Exploring the fluidity of communicative repertoires in online and offline contexts of mobility: a case of four Algerian academic sojourners in the UK

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Acknowledgments

Abstract

Exploring the fluidity of communicative repertoires in online and offline contexts of mobility: a case of four Algerian academic sojourners in the UK

This study looks at the impact of mobility on the online and offline use and emergence of the communicative repertoires of four Algerian PhD students in the UK. It falls within the new paradigm of the sociolinguistics of mobility that seeks to shift the focus from attention to 'codes' to analysis of speakers' growing and expanding 'repertoires' (Badwan and Hall, 2020; Pennycook, 2018; Canagarajah, 2013). In this paradigm, the complex process of communication goes beyond fixed, unitary entities of named languages and speakers fluidly deploy a range of linguistic and non-linguistic repertoires in order to make meaning. Following this line of thinking seems to offer a more inclusive and expansive approach to communication that captures the human (identity, ideology, language histories and trajectories) (Blommaert and Backus, 2011) and the post-human (the affordances created by digital platforms) (Pennycook, 2018) and leads to a collage of communicative repertoires that besides language can include a wide range of semiotic resources (Rymes, 2014). Through going beyond the offline and considering the online use of the communicative repertoires, this study responds to calls within the field to study the interaction between online and offline communication (Blommaert, 2016).

To meet the aims of this research, data was collected through ethnographic interviews and online observation and analyzed using a combination of Androutsopoulos's (2013, 2015) "online ethnography" approach and thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In online and offline interactions, participants re-negotiated and deconstructed their communicative repertoires into new and emerging ones. Findings render the online/offline distinction less relevant and suggest that the impact of mobility on the communicative repertoires of participants can be understood through an on-going process of repertoires' *construction*, *deconstruction*, and *reconstruction* that unfolds within time and across space. This process offers a theoretical and a methodological lens through which communicative repertoires can be studied. By foregrounding the diversity, complexity and fluidity of languaging practices in the lives experiences of mobile individuals, this study challenges discourses of linguistic fixity which could produce mechanisms of othering, essentialism, and exclusion, as well a raise serious concerns for social justice (Piller, 2015; Badwan, 2021a). As such, the study provides a roadmap for widening the scope of relevance when researching language in motion; one that embraces fluidity, online/offline integration, and inclusion. Moreover, the study has important pedagogical implications such as calling for re-thinking the notion of 'linguistic competence' and normalizing fluid linguistic practices in teaching, learning and researching in Higher Education.

1. Introduction

1.1. Situating the study within the paradigm of sociolinguistics of mobility

My research explores the impact of mobility on the communicative practices of four Algerian sojourners in the UK. A sojourner is someone who is temporarily living and studying in a host country and is expected to return home after completing their degree (Ward et al., 2020: 21). It looks at how these four individuals mobilize and recreate their communicative resources across different times and places: online, offline, Algeria, UK, real time, and online compressed time. In an increasingly interconnected world, a dual interest in the study of mobility and language and the complex connection between the two emerged (Nail, 2018: 5). Mobility destabilizes previous ontologies of essentialist sociolinguistics by "unmooring language" (Badwan, 2021a) and shifting the focus from the study of language-in-place, which reduces it to separable, countable, and fixed entities to a focus on the study of language-in-motion characterized by linguistic fluidity, diversity, and flexibility (Blackledge and Creese, 2017: 31). This linguistic fluidity and flexibility brought about/along by mobile individuals requires a major conceptual shift towards 'translingual' and 'spatial' repertoires. That is to say, mobile individuals deploy a range of linguistic and non-linguistic repertoires in order to make meaning (Canagarajah, 2012: 154). They do so with no regard to socially and politically bounded named languages or grammar. With this growing scholarly interest in researching language in contexts of mobility and globalization (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005; 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2012; Jaspers and Madsen, 2019), and in the light of these new conceptualizations of language, a new sociolinguistic paradigm concerned with mobility, complexity, uncertainty, diversity, and fluidity emerged (Bauman et al., 2003; Heller, 2007; Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2012; Phipps, 2013; Blommaert, 2016b; Badwan and Simpson, 2019; Jaspers and Madsen, 2019; Badwan and Hall, 2020; Badwan, 2021b). This emerging paradigm calls for going beyond "language" as the sole and central medium of communication to considering the diverse resources people deploy in interactions (Canagarajah, 2012; Pennycook, 2017b; Harvey et al., 2019; Badwan and Hall, 2020).

Besides mobility, the online is another driving force behind the emergence of this paradigm shift (Faist, 2013 as cited in Canagarajah, 2017: 4). This is mainly because it has been creating new ways of communication that are better understood in the light of the new theorization of language (Androutsopoulos, 2015). Therefore, my research joins the discussion on a sociolinguistics of mobility and resources and contributes to its theorization

through investigating the effects of mobility on offline as well as online communicative practices. Through this, it will engage with recent post-human approaches to sociolinguistics (Pennycook, 2017b), which put to the test established boundaries between human and non-human. These approaches closely examine the entanglements of humans with objects, technologies, and the environment in their interactions (Lamb and Higgins, 2020). In mobility, these boundaries become even more questionable. Madianou (2014) proposes that the entire experience of mobility of individuals is transformed by means of digital affordances. The online is the means by which participants in this study keep links with their families and friends in Algeria and a means by which they connect to their new networks in the UK. On the one hand, the internet and social media make it possible for people to be present in more than one place at the same time and in a non-physical way making communication highly mobile yet not any less "real" (Stæhr, 2014: 6). Online interactions are not detached from everyday offline life, rather the two intersect and boundaries between them are blurred (Seargeant et al., 2012: 514). On the other hand, despite the pressing need for researching the interplay between the online and offline everyday interactions, studies that combine the two and explore how they interact have been particularly scarce (Blommaert, 2016b: 255). I attempt to address what remains under-researched in sociolinguistics when it comes to joining the dots between online and offline communication. To this end, this thesis addresses the following questions:

1. How does the mobility of Algerian PhD students influence the emergence and use of their communicative repertoires in online and offline settings?

2. How can the study of the interplay between online and offline everyday interaction expand our current understanding of language in contexts of mobility and contact?

1.2. Context of the research

This section provides background information about the context of the study in order to better understand the views, beliefs, and practices of participants. It is divided into two parts. The first one is concerned with the general socio-historical and linguistic situation of Algeria. It provides a historical, religious, ethnic, and linguistic vignette of the country. In the second part, I will reflect on my own experiences as a sojourner in the UK, how these experiences inspired and shaped the research at hand, and how they relate to the experiences of the participants of this research.

1.2.1. The sociolinguistics of Algeria

Algeria is a north-African country with a population of 44 million people (Worldometer, 2021), with two large distinct ethnic and linguistic groups, Arabs and Berbers. While Berbers are considered the first inhabitants of Algeria, in the 7th century and with the expansion of Islam, Arabs invaded the region. For five centuries, the Arab invasion was resisted by Berbers but with the second wave of Bedouin tribes' migration, by the 12th century, most Berbers accepted Islam. Arabic became the language of trade and cosmopolitanism, while Berber varieties were spoken by small and local communities (Benrabah, 2005). For almost nine centuries, Algeria was governed by the Arabs, until Spain occupied West of Algeria in 1505 and later the Ottomans took over until 1830. At that time, Benrabah (2005: 394) states, "multilingualism involving approximately 15 languages prevailed." In 1830, France colonized the country for 132 years and declared it a "French" Algeria. More than a century of brutal French occupation left deep scars on the language, culture, and identity of Algerians for decades to come.

In 1848, French was announced an official language in Algeria, and Arabic was given the status of a "foreign language". Arabic and Berber schools were closed under the French rule, and education was almost exclusively in French (Gafaïti, 2002: 23). Even when Arabic was taught at French schools by French teachers, there was an emphasis on "l'arabe vulgaire", i.e., vulgar (vernacular) Arabic, while other varieties of Arabic were dismissed (Kadri, 2014: 43). This strong opposition to what is known now as "Standard Arabic" and the absence of any Islamic teachings resulted in the colonial school systems to be associated with treason and forgetting one's culture and identity (Colonna, 1972: 28). This, coupled with the restricted access to education, especially to Muslims, led to more than 90% of the population to be illiterate by the end of colonization in 1962 (Jacob, 2019: 34). Because of the brutality of French colonialists, which resulted in the death of more than 10 million Algerians, and their continuous quest to erase the language and identity of Algerians, nationalist ideas grew amongst Algerians and led eventually to the war of independence in 1954. As Pauline Djité (1992: 16) writes, "nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central in the fight against colonialism [*as in Algeria*]" (as cited in Benrabah, 2013: 21).

The fight for an "Algerian" Algeria was fueled by discourses of "Arab-ness" and "Islam-ness", which not only represented opposition to the oppressive, colonial policies, but they were also markers of a non-colonial identity:

"شعب الجزائر مسلم   والى العروبة ينتسب"

The above is a verse from a famous poem written by the famous Algerian combatant Abdelhamid Ibn Badis in 1937. It translates as follows, "*Algerian people are Muslims, and to the Arab world they belong.*" This and other similar nationalist-loaded texts were and still are considered iconic to the war of independence. In Algeria today, language remains central and appears at the forefront of any political debate. The pursuit for an Arab, Muslim, Algerian identity to replace the French one continued after independence and Standard Arabic (SA), referred to as Modern Standard Arabic as well (MSA), was viewed as the panacea for this identity crisis. After independence, in an effort to reinforce its use and join the Arab nationalism movement that took place across the Middle East in the 19th century, SA was for fifty-four years, the only official language. It represented the religious and cultural homogeneity in the country and was "confined to the devotional sphere and traditional values" (Benrabah, 2013: 50). It aimed at pushing against the French language legacy of 132 years of colonialism and which despite its oppressive history is still considered the language of "openness to the world, "scientific development" and "modernity" (Benrabah, 2013: 80) and the language of "prestige" (Benrabah, 2013: 100).

Not all Algerians were welcoming to the Arabization movement, however. It ultimately faced resistance from Berbers, in what is called the "Tamazight Spring" in the 80s, calling for recognition of the Berber language and culture. For Algerians from a Berber ethnic background, SA is the language of "the dictatorial regime and oppression" (Benrabah, 2013: 80). The Berber resistance to Arabization and the fight to officialize Berber (*Tamazight*) language succeeded in 2016 when the language was recognized and finally officialized. Berber language is an umbrella term encompassing all the linguistic varieties spoken by indigenous groups in Algeria and North Africa, although "mutual intelligibility may not always be granted among speakers of the various Berber languages or varieties even within a single country" (Keith, 2010 as cited in Albirini, 2016: 39). Despite this diversity of the Berber varieties, the Algerian Ministry of Education only tolerates five of them, which are: Kabyle, Mzab, Shawia, Chenoua, and Tamashek, and provides manuals for them in three scripts: Latin, Arabic, and Tifinagh (Berber orthography) (Benrabah, 2013: 165). Berber was for long seen as a threat to the Algerian unity and to the Arab-Islamist ideology. After a long struggle and oppression from the Algerian regimes, however, it is now the second official

language in Algeria. For Berbers, it is the language of resistance and "the language of the elders" (Benrabah, 2013: 80). It represents pride of one's origins. Arabophone Algerians, however, "consider this language divisive and hold it in suspicion" (Calvet, 1999 as cited in Benrabah, 2013: 94).

Beyond SA, French, and Berber, in their daily interactions, Algerians use another variety, another expression of their complex and diverse communicative repertoires and multilayered identities, that of Algerian Arabic. Algerian Arabic (also *Darja* and *Darija)* is a term "used by Algerians to describe the language they speak every day, can be translated as "spoken" but is often rendered by people as "slang" (Jacob, 2019: 44). Darija is the by-product of years of languages and communicative repertoires coming into contact. The rich history of Algeria contributed to the creation of a complex form of spoken variety that is a mixture of Berber varieties, SA, French, Italian, Spanish, and Turkish (Adouane and Dobnik, 2017: 2). It is the medium of everyday communication and is used in almost every situation and context. This did not spare it, however, from being often reduced to, as Taleb-Ibrahimi (1995: 87) puts it, a language that is "bâtard, vulgaire, peu châtié, mélangé, faible, contaminé (notamment par le français), frustré, incapable de tout exprimer incorrecte parce que non conforme aux règles de la langue (…) agrammatical" [***My translation***: *bastardised, vulgar, not so much polished, mixed, weak, contaminated (especially by French), frustrated, unable to express everything incorrect because of the non-conformity to the rules of the grammatical language (…)*]] (Chachou, 2013: 54). Although Darija is often referred to as a spoken, non-written variety, as opposed to SA, which has a conventional writing system, like other Arabic dialects, it has emerged as a medium of communication in writing by means of text messages and phones, social media, and interaction in chat rooms (Al-Batal, 2017). It is worth mentioning at this point that Darija is an umbrella term for all the non-standard Arabic varieties spoken across Algeria, which to varying degrees, differ. For instance, the variety spoken in Algiers is:

> largely influenced by Berber and Turkish; the Constantine dialect is affected by Italian; and the Oran dialect by Spanish. As a result, there are significant local variations (in pronunciation, grammar, etc.) of spoken Arabic in Algeria, and many of its varieties can be encountered across the country. (Selouani and Boudraa, 2010: 160)

In 2015, there was an attempt by the Algerian ministry of National Education to introduce Darija at schools. Subjects were to be taught in Darija in the first two years in primary school

instead of SA. This attempt was resisted by many Algerians who link SA to a pan-Arabic identity. It was viewed as an attempt to erase this identity, by a regime who still has strong ties and diplomatic relations with France. Eventually the proposed policy was not approved. These same beliefs, i.e., SA is the only marker of an Arab, Muslim identity while French and Darija might present threats to this identity, led to calls for the substitution of French for English.

In Algeria, English became a sociolinguistic reality because of its status as a global language, although the discourse around it often attempts to portray it as a "neutral" language, English is highly politicized in the country (Jacob, 2019: 45). In recent years, Algeria became a battleground where English and French are in constant competition. Whereas French still occupies an important place in the society and is the gateway for social mobility, English is thought of as the language of modernity, technology, and internationalization. Through the integration of English into school systems in the 90s, by the Islamist party, the aim was to replace French with English as the first foreign language and reduce the importance of French. Because of its mandatory nature, Algerians at that time resisted this attempt, which ended up failing (Benrabah, 2014). Nevertheless, the promotion for English as "the language of science and modernity" by proponents of SA, and the belief that English can be a shield that protects SA still continues today (Benrabah, 2013; Jacob, 2019). Today, there are growing demands and attempts to improve the status of English in Alegria. This can be observed in the increasing number of students enrolling in English departments and a growing preference for English by younger generations (see Benrabah, 2014; Belmihoub, 2018; Bouhmama and Dendane, 2018). Moreover, their constructed beliefs about it, for instance, Belmihoub (2018: 217) states that due to the idealized American lifestyle represented in the Hollywood entertainment industry, students associate American English with prestige:

> It [*English*] serves as a way for the people to convey linguistic sophistication, membership in an elite group of intellectuals and celebrities, and a modern and open lifestyle consistent with that portrayed in American movies and television shows.

In these continuous efforts to boosting the use of English, in January 2014, Algeria launched a multi-million pound "Algerian doctoral initiative". This initiative is an Algerian-UK agreement to train 500 Algerian PhD students from Algerian English departments in a UK university over the course of 5 years. "This is part of an ambitious Algerian plan to partner

with the UK to build capacity in English in universities and to diversify its international partnerships into the Anglophone world" and "to increase the quality of spoken and written English amongst its young population" (British Council Algeria, nd). My research participants and I are part of this scheme.

1.2.2. An Algerian sojourner in the UK

In 2017, I was among the 100 Master students who obtained a scholarship to continue their PhD studies in the UK. Those students were chosen based on a national contest. They come from all different parts of Algeria, different ethnic backgrounds, different social classes, and different language trajectories. They all, however, were English majors. The scholarship includes a six-month pre-sessional course at Canterbury Christ Church university. The aim of the course was to familiarize us with the academic life in the UK. It was also to make sure we meet the English language requirements to successfully pass the IELTS exam. Therefore, we spent most of the course learning about how to write research proposals, contact potential supervisors, and learning about the IELTS test. Canterbury was my first experience of life in the UK. When I first arrived in it, I had this belief that living in the UK would help me become a skillful English communicator. As a learner of English as a foreign language, my teachers in Algeria would often say that in order to "properly" learn the language, one must immerse themselves in the culture and society where that language is spoken. Going abroad was the ideal way of doing so. It was not until I lived in the UK that I started seriously re-considering everything I had constructed about what "English" is? What makes one a "skillful" communicator? What is the role of my diverse communicative resources and strategies when I am interacting with others here?

In England, it is not only English that is spoken, and it is most definitely not only "one" English that is spoken. But it was not my pre-sessional course at Canterbury Christ Church university that led me to raise these questions. It was my daily encounters with people in the streets, shops, transport, etc. At university, the discourse about language very much resembled the one in Algeria. There was a great emphasis on the standard, formal way of speaking. The one that will grant me success. The correct English that comes at the top of the hierarchy, which would not only allow me to communicate but to sound more "prestigious" and "elite" while doing so. These discourses and hierarchies are sediments of 19th century Europe where homogeneity, monolingualism, and monoculturalism were seen as the norm, furthermore as signs of civilization and modernity (Bauman et al., 2003). They were then

passed to the rest of the world through colonialization and today they are still being echoed in spaces like educational spaces. Universities, particularly, are viewed as powerful spaces that are still rooted in "histories of colonialism" (Criser and Malakaj, 2020: 4) and through which colonial discourses are still being reproduced (Connell, 2014). To me, it became apparent that there were constructed boundaries between the language I was being taught at university, the language I was encountering in my daily life interactions, and the one I was speaking. These boundaries, however, often did not do justice to the complex ways through which I navigated my communicative repertoires. When I got an offer to do my PhD at Manchester Metropolitan university, these boundaries became even more questionable.

In Manchester, my encounters and social networks extended. There were many instances when I received comments on the use of my communicative repertoires. These comments would often try to fit my practices into specific, fixed, and rigid labels, places, and identities. For instance, as an Algerian I am expected to have an American accent, which I do not have, or that I was supposed to speak fluent French, which I also did not. On the other hand, while my old networks from Algeria were also still maintained online, my friends and family would as well comment on changes in my practices in a way that I was not even aware of, comments like "you no longer sound like someone from Relizane [my hometown]". This is because the norm for the political and social discourses around language(s) in the media and educational institutions depict them as homogeneous, bounded, and stable entities. Discourses that do not reflect the richness and diversity of people's communicative practices, nor their mobility, dynamicity, and individuality. My experiences (re)shaped my beliefs and communicative practices, and I could not help but wonder about the experiences of other Algerian PhD students in the UK. My personal wonderment fuelled this sociolinguistic investigation upon which I report in this thesis.

1.3. Organization of thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Following the first, introduction chapter, which introduces the study, contextualizes it, and outlines its structure, I review relevant empirical studies in the field. **Chapter two** places the study within its broader theoretical framework and explores key concepts. I start by introducing the most recent topics and discussions in the field of sociolinguistics and the new emerging approaches to the study of language in society. I then move to reflecting and critically

engaging with key concepts that will be used throughout this thesis, namely, communicative repertoires, chronotopes, and language biographies. I also address concepts of language ideology, identity, and indexicality and their relevance to my study. In the last section of this chapter, I review the literature on online communication with a focus on online/offline nexus. **Chapter three** outlines the methodological design of the research and discusses its suitability. I thoroughly go through my process of decision-making regarding the methods of data collection and analysis. I provide justifications and rationalizations of the methodology choices and situate them within a research paradigm.

Chapters four and **five** present findings of the study. Chapter four engages with the within-case analysis. It introduces the cases individually in order to provide an in-depth understanding and a detailed description of the individual experiences and life trajectories of participants. It presents data from their language biographies and online observation. It accounts for their individuality and their subjective views, beliefs, and feelings about their mobility and use of language. After that, chapter five presents the cross-case analysis, looking at themes and patterns that are common across the cases and which were not discussed in chapter four. It explores themes that emerged during the interviews and appeared in all four cases. Finally, **Chapter six** discusses the findings presented in the previous two chapters, detailing their significance and impact, and how they answer the research questions and meet its aims. It states the main contributions of this doctoral project to knowledge and how it adds to previous research. It concludes by reflecting on some of the limitations of it and provides recommendations for future research.

2. Review of the Literature

Introduction

In order to provide a theoretical backdrop for my study, in this chapter, I will draw on the body of literature that shaped the project at hand. My research falls within the scope of sociolinguistics and brings together concepts from different areas namely mobility, globalization, mobile technologies, and communicative repertoires. These areas of study have been of particular interest to scholars in recent years, as we shall see in this chapter, they are as well the genesis of my research. I will start by exploring the paradigm shift in contemporary sociolinguistics and how language in society went from being conceptualized as separable entities, static, and unitary to acknowledging its fluidity and dynamicity, which also links to the re-theorization of concepts of mobility and place in modern society. This shift has implications for the study of language and has prompted scholars to pursue new and emerging approaches to studying it. In these approaches, many new terms and concepts are used and are being introduced in order to reflect the complexity of studying the linguistic phenomenon. As such, in this chapter, I will look at such concepts namely the concepts of communicative and chronotopic repertoires and discuss their relevance to the new and emerging theorizations of sociolinguistics, and how they offer a holistic lens through which language can be studied. I will also draw on the concepts of language ideology, indexicality, and identity and discuss their relevance and role in the new approaches of the sociolinguistics of mobility. In the final section, I will focus on the new communication technologies and their affordances to mobile individuals. These technologies have been fueling the shift from traditional, fixed discourses about language and place. All in all, this chapter aims at framing my study within the broader field of sociolinguistics to which it seeks to contribute.

2.1. Current issues in sociolinguistic research

Traditionally, sociolinguistics has been framed around horizontal distribution of linguistic features across space; a paradigm referred to as a 'sociolinguistics of distribution' (Blommaert, 2010). However, over the past decade, sociolinguists have developed a new epoch of sociolinguistics. Blommaert (2010) refers to this paradigm-shifting approach 'a sociolinguistics of globalization' while Jaspers and Madsen (2019) call it 'new sociolinguistics'. This emerging paradigm of sociolinguistics is characterized by a focus on:

- Mobility and complexity (Blommaert, 2010; 2016b; Badwan and Simpson, 2019),

- Vertical social hierarchical ordering (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2012; Badwan, 2015; Badwan and Simpson, 2019),
- Fluidity (Jaspers and Madsen, 2019),
- Modernity (Bauman et al., 2003; Heller, 2007; Makoni and Pennycook, 2006) and,
- Uncertainty (Phipps, 2013)

In order to join the debate on how to sociolinguistically talk about language in light of this paradigm shift, in this section, I will thoroughly address the latter's building blocks.

2.1.1. Approaches to contemporary sociolinguistics

In an age characterized by increasing levels of mobility and growing demands for communicating online, a focus on the study of language-in-motion has been gradually replacing previous focus on the study of language-in-place (Blackledge and Creese, 2017: 31). Ongoing calls and attempts for theorizing a unified theoretical approach to study fluid language practices and ideologies in a globalized world, resonate (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2012; Badwan and Simpson, 2019; Badwan, 2021b). A theory of language in a modern society, or in Blommaert's (2010: 2) terms, a theory of 'changing language in a changing society', is particularly needed for the study of language in the light of all the new world changes such as the rapid technological developments, and the intensified mobility of people (Faist, 2013 as cited in Canagarajah, 2017: 4).

In late modernity, i.e., the state of the highly globalized modern societies (Giddens, 1991; 2013), it has been acknowledged that the scale and diversity of mobility have reached new levels (Cresswell, 2011). The growing physical movement of people is happening simultaneously with the "tremendous increase in the virtual travel" (Szerszynski and Urry, 2006: 117) of information. Intense mobility, the fluidity of borders, and flows of capital sparked the interest of many scholars (Burdick, 2012: 10). To keep up with these changes many new concepts and terminologies emerged to describe the relationship between space, people, and social encounters such as "*Transnationalism*". Transnationalism refers to "the multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec, 2009). Facilitated by "*the technology of contact*" such as the social networking sites (Vertovec, 2009: 15), social interactions acquired non-physical, highly mobile, and fluid characteristics (Stæhr, 2014: 5). It is now possible to be present in many spaces at the same time. With the compression of time and space (Giddens and Griffiths,

2006: 51), the confinement of movement to definite time frames and fixed territorial spaces has been lifted. Geographical, clear-defined borders were made less relevant in the study of social actors' mobility, making the point of departure how their social relations unfold *across* time and space rather than *within* a specific time and space (Golbuff, 2014: 7). Participants in this study are transnational, doctoral students whose educational space remains under-studied (Bilecen and Faist, 2015) thus, the need for studies like the one at hand.

The unprecedented, complex levels of border crossing with all its forms in Europe and the world have taken the diversity of speech communities to another level of complexity, to super-diversity. Coined by Vertovec (2007), and originated in the context of the UK, super-diversity is:

> A notion intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced. Such a condition is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade (Vertovec, 2007: 1024).

Superdiversity became a reflection of the complex forms of people's movements. Such complexity touches on all aspects of their lives including their ways of communication. In such conditions, the study of these ways of communication can no longer be captured through traditional approaches to language, which portray it as static, fixed, immobile set of entities with clear borders and that can be endangered, die, and be revived (Jacquemet, 2005: 260). Complexity was taken up by many scholars who called for a shift from stability to mobility (Heller, 2007; 2011; Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2010; 2014; Badwan and Simpson, 2019). Besides the horizontal axis of language distribution, there needs to be a vertical one, Blommaert (2010) argues, one of language mobility with a social stratification focus. In this axis, language is mobile in space and time –spatiotemporal- and interactions happen on different, layered levels –scales (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2012). In other words, people's movement does not occur in a neutral, empty space, rather people "move through a space which is filled with codes, norms and expectations" (Blommaert, 2010: 32). Accordingly, mobile individuals are expected to draw on a range of

communicative resources in order to make meaning and adhere to/resist indexical linguistic norms.

2.1.2. Implications of mobility for language

Blommaert's (2010) attempt to introduce a "sociolinguistics of globalization" framework, in which mobility is a central concept, was an influential one. He argues that when language moves in time and space, it moves across layered "scales" -time and space metaphor to reflect the layered hierarchical nature of the linguistic sign (Blommaert et al., 2015: 120)- and orders of indexicality – 'a stratified general repertoire in which particular indexical orders relate to others in relations of mutual valuation -higher/lower, better/worse' (Blommaert, 2010: 38). This highlights the inequalities that govern communication as some linguistic resources may fail to move from a low scale level to a higher one. Failure occurs mostly when a move is attempted from the "periphery" -a space where norms are produced and appropriated- to the "center" -the level at which norms, customs and rules are determined. This approach was among the first attempts to offer insights to look at the effects of mobility on language. Blommaert (2010) presents a series of in-depth, longitudinal fieldwork to show how sociolinguistic resources are affected by mobility.

One example to illustrate what he means by the concepts of scale, orders of indexicality and center is an analysis he carried out into the use of English in a township school in Cape Town, South Africa. In his analysis, he argues that the use of English in this school is adapted to the norms of the periphery, i.e., the local town where the school is situated, which makes it a new form/variety of English. If it attempts to move to a higher scale level, the translocal scale level, inequality occurs. At a local level, this re-localised English indexes "good English", at a translocal level, it indexes "bad use of English". Throughout his research, Blommaert (2010) emphasizes inequality as a perspective from which to look at mobile linguistic resources. People who have access to linguistic resources that index higher scale-levels (the global, the translocal) are considered privileged. Globalization creates opportunities for such people while it is a constraint for others with different linguistic repertoires, which may not meet the expectations of success in a globalized world, those whose linguistic resources may fail to be mobile. Blommaert's framework is considerably informed by data derived from asylum seekers' encounters with immigration institutions, but mobility may have different effects on people depending on their reasons to be mobile. This was evident in Canagarajah's (2012) research which included skilled migrants as well as sojourners.

Canagarajah (2012) criticized Blommaert's scale metaphor for being static and rigid. Scale, Canagarajah (2012) argues, is dynamic. *Scaling* is the process of negotiating and reconstructing language norms. He maintains that mobile people are agentive, not passive and they renegotiate the inequalities through negotiation strategies. For instance, participants in Canagarajah's research (a group of five, mobile, multilingual undergraduate students in the UK) use different strategies to construct meaning, which is indeed achieved regardless of the grammar norms. For instance, they would use the let-it-pass strategy, i.e., letting unknown utterances pass, and focusing on contextual cues for intelligibility strategy. For Canagarajah, homogeneity and sharedness are not prerequisites for successful communication. Moreover, norms and indexicalities are fluid and are not predefined in space, they are generated throughout the conversations. He adapted the term "translingual practices" to capture such fluidity in communication. Canagarajah draws the conclusion, from his fieldwork, that border crossers are agentive, and that they are re-constructors of language norms and meanings. Translinguals, however, are not at all times in a position to negotiate language norms, they are not always open to collaboration for the sake of achieving mutual intelligibility. The use of the negotiation strategies needs to be reciprocal to be successful, which may not always be the case. Agency is not given to everyone in all situations, e.g., a speaker may refuse to use strategies like the let-it–pass strategy and chooses instead to use their status to exercise power through their language. Therefore, just like Blommaert, Canagarajah's generalizations are lacking adequacy.

The situations which language users may encounter when mobile, and their ways of handling such situations are unpredictable (Badwan, 2015). In other words, there are infinite number of scenarios of interactions, which makes it almost impossible to predict or generalize a one case scenario over an infinite number of possible scenarios. Badwan and Simpson (2019) proposed 'a flat ontology within an ecological orientation towards sociolinguistic scale.' This is to direct attention towards the unpredictability of the effects of mobility on language. For them, the starting point from which to look at linguistic repertoires is that they are all equal not stratified, and they depend on an ecology of interaction which varies. In their research, which aimed at investigating how mobility influences the exchange value of two students' linguistic resources, one of the participants showed awareness that in some contexts his English may be placed in a lower scale level such as in a hospital or at court. In another instance, however, the participant spoke of achieving the highest mark in his

university assignment, which was higher than the marks of native speakers of English in his class. This means that the impact of mobility on people's linguistic repertoires and values varies across contexts. While in some situations they are confronted with the norms, in others they confront them.   What can be concluded from these studies is that the impact of mobility on people's language not only varies depending on their reasons for mobility, e.g., asylum seekers, migrants, students, but also varies depending on the context of interactions. More empirical studies, thus, can be used to inform this new under-developed area of research, which is the target of the current study.

2.2. Research on communicative repertoires

Recently, the study of language has been aiming at setting it free from the strict, rigid, and imaginary, socially and politically defined boundaries (e.g., Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Wei, 2011; Otheguy et al., 2015; Vogel and García, 2017). Traditional and established terms such as "code-switching", "multilingualism", and "linguistic repertoires" are being revisited (see Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Sharma and Rampton, 2011; Busch, 2012; Blommaert and Backus, 2013), and terms like "communicative repertoires" and "languaging" are gaining more momentum (Blommaert, 2014; Rymes, 2014).   This section will dive into the relevant body of research that explores language as a fluid and inclusive means of communication. I will start by tracing back the notion of "communicative repertoires" which will be employed throughout this thesis.   I will then define relevant terms and explore in-depth notions of chronotopic repertoires, language ideologies, identity, and linguistic diversity.

2.2.1. Communicative repertoires and language biographies

The use of the term "repertoires" goes back to the early 60s, to the work of John Gumperz who used the term "linguistic repertoires" to refer to "the totality of linguistic resources available to members of particular communities" (Gumperz, 1972: 20). The term is often deployed to account for the sum of resources, stylizations, codes, and literacy practices that people use in their daily encounters (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2001; Blommaert and Backus, 2013). According to Gumperz (1964), in interactions, knowledge of the grammatical rules of the language is not enough and the process of meaning making includes knowledge of social etiquette. That is, knowledge about the appropriateness and the use of the language in actual social events. Therefore, language choices combine both linguistic and social elements. In that sense, decisions about language choices are governed by complex communicative needs of the speakers and their social relations, making the repertoires of

even "monolinguals" highly diverse. Over the last four decades, this concept of repertoires was adapted and developed to better reflect social diversity, complexity, and mobility in late modernity.

Rymes (2010; 2014) points out that the notion of "linguistic repertoires" fails to recognize resources beyond the linguistic and that communication goes beyond language. Rymes was not alone in her attempt at pushing the boundaries of what is understood by "repertoires." In the field of sociolinguistics, it has been acknowledged that language is only one means of communication that does not compensate for all other means (see Canagarajah, 2012; 2017; Pennycook, 2017b). Communicating involves the use a wide range of semiotic resources to make meaning, resources such as "the context, gestures, and objects in the setting to interpret the interlocuter's utterances" (Canagarajah, 2012: 5) and to respond to them. For that reason, Rymes (2014) uses the more inclusive term "communicative repertoires" to refer to the "collection of ways individuals use language and literacy and other means of communication (gestures, dress, posture, accessories) to function effectively in the multiple communities in which they participate" (Rymes, 2010: 528). For her, throughout their lives, people accumulate archeological layers of what will become their communicative repertoires. They flexibly and fluidly choose from these repertoires that go beyond named languages as the interactional situations require. Although throughout my thesis I will refer to named languages, which might appear as not reflecting the overall concept of communicative repertories and stand points of this research, I try to explore the subjective use of these labels and what they mean, especially to participants of this research who use them to describe their worlds. This is because it is necessary to not ignore the weight and the role of these labels in people's everyday life (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2019). I will, however, go beyond them and hence the emphasis on communicative repertoires as a more holistic, inclusive, and fluid lens to talk about language in mobility.

Building on that notion, Blommaert and Backus (2011) emphasize the biographical dimension of repertoires. For them, repertoires are the "indexical biographies, and analyzing repertoires amounts to analyzing the social and cultural itineraries followed by people, how they manoeuvered and navigated them, and how they placed themselves into the various social arenas they inhabited or visited in their lives" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011: 26). Language biographies index people's histories and their unique moments of constructing their communicative repertoires. In the course of their lifetime, as people move and their

social networks shift, their repertoires are re-shaped, and change occurs in their "linguistic trajectories" (Wyman, 2012). Busch (2017: 11) takes it a step further and talks about "the lived experience of language". For her, linguistic resources are not only acquired and accumulated throughout time, but they are experienced through the body and emotions. Language is more than a cognitive phenomenon, it is an intersubjective, social phenomenon and in moments of intersubjective, social interactions, individuals inscribe language that is ideologically and emotionally loaded into their linguistic memories. For instance, a feeling of being linguistically excluded or not belonging in a social interaction is a lived experience of language that might have an impact on how an individual recalls, feels about, and thinks about their linguistic resources. As such, Busch (2015) calls for using innovative ways to explore individuals' communicative repertoires such as the use of "language portraits". More on this creative method which was used in this research is found in section 3.5.1.1.

The view of communicative repertoires as biographical adapts a speaker-centered approach and prioritizes speakers' voices. Focusing on individuals' experiences enables researchers to capture the dynamism of people's communicative repertoires, how they shift, how they change, how they are reconfigured relatively to historical, political and social circumstances, and how they are "*experienced*" (Busch, 2006; 2012; 2017; Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). For that reason, in line with the recent paradigm shift in sociolinguistics, this approach has been gaining more ground in research (Busch, 2012; 2015; Blommaert and Backus, 2011; 2013). More recently, the view of repertoires as only historical, biographical, and human is being revisited. Pennycook (2017) argues that repertoires are post-human as well. They transcend the individual and encompass all the various semiotic resources such as objects and technologies (see section 2.5.1). I adopt this view in my research to not only understand how repertoires emerge and are used in mobility but also why they are (re)configured the way they are in accordance with people's histories, experiences, and space affordances. Through participants' narratives I try to dismantle the change in their repertoires across spaces and across timescales, which brings attention to the concept of the chronotopic repertoires.

2.2.2. The chronotopic repertoires

The concept of *chronotopes* was developed first by Bakhtin (1981) in his work on literary texts. He used the term to describe how certain narratives invoke time and space co-ordinates. To him, chronotopes are when "spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one

carefully thought-out, concrete whole" (Bakhtin, 1981: 84). This concept might prove useful in sociolinguistic research, as Georgakopoulou (2005: n.p.) notices, "Bakhtin could be made to work "harder" in sociolinguistics, particularly in relation to the chronotope". In the new paradigm of sociolinguistics, there has been particular interest in the concept's role in contextualizing language use (Creese and Blackledge, 2020: 421). Every social action, including communication, happens in concrete circumstances, which are characterized by specific time-space organizations. These time-space constellations determine language use and social behavior. In other words, meaning unfolds within a spatiotemporal context (Agha, 2007) and it can only be truly understood with reference to it. Chronotopes call for a critical use of the word "context," Blommaert (2019a) argues, which became flattened in many disciplines. He argues that the concept can be used in sociolinguistics:

> as the aspect of contextualization through which specific chunks of history (understood here in the Bakhtinian sense as spatiotemporal) can be invoked in discourse as meaning-attributing resources or, to refer to earlier terminology, as historically configured and ordered tropes. (Blommaert, 2015: 111)

Meaning then is determined by the chronotopic context which is in turn shaped by interactants' histories and agency. Put differently, within a chronotope, social actors invoke their individual histories, resources, and experiences to make meaning and to perform particular roles and identities (Blommaert and De Fina, 2017). This makes them emergent and dynamic, i.e., they change across spaces and times. An incorporation of the concept of chronotopes in the study of language enables an understanding of context as chronotopic, mobile, fluid, and unstable (Blommaert, 2017; 2018). They allow for tracing the emergence of peoples' communicative repertoires in time and space and how different events in their lives trigger the use of different communicative repertoires. Through chronotopes, in this study, I will be able to establish links between the past times -participants language biographies- and the present times- their sojourn, and links between online and offline spaces. Lyons and Tagg (2019) used the term "mobile chronotopes" to refer to the diversity and dynamicity of the spatiotemporal communicative norms and migrants' re-negotiation of them in an online-offline nexus. They explain how a group of migrant micro-entrepreneurs in the UK use multimodal semiotic resources to connect between the online and offline and at

times challenge communicative expectations, i.e., *normalcy* (Blommaert, 2017; Karimzad and Catedral, 2018; Lyons and Tagg, 2019). In that sense, in chronotopic contexts, individuals also construct beliefs about how certain social behaviors and how certain communicative practices operate within certain spaciotemporal organizations (Karimzad, 2020: 108). Through *chronotopes of normalcy* (Blommaert, 2017), people evaluate and scale their communicative practices against normative language use. At times, this "normalcy" is also challenged (Valentine et al., 2009). This is because people's chronotopic repertoires are not only an accumulation of resources but as well ideologies and indexicalities about these resources. In this next section, I will explore these two related concepts and how they link to people's identities.

2.3. Language ideologies, identities, and indexicalities

The communicative function of language is entangled with its social and symbolic functions (Bulot, 2007 as cited in Jacob, 2019: 14). When people accumulate communicative resources in chronotopic contexts, they associate meanings to them to index their beliefs and identities through them. In order to understand the underpinnings of their practices then an examination of these meanings, identities, and indexicalities is necessary. Accordingly, Canagarajah (2012: 154) stresses the need to ask, "how those who take their language resources to a new context, and those who inhabit that context, negotiate the meaning and value of these resources". In this section, I closely examine the concepts of language ideology, identity, and indexicality and how they relate to my research and feed into its overall aims.

2.3.1. Language ideology

The concept of language ideology was first introduced in the field of linguistic anthropology and was defined differently by different linguistic anthropologists (Silverstein, 1979; Irvine, 1989; Heath, 1989; Rumsey, 1990; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). One common definition is the one provided by Irvine (1989: 255) when she speaks of language ideologies as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". In this definition, she specifically emphasises the social and cultural facets of language ideology, which make them multiple and diverse across cultures and communities. Language ideology in Irvine's definition is embodied in the "cultural system of ideas" of a community, i.e., "ideas about social relationships, including ideas about the history of persons and groups" (Irvine, 1989: 253). That is, ideas about language within the wider cultural system of ideas are what constitute a language ideology.

Spitulnik (1998: 164) adds a layer of complexity to this definition of language ideology by introducing the concept of "language valuation and evaluation". She maintains that these are processes through which different social values are associated to language. This, she argues, will not only redirect attention towards understanding language ideology as a process but also to widen its scope. For that reason, she expands on the definition of Irvine (1989) mentioned above by taking the term "ideas" and substituting for:

> A wider set of possibilities: language ideologies can be ideas, cultural conceptions, processes of meaning construction, implicit evaluations, and explicit comments about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests (Spitulnik, 1998: 164)

Those two definitions, although insightful, they look at language ideology as only a product of a society and a culture. They do not acknowledge explicitly the role of individual experiences in its construction. A language ideology can also be a product of one's own experiences and histories regardless of the spread beliefs in the community in which they operate. Piller (2015) illustrates this by giving an example about Indian English which is commonly perceived as "nerdy and funny" (Piller, 2015: 1). However, she highlights that "whether you think that Indian English is funny or not depends on who you are and what your experiences with Indian English are" (Piller, 2015: 1). That is, despite the spread language ideologies about Indian English, one's own ideologies and value judgment about it may differ depending on their own experiences such as their frequent encounters with it. The individual's beliefs and feelings about language use can significantly differ from what beliefs about it are spread in relation to the community's culture and history. Put differently, language ideologies are not only multiple and diverse across cultures and societies but also across individuals. One close-related concept which refers explicitly to speakers' feelings about language use is "language attitude". Language attitude focuses more on individuals' experiences in the construction of their language ideologies. Although the concepts language ideology and language attitude are sometimes used interchangeably, there are differences between them.

Language attitude was first introduced in social psychology. Crystal (1994: 215) defined language attitude in his Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Language and Languages as, "the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others. These may be positive or negative". No wonder that "feelings" will be central in a definition of language

attitude given the emergence of the latter in social psychology. Furthermore, from the definitions of the two concepts (language ideology and language attitude) provided above, it can be concluded that while language ideology has more to do with the common beliefs and histories of a community, language attitude is more about individuals. In other words, whereas language ideology reflects the ideas about language that emerge and are accepted at the level of society within social and cultural groups, language attitude focuses on feelings about language that emerge at the individual level and as a result of the subjective experiences of individuals. Moreover, language attitude "is generally associated with an objectivist concern with quantitative measurement of speakers' reactions" while language ideology "is associated with qualitative methods such as ethnography, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis" (Kroskrity, 2016: n.p.). On another note, and despite those differences, the feelings speakers hold about language may be rooted in their beliefs and ideas about that language. While the former can be deduced by quantitative measurement, a deeper understanding of them (attitudes) requires the exploration of the latter (language ideologies) through qualitative methods. Language ideologies then "serve as an overarching context within which LAs (language attitudes) are formed and played out" (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010: 132).

In my research, I use the concept of language ideologies to build on the notion of "feelings" to explore the ideas and beliefs that result in certain feelings and attitudes, and how these affect language use. Language ideologies are then "beliefs and feelings about language that shape the way we use language" (Piller, 2015: 1). In other words, our ways of speaking, the words we choose to utter or write, our accents and any use of our communicative resources is not random, it is the reflection of our ideas and feelings about our own and others' language and a reflection of individuals' roots (backgrounds/origins) and routes (trajectories/life experiences and choices). Language users are agentive, and they construct their own beliefs about language. These beliefs can be related to the broader social, cultural and political atmosphere in which they operate, as well as the individual experiences of speakers across different times and spaces, which as well make them chronotopic. That's why they can be dominant, i.e., established and hegemonic ideas about language that are accepted as the norm and are imposed by the majority and powerful groups (e.g., the state's ideologies), residual, i.e., ideas that were formed in the past by previous social groups and which include elements of it but are still effective in the present

(social and cultural ideologies), or emergent, i.e., new ideas and practices that are being created (new individual ideologies) (Williams, 1977; Rampton and Holmes, 2019). Understanding language ideologies as such will account for their dynamicity and the role of participants' agency in shaping them. This means that while speakers, at particular times and spaces, might align themselves with particular language practices and dominant or residual ideologies, they can also rework them and re-negotiate them. These values, beliefs and ideologies that are carried in the language we use (Gumperz, 1982) convey our identities as well and our sense of self (Riley, 2007).

2.3.2. Identity in sociolinguistic research

For a long time, identity has drawn the attention of many scholars from various disciplines including psychology, anthropology, and sociology (Romaine, 2011: 7). Beginning in the 80s, however, there was a particular growing body of research that links identity to aspects of language and communication (Joseph, 2004). Omoniyi and White (2006: 1) argue that in sociolinguistics, research on identity has often focused on:

> The ways in which people position or construct themselves and are positioned or constructed by others in socio-cultural situations through the instrumentality of language and with reference to all the variables that comprise identity markers for each community in the speech of its members.

Traditionally, the variables that embody identity were seen as relatively stable and homogenous (Hua, 2017: 117). Social class, age, ethnicity, and religion, among other variables were studied as collective categories that are fixed in time and space. People's identities then were understood as unified, unchanging, and acquired by the virtue of birth (Bucholtz, 2003: 400). This essentialist view, however, has been widely challenged by social constructivist sociolinguists, who argued for re-conceptualizing identity as fluid, multiple, emergent, and constructed in interactions through means of discourse and language (e.g., Giddens, 1991; Block, 2006; Norton, 2006; 2013; Miller and Kubota, 2013). In this new paradigm, Block (2006: 39) argues that identity is:

> Socially constructed, a self-conscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs, interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions, and language. All this occurs in the company of others -either face to face or electronically mediated- with whom the individual, shares beliefs and motives and activities and practices.

Block (2006) emphasises the role of the social world and the shared characteristics that individuals have with other members of the society in the shaping of identity, which unfolds during interactions with others. For that reason, Jenkins (2014) argues that identification starts as early as the first socialization processes start to take place in people's lives. It continues to occur throughout their lives resulting in them acquiring new knowledge and experiences and constructing new identities. In that sense, as people accumulate new knowledge about the world, their identities become multi-layered and multiple, and many identities can co-exist within them. Acquiring new identities, Block (2007) argues, does not mean that one abandons their old ones. Identity construction is not "a half-and-half proposition whereby the individual becomes half of what he/she was and half of what he /she has been exposed to" (Block, 2007: 21). Instead, people develop a hybrid identity, a third space that takes from all other, different, old, existing identities (Block, 2007: 21). In this process of developing a hybrid identity, people negotiate difference between their past and present experiences and identities (Papastergiadis, 2013). This view focuses on the uniqueness of individuals and their life experiences. That is, individuals negotiate shared, group identities, and construct their own unique ones in the process. In this research, I adapt this view of identity negotiation as a subjective, multi-layered, and dynamic process that varies across time and space (see also Hall, 1990; Riley, 2007). For instance, even though participants of this research might be all identified as Algerians, what one individual might define as "Algerian" can vary across other individuals, space, and time. Moreover, while they might affiliate with such identification, they as well might distance themselves from it. Accordingly, I focus on their own awareness, rather than my pre-assumptions of what is essential to their identity construction processes as they affiliate or separate the *Self* from the *Other* (Poiri and Levinas, 1987).

In a modern world, characterized by increased complexity and diversity, echoing this social-constructivist theorization of identity will account for its fluidity and dynamicity. This is particularly true when researching mobility. In this context, identity negotiation can be a challenging process because of the differing social norms and conventions across spaces and times. In mobility, individuals might find themselves grappling with the *Self* and *Other* because as Ruggiu (2015: 91) argues:

Migratory phenomena force us to face a relevant form of otherness. Our self-comprehension functions differently when we meet an individual being that is either

part of an ethnic minority already enjoying citizenship rights, though only partially, or who is a foreigner without citizenship who is not already integrated into the political community and wants to gain citizenship. In this latter instance, indeed, we face a form of otherness (i.e., foreigners) which is completely other (different).

