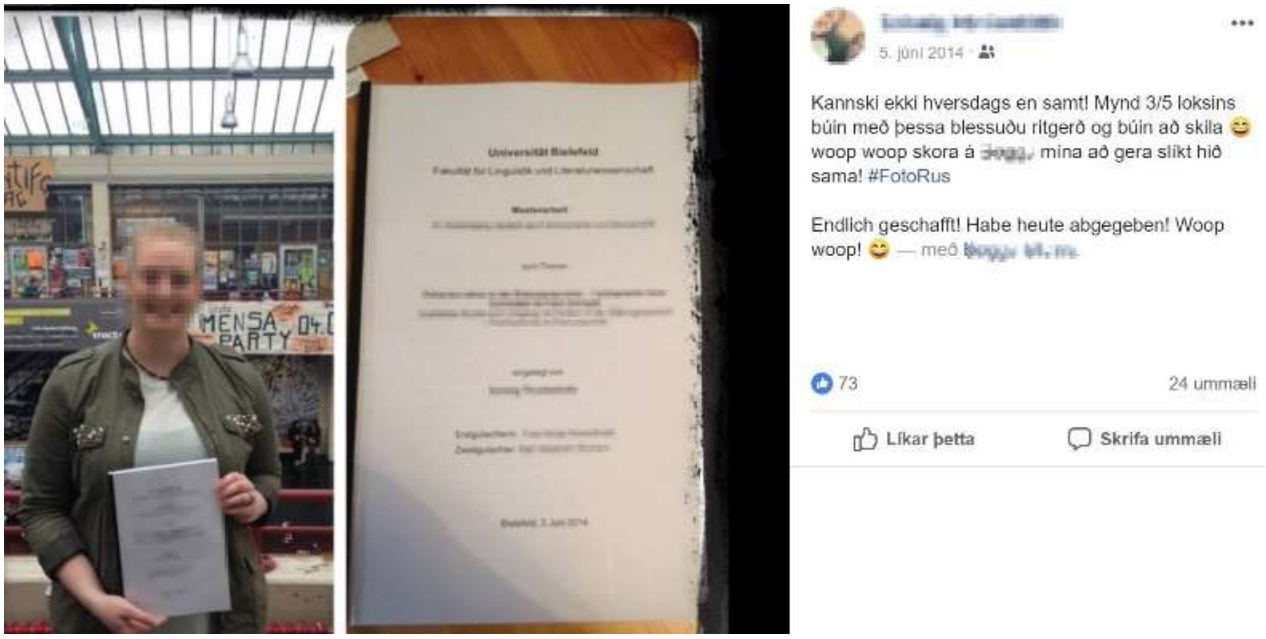

Figure 47: Sonja's third post in the everyday photo challenge: "Maybe not everyday but still! Photo 3/5 finally done with this blessed thesis and finished submitting 😀 woop I challenge my Silja to do the same! #FotoRus Finally done! I submitted today! [in German] Woop! 😀".

The caption for this picture contains both an Icelandic-based and a German-based description of the post separated by a space. Nonetheless, the two parts are not the same. The Icelandic part of the caption serves two purposes: Firstly, it contextualizes the post in the everyday photo challenge, starting with her statement that the picture might not be everyday material and numbering it within the challenge. In doing so, Sonja acknowledges the fact that the picture she has posted might not meet the audience's expectations about everyday content and averts possible critique of her contribution to the challenge. Secondly, by describing the picture's context, Sonja informs the Icelandic audience about the submission of her master's thesis. The statement is followed by two independent features, a laughing emoji, and the interjection *woop* – spelled with English orthography – expressing happiness about the submission. Furthermore, Sonja invites another friend to take part in the photo challenge

before ending with the hashtag #FotoRus, which refers to the photo editing and collage-creating app she used to create the picture. Sonja draws on an informal language style in the Icelandic part of the caption, thus emphasizing close and personal connections with her target audience. For example, she describes the master thesis jokingly as her “blessed thesis” and calls the friend she invites to the photo challenge “my Silja” (*Silju mína*), indicating a close relationship with this contact. In addition, the English interjection *woop* adds to the informal style of the post.

The second part of the textual caption, in turn, draws on German as the base language and does not refer to the photo challenge at all, but instead contextualizes the picture in terms of the submission of Sonja’s master thesis. As Sonja refrains from verbalizing what she has submitted, the post becomes meaningful only through its multimodal setup, that is, the combination of visual and textual content. Finally, the German caption is followed by the same independent features as the Icelandic caption, that is, the interjection *woop*, written according to English orthography, and a laughing emoji. Thus, Sonja communicates happiness about having submitted her thesis to both her Icelandic and her German audience. At the same time, the independent features further contribute to the informal and casual diction of the post.

Hence, although Sonja addresses the post to both an Icelandic and a German audience, she carefully distinguishes between the two by means of the textual content. For the Icelandic audience, the contribution carries out the everyday photo challenge while simultaneously celebrating the submission of Sonja’s master’s thesis. For the German audience, on the other hand, the post merely serves the celebration of this achievement.

In sum, although we find captions drawing on Icelandic and German features in Sonja’s contributions in the everyday photo challenge, the languages serve different purposes in the posts. First and foremost, Sonja uses Icelandic and German to address different target audiences. In the first example, Sonja draws on German to respond to a single contact who asked for clarification regarding the previously shared initiative post. In the second example, Sonja makes use of Icelandic features to take part in the everyday photo challenge and to meet her Icelandic audience’s expectations regarding her code choice in the challenge. She draws on German in the same post to direct the information about having submitted her Master’s thesis toward her German-speaking contacts. By drawing on both linguistic codes in the same initiative post, Sonja is able to direct two different messages within one post at different audiences within her Facebook network.

8.5 Summary

The chapter discussed digital practices with regard to audience design, showing that the users of this study are well aware of their audience and make communicative choices accordingly. Since the audience and its expectations were identified as one of the main factors influencing users’ linguistic choices in SNS (see section 3.5), the chapter started out by discussing

examples of audience expectations in the Facebook data that show how meaning is oftentimes mutually negotiated and created by the network members. Secondly, the chapter discussed different strategies to delimit, maximize, and alternate between different audiences. As shown in the analysis, these strategies comprise all kinds of digital practices, including for example different code choices and language styles. With the user Tristan, it has been shown how users may resort to humor to limit their target audience to closer contacts. Users may also index closer relationships through an informal language style, whereas more formal language practices suggest broader, more heterogeneous audiences. Finally, two posts by the user Sunneva showed how refraining from linguistic codes altogether may serve as a strategy to appeal to as many contacts as possible.

The results of the analysis furthermore suggest that the pragmatic function of linguistic codes and features may vary according to context. For example, some users have been found to draw on English as their primary linguistic resource to maximize their target audience, making contributions linguistically accessible to audiences exceeding the Icelandic speech community. In other contexts, however, users resort to single English features to create an informal language style, which in turn limits the target audience to selected individuals with closer relationships to the user. The informant Hilda, for example, draws on Icelandic to address a more general Icelandic audience, whereas she resorts to a mix of Icelandic and English features to direct responsive posts at a single interlocutor. The extensive use of English features in this exchange generates an informal and colloquial style which appears appropriate for the interlocutors, as it serves to signal their mutual alignment and close relationship with each other.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that the informants of this study draw on Icelandic features and content when they seek to attend to Icelandic contacts only. Some users resort (almost) exclusively to Icelandic, as their Facebook network is predominantly Icelandic and thus the Icelandic language constitutes the majority language of the network. Other users, however, differentiate between audiences, as some topics appear to be relevant for a local audience only, whereas others are of more multinational interest (see also Androutsopoulos, 2014a; Barton & Lee, 2013, p. 58). Accordingly, some users alternate between audiences; that is, they address their Icelandic contacts in Icelandic but draw on a different language to address contacts with non-Icelandic backgrounds. Two ways of doing so have been observed in the data set. On the one hand, users address Icelandic and non-Icelandic contacts simultaneously by sharing the same contribution both in Icelandic and another language. On the other hand, informants may alternate between Icelandic and non-Icelandic audiences by sharing some posts in Icelandic but other posts in another language.

In short, the qualitative analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that audience plays a key role regarding users' digital practices and linguistic choices. Participants make conscious communicative choices to direct relevant content at respective target audiences.

Users thereby employ a wide range of linguistic, pictorial, and media resources that fulfill different pragmatic functions according to the context. In order to meet the audience's expectations, however, the ways in which users employ these resources must correspond with the network's agreed-upon practices to result in meaningful content.

9. Concluding summary

This dissertation has looked at aspects relating to new media discourse in Iceland. A special focus was set on the formal characteristics of Icelandic digital practices on Facebook and their communicative functions for users against the backdrop of dominant language attitudes and ideals. First, the theoretical portion of this dissertation outlined the language situation in Iceland, including reflections on and concerns about formal stringency as well as the status and future of Icelandic in the digital world. Furthermore, relevant research approaches for the study of CMC were described and the main theoretical points of departure for the empirical portion of the dissertation discussed. These include new literacy studies, on the one hand, and J. Normann Jørgensen's notion of polylanguaging on the other.