In other words, identity construction is not a unidirectional process. It happens in relation to others. People negotiate their self-oriented identities besides identities that were ascribed to them by others (Hua, 2013; 2015; 2017). In mobility, these forms of negotiation and *Othering* become more visible as people's experiences and networks extend and unfold. In such cases, mobile individuals might embrace in-between, hybrid identities (see Baynham and De Fina, 2006) which can be reflected in their communicative choices and practices (De Fina, 2016: 169) as in the study of Rampton (1995).

Rampton (1995) studied a multi-ethnic group of adolescents living in the UK. These adolescents transgressed the boundaries of fixed ethnic identities through language-crossing. Language-crossing is the process through which speakers use linguistic varieties from different, other social and ethnic groups that do not "belong" to them (Rampton, 1995: 485). Through the fluid use of the communicative repertoires available to them, these adolescents created "new ethnicities" (Rampton, 1995: 508). Ethnicities that embrace difference and diversity. Through their communicative choices, they constructed and negotiated identities. Joseph (2004) asserts that identity construction is a linguistic phenomenon. Through their words, speakers form their conceptions of the *Self* and the *Other* and affiliate or distance themselves from their listeners. Identity negotiation then can be viewed as fundamentally discursive (Christine Hall, 1992), not "a property or a stable category of individuals or groups but as particular forms of semiotic potential, organised in a repertoire" (Blommaert, 2005: 207). In this study, I look at how participants' communicative practices index their identities. Because identity construction resides in indexicality which "involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic [or non-linguistic] forms and social meanings" (Carlin et al., 2014: 4), I will now move to exploring the concept of indexicality, particularly, in contexts of mobility.

2.3.3. Indexicality

As argued above, social interactions involve identity work. People do not only communicate words but also values and beliefs that index their identities. Bourdieu (1977: 648) states that "a person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected,

distinguished." Although not all "language" is *choose-able*, as "there are many dimensions of language which are not subject to conscious or direct control" (Lippi-Green, 1997: 5), our use of language is always *indexical*, and whether we are speakers or listeners, we evaluate and judge language use. Indexicality is, as Blommaert et al. (2015: 122) explain:

> The dimension of meaning in which textual features "point to" (index) contextually retrievable meanings. More concretely: every utterance carries apart from "pure" (denotational) meanings a range of sociocultural meanings, derived from widespread assumptions about the meanings signalled by the features of the utterance.

When linguistic forms acquire sociocultural meanings, they become indexical. These indexicals then will link language use and language ideologies that people hold in that the rationalizations and justifications speakers build for indexicals are what make a "language ideology" (Gal and Irvine, 1995: 973). Indexicals, on the other hand, are the result of ideologies of language. The relationship between language ideology and indexicality is, therefore, dialectical. Silverstein (2003) explains this using the notion of "indexical orders". He explains how indexicals may evolve to become ideologies of language. He asserts that indexical orders' concept is "necessary to showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon" (Silverstein, 2003: 193). According to him, the first-order indexicality, what Silverstein (2003) also refers to as the *n-th* order is the actual use of a linguistic form in context. This use is schematized and not random and is used by a social group, moreover, "there will tend to be a contextual entailment—a "creative" effect or "effectiveness" in context—regularly produced by the use of the *n*-th order indexical" (Silverstein, 2003: 193-194). The rationalizations and evaluations of the *n-th* order leads to the *n+1st* order indexicality, i.e., the second-order indexicality. This latter can be further rationalized and evaluated resulting in *higher levels* indexicality. Silverstein emphasizes that the relationship between the orders is dialectical, in the sense that the *n+1* order is shaped by the *n-th* order, but the *n+1* order also influences the *n-th.* The process by which a first-order indexicality becomes a second-order indexicality is what Agha (2003) refers to as *enregistrement.*

Enregistrement is the process "through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha, 2003: 231). Agha explains how RP (received pronunciation) comes to be valued the way it is today, i.e., as a prestige variety of British English. RP had its origin as a variety spoken by only the privileged

in southeastern England in the 16th century (following Silverstein, it was a first-order indexicality). It was an English variety bound to a specific geographical space. Through time, however, and beginning with the 18th century, RP came to be a national standard variety associated with prestige and correctness (following Silverstein, it became a second-order indexicality). This happened because of, Agha (2003: 244-245) argues, "discourses that circulate through, and thus are frequently transformed by the activities of persons linked to each other in particular, institutionalized genres of communicative activity". *Enregistrement* then happens across time and space, and it is the result of discourses about this variety and people's communicative practices.

Enregistrement and the transition from first-order indexicality to second and/or higher-order indexicality can also be a result of mobility, as shown in the study of Johnstone et al. (2006) about "Pittsburghese" dialect. Johnstone and colleagues (2006) explored the standardization of a regional variety (Pittsburgh dialect) through social and geographical mobility. Before the 1960s, they explained how the dialect was not noticed at all. Pittsburghers lived in, to a great extent, homogeneous, isolated community formed mostly of working-class members and have little to no contact at all with people who spoke different English than theirs. Therefore, the Pittsburgh variety was a first-order indexicality which never pointed to/indexed one's social class or their place of birth. Pittsburghese stayed a first-order indexicality until the younger Pittsburghese generation started experiencing upward social mobility. It is then that first-order Pittsburghese acquired social meanings associated with correctness and social class, i.e., it became second-order indexicality. After WW2, Pittsburgese acquired a third-order indexicality bounding it to place due to geographical mobility. With Pittsburghese travelling in the military, for work, or even on vacation, the dialect became more noticeable and distinctive. Besides that, people coming from elsewhere to study or work in Pittsburgh and representations of Pittsburghese in mass media, all contributed to the dialect to be linked to place and associated with localness. Through these processes, Pittsburghese "begins to acquire legitimacy" (Johnstone et al., 2006: 96). People from Pittsburgh started engaging in meta-discursive practices, including what the authors called "talk about talk", i.e., they explicitly talk about what their talk index. Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004, as cited in Johnstone et al., 2006: 4) also observed that:

Displaced Pittsburghers who visited or eventually moved back brought with them stories about being told they sounded funny (Johnstone forthcoming-b), and nostalgic

talk about Pittsburgh and Pittsburgh speech became common in diasporic communities of Pittsburghers.

Mobility, social and/or geographical, made the unnoticed, noticed and shaped ideologies of language. In the light of some current understandings of language, mobility, and place as bounded, rigid, and fixed, and because of the evaluative nature of indexicals and language ideologies, stratification and hierarchization occur. This brings social justice debates to the fore. This will be further discussed in the next section.

2.4. Linguistic diversity and social justice

When people are mobile, their sociolinguistic resources are also mobile with them. Language use and language norms are likely to differ from one country to another (Blommaert, 2010: 32). Differences are evident in how language varieties are valued and judged across different places or in Bourdieu's terms (1977) across different "linguistic markets". In these markets, linguistic resources are unevenly distributed and circulated producing "rights to speech" through which there are "legitimate speakers", i.e., speakers whose speech is valued, and "illegitimate speakers", i.e., speakers whose speech is devalued (Bourdieu, 1977: 648). Bourdieu (1977) explains how individuals invest time, efforts and even money to learn and use linguistic resources that are highly valued in the marketplace and within a group, i.e., they invest in the linguistic capital. Language then is a means to exercise power by those who own the capital and linguistic differences in this case can foster linguistic injustice and inequalities. A perfect example of this is Rahman's (2009) study of the linguistic behaviours of workers in call centres in three major cities in Pakistan. In those call centres, English is commodified.

Rahman (2009) specifies "the commodity that commands exchange value in the call centres of Pakistan that do business with the United States is called a "neutral accent" but, in practice, is a near-native standard American accent" (Rahman, 2009: 235). In other words, American English accent is valued higher than other English accents in those call centres. On the one hand, in the Pakistani society, Rahman (2009) argues, the language ideologies give more value to the English language, followed by Urdu and then the other indigenous languages. Besides that, there is a tendency to hold more value to native–like English accents with RP being valued more among the older generation and American accent among the younger generation. Even though the acrolect variety (the Educated Pakistani English accent) is considered prestigious, Rahman (2009: 247) states that "there is culture shame about Pakistani English – including the very term itself – in Pakistan". This is reflected in how workers

in call centres feel they need to make an effort in order to speak to their American clients in their accents, however, they feel that "the native-speaker client need not to make any such collaborative effort" (Rahman, 2009: 247). On the other hand, the American accent of the workers in call centres is also viewed as "fake", "phony" and "put on" and it alienates the workers' accent from the Pakistani culture around them. American accent in call centres is low valued by the Pakistani elite, those who speak acrolect variety, outside these centres. The reason for that is again the language ideologies in the country, especially those held by the elite who view educated Pakistani accent as the most prestigious.

Piller (2015) explains how as a result of linguistic differences, language users rationalize the hierarchization and stratification of language(s). In her view, such language ideologies foster injustices. There is a hierarchization that is engraved in people's held language ideologies which 'bridge between linguistic and social structure, as they rationalize and justify social inequality' (Piller, 2015: 1). Inequality happens because of ideologies and discourses which are not reflective of people's linguistic diversity. Linguistic diversity is used here in line with Piller's (2016: 12) use of the term to account for "the unique ways in which each and every one of us uses the linguistic resources at their disposal to communicate in context." Such ideologies are the result of the long, oppressive, and colonial policies and approaches. Policies that promoted for homogeneity, monolingualism, and monoculturalism and viewed them as ideal (Phipps, 2013). Through a colonialist lens, nation states are to be considered civilized and modern if they followed the European model and advocated for exclusive ideologies like the "one nation, one language" ideology. Many scholars are leading the way towards decolonizing language from such ideologies and approaches (e.g., Phipps 2013; Alim, 2018; Stroud, 2020; Badwan, 2021b). Therefore, this study aims at supporting such efforts through accounting for individuals' agency and hearing their voices. This is to alter the discourse of uniformity and exclusivity to one of diversity and inclusivity. A diversity that is increasingly becoming evident in modern societies through processes of mobility and means of the communication technologies.

2.5. Communication in the virtual

The virtual is used in this research to mean "digital environments in which individuals, groups, and even organizations interact in virtual (that is to say, nonphysical) spaces" (Saunders, 2011: 1079). That is, the experience of being in a parallel world that is different from the physical world but no less real than it (Deumert, 2014: 14). While "geographical space is physicality

and distance, cyberspace is virtuality and the absence of distance" (Tække, 2002: 4). This absence of distance is what allows for the stretching of communication and interactions across time and place because in the virtual, unlike in the physical, it is possible to interact with people who are not physically present and to interact with them asynchronically. Virtual spaces created a new form of mobility, a virtual mobility. Being virtually mobile is "being able to travel through the phone or travel through the computer" (Deumert, 2014: 15). In other words, whereas geographical mobility requires the physical displacement of people, virtual mobility can be done through a click of a mouse or a touch of a screen. For mobile individuals, by using the communication technologies, the virtual enables them to maintain contact and communication with their home countries, i.e., to become transnationals (see section 2.1.1 of this chapter). Through these technologies, time and space boundaries are compressed. People and resources, including communicative, cross borders fluidly. This in turn has an impact on people's communication.

Communication technologies have been enabling us to explore our potentials of using language by providing us with new, exciting ways to communicate. Canagarajah (2012: 111) summarizes the ways texts have been changing due to the new technology as follows:

> The text is becoming diversified again in the context of digital communication and new technology. The world Wide Web, for example, enables us to feature not just different languages, but also different symbol systems (icons, images) and different modalities of communication (video, audio, photographs) within the same text. Therefore, the text is able to accommodate more than one grapholect.

Exploring online affordances, and how they have been changing humans' life and communication have been a subject of interest for many scholars and sociolinguists (e.g., Warschauer et al., 2002; Deumert, 2014; Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015; Androutsopoulos, 2015; Darvin, 2016; Tagg, 2016). In this section, I will explore this rich body of literature on online communication and trace the most recent and relevant developments in this field.

2.5.1. Online, spatial resources and post-humanism

Online communication is mostly text-mediated (besides video and audio chatting), which enables the use of written language in a way that approximates speaking in the physical world (Darvin, 2016: 523). For instance, Warschauer et al. (2002) who observed the use of language online by a group of young professionals in Egypt, found out that young Egyptians,

besides using English, extensively use a Romanized version of Egyptian Arabic. Egyptian dialect, like all other Arabic dialects, is not standardized and it is used online in a way that resembles its spoken form offline. Moreover, in the digital, communication can be both synchronous, like in offline interactions, and also can be asynchronous, in the sense that reply to messages can be delayed. It is this same asynchrony that enables online interactions to "transcend the ephemerality of spoken words" (Deumert, 2014: 9). Interactions online can be stored and retrieved. Also, to more approximate face-to-face interactions, in which people can use non-verbal cues such as gestures and facial expressions, users online make use of the digital affordances such as memes, gifs, videos, and instant translations. When studying online communication, early scholars have often focused on such differences and similarities between online and offline communication treating them as binaries (Orgad, 2009; Bolander and Locher, 2020). More recently, however, this online/offline communication distinction is being challenged in post-humanist and repertoire approaches, as we shall see below.

Online affordances make communication multimodal. The multimodality of online environments moved attention from focusing on particular linguistic structures towards exploring "how meaning is created through the choice of, and interplay between, different modes" (Tagg et al., 2016: 3). This shift of interest does not only include online communication, but it extends to the offline interactions. Recently, there are calls in sociolinguistics for the use of terms like "metrolingualism" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010), "translingualism" (Canagarajah, 2012), "translanguaging" (García and Wei, 2014), and "polylanguaging" (Jørgensen and Møller, 2014) to account for all the linguistic and other resources and repertoires that individuals use in communication. Those resources transcend codes and languages to include ecological resources. In the case of online interactions, Androutsopoulos (2015: 189) clarifies that "the open-ended linguistic diversity that is highlighted by the notions of metrolingualism, polylanguaging and translanguaging manifests here [the global computer network] in an endless flow of digital linguistic material, which networked actors can explore, appropriate and recontextualize." When viewing language practices as translingual, the affordances of the digital may be considered a part of the speaker's linguistic repertoires. In that sense, repertoires are not only embodied and exist within the individuals but transcend them. For that reason, Pennycook (2017b) calls for a post-humanist view of repertoires. He argues that rather than conceptualizing repertoires as

individual and social they are better understood as spatial and distributed. The main obstacle with conceptualizing repertoires as individual and social, he argues, is that it fails to capture the diversity of resources deployed especially the space resources. Spatial repertoires, on the other hand, account for such diversity by considering how those resources intersect with space. He also introduces the concept of "virtual spatial repertoires". Virtual spatial repertoires are all the ecological resources which "play crucial roles in how various resources will be used and taken up" (Pennycook, 2017b: 454). Virtual spatial repertoires, Pennycook (2017b: 452) states:

> Are not distant from the spatial repertoires of offline contexts. When we observe the ways in which activities, linguistic resources, and the particularities of place interact in kitchens, restaurants, and markets, it also becomes evident that the notion of repertoires is best understood as spatial and distributed rather than tied to individuals or communities.

In other words, whether online or offline, individuals make use of the ecological and spatial resources to draw from their communicative repertoires to communicate. They deploy a range of linguistic and non-linguistic resources to make meaning. As stated in Darvin (2016: 529), when people communicate online their choice of language depends on "the situated language ecology", this includes their geographical, linguistic and sociocultural backgrounds besides the audience and the subject of interaction, but it also depends on the affordances of the multimodal virtual space. Understanding repertoires as spatial not only puts into question claimed boundaries between languages but also blurs boundaries between semiotic modes. Through looking at data from a Bangladeshi-owned corner shop, Pennycook (2017a) concluded that, in the analysis of data, it is important that the researcher includes a wide range of semiotic signs that would overlap in a flow of conversations. This, however, will only be enough by unfolding and explaining the relationships between those semiotic resources, this is what Pennycook (2017a) calls "semiotic assemblage". Semiotic assemblage, Pennycook (2017a: 269) suggests:

> Allows for an understanding of how different trajectories of people, semiotic resources and objects meet at particular moments and places, and thus helps us to see the importance of things, the consequences of the body, and the significance of place alongside the meanings of linguistic resources.

Communication then online and offline is a social practice that is achieved through the use of human and non-human resources (see also Gourlay and Oliver, 2013). Such an approach to looking at repertoires and communicative practices not only renders the distinction between online and offline communication less relevant but also blurs the boundaries between online and offline spaces. This will be further explored below.

2.5.2. Online/offline interaction

Late modern societies are shaped by the developments in the digital communication technologies (Giddens, 2013). These communication technologies have become so integrated in humans' lives and embodied in their daily social activities. Barton and Lee (2013: 178) argued that "it is the domestication of technologies that blurs the boundaries between the so-called online and offline worlds". But while accepting the integration of the virtual into their lives, humans are still aware of its ambiguity and difference from the offline, physical world (Deumert, 2014: 12). In this section, I will explore the interaction between the online virtual world and the offline physical world with a particular focus on communicative repertoires. As Blommaert (2016a: 225) argues, "works on the interactions between online and offline sociolinguistics life very much awaits development." In a research which aims to enrich a sociolinguistic of resources and mobility framework, it is significant to study such an interaction, not only because the online world has played a major role in the intensification of mobility and globalization, but also because it became an inseparable part of humans' everyday life, and it is the link by which mobile people keep crossing spatial and temporal borders.

Accounting for much of the academic research at the time, Jones (2004: 3) contends that studies on online interaction looked at the latter as taking place "in a kind of virtual vacuum with little connection to the material worlds of the people sitting in front of computer screens and producing the words that analysts spend so much time dissecting and interpreting." People, however, often link their offline experiences to their online ones. While shopping, they might upload a picture of their activity on their social media accounts, and at a family dinner, they might talk about an incident that they encountered online. The online became an extension of the offline (Bolander and Locher, 2020: 2) and vice versa. It gives an "expression to existing offline communities" (Seargeant et al., 2012: 514) and at the same time might result in the creation of new ones offline. As such, online and offline contexts

became so interconnected and often interact (Thorne, 2013) and separation between them is probably futile. For that reason, Dovchin and Pennycook (2017: 221) cautioned against:

> Trying to understand the cultural and linguistic lives and literacy practices of young adults without investigating both their online and offline practices: If we explore their online worlds without looking at the everyday offline lives, we fail to see how one may be grounded in the other; but if we focus on their offline lives, we fail to see how their online lives seep into their everyday practices.

This becomes even more crucial when researching the experiences of mobile individuals to whom the online is "a symbol of their lived mobility" (Deumert, 2014: 16). It enables transnational communication through the maintenance of old, offline social ties and networks, and gives them the opportunity to extend their new ones to the online. Therefore, in researching communicative practices, Hine (2000) suggests that in order to accurately capture the complexity of the communicative practices, the researcher is advised to move fluidly, back and forth between online and offline research sites (see Chapter 3, section 3.5.3 for more discussion on this). People's interactions online are not detached from their offline sphere of lives rather the two interact. They organize and construct their lives and identities in and around the spaces they occupy as we shall see in more detail next.

2.5.3. Identity online

Besides it being "a place for communication" and "a tool for communication", Markham (1998; 2004 as cited in Bolander and Locher, 2020: 2) argues that the internet can also be "a way of being in the world". A way of experiencing the *Self* and the *Other* through the multitude of online, spatial affordances. As Lee (2016: 55) states, studies of communicative choices online often have the "identity" theme in common. This is because identity online is fundamentally presented through means of language (Vásquez, 2014: 68). Users would identify or distance themselves from a group through writing (Boyd, 2001), orthography (Tagg, 2012), use of scripts (Tagg and Seargeant, 2012), and different other semiotic modes like images and videos (Androutsopoulos, 2010). Therefore, Androutsopoulos (2007: 282-283) conceives identities on the web as "processes in which individual relationships to larger social constructs are constructed and negotiated through text and talk."

This construction of identity does not happen solely online or solely offline but rather it happens across the online and offline (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 239). On the one hand, people's offline embodied self is embedded online (Buck, 2012: 14–15) and on the other hand, their online self influences their offline self and identities (Dovchin and Pennycook, 2017: 214). For instance, this was evident in the work of Dovchin (2015) who investigated the linguistic practices of Mongolian students on Facebook. She argued that sometimes users' online identities are extensions of their offline "authentic/real" identities, which can be explored through their translingual linguistic practices. Authenticity in this context refers to "the extent to which an online persona is seen by interlocuters to relate to the person behind it" (Seargeant and Tagg, 2014: 7). That is, online users not only construct their selves in relation to the offline but as well the online audience.

The concept of "*context collapse*" was used by Androutsopoulos (2014a) to denote the diverse, nearly unlimited, networked audiences which are brought together on social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter. Online, people negotiate their communicative practices to reflect their identities to a variety of audiences at the same time (Jones and Hafner, 2012: 152). This affects and complicates their language styles and choices which are designed to address, include, or exclude parts of the networked, heterogenous audiences (Androutsopoulos, 2014a: 71). It further makes identities "always open to reappropriation, recontextualization, and transformation" (Lee, 2016:55). This shifts the attention on the study of identity online from a focus on who a particular user is to how, when, and where their identities are displayed, constructed, and perceived on the internet (Hine, 2000: 118; Georgalou, 2018: 14). This feeds into an understanding of identities as individual, multiple, dynamic, flexible and changing rather than stable and shared. In that sense, and taking a social-constructivist perspective on the conceptualization of identity, the distinction between an online versus offline identity is made less relevant (Barton and Lee, 2013: 7), rather the focus is on how identity is mobilized across different spaces and times using the different, available means of communication such as orthography.

2.5.4. The sociolinguistics of orthography
Sebba (2007) makes a fundamental distinction between orthography, spelling and writing systems. He uses Philip Baker's (1997) distinction between writing system and orthography

who explains how writing systems are wider and more inclusive as they are "any means of representing graphically any language or group of languages". Orthography, on the other hand, means "a writing system specifically intended for a particular language" (Sebba, 2007: 10). This means that a writing system can include more than one language, but orthography only includes one. Spelling is defined more narrowly as it is the application of the rules of orthography in the writing of words within a language (Sebba, 2007: 11). On that basis, Sebba (2007: 5) defines the sociolinguistics of orthography as "a framework for accounting for orthographic choices in their social context - at the individual, group, societal and national level". That is, it is a theoretical framework to understand the social meanings behind the choices of the graphical representations of language.

Sebba (2007) explains how language ideologies may affect orthographic choice just like in the case of Sranan. Sranan is an English Creole spoken by Surinamese with no universally used orthography. Between 1718 and 1951, Sranan has been written in no less than fourteen ways using different orthographies. Those orthographies, however, are inspired from European languages mainly Dutch and German. In 1829, when Sranan orthography relied heavily on Dutch conventions of spelling, a New Testament in Sranan was published. This led to a debate in Britain around the "appropriateness" of publishing the New Testament in "Negro-English". This debate stemmed from, Sebba (2007) argues, twofold language ideologies. First, the belief that "a language" should have its own orthographic system while a dialect is written in a "modified version of the orthography of the 'language' of which it is presumed to be a sub-type" (Sebba, 2007: 69). So, Sranan is seen a sub-type of a more prestigious language because it does not have its own orthography, rather it uses Dutch orthography. The second language ideology is that Sranan spelling should follow the European origin of the words rather than their pronunciation. This latter language ideology resulted in Sranan to be regarded as a sub-type of "a language".

On the one hand, in the Sranan example, it is obvious how ideologies of language can play a crucial role in the choice of the orthography. On the other hand, and in another study, Jaffe and Walton (2000) showed how dominant language ideologies affect people's attitudes towards orthographic choices. In their experiment, Jaffe and Walton (2000) interviewed 38 participants by giving them different texts to read out loud and to perform by imagining the person who wrote them. The texts included both standard and non-standard orthography. The authors found out that "people uncritically and spontaneously read non-standard

orthographies as indices of low socioeconomic status" (Jaffe and Walton, 2000: 561). Participants did not read and perform texts the same, and the differences in reading and performing were based on how the texts were written. This, the authors concluded, is the result of the belief in "language varieties as discrete and bounded codes, linked to discrete and bounded social categories and values" (Jaffe and Walton, 2000: 582). Just like in speaking, in writing stigmatization and discrimination based on one's orthographic choices exist. That's because language ideologies about spoken language can be projected in written language, the best example of that is the standard language ideology present in Jaffe and Walton's study. Spitzmüller (2012: 257) proposes the concept "graphic ideologies", which he defines as "any sets of beliefs about graphic communicative means articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived orders and communicative use of graphic elements." In the case of German language, Spitzmüller (2012) illustrates, how some graphic elements, such as <ä> and <ß> are believed to be signs of "Germanness," (Spitzmüller, 2012: 261).

Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) also make a strong connection between language ideology and language standardization, which essentially entails the adoption of an official orthography for a non-standard language variety. They explain this through the case of the Haitian creole "KreyÒl". KreyÒl was up to the 1930s written based on French orthography and in a simplified French spelling, therefore, it was considered, in Schieffelin and Doucet (1994: 431) words, "a diminished or simplified version of French". In the 1970s, social and political pressure resulted in the officialization of KreyÒl as the language of instruction and literacy in Haiti. This led the Haitian government to establish a unified official orthography of KreyÒl to be used in schools. This new orthography was unique to the Haitian creole and as a result "the image of KreyÒl, both spoken and written, and consequently its role in the social and political life of Haitians, had changed" (Schieffelin and Doucet, 1994: 433). KreyÒl came to be regarded as an element of Haitian national identity. It was issues like these surrounding orthography and orthographic choices that led researchers to situate such issues within the broader framework of language ideologies.

"Wherever choices are possible, or are made possible, they have the potential to take on social meaning—and usually do so" (Sebba, 2012: 1). When it comes to communicative choices, the internet has definitely widened them. Digital technologies, as Sebba (2012: 5) puts it, "have provided spaces when standard spelling norms are frequently

disregarded, leading to an expansion of the "unregulated orthographic space". They have been reshaping existing language norms and creating new ones (Bellamy, 2021). These choices and norms are meaningful and are related to language ideologies. Hillewaert (2015) investigated the orthographic practices of youth from Kenya's Lamu Archipelago on Facebook. While Swahili dialects are avoided in spoken interactions and are stigmatized, on Facebook, users "infuse digital exchanges with phonological qualities associated with these vernaculars" (Hillewaert, 2015: 195). This is because Lamu youth believe that these orthographic practices reflect pride in one's origin. Hillewaert (2015) calls this "writing with an accent" practices. Although the dialects are still being avoided in spoken interactions, orthographic choices on Facebook are reshaping the beliefs and language ideologies attached to them. In the same line, Androutsopoulos (2015: 189) confirms that online users use their linguistic repertoires "to create linguistic forms that blur and cross boundaries of scripts and orthographies and drawing on the resulting contrasts to create metapragmatic meaning." Those metapragmatic meanings are indexical (Silverstein, 1993). Choices related to script, code, symbols, spelling, etc., can all be indices of language ideologies people hold. Despite this role of orthography in research, interest in the meanings behind orthographic choices is limited and awaiting more exploration (Spitzmüller, 2012: 255). More discussion on language ideologies online is provided below.

2.5.5. Language ideologies online
It has been the tradition in academic research to study language ideologies per regional, geographical, bounded and physical places (Squires, 2010: 460-461). Mostly because language ideologies are meant to describe the views on language use of a particular homogeneous group or the views on a particular, homogenous, bounded-in-space use of language. However, "the internet is not a geographically bounded place with local, place-distributed linguistic features; the internet also has no clearly definable population of "speakers" (Squires, 2010: 461). The internet was described as a superdiverse space (Wang and Varis, 2011: 71) where physical boundaries are highly challenged. The virtual world is polycentric, heterogeneous and plural (Vessey, 2016: 3), and language practices in the virtual world are diverse and multiple. Nevertheless, there has been little research on what role does language ideologies play on the internet, especially in the social networking sites, Vessey (2016: 3) maintains that; "in online contexts it remains unclear whether and how beliefs about language are manifested, the role they play in communication across and through social

media." In this section, I will present some of the works on language ideologies in the virtual world.

Some research on social media concluded that offline language ideologies are reproduced online (e.g., Lenihan, 2011; Sharma, 2014; Phyak, 2015). That is, they show that some of the most prominent modernist language ideologies offline are also present online such as the ideologies of endangerment, purism, parallel monolingualism, monolingualism, standard language ideology, national language ideology and language as a bounded system. This is not surprising given that the perspective to look at online users in those studies is the perspective of, more or less, homogeneous groups of language users, for instance, Irish speakers (Lenihan, 2011), Transnational Nepalis (B. K. Sharma, 2014), and Nepalis (Phyak, 2015). In other words, they looked at the language ideologies of a homogenous group in heterogeneous, superdiverse and plural space and the results were that the offline language ideologies are replicated online. However, in his study, Sharma (2014: 27) notices that "close scrutiny revealed that their [online users] linguistic practices contained a number of similar linguistic peculiarities and heteroglossic language uses that challenged their own conscious conceptualizations of language". This means that the language ideologies of online users may be unconsciously heteroglossic and fluid which is reflected in their diverse language practices. This goes in line with the study of Dovchin (2015). Dovchin (2015) investigated the translingual practices of Mongolian youth on Facebook and the spread of their associated ideologies in Mongolia. She particularly explored the linguistic authenticity ideology. She concluded that this language ideology is still present online, but "the question of how youth relocalize the ideology of authenticity, however, profoundly differs, depending on each individual's own often-diverse criteria, beliefs and ideas" (Dovchin, 2015: 456). In other words, the same language ideology is realized and performed differently by different online users. This is because those Facebook users were not seen as one homogeneous group rather as individuals with differing socio-cultural and historical backgrounds.

The virtual space can also be a space where dominant ideologies are challenged. In a study in which she explored the language ideologies about Hoisan-wa by looking at three YouTube videos and users' comments on them, Leung (2010: 44) found that "the majority of the comments of the videos were very positive and that YouTube was serving as a place where dominant ideologies about Hoisan-wa could be contested." While offline, beliefs about Hoisan-wa are negative as this language is seen as a "harsh-sounding language", online, Leung

(2010) observed that language users were proud to be speakers of it. This means that language ideologies online can be replicated, re-localized, or even contested. In the light of these studies and the scarce academic research about language ideologies online, the present study aims to explore how participants construct their online communicative practices and language ideologies. Taking into consideration their unique and individual life trajectories and experiences besides the spatial, online affordances. In order to make use of these affordances, online users need to be aware of what the digital provides. They need to develop new mindsets and literacies (Darvin, 2016: 523) to make the fullest of their communication online. Below, an exploration of what mindsets and literacies users need when in the virtual world is presented.

2.5.6. Digital literacy and Affordances

In today's world, digital technology has become an integral part of human life. The use of such technology requires a new set of digital skills. Therefore, the traditional understandings of literacy that reduces it to one's ability to read and write certain types of texts have been extended to include digital media (Njenga, 2018: 2). As Dudeney and Hockly (2016: 115) argue, digital literacy skills refer to:

> Our ability to effectively make use of the technologies at our disposal. This includes not just technical skills, but perhaps more importantly, an awareness of the social practices that surround the appropriate use of new technologies.

In that sense, besides knowledge about what is being used and typed, digital literacy also involves when and how people use their skills. Digital literacy then combines technical and social skills. This can be particularly relevant to social media sites which play a significant role in the digital literacy practices of people (de Bres, 2015). For instance, digitally literate people on social media, who have developed the ideas and mindsets of how to use the new communication technologies and their affordances, would also be able to know in what context to use emojis, memes, gifs and so on. As such, digital literacy does not only involve the use of the text but also of the various semiotic resources that are available online. These semiotic online resources can be "emblems" i.e., they can be socially and culturally meaningful similar to offline semiotic resources (McCulloch, 2019: 162). For instance, particular emojis can represent particular body gestures. Consequently, people use these semiotic resources fluidly in a manner that resembles their use of offline semiotic resources. For that reason, Pennycook and Dovchin (2017) argue that the increasing number of studies

that challenge traditional static understandings of language offline should be reflected in studies of online communication. Moreover, digital literacy should reflect the fluid boundaries between online and offline spaces (see section 2.5.2). They use the term "digital metroliteracies" to envisage the fluidity and the flexibility of the use of the spatial resources across online and offline settings (Pennycook and Dovchin, 2017: 214). Consequently, being digitally metroliterate means being aware and being able to manage and fluidly use one's (virtual)spatial repertoires.

The internet skills that people acquire will provide them with better command and awareness of how to use their communicative resources and what the online has to afford. Affordances refer to "all possible actions that an object or an environment offers to social actors with their individual backgrounds and (literacy) experiences" (Eisenlauer and Karatza, 2020: 126). These affordances shape how the diverse communicative resources of users are negotiated and constructed in interactions, a process referred to as "*repertoire assemblage*" by Tagg and Lyons (2021: 244). Social media networks offer a set of affordances that are almost or only exclusively available on them such as emojis and gifs. These affordances comprise for online users' "mediational repertoires." The latter is "a socially and individually structured configuration of semiotic and technological resources" and comprise the "various modalities of language (speaking, writing, or signing), and various sets of pictographic and multimedia signs (e.g., emoji, memes, animated gifs, videos)" (Lexander and Androutsopoulos, 2021: 2). Mediational repertoires differ depending on the affordances available to individuals which differ across sites as well (Bucher and Helmond, 2017). For instance, while Facebook has no word limits for posts and status updates, Twitter limits tweets to 280 characters. In this case, users' communicative practices online are influenced by the site's "affordances and constraints" (Tagg and Lyons, 2021: 244).

Besides users' literacy and the technological affordances and constraints of the social networking sites, communicative practices online are also governed by several other ecological factors. These factors include, Lee (2016: 34) argues, users' situated language ecology, i.e., their sociolinguistic backgrounds, experiences, biographies, beliefs, and values, moreover, their practices are influenced by the content of their posts which shapes and is shaped by the targeted audience. Audience design refers to "the ways in which users tailor their posts to the expectations of their imagined readership" (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014: 162). They do so through a number of

addressivity strategies such as the use of tagging, language and script choices, and privacy settings' choices (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014: 167). These factors influencing communicative practices online are interrelated and one shapes or/and is shaped by the other. Users design their posts to reflect their identities and ideologies in relation to the sites' affordances, while as well taking into consideration the targeted audience. At the same time, their digital literacy influences how these affordances are used.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I engaged with the most recent and relevant body of research that shaped and is related to the main aims of this study. I started by exploring approaches to the study of language and communication in contexts of mobility and superdiversity. These approaches offer a more inclusive, fluid, and dynamic understanding of communication in a highly mobile world. Having discussed these approaches in-depth, I then moved to defining the main concepts and theoretical constructs of the research. I first introduced the concept of communicative repertoires. A concept that is inclusive to all the resources that individuals use in their interactions. Communicative repertoires are chronotopic, biographical, and post-human. They relate to individuals' histories and experiences which shape and are shaped by their identities and language ideologies and go beyond them. This in turn reflects the diversity, individuality, and inclusivity of communication that is often overlooked in traditional understandings of language leading to the creation and maintenance of discourses of exclusion and instances of linguistic injustices. Such understandings were also challenged due to the new and emerging ways of communication enabled by the new technologies. In the last part of the chapter, I focused on online communication which role is fundamental in modern societies. I particularly focused on the online/offline interaction and how often the two spaces are merged together and differences between them are blurred. Finally, the discussions and debates that are presented in this chapter contributed to the building of the necessary knowledge to inform and design a suitable methodological plan that the next chapter will discuss.

3. Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

The aim of this project is to explore the communicative repertoires of four Algerian PhD students in the UK through looking at both their online and offline practices. To this end and to meet this aim, I conducted a qualitative, ethnographic case study. This chapter starts by discussing the rationale of my research design. I explore the theoretical framework that underpins and supports my choice of methodology and how it fits with the broader research paradigm. I delve into the epistemological and ontological orientations that guided the study and explore the different research traditions. This is followed by a description of the research sites and participants. I first provide a detailed description of the profiles of the four Algerian PhD students and how they were recruited as well as the sites across which the research took place. I then present the data collection methods and analysis and issues related to my research such as ethics and trustworthiness. As my fieldwork coincided with the global pandemic Covid-19, I also dwell on what implications this had on my research methodology and the lessons I learnt throughout doing my fieldwork during unprecedented circumstances. In addition to that, I provide a detailed account of my positionality as a researcher and the shifting roles I played in the research. I also draw on the multilingual aspects of the data collected and give notes on the translation process. Through this chapter, I attempt to make explicit my thought and decision-making processes. In doing so, I will be providing thick descriptions of the research context in order to grant transparency which importance is increasingly being recognized across the social sciences (see Moravcsik, 2020).

3.1. The case for qualitative research

The choice of the methodology for any research depends primarily on its questions and aims (Ellis and Levy, 2009: 325), but that's not all what informs such a choice. The researcher's philosophical assumptions and their personal experience are equally important (Creswell and Creswell, 2018: 3). For a study that aims at exploring a new phenomenon, describing it, understanding it, building towards a theory to explain it, or all of the above, qualitative research is ideal (Merriam, 2002; Ellis and Levy, 2009). As the research questions mentioned in the introduction of this chapter suggest, this study is exploratory in nature, with the purpose of understanding and describing mobile individuals' experiences and to build from them towards enriching the theorization of a sociolinguistics of mobility and resources. Therefore, a qualitative research design is deemed most appropriate. Creswell and

Poth (2018: 8 citing Creswell,2013: 44) provide the following definition of qualitative research:

Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change.

This definition emphasizes the interpretive nature of qualitative research, conveys its rootedness in social constructivism, and captures its concerns with participants' voices and social justice issues. The choice of a qualitative approach to conduct any research feeds into a researcher's deeper held ontological, epistemological and methodological beliefs, and depending on those beliefs, different researchers may place qualitative research within different paradigms and interpretive frameworks (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 19). Paradigms are the underlying, broader set of beliefs and worldviews that guide and give meaning to the research design (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 18). When the qualitative research falls within an interpretive paradigm, a researcher is typically trying to understand how individuals make sense of and interpret the world (Dezin and Lincoln, 2013: 7; Merriam, 1998). The interpretive paradigm holds a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. That is, reality is not separate from the researcher, and knowledge is constructed through one's lived experiences and interaction with others, therefore, it's subjective (Lincoln, 2013: 210). Understanding reality as individually constructed means that there is not only one single reality but rather multiple versions of it. This both reflects my views of social realities as being multiply 'experienced, constructed, and interpreted in many ways' (Cunliffe, 2011: 10), and is reflected in the fluidity and unpredictability of individual's social realities such as the ones that will be examined in this study (communicative practices, identities, and language ideologies).

In order to understand the world around us, the interpretive, qualitative researcher relies on methods like interviewing and observing (Angen 2000 as cited in Lincoln, 2013: 214).

At first glance, when we speak of the qualitative research or data generated from its methods, we typically think of data that is qualitative, or nominal, i.e., data that deals with meanings that are mediated through language (Dey, 2003: 22). Names, and hence the adjective "nominal" as opposed to "ordinal" data, are emphasized and not numbers. This, however, does not mean that qualitative data cannot be quantified, or that qualitative research cannot make use of numbers, statistics, and tables (Denzin and Lincoln, 2012: 11). Maxwell (2010: 476) makes the point that the distinction between nominal and ordinal data does not necessarily distinguish between qualitative and quantitative research and that the use of numbers does not automatically makes a research quantitative or even mixed methods (see also Hammersley, 1992). The use of numbers and quantitative data, or as Becker (1970) refers to it as quasi-statistics in qualitative research, and even the use of words like "many", "typically", "often", Sandelowski et al. (2009: 210) state, "facilitate pattern recognition", and provide basis for the conclusions qualitative researchers draw from their data (Becker, 1970). Qualitative researchers use quantifying in their research "to show regularities or peculiarities in qualitative data they might not otherwise see" (Sandelowski et al., 2009: 210) contrary to mixed-methods research where quantifying is used to "test hypotheses addressing relationships between independent (or explanatory or predictor) variable(s) and dependent (or response or outcome) variable(s)" (Sandelowski et al., 2009: 210). Besides this, I used quasi-statistics in my study, as will be discussed in detail throughout this chapter, to complement the overall qualitative knowledge aimed at, to supplement the descriptions and interpretations presented in the analysis and discussion chapters, but most importantly they are used to manage the data as they provided a starting point for analyzing and interpreting it. So, whenever numbers and quantities were used, « how » and « why » questions were asked to provide context and descriptions.

To conclude, it's problematic to try to neatly fit qualitative research, its methods or what type of data it generates into a one and only research paradigm. Qualitative research can be used within different paradigms, it can use statistical methods like surveys, and it can generate numerical data. How these methods are used and how data is presented, however, is what reflects the researcher's epistemological and ontological beliefs and their orientation. Having discussed this, next I will further try to situate my research into a qualitative research tradition.

3.2. A narrative, ethnographic, case study

In qualitative research, Creswell (2013) identifies five traditions. Each tradition comes with a set of specific characteristics suited to respond to certain questions and achieve certain aims. Nevertheless, sometimes these traditions do not come with clear-cut definitions, furthermore, they sometimes overlap. In my attempt to situate my study within a tradition, I found myself struggling whether my research fits within ethnography, narrative, or case study research. Particularly because these three approaches have been recognized for having many similarities (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 103).

On the one hand, the use of biographical data in my research and the focus on individuals' experiences and their stories might have meant that this research is a narrative inquiry. Especially because a biographical study is "a form of narrative study in which the researcher writes and records the experiences of another person's life" (Creswell, 2013: 72); in this case, people's experiences of mobility. Narrative research "involves telling stories, recounting – accounting for – how individuals make sense of events and actions in their lives with themselves as the agents of their lives" (McAlpine, 2016: 34). The tradition in this approach is to seek access to participants' lived experiences through a storytelling process (Leavy, 2009 as cited Kim, 2015: 6). Typically, the researcher would encourage the individual to tell their *experiences* (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) and arranges them *chronologically* (Creswell, 2013: 71), with a focus on the *turning point* in their stories where they find themselves in transition phases (Denzin, 1989). These stories are placed in *contexts* and analyzed for *themes.* Although my research does not ideally fit with this structure of narrative studies which "*tend* to focus on a single individual" (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 103) rather my research focuses on multiple individuals, it does bear some of its characteristics. Particularly in line with the "small stories" approach (Georgakopoulou, 2007; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) for stories that do not fit the criteria and format of a "typical" story (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 61). In this approach, stories do not necessarily have to be long passages of interview transcripts to be considered worthy of analysis. "Small stories" approach is, in Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008: 5) view,

> An umbrella-term that captures a gamut of under-represented narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell.

Thus, this definition considers "any verbal acts consisting of someone telling someone else that something happened" (Smith, 1981: 20 as cited in Ignatowicz, 2012: 53) a narrative. As such, it is an inclusive definition and perhaps too inclusive as there is no clear-cut of what counts as "narrative" and what not and it all depends on the researcher's view of it (Badwan, 2015: 76). The aims of this research are to not only report on my participants' stories but to explore statements and declarations of their beliefs, values, identities, and practices in the data analyzed. This study, therefore, is not particularly a narrative inquiry although it features some of its qualities.

On the other hand, the question whether my study can be labeled as an ethnography or not stems primarily from its longitudinal dimension (a six-month period), from my research participants who, despite the individual differences, all come from a particular cultural and linguistic background, and finally from the online observation. On the surface, it looks like my study meets certain characteristics of ethnography that might qualify it to be one. Taking a closer look, however, I realized that it's not as straightforward as that. The reason for that is because ethnography requires extended participant observation and immersion in the everyday lives of participants (Creswell, 2007: 68) and taking detailed fieldnotes that can later be translated into a monograph (Blommaert, 2013: 25). Although I observed my participants' online activities, the kind of observation I conducted is not participant observation, I shall come back to this point in section 3.5.3.1. I did not immerse myself in their day-to-day lives nor did I take detailed fieldnotes. Instead, I heard from them in in-depth, individual interviews. Unlike ethnography that aims at unfolding how culture works (Creswell, 2013: 97), my aim was to understand individual experiences of mobility and practices of languaging. That's why my study is not an ethnography per se but has an ethnographic element, which is that of time.

Moreover, my study can also fall within a case study inquiry. Despite the debate remaining unsettled on a definition of a case study (Merriam, 1998; Gerring, 2004; Yin, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2011) and whether it is a research method (Yin, 2014), a research tradition (Creswell, 2013) or a methodology on its own (Merriam, 1998), many definitions of the case study agree that it is:

- An in-depth investigation of a contemporary phenomenon (Creswell, 2013: 97; Yin, 2009: 18),

- within its real-life social context(s) (Creswell, 2013: 97; Stake, 2011: 120; Yin, 2009: 18; Merriam, 1998: 206),
- using multiple sources of evidence (Creswell, 2013: 97; Stake, 2011: 120; Yin, 2009: 18; Merriam, 1998: 206)

The study at hand investigates a contemporary phenomenon (mobility), within its real-life context (the experiences of mobile Algerian students in the UK for six months), using in-depth, ethnographic interviews and online observations. This makes it eligible to be called a case study. Case studies are wildly used by qualitative researchers; however, they still raise issues about their validity and reliability (Ellinger and McWhorter, 2016: 6), this is what Gerring (2004) calls "case study paradox". These issues are raised because of five common "misunderstandings" about case study research (Flyvbjerg, 2006; 2011; 2012):

1. context-dependent generated knowledge is less valuable than theoretical general knowledge,

2. contributions cannot be made because of lack of generalizability from the study of individual cases,

3. case studies are only useful in generating hypothesis and not testing them,

4. they tend to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions,

5. finally, the issue of theory development from specific cases studies.

Drawing on the Kuhnian perspective, which argues that science evolves through continuous, systematic, scientific investigations, Flyvbjerg (2006; 2011; 2012) proceeds to clarify these misunderstandings. In Kuhn's view, the investigations which serve as exemplars lead to paradigm shifts and contribute to the progression of science. Flyvbjerg (2006; 2011; 2012) concludes that case studies provide the solid, systematic production of exemplars that any discipline needs to be considered effective and this includes social sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2012: 27). More about how validity and reliability were ensured in my research is in the section 3.10 of this chapter.

Although I started with the assumption that I had to choose only one research tradition, ethnography, narrative, or case study, I eventually concluded that research is more flexible than that and broader than reducing it to such a choice. In all cases, case study research and ethnography have a certain affinity and are not in conflict (Sandelowski, 2011: 154). Particularly because case study research is flexible and inclusive (Sandelowski, 2011:

154), and because narrative, ethnography and case studies inquiries aim at producing rich and "thick descriptions". All in all, the three are approaches of qualitative research and this study combines them all. It is a case study because it "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence" (Noor, 2008: 1602). It is ethnographic because it explores "how participants experience, give meaning to, interpret, and make sense of their lives in multiple ways" (Cunliffe, 2010 as cited in Cunliffe, 2011: 11) across a period of six months. It is also a study with narrative inclinations interested in "how human beings experience the world" (Moen, 2006: 56). To conduct my case study research, I chose two data collection methods, in-depth, ethnographic interviews and online observation. Before I started my fieldwork, I carried out a pilot study. Next, I shall report on it.

3.3. Pilot study

Piloting the interview and the online observation methods was crucial for my study before starting the fieldwork. Not only to familiarize myself with the interviewing and observing processes and get some practice, but also to decide on the type of questions to include in the interviews and the kind of posts to save, questions and posts that will yield most useful data. On the 15 January 2020, Khaled (pseudonym) was invited to be interviewed. Khaled was a friend whom I met in one of the postgraduate offices. He is a male, Algerian, PhD student at Manchester Metropolitan university, who had been living in Manchester for 2 years. Selecting Khaled for the pilot study was due to convenience, easy access and geographical proximity (Yin, 2014: 97). In addition to that, Khaled meets the criteria of the selection, these criteria are discussed in section 3.4.1.1. I first conducted the interview with him, followed by observing his Facebook profile.

3.3.1. Piloting the interviews

While designing the interview guide of the first round of interviews, and to engage my participants more, I decided to use language portraits (see section 5.1.1). The language portraits' aim was also to act like an ice breaker and to pave the way for the second round of the interview. One of the challenges, however, was the wording of the prompt for the portraits. After careful consideration of the literature on language portraits (Busch, 2006; 2012; 2016; Dressler, 2014; Kusters and De Meulder, 2019), the prompt for my study was initially set as:

"Think about your own different ways of speaking or ways of expressing yourself, or what would people perceive as different ways of speaking and try to represent them on the body silhouette in writing, coloring, drawing, or in any way you want, you can as well use different colors for that"

This prompt is to be used by the end of the interview after establishing the participant's profile. In the interview, which lasted for an hour and took place on the university campus, I also tried to explore other ways of engaging participants to better understand how they think of their communicative resources and how they would talk about them, for instance, to ask participants to write a list of their communicative resources and describe them. The pilot study's aims then were to decide on:

A. How effective these other ways will be?

B. Whether to use the language portraits or not,

C. If I decide to not use the language portraits, what wording of the interview questions would be more suitable to meet the research aims, and

D. If I decided to use them, when during the interview shall I?

Below, I present data obtained from the language portraits (figure 1) and interview's questions. Later are some comments on them.
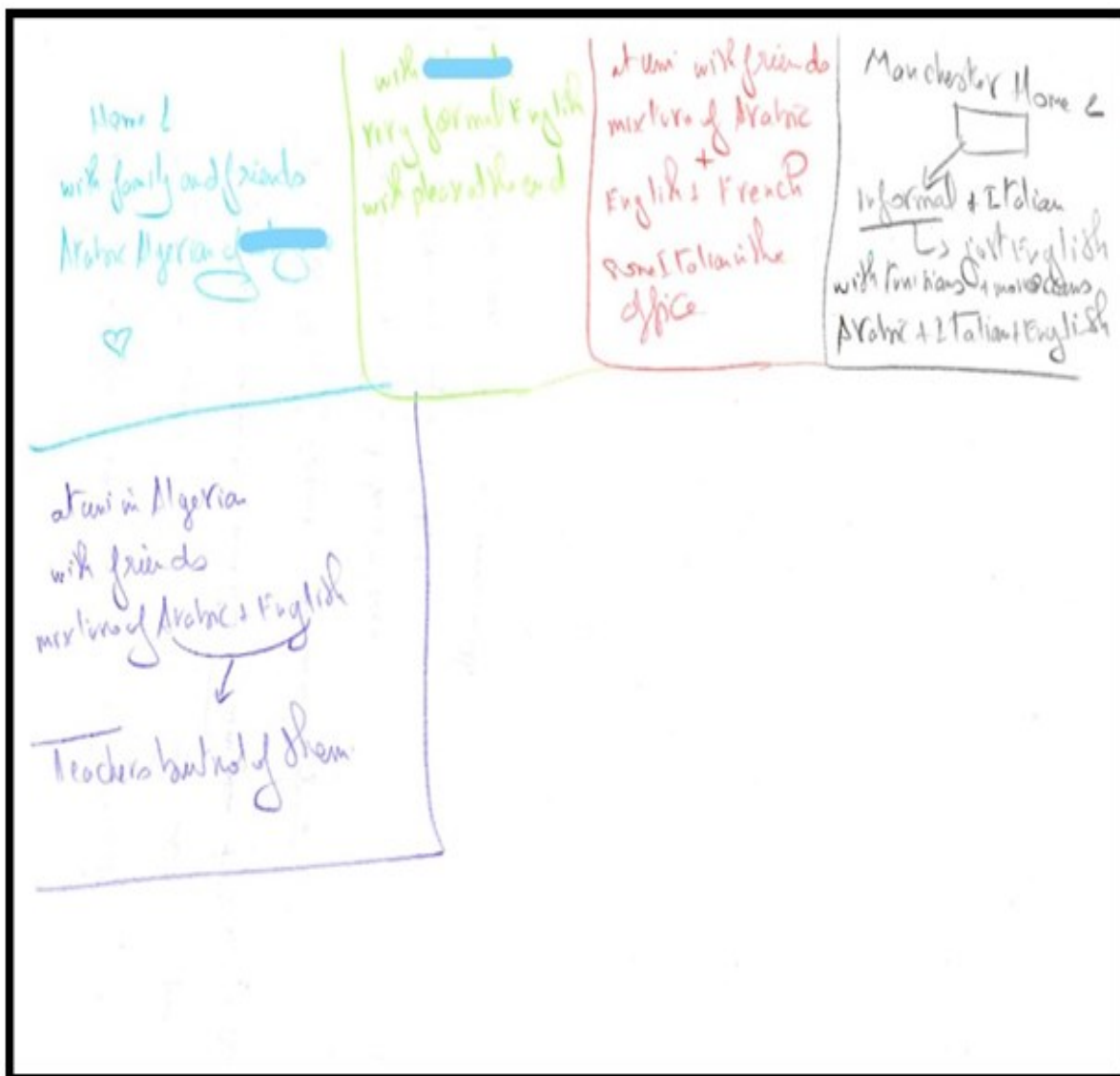
Figure 1: Khaled's language portraits

When presented with the language portrait with the prompt mentioned above, Khaled, reflectively, replied that he will do that in term of contexts. He decided not to use the body silhouette, this made more sense to him. I also asked him to talk to me through it, which he did. Therefore, the language portraits provided both visual as well as narrative data, which can prove very useful to this research. It gave Khaled the freedom to actively reflect on his communicative repertoires and it also served as a point for reference for further exploration. Being it at the last part of the interview also proved to be helpful as not to confuse Khaled and only giving him the task after him gaining some understanding and sense of the aims of the interview and me being better introduced to him and understanding his background.

In the interviews, I also asked Khaled to write down a list of "languages, dialects, and accents" that he speaks and to describe them (figure 2). He then was asked to match these different varieties with where he would normally use them (figures 3 and 4).

Figure 2: List of languages and dialects Khaled speaks

included

Ala Arabic ↓ French 10%.

Algeria

Home   Ala Arabic

Office _____→

Library _____

Supermarket   Ala Arabic

Mosque   Ala Arabic + Classical Arabic

Restaurant   Ala Arabic

Public transport   ALA Arabic

Facebook   English + Algerian Arabic

Twitter _____

WhatsApp _____
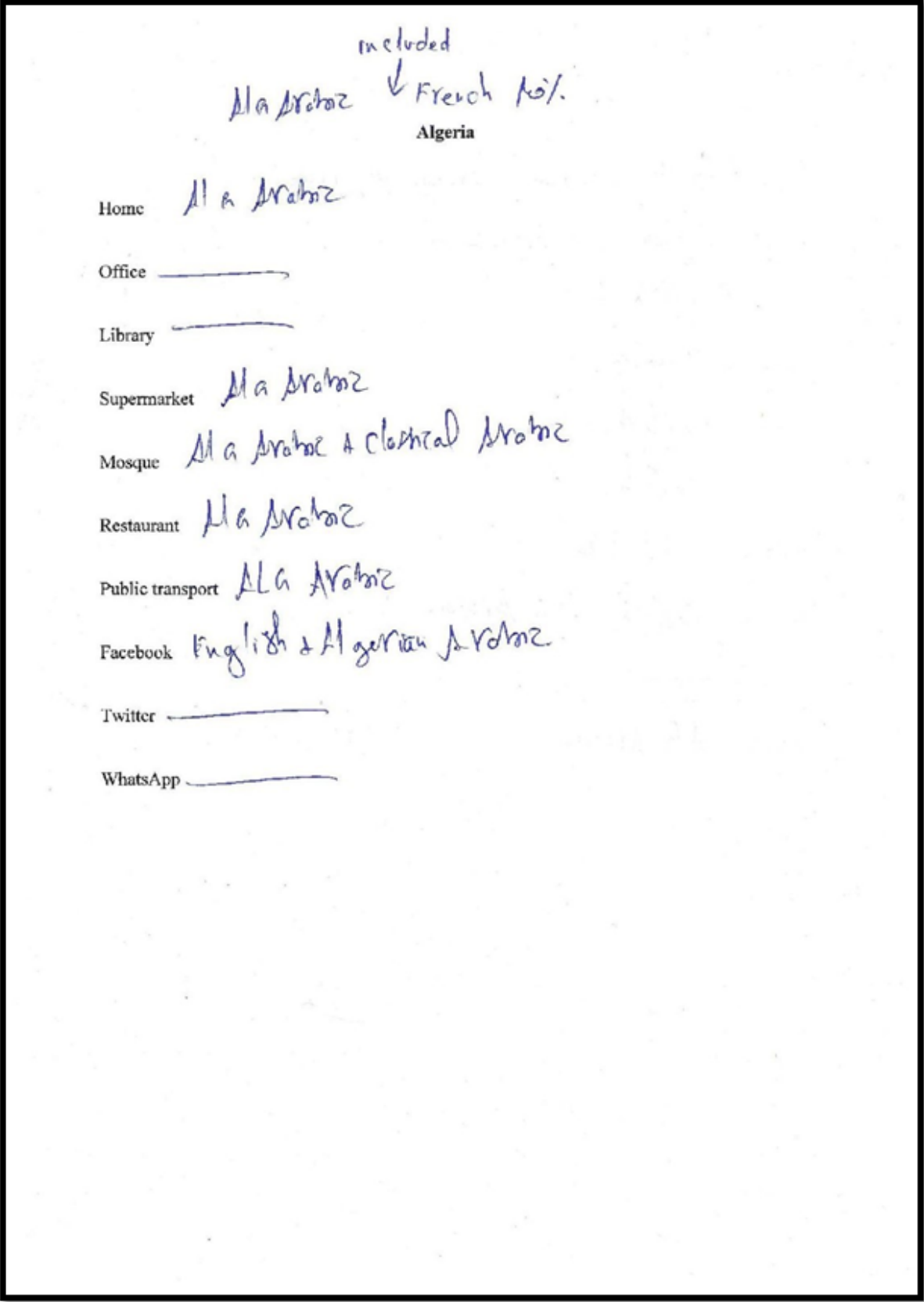
Figure 3: *List of varieties and contexts in Algeria*

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Manchester

Home English - Italian - Arabic Algerian

Office English - Al G Arabic

Library English ←

Supermarket English

Mosque English

Restaurant English

Public transport English

Facebook English - Al G Arabic

Twitter ——————

WhatsApp Al G Arabic

Figure 4: List of varieties and contexts in Manchester

As shown in the figures above, Khaled gave a list of communicative resources and where he would normally use them, however, he decided to put a percentage besides each one to represent his level of fluency because Khaled thinks that they are not equal. He also wrote in both Arabic and English. This question also opened the doors for Khaled to reflect on his communicative repertoires in a less restricted way and it allowed me to gain some understanding of the impact of mobility on his communicative practices closely. Based on the piloting of the interviews, the following two decisions were made:

1. I kept the language portraits and used them in the last part of the first round of interviews. They then were used as a point of reference in subsequent interviews. To gain more insight into how participants conceptualize their communicative repertoires without being restricted with any categories or labels, a slight change was made to the prompt. The latter was set up after careful examination of the previous literature on language portraits. Just Like Busch (2018: 6) (see section 3.5.1.1), I used the following prompt:

> "Think about your own different ways of speaking, how would you express yourself in different situations, with different people, try to think about yourself in different contexts and how your ways of speaking would vary. I would like to ask you to represent your linguistic repertoire – languages and ways of speaking that you use/used in your life. For this you may either use the silhouette provided or draw one for yourself on the reverse side of the page; choose colours that fit the different languages and modes of speech which have a particular meaning for you."

2. The questions about participants' languages, dialects and accents were also kept, however, they were used in the second interview. This was to avoid participants feeling they are repeating themselves and also to allow more time for them to think about and reflect on their repertoires.

3.3.2. Piloting the online observation
The main two reasons for piloting the online observation were to decide on:

a.   the best approach to take on it and,

b.   the type of data to collect and use from it.

After interviewing Khaled, I had access to his Facebook profile without any prior expectations of what I might consider as data and what not. After observing it for two weeks, looking at previous posts besides posts that were shared during the two weeks of observation, I developed a sense of how the online observation will take place and developed a framework for it. First, I noticed that Khaled's posts were diverse, and this led me to categorize them into three categories:

1) posts that were initiated and written by Khaled (figure 5),

2) posts that were shared from other Facebook pages and groups and included captions   (figure 6),

3) and shared posts which did not include a caption (figure 7).

A caption is briefly a   description of a shared video or picture, or a shared post. Every post initiated by Khaled or included a caption meant that he engaged in an act of language and communicative choice, and such choices are all relevant to my study which aims at understanding what affects these choices. Posts without any captions were excluded.

Figure 5: A post written by Khaled

Figure 6: A shared post with caption

Figure 7: A shared post without a caption

Second, I noticed that many of the communicative resources that Khaled used were discussed during the interview, but some others weren't. Based on these two observations, I decided that before entering the fieldwork, I would design an observation schedule based on the first round of interviews, these are discussed in detail in section 3.5.3.1. These schedules remained flexible and open to addition and omission. The schedules helped keep the observation focused and ensured the inclusion of all relevant posts. I concluded the online observation's piloting by developing the following framework:

- Design an observation schedule based on previous interviews, the schedules should include any language variety or communicative resources the participant mentioned and add on them/omit as I proceed.

- Record every post that was initiated or captioned by the participant in the schedule.

- Record the diverse communicative resources that were used in the posts such as emojis and backgrounds in the schedule

- Take screenshots of the different online communicative practices to use them later as examples and to refer to them when asking participants about the reasons for using them.

Once the data collection instruments were piloted and the framework was set, I started recruiting participants. In the second part of this chapter, the procedures for participants' recruitment and for data collection and analysis will be explored.

3.4. Sites and participants
3.4.1. Participants

To answer the research questions, a case study of four Algerian Ph.D students in the UK were recruited. Four participants would ensure avoiding what Creswell (1998: 63) called "the lack of depth" in case of studying more than four cases. The inclusion criteria and recruitment of these cases are described and justified below.

3.4.1.1. Inclusion criteria and recruitment

Selecting information-rich cases to gain in-depth understanding of the issue(s) at hand is key in qualitative case study research and this requires purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015: 53). Purposeful sampling is the type of sampling usually used in qualitative case study research (Mills et al., 2009: 5) to ensure participants meet the inclusion and exclusion criteria. When cases are carefully and purposefully chosen, data collected will, to a great extent, fall within the overall purpose and aim of the inquiry (Patton, 2015: 53). To

purposefully select a sample, the researcher needs to decide on a set of inclusion criteria (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 96). Hence, the following criteria for selecting my research participants:

1. An Algerian PhD student who lives in Manchester or near Manchester,

2. who has been in the UK for at least 6 months,

3. and is active on at least one social media website.

First, Algerian PhD students in the UK are individuals on the move, they are moving geographically, socially, and virtually between Algeria and the UK during a period of at least three years while keeping ties with their home country through the different social networking sites and annual visits. Their communicative repertoires are in constant motion. Both doing a PhD and living in/near Manchester meant a higher possibility that participants will be available to take part in the different stages of the longitudinal study (including the face-to-face interviews). Second, a time frame of six months or more was enough for participants to settle in, build networks and to establish social presence in their new environment. During this time and while building networks with the surrounding communities, it was expected that participants would have diverse encounters, insights, and understandings about the use and the value of their communicative resources and therefore this could enable new ways to talk about language in their life. Finally, as one of the primary goals of this study is to explore online language use and ideologies, participants needed to be users of at least one social media website, using it daily and posting in it regularly.

After finalizing the sample selection criteria, I started recruiting participants. As an Algerian PhD student myself, I had the advantage of identifying other Algerian students when they gathered in the postgraduate offices, library, and during postgraduate and social event. I then approached them, built rapport with them, expressed my interest in recruiting them for my study. Those who showed reciprocal interest in taking part were evaluated for their suitability for my study, i.e., they were asked for how long they have been in the UK and whether they use social media websites. Those who met the selection criteria were provided with an information sheet (see appendix 2) and were asked to contact me if they decided to take part. All the four participants approached agreed to be my participants. They are introduced below.

3.4.1.2. Participants' pen-portraits

Nada (a pseudonym): is a female PhD student in her late twenties. At the time of the study, Nada had lived in Manchester for 2 years. She comes from a city in north-east Algeria; a city she describes as 'a historical, small city with a mixture of both Arabs and Berbers'. She identifies herself as belonging to an upper-high social class in Algeria. Growing up, Nada was exposed to Darija (everyday encounters), Berber (mainly at home), French and SA (mainly at school), then English at a later stage (middle school). Since a very young age, Nada used to travel with her father to different cities in Algeria. She has also been to different countries such as France, Hungary, Spain, and Italy, as well as different cities in the UK such as London, Leeds, Edinburgh, Liverpool. Her rich mobility history allows her to reflect on many of the differences and similarities in the different ways people speak, as was evident in the interviews. Nada is mostly active on Facebook connecting with friends and family and posting about her feelings, daily life activities, and other various topics.

Ekram (a pseudonym): is a female PhD student in her mid-twenties. At the time of the study, Ekram had lived in Manchester for 2 years. She is from a city in southern Algeria, she describes her hometown as a "small" and "quiet" city. When asked to describe her ethnicity, Ekram said that she was Berber belonging to a tribe known as Chleuh and related it to speaking "Chelha" [a Beber variety spoken mainly in southern Algeria], however, in other instances, she would call herself an Arab, and that she would "speak like an Arab". This reflects the complexity of issues related to ethnicity and language in Algeria. She identifies with middle-class people in Algeria but because "class differ from place to place", as she claims, she does not identify with any social class in the UK. Ekram's mother is from the North (speaking a northern Algerian dialect) and her father is from the South (speaking a southern Algerian dialect), she also grew up at her grandparents' house who both spoke Chelha. She started learning French and SA then later English at primary and middle schools. Like Nada, Ekram is also mostly active on Facebook.

Ilyess (a pseudonym): is a male PhD student in his late twenties. Coming from a "small" town in North-west Algeria, Ilyess finds Manchester, where he has been living for 2 and a half years at the time of his recruitment, the perfect city to live in because it's not as small as his hometown nor "overwhelmingly big". Ilyess's ethnicity is one thing that he started re-negotiating upon his arrival to the UK, in our first round of interviews, and when asked about his ethnicity, Ilyess argued that his ethnicity is something that he started (re)negotiating after

arriving to the UK. After identifying as an Arab his whole life, in the UK and upon meeting other Arabs from different countries, he started distancing himself from the Arab ethnicity because of the differences in culture, food, dressing, and language. He now identifies as "North African". Ilyess considers himself "middle class" both in Algeria and UK. Because his mother is French Algerian, and his father is Algerian, Ilyess grew up listening and learning both French and Darija at home and then started learning SA in primary school, English in middle school, and Spanish in high school. Ilyess did not travel much in Algeria, besides his hometown, he has only been to the capital Algiers. After coming to the UK, however, Ilyess have been to France and Spain, and to different cities in the UK including London, Liverpool, Norwich, and Bristol. Ilyess's preferred social media website is Twitter where he mostly post academia-related staff.

Merriam (a pseudonym): is a female PhD student in her late twenties. At the time of the study, Merriam had lived in Manchester for 2 years. She considers herself a middle-class Arab from a big city in north-east Algeria. Like Ilyess, Merriam's mother is also French Algerian, and her father is Algerian which made her grow up in a house of "two cultures" Algerian and French, speaking both Darija and French. Later in her life, she learnt SA, English, and German at school. Merriam's history of mobilities is a rich one. She visited places in central and east Algeria, she has been to France, and to many cities in the UK in Wales, Scotland and England. Because of this and because she is "fascinated by dialects and languages", as she claimed in our first round of interviews, Merriam had a lot to reflect on about the use of her communicative resources during our interviews as will be shown in the findings chapter. Merriam is mostly active on Facebook where she expresses herself and connect with family and friends from all over the world.

3.4.2. Sites

The research took place across both offline and online contexts. Although initially the plan was to use the online only for observing online communicative practices, and the interviews to be conducted offline. I later used it for both, and the online was used to explore my participants' offline experiences as well. This point is highlighted in section 3.5.2.2. As Salmons (2017: xiii) points out, different online settings may have different effects on the kind of communication available with participants and the kind of data collected. For instance, with one of my participants, although the online observation took place on his Twitter account, I had to conduct the online interview with him on WhatsApp because Twitter does

not provide this service of video chatting. Similarly, because observation took place on Facebook (3 participants) and Twitter (1 participant), this might have an influence on the type of data I collected. Besides the layouts, Facebook and Twitter differ on what they afford to their users in terms of:

1. The type of interactions made possible, and the ways users can engage with posts and other users, e.g., if a user is to like a Facebook post, alongside the "thumbs up", there exists different reactions in the form of emojis (figure 8) whereas the like option on Twitter is a heart that turns red if pressed.

Figure 8: Emojis as reactions available on Facebook

2. The type of communicative resources afforded, e.g., a Tweet cannot extend 280 characters whereas there are no limits on a Facebook status. On Facebook a user can also add a background, an activity, a feeling, a memory, and many other semiotic features in their status updates with the aim of enhancing users' communicative experiences (figure 9). These features are not available on Twitter.
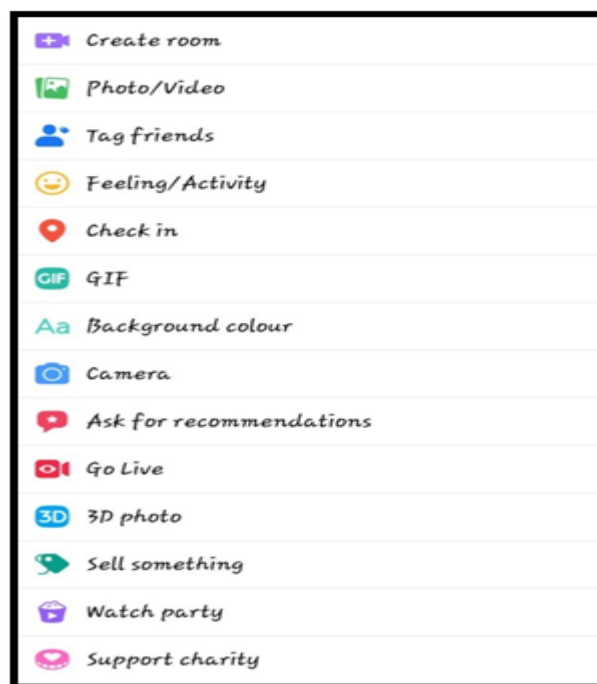
Figure 9: The list of features for Facebook status updates

3. The purpose of their use. Twitter's primary use is to share ideas (figure 10), Facebook on the other hand is meant to connect with friends and family (figure 11)

Figure 10: Twitter's purpose displayed on Twitter's mobile application
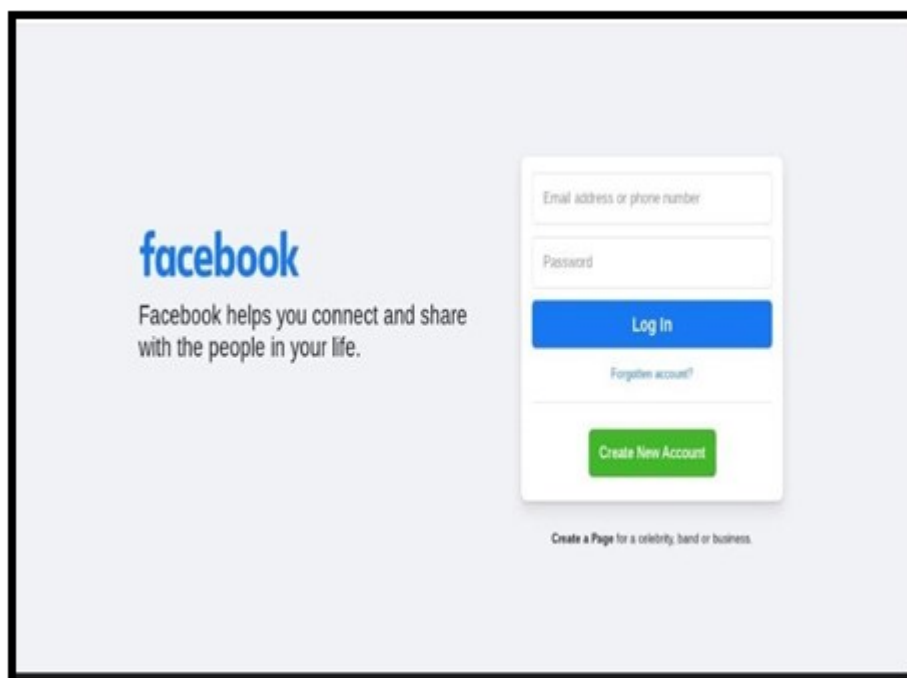
Figure 11: Facebook's purpose displayed on its full desktop version

These characteristics of Facebook and Twitter are perhaps why, for instance, Ilyess who was observed on Twitter, had significantly fewer posts (43 posts) on

which he shared his ideas about PhD and other topics related to academia, politics, and social issues compared to the rest of participants who had more than 1000 posts in total with various topics that included details about their own personal lives. Moreover, unlike the other participants, when observing Ilyess's Twitter, there was no data that included the use of backgrounds, feelings and activities because Twitter lacks these affordances. My interaction with Ilyess on Twitter was also very limited because of the overall nature of Twitter which gave me a sense of formality and professionalism as opposed to Facebook which, for me, was more informal and intimate as a research setting (more on my positionality as a researcher is in section 3.7).

Although most of this research took place and was focused online, before Covid-19's interruption, the first round of interviews took place offline. The offline, face-to-face interviews took place on the university campus. The setting was agreed on with the participants whom because they are PhD students, spent most of their time on campus. The rooms where I conducted the interviews were small, quiet rooms in the Arts and Humanities building which was perfect because they were familiar to the participants and me and more convenient for being geographically approximate to where I and the participants are based. More on how these interviews took place and the data collection process and methods are in the next section.

3.5. Data collection
3.5.1. Ethnographic Interviews
An interview is a qualitative research technique, in which interviewer(s) and interviewee(s) "make meaning, co-construct knowledge, and participate in social practices" (Talmy and Richards, 2011: 2). Interviews are an important data generation method in case study research. They are used when data is unobservable and unattainable otherwise, for instance, researchers cannot observe people's feelings and thoughts, they cannot observe past events, or in some cases, their presence may affect the behavior of participants (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 108). In such cases, interviews proved to be the best data generation tool. Qualitative interviews yield a window for obtaining data about participants' "subjective understanding" of their lived experiences (Seidman, 2006: 11), how they ascribe meaning to important events in their lives, their everyday practices, and how they use the different linguistic and cultural resources available to them to make sense of the world around them (Magnusson and Marecek, 2015; Yin, 2014; Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). In this research, qualitative

interviews are used to do exactly that, to explore how Algerian PhD students experience mobility through their communicative resources, and how their mobility is manifested through their everyday practices in the wider contexts of their lives.

To gain deep insight into participants' lived experiences, ethnographic in-depth interviews are deployed. They are a series of prolonged interviews taking place over an extended period of time and multiple sittings (Yin, 2014: 110-111). This type of interviews is particularly useful to provide "thick descriptions" of participants' experiences in order to understand the essence of them. For the study in hand, besides establishing sociolinguistic profiles about the participants (e.g., their age and gender, since when they have been in the UK), in-depth interviews are also used to explore participants' lived experiences and point of views (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) (e.g., their views on the language ideologies in Algeria, their views on the language ideologies in the UK, their fluid communicative practices, reflections on how they deploy their rich communicative repertoires online and offline). Thus, semi-structured interviews proved to be less restricting and allowed more flexibility to emerging questions and themes throughout the interviews.

The initial plan was for the individual interviews to take place once every two months for a period of six months to allow me to understand participants' mobilization of their communicative resources on a closer, deeper level. The spacing of the interviews, that is the two months period separating each two interviews, was rationalized based on giving participants time to reflect on what has been discussed during each interview, at the same time, giving me time to analyze, prepare and personalize the following interviews based on what participants said on the previous ones. However, this was not as consistent as was planned, particularly because of Covid-19 pandemic interruptions. This will be further explored in section 3.5.2.

This research investigates the mobility of communicative resources and how it is reflected in participants' online practices. Because the starting point for looking at these practices, whether online or offline, is that they are fluid, flexible and non-unitary, i.e., as translingual, one of the challenges in making together the interviews' protocols was the wording of the questions. The goal was to ask participants questions about their communicative repertoires without constraining their thinking to specific named categories and not others, but also without any imposition from my part. Participants needed to speak about their experiences and practices using their own words and ways (Magnusson and

Marecek, 2015: 46). For these reasons, the choice of terminology constituted a fundamental role in putting together the interviews' guides. Close-ended questions such as what languages do you speak? might have been very restricting. The interviews guides are provided in appendixes 4,5, and 6. One way of giving more space and freedom to participants to think and reflect on their repertoires is the use of language portraits. Next, I will introduce this novel, creative method in more detail.

3.5.1.1. The language portraits

A language portrait is a language biographical approach to studying communicative resources pioneered and developed by Busch (2006; 2012; 2016). Busch (2012: 8-9) argues that the new, emerging orientations and paradigms, e.g., poststructuralism, posthumanism, translanguaging, and communicative repertoires, towards "language" requires the exploration of novel and creative research methods to expand on the notion of "repertoires". By expanding on the notion of repertoires, she (2012: 19) describes them as:

> A hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level and is inscribed into corporal memory and embodied as linguistic habitus and which includes traces of hegemonic discourse

In other words, different linguistic resources are not understood as things-in-themselves but rather in relation to each other and meanings people ascribe to them are subject to change, they are not stable because these meanings are the result of people's life trajectories. So, for instance, biographical discontinuities such as geographical mobility might affect them. Moreover, depending on the rules in the "space of communication" where speakers are using their repertoires, they can either submit to those rules or transgress them. Finally, the body, in which repertoires are embodied, can trigger different, pleasurable or not, memories. To properly examine communicative repertoires, Busch suggests researchers to do that through a multimodal approach which combines visual and narrative descriptions of participants' repertoires.

Following this technique, participants are provided with an empty body silhouette (figure 12) and are asked to visualize their linguistic repertoires and their different means of expression in, out, and around the body silhouette. Participants can use different colors, can use different adjectives and are given freedom to define categories and represent their different ways of communication the way they make sense to them. This visualization is accompanied or followed by narratives and explanations by participants. Therefore, this

method provides two types of data, a visual one and a verbal one, both in combination are analyzed and used to inform the research questions.
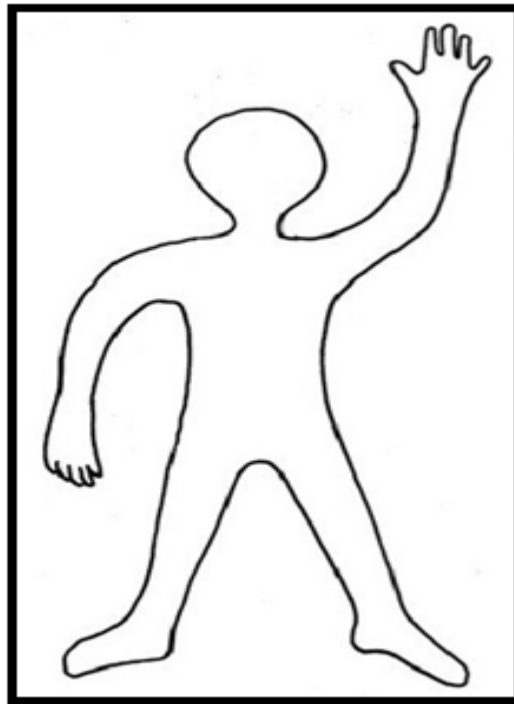
Figure 12: *Empty body silhouette*

Language portraits reflect the view of communicative repertoires as embodied in participants' everyday life and their lived experiences. They shed light on the diverse repertoires of participants and tend to be less restrictive. They particularly mirror this research's view of communication as translingual. Language portraits multimodality and flexibility can also be considered what Wei (2011: 2) calls "a translanguaging space",

> A social space that is created for multilingual language users by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance and making it into a lived experience.

Therefore, the use of language portraits in this research was to give valuable insights into participants' communicative repertoires. Just like the interviews, the instructions researchers give to participants in this method might have an influence on their responses. Previous researchers have used different prompts depending on the aims of their studies. Dressler (2014: 45), for instance, asked young learners to "color in their languages where they are in their body" and to use a key to identify which color is associated with what language. Her aim was to investigate multilingual students' linguistic identity. Through their

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language portraits, Dressler (2014) concluded multilingual young learners express their linguistic identities in terms of affiliation, expertise and inheritance. In another study where the focus was on exploring the linguistic repertoires in psychotherapy and counselling, Busch (2018: 6) used the prompt: "we would like to ask you to represent graphically your linguistic repertoire – languages and ways of speaking that are important in your life. For this you may either use the silhouette provided or draw one for yourself on the reverse side of the page; choose colors that fit the different languages and modes of speech which have a particular meaning for you". The emphasis in this study is clearly on the particular *important* resources in participants' lives. For a more inclusive response, Kusters and De Meulder (2019: 7) recommends the use of more flexible prompts. In their study, they used the following one: "think about the languages/modalities they use now, used in the past or hoped to use in the future, languages/modalities they associated with specific persons or places, or other ways to express themselves; how they felt about them; which color they would attribute to them and which part of the body they associated with them". In this last study, the authors' focus was on how deaf singers value particular linguistic resources over others.

For the aim of this study, the prompt needed to be even more open and more flexible. Rather than the use of the word "languages", I chose to use "ways of speaking" and leave it to the participant to decide what these are and visualize them as they understand them. To avoid any ambiguity, participants were invited to ask for any further clarifications if needed. Drawing largely from Busch (2018: 6), the prompt then was set as:

Think about your own different ways of speaking, how would you express yourself in different situations, with different people, try to think about yourself in different contexts and how your ways of speaking would vary. I would like to ask you to represent your linguistic repertoire – languages and ways of speaking that you use/used in your life. For this you may either use the silhouette provided or draw one for yourself on the reverse side of the page; choose colours that fit the different languages and modes of speech which have a particular meaning for you.

The language portraits were a way of "brainstorming" participants' communicative resources. I used them in the first round of interviews, which was an introductory round and when the aim was to establish participants' profiles. The first round of interviews explored three themes: participants' profiles, their mobilities' history, and their language trajectories.

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It was done face-to-face unlike the two other rounds, which were online because of the global pandemic. Next, I will explore what unexpected changes were made to my methodology and how they were handled because of the latter.

3.5.2. Researching in a pandemic

On the 23rd of March 2020, the UK prime minister Boris Johnson ordered a near-full lockdown of the country due to the Novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. As a PhD student, this had several implications for my research, particularly because this was during my fieldwork. When the lockdown took place, I had already recruited the four participants and conducted the first round of face-to-face interviews and was preparing for the second round. At that stage, I was faced with two options; either pause collecting data until the lockdown was over or explore alternative ways of data collection. Because it was unclear how long the lockdown would last for and because research is all about being flexible and being adaptive to unexpected circumstances, I decided to go on with the second option. As a result of this, interviews had to be online. I had to consider how online instead of face-to-face interviews will alter, if at all, my research. Below I will discuss why and how the modifications to my research methodology took place.

3.5.2.1. Online interviews

An online interview, also known as an e-interview is an interview that takes place in the virtual world and is mediated by technology such as via e-mail, instant messaging (IM), videoconferencing, Skype and so on (Salmons, 2014). Although e-interviews are sometimes the preferred method for researchers, particularly to overcome challenges of geographical distance, in this research, they are used as an emergency plan B to cope with an emerging situation.

After contacting my participants and making sure they still want to take part in my study and that they do not mind being interviewed online, I started designing and preparing for the second round of interviews. The first thing I had to consider is the differences between a face-to-face interview and an interview facilitated by a technological means. In the qualitative interview, the interviewer is the research instrument. This requires the researcher to draw on some human qualities like empathy, thoughtful questioning, and reflective listening (Salmons, 2012: 2) to establish trustworthiness. Because of this specificity of the qualitative interview, online interviews may seem less personal and may have an impact on the quality of the researcher-participant relationship. In my case, however, because I already

recruited participants in person and had the first interviews face to face with them, rapport was built, and trust was set up. A second thing to consider was the impact of technology on the interaction between me and my participant during the interview. This requires attention to the technology used itself as different technologies may have different impacts. A text-based interview, for instance, enabled by emails is different from a video call interview. In a text-based interview, both the researcher and participants would, for instance, miss out on the non-verbal, visual cues, which may raise misunderstanding or misinterpretation. Salmons (2012: 2) argued that the choice of the technological means to conduct the interview should go hand in hand with the style of the interview. For a structured interview, with yes/no and close-ended questions, text-based e-interviews might do just fine, for semi and unstructured interviews, however, the researcher might need to go more in-depth and might need the visual and non-verbal communication, therefore, a video call e-interview would better resemble a face-to-face interview.

When asked in which social media website my participants prefer to be interviewed, three answered they want it to be on Facebook messenger and one in WhatsApp, both apps provide a video call option. Before conducting the interviews, I had to check how these two platforms process and retain information and data. For WhatsApp, all conversations and video chats are end-to-end encrypted (WhatsApp Security, 2021). This means that no third parties have access to any of the data generated on WhatsApp. Facebook Messenger, on the other hand, provides a secure way of data management and storage through a number of built-in tools such as restricting the access of other apps (Messenger Privacy and Safety, 2021). I then started putting together the interview guide while keeping in mind the nature of interaction facilitated by technology, for instance, the possibility of technical problems arising during the interview such as slow internet connection. I decided to send the short tasks about participants' communicative resources (see appendix 7), as an electronic copy and prior to the interview to give participants a sense of what we will be discussing, and because it will be very challenging to do it during the e-interview. The tasks were designed based on the previous interviews and were set to further explore participants' communicative practices. They included questions about the contexts in which their resources are used. Furthermore, what these resources mean to them. These tasks helped in giving me and them structure and clarity, resuming time, and for them to understand the focus of the interview. This way, I tried to maximize my participants' contribution during the

interviews in a limited time and in a different spatial setting. I sent the tasks to my participants via emails and once returned, questions were tailored to fit their responses. Questions were mainly to further explore their answers to the tasks and to obtain examples. Some other questions, such as those aiming at exploring their language ideologies, were the same for all participants. We then agreed on a date for the interviews. In this round of the interview, the following themes were explored: mobility's implications for offline language use, its implications for offline language ideologies, and communication in the virtual to set the scene for the last round of interviews (see appendix 5).

On the day of the interview, I tried to find a quiet place to be able to clearly hear the person. Five minutes before the agreed time, I would text the participant to make sure they are still able to make it to the interview, I would also bring my interview guide and my notebook to keep track of the questions that might arise during the interview and also to take notes of anything interesting or unexpected. When we start the video call, I would put the audio recorder next to my laptop then test if it is working and if the sound is clear. After making sure everything is ready and is in place, I would start the interview with the obvious broad question in such situation: how are you coping with this global pandemic?

The process was not as straightforward as it may seem, however. Arranging the interview online took longer than it did with face-to-face interviews. The process of sending the tasks, returning them, and conducting the interviews took up to a month. If compared with face-to-face interviews which only took a one-week time between inviting them to the interview and conducting it, e-interviews were more time consuming. This, however, might have also been due to the overall global situation, and to individual differences i.e., it might take more time for some than others to settle and get used to the situation, it can be due to participants' other commitments as well. Another concern for me when conducting the e-interviews was an ethical one. In e-interviews, the researcher "has little to no control over the external environment surrounding the participant" (Topping et al., 2021: 3). Therefore, I had concerns about participants' privacy and confidentiality. Because of that, I gave participants the freedom to choose an environment that is conducive to them (Topping et al., 2021: 5). So, they chose their homes, a place that offers more privacy and is more comfortable. While conducting the interviews, I noticed that participants were more at ease, sitting on their sofas at home and wearing their pajamas, this made the interview more friendly and less formal unlike the first round of interviews which were conducted on

university campus. Contrary to my first impression of e-interviews, they can be more personal and more blurring to the boundaries of researcher-participant relationship. Although this might raise some ethical dilemmas such as participants revealing sensitive information or deviating from the focus of the interviews (Råheim et al., 2016: 5), it is the researchers' responsibility to balance between their roles as researchers, human beings, colleagues, and even friends (Haahr et al., 2014:11) and make decisions about how sensitive data is handled and disseminated in accordance with their research agendas (see section 3.9 on ethical considerations).

3.5.2.2. Reflections and lessons learned
As a novice Ph.D. researcher, the pandemic taught me that:

1. It is always a good idea to have a plan B in case things do not go as expected,

2. research is not a linear process, research is flexible and can be conducted under extreme circumstances,

3. and that there is not only one right way of approaching a problem or a research question.

While re-considering my methodological plan, the aim was to minimize the impact of the slightly altered methodology on the findings, and to maintain consistency across participants and methods. As shown above, this was ensured. The changes were insignificant and so was the impact. Along the way, however, my focus on "minimizing the impact of change" was substituted for "making the most of it". If the changes made any impact on the generated data, it would be a positive one. Enriching it and offering me different perspectives on it. The pandemic presented me with challenges as well as opportunities. On the one hand, I had to make unexpected decisions about how I should conduct my research. These decisions were tightly related to my personal life as well, the choice between going back home to Algeria, being with my family, and suspending my studies and fieldwork or staying in the UK and continue my data collection. This decision was not fully mine to take, however. Partially, it was my participants' too, whether they would still be interested in taking part in my research or they would withdraw. We eventually decided that life continues despite challenges. On the other hand, it was a chance for me to explore new research methods otherwise I would not have considered. It also made my relationship with my participants closer and more personal as we were all in the same situation facing the same struggles. During very lonely times when social interactions were very limited, the interviews with my participants served as a gateway

from such loneliness. All in all, doing research during a global pandemic might not all be bad, and it did not have as a huge impact on my research methodology and findings as was expected. The pandemic, however, also coincided with the online observation of participants' social media activities. Below, I will explain what implications this had on the data.

3.5.3. Researching Language Online

The technological development and the spread of the internet has ultimately resulted in emerging methodological approaches to study language in the novel space of the online (Page et al., 2014: 1). For researchers, it has been important to re-evaluate existing methods for their suitability for researching language in the virtual world (Herring, 2004). Herring (2004) Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA) is a pioneering approach. CMDA is a set of methodological tools suited for researching online behaviour. In a CMDA approach, a researcher can utilise any language related method (e.g., observation, interviews), qualitative, quantitative, or both to meet their research purposes. It is a language-focused content analysis approach in that it draws from traditional linguistic discourse analysis in analysing data generated online. An example of the latter is that linguistic choices are not purely linguistic but exhibit social and cognitive factors (Herring, 2004: 4). Herring (2004) approach has been inspiring other researchers to not only further exploring it but to extend on it (Androutsopoulos and Beißwenger, 2008: 3). Ethnographically informed research, particularly, is a part of CMDA that attract much attention (Angouri, 2015: 331).

Online ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2008; 2013) is an approach that combines methods of observation with direct contact with participants. In my research I draw on insights from this approach. In the following I will explore its characteristics. Androutsopoulos (2008) starting point is going beyond observing linguistic behaviour on screen to direct contact with online users through means of surveys, interviews, and participant observation (Androutsopoulos, 2008: 2). This will result in generating what he calls "blended data" (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 7). He suggests that such combination of offline and online data has not been emphasised enough in computer-mediated communication studies as it should despite the usefulness of such combination in contextualizing the data and in interpreting it (Androutsopoulos, 2008). Like Jones (2004), Androutsopoulos (2013: 5) thinks that the notion of context in the online research should not be restricted to what's going on the screen but should encompass the offline, this way data collection and analysis will be thorough (see also Varis, 2016). These two pillars of online ethnography, i.e., online observation and offline

contact with participants, are complementary. Contact with participants can be through interviews, distributing questionnaire, or offline observation. In my research, the offline contact is through interviews. Ideally, when researching on social networking sites, such as Facebook or Twitter, the researcher would start with contacting participants, online or offline, to obtain consent and gain access to their profiles. After that, they would carry out the online observation and a preliminary analysis of data, and then conduct the interviews with participants (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 8), and this is how I chose to do it.

After I recruited participants and gained access to one of their social media sites. I started the online observation, which lasted for six months. While observing participants' online profiles, I carried out three rounds of interviews. The first two rounds concerned mainly their offline communicative practices and ideologies. The last one, however, which was when I approached the end of the online observation, was dedicated entirely to their online linguistic practices and ideologies. The reason I interviewed participants just before I ended the online observation is to refine data collection methods before ending it. In the following, I will detail my procedures of researching language online.

3.5.3.1. Online observation procedures

For six months, from February 2020 till July 2020, I followed my participants on one of the social media websites they use and observed their language practices. Three participants were added to my Facebook friends' list, and one was followed on Twitter. The observation was structured. That is, at the start of the observation, I pre-prepared observation schedules on Google sheets, an example of these schedules is shown in table 1. One schedule was prepared for each participant. The predefined labels were derived from the first-round of interviews which took place at the start of the observation. Nevertheless, because it's a qualitative study, these schedules were flexible, this means that there was always space to add on new labels or omit existing ones, any emerging codes during the observation were also recorded and taken into consideration.

	Standard Arabic	French	English	Darija	Total of posts every month
February					
March					
April					

May					
June					
July					
Total of posts in each variety					
Percentage					

Table 1: An example of an initial observation schedule

"Just as there is a range of structure in interviewing, there is also a range of structure in observation" (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 140). My understanding of structure was to prepare, prior to the observation, a list of what to focus on to answer my research questions i.e., the communicative resources my participants may use online, and this ultimately resulted in code sheets like the one in table 1. I believe that this way the process of entering the fieldwork was not as overwhelming as expected and my observation stayed focused. This made the observation, in the first month particularly, non-participatory and non-interactional. However, as I will argue in section 3.7 below, this has slowly started to change with time as I started to learn more about my participants and about my fieldwork (Blommaert and Jie, 2020). To not reduce my online observation to merely numbers, as the aim was not just the what but the why as well, I started interacting more with participants, taking fieldnotes (mostly points I wanted to focus on in our follow-up interviews), adding on and/or omitting the pre-existing categories, hence my observation became more participatory (see section 3.7).

Although structured observation is not that common in ethnographic qualitative research, it proved to be useful in my study, especially as I entered the fieldwork at first with no clear vision of what could be considered data in my research and what might not. My lack of experience in ethnographic fieldwork, the nature of online research, i.e., the non-physical presence of the researcher and participants and the possibility of statistical data, and the way data is presented and stored in the online, i.e., data online is mostly written and is restorable, are all aspects I made use of in my online research. On the one hand, starting with a more structured observation provided me with a more confident and clearer starting point, it directed my attention to my research's aims and kept me focused (Given, 2008: 577). On the

other hand, keeping an open mind and maintaining the flexibility of the observation schedules gave space to emerging themes and categories throughout the observation, for instance in the initial code sheets there was no category for translingual and multilingual posts. By the end of the observations, 1,140 posts were recorded and analyzed. The number of status updates, friends/followers list, and the year of signing up to the social media website per each participant is presented in table 2 below. The observation sheets per each participant are presented in chapter four.