Subsequently, the empirical portion of this thesis consisted of three different studies. It started out by examining language attitudes toward digital writing practices. Furthermore, an online data analysis studied the actual digital practices of 28 Icelandic Facebook users in two ways: Firstly, a quantitative analysis was conducted that focused on identifying and counting the linguistic and non-linguistic resources and features applied by the informants on their Facebook timelines. Secondly, a qualitative analysis based on online ethnographic fieldwork and participant interviews was presented looking into the individual practices of selected informants to give answers about how and why users employ the previously identified resources and features.

This concluding chapter serves to summarize the results of these different analyses in order to relate them to each other and to draw conclusions about form, function, and the status of Icelandic in informal new media discourse. To do so, the chapter will answer the research questions that were formulated for the quantitative (section 9.1) and qualitative data analysis (section 9.2) as well as regarding speakers' attitudes toward digital practices (section 9.3). Subsequently, conclusions will be drawn, and the status of Icelandic in Facebook communication assessed (section 9.4).

9.1 Icelandic digital practices

The quantitative analysis aimed to answer research questions about the formal characteristics of the data material, especially regarding types of linguistic and non-linguistic resources and their frequencies. It drew on traditional corpus-based methods to identify and count linguistic resources and their associated features in the data set. Three research questions were addressed in the quantitative analysis:

1. What are the formal characteristics of digitally written Icelandic?
2. What linguistic resources do users draw upon?
3. To what extent and in what ways are features from these resources mixed and combined?

The quantitative analysis has shown that the informants of this study draw on a range of resources, including different linguistic codes as well as independent features and other media content. Icelandic is the most prominent linguistic code in the data set followed by independent and English features. Although English features can be detected in the data set, they do occur to a much lesser extent than Icelandic features. Nonetheless, the use of English found in the data does suggest a certain importance of English as a resource for native Icelandic speakers in digital environments. As the qualitative analysis shows, it is not only used for communication with non-Icelandic speaking audiences, but also in informal and personal interactions among Icelandic peers as an admixture of forms in lexical borrowings, idioms, and phrases. These findings correspond with earlier research that detected lexical borrowings more often in less formal and more colloquial contexts (Árnason, 2003b; Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021; Graedler & Kvaran, 2010; Svavarsdóttir, 2004b). It also supports Leonard's (2020) observation that translanguaging is becoming the discursive norm among young Icelanders (p. 285). Leonard's conclusions are further upheld by the statistical analysis, which revealed that the informants of this study mix features associated with different resources in about half of their posts. All resources detected in the corpus, that is, languages and independent features such as emojis, occur more often in combination with other resources than on their own. The combination of features associated with different resources is thus a common linguistic strategy among the informants. These findings support the notion of polylanguaging, since it shows that users employ whatever features (or resources) are at their disposal to fulfill their communicative needs.

As the mixing and matching of different resources does not only apply to linguistic codes, but also involves features that cannot be ascribed to languages, communicating in digital spaces broadens users' repertoires in that they have access to resources they cannot employ in offline contexts (see also Androutsopoulos, 2015; Jørgensen et al., 2011). In the data set, about half of all posts contain features that cannot be ascribed to any given language. These features were subsumed under the term independent features and include, for example, emojis, verbalized laughter, and expressive punctuation. However, due to technological limitations of the Voyant Tools application used for the feature analysis, the quantitative analysis could only detect certain independent features, namely, those that are based on alphabetical writing. Nonetheless, different orthographic representations of verbalized laughter of the form *haha* have been found to be the second most frequent content word in the data set. Furthermore, since about half of all posts contain independent features of some sort, it can be said that independent features are a common phenomenon in the corpus. As earlier

CMC research has found non-verbal features such as emoticons to be more prominent in informal communication settings (e.g. Derks et al., 2007), the frequent occurrence of independent features in the data set may be attributed to the informal character of the Facebook timeline as a communication platform.

Some variation could be detected concerning linguistic differences between initiative and responsive posts. While Icelandic is the most used linguistic code in both initiative and responsive posts, it is in fact more often employed in responsive contributions. Responsive posts also contain more independent features and a mix of multiple resources. A possible explanation could be that responsive posts are often directed at individual contacts, leading to more personalized communication, whereas initiative posts generally address a larger target audience. In fact, we may argue that initiative and responsive posts constitute two different text genres, with initiative posts being characterized as informal yet more impersonal whereas responsive posts are informal and more personal (see also Androutsopoulos, 2015; Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021). The more personalized character of responsive posts is mirrored, for instance, in the increased use of features associated with informal personal communication such as emojis and verbalized laughter. In addition, the increased mix of features associated with different resources correlates with this increased use of independent features. As shown in the quantitative analysis, independent features appear almost always in combination with other features, that is, with Icelandic or English features, for example. Only in about 7% of cases are independent features used as the sole communicative resource.

Furthermore, Icelandic occurs more often in responsive posts, since it often constitutes the common denominator language between the interlocutors. All participants in the study have a considerable number of Icelandic contacts in their Facebook networks, even though some also show a considerable number of international contacts. Since Icelandic contacts very likely comprise family members and friends these contacts might also be more likely to interact with the informants on their Facebook timelines. In initiative posts, on the other hand, participants may draw on other linguistic codes such as English in order to make contributions accessible to a broader audience that includes both Icelandic and non-Icelandic contacts.

As for initiative posts, we find that although Icelandic may be used less often than in responsive posts, it is used more often as the sole linguistic resource than other linguistic codes. Therefore, it can be said that language use in initiative posts corresponds more often with the linguistic ideal of “purity” that is especially persistent in Iceland (Kristinsson, 2017, 2019b).

9.2 Communicative intentions

The qualitative study was based on online ethnographic fieldwork and participant interviews. It addressed questions regarding users’ motivations for and intentions behind drawing on certain resources and features. The research questions asked in the qualitative analysis were as follows:

1. What communicative functions do status updates on Facebook serve, and how do users' linguistic choices relate to these functions?
2. How do the stylistic and formal characteristics of Icelandic digital writing practices compare to formal or informal styles of expression?
3. How do linguistic choices relate to users' identity performances and audience design?
4. What is the sociolinguistic role and function of Icelandic in individuals' everyday Facebook practices?

The qualitative analysis considered four main themes that were repeatedly discussed on the users' timelines and that referred to international, national, and personal events in the offline world. A content analysis conducted at the beginning of the qualitative data analysis identified 12 communicative functions of Facebook status updates in the data set. These functions are reports on current activities, reports on everyday life activities, statements of opinion and judgement, reports about current mood, travel notifications, instigations of discussions, quotations, expressions of silence and interjections, expressions of humor, messages contextualizing multimodal content, wishes and greetings, as well as calls and invitations to take part in an activity or event.

The qualitative analysis revealed, however, that users' linguistic choices do not so much relate to the communicative functions of the posts. Instead, it was found that the users' digital practices, including linguistic choices, are determined by contextual factors including the target audience addressed as well as users' identity work, that is, how users want to present themselves and with what (social) group they want to affiliate themselves.

Identity work influences users' digital practices in that the informants draw on different linguistic strategies to emphasize different aspects of their identity (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). For example, the informants emphasize their local Icelandic identity and affiliate themselves with fellow Icelanders or the Icelandic speech community by drawing on Icelandic features. By employing multilingual practices, in turn, users can bring their multicultural competence to the forefront. The users Hekla and Móa, for example, repeatedly draw on both Icelandic and English features in their contributions, thereby projecting glocal identities. While Icelandic in these cases serves to address fellow Icelanders and to assert local affiliation, English borrowings, idioms, and phrases aid users in performing a cosmopolitan personality. Therefore, the qualitative analysis could verify what earlier studies have suggested in that linguistic choices are a critical component of users' identity work and multilingual practices constitute one of several strategies to execute this identity work (Pérez-Sabater & Maguelouk Moffo, 2019).

Furthermore, identity work is always connected to the audience in front of which users perform this identity. This means that users' linguistic choices are determined not simply by who they are, but also by who they want to be to others (Lee, 2017; Lee & Barton, 2011). Thus, considering audience expectations is crucial for successful identity work in SNS. As shown in

the analysis, unexpected linguistic choices are scrutinized and may be challenged by the audience. The metalinguistic negotiations observed in the comment section of Sonja's post after returning to Iceland, for instance, exemplified the frictions caused by the different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds that constitute collapsed contexts as found in SNS networks. As Androutsopoulos (2014a) concludes, users in SNS "are confronted with multiple expectations of usage by various parts of their audience, which cannot be accommodated to simultaneously" (p. 71).

In line with this, different strategies were examined in the data that can be attributed to the users' audience design. First of all, choice and presentation of content seem to play an important role when it comes to audience design and audience expectations. Users must present content that their audience accepts as suitable and meaningful in a theme. In the everyday photo challenge, for instance, participants must follow certain agreed-upon ways of presenting their contribution in order to make their posts valid in the challenge. Firstly, they must share images of scenes that their audience deems to represent the everyday. Secondly, since the challenge is executed among Icelandic Facebook users, drawing on Icelandic features to relate images to the theme is a relevant precondition for taking part in the challenge. Finally, participants ascribe a contribution to the everyday photo challenge through the use of certain keywords, such as *hversdagsmynd* ("everyday photo"), by numbering the photos within the challenge, or by forwarding the challenge to other users.