	Social media Website	Year of singing up	Friends/followers	Status updates
Ilyess	Twitter	2018	Following 159/ Followers 108	**43**
Nada	Facebook	2012	Around 600	**183**
Merriam	Facebook	2017	More than 100	**525**
Ekram	Facebook	2011	131	**389**

Table 2: *Participants, their social media profiles, and the number of status updates from February 2020 to July 2020*

3.5.4. Third round/follow-up interviews

This round of interviews took place throughout the fifth, sixth and seventh months as table 5 shows. They aimed to provide a deeper understanding of participants' online communicative practices and repertoires. Like the second round of interviews, they took place online through video chatting on Messenger and WhatsApp. The themes explored were: the online during a pandemic, the effects of mobility on online communicative practices, the effects of mobility on online language ideologies, samples from the participant's online profile. In relation to this last theme, I sent participants screenshots from their most recent individual posts that I took during the online observations (Figures 17 and 18 is an example of that from Merriam's interview). I then asked for their explanation and justifications for their choices. I sent those while I was conversing with participants, gave them some time to look at them as a stimulus for their memories and then listened to their reflections.
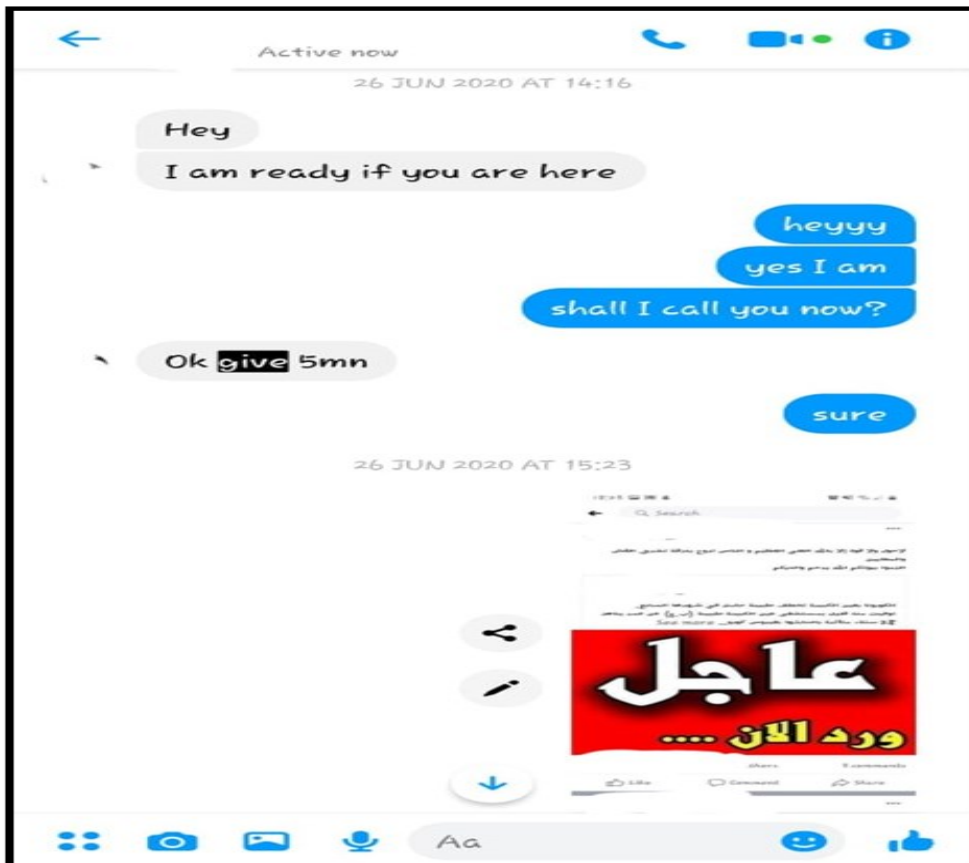
Figure 13: An example from Merriam's last round of interviews

Figure 14: An example of a post I sent to Merriam during the interview

I also referred in many instances to our previous interviews which focused on offline communication to understand how those are related. Overall, the three rounds of interviews resulted in 577 minutes of recoded interviews. Tables 3,4, and 5 below summarize information about them.

Participant	Interviews' date	Interviews' duration	Interviews' location
Ilyess	14/02/2020	45:30	A quiet classroom at university
Nada	19/02/2020	45:31	A postgraduate office after everyone left
Merriam	06/02/2020	43:32	A quiet classroom at university
Ekram	06/02/2020	42:27	A quiet classroom at university

Table3: Information about the first round of interviews

Participant	Interviews' date	Interviews' duration	Interviews' location
Ilyess	27/05/2020	44:09	WhatsApp
Nada	28/05/2020	1:05:33	Messenger
Merriam	27/05/2020	51:22	Messenger
Ekram	30/05/2020	35:46	Messenger

Table 4: Information about the second round of interviews

Participant	Interviews' date	Interviews' duration	Interviews' location
Ilyess	06/07/2020	57:37	WhatsApp
Nada	03/08/2020	44:11	Messenger
Merriam	26/06/2020	49:07	Messenger
Ekram	27/06/2020	54:49	Messenger

Table 5: Information about the third round of interviews

3.6. Data Analysis and presentation

Data analysis in qualitative research is "the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of the data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen, and read, it is the process of making meaning"

(Merriam, 2009: 175-176). Given the richness and complexity of the data in qualitative research and the multiple sources that the data was collected from in this research (observation and interviews), and in order to provide a comprehensive account of it, I conducted a within and a cross-case analysis following Yin (2014: 111-114) theoretical propositions (relying on previous research and literature in the analysis) and developing a case description strategy (providing a thorough description of cases). The within-case analysis for each case in this study is a descriptive portrayal (Stake, 2005: 3) that aimed at providing "an overview of the central attributes" (Mills et al., 2009: 972) of each case. In other words, it aimed at depicting the individuality of each case independently and providing an in-depth understanding of the cases' personal journeys with language and their unique views and beliefs about the communicative resources they use.

For each case, I started by presenting the participant's narratives of their experiences with language from their language portraits, I then proceeded to describe their language ideologies from the tasks that were sent to them individually and their reflections on the latter during the interviews. Later, I presented narratives from the interviews of their use of the online before their arrival to the UK, finally, I presented data generated from the online observations of their individual social media accounts. Data consisted of participants' stories of the past during our interviews and their reflections and memories of how they used their communicative repertoires online and offline in Algeria besides their online communicative practices after coming to the UK. This resulted in producing rich/thick descriptive portrayals of participants' lived experiences of language. Doing so not only helped reduce and organize the data set (Mills et al., 2009: 972) but also contextualize it for the cross-case data analysis.

Following the within-case analysis, a cross-case analysis took place. The cross-case was the second level of analysis that aimed at providing the general themes and patterns that tended to appear across all cases. As asserted by Creswell (2013: 101), in a multiple case study, "the typical format of analysis is to provide first a detailed description of each case and themes within the case," following that, "a thematic analysis across cases" is provided. This is to ensure a thorough analysis that "seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the cases" (Creswell, 2013: 100). As such, I conducted a thematic analysis of the interviews following Braun and Clarke (2006) for the cross-case analysis. A more detailed description of the interviews and online observation analysis processes is provided below.

3.6.1. Analyzing the interviews

The process of analyzing the interviews' data started as soon as the first round of the interviews was conducted, first with transcribing the interviews' audio recordings (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018: 108). The interviews were conducted in English with some exception of some words and expressions that participants used in other languages (a note on translation is found is section 3.8) and were audio recorded. They were then transcribed following the conventions below, these conventions were adapted from Paulsrud et al. (2021):

Text	English
<u>*Text*</u>	Another language
"*Text*"	Quoted or read text
TEXT	Word spoken with emphasis
[*Text*]	Clarifying text not spoken by participant (stage directions)
[*Text*]	Translation
(*Inaudible*)	Utterance that cannot be clearly heard
…	Longer pause
Text -	Utterance that is cut off

Transcription, although time consuming, especially because I opted for a verbatim transcription. i.e., a word-by-word transcription, helped me have a full account of what participants said, keep notes of my initial impressions and thoughts about the data, and finally, allowed me to be reflexive about my interview strategies (see also Shelton and Flint, 2019), and to refine and design future interviews. It also helped me engage with the data and familiarize me with it. Having transcribed the data, I first used a narrative analysis approach for data analysis (Creswell, 2013). As suggested by Creswell (2013: 109), I started data analysis by immersing myself in the data. After that, I started marking and labelling passages of interest. These passages were thoroughly described, reflected on, and presented under corresponding labels in chapter four of the within-case analysis. The analysis focused on biographical data about participants' lived experiences of language. Their stories of the past and their reflections and memories (see example in figure 15 below). It helped me elicit the how and the why of the processes through which participants mobilized their resources by going back in time to understand participants' language biographies.

Figure 15: An example from the narrative analysis

Following that, I proceeded to analyze the data thematically following Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis framework. According to the two authors (2006: 6), the latter is:

> A method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998).

The framework is a six-steps process, namely:

1) Familiarization with the data.
2) Generating initial codes.
3) Searching for themes.
4) Reviewing themes.
5) Defining and naming themes.
6) Producing the report.

As such, I started by transcribing the interviews and translating them where necessary, reading through the transcripts and familiarizing myself with the data. During this stage, I also noted down any initial thoughts, feelings, and impressions about the data. This helped in the next stage of generating codes, identifying patterns, and searching for themes. This

process was done manually. Initially, I started highlighting and colouring patterns and strands on the digital copies of the interview transcripts (see figure 16 below). I then started the coding process manually on Microsoft Word. Although initially I started coding on printed copies of the transcripts, this was not possible to be continued, because during the lockdown, I did not have access to printers. Therefore, I created Word files on which I listed corresponding excerpts from participants under relevant codes (see appendix 8).
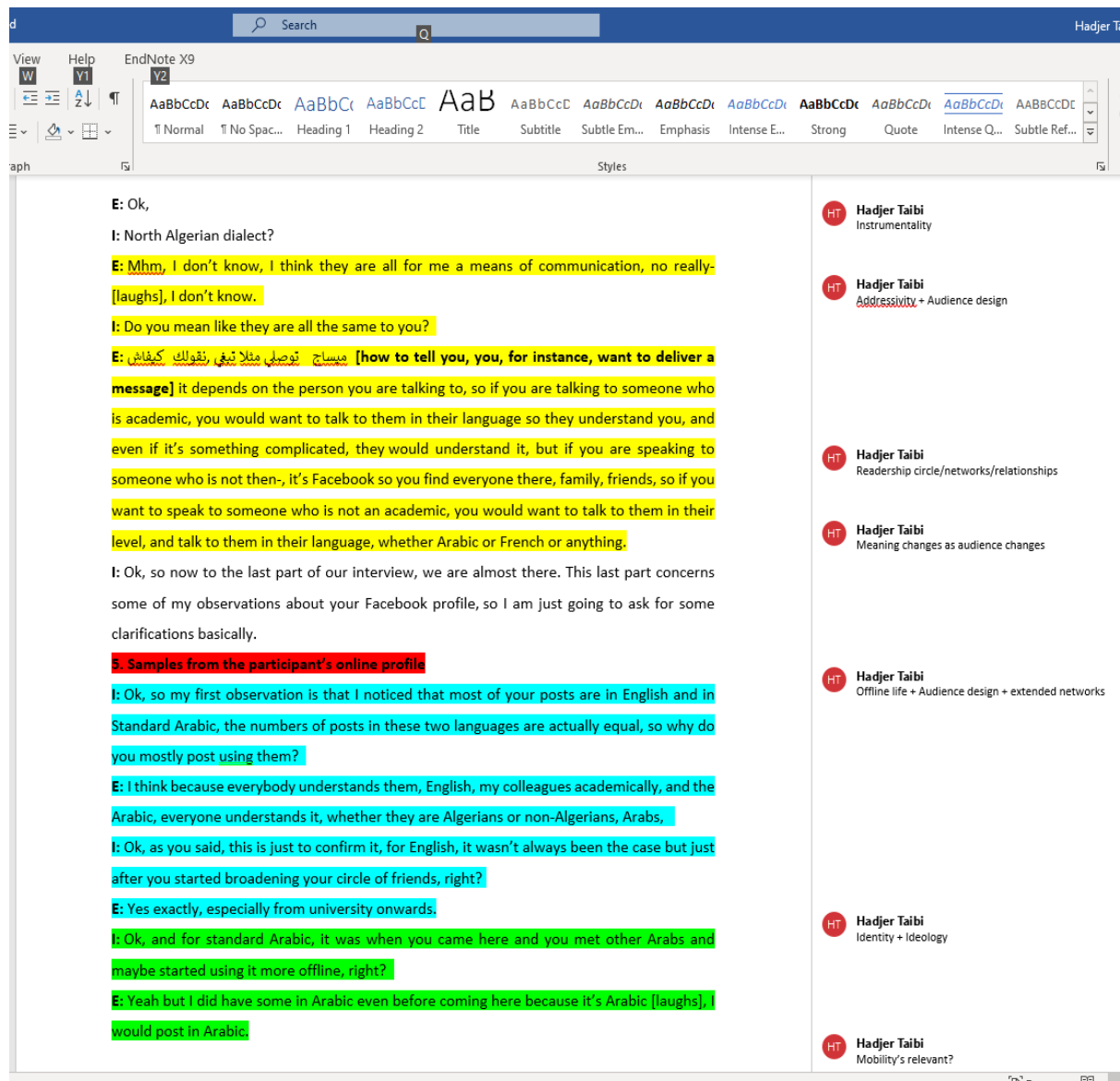
Figure 16: An example from the interview data coding and analysis

The generation of codes was both inductive and deductive. On the one hand, some of these codes were explicitly included and discussed during the interviews. They addressed specific questions relevant to the research (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 89).   Others were deduced from

previous research/studies and the literature review. On the other hand, some codes emerged from the data and were not pre-defined, nor theory driven. This is particularly true for data that was collected during Covid-19 pandemic. Following the coding process, I started developing themes. The data that was decontextualized during coding, was recontextualized into themes (Given, 2008: 867). I wrote down the list of all codes that were generated and started reconceptualizing, reorganizing, merging, separating, and reintegrating them into broader units of analysis. This resulted in the creation of "global" (overarching themes) and "organising" (sub-themes) codes (Robson and McCartan, 2016 as cited in Perez Andrade, 2019: 95).

Having identified initial themes, I moved to analysing and interpreting these themes and finalizing them resulting in four main themes listed below:

1. English in motion

2. Beyond English: multilingual resources in motion

3. Navigating communicative repertoires online

4. Mobile resources during immobility times

These themes were thoroughly described, explored and fit together into the report presented in chapter five. The process of thematic data analysis, however, is not necessarily linear (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 16). As I spent more than a year analysing the data and putting it together for the final, neat, and comprehensible report for the readers, I noticed that I was going back and forth throughout and across the phases. Even when I was reaching the final stages, I had to go back sometimes to the first stage and re-read the whole transcripts and revisit initial codes and the coded extracts. This is because I had to ensure that the final themes accurately capture the richness and the particularities of the data set and give it justice.

3.6.2. Analyzing the online observation

Data for the online observation was analysed drawing on Androutsopoulos' approach (2008; 2013; 2015) "*online ethnography*". At its heart, this framework focuses on combining observation's methods with direct contact with participants. Besides that, it is comprised of both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analysis. Androutsopoulos and Staehr (2018: 122) suggest that quantification "provides a "bird's eye view" by which to contextualise the selection of data for qualitative microanalyses." Following this approach, in his study of the language practices of two young users on Facebook, Androutsopoulos

(2014b) started with a quantitative analysis of their posts on their Facebook timelines. Their contributions were coded for their language choices and participation roles. He then moved to a qualitative analysis of these posts to closely scrutinize and explore their choices. Similarly, I started my analysis with a quantitative description followed by a qualitative analysis as will be explained in detail below.

Like Lee (2011), in my study, I considered every status update initiated by the *ego,* i.e., the participant (Androutsopoulos, 2015: 193), a unit of analysis. Status updates on social networking sites are used by participants as a space to express the self and to relate and interact with potential targeted readers (Lee, 2011: 11). They are textually mediated and highly multimodal. For the purpose of the analysis, at the end of every month, I took screenshots of every status update posted by the participants during the period of six months of observation. The amassed corpus was then analyzed in two parts. First, in terms of the resources that were used to produce it, its form, and its content. In the second part, the analysis catered for the participants' metapragmatic reflexivity on their posts. I chose to work with screenshots of the original posts rather than transcribing the online data. This is to preserve the original context in which interactions occurred. A step-by-step example of the analysis procedures is provided below.

To analyze contributions in terms of their resources, posts were counted per participant and coded for language choice which included: main languages that participants used; mixtures of features from different named languages; and semiotic resources such as emojis and images. Status updates were quantified and were presented in tables. In the post below (figure 17), the post was coded as "Standard Arabic (SA)+ English status" in the observation sheet (see example in Table 6), which features the use of 2 emojis.
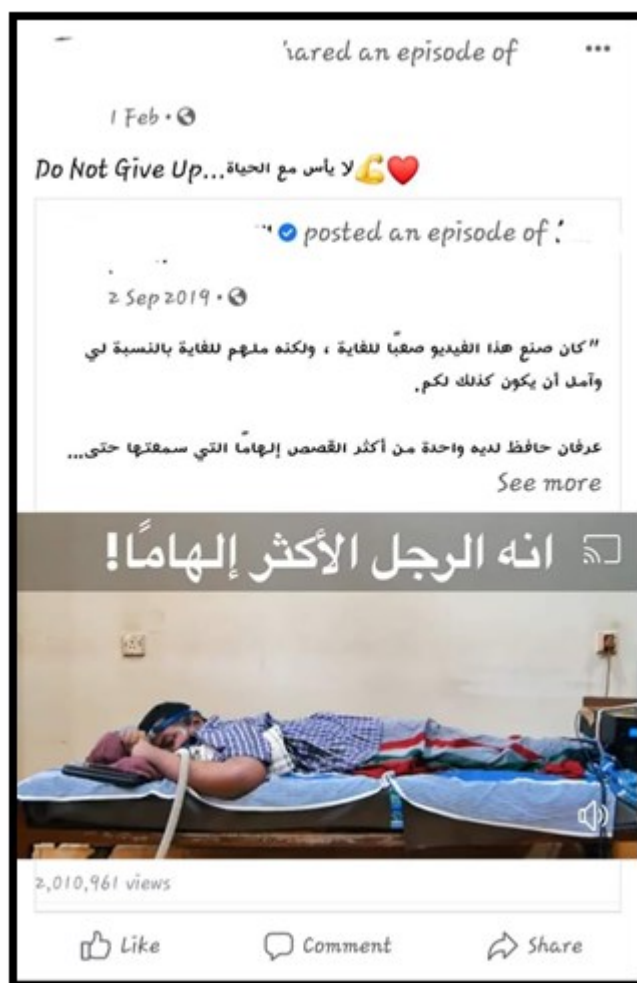
Figure 17: An example of analysis from Ekram's status updates

	Standard Arabic	English	French	Darjia (arabic script)	SA+ D (arabic script)	Fr +Eng	SA+Eng	Semiotic resources
February							1	2 emojis

Table 6: An example of codes from Ekram's observation sheet

While coding for language choices, there were instances, when deciding on "what language some words and phrases belong to?", which proved to be a bit problematic. Particularly regarding the distinction between SA and Darija. This is because "the boundaries between the two varieties can be blurry especially in terms of the written language" (Alhejely, 2020: 173). When the word used can be identified as both SA and Darija, I followed Albirini (2016) proposition in that the researcher relies on; 1) their intuition: my knowledge of both varieties helped me determine to which category the word might belong, 2) some morphological and

grammar cues: for instance, if the word in the sentence does not follow the standard grammatical and morphological rules of SA, it was categorized as Darija. 3) contextual cues: by looking at the overall structure and content of the post.

After coding the status updates based on the communicative resources, a descriptive analysis of these status updates' forms was provided. Status updates were coded and described in terms of their forms and nature namely:

1) **long, reflective passages**: these are status updates which included long texts, typically more than two sentences,

2) **Short passages**: these are status updates with no more than two sentences,

3) **Formulaic phrases**: status updates which featured the use of commonly used expressions such as birthday wishes,

4) **Intertextual figures**: these are status updates that are shaped by other texts such as proverbs, idioms, and religious quotations,

5) **Captions on shared posts**: these are brief descriptions on shared posts, videos and photos,

6) **Queries**: status updates that are formed as questions.

These codes were inspired by and developed based on previous research (e.g., Lee, 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2014b; 2015). They aimed at providing a descriptive account of the posts to understand the overall context in which they occurred. They also helped me understand how patterns of addressivity of the posts unfolded, their relation to other posts and to communicative choices, and their topical development. Moreover, they gave me a sense of how much time participants were willing to spend online and how much efforts they are investing in their posts. Most posts combined more than one form at a time. For instance, some posts were captions and intertextual texts at the same time. The above status update (Figure 17) is an example of such case. The post was coded as "caption on a shared post," and an "intertextual figure." This is because the phrase in SA, which translates literally into "no despair with life", is a famous saying by a famous Egyptian writer. In that case, the status update was coded under both categories and was presented as either of them. This is because the aim of these codes was not to neatly fit the posts in one category or the other but to reflect the diversity, flexibility, and fluidity in the forms of status updates and participants' online communicative practices.

At the last stage of this part of the analysis, I approached the social media posts in terms of their content. To do so, I utilized Mediagrams (Artamonova and Androutsopoulos, 2019; Lexander and Androutsopoulos, 2021; 2021), a method for data collection and analysis which helps visually elicit data collected from social media. A mediagram is a term inspired by the concept of "sociogram" and refers to:

> A visual representation of the co-patterning of language, language modality and media choices in digitally-mediated communication…Similar to the use of sociograms in social-scientific research generally, mediagrams are a graphical representation of qualitative data aimed at making patterns visible and at presenting information during the data-gathering process (Huagan et al. 2006; Tubaro et al. 2014 as cited in Artamonova and Androutsopoulos (2019: 70)

Mediagrams were used in the studies mentioned above to indicate the relationship between networks of communication connections and mobile devices. They are presented in a circular layout with the participants located in the center of the mediagram. Nodes then are used to represent the relationships between participants and their interlocutors. The lines that link participants and their interlocuters are used to depict language choices, modality, and media choices. These data are represented through the use of different colors and line styles (such as a continuous line or a dotted line) in order to show the different choices. In other studies, visual representations of social media data were also used to represent different information. Brandehof (2014), for instance, visualizes the different linguistic and media choices of his interlocuters linked to different purposes of their use. Nemcova (2016), on the other hand, used visual representations of social media data which portrayed the geographical locations, languages and frequency of their use, social media applications, and domains of languages of her interlocuters.

In my study, I used mediagrams to visualize the different topics tackled in my participants' posts online. In the center of the mediagram, the name of the participant is represented which then radiates the different topics and language choices in the different nodes. The main purpose of using the mediagrams was to map my participants' online communicative practices in relation to the diversity of the topics addressed. These topics were largely derived from Lee's (2011: 8-10) list of communicative functions of status updates on Facebook. My list of topics included:

1. **Feelings/opinions:** content that expresses the participant's emotions, mood, beliefs, and thoughts.

2. **Everyday life:** content about participant's day-to-day life, such as their work, studies, and routines.

3. **Current activities:** content that reported what participants were doing at the time of the shared post.

4. **Intertextual figures:** content which only featured the use of a quotation, proverb, or famous saying that is not religious.

5. **Religion-related topics:** content which relates to religious beliefs, including prayers, Qur'anic verses, and posts about religious celebrations.

6. **Humour:** status updates that included jokes, sarcasm, memes, and any humorous content.

7. **Advice:** content which targeted the audience by giving advice, warnings, or reassurances.

8. **News:** content which reported news and any political and social related issues.

9. **Academia/PhD:** content that explicitly mentioned PhD and educational/academic life.

For each participant, their status updates were grouped under these codes and then further coded according to the communicative resources used in posting about these topics. Topics differed from one participant to the other. Nada, for instance, did not share any news-related topics during the period of observation. Ilyess, on the other hand, posted at times about different topics which were explicitly related to academia/PhD life which did not occur in the other participants' content. The codes were then presented in mediagrams tailored to represent each participant's unique choices and status updates' topics. For instance, the status update above (figure 17) was coded as "multilingual", i.e., combining different linguistic varieties, under the code "advice" (see an illustration is figure 18).

Figure 18: An illustration from Ekram's topic analysis

In the second part of the analysis, a more in-depth qualitative analysis of why participants' online communicative repertoires are used the way they are used is provided. During the third round of interviews, participants were asked about their communicative choices online. Their metapragmatic reflections were then thematically analyzed and are presented in chapter five, section 5.3. The qualitative analysis aimed at understanding participants' online communicative practices and how their communicative and topic choices online link to their offline realities, identities, and ideologies. In other words, the analysis of their practices was carried out with a focus on the macro sociolinguistic aspects of their lives and their wider, networked, and complex life trajectories and experiences.

3.7. Researcher positionality

As mentioned in section 3.4.1.1, although being an Algerian PhD student in the UK gave me an advantage in recruiting my participants, it also raised questions about my position in the research and my relationship with my participants. First, when recruiting participants, I had to make sure that my positionality as an Algerian PhD student would not give rise to any perceived pressure to participants. To mitigate this risk, I reassured participants that their participation in the research is completely voluntary and that they are free to agree or refuse to take part. I then allowed them sufficient time to read through the information sheet, process all information, consider their participation, and make a decision. Once the fieldwork started, positioning myself in relation to my participants was a complex process, however, it was needed because it impacts the nature of data collected and how it is interpreted (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013: 368). While trying to figure this out, many factors were at play,

namely, being the research-instrument, the ethnographic, time dimension in my research, and finally, relations of power and reciprocity. I will discuss those in what follows.

In qualitative research, the researcher is the actual data generator, this means that the research will inevitably be influenced by the researcher's histories, social and cultural backgrounds, and values and this will affect the researcher positioning. In my research, just like my participants, I am an Algerian, PhD student living in Manchester, around the same age as they are, and who also uses social media. This would put me in an insider position where I am part of the group and can relate to it. This was particularly evident when my participants talked about other PhD colleagues from university whom we both knew, when they switched languages, and when they talked about cultural aspects in Algeria. It was also evident in the questions I included in the interview guide, especially in the last round of interviews where a whole part of it was dedicated to exploring how my participants, as international students, were coping during the Covid-19 global pandemic and the role of the online in all of this.

To a certain extent I was telling them about my own experiences through the questions, for instance, when I asked them if keeping contact with their friends and family in Algeria through the online makes it easier for them to live through this pandemic and if they feel they are closer to them this way or further away. In a way I was thinking about my own experiences as an international student who is keeping contact with her family online and what did this mean to me. However, I was aware of their individuality and hence tried to think of questions out of my own sphere. This is when I felt at times as an outsider, and this is when I was trying to hear their stories and voices rather than reflections of my own. Because despite being all Algerians, we all come from different parts of Algeria, are shaped by different experiences, we are doing PhDs in different topics, and we use social media differently and for different purposes and this is where I asked the why and how questions and asked for examples and instances to clarify. I then was in a hyphen-space (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013) pulled back and forth exploring the range of possible positionalities, constructing and re-constructing them with my participants throughout our conversations. This contributed to the richness and diversity of my data.

The time spent with my participants also had an impact on my positionality making it even more fluid. Although the participants were all PhD fellows whom I met on several occasions at the university campus, I have never had the opportunity to spend time with them

individually and discuss in-depth their experiences of mobility until I recruited them for my study. Over a period of six months, I interviewed my participants three times each for no less than 30 minutes in each interview. During this time, our relationships evolved from a simple question-answer typical kind of interviews to conversational, less formal interviews where I shared bits and pieces of my own experiences and views with my participants. This shifted my position from an outsider to one of them. The time investment my participants put into my research made me more sensitive to the principle of reciprocity and what my participants were getting back in return of such investment. Seidman (2006: 109) argues that the best thing an ethnographic interviewer can offer to their participants in return of their time and commitment is to listen, and so I did. I listened carefully to their voices, showed interest in their stories, and made sure I truthfully present their experiences in my study. Listening and sympathizing also served the purpose of building trust and minimizing the power relations. In the research, I was aware that the impression my participants might have on me as the all-knowing expert, the one asking questions might make the balance of power lean on my side. I became more aware of this especially when my participants ought to comment on what they were saying by "I am not sure if this is relevant but," "I hope this was helpful," my reassurances that whatever they say is relevant and that I am interested in all what they have to say were my way to balance the power relations. Besides that, on some occasions I worked on reminding them that just like them I am also an international, PhD, Algerian student through telling them about my own experiences which sometimes resembled theirs.

Because remaining distant and uninvolved was never my goal, I aimed instead at acknowledging my entanglements and shifting roles and positions and tried to understand their effects on the overall process of my research. My epistemological and ontological stances were explicit and manifested throughout my thesis and were the determining factors on how I conducted and positioned myself in relation to my participants. It was not possible to remain either an insider or an outsider throughout the whole research rather I moved between them as they emerged. Such fluidity of positioning "is particularly important to interpretive, narrative, and discursive forms of research where the nature of conversations and degree of trust are essential to gathering rich data and multiple perspectives" (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013: 374). Such fluidity was also particularly evident during the online observation.

Online observation refers to the process of "virtually being there" (Androutsopoulos, 2017: 241). That is being present online observing digital interactions as they take place on the virtual. Similar to offline observation, in the online a researcher can choose to be a complete observer, a complete participant, or anything in between. However, in online observation, being a complete observer is enabled in ways that are not possible in the offline simply because the researcher is not physically present (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 159). Collecting online data through "lurking" only, actively participating, or anything in between is a subject of debate (Androutsopoulos, 2017: 241). From an ethical perspective, choosing to be a lurker may pose issues if the participants are not aware they are being observed (Page et al., 2014: 68). In my research, participants were made aware of them being observed when they were asked for their consent. So, does this make me automatically a participant observer? As Page et al. (2014) point out, being a site member (e.g., a friend on a participant's Facebook friends' list, or a follower of their Twitter) does not mean a researcher is a participant as they can still lurk without any interaction (e.g., asking questions, commenting, liking) with participants. Such a choice of to lurk or not to lurk may also have implications on data interpretation. If researchers choose to be participants, it is important that they do not fall into the trap of analysing their own data or data that was generated through their direct involvement (Androutsopoulos, 2017: 242). Whether to be an active participant or a complete observer is a matter of researcher's preference and their research purposes and design. In my research, I found myself bouncing between different positions and researcher roles with varying degrees of participation and involvement across settings and social media sites (Facebook and Twitter), participants, and even across time.

At the start of the online observation, I found myself lurking without any interaction, i.e., an outsider. This is not only because as a novice researcher, I was being very careful and self-conscious about my own online practices as I was observing those of my participants but also because of the nature of structured observation. After the first month, this slowly started changing and it took on different forms and intensities (Postill and Pink, 2012: 129), from simple likes (figure 20) to long discussions via comments (figure 21).

Figure 19: Merriam's post in which I put a love react

Figure 20: Ekram's post followed by a discussion between me and her in the comment section

On the one hand, such interactions served as an appreciation and a reassurance to the participants of my research interest in their practices (Postill and Pink, 2012: 129). On the other hand, in some instances, these interactions placed me in a participant observer position, an insider. This was particularly true when the topic of the post was about something I shared with participants, e.g., a post about religion like in the figure 20 above, in which Ekram asked for a clarification about a religious aspect, or a post that involved Algeria (figures 21 and 22), in which Merriam expressed her discontent about some Algerians' online behavior to which I expressed my similar feelings.

Figure 21: Merriam sharing her discontent feelings about the behaviour of some Algerians

Figure 22: My comment on Merriam's post

Nevertheless, unlike Merriam and Ekram, my interactions with Nada were exclusively through likes, and were non-existent with Ilyess, this was due to two different reasons. Nada has relatively fewer posts and is less active on Facebook than Merriam and Ekram (see Table 2). Besides that, she mostly posts about her daily activities and personal life and beliefs (e.g., figure 23), unlike Ekram and Merriam who post about various things like politics and religion besides their personal lives. It also could be because of my own preferences and subjectivity, i.e., topics that I am personally interested in, which could also be the reason I did not interact online with Ilyess. Ilyess's online observation took place on Twitter and not Facebook. In my daily life, I am very active on Facebook contrary to Twitter on which I never tweet and rarely reply to others' tweets. Being on Facebook, even as a researcher and not just a user, was more familiar than being on Twitter, which I only started using in 2018 compared to Facebook which I started using in 2012, this had a significant effect to the extent that in many instances I acted as a full participant, this was not the case with Twitter. My lack of familiarity with the setting and my preference to Facebook have highly affected my position and role as a researcher.

21 Mar at 13:37 ·

The things I strongly believe in are:
1- "Never accept to be someone's maybe or someone's option".
2- work hard to leave your fingerprint in this world.
3- be peaceful and mind your own business...it saves you, trust me.
4- don't try to change people, rather accept them the way they are...if you cannot tolerate and handle their behaviour distance yourself ;).
5- "li fih nega ma tetnaga" ...could not translate this one.
6- Try to learn as much as you can,...you'll never regret it 😛
7: go careless when people mess up with y 😜 it s always a good defending strategy.

You, and 11 others   9 comments

❤️ Love   💬 Comment

Figure 23: My reaction to Nada's post

These fluid positionalities and roles were part of me "living on the internet" as a social media researcher (Postill and Pink, 2012: 128), to relate to my participants and to react spontaneously (Gans, 1982 as cited in Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 147). Rather than being caught up in the vicious circle of clicking on the mouse and scrolling up and down the Facebook walls. It made my experience more enjoyable and made me embrace my entanglements, subjectivities, and fluid positionalities as a researcher (see Blommaert and Jie, 2020: 123-125). It also raised my awareness of the changing positionalities of the researcher in relation to the context of the research, i.e., researcher positionality as context-dependent (Holmes, 2020). As I conducted my study across the different social media sites, I became aware of the influence of my role and positionality on the research process and its outcomes. This is particularly relevant because I entered the research site with a dual researcher and social media user positionalities. My familiarity with Facebook and my preferences to it as opposed to Twitter were evident in how I approached the two sites and how I interacted with participants on them. On Twitter, I spent longer time than on Facebook to familiarize myself with the site's affordances. I also spent more time reading about the specific features of the site. This is because I was more confident using Facebook than Twitter. However, because I have been an active social media user for years, I was able to navigate the two sites with relative ease. On the other hand, as a result of conducting social media research, my use of social media has changed. I became more analytical towards the communicative practices of social media users, and I also gained more experience in using Twitter. My research field was always accessible and within reach even when I was using social media as a user and not as a researcher, which blurred the boundaries between the two positionalities. It is worth noting, however, that despite my reflexivity, this does not guarantee that my positionalities did not have an impact on data collection and analysis especially because some aspects of the fieldwork on these two sites can be missed or not known.

Being an observer might also raise concerns about the "observer's paradox" issue. This phenomenon, which was first proposed by Labov (1972), refers to "the idea that participants' language is inhibited by the presence of the linguistic fieldworker or their recording equipment—that is, that the very phenomenon under observation is tainted by the observation process itself" (Grant and Macleod, 2016: 60). That is the data that the researcher is collecting might not be "naturally occurring"/ "authentic" and is being influenced by the

researcher's presence. I had to consider this issue especially because participants were made aware of their practices being observed and sometimes reminded of that when I interacted with them on social media, either through messaging or comments and likes. This meant that they might change or modify their behaviours. Nevertheless, as noted by many qualitative researchers, this effect of the observer is almost inevitable regardless of the type of the observation carried out, therefore, accounting for it and owning it rather than avoiding it would make more sense (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 165). Furthermore, the time dimension in ethnographic studies, and being more involved in the observation process would make the researcher part of the participants' social environment and their presence more natural resulting in less disruptions (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015: 166). I am aware, however, that my presence might have still impacted their behaviour, which is not necessarily something that is "negative" or "contaminating" to the study, rather something that is an intrinsic part of research.

3.8. The multilingual research

I started my research with the naïve assumption that: because I and my participants come from the same country and we are all doing the same thing –a PhD in a UK university-, I share with them most/all of their communicative repertoires, thus, I would not face issues in collecting multilingual data and analysing it. As it turned out, this was not quite the case. Not only I found myself dealing with data in languages I did not speak like Turkish, Italian, and Berber but also translating from Darija to English, i.e., languages in which I am fluent and my participants spoke, was not as unproblematic as I imagined. How I dealt with issues arising from doing multilingual research depended on the method of data collection. Below I explain how.

At the beginning of each interview, participants were instructed/reminded that they can respond in any language/variety they want. The interviews were mostly in English, however, there were many instances of translanguaging practices throughout. The translanguaging practices emerged in two different ways during the interviews. Participants either moved fluidly and almost effortlessly between the following varieties: English, French and Darija or they consciously used other varieties like Berber, Turkish, Korean, and SA. In the first case, participants simply used the language they thought most accurately reflected what they were thinking, it came naturally to them. They did it with the assumption that I would understand what they were saying, which I did, and therefore they did not feel the

need to translate it to me. The second case was when they used those varieties to give examples as the excerpts below show. Except for SA, the participants translated to me every other variety they used. The following excerpts are examples:

Excerpt from Ekram's interview

> ***Ekram:*** *Yeah, I didn't understand, I knew only few words [referring to Berber language], because my grandfather used them a lot like, taghyoult [Berber] **which means** حمار, [laughs] when someone picks on him or something and he is nervous, and I know awid aman [Berber] **which means I want water**, this is actually the first I learnt when I was really young, so I learnt awid aman and awid aġrum [Berber] **which means I need bread**. [1st round]*

Excerpt from Nada's interview

> ***Nada:*** *For Turkish [referring to the language portrait], let's take the example of [name omitted], she watches a lot of Turkish, she uses a lot of "hadi kizim" **meaning come on**, and "guzel" **meaning beautiful**. [1st round]*

This left me with having to translate from mostly Darija and in very few instances from French and SA to English. When translating from French or SA, the task was easy because first, those instances were very few, and second, participants used simple and short words and sentences such as in the excerpts below.

Excerpt from Ekram's interview

> ***Me:*** *Ah so that's what you mean by if you speak Standard Arabic, it would be a mistake.*
>
> ***Ekram:*** *yeah, if you tell someone " أنا أذهب إلى المدرسة"[translation from SA: I go to school], they will be "what the heck?!" [1st round]*

Excerpt from Merrian's interview

> ***Merriam:*** *My mom would call me in my French name [name omitted], instead of Merriam, and would tell me in French like-, she would tell me "arrête" [translation from French: stop] instead of " حبسى"[translation from Darija: stop], she would tell me "mange" [translation from*

French: eat]* *instead of "* ٱكُولِي *[translation from Darija: eat], so I grew up with both of them. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Excerpt from Ilyess's's interview

Ilyess: For تحليل و النتائج *[translation from SA: analysis and results] I still think it's adapting something from SA to Darija because* تحليل و النتائج *[translation from SA: analysis and results] doesn't exist in Darija, we don't do research in Darija. [3ʳᵈ round]*

It was translating from Darija to English that presented some challenges particularly when participants used idiomatic expressions that cannot be translated literally. My primary concern when doing the translation was remaining transparent and representing my participants' voices truthfully in my research. My background in translation studies from the course I took during my master's degree, my work as an interpreter from English to Arabic and vice versa, and my work as a teacher of SA to speakers of other languages made me aware of the importance of preserving meaning as well as remaining "faithful" while translating, therefore, I bounced between literal and free translation as required. Literal translation was employed whenever possible to preserve the "*equivalent effect*" (Newmark, 1981: 39) and remain as close to the structure of the source language as possible. Free translation, on the other hand, was employed when literal translation would prove inaccurate, such as when translating idiomatic expressions and cultural terms, i.e., when literal translation would distort the meaning. The shared knowledge I had with my participants and the context in which the utterances occurred played a great role in the process of translation (Baker, 2018). The excerpt below is an example of a free translation of an idiom.

Excerpt from Nada's interview

Nada: I think بالي مشغول اكثر على تما مش لِتما I think *par ce que ma famille* فدزاير *هنا. [translation from Darija and French: I think of Algeria because my family is there. I think I am more worried about there than here.] [3ʳᵈ round]*

In the excerpt above, Nada used French, English and Darija. While literal translation of most of this utterance was possible, the idiomatic expression in Darija بالي مشغول could not be translated literally. A literal translation of the idiom would be "my mind is preoccupied", however, depending on the context and my prior knowledge of the use of this idiom, it was translated as "worried", which is what it generally refers to when it is used. In some instances,

the idiom was paraphrased when it was impossible to find its English equivalent (see Baker, 2018: 80 on the strategies of translating idioms). Below is an example.

Excerpt from Nada's interview

> *Me: What do you think about that?*
>
> *Nada: Sad a bit because as the Algerian saying goes, "* بات ليلة مع الجاج, صبح *يقاقي"[translation from Darija: an idiom that's used to refer to a person who spends a short period of time with new people and starts acting like them], people would perceive me like, "oh, she went there for a year or so and started to forget her language". [2ⁿᵈ round]*

The closest literal translation of this idiom بات ليلة مع الجاج, صبح يقاقي would perhaps be "he spent one night with chicken and started clucking in the morning." But as Nada proceeded to explain, the idiom is not to be understood literally. From the context, my priori knowledge, and her explanation, I translated this idiom as shown in the excerpt.

Multilingual data was not only collected during the interviews but also during the online observation. Mostly, the same strategies of translation were used online (translation of all the posts presented in the findings chapters are provided in appendix 9), however, the context of data collection was different. Data was not generated through direct interaction with my participants and was collected without their presence on-site. Therefore, unlike during the interviews, participants were not there to provide instant translation of updates posted in, for example, Turkish and Italian, instead I relied on machine translation provided by Facebook. Below is an example from Nada's post in Italian and its translation as provided by Facebook.

Figure 24: Facebook's translation of Nada's post

Facebook, however, does not provide translation for Berber language, therefore, I opted for asking the participant for a translation of any posts in the latter. This was through texting them on Messenger. Below is an example.

Figure 25: Nada explaining to me a word in Berber on Messenger

Researching multilingually comes with its own opportunities and obstacles (Holmes et al., 2013). Despite the invaluable and rich data and insights the multilingual research provides, a lot of it can be lost in translation. To minimize this, my focus was on remaining truthful to my

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participants, transparent for my readers, and faithful to the meaning/ structure of the source language, therefore, I used different translation strategies. Whenever possible, I also referred to my participants i.e., producers of the texts, to help in the process.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for my research was obtained from Manchester Metropolitan university's research Ethics and Governance Committee (REGC). A copy from this letter besides copies of the participants' information sheet and the consent form are in appendixes 1,2, and 3. Participants' written consent was obtained in the first round of interviews where I also explained to them their rights of withdrawal and their ensured anonymity. However, due to the emerging Covid-19 pandemic, a re-submitted amendment to my ethical forms was necessary. The amendment concerned transferring the face-to-face interviews to the online. Once the amendment was approved, I contacted my participants, and again obtained their verbal consent during the interviews. Besides the logistical requirements to ensure the conduct of an ethical research, I realized that there are a number of issues I needed to address especially when it comes to the online.

Increasingly, researchers from different disciplines are turning to social media to collect data (Townsend and Wallace, 2016: 4). This growing interest in social media as a data collection site, however, is offset by concerns about ethical issues. According to the guidelines offered by the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA) (2018), there is a set of ethical responsibilities that any researcher should adhere to. In summary, researchers should take into consideration privacy, informed consent, and to ensure transparency and confidentiality. In the context of online research, these same ethical considerations count. They are adapted to the characteristics of online settings, however. In the online, the researchers' ethical responsibilities are more challenging. The reasons for this are explained below.

> 1. **Privacy**: it is one of the biggest ethical issues, especially in social media research. The debate is mainly about whether data on social media should be considered private information that should not be shared/used as data for the research or as public information since users know when they put such information online that they are accessible to everyone (Townsend and Wallace, 2016: 5). This same concern intersects with a more challenging one, that of the ownership of the data (Gurses et al., 2008: 6). If a person comments on a photo

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on Facebook, for instance, then who owns this comment, is it the author of the comment? The person who posted the photo or the social media sites' providers? According to Facebook (2018) in their last updated terms and conditions, it is clearly stated that "you [user] own all of the content and information you post on Facebook, and you can control how it is shared through your privacy and application settings." Twitter (2020) too, for instance, state that "all content is the sole responsibility of the person who originated such content." This means that informed consent should be obtained from participants who are the owners and controllers of their data. In this research, data collection only included the four participants who are selected, and they accepted that their data can be used, there was no mention to any other parties. Privacy was also maintained through anonymization and the blurring of participants' profile names, pictures, and any revealing information such as addresses when screenshots were taken.

2. **Consent and transparency:** although participation in the research is voluntary, I opted for written informed consent from the participants before Covid-19 and verbal consent after it. To obtain it, participants were informed about the nature and aims of the research and how their data will be used, managed, and shared in my research both through the information sheets and verbally. I also made sure that they fully understand that their identities would remain anonymous and that they can withdraw anytime they want. In case they withdraw before the anonymization of the data, their data will be destroyed immediately and will not be used. I also made it clear that there is no pressure on them and that the extent of their involvement in the research is totally dependent on them. All this information was explicitly referred to in the information and consent sheets.

3. **Anonymity and data storage:** participants for this research were kept totally anonymous and their data was securely stored and shared. To ensure this, pseudonyms were created for the participants and all information that might reveal their identity was not shared in the research. Quotations were used after participants gave consent on the use of them and any traceable details or identifiers were removed from the quotes. Online, their

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profile names and pictures were blurred, and any identifying markers, such as names of places, or names of pages from which posts were shared were removed and blurred. The interviews' recordings, both from the online and offline, were all destroyed once the interviews were transcribed and anonymized. The data also was processed and stored on my university OneDrive account. After the research is over, all data is to be destroyed.

4. **Risk of harm:** arising from concerns about the lack of confidentiality. In order to ensure the latter, the way data was handled and used in the research minimizes any potential risks of traceability. Any names of persons or places that participants mentioned during the interviews or in their posts online were removed. Traceability risks, however, are higher in social media research because of the possibility of retracing original posts and quotes (Townsend and Wallace, 2016). For instance, "public Tweets may be indexed by Google and other search engines" (Twitter, n.d.). Therefore, Ilyess's tweets will not be shared to avoid traceability. Likewise, Facebook's algorithm works the same way. Search engines such as Google and Facebook search itself can index posts which users "share with the audience set as Public" (Facebook, 2021). Therefore, for Nada and Merriam, only posts that were shared privately with friends, were presented in this study. Meaning that, their posts are not traceable. Ekram, on the other hand, whose all posts were public, was informed about the traceability and searchability of her posts. She then proceeded to give consent on sharing her posts in my thesis.

3.10. Trustworthiness

Interpretive qualitative research, like any other piece of research, is judged for its trustworthiness and goodness (Angen, 2000: 387). But because unlike quantitative research, it is grounded in different epistemological and ontological assumptions, the criteria against which it is judged are different from those of quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Instead of reliability, validity, and objectivity, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the following criteria:

1. **Credibility**: substitute for internal validity in quantitative research and refers to demonstrating the *adequacy* and *truthfulness* of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 296),

2. **Transferability:** substitute for external validity**.** It refers to the applicability of the findings in congruent contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 124),

3. **Dependability:** substitute for reliability. It refers to the replicability of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 299),

4. **Confirmability:** substitute for objectivity in quantitative research and it refers to a degree of neutrality in data interpretation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 300).

These criteria were tailored to suit the nature and aims of the qualitative inquiry as traditional terms and concepts proved inaccurate (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 301). Although the primary aim of these criteria was to break free from those rooted in positivism, Lincoln (2001: 34) reflects that:

> At the time we devised the trustworthiness criteria (Guba and Lincoln, 1985), we realized they were rooted in the concerns of positivist inquiry but were not certain how to proceed with breaking free of those mandates. We use those criteria often, albeit only in the same sense that they are utilized by positivists –as a kind of methodological safeguard.

They do, however, provide a   framework and reference of what trustworthiness means in qualitative research (Gerber et al., 2016: 84). As such, many techniques were suggested by scholars (e.g., Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Creswell and Miller, 2000; Maxwell, 2012; Gerber et al., 2016) to evaluate the qualitative research against these four criteria taking into consideration the nature of qualitative research. It is worth noting at this stage that although these same criteria apply to online qualitative research, the techniques deployed to verify the research's trustworthiness might slightly differ (Gerber et al., 2016: 85) depending on the aims and the nature of the study conducted. In the following I will discuss what techniques were used in my study:

1. **Prolonged engagement:** means spending sufficient time in the field to build trust, probe responses and identify patterns (Creswell, 2013: 250). This technique is used to ensure the credibility of findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 302). In my research, I spent 6 months not only observing my participants' online practices but also interviewing them. The time dimension in my study allowed me to build trust, probe into previous interviews and to occasionally member-check with my participants. Although member-checking might not always be possible for online

research if the number of participants is large and/or they are anonymous, it was not the case for my research.