Additionally, the informants maximize or delimit their target audiences through different linguistic means. Depending on their personal linguistic and social backgrounds, the participants employ a certain base language as the common denominator language between themselves and their target audience, or they draw on multiple languages to address multiple audience groups with the same post. For instance, whenever users intend to address Icelandic contacts only, Icelandic is used, since it constitutes the common language between the interlocutors. In other contexts, users resort to English as a common denominator language to address multinational audiences. Some users have also been found to draw on yet other linguistic codes to address certain subgroups of their network, as for example German to direct certain posts in certain contexts at German-speaking contacts.

By linguistically distinguishing between audiences, the informants prove awareness of different contexts and the different sub-audiences of their network in that they direct contributions to those contacts for whom they deem certain content relevant. For example, the informants direct topics of Icelandic national interest only at Icelandic-speaking contacts. Topics of multinational interest, however, may be directed at audiences that exceed the Icelandic speech community.

Moreover, some users mix Icelandic with other linguistic features, as for instance English borrowings (*enskuslettur*), in order to align with the communicative practices of their Icelandic peers. The user Hilda, for example, was found to draw extensively on English features in a

personal interaction with an Icelandic friend. These results correspond with Androutsopoulos's (2015) findings that multilingual behavior is individualized, shaped by genre, and based on a large, layered repertoire. Accordingly, linguistic choices are unpredictable and emphasize the user's individual "moment-to-moment orientations toward the diversity of their social connections as much as the variety of available stimuli in the global digital network" (p. 202).

Additionally, users employ strategies that go beyond language choices to maximize or delimit their target audience. For instance, the informants of this study were repeatedly found to delimit their target audiences by means of necessary referential work by the audience. Some posts are only comprehensible with certain background knowledge about the respective theme discussed in a timeline event, while other posts can only be understood in the context of preceding contributions.

Furthermore, users employ humor or features creating an informal or colloquial style to address an audience consisting of closer and better-known network members, such as family members and close friends. Examples of informal features are English borrowings (*enskuslettur*) as well as interjections, verbalized laughter, and expressive punctuation. Moreover, the neglect of standard writing norms, including the neglect of capital letters and punctuation as well as the use of emojis as punctuation markers, was a common strategy in the corpus to generate informality and to suggest closer relationships.

A more formal and norm-oriented writing style, on the other hand, was described as a strategy to maximize users' audiences. Refraining from linguistic means altogether was also described as broadening the audience. The user Sunneva, for example, relies on independent features and other media content alone to state her opinion about the government's decision to cease EU negotiations. In doing so, she takes stance in a rather opaque way, thereby trying to appeal to as many network members as possible.

The results of the qualitative analysis point to different sociolinguistic functions of Icelandic in everyday digital practices. As indicated by the quantitative overview, Icelandic is the most important linguistic resource for the users of this study. In most posts it serves as the base language, providing the morpho-syntactic structure for the respective contribution. For many participants, Icelandic is the common denominator language between themselves and the majority of their Facebook network. The users thus draw on Icelandic not only because it is the language in which all participants are most competent, but also to maintain authenticity in front of their local peers and to relate to them by creating and fostering a shared group identity. Furthermore, Icelandic serves to emphasize Icelandic identity in front of multinational contacts. The different forms and styles users thereby employ serve in themselves specific pragmatic and communicative functions of which the users are well aware. The informant Tristan reports, for instance, that language use to him is dependent on context. Sometimes he wants to be witty and funny, but other times he wants to express his opinion and rant or vociferate his grievances. In line with this, Tristan states that he generally draws on Icelandic

in his posts, as it is the language he shares with most of his audience, but that he makes use of English borrowings (*enskuslettur*) whenever he finds there is no appropriate word in Icelandic to express a certain idea. Thus, multilingual features as well as features generally associated with a colloquial style are never random, but carefully integrated for stylistic or other reasons. This corresponds with Jørgensen's polylanguaging norm insofar as users make conscious linguistic choices to meet their communicative goals and, in doing so, make use of whatever resources and features best fit their needs. This, in turn, presupposes awareness of the values, norms, and associations ascribed to those features and resources.

9.3 Language attitudes and ideologies

In light of persisting ideas about a linguistically conservative and stable Icelandic speech community, this research was not only interested in users' actual digital practices, but also in speakers' evaluations of those practices. For this purpose, a study addressing subconscious language attitudes toward the informal style of digital writing was conducted and sought to answer two research questions:

1. What are speakers' (subconscious) attitudes toward informal digital writing?
2. How do these evaluations and people's actual digital practices relate to language regard, linguistic ideology, and a possibly changing linguistic climate in Iceland?

The results of the study suggest generally more negative attitudes toward informal digital writing practices. Confronted with two written requests for an apartment in the Reykjavík capital area – one complying with the formal written standard and the other containing features associated with informal digital writing – the participants in the study almost unanimously preferred the formal guise. Even the youngest research group, that is, the cohort of 18–29 years, proved to be more negative toward the informal guise; this might contradict earlier attitudes research suggesting that young Icelanders are generally more open and tolerant toward lexical borrowings and non-standard features (e.g. Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013; Svavarsdóttir, 2004b). Only the research group with an elementary school degree or apprenticeship certificate seemed indifferent about the formal differences of the two guises.

Comparing the results from the attitudes study with the results of the online data analysis, several observations must be discussed. On the one hand, it appears that perceptions about language use in digital media and the actual language use in online spaces diverge. Although digital writing practices are rated more negatively in the *Dulin viðhorf* study, the informants of the online analysis repeatedly draw on such practices. On the other hand, however, the informal/CMC guise contained proportionally more informal features than any contribution analyzed in the Facebook data set. Moreover, while features associated with an informal or colloquial language style were detected in the Facebook data, they were primarily found in more personal interactions in which users addressed selected contacts with whom they had rather close relationships. The quantitative analysis of Icelandic Facebook data also suggests

that initiative and responsive posts differ regarding language use and writing styles. Among other things, the statistical analysis detected that users mix features from different resources more often in responsive posts than in initiative posts. In fact, in initiative posts the informants seem to be more inclined to draw on a single linguistic resource. In other words, linguistic codes, such as Icelandic, are more likely to be used "purely" in initiative posts. As a result, a distinction between initiative posts as an informal but more impersonal text genre and responsive posts as an informal and more personal genre was suggested.

This is further ascertained by findings of the qualitative analysis. For example, in initiative posts users employ multiple resources, including translations of the same content in order to appeal to different speech communities within the same contribution. In responsive posts, on the other hand, users are found to mix linguistic codes for stylistic purposes or to mirror and align with the linguistic practices of their respective interlocutor. For example, Icelandic was mixed with features including English borrowings and interjections.

The qualitative analysis also showed how users' linguistic choices relate to strategies of audience design. As discussed in the analysis, users can limit their target audience to closer and better-known network members by means of features associated with an informal and colloquial language style, such as English borrowings, orthographic deviations, etc. A more norm-oriented language style, in turn, may serve to address a broader, more heterogeneous audience that comprises both closer and lesser-known contacts.

A housing request as presented in the *Dulin viðhorf* study would in fact constitute an initiative contribution addressing a broader audience, for example, in a Facebook group in which users may know very few members personally. Therefore, users would probably resort to a more impersonal and norm-oriented writing style to maximize their audience in instances like this.

Finally, the qualitative analysis showed that context largely affects users' linguistic choices. Therefore, the question arises whether the highly competitive housing market of Reykjavík constitutes the best context for analyzing language attitudes toward informal writing and if the results would have been different for another more informal context. The results of the youngest age group, for instance, may not so much reveal negative attitudes toward informal digital writing practices in general but rather indicate context-awareness among the informants.

In sum, the informal guise presented in the *Dulin viðhorf* study focused primarily on showing features associated with informal digital writing. It failed, however, to take the users' awareness of context, genre, and target audience into account which are important driving forces for people‘s personal digital practices and their judgements of such practices. Still, even with these limitations in mind, the study provides valuable insight into speakers' evaluations of digital practices. In line with previous research, the study suggests that the linguistic ideal in Iceland is still strong (e.g. Kristinsson, 2017, p. 80). Nonetheless, while language regard in

general seems to be stable, sociolinguistic research must account for speakers' context and audience awareness. Accordingly, researchers have repeatedly pointed to speakers' linguistic differentiations between formal and informal contexts (e.g. Kristinsson, 2021a; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2013; Óladóttir, 2009). As a social practice, using language is not the same for all circumstances, and speakers seem to be aware of the (unwritten) norms and agreed-upon ways that come with different communication settings.

This corresponds with what informants of the online data analysis report about their perception of language use in digital spaces. Hrefna, for example, thinks it is important to use what she defines as "correct language" on Facebook, especially because many children and teenagers use Facebook and might pick up mistakes. In general, she perceives language use on Facebook as rather poor, since many young users would draw on English borrowings or write in English altogether. The informant Sonja also reports that she finds "good language" (*vandað mál*) important in digital spaces, while she simultaneously acknowledges that she often uses colloquial language herself. In Sonja's opinion, however, colloquial language does not necessarily interfere with good language, as the latter involves correct grammar and orthography rather than refraining from lexical borrowings and other colloquial features. Thus, to Sonja, as well as to other users, careful language seems important – at least in terms of correct spelling and grammar – but lexical borrowings are acceptable in certain contexts. This can also be seen to be true for the informant Hilda, who claims to use good language (*vandað mál*) on Facebook but still draws repeatedly on English borrowings when communicating with her peers.