3. **Thick description:** for transferability, the researcher is expected to provide sufficient information and descriptions about the context of the research, in order to compensate for generalisability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 124). The study looks at the communicative practices of a small narrow number of sojourners (four) who all share similar characteristics (Algerian, PhD students, living in Manchester, in their twenties). Despite the small and narrow parameters, the study aims at providing an in-depth exploration of the individualized and diverse experiences and practices of each of these participants rather than generalising them. It further aims at shedding light on the heterogeneity within a seemingly homogeneous group of individuals and challenging the prevailing homogeneous discourse about language and language users. As such, throughout this thesis, I provide rich and in-depth description of the research context, the sites (online and offline), times, participants, data collection and analysis procedures, and themes explored (Creswell and Miller, 2000: 128), which aligns with the nature of qualitative research, in order to allow for its findings to be transferable (Lincoln and Guba, 2013).

4. **Inquiry audit:** this technique is used to achieve dependability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). A researcher using this technique would keep a detailed track record of the data collection and data analysis processes and later having them checked by an auditor (Creswell and Miller, 2000: 128). Throughout my research, I provided my supervisors with detailed documentations (research protocol, interviews' guides, online observation sheets, reports on the piloting, notes on data collection and analysis procedures) of all my research decisions and activities to be examined.

4. **Reflexivity:** to achieve confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), qualitative researchers are required to report on their own subjectivities, personal beliefs, and views of the world (Creswell and Miller, 2000: 127). Sections about my positionality as a researcher both during the interviews and during the online observations were created for this purpose. Moreover, it was incorporated through acknowledging my subjectivities and predispositions (Miles

and Huberman, 1994) early in the research when rationalizing the choice of the methodology.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how this research was designed to answer its questions, to justify why particular choices were made and how certain obstacles were overcome. This stems from the need to be as explicit and clear in research as required to address an overriding concern in qualitative research which is that of transparency. The latter needs not to be taken for granted. Transparency, more than ever, is now "recognized as a basic requirement of all qualitative research" (Given, 2008: 2). Having this addressed, the following chapters will present the findings of this research, followed by a discussion of the findings.

4. Within-case analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings from the within-case analysis. I first introduce participants, their language trajectories, mobility's histories, their beliefs and language ideologies. After that, I present participants' online communicative practices in Algeria and in the UK. Each case is presented independently in order to depict the individuality of each of the four participants before moving to the cross-case analysis. At first, I introduce the language portrait for each participant. I follow it with participants' narratives and descriptions of their language portraits. I then move to exploring their language ideologies and their online communicative practices from before their arrival to the UK. This data was collected through the tasks and the three rounds of the interviews. I conclude the analysis of each case by presenting the findings from the online observation of each case. Overall, this chapter aims at presenting the findings at a micro level in order to allow for nuanced understanding of participants' experiences before stepping back to look at them from a larger, macro level in the following cross-case analysis chapter.

4.1. Merriam

4.1.1. Merriam's portrait

In her language portrait, Merriam drew a picture of language in relation to her roots, childhood memories, and life experiences.
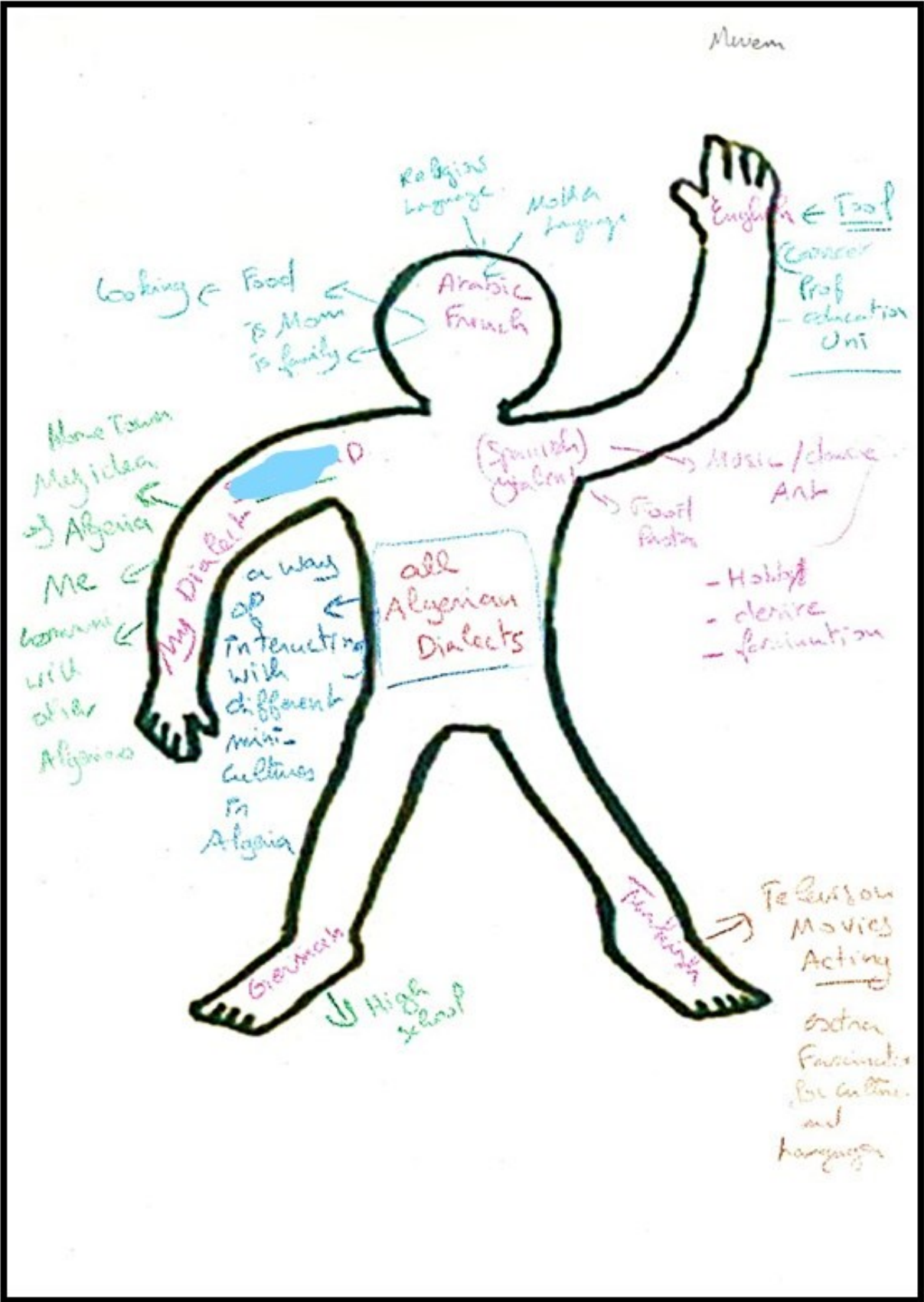
Figure 26: *Merriam's language portrait*

Arabic and French were Merriam's first encounters when it comes to language. They were the languages of her upbringing as she explains below:

> **Merriam:** *It was both, French and Arabic, that's why I put them together [referring to the language portrait]. My mom would call me in my French name [name omitted], instead of Merriam, and would tell me in French like-, she would tell me "*<u>arrête</u>*" [translation from French: stop] instead of "*<u>حبسي</u>*" [translation from Darija: stop], she would tell me "*<u>mange</u>*" [translation from French: eat] instead of "*كولي*" [translation from Darija: eat], so I grew up with both of them. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Merriam's father is Algerian while her mother is French-born. It was then natural to grow up listening to both languages. Merriam put Arabic and French in the head because she "*thinks in Arabic and French*". The Arabic Merriam refers to here is both Darija; her hometown dialect/ "*mother language*" as she specified in her language portrait, and "religious Arabic" as she called it in the below excerpt:

> **Merriam:** *my dad reads a lot of religious books, he prays a lot, so I used to hear him when he prays, he reads a lot of Quran, so I was exposed to Arabic الفصحى [translation from SA: standard], the religious. [1ˢᵗ round]*

French, on the other hand, is:

> **Merriam:** *mom, French is family, French is food, I cook a lot of French. [1ˢᵗ round]*

As she grew up, Merriam's linguistic repertoires extended to include, English, which she started learning at middle school by a teacher "*who has been formed in America*", Merriam pointed out. She thinks of English as a "*tool*", hence the hand. It is the language she chose for her future career. The language she majored in at university. Another tool is her dialect from her hometown, through which she started making sense of herself and Algeria from an early age. Other languages she learnt were German, which she learnt at high school, Italian and Spanish, which she learnt in her first year at university, Turkish, through media, and the different Algerian dialects:

> **Merriam:** *I have level A in Spanish, but I didn't carry on, also Italian, again it's food, music, dance, art, pasta. My heart means, hobby, desire,*

a fascination for languages. GERMAN, German is high school, that's all, I had to do it in high school. Now Turkish, Turkish is television, movies, acting, and it's an extra, it's also a fascination for languages, for culture, for their culture and languages. Now another tool, which is my dialect, [naming her hometown], and that would be hometown, that would be my idea of Algeria, that would be me, because I am from there, that would be communicating with other Algerians, and in my stomach, there is all the Algerian dialects, and I would describe this as a way of interacting with them, interacting with different mini-cultures in Algeria. Because I feel when I speak your dialect, you are kind of more at ease with me, you speak as if I am from your own hometown, whereas when I speak with you in my dialect, we focus on what did you mean, what does that mean, and the interaction is not very effective, but I am more close to you, if we speak in the same way. [1ˢᵗ round]

In her teenage years, Merriam was also influenced by different language varieties:

Me: Ok, what about when you were a teenager, how was your way of speaking?

Merriam: I was influenced by the ghetto French style, my language was also very affected by the Afro-American accent, so I would imitate them, I had this attitude تاع *[translation from Darija: of] "so what?!" [laughs]. [1ˢᵗ round]*

By ghetto French, Merriam refers to the street, informal French language that she mostly picked up from her family members who live in France. Prior to coming to the UK, Merriam experienced mobility. Throughout her life, she visited many cities in Algeria. Her geographies of mobility ultimately influenced her language trajectories:

Me: when you were in Algeria, have you been to other cities other than your hometown?

Merriam: Yes, central of Algeria, the east, but south and west not yet. [1ˢᵗ round]

Merriam commented on the ways people speak in these different regions saying:

Merriam: you have the Berbers in Tizi Ouzou, they think they don't belong in Algeria, they think they need their own Algeria because

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people don't understand them, people don't want to acknowledge that we are Berbers, we are not Arabs, so they don't speak the language, they are a bit racist with those-, my own experience, I have friends from Tizi Ouzou and they are very nice, but when I went to the city, this is what I had from people, they refused to talk to us, they knew that we are coming from the east, it means we speak Arabic, we are not Berbers, and as I told you in Algiers, people think that they have got everything under control and they know everything about Algeria, and if they acknowledge from your accent that you are not from there, their behavior completely changes, especially if you don't speak French, you are screwed. [1ˢᵗ round]

The excerpt above encapsulates Merriam's thorough reflections on how her mobility across different cities in Algeria opened her eyes to issues of exclusion caused by differences in the use of language. Those moments of lived experiences of linguistic inequalities became part of her linguistic repertoire because "our repertoire is not determined solely by the linguistic resources we have, but sometimes by those we do not have, and these can become noticeable in a given situation as a gap, a threat or a desire" (Busch, 2015: 14).

Indeed, Merriam's portrait reveals how she views the world around her through language. Language played a great role in her becoming (being an Algerian, born to a French mother, Muslim, from East of Algeria). Therefore, from a young age, she had a fascination for language and the different meaning-making resources. Next, I will explore in more depth the meanings she attached to these resources.

4.1.2. Merriam's language ideologies

In the tasks of the second round of the interviews, I asked Merriam to describe the varieties she mentioned in her language portrait or during our first interview. Below is how she described them in the tasks that I sent to her:

- **Arabic (standard):** intellect
- **French:** obliged
- **Berber:** very important
- **Darija:** Obliged
- **English:** intellect

For Merriam, SA represents "intellect". This is perhaps because it is mostly used in educational settings or by people who study religion or are religious. On the other hand, using it outside of these contexts is not something usual:

> **Merriam:** *People think that this language should only be used at universities, or only by those who teach standard Arabic or at primary schools, if you speak Arabic outside, people will make fun of you. They will get a feeling that you are speaking in a cartoon [laughs]. Also, I think in Algeria, you may agree with me, standard Arabic is directly linked to religion, every time I meet someone who speaks standard Arabic is really religious.*
>
> **Me:** *Have this ever happened to you?*
>
> **Merriam:** *Yes, it happened to me both sides, I was mocked at, and I made fun of someone [laughs]. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Following Rampton and Holmes (2019), Merriam beliefs about SA are both dominant (SA as a marker of the religious identity) and residual (the unnatural use of SA in informal settings). French, on the other hand, for Merriam is a language that she grew up listening to and therefore is *obliged* to speak. This mirrors residual language ideologies which view French as a language of prestige, science, and modernity thus exerting social pressure on people to learn it:

> **Merriam:** *it's the language of my family, I am obliged to speak it to my mom and aunties and uncles because it's the language they use to speak to me. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

For Berber, Merriam believes that it is important to talk about the issue surrounding it, particularly those related to identity and because of the divisive effect that it sometimes has. However, Merriam also believes that Berber is a minority language, a language that "*barely exists*":

> **Merriam:** *crucial and very important because it's not a language that we all know, that's why it's creating tensions between those who believe they are Arabs and that's it and those who refuse the idea of being Arabs and want to go back in history and prove that we North Africans are Berbers and we have nothing to do with Arabs and we should stick to our language and bring Arabic language to a second*

level, so I think this is creating tensions between those who want to stick to their ancient origin and identity and those who just want to speak Arabic since it has been the case since 200 years so why going back in time and speak a language that barely exists anyways. [2ⁿᵈ round]

Berber as a "*minority language*" is a discourse that was for long perpetuated in the politics of Algeria and here Merriam is re-producing it, however, she is also re-shaping it through recognizing its importance. Darija, on the other hand, to Merriam is a marker of the Algerian identity regardless of how one speaks it. She also points out the fact that it is a non-standard variety which cannot be taught at schools:

Merriam: it is part of our culture and it cannot be taught, it's something you need to be outside to know how to speak it, in the streets, at the mosque, with family, we have different types of Darija, every context and every situation requires you to speak in a certain way, so I think we don't need to learn it at schools, it's part of our identity and our culture, it's not something they can teach you. [2ⁿᵈ round]

Merriam sees English as the language of globalization. She states that even though English is on the rise in Algeria and being it generally perceived favourably; this is not reflected in the actual use of English among Algerians:

Merriam: I think today, English has become important within a certain category of people which are teenagers and people who are our age, young adults, English had become very important to them because of globalization, because of the music and film industry. So, those people started to read in English, listen to English music, and acquire the American attitude more than it used to be before, it became important only and strictly for this category of people, although people are claiming it to be a second language instead of French, but when you go outside, you don't really feel that English got a serious place in Algeria compared to French. [2ⁿᵈ round]

Merriam described most of her other linguistic resources as a bonus:

- **Spanish:** bonus
- **Italian:** bonus
- **German:** bonus

- **Turkish:** bonus

- **Afro-american:** accent hobby

- **Ghetto French:** slang extra

By a "bonus", Merriam means an additional resource that is dispensable, but she chooses to have:

> **Merriam:** *Yes, it's a bonus, it's not something I use daily, it's not something that is helping me in my work or anything, it's just a bonus that I choose to have or to try to speak. It's an extra.* **[2nd round]**

Throughout her life, Merriam did not only accumulate meaning-making resources but constructed beliefs about and attached meanings to them. All together they became part of her rich communicative repertoires. As her life experiences continued to unfold, her repertoires continued to re-shape. Experiences such as her mobility or use of the online.

4.1.3. Merriam's online communicative practices before coming to the UK

Merriam's observed profile was set up in 2017, that was the year of her first arrival to the UK. She, however, has been using Facebook since high school:

> **Merriam:** *I have been using Facebook since 2009 or 2010*
>
> **Me:** *Why do you use Facebook?*
>
> **Merriam:** *For me, Facebook is for gathering with friends from different places but in one page, and it's a way of expressing some ideas.* **[2nd·round]**

Using Facebook for Merriam is a way to connect to the whole world and a way to share one's opinions. At that time, Merriam explains that she mostly posted in French:

> **Merriam:** *in my first year in using Facebook, I only posted in French, I wasn't very confident with my English.* **[3rd round]**

Merriam was still in high school in her first year of using Facebook, that is before going to university and choosing English as her major. But French was not the only variety Merriam used since then, for instance, she would also use the different Algerian dialects in her posts:

> **Merriam:** *In Algeria I used to post in dialects, the minute I notice that a person is speaking with me in another dialect, I catch the accent and reply in their way. Sometimes people find it nice but other people don't like it. They take it as if I am making fun of them.* **[3rd round]**

Merriam in the above spoke about dialects and (spoken) accents while referring to the written mode. She is referring to the representation of certain spoken features through orthographic choices. Through the appropriation of these features in her online communicative practices, Merriam was trying to build rapport with her audience rather than just communicating a message. This, however, was not appreciated by everyone and sometimes backfired on her when people considered it as she was "*making fun*" of their way of speaking. In these instances, Merriam changed her language practices:

> **Merriam:** *if I saw that they don't really appreciate that, I go back to normal. [3rd round]*

The above is a very brief self-reported description of the online practices that Merriam recalls when she first started using Facebook and before she came to the UK. The online observation of her Facebook profile after coming to the UK shows the diversity and richness of her online communicative repertoires. I now turn to the findings from the online observation to demonstrate how she uses her diverse communicative repertoires online.

4.1.4. Merriam's online communicative practices after coming to the UK

In this section, I present findings from Merriam's online observation of her Facebook profile after coming to the UK. Her Facebook timeline features a range of communicative resources as the below table 7 and analysis of her online practices show.

	English	SA	French	SA + English	Darija (Arb script)	Egyptian
February	61	31	7	7	2	5
March	41	28	7	0	2	1
April	22	17	4	4	0	1
May	32	53	5	12	8	2
June	21	12	7	0	3	1
July	25	42	6	5	4	0
Total of posts	202	183	36	28	19	10
Percentage	38.48	34.86	6.86	5.33	3.62	1.90

SA + Darija (Arb script)	French + English	English + Darija (Arb script)	Syrian	English (Arabic script)	Darija (Latin script)	English + Italian
2	0	1	1	1	1	1
3	0	2	1	1	0	0
0	0	0	2	1	1	0
1	3	2	1	1	0	0
0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	0	0	0
8	5	5	5	4	2	1
1.52	0.95	0. 95	0. 95	0.77	0. 38	0. 19

English + Egyptian	Turkish	French + English + Darija (Arb script)	SA + French	SA + English + Darija (Arb script)	English + French + English (French accent)
1	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0
1	1	0	2	0	0
1	0	0	0	1	0
0	0	0	0	0	1
0	0	0	0	0	0
4	1	1	2	1	1
0. 76	0. 19	0. 19	0. 38	0. 19	0.19

French + Darija (Arb script)	Italian + English + Darija (Arb script) + Darija (Latin script) + SA	SA + French + English	French + Darija (Latin script)	English (French accent)	Total of posts
0	0	0	0	1	122
0	0	0	0	1	89
1	0	0	0	0	57
0	0	0	0	0	122
0	1	0	0	1	48
0	0	1	1	0	87
1	1	1	1	3	525
0. 19	0. 19	0. 19	0. 19	0.57	100

SA: Standard Arabic; Arb: Arabic; +: combination

Table 7: Merriam's online language choices for status updates (February 2020- July 2020)

In her contributions on her Facebook wall, Merriam makes use of her diverse online communicative repertoire. Her contributions extend language to include many other pictorial and expressive graphs, namely:

- Backgrounds = 76
- Emojis = 236
- Links = 38
- Photos = 198
- Videos = 176
- Feelings = 16
- Memories = 6

The variety of her semiotic online repertoires makes almost every single status update in Merriam's Facebook timeline multimodal. Merriam would make conscious and informed choices when it comes to the use of these semiotic resources as well as the linguistic ones (details on this are provided in section 5.3. in chapter 5). From Table 7 above,

it can be noticed that there is a clear preference for English resources. Merriam's status updates in English feature long, reflective excerpts (figure 27), brief captions i.e., brief descriptions of an accompanying photo, video, link, or post (figure 28), intertextual figures (figure 29), and short statements (figure 30). Merriam also trans-scripted English, representing it not only in a different script; the Arabic script (figure 31), but also in a different spelling. The spelling aimed at attempting to imitate the French accent by spelling the word "the", [ðə], as "ze/za", [zə] (figure 32), this adds an "*emphasis*" and marks the post, she states. These practices evoke Blommaert's (2010) notion of the "*concrete resources*" of language, i.e., "the actual and observable ways of using language" (Blommaert, 2010: 102). Resources that transcend traditional labels and cannot be depicted through the simplistic categorizations of named languages.

Figure 27: Merriam's long status update in English

Figure 28: Merriam's short, caption status update in English

Figure 29: Merriam's intertextual status update in English

Figure 30: Merriam's short statement status update in English
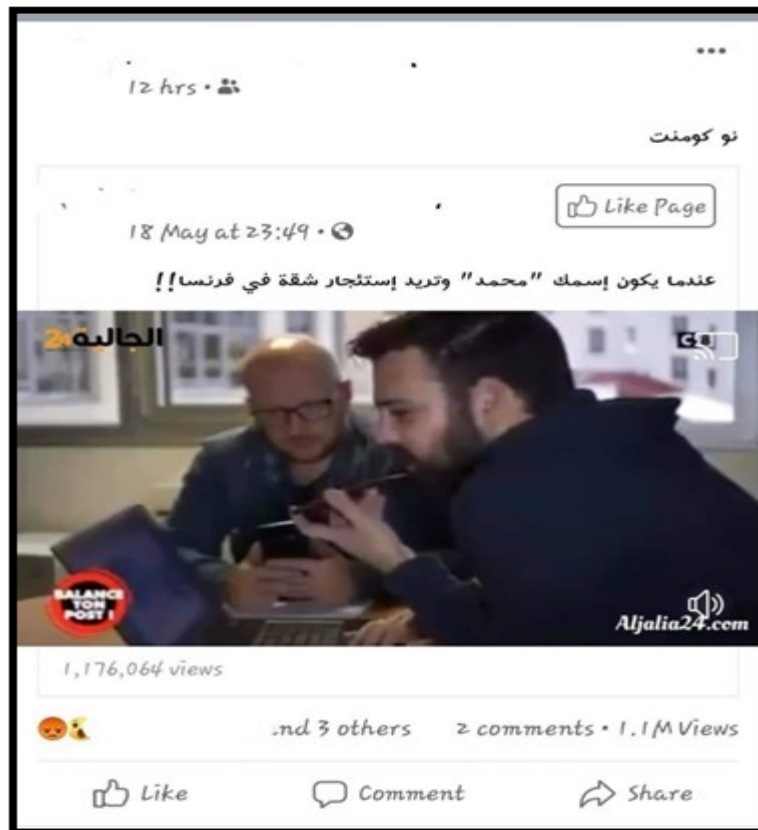
Figure 31: Merriam's status update in English using Arabic script

Figure 32: Merriam's status update in English imitating French accent

Another language choice that approaches English in its frequency of initiated contributions is SA. Updates in SA are very similar to those in English. They are typically long, reflective excerpts (figure 33), brief captions (figure 34), intertextual figures (figure 35), short statements (figure 36), and queries (figure 37).

Figure 33: Merriam's long status update in standard Arabic

Figure 34: Merriam's caption status update in standard Arabic

Figure 35: Merriam's intertextual status update in standard Arabic

Figure 36: Merriam's short declarative in standard Arabic

Figure 37: Merriam's query status update in standard Arabic

Following SA, Merriam initiated 36 contributions in French. These contributions are in the form of long texts (figure 38), captions of uploaded photos taken by Merriam (figure 39), or of posts, videos, and photos shared from other sources (figure 40), and short declaratives and passages (figure 41).
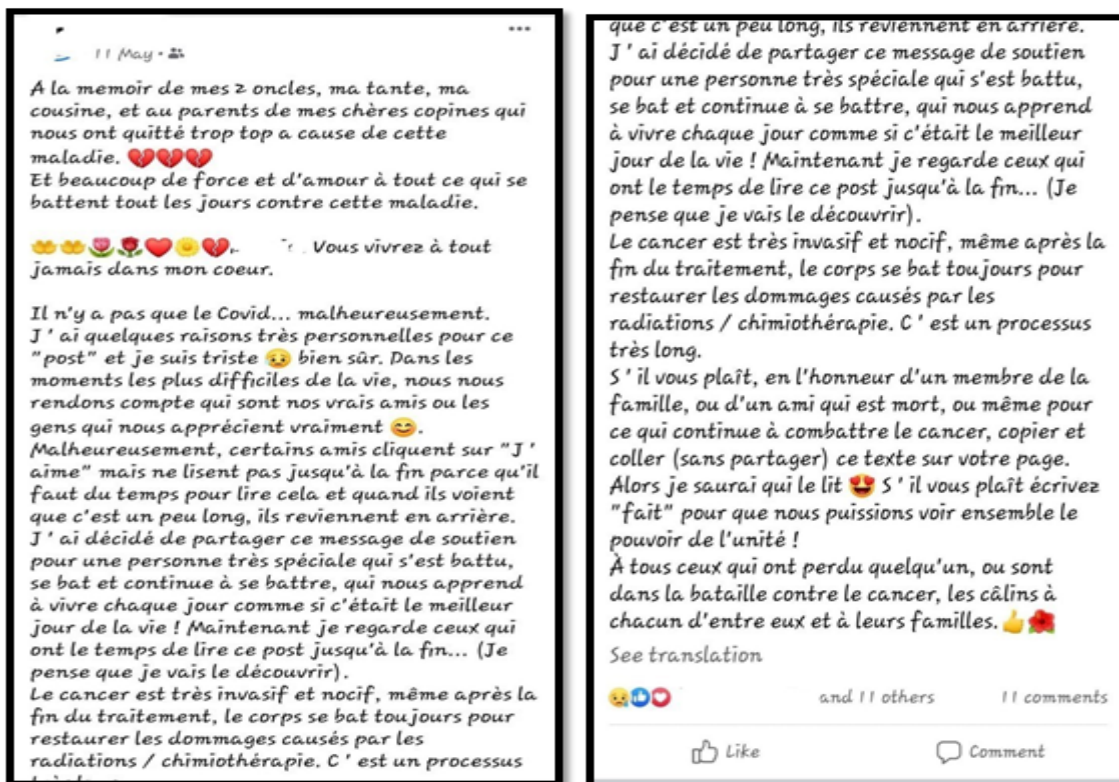
Figure 38: *Merriam's long status update in French*

Figure 39: *Merriam's caption on photos taken by her in French*

Figure 40: *Merriam's caption on a shared post in French*

Figure 41: *Merriam's short declarative in French*

Merriam's contributions in Darija are very short sentences (figure 42) and captions (figure 43) In those contributions, she makes stylistic choices alternating between the Latin (figure 44) and Arabic (figure 45) scripts.

Figure 42: Merriam's short status update in Darija

Figure 43: Merriam's caption status update in Darija

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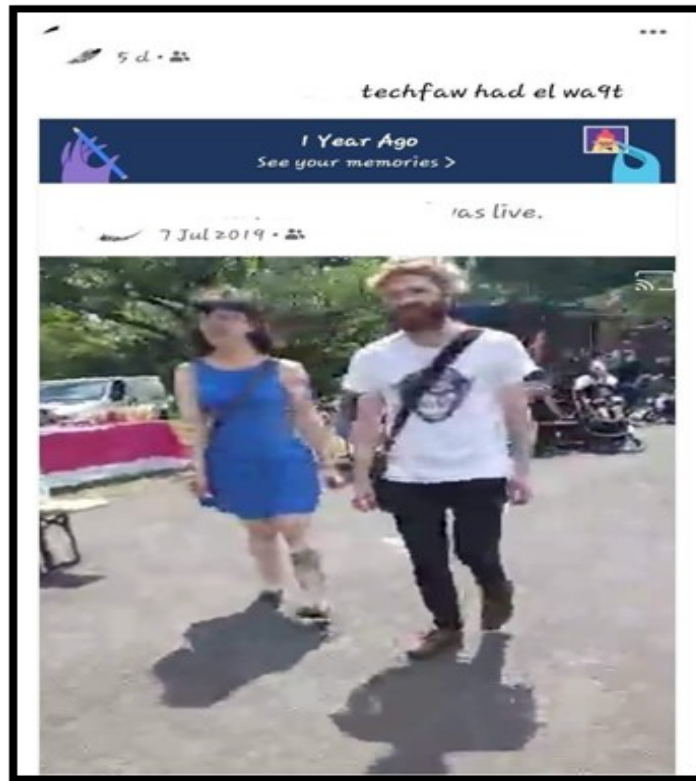
Figure 44: Merriam's status update in Darija using Latin script

Figure 45: Merriam's status update in Darija using Arabic script.

At times during the six months of the observation, Merriam posted in different Arabic dialects, namely, Egyptian (figure 46) and Syrian (figure 47). Those posts were short, humorous, and intertextual. They were short sentences or captions on posts shared from other Egyptian, Syrian or Algerian pages.

Figure 46: Merriam's status update in Egyptian

Figure 47: Merriam's status update in Syrian

There was one time when Merriam posted in Turkish. The post was a short, formulaic phrase where Merriam wished her friends a happy Ramadan; the holy month of fasting for Muslims (figure 48).

Figure 48: Merriam's status update in Turkish

In 33% of her posts, Merriam combined different linguistic varieties, scripts and semiotic resources within a post. Those multilingual, multimodal status updates were also varied in their forms and ranged from very short statements (figure 49), long excerpts (figure 50), to brief captions (figure 51).

Figure 49: Merriam's short multilingual status update

Figure 50: Merriam's long multilingual status update

Figure 51: Merriam's brief multilingual caption on a shared video

Merriam's posts were not only diverse in their formats, linguistic, and semiotic choices but they also varied in their propositional content as the Mediagram below shows:
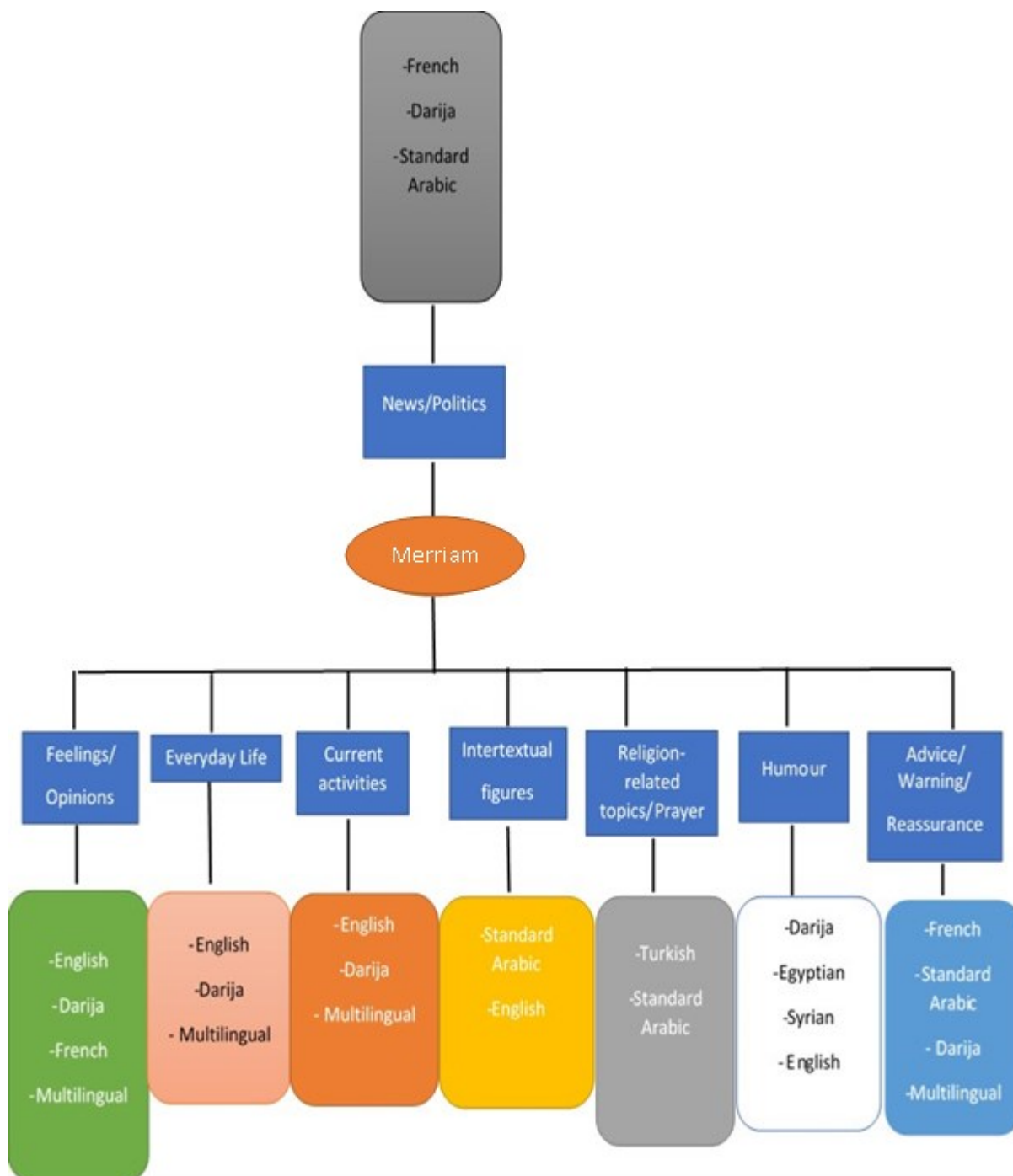
Figure 52: Merriam's Mediagram visualizing topics of her status updates and language choices

Merriam's status updates communicate an array of topics. She would express her feelings and opinions, share jokes and useful information, and a multitude of other topics. Merriam does not allocate specific linguistic varieties to specific topics, rather she traverses a spectrum of semiotic and linguistic resources, back and forth, to frame her status updates.

4.2. Nada

4.2.1. Nada's portrait

Nada's language portrait revealed a rich linguistic repertoire and trajectory. When handed the body silhouette, Nada turned the paper and started visualizing her linguistic repertoire according to where she would use them.
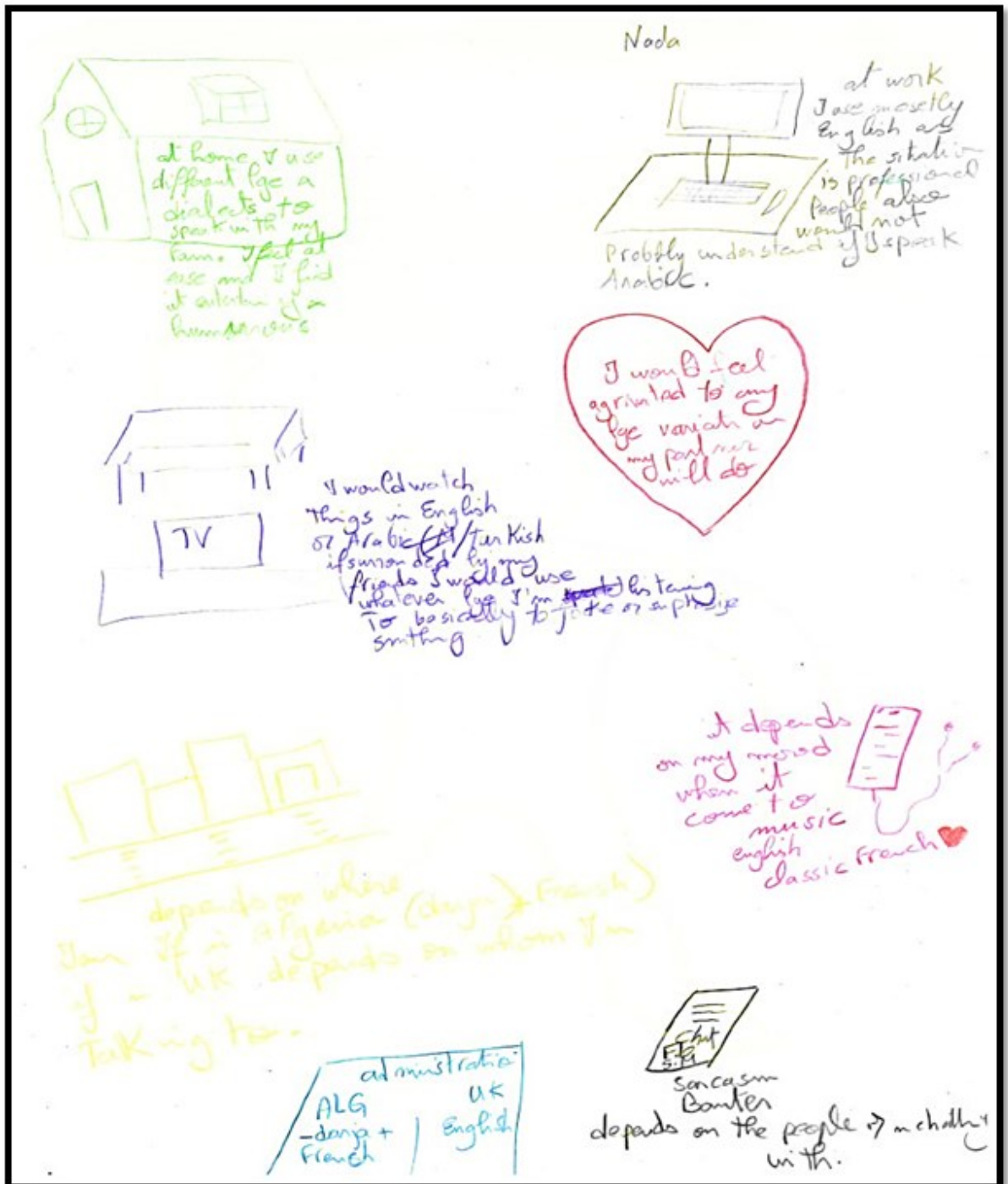
Figure 53: Nada's language portrait

As a child, Nada grew up speaking and listening to Darija or what she referred to as "*Darja*" in her language portrait and also Berber:

> **Nada:** *My grandparents from my dad's side were still alive when I was a child, they are both Berbers, so whenever we visited them or they came to visit us, they speak the Berber language, so, I started to pick up some words.* **[1st round]**

Throughout her childhood and adolescence, Nada was also exposed to different Arabic dialects through media, hence the use of different dialects at home as she pointed out in her language portrait:

> **Nada:** *At a younger age, we used to watch a lot of Egyptian rather than Tunisian or Syrian, I only started watching Tunisian at high school, along with Syrian, with shows like* باب الحارة *[Bab Al-Hara is a popular Syrian television series in the Arab world] , but we used to watch a lot of Egyptian since childhood, since I was 6 or 7 years old.* **[1st round]**

Similarly, Nada was exposed to Turkish through TV shows and movies and later reinforced by the meeting of new people who were interested in the language:

> **Nada:** *For Turkish, it's different, I didn't really have any interest in it, perhaps it's the frequency of watching Turkish series and movies, that makes me unconsciously imitate them, or when I met [name omitted, referring to her friend], because she is always "kizim, kizim", my dear, [laughs], it just got stuck in my head, but it was not out of passion.* **[1st round]**

Nada started to learn SA and French at primary school up until she graduated high school, after that, French for Nada started to lose its value:

> **Nada:** *I remember that at primary school when I started to learn it [referring to French], I used to enjoy it and probably this is because of my ex-teacher there. So, I used to learn French up until the Baccalaureate, then after pursuing my studies in English, I started to not using it, which caused later on loss of interest in the language.* **[1st round]**

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Despite that, Nada would still listen to French music and use it in the streets and administrations in Algeria alongside Darija, as indicated in her language portrait. As for SA, Nada explained, while drawing a phone/tablet, that she uses it mostly online, sarcastically:

> **Nada:** *Sarcasm, banter, I mean, how to say it, let's start with posts, most of the time, I try to opt for Arabic proverbs, and this is my way of either sending indirect messages to people, and especially those who did something to me, sometimes it has nothing to do with indirect messages, I just write down what comes to my mind, I opt for Arabic for these, mostly, let's say 90% of my posts. [1st round]*

Nada started learning English at middle school and then chose it as her major at university like the rest of participants. She uses it at work, to listen to music, online, and in streets and administrations after she moved to the UK. In the center of the paper, Nada drew a heart which represents her ideal for a relationship:

> **Nada:** *Because I code switch a lot and I like using a variety of dialects and a variety of languages, so I wish if my partner would do the same, I feel like if he is like me that would create harmony in our relationship, for instance, I speak Arabic, French and English, if I marry someone who only speaks Arabic that would limit the ways in which I express my ideas, however, if he speaks the three languages, if I am experiencing any shortage of words in Arabic, I would just replace it with English or French, and vice versa for him, that would create harmony. [1st round]*

As a kid, Nada also visited many places in the northeast, southeast, and the center of Algeria:

> **Nada:** *When I was in middle school, they took us to Ghardaia, I remember how I enjoyed my trip there with classmates, but I can't really remember the details of the trip. Other cities that I visited were mostly in the East, North East, South East, but none of the cities I visited where in the West, probably I visited only the capital from the middle or the center of Algeria, Tizi Ouzou as well. [1st round]*

She then started picking up the different ways people spoke in those places:

> **Nada:** *When I went to Algiers, people were speaking a different dialect, I was very careful with the way I speak, especially some words that I say them in very normal way in my city, but they are extremely prohibited*

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and impolite if you say it in the center of Algeria. When I went to Tizi Ouzou, people were speaking in a totally different way in comparison with other Algerians, they were speaking the Berber dialect, I could get some of what they are saying because of my origin but not the whole thing. This is more or less the differences I have noticed; it was more about accents than dialect in the Eastern part of Algeria. [1ˢᵗ round]

Nada became self-conscious about her use of language as she travelled. She knew that people from different parts of Algeria, use language differently. So, she slightly changed her way of speaking when she visited Algiers for instance, in order not to offend anyone (some words that are used in her region are considered inappropriate elsewhere). Nada not only selects from a pool of linguistic resources when communicating, her repertoire includes a variety of other non-linguistic resources. Gestures and body language are as important for her. They are part of her communicative repertoire:

__Nada:__ I use it [referring to body language] everywhere, every TIME as well, I always use gestures even while using my native language, with everyone and even in academic settings mainly to fill some linguistics gaps, in topics where description mainly is needed. [1ˢᵗ round]

Nada's language portrait depicts a picture of language which does not only portray how it is used in the present (e.g., at work, in the streets) but also how it links to the past (her family) and how it points to the future (relationship). Furthermore, her narratives tell a story of communication as going beyond language. This makes her communicative repertoire a space of potentialities connected to her life experiences.

4.2.2. Nada's language ideologies

Growing up, Nada constructed diverse beliefs about the communicative resources she uses and encounters and described them as follows:

- **Standard Arabic:** formal, funny, or unusual to hear.
- **French:** melodic, prestigious.
- **Berber:** hard, beautiful, tricky and useful.
- **Darija:** normal (used to it), easy, shared.
- **English:** easy, sweet, understandable.

In the second round of the interviews, I asked Nada to elaborate on her use of these adjectives, so she did. Nada thinks that SA is associated with formal use, which can be

attributed to its conventional use in formal settings like schools and mosques. Using it outside of these settings would make it, for her, funny and unusual, which perhaps explains why Nada sometimes uses it to express sarcasm as she stated in her language portrait:

> **Nada:** *I still think it's very funny to speak using standard Arabic in Algeria, I think people who give value to this language are those who are either teaching or studying Arabic, those in Politics or Law, and the Islamic part like mosques, I feel those people give it more value, other than this, I don't think it has a value. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

SA's exchange value for Nada is not fixed, rather it's dynamic and changes depending on the ecology of interaction (Badwan and Simpson, 2019). The status of SA in Algeria is official and Nada here is not reflecting the dominant beliefs about it but rather residual ones. French in Algeria, also holds a semi-official status and is used in administration, educational settings, and by the elite, and is sometimes perceived as a *prestigious* language, Nada explains:

> **Nada:** *French is prestige, it's the prestigious language, if you speak pure French, you are regarded as superior, higher class or middle higher class, if you don't, you are doomed, you don't exist basically. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Nada, who is half Berber, holds favorable beliefs about Berber but also describes it as *tricky*. The reason for that, she states:

> **Nada:** *Berber is not spoken everywhere in Algeria, it's a minority dialect, I wouldn't even call it a language because people don't regard it as a language, and it's not standard because we have different dialects like Chleuh and Chawi, for instance, speak a different dialect than Kabyle. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Nada's beliefs do not reflect the ideologies that are being promoted for by the state in recent years which recognize Berber as an official language. Her beliefs are rather residual and align with the public's beliefs of what constitute "*a language*" and Berber not meeting the criteria of the latter. Although, Berber was officialized, these beliefs persist among some Algerians. In the same way, Darija for Nada is not a language but "*a way of speaking*", she points out to the important fact that, besides being it linked to identity, it is not a one language or variety but multiple accents, varieties and dialects. Moreover, she sheds light on the hierarchies that exist within it:

> *Nada: It's the way people speak, every person will have a special view of his own accent, for instance me, I would say, "oh my accent is sweet and melodic, it's softer than the accent of the West", those in the center would say, "we have the prestigious accent", so it depends on the region of Algeria, but more or less it's regarded as part of the identity of the person. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Nada believes that English is the language of the present. She speaks about the role of technology in spreading it among the current generation:

> *Nada: I think it's ignored, it only started to be more spoken in recent years with recent generations, and perhaps even our generation uses it less than the generation of 2000s, because they are digital natives, they grew up using mobiles and social media and everything is in English. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Nada's communicative repertoire is heterogenous and is constituted of diverse and rich linguistic resources as well as distinctive beliefs about these resources and what they mean to her:

- **Italian:** romantic, melodic, beautiful, joy to hear
- **Turkish:** loud
- **Tunisian:** melodic, funny
- **Egyptian:** manly
- **Syrian:** sweet, easy, melodic

Her beliefs about these linguistic resources are emergent and are the result of her lived experiences. When she moved to the UK, she negotiated the use of her communicative resources as we shall see in the coming chapter. Before then, however, we'll take a look at her online communicative practices before her geographical movement.

4.2.3. Nada's online communicative practices before coming to the UK

Nada's observed profile was set up when she joined university in 2011 and remained the same ever since. This profile, however, was not the first that she ever had as she started using Facebook when she was at high school. Nada started using Facebook to join the crowd:

> *Nada: everybody has Facebook [laughs], especially Algerians. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Nada stated to me that when she first signed into Facebook, she would commonly use French resources, but this gradually changed to English as she joined university. Her use of English online was affected by her offline everyday life:

> *Me: Has it [the use of English online] always been the case?*
>
> *Nada: Starting from 2011 [the year she graduated high school], yes, before that, no, I probably used more French than English. [3rd round]*

Nada's online audience changed after joining university and starting to study English, which encouraged her to use English increasingly. Online, Nada reports to me, would make use of the variety of resources in her repertoires fluidly and translingually. Nada relates the translanguaging practices in her online language use, even when she was in Algeria, to her emotional state:

> **Nada:** Yes, فالصح ولا نخلط, ندير بزاف code switching. Quelque sois online, wherever, نحس روحي نخلط كي نكون perturbée or emotionally unstable, نحس روحي نخلط. *[translation from French and Darija: yes, I mix and use code switching a lot. Whether in real life or online, wherever. I feel that I mix when I am disturbed or emotionally unstable] [3rd round]*

Just like she does offline, Nada uses the linguistic resources at her disposal online to better voice her feelings. She finds these practices reflective of her emotional states. Her practices remained diverse and translingual after moving to the UK as we'll see below.