Thus, while it is perhaps too soon to assume a changing linguistic climate in Iceland, we do observe changes in the visibility of informal contexts. Although informal features may have been found in informal written discourse before, for example in personal letters, the visibility and accessibility of informal writing through SNS is unprecedented. As Kristinsson (2017) rightfully points out, for the first time in Icelandic history we find features formerly associated with informal spoken language in written texts as Facebook and other SNS document personal and informal practices that have not been publicly accessible before, at least not to this extent (p. 188).

9.4 Conclusion

In sum, the research project could not detect a seriously endangered status of Icelandic in Facebook communication compared to English or any other linguistic code. On the contrary, in the Facebook data analyzed, Icelandic turned out to be the key medium for communication with fellow Icelanders while also functioning as a vital identity marker and an important means to signal group affiliation and social alignment. Further, it was the most important linguistic resource for addressing local target audiences. Hence, even though the data set analyzed in the study was rather small and larger samples from younger participants might paint a different

picture, the study indicates that Icelandic still holds its ground on Facebook and presumably in other SNS. Thus, for communication in SNS we may assume that the status and value of Icelandic are still strong. However, while the function seems stable, we might observe forms that have not been documented in Icelandic writing before.

It has been pointed out that digital practices are shaped by tensions between publicness vs. intimacy on the one hand (Androutsopoulos, 2014a), and norm-orientation vs. creative language play on the other (Deumert, 2014). The study confirms this in that language attitudes and perceptions about digital writing are norm-oriented and guided by the Icelandic written standard. Thus, the Icelandic language ideal still seems to persist when it comes to written texts. Users' actual practices, however, appear to contradict this ideal sometimes, and the standard norm can be purposefully disobeyed when it serves the users' communicative goal. For example, although the use of English borrowings in Icelandic contexts contradicts the linguistic ideal of "pure" Icelandic, users may draw on features of this kind, among other things, for reasons of identity performance and group affiliation. Thus, while digital practices are subject to constant developments of shared norms and agreed-upon ways of how to do things online (Lee & Barton, 2011, p. 182 f.), these norms and agreed-upon practices may at times diverge from the standard norms pertaining to offline language use. Accordingly, some interviews with the informants suggest that informal language use does not necessarily contradict "good language" (*vandað mál*). Good language use, it seems, refers not so much to Icelandic purity but more to grammatical and orthographic correctness, although rules of capitalization and punctuation may at times be neglected too.

Scholars have argued that "people often write like they speak" on Facebook (Kristinsson, 2017, p. 188). However, while this research project can confirm that features associated with informal spoken language are a common phenomenon in Icelandic digital writing practices, we must acknowledge that users' digital writing is not just guided by their offline practices. In fact, digital practices in SNS differ in many ways from what we see and hear offline. They are influenced, among other things, by the multilayered and multimodal possibilities afforded by the respective SNS. On Facebook, for instance, users may express themselves not only by means of written text, but also through the use of independent features, such as emojis or verbalized laughter, as well as by embedding other media content. Beyond that, users can interact and present themselves in different communication spaces, such as in status updates, through comments, or in private messages. The linguistic practices participants employ in one space may thereby be different from the practices they use in another space.

Furthermore, the users' digital practices are influenced by the collapsed contexts that define user networks, including the challenges those collapsed contexts introduce (see also Friðriksson & Angantýsson, 2021). Users meet these challenges in that they apply different practices and resources for different contexts and audience groups. For example, while some contexts and target audiences call for more norm-oriented practices, the users must draw on

more informal practices to maintain authenticity in other contexts and in front of other audience groups.

In sum, digital practices are always intentional and users plan their contributions according to context, audience expectations, and reasons of self-presentation. The linguistic choices users make are thereby never random but relate to their personal language ideologies and always fulfill specific pragmatic functions. As Jaworska (2014) notices, users show a high level of metalinguistic awareness in the ways they playfully employ different resources "in that they seem to see language as a system of forms, patterns and structures that are malleable and can be manipulated. In short, they have an awareness of language as an object (p. 60)."

Nonetheless, as these conclusions are drawn almost a decade after the start of this research project, it should be emphasized, that the dissertation can only give an insight into Icelandic Facebook practices and people's language attitudes at a certain point in time in the past. With regard to the study presented in this thesis, Icelandic seems to stand its ground in SNS, at least for now. However, since the data collection of this study, the technological affordances of Facebook have changed and advanced in multiple ways and they continue to do so. Also, new social media sites keep entering the scene or become increasingly popular and with them appear new affordances and opportunities for people to communicate and present themselves. While the Icelandic linguistic practices we find in social media today may be similar to the practices discussed in this thesis, we must acknowledge that digital practices continuously change and advance alongside the social media sites in which they are used. Therefore, this dissertation does not intend to downplay the challenges that the digital age poses for the Icelandic language as a whole. Instead, the study tried to demonstrate the opportunities and possibilities CMC offers both for Icelandic users and for linguists. For users, it provides new creative ways for expressing themselves and for interacting both with large multinational audiences as well as with tightly knit local audience groups in an appropriate manner, respectively. For us researchers, in turn, CMC constitutes a fruitful source through which to explore these creative ways of communication in new different text genres and the constantly changing and evolving media practices they entail.

10. Bibliography

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Útdráttur

Verkefnið kannar málnotkun Íslendinga á netinu. Nánar tiltekið er fjallað um málnotkun í óformlegum samskiptum á Facebook með tilliti til tilhvata fólks í vali á tungumáli og málsniði, en einnig er hugað að viðhorfum málnotenda til óformlegrar málnotkunar á netinu.

Ekki er vafi á því að netsamskipti, þar sem ægir saman margvíslegum boðskiptamöguleikum, kunna að hafa mikil áhrif á málnotkun, form og stöðu íslenskrar tungu í framtíðinni. Ekki er einungis gripið til annarra tungumála heldur einnig ýmiss konar myndrænnar tækni sem tengist málnotkuninni og hefur áhrif á hana. Markmið verkefnisins er því að skoða hvaða leiðir málhafar nota til tjáningar á Facebook og af hverju. Í brennidepli rannsóknarinnar er form, hlutverk og félagsmálfræðilegt gildi íslensku í óformlegum netsamskiptum. Gerð er rannsókn á fjöltungumálnotkun (multilingualism) og ofurfjölbreytni (superdiversity) í netumhverfi sem og rannsókn á ómeðvituðum viðhorfum til breytileika í íslensku máli.

Ómeðvituð viðhorf eru oft talin hafa áhrif á málnotkun og málþróun. Að sama skapi geta ómeðvituð viðhorf um „gott“/„vont“ og „rétt“/„rangt“ mál haft áhrif á málstaðla og önnur málafbrigði (varieties). Nú eru þær aðstæður í samfélaginu að ætla má að rótgrónum viðhorfum og stöðlum sé ögrað. Málnotkun á netinu hefur t.d. ýmis einkenni sem ganga þvert á viðteknar hugmyndir um einkenni ritaðs máls og staðla. Í ljósi þessa var gerð könnun á viðhorfum málhafa til óformlegrar málnotkunar á netinu (sbr. kafla 4). Hún var hluti af stærra rannsóknarverkefni, sem bar heitið *Dulin viðhorf – mat á málnotkun* og var unnið í samvinnu við Margréti Guðmundsdóttur og Stefanie Bade og var verkefnið styrkt af Rannsóknasjóði Háskóla Íslands. Markmið verkefnisins var að draga fram ómeðvituð viðhorf Íslendinga til ólíkra tilbrigða í máli, þar með talið gamalgróinna framburðaafbrigða (t.d. harðmælis og linmælis), erlends hreims og óformlegrar málnotkunar á netinu.

Viðhorfskönnuninni á málnotkun á netinu var sérstaklega beint að óformlegri ritmálsnotkun á Facebook og var beitt aðlagaðri útgáfu „grímuprófsins” sem svo er kallað (*matched-guise test*). Grímupróf felur venjulega í sér hljóðupptökur af minnst tveimur textum sem þátttakendur meta án þess að vita að textarnir sem fluttir eru séu lesnir af sama málhafanum. Grímuprófið sem beitt var í þessari rannsókn er hinsvegar byggt á tveimur rituðum textum og eru þátttakendur hvattir til að meta persónueinkenni ritarans með vali á lýsingarorðum á Likert-kvarða. Textarnir eru fyrirspurn, þar sem leitað er eftir húsnæði, annar texti hefur óformlegt yfirbragð líkt og finna má í óformlegum samskiptum, sem má finna á netinu, t.d. á Facebook, meðan hinn texti samsvarar dæmigerðu formlegu ritmáli hvað stíl varðar.

Niðurstöður þessarar viðhorfsrannsóknar benda til þess að málhafar hafi neikvæðari viðhorf til óformlegra málvenja á netinu miðað við dæmigert ritmál; og óformleg málnotkun á netinu virðist ekki vera viðurkennd við aðstæður þar sem viðmælendur þekkjast ekki persónulega.

Meginrannsóknin á raunverulegri málnoktun Íslendinga á netinu beitir aftur á móti hugmyndum og kenningum sem þróaðar hafa verið í rannsóknum á nýjum lestrar- og skriftarvenjum (new literacies) og í rannsóknum á notkun fleiri en eins tungumáls í ofurfjölbreytilegum félagshópum. Einkum hafa hugmyndir Normans J. Jørgensens um svokallað *polylanguaging* mótað þennan hluta doktorsverkefnisins. Polylanguaging (sem má kannski kalla fjöltungumálnotkun á íslensku) gengur út frá því að málnotkun sé félagshegðun og að málhafar noti allskonar míllega valkosti til að ná samskiptamarkmiðum sínum.