4.2.4. Nada's online communicative practices after coming to the UK

Below, I will present findings from Nada's online observation. Over the six months of the observation, Nada posted 183 status updates. Her linguistic choices were rich and diverse as Table 8 below shows:

	English	French	SA	English + Darija (Latin script)	SA + English	Darija (Latin script)
February	18	2	3	0	0	0
March	33	7	8	4	0	2
April	16	7	7	1	3	2
May	5	0	3	1	0	1

June	5	7	0	1	0	0
July	6	2	0	1	2	0
Total of posts	83	25	21	8	5	5
Percentage	45.35	13.66	11.47	4.37	2.73	2.73

English + Darija (Arb script)	French + English + Darija (Latin script)	French + English	SA + Darija (Arb script)	French + Darija (Latin script)	Italian
0	0	0	1	1	0
1	3	1	0	2	3
2	1	2	0	0	0
1	0	0	1	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	1	1	0	0
4	4	4	3	3	3
2.18	2.18	2.18	1.64	1.64	1.64

Darija (Arb script)	Berber	SA + English + Darija (Latin script)	Berber + French + English + Darija (Latin script)	English + Berber	French + Darija (Arb script)
0	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	1	1	0	1
0	1	0	0	1	0
0	0	1	1	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0

3	2	2	2	1	1
1.64	1.09	1.09	1.09	0.55	0.55

Berber + Darija (Latin script)	SA + Darija (Latin script)	French + English + SA	French + SA	Total of posts
1	0	0	0	26
0	1	1	0	73
0	0	0	0	43
0	0	0	1	15
0	0	0	0	13
0	0	0	0	13
1	1	1	1	183
0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	100

SA: Standard Arabic; Arb: Arabic; +: combination

Table 8: *Nada's online language choices for status updates (February 2020- July 2020)*

Table 8 indicates the diversity and multiplicity of Nada's online communicative practices. Her diverse and fluid use of her online spatial repertoires makes her Facebook timeline highly heterogeneous. Its heterogeneity is not only manifested in the use of different linguistic resources but as well in the different stylistic choices, different tackled topics, and the embedment of different semiotic resources available to her online in her status updates as the list below shows:

- Backgrounds = 34
- Emojis = 100
- Links = 4
- Photos = 64
- Videos = 22

Nada dominantly draws on English resources to initiate contributions on her Facebook timeline. These contributions can be long reflective texts featured by the use of emojis and nonstandard punctuation (figure 54) and they can be captions on photos. Photos are either taken by the *ego* herself or shared or uploaded from other sources. These latter alongside videos, links, and posts, which are as well usually shared from other sources (e.g., other Facebook pages, YouTube) come with their own linguistic and communicative baggage which then intermingle with Nada's own communicative resources (figure 55). Moreover, her contributions in English can also be short statements with abbreviated formulaic phrases and words (figure 56).
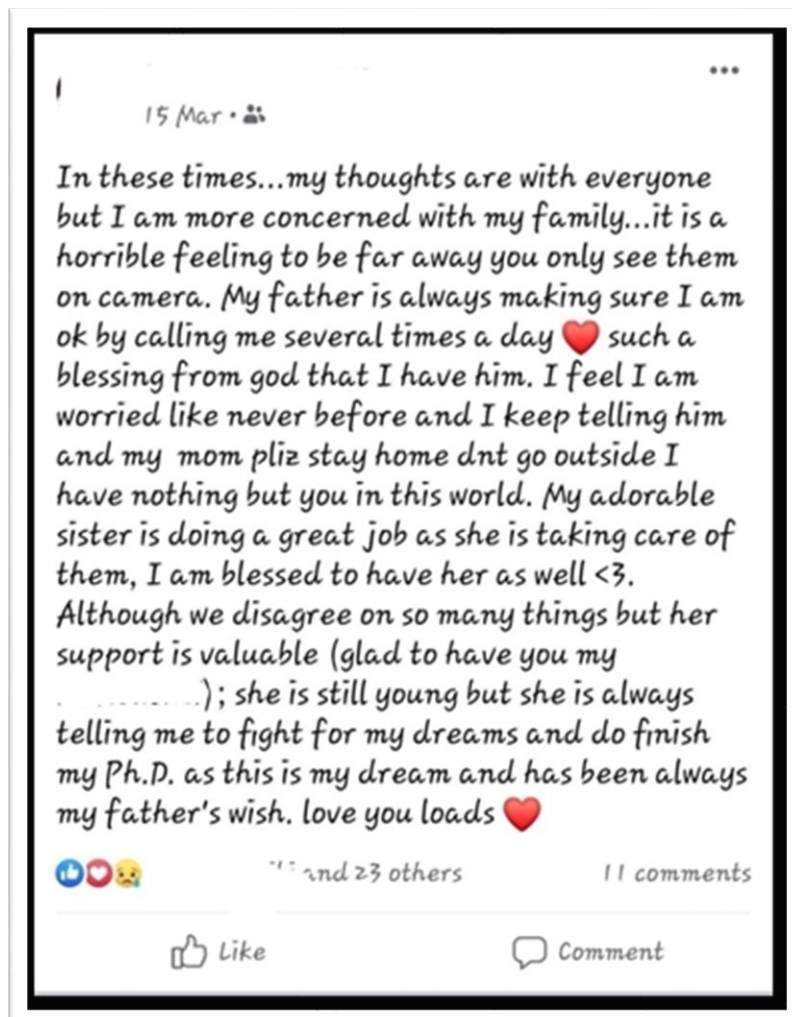
Figure 54: Nada's long text in English
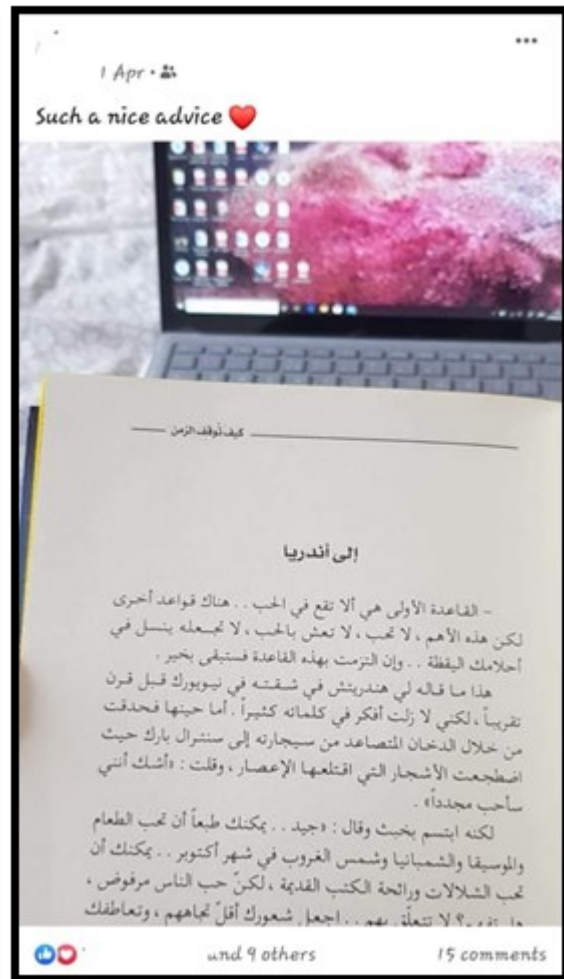
Figure 55: *Nada's captions in English*

Figure 56: *Nada's short post in English*

Following English, French and SA are almost equally selected by Nada to update status. SA posts share the same characteristics as those of English posts (figure 57). French posts, on the other hand, while like English and SA, were either captions, short statements, or intertextual figures (figure 58), Nada never posted long texts in French, instead, she would post quotations from books and novels that she read (figure 59). This can be explained in part with the association of French with prestige and status for her (see section 4.2.2. above).

Figure 57: Nada's status updates in standard Arabic
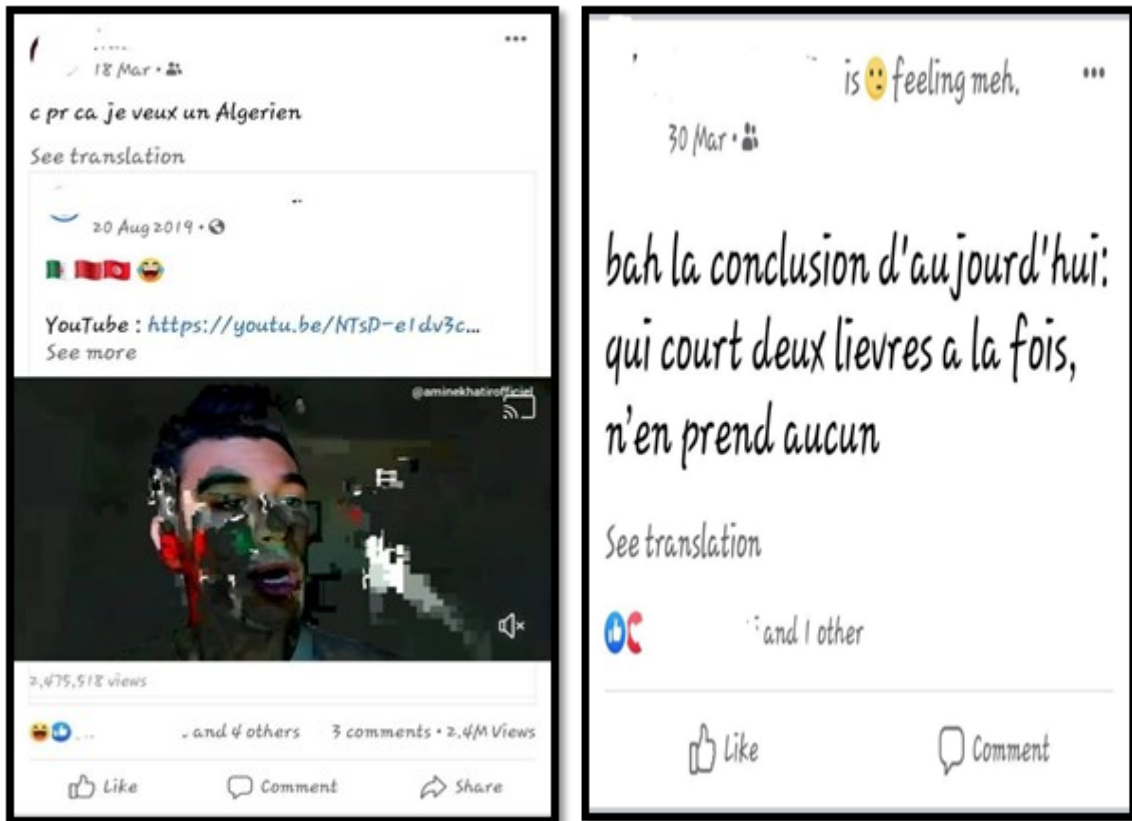
Figure 58: Nada's status updates in French

Figure 59: Nada's quotation in French

Eight of Nada's posts were in Darija. These posts are short sentences and intertextual figures which often draw from the Algerian popular culture or are about Algeria. Nada would typically blend her Darija resources with the different online semiotic resources such as emojis,

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backgrounds, and different punctuation marks. She also engaged in trans-scripting Darija, i.e., she represented Darija using different scripts from different languages (Androutsopoulos, 2015: 188). Depending on whether she is using her mobile phone or computer, Nada would write Darija either in Latin script (figure 60) or Arabic script (figure 61) because it is easier to switch scripts on the phone. In that case, the technological device itself is a resource and a constituent of Nada's communicative repertoire that shapes her digitally mediated interaction (Tagg and Lyons, 2021: 3).

Figure 60: *Nada's post in Darija using Latin script*

Figure 61: *Nada's post in Darija using Arabic script*

In five instances, Nada initiated contributions in her timeline in Italian (3 posts) (figure 62), and Berber (2 posts); because one of these posts is public; it will not be shared (figure 63). While these contributions were multimodal, they were also short, formulaic and intertextual.

Figure 62: *Nada's status updates in Italian*
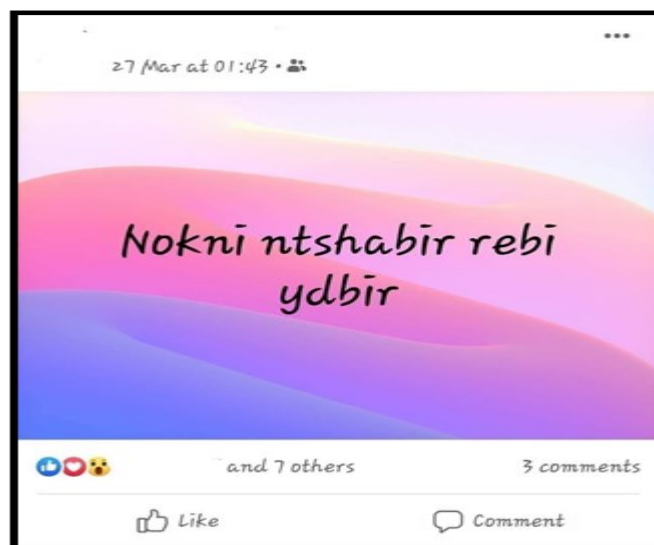
Figure 63: *Nada's status update in Berber*

The remaining of Nada's status updates, about 22% of her overall posts, were multilingual contributions, i.e., status which combined different linguistic varieties. In those posts, Nada would fluidly move between the diverse resources in her linguistic repertoires to produce intertextual figures and captions of at least two sentences (figure 64). Status updates of this kind are not only characterized by the combination of different linguistic varieties (figure 65), but also the combination of different scripts (figure 66), and the insertion of different semiotic resources (figure 67).

Figure 64: Nada's caption on a shared post in English and Darija

Figure 65: Nada's status update using different linguistic varieties

Fox that i see every single day نحس راني عايشة في اكشنها سفاري

Figure 66: Nada's status update using different scripts

Figure 67: Nada's status update combining different linguistic and semiotic resources

Topics phrased in Nada's posts are diverse and multiple. They often overlap as well i.e., the same topic might be expressed using different linguistic and semiotic resources at different points of time. A summary of these topics and the language choices associated with them is presented in the below Mediagram:
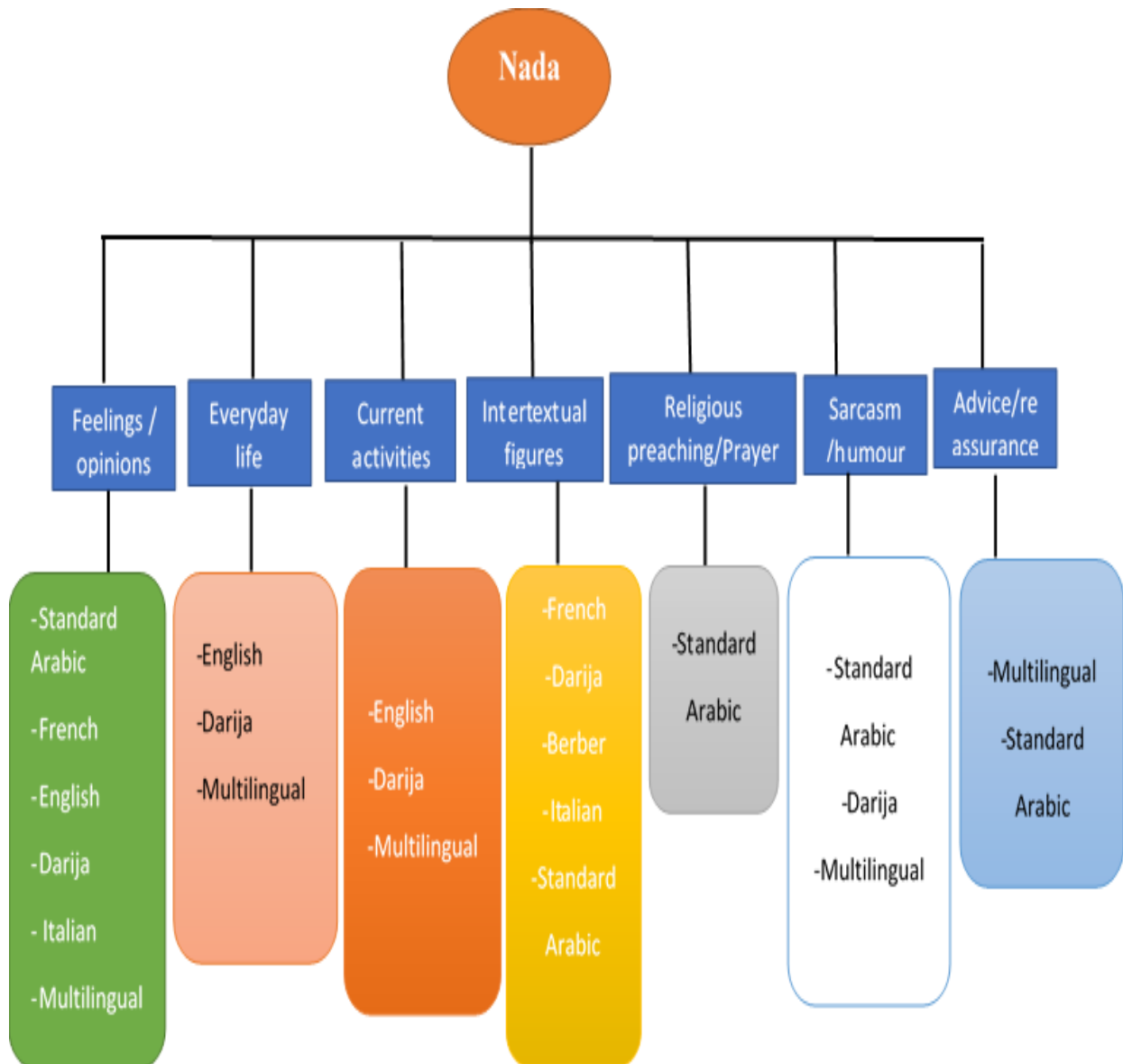
Figure 68: *Nada's Mediagram visualizing topics of her status updates and language choices*

Nada explored a variety of topics in her status updates. While doing so, she fluidly moved through her linguistic repertoire and used the varied online semiotic resources available to her. Nada used different linguistic varieties to talk about different topics except for religion-related topics in which she only expressed them using SA. This reflects her offline language beliefs about SA as a formal language, which is related to the Islamic identity. She also often combined these different linguistic varieties within the same posts to talk about different

topics (referred to as "multilingual" in the Mediagram). This reflects her complex and multilayered use of her linguistic resources online.

4.3. Ekram

4.3.1. Ekram's portrait

Ekram starts by drawing a blue line in the upper part of the paper and a brown one in the lower part to distinguish between the North (sea), which represents her mother, and the South (Sahara), which represents her father:

Figure 69: *Ekram's language portrait*

> *Ekram: so, this is the sea, this is my northern side, and this is my southern side and that's me in between. [1ˢᵗ round]*

That was the starting point for Ekram from which she proceeded to draw and explain how from a very young age, she started to learn the differences in Darija between the northern and the southern ways of speaking, so for instance, she put a red (x) and a green (√) to indicate that while the same word is inappropriate in the South, it was acceptable to say it in the North. In the lower left part of the paper, Ekram also draws two body silhouettes to refer to her grandparents who represented Chelha (a Berber language variety spoken in some parts in southern Algeria). For her:

> *Ekram: Chelha, شلحة راهي هنا مع الصحرا مثلا [translation from Darija: Chelha is here in the Sahara, example], [googling a word in Chelha written in Tifinagh to write it down], so, these are supposed to be my grandparents, it's a whole community, نزيدو شوية ريسان وودوخرين [translation from Darija: let's add some more heads] [1ˢᵗ round]*

Ekram grew up in her grandparents' house who both spoke Chelha and therefore learnt some of it. She did not learn it formally at school and therefore, she did not learn how to write it in Tifinagh (the Berber alphabet). For SA and French, Ekram stated that she received help from her parents once she started learning them at school with her father helping her with French (writes some words in French next to the body silhouette which represents her father) and her mother with SA (writes some SA letters next to the body silhouette which represents her mother). On the other hand, Ekram emphasized the role of TV and school in learning English, American English, Ekram specified through drawing the USA's flag on her portrait, which was different from the English she found when she came to the UK:

> *Ekram: Yes, so I guess that's it, my mother is from the North, my dad is from the South, my ancestors speak Chelha, I go to UK, I learned English through TV and school [drawing a school on the paper], and I go to the UK, and I find something different. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Later in her life, Ekram also started learning Korean. While drawing herself and writing a Korean word, Ekram explained:

> *Ekram: Maybe not a whole language but some words, like Korean, I watch a lot of Korean drama, I remember starting to learn Korean in my second or third* licence *[translation from French: Bachelor's degree], [drawing and writing in Korean]*
>
> *Me: What's that? [referring to a word she wrote in Korean]*
>
> *Ekram: That, I think it means, I forget, anyways, the course I was following was online on YouTube and it was called -hana hana hangul-, which means, step by step to learn hangul, hangul which is the Korean language, it's very easy, one of the easiest languages, I learnt few words, like how to introduce myself, some words I picked up from watching the drama like, not translated [trying to find the word], مدبلج we say [translation from SA: dubbed], so I watched the original version with English subtitles. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Ekram's language portrait tells a story of a complex and diverse accumulation of linguistic resources. Born to an Arab mother and a Berber father and travelling between the North and South of Algeria throughout her life:

> *Ekram: so when I go to the North, my grandparents', from my mother's house, they live in [name of the city omitted], it's different from going for instance to [name of the city omitted] to my aunt's house because it's in the South, different cultures, different weather, different people, different attitudes of people, so it's really different. [1ˢᵗ round]*

When asked if she noticed any differences in the ways people spoke in those two parts of the country, Ekram pointed out to the plural forms in the deep south of Algeria which is lexically different from where she is:

> *Ekram: Yeah, for example, my cousin, he studied in [name of the city omitted], he is originally from [name of the city omitted], he is from deep South, so he has got few words, and I always make fun of these words [laughs], he says, for example, the plural of one pen,* stylo, *he says, ستيلويات [translation from deep South Saharan dialect: pens]*
>
> *Me: [laughs] علاش واش تقولو نتوما؟[translation from Darija: why? What do you say?]*

> **Ekram:** ستلوات [*translation from Darija: pens*]*, another word for example,* قرلو يقول قرلوات, كامياوات [**translation deep South Saharan dialect: cockroach they say cockroaches, and vans**]*, [laughs], so he's got many funny words. [**1ˢᵗ round**]*

The diversity of the linguistic resources was the norm for Ekram from a very young age. She as well talked about the use of diverse communicative strategies. Below, for instance, Ekram talks about how she used the dictionary as a communicative resource:

> **Ekram:** *For English and French I just used the dictionary, either a paper one or when I got tired of carrying it around, I downloaded it on my phone, as for Arabic it depends really on the situation.* [**1ˢᵗ round**]

This communicative strategy, Ekram explained, is used in academic settings. Outside, Ekram would simply ask for more explanation:

> **Me:** *So, I am just trying to imagine the situation of how you would use it, for instance, if you are speaking to someone, how would you use it?*
>
> **Ekram:** *[laughs], I didn't mean in conversations, I meant in academic settings.*
>
> **Me:** *Ah, so you wouldn't use it in verbal communication or outside academic settings?*
>
> **Ekram:** *No, outside if someone is speaking in any language and I didn't understand, I would just say "*راني hors-champs*", or "* مافهمت فيها والو*"* [**translation from French and Darija: I am not following, or I couldn't understand**]*, I just ask for explanation.* [**1ˢᵗ round**]

Ekram's rich linguistic repertoires continued to expand as her life experiences unfolded, experiences like joining school, being exposed to the media, and also as she moved between geographical places within and beyond Algeria as we shall see in the next chapter.

4.3.2. Ekram's language ideologies

Alongside accumulating meaning-making resources, Ekram also constructed beliefs and ideologies about her resources. Below, I will explore these beliefs in-depth:

- **Standard Arabic:** Muslims, Arabised

- **French:** educated, Harka **[Translation from French/Arabic: a word that was used during the Algerian revolution by the French and Algerians that means traitor]**, sons of Macron/ France, superior, colonialism, Romance lge

- **Berber:** oppressed, non- Muslims, non-Arabs, minority
- **Darija:** Algerian
- **English:** Widely used

Despite its official status, which Ekram recognizes, and its association with her religious and Arab identity as she described it, before coming to the UK, Ekram asserted that her use of SA was exclusively at schools, or mosques as outside of these settings, the use of it might be pejoratively perceived:

> *Ekram: it will not be linguistically correct because we don't use standard Arabic in the street. [2nd round]*

Using SA outside of formal settings does not resonate with Ekram. Her ideologies about SA are residual. Similarly, Ekram also recognizes the status of French in Algeria. She is as well voicing the residual language ideology popular across the Algerian culture. The ideology that depicts it as the language of colonialism:

> *Ekram: well, it still has a status in Algeria [referring to French], I think sometimes even more than Arabic because it's the language of colonialism. So, it was a good thing to know French back then because you'll be able to understand what your enemies are talking about, but today, I think it's got more status than it should have. [2nd round]*

In the task, Ekram used the word "*minority*" to describe Berber. A word used by many Algerians to reflect their residual ideologies about Berber. In the interview, however, Ekram explained that she does not agree with these beliefs. Her ideologies about Berber, as it turned out, are emergent. She realizes that Algerians have opposing views to the language she grew up listening to at home but for her, Berber is a language of heritage and origin:

> *Ekram: the origins of Algerians are all Berbers; you find them everywhere. I don't believe that they are minority groups because I think that they are everywhere, but they say like it's a minority group. Yeah, Berber is not exotic, it's where it belongs, North Africa in general, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. [2nd round]*

Darija has no official status in Algeria, but Ekram views it as the norm to speak it, as she plainly puts it:

> *Ekram: Well, it's everyday language, everyday dialect, so it's the norm. [2nd round]*

She describes Darija as Algerian and associates it with the Algerian identity. English, on the other hand, for Ekram is the language of science that should take French's place in Algeria:

> ***Ekram:*** *before, I don't remember that English has that big status in Algeria. It was always French. French or Arabic, so I would love to see like everything switching totally from French to English. This is the language of Science and all that. So, I think we're doing well. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

English is the language of science for Ekram, the language that is gradually gaining popularity amongst Algerians. Besides, English, Darija, SA, and French, Ekram, in her language portrait, also mentioned that she attempted to learn Korean while she was at university back in Algeria. For her Korean is:

- **Korean:** cute, easy, fun

Ekram uses Korean online mostly with her friend who also speaks it. Her online language practices are further explored below.

4.3.3. Ekram's online communicative practices before coming to the UK

Ekram's observed profile was set up when she joined university in 2012 and remained the same ever since. Ekram, however, stated that she started using Facebook before then, since she was in high school. She started using it for being it within reach:

> ***Ekram:*** *I guess Facebook is more accessible to everyone. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

When Ekram first started using Facebook, she was mainly connected to her family. Therefore, she mainly used Darija to reach out to her online audience:

> ***Ekram:*** *At the beginning when I opened a Facebook account, it was just my family, so I would only, or most of the time post in Darija [3ʳᵈ round]*

This started slowly changing as Ekram started to widen her online social networks particularly when she joined university. As a result, she started using more English:

> ***Ekram:*** *I think I started using more English, when I started adding my friends from uni in Algeria, we had groups and we had discussions, for instance we choose a book, read it and discuss it, if I find a video, I would post it there, I would take paragraphs from some websites of books and post them and we analyze them together. [3ʳᵈ round]*

In 2012, Ekram joined university. This marked a change in her offline social life and a change in her online audience. She became more connected to people who speak English, online and offline, therefore, she started encountering it and using it more. Ekram's way of using language online mirrors her multilingual identity as an Algerian where she can choose from a pool of linguistic resources to express herself:

> **Ekram:** *I think it's because- Mhm we Algerians- it's like* *sometimes* ماتلقايش الكلمة المرادفة لهاديك الكلمة اللي كنتي تحوسي عليها**[translation from Darija: you don't find that synonym of that word you were looking for]** *in standard Arabic, even if you find the word,* ماتقنعكش, ماتوصلش هاداك المعنى اللي نتي باغياته **[translation from Darija: it doesn't convince you; it doesn't send that message you want] [3rd round]**

Since she started using Facebook, Ekram embraced her multilingual linguistic identity. She associates being multilingual with being Algerian. Her multilingual resources travelled with her to the UK as we will see below.

4.3.4. Ekram's online communicative practices after coming to the UK

During the six months of observations, Ekram posted more than 300 status updates in which her linguistic practices were very diverse. Table 9 summarizes her language choices during that period.

	SA	English	Darija (Arb script)	SA + Darija (Arb script)	Translation (SA to English)
February	23	42	13	0	3
March	12	50	7	0	10
April	26	22	4	5	2
May	56	3	16	2	0
June	14	11	7	7	0
July	21	6	5	6	0
Total of posts	152	134	52	20	15
Percentage	39.07	34.45	13.37	5.14	3.86

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French	English + Darija (Arb script)	French + Darija (Latin script)	French + English	SA + English	Translation (English to French + Darija (Arb script))
2	1	0	0	1	0
1	1	1	0	0	1
1	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	1	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0
6	2	2	1	1	1
1.54	0.51	0.51	0.26	0.26	0.26

Translation (English to SA + Darija (Arb script)	SA + English + Darija (arb script)	Translation (English to Darija (arb script)	Total of posts
0	0	0	85
0	0	0	83
1	1	1	63
0	0	0	79
0	0	0	39
0	0	0	40
1	1	1	389
0.26	0.26	0.26	100

SA: Standard Arabic; Arb: Arabic; +: combination

Table 9: Ekram's online language choices for status updates (February 2020- July 2020)

As can be noted from Table 9, Ekram's communicative choices online are heterogeneous, and they are as well multimodal. Ekram navigates a variety of semiotic resources while Facebooking:

- Emojis = 253
- Links = 53
- Photos = 138
- Videos = 133
- Feelings = 37
- Memories = 3

To connect with her online audience, Ekram uses these semiotic resources alongside her diverse linguistic resources. However, unlike Nada and Merriam, Ekram's most used linguistic variety on her Facebook timeline is SA, accounting for almost 40% of the overall posts. Those posts are constituted of short captions on shared posts and videos (figure 70), long reflective captions and religious queries (figure 71), intertextual figures (figure 72), and formulaic, ritualized contributions such as good wishes for Eid, an Islamic festival at the end of Ramadan (figure 73).

Figure 70: Ekram's caption on a shared post in standard Arabic.

Figure 71: Ekram's long initiated contributions in standard Arabic.

Figure 72: Ekram's intertextual texts in standard Arabic.

English was the second most selected linguistic variety by Ekram. Similar to SA, her use of English consisted of intertextual chunks (figure 74), short captions (figure 75), long, reflective captions on shared posts on different matters (figure 76), and finally, short, ritualized status updates such as greetings (figure 77).

Figure 74: *Ekram's quote in English*

Figure 75: *Ekram's caption status update in English.*

Figure 76: *Ekram's long reflections on a shared post in English.*

Figure 77: *Ekram's greets her audience in English.*

Darija was selected 52 times by Ekram to initiate contributions. All of those contributions were written in the Arabic script. Most of these posts were brief captions of posts that Ekram shared (figure 78), and in a few instances, they were religious queries (figure 79).
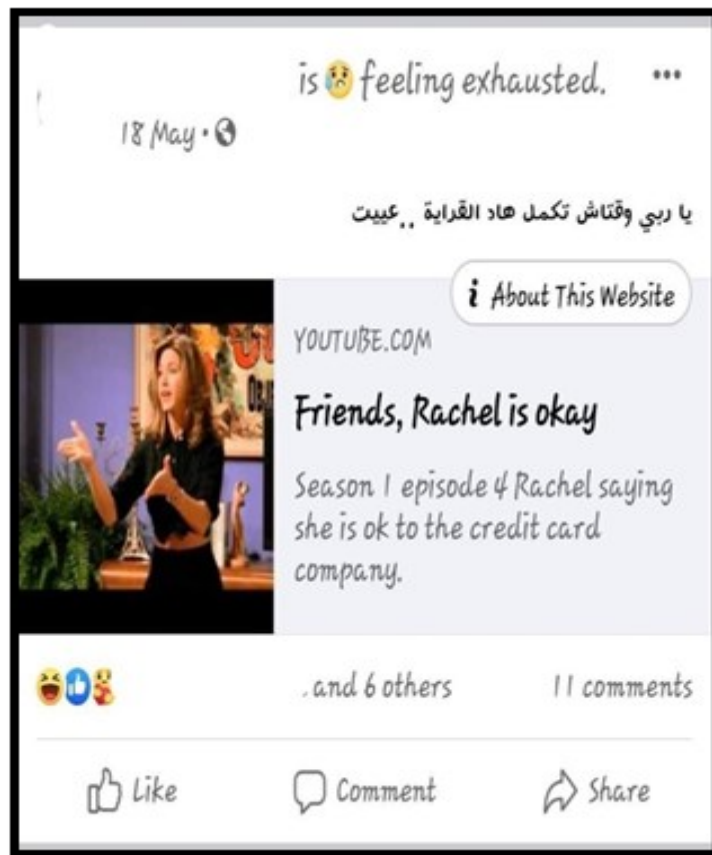
Figure 78: Ekram's caption status update in Darija.

Figure 79: Ekram religious query in Darija.

At times, Ekram also chose French to initiate contributions. All the 6 status updates in French were very short captions, not extending three words (figure 80).

Figure 80: Ekram's status update in French.

In one of Ekram's status update in French, the caption was a translation of what was written in the accompanying photo (see figure 80 above). There were other instances in which Ekram intended the caption of a shared content to be a translation (figure 81). These translations practices were very prevalent in Ekram's Facebook timeline, and they were not only captions, but they also involved the translation of intertextual figures (figure 82), i.e., Ekram would translate a quote or a religious saying. They were also long passages (figure 83), short statements (figure 84), and ritualized posts such as birthday wishes (figure 85). This kind of contribution is tailored specifically to address her heterogenous audience. Although the vast majority of status updates of this kind involved English and SA, in few instances they also involved other linguistic varieties, namely French and Darija (figure 86).
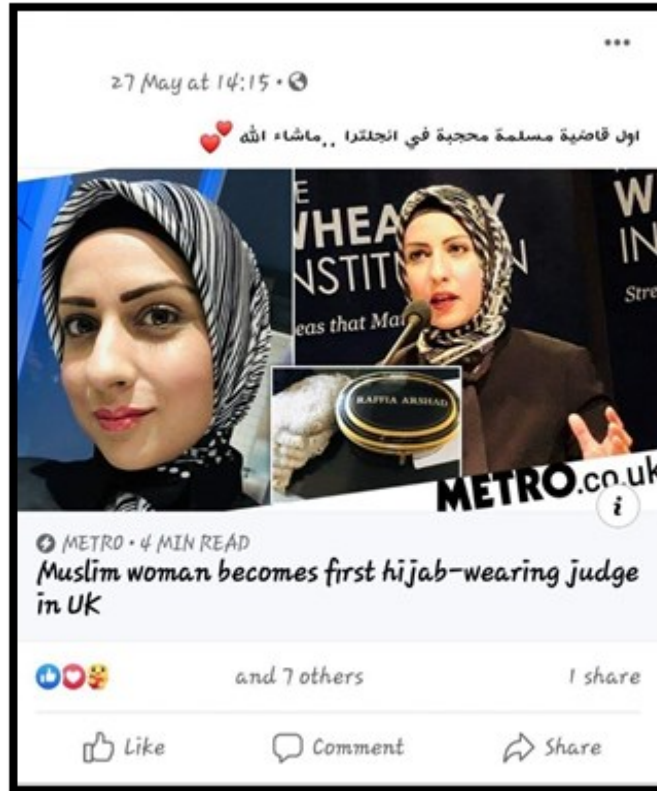
Figure 81: Ekram's translating the title of a shared article as a caption.

Figure 82: Ekram's translation of a religious saying

Figure 83: Ekram's translation of a long narrative of an everyday life event.

Figure 84: Ekram's translation of a short status update
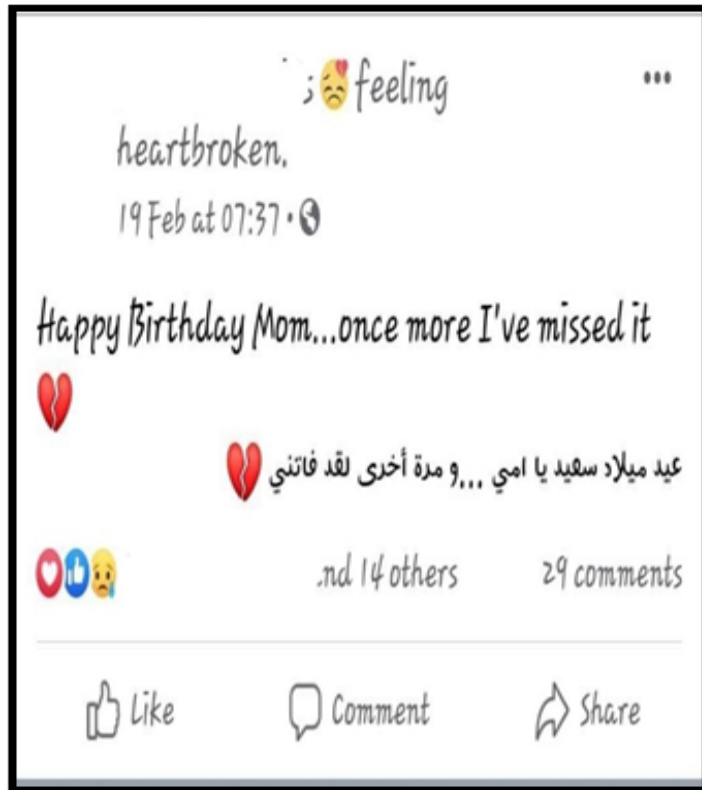
Figure 85: Ekram's translation of a birthday wish to her mom
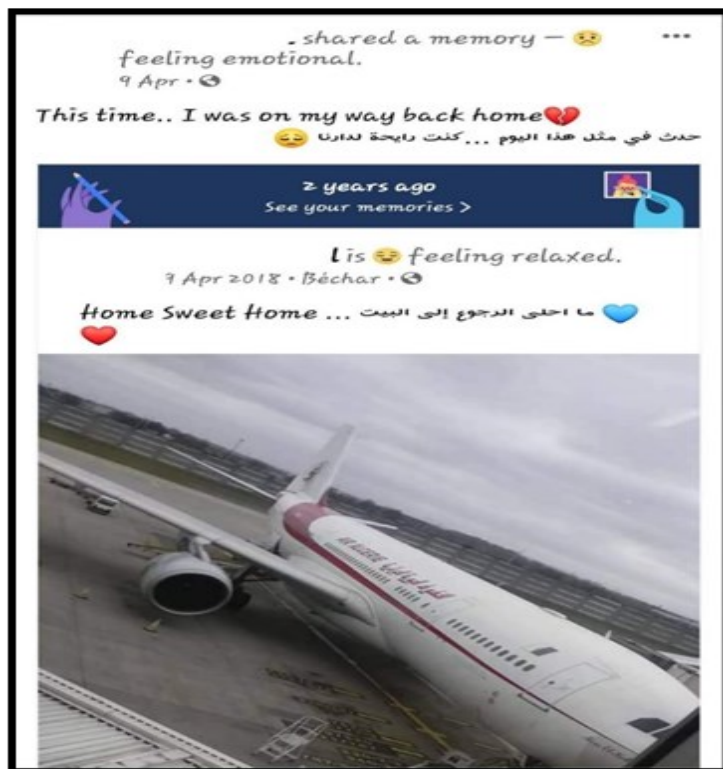
Figure 86: Ekram's translation of a status update involving English, Darija and standard Arabic.

Besides these translation practices, which make Ekram's posts heterogenous, in many status updates she would also combine different linguistic varieties. These posts were not translations per se, but they were the merging of different linguistic and semiotic resources to explore the same topic. They ranged from short captions (figure 87) to long texts (figure 88).

Figure 87: Ekram's short caption in Darija and standard Arabic

Figure 88: Ekram's long religious query in standard Arabic, Darija and English

There was a variety of topics that Ekram explored in her status updates. The Mediagram below correlates these different topics with language choices:
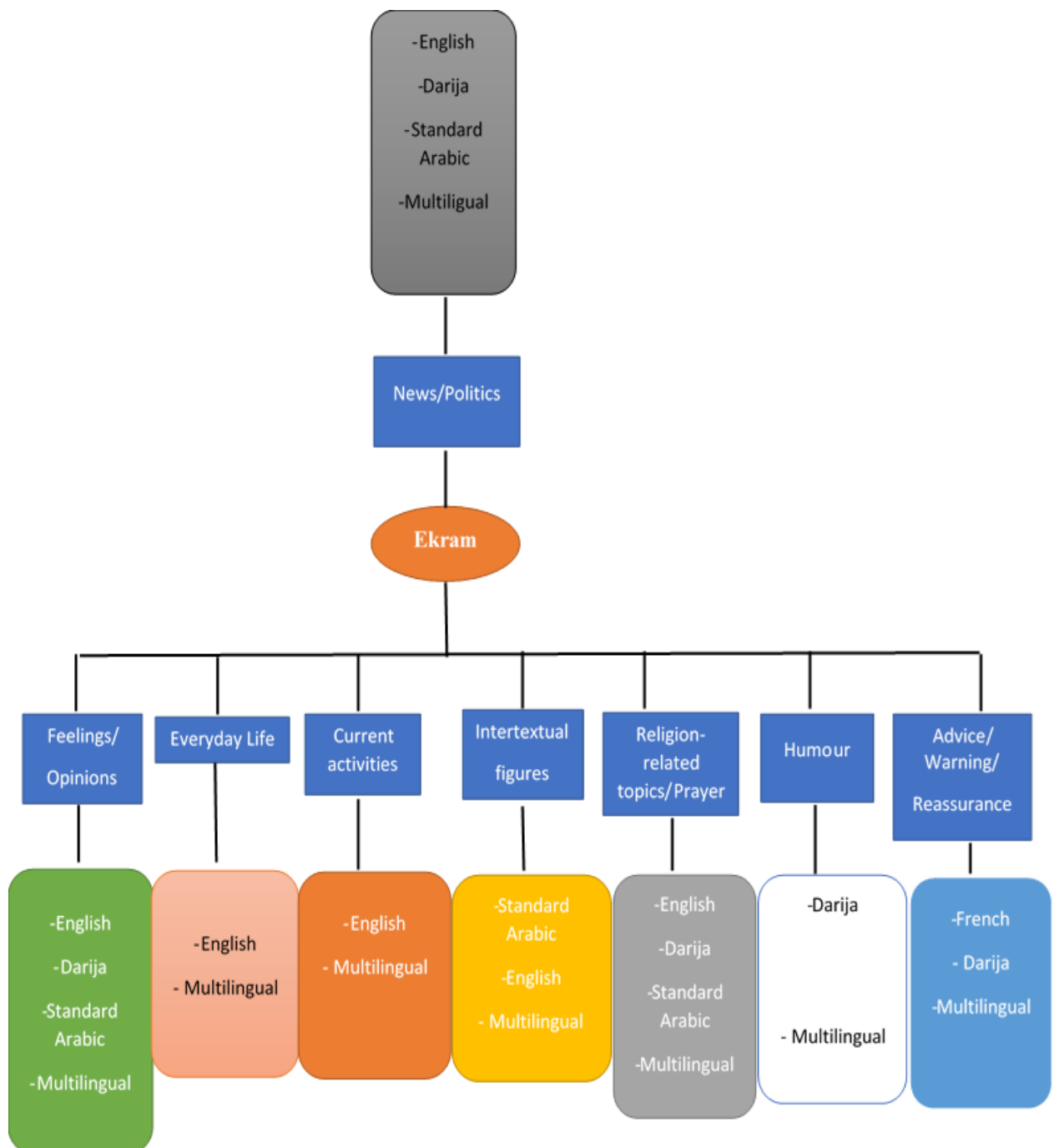
Figure 89: *Ekram's Mediagram visualizing topics of her status updates and language choices*

Ekram's Mediagram displays diverse linguistic choices expressing diverse topics. Ekram would use different linguistic resources to talk about the same topic, which indicates the flexible and non-unitary inherent feature of her linguistic resources.