Rannsóknin byggir á málheild sem samanstendur af 8476 Facebook-færslum 28 Íslendinga, sem birtust milli janúar og október 2014. Beitt var megindlegri (sbr. Kafla 5) og eigindlegri rannsókn (sbr. kafla 7 og 8). Megindlega rannsóknin svarar spurningum um einkenni óformlegra samskipta á Facebook og rætur þessara einkenna. Kannað var meðal annars hvaða míllegir valkostir (þ.e. tungumál og önnur tjáningartæki) eru notaðir í textunum og að hve miklu leyti þessum valkostum er blandað saman.

Í eigindlegu rannsókninni var aftur á móti beitt aðferð sem þróuð hefur verið af Jannis Androutsopoulos og nefnist *discourse centered online ethnography* (DCOE), þar sem beitt er þjóðfræðilegum aðferðum. DCOE-aðferðin hefur verið notuð við hliðstæðar rannsóknir á erlendum málum og er efnið þannig greint með tilliti til vals notenda á tungumálum, orðum, stafsetningu, táknmyndum o.s.frv. Aðferðin felur í sér málfræðilega greiningu stafrænna gagna með tilliti til þjóðfræðilegra bakgrunnsupplýsinga um notendurna. Úrvinnslan skiptist í fjögur vinnslustig og vísar til svokallaðra veggviðburða (*Timline events*) á Facebook, sem auðvelt er að auðkenna þar sem þeir eru aðskildir hver frá öðrum á tímalínum notenda. Veggviðburðir innihalda að minnsta kosti eitt upphafsinnlegg (stöðuuppfærslu) sem getur kallað á svör í formi þumalmerkja (*likes*) og ummæla.

Á fyrsta vinnslustigi voru viðfangsefni skilgreind. Val á viðfangsefni byggir á hversu oft ákveðin umræðuefni birtast á tímalínum notenda, hvort og hvernig upphafsinnlegg kallar fram svör og hvaða umræðuefni þátttakendum sjálfum finnast mikilvæg.

Á öðru vinnslustigi voru þeir veggviðburðirnir sem valdir höfðu verið greindir varðandi málnotkun og samskiptahætti sem birtast í þeim. Safnað var upplýsingum varðandi val á tungumálum og orðum en einnig varðandi stafsetningu og notkun táknmynda. Þannig voru máleinkenni merkt og flokkuð eftir því hvaða tungumáli, málafbrigði eða málsniði þau eru tengd.

Til að kanna félagsmálfræðilegt gildi íslenskunnar tók greiningin einnig tillit til tilhvata fólks til að nota ákveðnar leiðir til tjáningar. Þess vegna voru á þriðja vinnslustigi kannaðar samskiptavenjur tengdar inntaki, viðmælendum, tímabili (tímalengd og tímasetningu) umræðunnar, bakgrunnsupplýsingum notendanna, sem og viðhorfum þeirra til eigin málnotkunar. Þessum upplýsingum var meðal annars safnað í einkaviðtölum við notendur þar sem Facebook-venjur þeirra voru ræddar.

Niðurstöður þessarar rannsóknar gefa til kynna að málnotkun og blöndun ýmissa tjáningarleiða á Facebook (svo sem ólíkra tungumála, mynda, vefhlekkja, táknmynda o.s.frv.)

eru háðar samskiptamarkmiðum málhafa og tengjast spurningum eins og: „Til hverra er skilaboðunum beint?“, „Hvaða hópi fólks vil ég tengjast?“, eða „Hvernig vil ég koma fyrir gagnvart öðrum á netinu?“. Meðal annars er efling sjálfsmyndar notenda mikilvægur áhrifavaldur þegar kemur að málnotkun og vali á tjáningarmáta. Notendur sýna mismunandi þætti sjálfsmyndar sinnar, bæði hvað varðar persónulega sjálfsmynd og tengsl við aðra, með því að blanda saman ólíkum tjáningarleiðum. Enn fremur gegna markhópur samskiptanna og umræðuefni lykilhlutverki við val notenda á tungumáli og máleinkennum. Í því samhengi gegnir íslenska aðalhlutverki til eflingar íslenskri sjálfsmynd sem og í samskiptum við íslenska viðmælendur. Málhafar sem tóku þátt í rannsókninni notuðu íslensku til að gefa í skýn og e.t.v. efla íslenska sjálfsmynd sína og tengjast íslensku samfélagi. Auk þess var íslenska notuð til að ávarpa íslenskan markhóp um efni sem var einungis mikilvægt fyrir Íslendinga. Hins vegar notuðu sumir málhafar önnur tungumál í umræðum sem voru að því er virðist mikilvægar fyrir markhóp utan Íslands. Máleinkenni eins og slettur og táknmyndir voru aftur á móti notuð til að stuðla að óformlegum og frjálslegum stíl og beindust að samskiptum við nána (oftast íslenska) Facebook-vini og jafnaldra.

Þar sem litlar sem engar rannsóknir hafa farið fram hér á landi, þar sem málnotkun á netinu er skoðuð kerfisbundið eða með tilliti til félagslegs hlutverks íslenskunnar, myndar þetta verkefni mikilvægt framlag til alþjóðlegra og innlendra rannsókna á þessu sviði. Það bætir við þekkingu okkar á málnotkun á netinu og veitir upplýsingar um gildi, form og stöðu íslenskunnar í skriflegum samskiptum á stafrænni öld. Rannsóknin er sérstaklega tímabær í ljósi þess að breytingar virðast eiga sér stað um þessar mundir í málumhverfi og málvenjum meðal (ungra) Íslendinga, ekki síst í stafrænum miðlum, en það hefur vakið áhyggjur um veika stöðu íslenskunnar í stafrænu umhverfi.

Appendices

Appendix I – Questionnaire used in the *Dulin viðhorf* project

Mat á Leigutaka I

Lestu textann og svaraðu eftirfarandi spurningum

Hæhæ
32ára kk óskar eftir stúdíó á höfuðborgarsvæðinu, helst í hfj eða kóp en skoða allt ☺ er með fasta vinnu, reglusamur, reyklaus og heiðarlegur ☺ 'Oska eftir sanngjarnri leigu hjá góðu fólki. Hef góð meðmæli og endilega athugið að það er ekkert partývesen á mér, ekkert! ☺ íbúðin þarf að vera með sér klósett aðstöðu,ingangi og eldhúsi, greiðslugeta er ca 70-90 þúsund jafnvel 100þús , fyrirfram þökk! :D
Megið endilega hafa samband í ímeil (xxx@gmail.com) eða í síma 1234567

1. Hvað finnst þér um þessa manneskju? Manneskjan er

a.	**sjálfstæð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
b.	**dugleg**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
c.	**áhugaverð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
d.	**gáfuð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
e.	**metnaðargjörn**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
f.	**aðlaðandi**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
g.	**traustvekjandi**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
h.	**afslöppuð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar

2. Mundir þú leiga þessa manneskju íbúð?

alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 mjög gjarnan

Mat á Leigutaka II

Lestu textann og svaraðu eftirfarandi spurningum

Sæl.
Ég er 32 ára karlmaður í leit að stúdíóíbúð á höfuðborgarsvæðinu. Helst í Hafnarfirði eða Kópavogi, en ég skoða allt. Ég er með fasta vinnu og er reglusamur, reyklaus og heiðarlegur. Ég óska eftir sanngjarnri leigu hjá góðu fólki. Ég hef góð meðmæli og það er ekkert partístand á mér. Íbúðin þarf að vera með sér klósettaðstöðu, inngangi og eldhúsi. Greiðslugeta er um 70-90 þúsund krónur, jafnvel 100 þúsund.
Endilega hafið samband í tölvupósti (xxx@gmail.com) eða í síma 1234567.

1. Hvað finnst þér um þessa manneskju? Manneskjan er

a.	**sjálfstæð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
b.	**dugleg**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
c.	**áhugaverð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
d.	**gáfuð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
e.	**metnaðargjörn**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
f.	**aðlaðandi**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
g.	**traustvekjandi**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar
h.	**afslöppuð**	alls ekki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 afar

2. Mundir þú leiga þessa manneskju íbúð?

alls ekki 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 mjög gjarnan

3. Bakgrunnsupplýsingar

   Vinsamlegast svaraðu nokkrum bakgrunnsspurningum.

1. Kyn: Karlmaður __ Kona __ annað __
2. Aldur: __
3. Hver er hæsta prófgráða sem þú hefur lokið?

grunnskólapróf __ stúdentspróf eða sambærilegt __ BA/BS-gráða __ MA/MS-gráða __ doktorspróf __ sveinspróf __

4. Hvað heldur þú að sé kannað í þessari rannsókn?

_____

_____

Appendix II – Statistical analysis of the *Dulin viðhorf* project

General Results

Personal traits and likelihood to rent out an apartment

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Personal traits relating to the formal guise are marked as *_pre* (e.g., *independent_pre*) whereas traits regarding the informal/CMC guise are marked as *_post* (e.g., *independent_post*). *Mittelwert* gives the mean difference between the formal and the informal/CMC guise for each personal trait (and the likelihood to rent out an apartment). *Std.-Abweichung* describes the standard deviation of the data from that mean. *Standardfehler des Mittelwerts* is the standard error of that mean, indicating how accurate the mean is likely to be compared to the actual population mean. The confidence interval (*Konfidenzintervall der Differenz*) gives the probability (95%) with which the estimate would fall between the lower (*unterer Wert*) and the upper value (*oberer Wert*) if the test was redone. *Signifikanz* describes the significance of the paired differences with both a one-tailed p (*einseitiges p*) and a two-tailed p (*zweisetiges p*).[62]

[62] A one-tailed p is only relevant when the difference between the two guises can only go in one direction: for example, if the formal had been rightfully predicted to be always evaluated higher than the informal/CMC guise. As this was not the precondition of this study, only the two-tailed p is relevant.