4.4. Ilyess

4.4.1. Ilyess's portrait

Ilyess's language portrait features an emphasis on English. That's because his English repertoire significantly expanded after coming to the UK, particularly because he started learning how to cook and joined a running club. It became the language of his thoughts and the language of everyday life which he uses for "practical stuff" to achieve communicative acts:
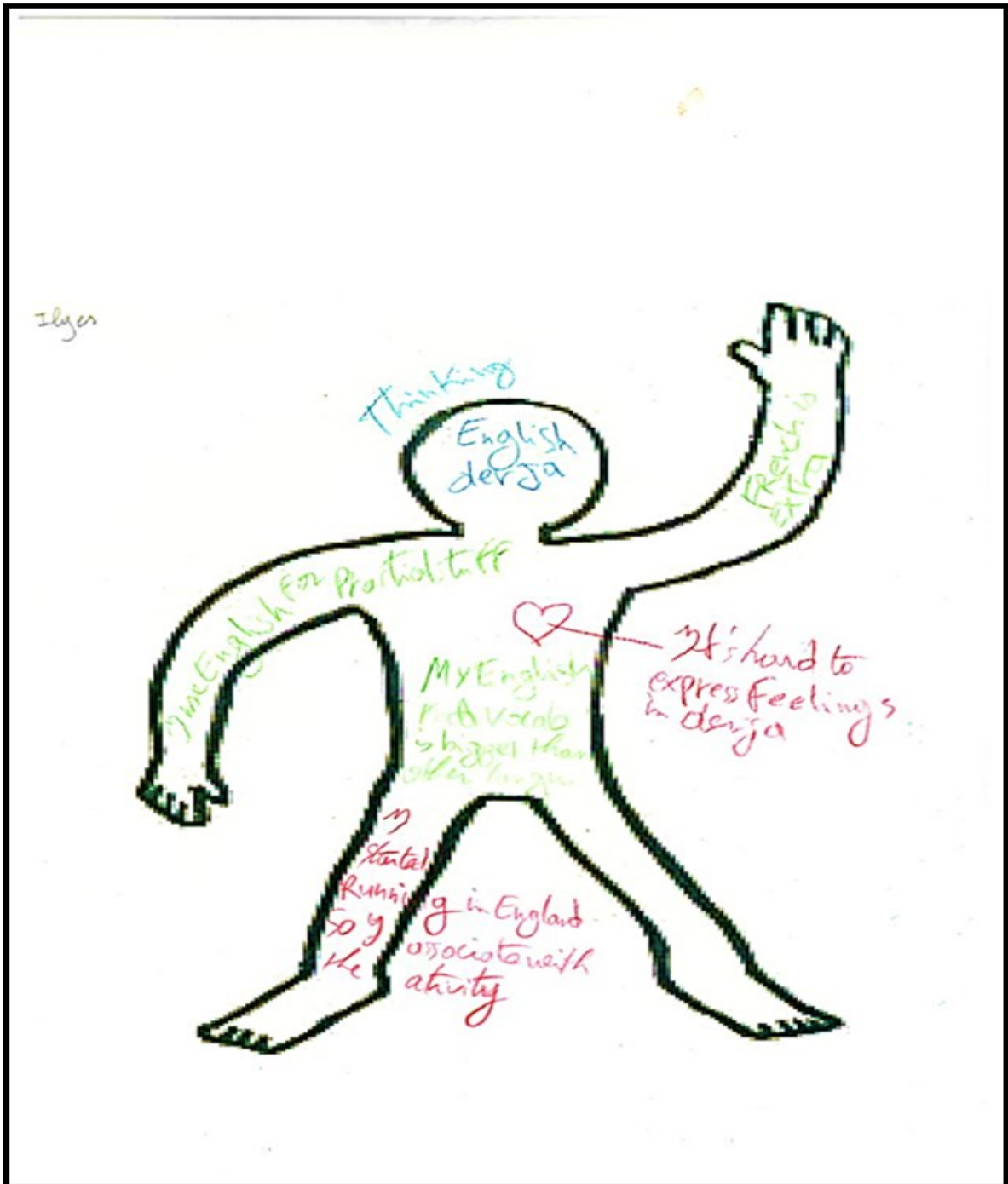
Figure 90: Ilyess's language portrait

> *Ilyess:* I started cooking more when I moved here [laughs], surprise, your mom is not here to cook for you [laughs].
>
> *Me:* [laughs], and with that came the vocabulary?
>
> *Ilyess:* Yeah, I watch recipes and then go to the supermarket and just pick up the things that I need and with that process you learn that, "oh, that vegetable is called this, this vegetable is called that." and you say "courgette" not "zucchini" because this is not America. So, you see the differences here.
>
> *Me:* Ok, great, and the last one is [trying to read from the language portrait]
>
> *Ilyess:* it's about running
>
> *Me:* Yeah, so what about it?
>
> *Ilyess:* I think it's also related to vocabulary as well, I got into it and I learnt vocabulary about anatomy like ligament, muscles- and I enjoy running, that's why I wrote this and put them in my legs. **[1st round]**

Darija for Ilyess is his native language, as he called it, and the language of his thinking, as shown in his portrait. Darija is the language of rational thinking which makes it hard to express feelings with it because:

> *Ilyess:* I feel more vulnerable or something, but in English, it's kind of a filter. If I say it in English, it's easier, and especially, if you watch films, or read books in English, or just hearing the surroundings, people around you here in Manchester or in general, I find them much more expressive than us. In Algeria, I find that as a culture, we are not very expressive. You can't say like- for me I love my mom and dad but just saying to them is a bit weird, they know that I love them, and I know that they love me but I don't have to say it. Saying to a friend here, saying to, like [name omitted], saying "oh, I love you!", it's ok but saying it to friends, like the ones from Algeria, they will be like "what the hell is wrong with you?", so yeah, it would be weird. **1st round]**

Moreover, like Merriam, Ilyess's mother is Frenc- born and therefore he grew up surrounded by the two languages:

> *Ilyess: it wasn't like full conversations, just like we would make some remarks in French, it's more natural to speak in French actually, sometimes my mom says- not really communicating with me but using it, just for me to practice. So, yeah, it was part of the family language. [1st round]*

French is also an extra. It became an extra when he moved to the UK. Ilyess explains the shift in French's social positioning below:

> *Ilyess: an extra, I mean here in the UK because how I see French here in the UK, and how I see it back home is very different. French at home, sometimes I deliberately avoid using it because I see it as a language of bragging and showing off your social status, that's especially when it's used when it's not supposed to be used. Let's not say "when it's not supposed to be used" but when Darija could do just fine, why would then someone use French instead of Darija? I do understand it, I don't struggle with it, speaking a little bit, in understanding, I understand like, my comprehension is like 90%, in casual conversations, but in here, when I say I speak French, it's extra, as in when I would want to work in a job, when I apply for a job, I would mention that I speak an extra language, which is French and Arabic, it's something additional, like an extra resource. [1st round]*

When Ilyess started going to school, he started learning SA, and then English, American English in particular, therefore, Ilyess was not exposed to British English till he came to the UK:

> *Ilyess: I had to learn so many words because I was used to American English, so I did not know what the till means, I did not use the word queue before, even though I know the word in French. [1st round]*

In Algeria, Ilyess did not travel as much. However, his mobility's history still shaped his communicative repertoire:

> *Ilyess: I just visited the capital because I had to for paperwork, and yeah like the- let's say the- [hesitating] the capital of the county Tlemcen, I visited it, but for me it doesn't count as a visit, it's like 40mn drive.*

> *Me: Ok, have you noticed differences in the way people speak between the capital and your hometown?*
>
> *Ilyess: Yes, it's very different, and it's an interesting thing that always happens to me is people flag it when I speak in my own way and my own dialect, as soon as I say واه, which is: yes, they say like "oh, you are from the West", then once, twice, three times, always happening I say "yeah, ok I am from the West". [1st round]*

Ilyess identified differences when people from other regions could spot that his dialect is different from theirs, which made him more aware. Besides these linguistic resources, he also uses gestures as part of his communicative practices, he stated during our interview. For Ilyess, this communicative technique is linked to his Algerian identity. It is a way of speaking that he picked up sometime during his life through observing other Algerians around him:

> *Ilyess: I use gestures a lot because as an Algerian I need to express myself with gestures as well. [1st round]*

Ilyess's above portrait links language to particular moments in life (e.g., joining a running club) and activities (e.g., cooking) that marked the expansion of his linguistic and communicative repertoire. He embodies these resources as he thinks, cooks, runs, or expresses feelings.

4.4.2. Ilyess's language ideologies

Growing up, Ilyess constructed his communicative repertoires which made up for all the meaning-making resources he encountered throughout the years and what they index:

- **Standard Arabic:** religion, history, identity
- **French:** language of snobs
- **Berber:** humanitarian cause
- **Darija:** the common variety, the most widespread
- **English:** an increasingly favoured second language.

For Ilyess SA has a symbolic meaning. It is a language that represents a religious and an ethnic identity. Despite its symbolic meanings and official status, Ilyess believes that SA is not used in the Algerian society:

> *Ilyess: Never because I will be ridiculed.*
>
> *Me: Why?*

> *Ilyess: if you look at reality, no one uses it, except for writing, no Algerian is required under any circumstances to speak it, I think because we are muslims and we like to identify ourselves with the Arab nation, that's kind of play on the emotional side. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

French, on the other hand, Ilyess believes that it is used in Algeria to show off:

> *Ilyess: if it is used in Algeria [referring to French], I know why people use it. But I still think they are aware of what they are doing. Speaking in French and you're aware that the other person doesn't speak French that well and doesn't understand you that well, and you insist on using it. I think this is a bit snobby. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Ilyess links French to social status, colonialism, and to the arrogant attitude some speakers of this language might have. These are all residual language ideologies that circulate in the Algerian society. Regarding Berber, Ilyess thinks that it is tightly linked to Berbers' linguistic rights. Berber symbolizes an ethnolinguistic identity. It has been a subject of controversy since Algeria's independence that at times led to conflict and oppression. Because of this, Ilyess sympathizes with its speakers:

> *Ilyess: we are not all Arabs, and it's not fair to deny them their identity, I don't speak it and never want to learnt it but I speak a language that I learnt at home and used it all my life without having any problem so I think everyone should have the same experience, why standing in their way if they want to make it official, this is fine, it's their language, and their right, they are part of this country and part of the heritage and should have its place as well. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

As Berber is now official in Algeria, his views about it are considered dominant. For Darija, Ilyess reflects emergent beliefs about it. The beliefs that it is a separate language on its own rather than a variety of SA. Based on these beliefs, Darija was pushed for to teach it at schools. Ilyess echoes these views:

> *Ilyess: I think it's the unrecognized first variety because if you immerse yourself in the society, that's all you will hear besides Berber and I am using Darija as an umbrella term from East to West to South, but there is no recognition no whatsoever when it comes to this variety, although it's our mother tongue, because if I wanted to count the languages I*

speak and to be accurate, I would say I speak four, Darija is separate and you can tell the differences between it and standard Arabic. [2nd round]

With the growing popularity of English in Algeria, Ilyess points out to the positive attitudes towards English amongst Algerians who view it as a proxy for French. Therefore, he believes that it is the language of the future:

> *Ilyess: I think that with our generation and the generations younger than us, it will take a central stage in the future, I think that people have a more open attitude towards it because it doesn't have any baggage like French. [2nd round]*

Ilyess's views on English reflect new and emerging discourses about English in recent years in Algeria where English is talked about as a replacement for French. These global discourses about English which are reproduced locally in Algeria are representative of the aspirations of the Algerian government and people alike to be part of the international community (Jacob, 2019).

4.4.3. Ilyess's online communicative practices before coming to the UK

Contrary to the rest of participants, Ilyes's use of social media is a bit different. Albeit like other participants, he started using Facebook when he was in high school, upon his arrival in the UK, he stopped:

> *Ilyess: Yes, yes, Facebook used to be my go-for social media platform but now no because I used to waste a lot of time on it watching videos, so I stopped that and I was bothered by some people's posts and I didn't like it, so I migrated from there to YouTube and Twitter.*
>
> *Me: So, why do you use Twitter now?*
>
> *Ilyess: Twitter is for academia, like news and stuff that are serious because when you have your supervisor following you, you have to be careful [laughs] [2nd round]*

Facebook videos are auto-played and keep showing infinitely as people scroll down their news' feeds, which make them addictive. Ilyess stopped using Facebook to not waste his time and started instead using YouTube and Twitter which can be less distractive. He started using Twitter, specifically, after becoming a PhD student to stay abreast of academic life.

Before coming to the UK, Ilyess did not use Twitter, instead he was more active on Facebook. When asked what language he used most to post, he answered it was Darija:

> **Ilyess:** *I think definitely Darija, not English. It wouldn't make sense to post in a language that no one would understand in my friends' list, so I would mostly use Darija. [3rd round]*

Ilyess's language choices online targeted the audience he had at that time. When I asked Ilyess to further elaborate on his language practices online when he used to use Facebook, he took a look at his old Facebook account which he did not use in years. In the last post he updated there, he used both SA and Darija. The post was about the fire exit in a hotel he visited in Algiers. Ilyess's post was dominantly in Darija while the word "hotel" was in SA. This is because, for Ilyess, SA was more convenient. In Darija there is no equivalent to the word "hotel" that is commonly used, and most people use the French word for it. So, to avoid misunderstanding, he chose to translanguage:

> **Ilyess:** *I don't really remember; I can take a look at my Facebook [logs in to his old Facebook account reads me an example from his old posts before coming to UK]*
>
> **Me:** *Oh ok, so here I see you are mixing Standard Arabic with Darija?*
>
> **Ilyess:** *Yes, because* تكتب جاية ماشي hotel بالعربية *[translation from Darija: because it's not convenient to write hotel in Darija] [3rd round]*

The above gives an overall sense of how Ilyess used his communicative resources before coming to the UK and switching to Twitter. I will now move to exploring these online practices after his geographical mobility.

4.4.4. Ilyess's online communicative practices after coming to the UK

Unlike the other participants, Ilyess online communicative practices were observed on Twitter. However, like the rest of participants, his language practices on his Twitter account were heterogenous and multimodal:

	SA	French	English	Darija (Arb script)	Darija (Latin script)	English + SA + Darija (Arb script)
February	1	0	5	1	0	1
March	0	0	4	1	0	0

April	1	0	5	2	0	0
May	1	0	6	0	0	0
June	0	1	6	0	0	0
July	0	1	2	0	1	0
Number of Tweets per language choice	3	2	28	4	1	1
Percentage	6.98	4.65	65.11	9.30	2.32	2.32

Darija (Arb script) + SA	Darija (Arb script) + English	SA+ English	Total of Tweets
1	0	0	9
1	0	0	6
0	0	1	9
0	0	0	7
0	1	0	8
0	0	0	4
2	1	1	43
4.65	2.32	2.32	100

SA: Standard Arabic; Arb: Arabic; +: combination

Table 10: *Ilyess's online language choices for status updates (February 2020- July 2020)*

Twitter's semiotic affordances are different from those on Facebook, therefore, Ilyess's use of his online spatial repertoire was different from that of Nada's, Merriam's, and Ekram's. Compared to the rest of participants, Ilyess did not use emojis, photos and links extensively. He, nevertheless, made use of hashtags and gifs, two semiotic resources that were not used by Nada, Merriam and Ekram. The list below summaries the frequency of their use:

- Emojis = 10
- Links = 6
- Photos = 3
- Gifs= 2
- Hashtags = 5

On Twitter, all of Ilyess's tweets and replies were short, and not exceeding 280 characters. They were descriptions of an accompanied photo, video, link, or shared tweets; and short replies to others' tweets. Sixty-five percent of those contributions on his Twitter were in English, followed by Darija, SA, French, and the remaining were combinations of these different linguistic varieties. For ethical reasons, Ilyess's tweets will not be shared or published. Topics phrased in Ilyess's tweets are presented below:
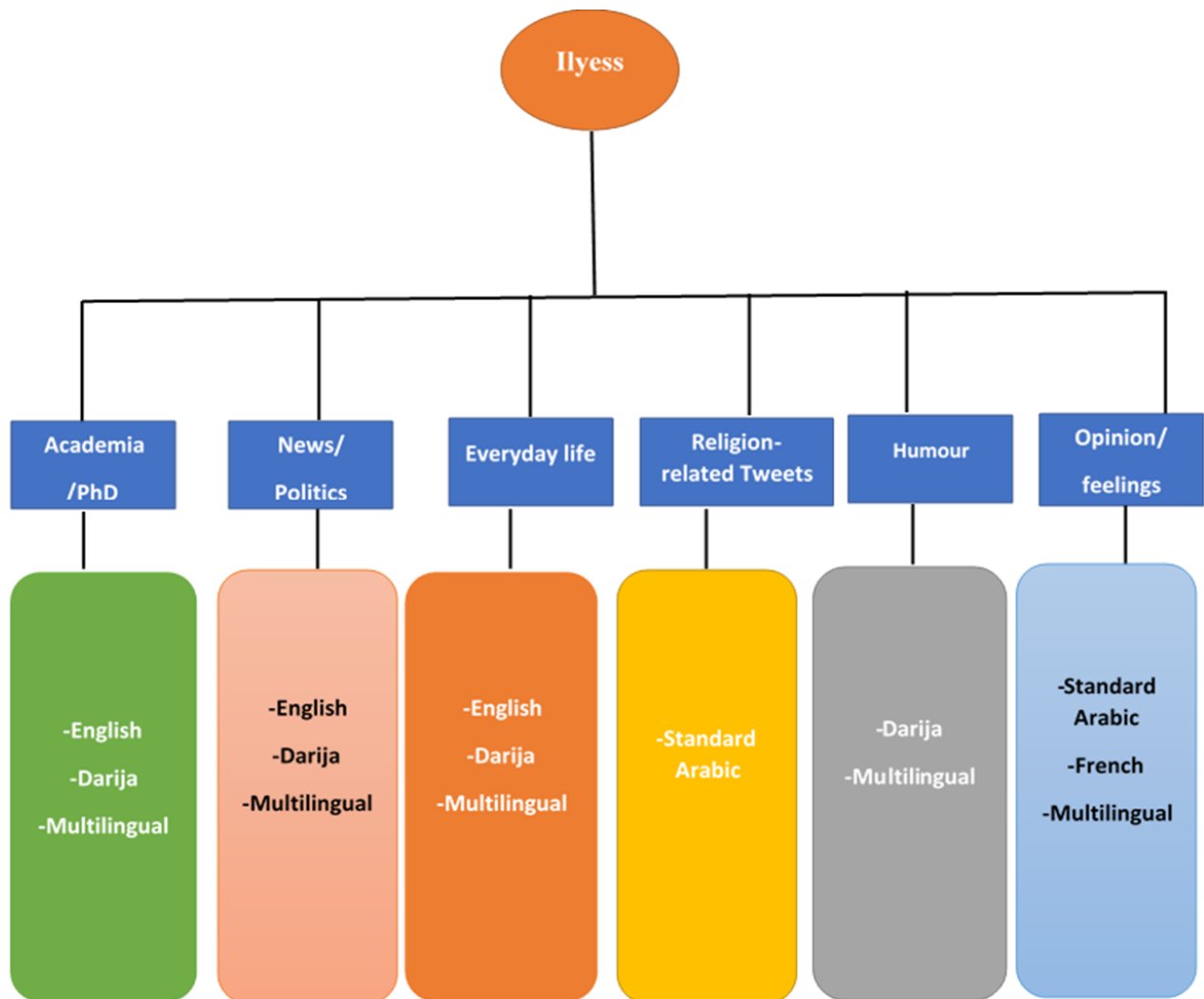
Figure 91: *Ilyess's Mediagram visualizing topics of his status updates and language choices*

Akin to the other participants, Ilyess's tweets are framed using his flexible and rich linguistic and semiotic resources. His tweets were reflective of his diverse communicative repertoire, except for topics related to religion, which were commented on using SA, a language Ilyess believes to be linked to the Islamic identity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the within-case analysis. The analysis traces the language trajectories of participants to understand emergent changes in them following their movement to the UK. In order to provide a clear understanding and familiarity with the uniqueness of each case and pave the way for the cross-case analysis, this chapter started by thoroughly describing the self-reported communicative repertoires of participants, online and offline, before their move to the UK. Followed by a description of their online communicative practices after their geographical movement. Supported by data from the language portraits, interviews, and online observation, the chapter also provided an analysis of how participants' repertoires emerged through time, what meanings they associate to them, and how this affects how they use them.

Findings showed the diversity and multiplicity of the communicative repertoires of participants from an early age all the way through their adolescence and adulthood and their use of these communicative repertoires online. Their geographical mobility in Algeria makes part of their language trajectories just like their mobility to the UK will make part of their future language trajectories. Their histories of mobility broadened their perspectives and made them more aware of the linguistic differences. The experiences of participants with language were different, therefore, their communicative repertoires have always been different and individual. This is what makes them unpredictable, subjective, and negotiable. Moreover, they are fluid and transcendent to language. Having presented the particularities of each case, we now have clear stories through which we can understand the implications of the transition phase from Algeria to the UK on participants' communicative practices in the next chapter.

5. Cross-case analysis

Introduction

After living their whole lives in Algeria, the time finally came for Ekram, Ilyess, Nada, and Merriam to leave Algeria to a new country. To the UK, they brought with them their different histories, life experiences, their expectations, and uncertainties, and together they crossed the UK borders. Language played a big role in how their experiences of mobility in the UK unfolded. In this chapter, I discuss how participants mobilized their communicative resources with them to the UK, what the implications of this were, and how their offline realities interacted with their online communicative practices. Data presented in this chapter was generated during the three rounds of the interviews and was analyzed using thematic analysis following Clarke and Braun (2006).

5.1. English in motion
Introduction

In her PhD thesis, Jacob (2019) examined the status of English in modern Algeria. In the findings, she discusses the very restricted English language use in the Algerian streets (Jacob, 2019: 66-77). Learners of English as a foreign language at university, like the participants of this study, are hardly exposed to it outside of the walls of the English departments, perhaps only in contexts of the media and the online. My participants confirmed this when I asked them about the contexts in which they used to use English back in Algeria. Below, I present data from the tasks:

Ekram:

- **English:** I used it in school

Nada:

- **English:** university mainly, in regards to when all over the year including holidays; mainly with colleagues and classmates; this includes a wide variety of topics e.g., movies, study related subjects...)

Merriam:

- **English:** working days at uni, when teaching twice a week, on Facebook with friends.

Ilyess:

- **English:** in class at university or with classmates outside of the class sometimes in order to practice.

Although being English majors and despite the crucial role this language would play in participants' future lives, its use was limited even when used outside of the institutional confines. For example, Ilyess illustrates how even when he uses English outside of university, he would speak it to himself or practice it through watching series:

> ***Ilyess:*** *English we learnt at school yeah, but I really learnt it when I started working on it myself, at university we were taught grammar, even in oral expression sessions, it's not enough for you to develop a language. So, I started watching series without subtitles then with subtitles, and believe it or not, I was talking to myself in my room in English, just to have that- so I wouldn't say that I learnt it at school, no. [1ˢᵗ **round**]*

When moving to the UK, an English-speaking country, English broke free from these confines of universities and schools. Under this theme, I will explore how participants mobilized their English language resources. This is particularly important because participants came to the UK as part of a bigger scheme which aims at "building capacity in English" in Algerian universities (British Council Algeria, nd). Their English resources, specifically, were put under scrutiny in the UK. As part of the scheme, in March 2014, a workshop was organized by the British Council in collaboration with UK universities in which faculty members from Algerian and UK universities attended. One of the aims of this workshop was to address the following questions:

➢ Are very able students with an Algerian Masters' degree likely to be able to enter straight into a doctoral programme; is there likely to be a difference between 'classical' and LMD students in this respect? (LMD is an abbreviation of Licence-Master-Doctorate, an educational architectural system adapted by the Algerian Ministry of Higher Education following the model of developed countries to accredit internationally recognized degrees).

➢ Insofar as there is the need for additional academic preparation, how is this best delivered?

> What IELTS score will be required, and how is this likely to differ between departments; is English Language training, when necessary, cultural preparation, and study skills best delivered in host universities or in Algeria?

As such, in what follows, I will shed light on how participants felt and what they believed about their English language resources after their movement to the UK. I will first start by exploring the new active roles English started taking up in their lives as a result of their geographical mobility. I will then explain how this expanded their English repertoires beyond university walls before concluding by shedding light on the re-negotiated meanings of English as a result of that and the impact English had on participants' Darija resources.

5.1.1. English: from the periphery to the center

When they moved to the UK, participants' English language resources also moved. They moved from the periphery, a place where the norms about English are thought to be appropriated, to the center, a place where the norms are thought to be produced. English became more visible in their everyday lives and started having a more active role beyond the IELTS exam and beyond classrooms. They can now use it almost everywhere and anywhere.

Ekram:

- **English:** Everywhere

Nada:

- **English:** Everywhere including house, almost every time, friends, lectures, supervisors, landlord, all the topics are included.

Merriam:

- **English:** on a daily basis, at Uni, with friends, colleagues, supervisors, outside, with strangers.

Ilyess:

- **English:** as a second language

"A *second language*", Ilyess elaborates, means:

> *Ilyess: I use it as a second language in here. To just explain it better, if I did not know any Algerian here, it would be the only language, it would be the first language I use here. But since we have this community of PhD students, I use it as a supplement to Darija sometimes, and sometimes I use those Darija as a supplement to English. I hope I'm not*

confusing you. So now, since you speak English and I do speak English, and I speak Darija and you do too, I go back and forth between them. So, these are the two languages I use, most of the time Darija is first and English is second. Now that I think about it, I rarely speak about research, when I do, I use English because- I don't know, in my brain, I learnt so many things in the last three years and they are in English, so it's easier for me to explain them to you in English, it's like the English surface in my brain has increased dramatically and I use it more than I used to. [2ⁿᵈ round]

English is taking a more prominent role in Ilyess's life, using it, translingually, even when speaking to his Algerian friends. Consequently, Ilyess's views on English, along with all the other participants, have changed:

Ekram: Normal

Nada: Normal, hard to understand sometimes

Merriam: A must

Ilyess: The main language.

For Ilyess and the other participants, English in the UK isn't just the language of lectures and exams, or a language heard in movies and songs. It is a language they hear and are "expected" to hear and use at university, in the streets, in shopping malls, and almost every place they go to, at any time. As a result, participants started being more critical of their English language practices.

5.1.2. From English to English(es)

The English used within the boundaries of university campuses in Algeria, or the UK, is different from the English participants found beyond universities. In Algeria, at university, participants learnt English as a foreign language focusing on the standard, correct, and formal English; very similar to the focus found in UK universities. Outside of university, in Algeria, the English they were exposed to almost exclusively was the American English portrayed in American movies and songs. Although participants were aware of the existence of different Englishes, until they came to the UK, their exposure to them was limited. Therefore, the differences in the different Englishes were not very clear to them. Immediately after arriving to the UK, participants started picking up on these differences and reflecting on their use of

English. After Nada came to the UK, she became more aware of the differences between American and British English:

> **Nada:** *I used to use more American accent, but since my arrival in here, I switched to the use of the British terminologies and accent, well actually my English was a mixture of British accent, American accent and terminologies, and that's of course due to the lecturers I had in Algeria, I was not aware of the difference. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Similarly, Ekram stated in her language portrait that the English she found when she came to the UK is different from the English she was exposed to, she further explained:

> **Ekram:** *the language I learned at high school and middle school and even university was more of academic language, grammar and all these things, and even the language I learnt from TV, from films and series, it was more like American. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Merriam, who studied English literature, looked forward to coming into contact with British English outside of books and movies:

> **Merriam:** *because we have the American accent in Algeria, I came with the fascination of "oh British accent!", you know, movies and Brontë, Victorian age, especially that I am doing literature, I am fascinated with this culture, I wanted to acquire the British accent. [1ˢᵗ round]*

After living in the UK for a while, participants realized that British English is even more varied. To varying degrees, participants started noticing variation within British English after visiting different places in the UK. Even within the UK, English is actually Englishes. Ekram and Merriam could tell there were differences within what they would call British English, it was hard for them, however, to describe it. Nada and Ilyess, on the other hand, gave some precise descriptions of some of the differences they noticed between the different varieties of English:

> **Nada:** *Probably the Liverpool one, /χ/ instead of /k/, "do you want /ˈtʃɪχɪn/ ?" [laughs], "yes, I do," also the pronunciation of the bus, in London, they say /bʌs/, here they say, /bʊs/, also the word look, in Liverpool, I heard someone saying /lʊk/ like "the look" but they mean look [she pronounces it /luːk/ referring to the verb look]. Far less these are the differences but the most prominent difference in terms of the*

English language is probably between England cities and the Scottish ones, you can really feel the difference between the two in terms of the accent and words used, I was trying to buy something, and he was like, "do you want a wee box?", and I was like, "what? A wee box?", he said, "a small box", so I was like, "ah ok! I see". [1ˢᵗ round]

Geographical mobility was not the only reason Ilyess could spot on differences and variation within English, his encounters with British people from different parts of the UK also played a role:

Ilyess: *Yeah, Liverpool, just Liverpool and Manchester are very different, in the way they speak, I have been to Bristol, I can't really make a difference between Bristol and Kent, it's kind of similar to me. Norwich, I have been to Norwich too, kind of South, I would say, when I say South, in the back of my head, it's the way of speaking English that is not strong accent, it's just what you would hear in classic BBC or something like that. Scotland is very different.*

Me: *How?*

Ilyess: *Mhm, how would I describe it? I don't know, I find it tender, I find it very light, especially the- it's very different but I wouldn't call it strong or thick accent, but I like how it sounds. Irish as well, I haven't been to Ireland, but I met some Irish people.*

Me: *You said Liverpool and Manchester are very different? Do you want to elaborate more on that?*

Ilyess: *Liverpool, I don't know, it could be a language of its own, yeah, I have only been once to Liverpool, but the class I am teaching, there is a girl who is from Liverpool, and this happened three weeks ago, we were talking about accents and stuff and she started to speak how Liverpudlian speak. and I was like "oh, that's very, very different!" I would have to concentrate just to understand given that she doesn't use words that are specific to them. The pronunciation is very strong, needs deciphering. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Regardless of participants' expectations of what they would find in the UK and regardless of their background as English language learners whose English passed the test and allowed

them to be admitted to a UK university, perplexity was not exempt. This was particularly true for Merriam and Ilyess:

> *Ilyess: When I first came here, it was 2016, Kent not Manchester, it was the first time in my life that I heard English being used as a language of communication, it's not in class, it was not just for the sake of practicing the language, it was a weird feeling at the time, so you say, "oh, people are talking English, really!", it sounds like Jane Austen is around me, you know that kind of feelings, the accent in Kent and- and in the first day, I was just listening, "oh, wow!", I never thought I would be here. At the same time, I didn't think that I spoke English, or I knew how to speak English, to be honest. I was really good with English ever since I was in middle school, always got top grades up until university and that was to me, ah I am good at English, but that was all demolished in the first week. [1st round]*

Ilyess's experience with his mobile English resources invokes Blommaert's (2010) concepts of inequality and scale. His resources moved from being valued at a high scale-level in Algeria (the local) to a lower one in the UK (the global) making him question the value of his English resources. Ilyess was not the only one whose, in his view, his English resources "failed" to be mobilized. Merriam's English language movement from the periphery to the center was accompanied by feelings of shame and doubt rendering her English in a lower position to that of the other students:

> *Merriam: when we came here and we started the PhD, I had this self-destruction, I started telling myself I am not good enough, we started coming all together with other PhD students, talking about our PhDs and I saw people from Europe or from England talking about their PhDs and it sounded like everyone knew what they were doing, and they talked about so many different things and so many things and I didn't know what they were talking about. Is that normal? Am I stupid or is that you? You are too smart for me, or what's going on? It made me crazy, I was telling myself I am not good enough, this is not for me, I doubted my English and I started speaking like a baby, when I meet my supervisor, I barely talk, I was confusing everything, even how to speak*

normally with friends, I was ashamed of my English, it was crazy, then I locked myself in my room, and I refused to contact the outside world. I have done all my work from home, and I kept cooking because this is the only thing that would make me feel good. Even when I needed to go out and buy stuff, I would go out at night, and put a hoodie, and I was so anti-social, then gradually, I told myself if I want to do this, I have to be strong, and this is not me being strong. [1st round]

When English became Englishes, hierarchies became more perceptible. At first, participants appeared to be in a disadvantageous position crushed by the inequalities imposed by the norms of the center of what is better and worse English and the "pressure" of the place they now inhabit (Blommaert, 2010). They, however, quickly started regaining agency. This is when participants felt the need to expand on their English repertoires to climb the ladder of inequal linguistic resources. The first step was through broadening their communicative perspectives and repertoires.

5.1.3. Expanding on the English repertoires

Participants felt that their existing English repertoires were not enough, so they tried to expand on them. Through interacting with others and observing their language use, they started adding on new vocabularies and pronunciations to their English repertoires. Ilyess, for instance, recalls this instance of him learning a new word:

Ilyess: I am recalling once in the supermarket- because I struggled a lot in those- like "I want this, what is that called?!", like "trolley", I remember to this day, I was with two friends, flat mates, we went to ask an employee at ASDA, I said "oh sorry where can I get a cart?" and she said, "what?" and I said, "cart" [making the gesture of pushing a trolley with his hands], and she said, "Oh, trolley", and I did not know that that was called trolley, so there are so many words, I was like "did I really speak English?" it was very different from what we were taught. [1st round]

The other participants also talked about trying to learn the British accent and the correct pronunciation of certain words. This Ekram called it "re-learning" English:

Ekram: because the environment has changed, so, when I came here, there were so many words that I used to pronounce wrong. And then

> *when I heard how people pronounce them, I just corrected them, I picked them up. I don't know, it's like I re-learned English.* ***[1st round]***

Similarly, Nada stated that after coming to the UK, she started using English "*the British way*":

> **Nada:** *I started to say [weə(r)] instead of [wer], [bʌʔ] instead of [bʌt], you know [laughs].* ***[1st round]***

Adding new resources to their English repertoires does not mean that they would necessarily use these resources at all times or even at all. Participants are selective of what they would use in what context. Nada, for instance, who learnt the word *wee* after visiting Scotland, as stated above, only used the term once:

> **Nada:** *Yes, I learnt a new word*
>
> **Me:** *Do you use it?*
>
> **Nada:** *I used it just once to mock someone in the office* ***[1st round]***

Merriam too who could identify the Mancunian accent from other accents stated that she would not use it although in our interview she tried to imitate it once:

> **Merriam:** *It's a great place to be in [referring to Manchester], why I love Manchester? It's because-, they say /ˈmænʧɪstɒ/ [tries to imitate the Mancunian accent] [laughs]* ***[1st round]***

At this point, participants were no longer victims of *scales* and the place's inequalities. They took control over their English language repertoires and begun to re-configure them. This was the second step (the first being it their awareness of the existing inequalities) in a long journey of becoming agentive English language users. This is further explored below.

5.1.4. Scaling English

As participants reconfigured their repertoires, their thoughts and beliefs about English were reshaping. In the following, I will present findings about how in the process of expanding on their repertoires, participants started using English as part of their wider "spatial repertoires" (Pennycook, 2017b; Canagarajah, 2018). To effectively communicate, they strategically combined English with the various resources embedded in space. While some of these strategies were already familiar to them (e.g., combining English with body language), some participants explored new strategies (the use of Google translate). The use of these strategies is dependent on the ecology of interaction (Badwan and Simpson, 2019). Examples of this from the participants' data are provided below. Through the successful use of these resources and strategies, participants regained control and agency over their own repertoires. This was

evident in how participants challenged and redefined norms about the use of English and used their difference as a source of empowerment. Participants reclaimed English by becoming scale-makers (Schiller and Çağlar, 2011: 12), i.e., by becoming constructors and negotiators of norms. So, rather than being passive receivers of *scales,* they themselves became involved in processes of scaling English (Canagarajah and De Costa, 2016). They did this through:

1. Re-evaluating English as a spatial resource for communication against other possible resources,

2. Enacting their identities in their English language use.

5.1.4.1. English as a spatial resource

To effectively communicate, people make use of their communicative repertoires. Participants of this study are no exception. While communicating, Nada embodies English:

> ***Nada:*** *actually, if I am talking to someone whom I know he is monolingual, he only understands English, I try to use my body language, I first opt for a description of the thing, the object or the gesture or whatever or, for instance, I'll tell him, suppose you are doing this and this and this and this happens. So, I try to simplify the context and let him tell me the exact word and I always tell him that I don't know how to say this, or I don't know the exact words. So, I always opt for explanation before description. Then when I don't know even how to describe this, I try to do it with my body. Like for instance, I did not know the verb "kneeling", so, I asked one of my colleagues, what's the verb for standing on our knees? And he said kneeling, and I said, oh that was super easy [laughs], which is really good. [1st round]*

When words aren't enough, Nada would resort to bodily resources. Positioning herself first within the spatial ecology through negotiating her diverse spatial affordances (e.g., descriptions) and then combining her bodily resources with the linguistic ones to make meaning. In its essence, language is an embodied phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall, 2016: 173; Busch, 2016) and the production of language inevitably involves the body, however, while this almost always happens unconsciously, in some instances, like the one Nada is reporting above, the use of the bodily resources becomes more visible. Here Nada is also rescaling her English in relation to her body language which proved to be more effective in the meaning-

making process. Combining the two turned a communicative struggle to an opportunity for learning and switched a potentially non-equal, power-conflictual moment of interaction to her own advantage. Nada was not alone in acknowledging the efficacy of the body in communicating. Ilyess did that too through describing it as:

Ilyess: *helpful in expressing ideas* ***[2ⁿᵈ round]***

Interactions are bidirectional and spatial resources are used to both, make and decipher meanings. Merriam highlights this when she explains that when understanding something proves to be difficult, she would urge her interlocutors to make use of gestures to help her understand:

> **Merriam**: *in verbal conversations, I like to understand using gestures, and I keep asking people to give me signs, so I understand the meaning.* ***[2ⁿᵈ round]***

Ekram too has her own communication strategies when she falls short of English vocabularies:

> **Ekram:** *in the office, I remember I was looking for sta-, they are called staples I guess- هادوك تاع... [translation from Darija: those of...]*
>
> **Me:** *تاع agrafeuse? [translation Darija and French: of the stapler?]*
>
> **Ekram:** *اراه [translation from Darija: yes], and I don't remember who was there, I think, it was [name omitted], I got him confused like wandering around because I didn't know how to name it and kept saying, "that thing that you put it in the thing to stick papers" [laughs], he kept asking, "what are you looking for?" and then it was just there on the stationary table.* ***[2ⁿᵈ round]***

Describing is a resource that Ekram used to *scale* English. It's a communicative strategy that she uses reciprocally with her interlocuters to co-construct meaning:

> **Ekram:** *I came here and my flat mate, she is from Ghana but she speaks English quit well, because there it's their official language. So, I would be in the kitchen, and I have no idea what that thing is called, so if I wanted something, I would tell her, I*

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want that thing and she goes what thing of the things [laughs], I name everything, thing, now I know what's the things like a pan, like a pot, like a frying pan, a de-frying pan, but I still struggle with the spices [laughs], so I know like cumin, and black pepper and salt, those are the only things I know, the rest I still call them things, usually I call them by their colors, [laughs]. If I get stuck, I start describing, "it's that long thing with that thing and that thing" [laughs], and she will be like "what the hell?". There are many things that I didn't get to learn because they are part of everyday life, so it was a bit hard at first, but she is teaching me, she is very patient. [1st round]

As a form of reassurance, Ekram reminded herself and me, in the excerpt below, that communication struggles happen even when one is speaking in their mother tongue, and just like this struggle and making use of the spatial affordances to communicate do not make her Darija deficient, it would not make her English any less valuable.

Ekram: In Algeria, we all call things, things, "رحت عند هاداك الحانوت, جبت هاديك الحاجة عاودت ركبت هاداك البيس". [translation from Darija: I went to that shop; I brought that thing then took that bus] [2nd round]

So far, the communication strategies discussed by participants are all ones that they mobilized with them from Algeria, i.e., they are strategies that they used way before coming to the UK. They, however, started using them in new, nuanced ways in the UK (using them with English resources). Besides these mentioned strategies, Nada and Ilyess also added another resource, which is that of Google translate:

Nada: sometimes I just go to Google translate, I just translate from French or Arabic then show them the thing in English.
Me: have you ever used Google translate in Algeria?
Nada: In Algeria, no, but here definitely yes. [1st round]

Google translate is a spatial resource and a communicative strategy explored by Ilyess to access and scale English. Rather than asking his interlocutor, which might position his English in a low scale, and instead of interfering with the flow of the conversation, which might affect the communication process, Ilyess finds using Google translate more efficient:

> *Ilyess: this didn't happen in a long time [referring to the use of Google translate]. I used to do it a lot especially in the office. One of my colleagues there, I find that he uses very literary English sometimes, in the beginning I used to interrupt him whenever he speaks, and just asks him, "oh what that word means?", with time, I just thought, ok let's not be obnoxious, so as he speaks to me, I am typing that word. [3rd round]*

Ilyess uses Google translate in the postgraduate office. A space not only to study but to socialize and meet other PhD students and usually conversations happen in groups behind desks and computers, perhaps for that reason Ilyess found it more convenient to use Google translate, i.e., because of the ecology of the interaction:

> *Me: Ok, so when you use Google translate in the way you just told me, doesn't it impact the conversation flow? Does it interrupt it, or the other person is totally fine with it?*
>
> *Ilyess: I try to continue the conversation but it's not like he is waiting for an answer while I am googling what he said, it doesn't usually happen like that, I sometimes Google after he said that, sometimes while he keeps on speaking, I am typing that word to understand what he is talking about, but I would say 90% of the time I make sense of what they are saying from the context even if I don't understand specific words. [3rd round]*

For Nada and Ilyess, the technological spatial resources (the mobile phone/computer and Google translate) assembled with other relevant spatial resources (distribution of desks in the office and other objects in the place, and English language resources) create spaces for negotiating meaning-making resources and scaling them. Participants' communicative practices are context-dependent and posthuman (Pennycook, 2017b). In other words, their communicative practices are part of a larger spatial repertoire that go beyond the human (Pennycook, 2017b: 453). They involve a complex interrelationship between linguistic resources, objects, the body, and digital affordances. English, in the above examples, is a spatial resource, which when aligned with other spatial, semiotic resources generates a collage of spatial repertoires allowing participants to scale it and renegotiate it (Canagarajah, 2018: 36), furthermore, to *voice* through it.

5.1.4.2. Envoicing through English

Participants, as agentive scale-makers, co-constructors of meanings and negotiators of norms use English to *envoice,* i.e., to enact their identities through their English language use (Canagarajah, 2013: 80). This was not a given since their arrival in the UK but became more prominent and emergent through their interactions and encounters just as Ilyess is explaining below:

> *Me: Have you ever tried to change your way of speaking since you came here?*
>
> *Ilyess: Yes,*
>
> *Me: Why is that?*
>
> *Ilyess: Yes, I still remember that actually, in the beginning, I tried to do that for the same idea. Like if you speak it- If you have accurate pronunciation, this means you speak good English. With time I started feeling I'm trying to imitate someone, I am not actually speaking the language, I am more trying to imitate someone who's not me. So, well, why do I bother? It's a lot of effort and I think I'd just learn words and learn how they use the language instead of focusing on pronunciation, which is not very important. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

In the beginning, Ilyess tried to "jump scales", meaning to move his English from the local and situated scale-level to the translocal and global scale-level (Blommaert, 2010: 35). Sometime later, he started reflecting on what doing this might mean for him as a person. He *denaturalized* this practice, using Bucholtz (2003: 408) terms, i.e., dismissed it as potentially reflecting an inauthentic self/identity. Merriam, like Ilyess, went through a very similar experience:

> *Merriam: when I came here, and I tried to speak the British accent, it sounds so fake when you are not British, so I have tried it so many times, and I felt it's not natural, and if I try to fake it, it's not really my language, it's not my way of speaking English, so people keep telling me you have an American accent, and sometimes, you have a British accent, and sometimes you have an Australian accent, so, I don't know what accent I have [laughs]. I just try to speak normal, correct English, MY WAY. [1ˢᵗ round]*

The quest for native-like English use was soon replaced by a pressing need to use it "authentically". The type of authenticity Merriam and Ilyess are referring to in the above excerpts is what Coupland (2003) called the "fully owned unmediated authentic language". Using Goffman's terms, he defines an authentic speaker, adhering to this type of authenticity as "a person functioning seamlessly as principal, author and animator of his/her own talk - a person who owns her or his language through and through" (Goffman, e.g., 1981; and cf. van Leeuwen 2001: 395.ff as cited in Coupland, 2003: 423). In the case of Ilyess and Merriam, being true to oneself and to own one's language is to move away from shared conventions and norms and to accentuate one's difference, to envoice through one's language use. But because, as Bakhtin (1981:293) puts it, "t*he word in language is half someone else's",* in the below excerpt, Ilyess is negotiating the outcome of his *envoicing* of English with his interlocuter:

> *Ilyess: in January this year, it was very recent, I went to meet some photographers, there were around ten people and I started chatting with one of them. And one of them said, "you have an accent, where are you from?", he was trying to start a conversation, and I joked, "I am an American actually," he said, "maybe you went to an American university, but you are not American," I said, "yeah, I am Algerian". But the thing is, they can never identify me as an Algerian. It's not just because they don't know the country, but I don't think that our English accent is recognized around the world. So, whenever I speak, I am like, "guess where I am from?", sometimes I do that, but they can't tell. [2nd round]*

Ilyess is reconstructing his identity as an Algerian who speaks English in the UK even when this isn't as clear to his interlocuters. He is doing this despite the fact that in Algeria, English is not part of the debate when it comes to the language-national identity nexus. It is not part of the Arabic-Darija-French-Tamazight constellation, nor it is used to index the Algerian national identity. In the UK, however, this is being re-negotiated. Similar to Ilyess, Merriam came to recognize and embrace the impact of the linguistic resources she moved with her along the way from Algeria to the UK on her English language use. An impact that makes her an "*authentic speaker*":

> *Merriam: I believe that the language you speak, your mother tongue, and the dialect, helps you a lot in creating your own accent when you speak English. Because in my city, everything is very strong, so I pronounce all the accents in a very strong way. So, for Americans, it might sound American, but Canadians thought that I have a Canadian accent, so I don't know honestly what accent I have, but I think it's the influence from my OWN dialect and language and other languages I speak, rather than different accents. As I told you, I tried to fit, I tried to speak British accent, but I think it's only for British people, and if you try to speak it, it's going to look very fake. [1st round]*

With the same conclusions and the same assertiveness, Ekram *envoices* her Arabness through her use of English:

> *Ekram: I have corrected some of the words that for a long time I have been pronouncing wrong [referring to changes in her way of speaking after coming to the UK], but I will always speak like an Arab with an Arab accent. [1st round]*

Accepting and embracing their identities through their use of English was participants' way to scale English. Participants transitioned from the disadvantaged mobile individuals to being critical successful communicators using the space resources, to finally negotiators of meanings of English. What happened after is that this empowering process went beyond their use of English to their other linguistic resources as we shall see below.

5.1.5. Coming into contact: English and Darija

Hitherto, I discussed the impact of the contact between participants' mobile English linguistic resources and the English resources they found in the UK. This impact, however, transcended English. As English took a more dominant role in participants' life, this re-shaped Nada's and Merriam's use of Darija. While speaking to her family, Nada now would insert English words into her speech:

> *Nada: I lost some of the Arabic terminologies and I replaced them with English terminologies. [1st round]*

Besides crossing the imaginary borders between countries geographically, Nada is now crossing linguistic imaginary boundaries, i.e., she is reflexively using a linguistic feature which is anomalously considered as "*other*" (Rampton et al., 2019: 629). This emergent practice, i.e.,

the crossing of English into Darija, which is the result of linguistic resources coming into contact, was also reported in Merriam's speech:

> **Merriam:** *that [her use of English in Algeria] would get more frequent as I got used to speaking English all day long every day. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Linguistic crossing raises issues of legitimacy and entitlement (Rampton, 1999: 54). As an Algerian, Merriam is constantly evaluated by other Algerians for her use of English. She agentively questions the legitimacy of using English in Algeria, contesting dominant language ideologies and norms by which English in Algeria should only be spoken by a "foreigner":

> **Merriam:** *when you speak English in Algeria, people will be like, "oh my god! Is she an alien, why is she speaking in English", unfortunately, people become really, really civilized and they think you are an intellectual only if you are coming from a foreign place, you might not be Algerian, they approach you differently, and then if you speak like them, they don't- it's like you don't exist.*
>
> **Me:** *So, would you still use it?*
>
> **Merriam:** *Yes, sometimes, especially in summer when you meet with people. For instance, I went to Algiers once and I went to this very big mall and an English woman, I don't know if she is English or not but her physical appearance is very English, she was trying to find something and she spoke only in English, so I helped her. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Merriam deviates from the linguistic norms in Algeria and fluidly moves her linguistic repertoires from the UK back to Algeria using them to communicate and to flexibly switch roles; from a foreigner who speaks English in the UK to a local speaking English in Algeria. Nada, on the other hand, not only deviates from the linguistic norms in Algeria but goes further to normalize and naturalize them:

> **Nada:** *it [her loss of the Arabic terminologies and use of English words] is something that happens to immigrants frequently. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Conclusion

Movement to the UK had significant implications for participants' use of English, which in turn had implications for their use of Darija. The above section was dedicated to exploring that. From being exposed to the different existing Englishes to processes of scaling it and *envoicing* through it, these were all some of the effects of geographical mobility on the

offline English language use. Shedding light on English, however, does not mean effects did not transcend it. Participants mobilized their full linguistic repertoires with them and upon their arrival in the UK, they started re-negotiating them as well.

5.2. Beyond English: multilingual resources in motion

Introduction

Manchester, like many urban cities around the world, was characterized as "super-diverse" by Matras (2018). It is a city where there is "a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on" (Blommaert and Rampton, 2012: 2). In such a place, multilingualism becomes more visible (Simpson, 2017). The superdiverse city is a host for multiple, fluid, hybrid linguistic practices and norms. In relation to that, mobile individuals, with their diverse linguistic backgrounds, histories and biographies, and their mobilities' trajectories, negotiate their identities, semiotic practices and language ideologies in nuanced, unpredictable ways (Blommaert and Rampton, 2012; Parkin and Arnaut, 2014; Simpson, 2017). Under this theme, I will go beyond English-in-motion to describe how participants mobilized their full diverse multilingual resources to Manchester, how this affected their identities' negotiation, and finally how they were sometimes offset by moments of conflict resulting from the mobilization of their communicative repertoires.

5.2.1. Old resources within new geographical boundaries

In the first round of interviews, participants self-reported their repertoires through the language portraits and the narratives that accompanied them (see chapter 4). In the second round of interviews, I asked participants in the tasks I sent, in which I listed their self-reported repertoires, to write me which of their resources they already used or would use in Manchester and in what context(s). While some of these resources' use was abandoned in Manchester; other resources were mobilized. This has to do with participants' encounters and individual experiences of mobility, which again sheds light on the unpredictability of the mobility of linguistic resources (Canagarajah, 2012; Badwan and Simpson, 2019). Focusing on the resources that participants mobilized to Manchester with them, below I will present findings from the tasks for each participant.