Test bei gepaarten Stichproben

		Gepaarte Differenzen							Signifikanz	
		Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung	Standardfehler des Mittelwertes	95% Konfidenzintervall der Differenz		T	df	Einseitiges p	Zweiseitiges p
					Unterer Wert	Oberer Wert				
Paaren 1	independent_pre - independent_post	,61137	1,32761	,09140	,43120	,79155	6,689	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 2	effective_pre - effective_post	,65877	1,27509	,08778	,48572	,83181	7,505	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 3	interesting_pre - interesting_post	,84762	1,60311	,11063	,62953	1,06570	7,662	209	<,001	<,001
Paaren 4	intelligent_pre - intelligent_post	1,37321	1,57029	,10862	1,15907	1,58734	12,642	208	<,001	<,001
Paaren 5	ambitious_pre - ambitious_post	1,07583	1,69423	,11664	,84590	1,30576	9,224	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 6	likeable_pre - likeable_post	,85782	1,61501	,11118	,63864	1,07700	7,715	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 7	trustworthy_pre - trustworthy_post	1,44762	1,77963	,12281	1,20552	1,68972	11,788	209	<,001	<,001
Paaren 8	relaxed_pre - relaxed_post	,03349	1,82499	,12624	-,21538	,28236	,265	208	,396	,791
Paaren 9	rent_pre - rent_post	1,46445	1,72996	,11910	1,22968	1,69923	12,296	210	<,001	<,001

Z values marked with *b* are based on positive ranks; that is, their mean differences are >0. Z values marked with *c* are based on negative ranks, meaning their mean differences are <0. *Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)* is the final p-value after the effect size approximation. Differences are statistically significant at p<0.05 (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

	independent_post - independent_pre	effective_post - effective_pre	interesting_post - interesting_pre	intelligent_post - intelligent_pre	ambitious_post - ambitious_pre	likeable_post - likeable_pre	trustworthy_post - trustworthy_pre	relaxed_post - relaxed_pre	rent_post - rent_pre
Z	-6,764[b]	-6,868[b]	-6,869[b]	-9,604[b]	-7,830[b]	-6,954[b]	-9,562[b]	-,001[c]	-9,566[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,999	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

c. Basiert auf negativen Rängen.

Statistik bei gepaarten Stichproben

		Mittelwert	N	Std.-Abweichung	Standardfehler des Mittelwertes
Paaren 1	independent_pre	5,3081	211	1,42925	,09839
	independent_post	4,6967	211	1,43525	,09881
Paaren 2	effective_pre	5,1706	211	1,32711	,09136
	effective_post	4,5118	211	1,43547	,09882
Paaren 3	interesting_pre	4,6667	210	1,36018	,09386
	interesting_post	3,8190	210	1,60907	,11104
Paaren 4	intelligent_pre	4,9043	209	1,34823	,09326
	intelligent_post	3,5311	209	1,46111	,10107
Paaren 5	ambitious_pre	4,8152	211	1,46351	,10075
	ambitious_post	3,7393	211	1,53788	,10587
Paaren 6	likeable_pre	4,5213	211	1,32135	,09097
	likeable_post	3,6635	211	1,34361	,09250
Paaren 7	trustworthy_pre	5,2810	210	1,43174	,09880
	trustworthy_post	3,8333	210	1,69881	,11723
Paaren 8	relaxed_pre	4,7943	209	1,35191	,09351
	relaxed_post	4,7608	209	1,53804	,10639
Paaren 9	rent_pre	5,4597	211	1,50619	,10369
	rent_post	3,9953	211	1,87844	,12932

Evaluation Dimensions

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether there are statistical differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise in the four evaluation dimensions. Dimensions relating to the formal guise are marked as ***_pre*** (e.g., *Competence_pre*). Dimensions regarding the informal/CMC guise are marked as ***_post*** (e.g., *Competence_post*).

Test bei gepaarten Stichproben

		Gepaarte Differenzen							Signifikanz	
		Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung	Standardfehler des Mittelwertes	95% Konfidenzintervall der Differenz		T	df	Einseitiges p	Zweiseitiges p
					Unterer Wert	Oberer Wert				
Paaren 1	Competence_pre - Competence_post	,92654	1,13203	,07793	,77291	1,08017	11,889	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 2	Sociability_pre - Sociability_post	,79621	1,27076	,08748	,62375	,96866	9,101	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 3	Dynamics_pre - Dynamics_post	,53199	1,06591	,07338	,38733	,67665	7,250	210	<,001	<,001
Paaren 4	Superiority_pre - Superiority_post	1,19076	1,40706	,09687	,99980	1,38171	12,293	210	<,001	<,001

Z values marked with *b* are based on positive ranks; that is, their mean differences are >0. Z. Differences are statistically significant at p<0.05 (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Statistik bei gepaarten Stichproben

		Mittelwert	N	Std.-Abweichung	Standardfehler des Mittelwertes
Paaren 1	Competence_pre	5,0427	211	1,15931	,07981
	Competence_post	4,1161	211	1,28063	,08816
Paaren 2	Sociability_pre	4,7986	211	1,07668	,07412
	Sociability_post	4,0024	211	1,23032	,08470
Paaren 3	Dynamics_pre	4,9668	211	1,05564	,07267
	Dynamics_post	4,4348	211	1,17801	,08110
Paaren 4	Superiority_pre	4,8744	211	1,18708	,08172
	Superiority_post	3,6836	211	1,33487	,09190

Teststatistiken[a]

	Competence_post - Competence_pre	Sociability_post - Sociability_pre	Dynamics_post - Dynamics_pre	Superiority_post - Superiority_pre
Z	-9,701[b]	-8,070[b]	-6,424[b]	-10,030[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

Gender

Personal traits and likelihood to rent out an apartment

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for the male and the female cohort to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Gender		independent_post - independent_pre	effective_post - effective_pre	interesting_post - interesting_pre	intelligent_post - intelligent_pre	ambitious_post - ambitious_pre	likeable_post - likeable_pre	trustworthy_post - trustworthy_pre	relaxed_post - relaxed_pre	rent_post - rent_pre
male	Z	-3,145[b]	-3,841[b]	-3,450[b]	-4,311[b]	-3,901[b]	-4,043[b]	-4,278[b]	-,807[c]	-4,051[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,002	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,420	<,001
female	Z	-5,751[b]	-5,532[b]	-5,685[b]	-8,094[b]	-6,620[b]	-5,520[b]	-8,337[b]	-,648[c]	-8,363[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,517	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

c. Basiert auf negativen Rängen.

A Mann–Whitney U test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the female and male cohort are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

	independent_pre	independent_post	effective_pre	effective_post	interesting_pre	interesting_post	intelligent_pre	intelligent_post
Mann-Whitney-U-Test	3592,000	3462,000	3420,000	3339,500	2822,500	3071,000	3239,000	3646,000
Wilcoxon-W	4768,000	4638,000	4596,000	4515,500	3998,500	4247,000	4415,000	4822,000
Z	-,888	-1,241	-1,365	-1,587	-3,013	-2,305	-1,862	-,734
Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,375	,215	,172	,112	,003	,021	,063	,463

a. Gruppenvariable: Gender

ambitious_pre	ambitious_post	likeable_pre	likeable_post	trustworthy_pre	trustworthy_post	relaxed_pre	relaxed_post	rent_pre	rent_post
3867,500	3871,500	3613,000	3283,500	3306,500	3368,500	3533,000	3902,500	3703,000	3545,500
17233,500	5047,500	4789,000	4459,500	4482,500	4544,500	4709,000	17268,500	4879,000	4721,500
-,123	-,111	-,843	-1,765	-1,676	-1,485	-1,053	-,026	-,580	-,997
,902	,911	,399	,078	,094	,138	,292	,979	,562	,319

Evaluation Dimensions

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for the male and the female cohort to calculate whether differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the four evaluation dimensions. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Gender		Competence_post - Competence_pre	Sociability_post - Sociability_pre	Dynamics_post - Dynamics_pre	Superiority_post - Superiority_pre
male	Z	-4,314[b]	-3,703[b]	-2,335[b]	-4,597[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	,020	<,001
female	Z	-8,455[b]	-6,685[b]	-5,341[b]	-8,651[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

A Mann–Whitney U test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the differences between the female and male cohort are statistically significant in the evaluation dimension. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

	Competence_pre	Competence_post	Sociability_pre	Sociability_post	Dynamics_pre	Dynamics_post	Superiority_pre	Superiority_post
Mann-Whitney-U-Test	3451,000	3485,000	3061,000	3205,500	3152,500	3346,000	3451,000	3470,500
Wilcoxon-W	4627,000	4661,000	4237,000	4381,500	4328,500	4522,000	4627,000	4646,500
Z	-1,244	-1,151	-2,297	-1,904	-2,049	-1,527	-1,244	-1,190
Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,213	,250	,022	,057	,040	,127	,214	,234

a. Gruppenvariable: Gender

Age

Personal traits and likelihood to rent out an apartment

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for each of the three age groups to calculate whether differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at p<0.05 (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Group		independent_post - independent_pre	effective_post - effective_pre	interesting_post - interesting_pre	intelligent_post - intelligent_pre	ambitious_post - ambitious_pre	likeable_post - likeable_pre	trustworthy_post - trustworthy_pre	relaxed_post - relaxed_pre	rent_post - rent_pre
,00	Z	-5,248[b]	-4,919[b]	-4,147[b]	-6,282[b]	-5,364[b]	-5,139[b]	-6,231[b]	-1,088[c]	-6,132[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,277	<,001
1,00	Z	-3,369[b]	-4,178[b]	-4,766[b]	-5,633[b]	-5,137[b]	-4,061[b]	-5,451[b]	-1,345[b]	-5,302[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,178	<,001
2,00	Z	-2,568[b]	-2,402[b]	-1,485[b]	-3,209[b]	-2,226[b]	-1,474[b]	-3,760[b]	-,512[b]	-3,673[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,010	,016	,138	,001	,026	,140	<,001	,609	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

c. Basiert auf negativen Rängen.

A Kruskal–Wallis test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the three age groups are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Group ,00 represents the youngest age group (18–29), *group 1,00* represents the cohort 30–49, and *group 2,00* represents the oldest age group (50+).

Teststatistiken[a,b]

	Delta_independent	Delta_effective	Delta_interesting	Delta_intelligent	Delta_ambitous	Delta_likeable	Delta_trustworthy	Delta_relaxed	Delta_rent
Kruskal-Wallis-H	2,889	,372	3,462	4,094	3,955	5,723	,548	3,508	2,081
df	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	,236	,830	,177	,129	,138	,057	,760	,173	,353

a. Kruskal-Wallis-Test

b. Gruppenvariable: Group

Ränge

	Group	N	Mittlerer Rang
Delta_independent	,00	81	84,45
	1,00	71	97,84
	2,00	30	95,53
	Gesamt	182	
Delta_effective	,00	81	89,42
	1,00	71	92,03
	2,00	30	95,87
	Gesamt	182	
Delta_interesting	,00	81	88,94
	1,00	69	85,64
	2,00	30	105,90
	Gesamt	180	
Delta_intelligent	,00	80	84,74
	1,00	70	90,12
	2,00	30	106,75
	Gesamt	180	
Delta_ambitous	,00	80	85,29
	1,00	71	89,61
	2,00	29	107,05
	Gesamt	180	
Delta_likeable	,00	81	83,99
	1,00	71	92,34
	2,00	30	109,78
	Gesamt	182	
Delta_trustworthy	,00	80	88,44
	1,00	70	90,27
	2,00	30	96,52
	Gesamt	180	
Delta_relaxed	,00	81	96,64
	1,00	66	83,14
	2,00	30	81,25
	Gesamt	177	
Delta_rent	,00	81	88,77
	1,00	71	89,40
	2,00	30	103,83
	Gesamt	182	

Evaluation Dimensions

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for each of the three age groups to calculate whether evaluation differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the four evaluation dimensions. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Group		Competence_post - Competence_pre	Sociability_post - Socialbility_pre	Dynamics_post - Dynamics_pre	Superiority_post - Superiority_pre
,00	Z	-6,469[b]	-5,029[b]	-4,307[b]	-6,414[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001
1,00	Z	-5,530[b]	-5,055[b]	-3,949[b]	-5,917[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001
2,00	Z	-3,536[b]	-2,699[b]	-2,204[b]	-3,482[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	,007	,028	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

A Kruskal–Wallis test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the four educational groups are statistically significant in the four evaluation dimensions. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a,b]

	Competence_pre	Competence_post	Socialbility_pre	Sociability_post	Dynamics_pre	Dynamics_post	Superiority_pre	Superiority_post
Kruskal-Wallis-H	2,949	,566	,996	,758	1,374	,047	2,096	1,840
df	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	,229	,754	,608	,685	,503	,977	,351	,399

a. Kruskal-Wallis-Test

b. Gruppenvariable: Group

Education

Personal traits and likelihood to rent out an apartment

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for each of the four educational groups to calculate whether evaluation differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at p<0.05 (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Education		independent_post - independent_pre	effective_post - effective_pre	interesting_post - interesting_pre	intelligent_post - intelligent_pre	ambitous_post - ambitous_pre	likeable_post - likeable_pre	trustworthy_post - trustworthy_pre	relaxed_post - relaxed_pre	rent_post - rent_pre
ES/AC	Z	-1,597[b]	-2,471[b]	-1,699[b]	-1,272[c]	-,788[c]	-1,720[b]	-1,174[c]	-3,015[c]	-3,030[c]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,110	,013	,089	,203	,431	,085	,241	,003	,002
High school	Z	-3,685[b]	-3,385[b]	-4,387[b]	-5,557[b]	-4,374[b]	-3,685[b]	-5,909[b]	-,217[c]	-6,061[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,828	<,001
BA/BS	Z	-4,438[b]	-4,746[b]	-4,488[b]	-5,668[b]	-5,153[b]	-5,059[b]	-5,282[b]	-1,153[b]	-5,493[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001	,249	<,001
MA/MS	Z	-2,189[b]	-2,248[b]	-2,823[b]	-3,998[b]	-2,885[b]	-2,804[b]	-4,196[b]	-,318[c]	-4,427[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,029	,025	,005	<,001	,004	,005	<,001	,750	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

c. Basiert auf negativen Rängen.

A Kruskal–Wallis test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the four educational groups are statistically significant in the eight personal traits and the likelihood to rent out an apartment. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a,b]

	Delta_ind	Delta_eff	Delta_interes	Delta_intell	Delta_amb	Delta_likeab	Delta_trust	Delta_relax	Delta_rent
Kruskal-Wallis-H	9,124	4,750	9,313	33,082	23,683	6,732	36,062	7,923	53,866
df	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	,028	,191	,025	<,001	<,001	,081	<,001	,048	<,001

a. Kruskal-Wallis-Test

b. Gruppenvariable: Education

Teststatistiken[a,b]

	Personal_traits
Kruskal-Wallis-H	32,517
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	<,001

a. Kruskal-Wallis-Test

b. Gruppenvariable: Education

Ränge

	Education	N	Mittlerer Rang
Personal_traits	ES/AC	39	153,78
	High school	81	101,98
	BA/BS	59	83,87
	MA/MS	32	98,75
	Gesamt	211	

Ränge

	Education	N	Mittlerer Rang
Delta_ind	ES/AC	39	126,17
	High school	81	104,64
	BA/BS	59	91,27
	MA/MS	32	112,02
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_eff	ES/AC	39	112,78
	High school	81	110,20
	BA/BS	59	92,08
	MA/MS	32	112,77
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_interes	ES/AC	39	129,97
	High school	81	100,12
	BA/BS	59	95,47
	MA/MS	32	111,08
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_intell	ES/AC	39	155,35
	High school	81	96,50
	BA/BS	59	90,92
	MA/MS	32	97,72
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_amb	ES/AC	39	144,05
	High school	81	104,56
	BA/BS	59	85,08
	MA/MS	32	101,86
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_likeab	ES/AC	39	120,60
	High school	81	110,53
	BA/BS	59	91,06
	MA/MS	32	104,28
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_trust	ES/AC	39	157,51
	High school	81	95,09
	BA/BS	59	96,31
	MA/MS	32	88,72
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_relax	ES/AC	39	128,55
	High school	81	103,26
	BA/BS	59	94,74
	MA/MS	32	106,22
	Gesamt	211	
Delta_rent	ES/AC	39	169,23
	High school	81	92,68
	BA/BS	59	91,86
	MA/MS	32	88,73
	Gesamt	211	

Evaluation Dimensions

A Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed rank test was run for each of the four educational groups to calculate whether evaluation differences between the formal and the informal/CMC guise are statistically significant in the four evaluation dimensions. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a]

Education		Competence_post - Competence_pre	Socialbility_post - Socialbility_pre	Dynamics_post - Dynamics_pre	Superiority_post - Superiority_pre
ES/AC	Z	-,119[b]	-,692[c]	-,455[b]	-,455[c]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	,905	,489	,649	,649
High school	Z	-5,352[b]	-4,778[b]	-3,580[b]	-5,890[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001
BA/BS	Z	-6,083[b]	-5,388[b]	-4,983[b]	-5,957[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	<,001	<,001
MA/MS	Z	-3,739[b]	-3,401[b]	-2,094[b]	-4,603[b]
	Asymp. Sig. (2-seitig)	<,001	<,001	,036	<,001

a. Wilcoxon-Test

b. Basiert auf positiven Rängen.

c. Basiert auf negativen Rängen.

A Kruskal–Wallis test was run with the software SPSS to calculate whether the evaluation differences between the four educational groups are statistically significant in the four evaluation dimensions. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$ (*Asymp. Sig.*).

Teststatistiken[a,b]

	Competence_pre	Competence_post	Socialbility_pre	Socialbility_post	Dynamics_pre	Dynamics_post	Superiority_pre	Superiority_post
Kruskal-Wallis-H	6,263	12,319	7,342	15,024	15,353	2,648	3,970	31,748
df	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Asymp. Sig.	,099	,006	,062	,002	,002	,449	,265	<,001

a. Kruskal-Wallis-Test

b. Gruppenvariable: Education

Appendix III – Effect calculation for the user Hekla

Linguistic repertoires and participatory roles

A Z-test was run to calculate whether Hekla's contributions have a significant impact on the data set. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$. In cases where a significant difference was found, the actual effect size of Hekla's data was calculated by calculating Cohen's d. Effect size interpretations are suggested as follows: 0.01=very low, 0.2=low, 0.5=medium, 0.8=large, 1.2=very large, 2=huge (Cohen, 1988).

Icelandic/ initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
Icelandic	2518	1836
^p	0.561301828	0.594174757
Standard deviation	1391.586145	886.7119036
Pooled ^p	0.574709609	
z test num	-0.032872929	
z test denom	0.011557878	
z test	-2.844200992	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.004452295	
Cohen's d	0.563	medium

Icelandic/ responsive	mit Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
Icelandic	3187	2088
^p	0.798746867	0.775343483
Standard deviation	567.8067453	427.7996026
Pooled ^p	0.789316175	
z test num	0.023403384	
z test denom	0.010170029	
z test	2.301211075	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.021379703	
Cohen's d	2.13	huge

Icelandic total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
Icelandic	5705	3924
^p	0.673076923	0.67854055
Standard deviation	1959.392891	1314.511506
Pooled ^p	0.675292798	
z test num	-0.005463627	
z test denom	0.007986647	
z test	-0.6840952	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.493915053	

English/ initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
English	1307	806
^p	0.291350869	0.260841424
Standard deviation	2247.892457	1615.031888
Pooled ^p	0.278907075	
z test num	0.030509445	
z test denom	0.010484229	
z test	2.910032384	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.003613913	
Cohen's d	0.249	low

English/ responsive	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
English	907	615
^p	0.227318296	0.228369848
Standard deviation	2180.010206	1469.367891
Pooled ^p	0.227742032	
z test num	-0.001051552	
z test denom	0.010458849	
z test	-0.100541847	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.919914162	

English/ total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
English	2214	1421
^p	0.261208117	0.245720214
Standard deviation	4427.902664	3084.39978
Pooled ^p	0.254926713	
z test num	0.015487903	
z test denom	0.007433265	
z test	2.08359341	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.037197167	
Cohen's d	0.201	low

Independent features/ initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
independent features	1640	1074
^p	0.36558181	0.347572816
Standard deviation	2012.425899	1425.527271
Pooled ^p	0.358236536	
z test num	0.018008995	
z test denom	0.01120943	
z test	1.606593202	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.108143635	

I**ndependent features / responsive**	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
independent features	2594	1713
^p	0.650125313	0.636093576
Standard deviation	987.1210665	692.9646456
Pooled ^p	0.644471046	
z test num	0.014031737	
z test denom	0.01193769	
z test	1.175414781	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.239828813	

Independent/ total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
independent features	4234	2787
^p	0.499528079	0.481929794
Standard deviation	2999.546966	2118.491916
Pooled ^p	0.492390771	
z test num	0.017598285	
z test denom	0.00852692	
z test	2.063850224	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.039031919	

Other languages / initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
other languages	120	116
^p	0.026749889	0.037540453
Standard deviation	3087.228207	2102.935567
Pooled ^p	0.031151003	
z test num	-0.010790565	
z test denom	0.004061394	
z test	-2.656861969	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.007887173	
Cohen's d	0.001	very low

Other languages/ responsive	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
other languages	141	136
^p	0.035338346	0.0505013
Standard deviation	2721.654001	1808.072039
Pooled ^p	0.041448451	
z test num	-0.015162954	
z test denom	0.004970991	
z test	-3.050287782	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.002286222	
Cohen's d	0.002	very low

Other languages/ total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
other languages	261	252
^p	0.030792827	0.043575999
Standard deviation	5808.882207	3911.007607
Pooled ^p	0.035977278	
z test num	-0.012783172	
z test denom	0.003176364	
z test	-4.024467072	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	5.71045E-05	
Cohen's d	0.002	very low

Multiple resources/ initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
multiple resources	1762	1149
^p	0.39277753	0.37184466
Standard deviation	1926.158872	1372.494262
Pooled ^p	0,384239704	
z test num	0,02093287	
z test denom	0,011371508	
z test	1,840817375	
z critiqual value (U)	-1,959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1,959963985	
p value	0,065648326	

Multiple resources/ responsive	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
multiple resources	2609	1713
^p	0.653884712	0.636093576
Standard deviation	976.5144648	692.9646456
Pooled ^p	0.646715547	
z test num	0.017791136	
z test denom	0.011920652	
z test	1.492463284	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.135577735	

Multiple res.ources/ total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
multiple resources	4371	2859
^p	0.515691364	0.49438008
Standard deviation	2902.673337	2067.580228
Pooled ^p	0.50704818	
z test num	0.021311284	
z test denom	0.00852706	
z test	2.49925349	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.012445525	
Cohen's d	0.585	medium

No code/ initiative	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	4486	3090
no code	880	563
^p	0.196165849	0.182200647
Standard deviation	2549.827053	1786.858836
Pooled ^p	0.190469905	
z test num	0.013965202	
z test denom	0.00917996	
z test	1.521270464	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.128191979	

No code/ responsive	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	3990	2693
multiple resources	30	26
^p	0.007518797	0.00965466
Standard deviation	2800.142853	1885,853785
Pooled ^p	0.00837947	
z test num	-0.002135863	
z test denom	0.002273328	
z test	-0.939531395	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.347457981	

No code/ total	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	8476	5783
no code	910	589
^p	0.107361963	0.101850251
Standard deviation	5349.969906	3672.712621
Pooled ^p	0.105126587	
z test num	0.005511712	
z test denom	0.005231299	
z test	1.053603012	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.29206471	

Multiple resources

A Z-test was run to calculate whether Hekla's contributions have a significant impact on the combination of different resources. Differences are statistically significant at $p<0.05$. In cases where a significant difference was found, the actual effect size of Hekla's data was calculated by calculating Cohen's d.

Multiple resources with Icelandic	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	7515	5159
multiple resources Icelandic	3450	2262
^p	0.459081836	0.438457065
Standard deviation	2874.389066	2048.488345
Pooled ^p	0.450686445	
z test num	0.020624771	
z test denom	0.008996156	
z test	2.292620304	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.021869874	
Cohen's d	0.462	medium

Multiple resources with English	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	7515	5159
multiple resources English	1654	1056
^p	0,220093147	0.204690832
Standard deviation	4144.352845	2901.259123
Pooled ^p	0.213823576	
z test num	0.015402315	
z test denom	0.007413058	
z test	2.077727642	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.037734452	
Cohen's d	0.162	low

Multiple resources with ind. features	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	7515	5159
multiple resources ind. Features	3951	2563
^p	0.525748503	0.496801706
Standard deviation	2520.128568	1835.649204
Pooled ^p	0.513965599	
z test num	0.028946797	
z test denom	0.009036705	
z test	3.203246746	
z critiqual value (U)	-1.959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1.959963985	
p value	0.001358875	
Cohen's d	0.612	medium

Multiple resources with other lang.	with Hekla	without Hekla
Posts	7515	5159
multiple resources other languages	215	203
^p	0,028609448	0,039348711
Standard deviation	5161,879503	3504,421208
Pooled ^p	0,032980906	
z test num	-0,010739263	
z test denom	0,003228928	
z test	-3,325952771	
z critiqual value (U)	-1,959963985	
z critiqual value (U)	1,959963985	
p value	0,000881169	
Cohen's d	0.003	very low

Appendix IV – Informed consent

HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

25. nóvember 2014

Rannsóknarverkefni: Sérkenni íslenska netsamskipta á Facebook
Rannsakendur: Vanessa Monika Isenmann

Sérkenni íslenska netsamskipta á Facebook

Upplýst samþykki

Nafn þátttakanda _____

Tilgangur þessarar rannsóknar er að varpa ljósi á málnotkun Íslendinga á Facebook. Könnuð eru sérkenni orðaforða, rítháttar og annarra einkenna í stöðuuppfærslum og athugasemdum sem þátttakendur hafa birt á tímalínu sinni milli 1. september 2012 og 8. nóvember 2014. Rannsóknin tengist doktorsrannsókn sem beinist að notkun íslensku í netsamskiptum, áhrifum á málform og hugsanlegri tilurð nýrra málbrigða sem og viðhorfi allmennings til þessarar málnotkunar.

Stöðuuppfærslum og athugasemdum þátttakenda er safnað í málheild sem verður eingöngu í höndum rannsakandans og geymd hjá honum. Rannsakandinn lofar þagnarskyldu og nafnleynd.

Viðmælanda ber ekki skylda til þess að taka þátt og er frjálst að draga þátttöku til baka hvenær sem er í rannsóknarferlinu án skýringa eða eftirmála.

Mér hefur verið kynntur tilgangur þessarar rannsóknar og í hverju þátttaka mín er fólgin. Ég samþykki aðgang að tímalínu minni sem og notkun stöðuuppfærslu og athugasemda minna í rannsókninni.

Reykjavík, _____ _____

Undirskrift þátttakandans