Merriam:

- ✓ **[Hometown] dialect:** (with family on the phone)

- ✓ **West Algerian dialect:** (with friends and colleagues)

- ✓ **All Algerian dialects:** (with friends that are not [from her hometown])

- ✓ **French:** (with colleagues at work, family)

- ✓ **Arabic (standard):** (I use it to communicate with some Arab colleagues that do not understand the North African dialects, or Muslims that does only know the standard Arabic)

- ✓ **Arabic dialects:** (in the office with colleagues from other Arab countries)

- ✓ **Spanish:** (rarely)

- ✓ **Italian:** (rarely)

- ✓ **Turkish:** (when I meet some Turkish friend or a person who speaks the language, usually at Uni)

- ✓ **Afro-American accent:** (for fun when I meet with my friends)

- ✓ **Ghetto French slang:** (with some friends here in the UK)

Ekram:

- ✓ **North Algerian dialect:** (I don`t use any of these, just my dialect which is as I said a mixture of Northern and Southern)

- ✓ **French:** (I used it three times: with a Nigerian friend, a Ghanaian friend, and a couple of French students were doing research, and rarely with my uncles, as I don`t talk to them as I used to do)

- ✓ **Chelha:** (With my two Berber besties to discuss language varieties, differences, and shared things, otherwise they use it to tease me.)

- ✓ **Arabic (standard): (**With Arab students as they don`t understand Algerian Dialect)

- ✓ **Korean:** (Not much, I don`t have much time for series now)

Nada:

- ✓ **French:** (home mainly because I lived with people speaking French but not that much, when necessary or when I do not know the word in English, with those who speak French and it depends on the topic.)

- ✓ **Arabic (standard): (**I use it mostly with [name omitted, speaking about her housemate who is learning Standard Arabic], because sometimes she doesn't get the dialect, or sometimes I use it with foreigners or those who are non-native speakers of Arabic and

are learning Arabic so they understand me because it's impossible for them to understand my Algerian dialect.)

✓ **Dialect of centre of Algeria:** (rarely as I cnt say never as I feel a bit of influence on my eastern accent. When I am speaking over the phone with my best frinds(unconsciously I find myself changing the accent or intonation; my friends, depends on the topic fi sya9 lkalam translate it hahaha) **[translation (from transliterated Darija): in the context of my speech]**

✓ **Dialect of west of Algeria:** (home, sometimes, with [names omitted, her friends from West of Algeria], to make jokes mainly)

✓ **[Hometown dialect]:** (over the phone, family, everything.)

✓ **Italian: (**I cnt really pick a place, depends on whom I am talking to, friends mainly who understand Italian or French Italian workds at least. To joke or insult or just comment on something so I dnt really use an advanced level of Italian but rather a beginner one)

✓ **Turkish:** (home/ uni, rarely, with [names of her friends omitted] mainly, no topics but just to say guzel guzem darling….) **[translation from Turkish: pretty my dear]**

✓ **Berber:** (home and online, almost always on chat, Berber friends, to comment; talk about food; check on each other I always tend to say azul felak/felam…amek ith tedilith? …tanmirth, ulach ighilif…) **[translation from Berber: Hi (masculine)/ Hi (feminine). How are you? Thank you, no worries].**

✓ **Tunisian:** (almost never maybe once or twice to mention how certain items are named in tunisian)

✓ **Egyptian:** (almost never and if ever used it will be at home to comment but I rarely remember using it)

✓ **Syrian:** (outside, events library, with people from middle east as it is the easiest to imitate for me. Whatever the topic of the discussion (e.g., Introducing ourselves.)

Ilyess:

✓ **Darija:** (with my Algerian friends and also with middle-eastern friends as well)

✓ **[Hometown] dialect:** (with friends on the phone (they are in Algeria)

✓ **French:** (rarely)

✓ **Simplified Arabic (with no French terms):** (sometimes with middle-eastern friends)

One of the factors that govern the mobility and the use of participants' linguistic resources is the unpredictable, complex situations they might be put in (Badwan, 2015: 66) especially in a super-diverse place like Manchester. For that reason, the above presented data is by no means exhaustive or aiming at quantifying or limiting participants' rich communicative repertoires or how they would use them but to give a sense of the fluidity, flexibility and mobility of linguistic resources. Just like these resources are not bounded by geographical spaces or situated linguistic norms, their use can be re-negotiated and re-shaped as situations and contexts require. An example of this is how Merriam is re-shaping her use of Western Algerian dialect. In Algeria, Merriam uses Western Algerian dialect as a "hobby" while in the UK, she describes it as "needed". It is her interactions and encounters with Algerians from West of Algeria that makes it needed:

> **Merriam:** *What I mean here is, for instance, if I speak to someone from the west and I use 100% of my dialect, some words might confuse them, you might not get me exactly the way I want you to understand me, if I switch to your dialect even if I am not that good in your dialect, just try to speak your way, you might understand me better and quicker, that's why I prefer when I speak to someone who doesn't speak my dialect, I just do that. When I don't, I just got a lot of questions like, "what do you mean?", "oh, this word is a bad word in our region, we don't say it", "I don't understand you", "we don't call this thing that", so I try to know the way they say it, and I say it to them to avoid the process of explaining.* **[2nd round]**

Maximizing her communication success was Merriam's primary reason for re-shaping her linguistic practices. Nada, on the other hand, who used to use the dialect of Algiers to jump scales back in Algeria, is now reconsidering this:

> **Nada:** *I used to use it whenever I go to Algiers because I feel if you speak their dialect, you are getting into their group, it's kind of like you are not someone who is a stranger, I feel like Algiers dialect is regarded as superior, maybe for economic reasons, or because all the ministries are there. I think that when I say, for instance, when I pronounce /q/ instead of /g/, they can't tell the difference if I am from Algiers or from other places, also, I feel- راح نقولهالك بالعربي، كي تكوني تهدري باللهجة تاعهم،*

small هادوك *généralement* يقولك راهي محلبة، راهي جاية من بلاصة كبيرة, cities, تاعك يبدا *accent* ناس تاعهم كي شغل كي يعرفك من ينيقليجيكي ويطيشاك. *[Translation from Darija and French]:* **I will say it to you in Arabic, when you speak in their accent they will she is well-educated, she comes from a big city, generally if they know from your accent that you come from a small city, they will neglect you and don't take you into consideration.] [2ⁿᵈ round]**

Once Nada arrived in the UK, her encounters re-shaped her use of the dialect and also naturalized it:

> *Nada: Yes, I feel that now, here, I am not using it on purpose like I used to in Algeria.*
>
> *Me: Even if you meet a person from Algiers?*
>
> *Nada: Yes, I feel that I am unconsciously using it.* **[2ⁿᵈ round]**

In addition to the Algiers dialect, Nada also started expanding on her Berber language resources after meeting more Berber people from Algeria in the UK:

> *Nada: In Algeria, before coming here, I only had one Berber friend, so I didn't use it that much. When I came here I got more contact with people who speak it and I started to learn more Berber vocabulary and ways of speaking.* **[2ⁿᵈ round]**

Resources travel through space and time and in the process, they are re-shaped, and they acquire new index meanings relative to the social practices that speakers are involved in. Movement renders peoples' communicative practices less predictable and language use depends on the various unexpected experiences of mobility. In every situation, and in every contact zone, speakers negotiate and construct norms and practices while their resources fluidly cross boundaries.

5.2.2. Alienation

In the UK, Ilyess and Nada came into contact with many other Algerians from different parts of Algeria, this eventually had an influence on their accent which people back in Algeria could spot. Ilyess below explains how this happened:

> *Ilyess: I feel like my dialect switched a little bit since I came here, we are Algerians here but we influence each other, you meet someone from*

the east, from the south, so I think I shifted a little bit my [name omitted,

name of his town] dialect.

Me: How?

Ilyess: When I went back home last year, and I was taking a taxi from

Tlemcen to my hometown, and I was talking to someone from my

hometown, and he said "are you from [name omitted]?", I said "yeah!",

he said, "you don't sound like you are from there!", and I found that

interesting, I said "how?", he said, "I know that you are from around

here, but you don't really sound you are from [name of town

omitted]" [2ⁿᵈ round]

Ilyess's speech became marked and alienated in his hometown in Algeria. His mobility to the UK left an enduring print. That was similar to Nada's experience:

Nada: I think because I met a lot of people and most of my friends here

are from the center of Algiers, like [mentions few names of her friends]

are all from the capital. So, I started, for instance, using /q/ instead of

/g/, even when I went back to Algeria, people started to comment on

my accent, saying that it is influenced by Algiers dialect. [2ⁿᵈ round]

Language evolves and changes as a result of people's interactions with each other. Sometimes, this change leads people to being "*othered*" or cast aside from a group. It is unclear if the change in Nada's and Ilyess's cases happened consciously and intentionally. It still, however, had implications on how they and others perceive them. Below I will present some of the participants' reflections on how changes in some of their language use influenced how their identities were negotiated.

5.2.3. Negotiating identities and language ideologies

Identity negotiation is an intricate and complex process and mobility adds to such complexity because of the destabilization and uncertainty that comes with it. In mobility, people will experience new social associations, connections, or affiliations that will impact their understanding of their identities. Mobility brings along with it a freedom to re-define the "*self*", to embrace ascribed identities or move away from them. The latter was the case for Ilyess:

Ilyess: I used to consider myself as an Arab, but ever since I set foot in

here and started meeting other Arabs from the middle east, I started to

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realize how different I am from them. With time I started to consider myself more as North African, but not an Arab because I see that we don't share a lot of things, our culture, food, how we dress even how we talk, when I talk to them, I am talking about people from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, etc., they have to make an effort to understand me which sometimes they don't, and I have to switch to Standard Arabic or English, mostly English just to make the conversation go. But to be honest, after a while I just said no, I am not going to- yeah. So, I started speaking the way I do, even my Arabic, I try to simplify it, by that I mean, don't speak in French, don't add any words in French, even though it's natural to me, because that's how I talk, not pretending or anything, there are some words that I know in French, adapted to Arabic, but they are not really French to me, but I am just used to using them. So, yeah that's also why I don't think that North Africa is anything like the middle east, we share religion, also language but certain form of language, written language mostly, but apart from that, I find more communalities between me and Tunisians, and Moroccans, even Libyans sometimes. [1st round]

Re-defining oneself happens in part through defining "*the other*" (Said, 1979). In other words, in the above, Ilyess is constituting his identity, i.e., a North African, through identifying what he is not, i.e., an Arab, and building boundaries around this identity. He is creating new routes for his ethnic identity (Harris and Rampton, 2003). He does this through his language practices but also through what he believes these language practices mean. He is enacting and envisioning the links of language practices and ideologies to his identity (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: : 55-56):

> **Ilyess:** *so, I would probably omit French words and very localized words.*
>
> **Me:** *so, you use this simplified Arabic with your Arab friends?*
>
> **Ilyess:** *Sometimes I simplify it and sometimes I don't, for ideological reasons, to be honest [laughs]*
>
> **Me:** *oh why?*

> *Ilyess: I'm so sick of always adapting to others. This time they should understand us as well. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Through language choice, people affiliate or distance themselves from others even if sometimes this happens at the expense of mutual understanding. Ilyess would grapple with his language choices, identity negotiation and being a successful communicator. SA is a marker of Arabness to Ilyess and through resisting its use, he is resisting the Arab identity and distancing himself from a group because "language ideologies represent statements of identity" (Cummins, 2000: xi). Nada, on the other hand, believes that SA is a marker of her religious identity:

> *Nada: If I am speaking it, I think people would recognize it's Arabic because of my appearance, but I imagine if I am speaking it with [name omitted], I would think they will be more interested in her because she is European who is speaking another language, because they would expect I speak Arabic because of my look and they wouldn't even know the difference between Darija and standard Arabic, but for her, they would be impressed. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

Language practices coupled with her dress code would give away Nada's group affiliation unlike her friend who shares with her the language practices but not her ethnicity. Although, this, for Nada, normalizes speaking SA in the UK unlike speaking it in Algeria, traces of language ideologies she holds about SA can still be projected in the UK:

> *Nada: Here in Manchester again I would feel it's ok, also physical appearance plays a role, if it's a European, then this would be very normal, because it's the easiest for them to learn, but I wouldn't imagine someone who is Arab looking speaking standard Arabic, I don't know why. [2ⁿᵈ round]*

While new emergent language ideologies were formed for people from outside the group, old residual language ideologies were maintained for people within the group. In other words, it's normal to hear or speak SA with someone who is not Arab but not if the person is Arab. Ekram and Merriam, however, do not share these same views with Nada. They both think it's totally normal to speak SA in the UK even if the person is an Arab:

> *Merriam: I have this with [name omitted, a colleague from the office] [referring to speaking standard Arabic], when we speak about religion,*

> *but I don't find it funny at all, I feel, "oh my god, she is an encyclopedia!". She knows a lot of things and she speaks about Hadith and Qur'an and the way she educates her children, same with [name omitted, another colleague from the office], they use a lot of standard Arabic instead of their own dialect and I feel fascinated by the way they speak because I just want to have the same degree of فصاحة*
> **[translation from Standard Arabic: eloquence]. [2ⁿᵈ round]**

Speaking SA in the UK, for Merriam, is now a reflection of well-education and broad knowledge and is desirable. Ekram sees it as necessary to achieve mutual intelligibility:

> **Ekram:** *In Manchester, I would speak standard Arabic to other Arabs. It's because they don't understand our Arabic dialects. I mean, because our dialect is a mixture of French and Arabic and all that, so they wouldn't understand it. Otherwise, I would speak Darija.*
>
> **Me:** *So, it's normal for you. If you hear someone speaking standard Arabic here, it wouldn't be linguistically a mistake as well in the same way it is in Algeria?*
>
> **Ekram:** *No, especially if they were not Arabs, if they learned it in school, it's going to be the language that they speak, the language they learnt at school, and I saw that professor, [name omitted] from the university of Manchester, he speaks standard Arabic, he was speaking with us students, and was also speaking it outside because this is the only Arabic he knows.* **[2ⁿᵈ round]**

Participants' emergent language ideologies and practices are reflections of their roots and routes. They negotiate their self-oriented or prescribed-by-others identities (Zhu Hua, 2013) and reflect it in their developing new language ideologies and new language practices. It's not only SA that was negotiated, French in the UK also came to acquire new emergent ideologies. For Merriam it became the language of networking:

> **Merriam:** *I have two colleagues who speak French, [name omitted] and his friend, and especially in the first 2 years, we used to meet a lot and I used to speak French to him not English. When I meet with [name omitted], also I don't speak Arabic, I don't speak English, we speak French.*

> **Me:** *How do you feel about that?*
>
> **Merriam:** *I feel we have something else in common, not just colleagues, and PhD students, we speak another language too, even for him [referring to her colleagues in the office] it's easier, he always tells me, "you are the only one who reminds me that I am French here, I don't speak it with anybody except when I call my family, so when I see you, I directly switch", and this is what he does, once I get to the office, he doesn't say hello, he says bonjour [translation from French: good morning] [2nd round]*

For Nada, it is now a romantic language:

> **Nada:** *if we compare French here in the UK and French in Algeria, it's totally different, in Algeria it's about prestige, here it's more about romantic language, sweet to hear. [2nd round]*

For Ilyess, French can be just a language for communication:

> **Me:** *So, the use of French here differs from using it in Algeria?*
>
> **Ilyess:** *Yes, if I use French with a French person or an English person who speaks French, I am practicing, we are just communicating, I am not bragging or anything. [2nd round]*

For Ekram, speaking French in the UK indexes her multilingual identity, something to be proud of:

> **Ekram:** *I also think it's pride, even when I say to my friends here or from Ghana or my neighbors in here that I speak French, they say, "oh wow French", it's weird for them, they don't expect it. [2nd round]*

Outside the borders of Algeria, where French is not a colonial language, beliefs about it are re-negotiated. Hierarchies of language, however, persist. Ilyess started reflecting on how French is evaluated and concluded that even in the UK, French is still more valued than Arabic:

> **Ilyess:** *I think they love French in here, English people I mean, if you tell them, you speak French, they will be, "oh, you speak French!"*
>
> **Me:** *Has this ever happened to you?*
>
> **Ilyess:** *Few times, yeah. I think French is valued here, if you speak Arabic, you don't get the same attention.*

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> *Me: Oh, so you mean there is still a hierarchy of languages here?*
>
> *Ilyess: Yes, yes, nobody cares if you speak Arabic, but if you speak French, they are impressed. [2nd round]*

In addition to that, when participants use their French resources in the UK as francophone Algerians, it sometimes does not match with the stereotypes of the identities ascribed to them by others:

> *Ekram: I think because I am veiled and I don't look European, they will not expect that I speak French, it would be weird for them to hear someone veiled speaking French. [2nd round]*

This finding echoes similar observations from Heller (1999) in her ethnographic study of a French-speaking school in Ontario, Canada. In her study, she states that there was an ideological 'mismatch'/'mis-alignment' between the 'European' standard French that was encouraged in the classroom and the more 'vernacular', contact varieties of French that were spoken by students from Somalia and Haiti. Zhu Hua's (2013; 2015; 2017) mis-alignment model, i.e., when self-oriented identities do not match with ascribed-by-others identities, also explains how people can negotiate whether to accept or resist the identities attributed to them by others. However, even when ascribed-by-other identities match the self-oriented identities, people negotiate the stereotypes that come along with those ascribed identities. Nada, in the excerpt below, is resisting the stereotype:

> *Nada: As a Muslim and someone wearing a veil, I think that's a plus, I feel like the idea of someone speaking French is not linked to Muslim people. Or maybe If I speak French, then people will know that I am from North Africa because usually this is what I get, even online, when I tell people I can speak French, they will guess, "oh, are you North African?" [2nd round]*

On the other hand, stereotypes, in some instances, lead to conflict leaving individuals perplexed:

> *Nada: when I am on the bus, I sometimes just pretend that I don't understand while I do, it might be a bad behavior but I would just listen and wait for them to comment on something. I remember one instance when someone who was commenting on my veil, I let her finish what she was saying, and then when she was leaving the bus, I said, "merci,*

> *c'etait très gentil" **[translation from French: thank you, that's so nice of you]**, she was Islamophobic, so whenever I hear French, I would wait for them to do or say something like that. **[2nd round]***

Using her French resources was Nada's way to resist and confront the stereotypes from other people. Likewise, Merriam used the same resistance strategy when she encountered a similar situation:

> *Me: What about here in Manchester, if you hear someone speaking in French, in the bus or in the streets?*
>
> *Merriam: I enjoy it because I understand it, but they don't know that I understand it. In many instances, those who were speaking French, they were speaking about me.*
>
> *Me: What were they saying?*
>
> *Merriam: They were saying terrible things about me being a Muslim, and the feeling when you understand someone who doesn't think that you actually understood them.*
>
> *Me: What did you do? How did you react?*
>
> *Merriam: I just kept looking at them and smiling. Another time when we were in Canterbury, I was at Primark with my friend, we met French ladies and they were saying, "Mon dieu, ceux Musulmans de merde sont partout" **[translation from French: oh my god, those shitty muslims are everywhere"**, and we acted like we didn't understand then once she finished all the terrible things she was saying about us, we said, "pourquoi? On'est dans votre pays?, on est en Angleterre, on'est pas en France" **[translation from French: why? Are we in your country? We are in England, we are not in France"**, and they were shocked. **[2nd round]***

Through replying in French, Merriam enacted her identity. Her French resources empowered her to resist the stereotype about her being a Muslim who cannot speak French. They gave her access to resistance where the use of French was meant to exclude her. In the above examples, Nada and Merriam assert a sense of agency over their identities and resources. This agency was granted by their diverse linguistic repertoires even when this diversity may sometimes put them in unsettling situations.

5.2.4. Diversity as a norm

Linguistic diversity refers to the use of one's diverse linguistic resources to communicate in context (Piller, 2016: 12). Linguistic diversity is an accomplished fact in many parts of the world, it is still, however, regarded, in many parts of the world, as a "problem" that needs to be "managed" (Cooke and Simpson, 2012: 116; Badwan, 2021b: 62-63) and not the norm. Managing the problem of diversity is usually attempted through the *monolingualizing* discourses and policies of the government (Heller, 1995: 374), which are reproduced in powerful institutions like universities. The reinforcement of these discourses and policies has real-life implications for those people who deviate from the homogenous norms (Piller, 2016: 44). Merriam was one of these people:

> **Merriam:** *Some people don't like it when we do that [referring to speaking another language other than English] like [name omitted] the Pakistani girl, she says, "I don't feel comfortable, I feel like a hotdog between you two [Merriam and her friend when they are speaking French], because you speak a language that you understand and I don't, so I feel like you are talking about me", which was very Algerian [laughs].*

> **Me:** *How do you feel about that?*

> **Merriam:** *I feel this is very stupid, she is Pakistani and once she holds the phone and speaks to her family and husband, she switches to Pakistani language, and she doesn't really care if we can't understand, and we don't really care because we all know that half of us are foreigners, and we switch directly, when I call mom or my family call me from Algeria, I speak in Arabic, so I don't really care, I just need to be polite, if I am speaking to you and someone calls me, I just say, "excuse me", and I speak the way I speak. [name omitted, a friend from the office] speaks in Greek, so I don't think it's disrespectful to anybody. Just some people like to make you feel like, "you are a foreigner, take your difference outside, don't let me listen to it", and people in the office who are English native people say to us that when we actually speak another language, it helps them focus because when we speak English, they*

concentrate with what we are saying but when we speak another
language, they don't understand so they keep working. [2ⁿᵈ round]

Although Merriam was confronted and was expected to speak a language that everyone in the room can understand, even though the person she was addressing was able to understand her, she resists these expectations and normalizes the use of her diverse linguistic repertoires. These homogeneous norms make Nada as well self-conscious about her communicative practices, however, in some instances she tries to dismiss them:

> **Nada:** *Here in the UK, it's very obvious that I need to use their language, sometimes I struggle to express some of my ideas, so I try to say it in Arabic but that would be only with my colleagues, because sometimes I feel that if I speak in Arabic, they will feel that I am speaking about them or something like that, I try to avoid but sometimes I don't care, I just go for the Arabic language, but mostly the situation obliges me to speak in English. [1ˢᵗ round]*

Nada in the above spoke about accommodating her speech territorially. In the UK, she is expected to speak English. This principle, i.e., the linguistic territorial principle, where language is distributed by territory and in each territory only one group or language is present and recognized (Schutter, 2008: 105) is not exclusive to the UK, Nada also encountered it in Algeria. When Nada went back to Algeria after living in the UK for a while and after her accent was influenced by the Algiers dialect (see section 5.2.2 above), she started receiving comments on her accent:

> **Me:** *When people say this, how does it make you feel?*
>
> **Nada:** *A bit weird because I am not conscious about the process and how I lost my accent.*
>
> **Me:** *Is this ok for you?*
>
> **Nada:** *it's ok for me, it's just sometimes when they comment- I don't really feel bugged or anything, when people from my city or those who know me comment on this but I am speaking over the phone with a stranger, and ask them to guess from where I am from Algeria and people can't guess I am from the East but rather from the capital or somewhere near the capital, I feel like I am no longer [name of people*

> *from her hometown], at the same time I know I am not from Algiers, sort of confusion.* ***[2nd round]***

Merriam had a similar experience:

> **Merriam:** *When I am out with my friends and cousins, I like to use all these dialects and sometimes even Syrian, so when people hear us, they give us this really bizarre looks, it's like they are questioning, "are you from here or are you just pretending to be speaking another language or you just want to catch attention?", we had some remarks and questions like, "are you from here?", and other would say, "you are trying to bring attention to you, that's why we can't understand who are you".* ***[2nd round]***

The linguistic territorial principle fixes language in place (Piller, 2016: 42) and leaves people confused, like Nada, or excluded, like Merriam, because it tries to dictate what should be spoken and where. For Merriam, this restrains her "*linguistic freedom*", which she tries to resist:

> **Merriam:** *I feel like people want to restrain your freedom, linguistically speaking, they want you to stick to something they know, they are used to listen to because once they realize you are different or you come from a different place, their behaviors suddenly change. I remember this time, I was waiting for my friend beside the mall, and I called her and I spoke a western Algerian dialect, I said, "مالكي, مالكي, وين راكي, كي دايرة"* ***[translation from western Algerian dialect: what, what, where are you, oh god]****, and the agent who was working there, he approached me and he was flirting, and the way he would usually flirt with me if I was speaking [her hometown dialect], has completely changed because he thought I wasn't from here. The degree of politeness and all changed.* ***[2nd round]***

Merriam's linguistic freedom was limited because of the belief that bound language to place. She was thought to be from another place because of the language she chose to speak, therefore, she was treated and perceived differently. Nevertheless, even when this happens, Merriam continues to use her diverse linguistic resources.

Conclusion

Nada, Merriam, Ekram, and Ilyess mobilized their communicative resources to the UK and re-negotiated them. They did this in relation to their identities and language ideologies. In this section, I discussed findings about these processes of mobilization and negotiation. Next, I will draw attention to their mobilization online. I will particularly focus on what shapes the online communicative practices of participants that were presented and analyzed in the chapter four.

5.3. Navigating communicative repertoires online

Introduction

The diverse and fluid choices that participants made online are not random nor were they made in vain. In the third round of interviews, I tried to understand what is it that participants take into consideration when posting online. Participants' responses were reflective and aligned with previous studies and literature in the field. Therefore, in analyzing these responses, I draw from Lee's (2016: 34) list of the ecological factors that influence online communicative practices. This list is by no means exhaustive of all possible factors that govern language choice online and it is worth noting that it may vary across contexts and users:

1. Audience and everyday offline life
2. Participants' identities and language ideologies
3. The technological and online affordances

Below, I further elaborate on these factors.

5.3.1. Audience and everyday offline life

The way people use language online is deeply entangled with their everyday offline life (Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2018) and shaped by forms of addressivity (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014). In the literature of online communication, the impact of the audience on the communicative practices is thoroughly addressed. In social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, language choices are anticipated to be influenced by users' potential readership circle (Tagg and Seargeant, 2012: 515). In the interviews, participants confirmed to me that the main thing they take into consideration when they are posting is their addressees. Depending on who Nada wants to understand her posts, she chooses the linguistic variety:

> **Nada:** *my Facebook friends are mostly English speakers or native speakers of English, so if I am writing a post in English, there is a chance*

> *90% that I am taking into account these people who are native speakers*
> *of English only, also des fois كاين des posts حابة مانيش حاجة بالعربي كي نكتب*
> *واحد اونجلـى يفهمها [translation from French and Darija: sometimes there*
> *are posts, when I write something in Arabic, I don't want someone*
> *English to understand them] [3ʳᵈ round]*

By means of language choice, Nada either "maximizes" or "partitions" her audience (Androutsopoulos, 2014: 62). While English includes her English-speaking audience, Arabic is meant to exclude them. When Ilyess uses English, he also targets his English-speaking audience:

> *Ilyess: I would write in English because the audience is from all over the*
> *world, in Arabic, it wouldn't really make sense. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Ilyess's tweets are tailored according to the audience he has in mind. He broadens or narrows his readership circle through his linguistic choices. While English is for the wider audience, a similar trend was found in other studies (e.g., Leppänen et al., 2009; Barton and Lee, 2013), tweets that target Algerians only are usually in Darija:

> *Me: and is this why you usually use Darija? To target Algerians.*
> *Ilyess: Yes, and those two who replied to me are also Algerian PhD*
> *students, and I was thinking of them when I tweeted this [referring to*
> *the screenshot I sent to him], and they are not the only two, I have*
> *others. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Audience design intersects with the content of the post and language choices. The screenshot I sent to Ilyess is a tweet in which he asked his audience about the translation of a term from Darija into English:

> *Ilyess: This actually occurred in one of my case studies and this is*
> *something that Algerians say, it's something within our legal system,*
> *it's a special jargon, so by that post I meant, "are there any Algerians*
> *that can help me with it?" [3ʳᵈ round]*

The content of the tweet shaped the targeted audience and influenced the language choice (see also Lee and Chau, 2018; Lee, 2016). In the same way, Ekram's linguistic choices are a junction of both content of the contributions and audience design:

> *Ekram: It also depends on the people I am addressing, so for instance,*
> *if it's something academic and I wanted my uni friends to understand*

it, I would probably publish it in English because I know they would understand it but if it was for more common people, I would use Arabic or dialect. So, it depends on people. [3ʳᵈ round]

Ekram addresses her audience through language and content choices. These addressivity strategies (Seargeant and Tagg, 2012) in Merriam's online posts exceeded language and content. That is, the intended audience is not only addressed by means of linguistic and content choices but also through other stylistic choices such as script choices. Merriam explains below:

Merriam: *Depends on to whom I am writing, like in these examples, the first one I wrote it for the public [referring to the screenshot I sent to her], and the second one, I wrote it for my friends, so I used Latin script, it was still public but I tagged two friends, so it was specifically for these two people to understand, and to be honest, I have always written Darija this way, it's just lately that I started using the Arabic keyboard to write it. [3ʳᵈ round]*

When she posts in Darija, Merriam's close friends are addressed through choosing the Latin script. In the first screenshot I sent to her, Merriam used the Latin script and tagged two friends in the post. The friends she tagged are both Algerians. In the second screenshot, in which she used the Arabic script, she did not tag anyone. The Arabic script is inclusive to her non-Algerian audience, she explains, and she refers to as "the public". Albirini (2016: 270) argues that the use of Arabic letters online by Arabic speakers approximates the use of SA. This can explain why Merriam uses it to include her wider audience. She emphasizes that the use of the Arabic script is an emergent practice. A practice that occurred due to changes in her online audience, which in turn happened due to her geographical mobility to the UK. More on this is explored below.

Geographical mobility to the UK resulted in changing participants' offline and online social networks. When participants arrived in the UK, their offline social networks extended. They started meeting people from diverse backgrounds and adding them to their online social networking accounts. This influenced their online communicative practices. As Merriam explains above, upon her movement to the UK, she started using the Arabic script. She further elaborates on this matter:

> *Merriam:* I have always, always used the French and English keyboard until I came here that I discovered I have Arabic keyboard on my phone [laughs], I have always written Arabic in the Roman letters. It's because I came into contact with so many people who speak very good Arabic, and in a way, I try to oblige myself to re-connect with the language, with the formal part of the language not the Algerian dialect because it's different. I am trying to read more in Arabic, instead of reading a book in another language, I didn't use to do this, I never read a book in Arabic or a novel in Arabic, now I am trying to do it more. **[3rd round]**

Merriam's use of the Arabic script was not only to include Arabs on her Facebook friends' list and to accommodate her online contribution to her new and expanding online audience but meeting Arabs from other Arab countries also changed Merriam's views on SA (see section 5.2.3) and triggered her desire to expand her SA's resources. Offline, this was done through reading more in SA. Online, on the other hand, it was manifested through using the Arabic script. Ekram's online linguistic practices have also changed because of her movement to the UK:

> *Ekram:* I think because now I have people who only understand English, because when I was in Algeria, even though my uni friends speak English, but they also understand Arabic because they were Algerians, here I have Friends who don't understand Arabic so I have to add English translation for them. **[3rd round]**

Ekram now takes into consideration the new additions to her online social networking. She includes translation to maximize her audience. Translation practices are an emergent addressivity strategy in Ekram's Facebook timeline and are a result of her movement to the UK. Changes in online communication practices were also evident in Nada's:

> *Nada:* It has to do with my encounters, وليت نعرف بزاف ناس en بالعربي, ولا post تلقاي ال قبايل *surtout* in the comments, *des fois* بصح كي يكومونتيلي عليه واحد قبايلي ولا وحدة قبايلية, *Francaise, or en Anglais,* "thanmirth" مانكتبش "Thank you". كتبلهم **[translation from French and Darija: I started to know so many Berber people, sometimes you will find that I posted in Arabic, or French, or English but when a Berber**

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> ***person comments on that post, I will reply to them and write
> "Thanmirt" I won't write "Thank you"] [3ʳᵈ round]***

Nada met many Berber people in the UK whom she added to her Facebook friend's list. She then began to post and comment more in Berber language. An emergent practice, Nada confirms:

> ***Me:*** *Ok, and did you do this back in Algeria too?*
>
> ***Nada:*** *No,* مش بهاد *intensity, especially not online.* **[translation from Darija: not with that intensity] [3ʳᵈ round]**

Geographical mobility had a significant impact on participants' online communicative practices and in Ilyess's case it resulted in his migration to a totally different social media website. I asked Ilyess for the reason behind using mostly English on his Twitter account and to this he answered:

> ***Ilyess:*** *It has to do with me moving to England and starting a PhD to be specific. I don't think any of my friends back in Algeria have Twitter so it wouldn't make sense to have a Twitter account and have no one on it but now that I am a researcher and I meet researchers in conferences and all and they post their presentations on Twitter and all, it's something that academics do, and me as someone who is becoming one, I need to get on it as well.* **[3ʳᵈ round]**

Ilyess moved from Algeria to the UK and from Facebook to Twitter. Because his Facebook audience is different from his Twitter audience, he is now using more English than Darija to accommodate the platform, its audience and topics.

When participants are online, they are not in a separate world detached from their offline everyday life. Rather, they would be existing in them both, simultaneously. Life events that occur offline, sometimes, can be traced online through communicative practices. This was evident in data that will be presented here where some of the communicative practices of participants on screen were directly linked to what was happening off-screen. Merriam's only post in Turkish is a perfect example:

> ***Merriam:*** حسيت اني فالدولة العثمانية *[laughs]* **[translation from Darija: I felt that I was in the Ottman empire]***, I was watching something Turkish during that time, that's why I said it in Turkish.* **[3ʳᵈ round]**

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Merriam explains that the reason she posted that specific update in Turkish is because she was watching something in Turkish during that time. The online is an extension of the offline and to understand certain practices online, participants had to reflect on what was happening offline. When Nada posted in Italian, three status updates all in the same month, she was learning Italian. In March 2020, an Italian exchange student started frequenting the postgraduate office where Nada usually studies. They became friends, and the two started exchanging Arabic for Italian and vice versa. Nada has always been interested in learning Italian, and the visiting student sparked this again in her:

> ***Nada:*** *I was using it in the office sometimes when I am speaking with [name omitted] because I was learning Italian.* ***[3rd round]***

Similarly, in Table 9 from Ekram's online observation, section 4.3.4 of the previous chapter, we notice an increase in the number of posts in SA during May. This increase can be found to concur with the month of Ramadan during which Ekram's religious and intertextual posts increased as well. During this period, however, Ekram's posts about Covid-19 related issues increased as well. Most of these posts were also in SA. The reason for that will be explained in section 5.4.4 below. Participants' online practices highly relate to their targeted audience and intersect with their offline everyday life. They are also linked to their sociolinguistic backgrounds, attitudes, and perceptions.

5.3.2. Participants' identities and language ideologies

Online, people "write themselves into being" (Boyd, 2006). Participants' online language choices signal their identities. Just like the offline, participants online identify or distance themselves from a group through their communicative practices. Being Algerian and multilingual is something that was reflected in Ekram's status updates:

> ***Ekram:*** *I think it's because- Mhm we Algerians- it's like* in ماتلقايش الكلمة المرادفة لهاديك الكلمة اللي كنتي تحوسي عليها *sometimes standard Arabic **[Translation from Darija: you don't find the synonym of that particular word you are looking for]**, even if you find the word,* ماتقنعكش, ماتوصلش هاداك المعنى اللي نتي *باغياته **[Translation from Darija: you don't feel convinced, it doesn't communicate that message you want]**. **[3rd round]***

Ekram draws on her different linguistic resources to make meaning. To her, this is a reflection of her Algerian identity and a natural act. This natural and cognitive capacity, what Li Wei

(2018: 541) termed "*a translanguaging instinct*", is also reflected through Ilyess's tweets and is part of him being online:

> ***Ilyess:** I don't think I am aware of it when I mix, it's just the way I speak, whatever conveys the meaning, whatever is successful when expressing what I want to say, works for me. **[3rd round]***

Ilyess uses his linguistic repertoires online without much adherence to socially and politically constructed named languages, and so does Merriam. Merriam created a social space of fluid and meaningful communicative acts (Li Wei, 2011) where she can perform her identity:

> ***Merriam:** Because online ماندير ش le trait, مانصفيش [translation from Darija and French: because online, I don't draw the line, I don't filter] while in face-to-face communication, I try to disconnect everything especially if I am speaking to people who don't know me and who are not my friends and stuff like that, so I like to separate and speak in only one language but I am so free and confident online that I let myself be myself. C'est a dire, [translation from French: this means that] I write the ideas as they come, if the first is in French, second in English, third in Arabic, I write them as they are, I don't change them. This is my world, my Facebook, here no body is, except you [laughs], nobody is watching me, so I can be free a little bit and write as I want because I know people will understand me, most of those on my Facebook will. **[3rd round]***

Merriam attributes the act of fluidly using her linguistic repertoires when communicating online to her true and authentic self. Being authentic is as important to Merriam online as it is offline (see section 5.1.4.2). It represents who she is as a speaker. In the online, she created a space where she can freely enact this identity. While offline Merriam feels restricted, to some extent, because she has less control over who she would interact with and how, online she is more in control. This is because in the online, context collapses (Marwick and Boyd, 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2014a). Participants' sense of self online is constructed and represented through their linguistic choices as well as their linguistic ideologies. Some of these ideologies are replicated from the offline. Merriam and Ekram, for instance, hold the same offline beliefs about SA online:

> **Merriam:** *when I post religious posts, I try to write them in Arabic. [3rd round]*

Offline, for Merriam, SA is linked to her religious identity and is a language of Islam and this is reflected online. Ekram as well, explains that SA in the online is associated with formality and its use is usually to address a formal audience:

> **Ekram:** *when I post in standard Arabic, it includes all my other people that I know formally like my teachers, the ones that I don't want to swear at [laughs], so yes. [3rd round]*

At times, however, these language ideologies are contested. While offline, Nada and Ilyess believe that SA is archaic and unusual, online it's different:

> **Nada:** It's also different [referring to Standard Arabic], its characters are different. special. العربية عندها طابع حتى ساعات, اللغات أغنى من اللي عندي par ce que كاين كى نكتب بيها, fiere نحس English people يفهمو واش هي. حتى لو يديروها ف pas même مايقدروش Google translate, capable هاداك مايعطيهمش meaning accurate. ***[translation from Darija and French: Standard Arabic has a special character, one of the richest languages. When I write in it, I feel proud because sometimes I feel that I have English people, friends who will not be able to understand even if they used Google translate. It's possible that it won't give them that accurate meaning.] [3rd round]***

When it's written, SA is no longer unnatural, instead it's a source of pride. Nada finds the written characters of SA unique and its vocabulary rich and diverse, which makes using it online distinctive. Similarly, Ilyess states that the use of SA online is different from the offline:

> **Ilyess:** *it's not the same online, mainly because it's written, if you asked me to record or video something in standard Arabic, it would be way more difficult, if it's written, no one would think, "oh, it's weird, writing in Arabic". [3rd round]*

The use of SA is normalized online for Ilyess and his beliefs about it were negotiated, contested, and adapted to the online. New language ideologies also emerged as a result of new language practices. This is particularly true for Darija. In the online, users have the choice between writing Darija in Arabic or Latin scripts. When Darija is written in Latin script, it is usually mixed with digits to compensate for the sounds that cannot be represented by the

Latin script, i.e., a digit-to-letter transliteration. Whether Darija is written in Latin or Arabic scripts sometimes depends on users' views:

> *Ekram: I don't really like that [referring to using Latin script to write in Darija]; I mean I don't like writing in* كيما نقولو حنا عربية مفرنسة ولا فرنسية *.* معربة *[Translation from Darija: as they say Romanized Arabic or Arabized Roman]*
>
> *Me: You mean you only use Arabic letters to write in Darija?*
>
> *Ekram: Yes*
>
> *Me: Why don't you use the Roman script?*
>
> *Ekram:* تجيني مكسرة *and something else [translation from Darija: I feel it's broken], even reading posts or comments, I only read those which are written in English, French or Arabic, those people who write in* هاديك العربية المكرفصة *[Translation from Darija: that twisted Arabic], I don't read their posts or comments, I just skip them. [3rd round]*

Ekram believes that Darija is a form of Arabic language and therefore should be written in the Arabic script just like SA is written in the Arabic script or French language is written in the Latin script. Writing it in the Latin script is nonsensical and renders it incomprehensible. Ilyess also projects these language ideologies on his use of Darija online:

> *Ilyess: For texting I use sometimes Latin letters but for posting, I think I will be writing more than if I was texting, and it's easier to read if it's written in Arabic letters because actually Darija is Arabic so it makes sense to write it in Arabic letters. [3rd round]*

Ilyess contests his own offline beliefs about Darija when he uses it online. Although he asserted in a previous interview that for him Darija is a language on its own and is not a sub-variety of SA (see section 4.4.2 in previous chapter), this belief is re-negotiated when Darija is written rather than spoken. The use of script to emphasize that SA and Arabic varieties are one language is a common practice among Arabic speakers who "assert that they speak one language (albeit with local variation), while many outsiders speak of multiple Arabic languages. One way that speakers of Arabic dialects reinforce their identification with other Arabic speakers and assert their linguistic unity is by writing with the same script" (Unseth, 2005: 23). Ilyess's practices reflect the complexity and fluidity of language practices and ideologies and also their unpredictability and dependability on an ecology of interaction.

Negotiating these language ideologies is enabled by the online affordances. Because communication online is mainly written, new language practices and beliefs emerged. These affordances extend beyond the use of scripts as we will see below.

5.3.3. The technological and online affordances

The multimodal affordances of the online made participants' meaning-making processes diverse. In the online, users combine the written word with the visual resources to communicate (Barton and Lee, 2013: 18) and participants' status updates and contributions online are shaped by such diverse visual and spatial resources. Merriam uses emojis and the "how I feel" on Facebook to approximate her use of body language and gestures offline:

> **Merriam:** *To communicate exactly how I feel. Sometimes, I use the "how I feel" on Facebook, sometimes I use the emojis, because I really feel that I am talking to people, for me, even if everything is interactive and abstract, I really feel that I am using this tool to talk to people and when I am usually offline when I speak to people, I use gestures, I smile, I scream, I do a lot of things so I try to be me as much as possible on Facebook. Because people can't see me or my face, so I try to personificate these things into emojis and pictures. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Besides being a means of communication, the use of these resources online is also a means to represent the *self,* as Merriam clarified. She is not alone for using them for these specific purposes, Ilyess as well use them to communicate and to distinguish himself:

> **Ilyess:** *They add a tone, they help other to understand better what you want to say, if you are being sarcastic or joking you can indicate that through emojis. It makes it a bit more personal as well. [3ʳᵈ round]*

The pool of choices that is afforded to participants online makes communication more efficient and expressive. They are used as a short-cut by Ekram too:

> **Ekram:** *I think it's because, like the saying goes, a picture worth a thousand words, so I think there is always more message in the picture, and if it's a video it's even more double meaning, you also sometimes want to share how you are feeling about it, like in my last post about my sister, I was very proud of her so I just put feeling proud. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Just like the offline, communication online is a combination of multiple and diverse spatial resources. These resources are constantly being re-assessed and re-evaluated by participants

in interactions. Communication is a two-way process and understanding might be granted through contextual cues even if access to shared linguistic knowledge is limited. Just like Nada was involved in processes of re-scaling language offline (see section 1.4.2), online she also re-scales her linguistic resources in relation to other available spatial resources which renders language less central:

> *Nada:* واش هادو اللغات اللي مايهدروش للناس اللي يانديكيو بزاف اللي حوايج كاين فالفايسبوك
> معناتهم. مثلا ف هاد البوست, اي واحد قادر يفهم من يشوف *context,* مثلا *feeling*
> *lost someone.* ايقدر يفهم بلي *photo,* هادي و *sad* **[translation from Darija:**
> **On Facebook, there are so many things that indicate to people who**
> **do not speak the languages I post in what they mean. For instance, in**
> **that post [referring to the screenshot I sent to her], anyone can**
> **understand from the context, they see "feeling sad" or the photo, they**
> **can understand that I lost someone] [3ʳᵈ round]**

In the online, the ecology of interaction involves the social media channel that a user is active on. These channels differ in their affordances and purposes. Therefore, communicative choices might vary according to the affordances of the social media website itself, its layout and purpose. Ilyess, who is active on Twitter, chooses resources which, in his opinion, are more suited for the purpose and the audience of the website he uses:

> ***Ilyess:*** *Twitter to me is a professional account, many academics use it*
> *as not their personal page but it's their research page. They share their*
> *articles in it, their ideas, if they read something and they post their*
> *reflections on it, I felt it was a professional platform, it's not like*
> *Instagram or Facebook where you share things about you. All of them*
> *were using English so I think I was trying to join the*
> *conversation.* ***[3ʳᵈ round]***

Unlike the other participants, for instance, Ilyess uses hashtags. Hashatgs are used by Ilyess to join the conversation and to be part of an online community. They are also a constituent of his "*mediational repertoire*". A mediational repertoire is constructed and configured through the semiotic and technological resources, and which varies for each social media website (Lexander and Androutsopoulos, 2021: 2):

> *Ilyess: I used it [referring to the hashtag in the screenshot I sent to him] to refer to a specific thing on Twitter, which is PhD chat hashtag as a PhD student, this way it's easier to spot. [3ʳᵈ round]*

The resources available online also contributed to participants' diverse online practices by making their contributions, to a great extent, inherently heterogeneous. This is particularly true for Facebook which affords immediate and automatic translation. Being aware of this option, Nada doesn't feel the need to translate quotes that she posts:

> *Nada: هاديك تاع بزاف مانشتيش I translate the quotes, so a quote in original language نحطها, عربي نكتبو بالعربي, نحب French, in French, نكتبو French, posting مانحبش تاع هديك نبدلها أنايا. تاني كي نعود [translation from Darija: I don't really like translating posts, so a quote in French, I write it in French, in Arabic, I write it in Arabic. I like the original language. I don't like to translate it myself, I just post it] [3ʳᵈ round]*

The use of these affordances, however, is sometimes limited by the digital literacy of participants' audiences. Ekram stated that she provides her own translation in many of her posts rather than relying on the built-in translation that Facebook provides. This is because her family do not know how to use the feature:

> *Ekram: True, now they perhaps could because they have the option of translation available to them by Facebook, so even if they don't speak French, they still might understand it, but my family wouldn't because they don't know how to use this option. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Similarly, Nada's communicative choices online are sometimes guided by the technological means itself. The choice of script when writing in Darija, Nada claims, is dependent on what means she is using:

> *Nada: the reason why I write in Latin or Arabic is the keyboard, the tool, in my pc بصح بالتلفون keyboard نعجز نبدل الـ it's easier to switch. [translation from Darija: in my PC I feel lazy to switch the keyboard but on my phone it's easier to switch.] [3ʳᵈ round]*

Nada' script choices are for convenience, a tendency that was noticed in other studies (e.g., Lee, 2007; Spilioti, 2009). She, however, accommodates her online linguistic practices to meet her audience's digital literacy needs, particularly her father:

Nada: I think I post بصح راح مش يفهم كلش, هو باش بابا يفهمو, قادرة أختي at least but, هاد ح و ال ع, مايفهمهمش كي يكونو مكتوبين بالارقام par ce que تقرالو هادو, نستعمل usually I say this to him face to face, that's probably why I also هاد الكلمات online. *[translation from Darija and French: I think I post so my dad can understand [refers to posting Darija in Arabic script], he will not understand everything but at least my sister can translate to him because he doesn't understand some words when I use numbers instead of letters like /ħ/ and /ʕ/ but usually I say this to him face to face that's probably why I also use these words online] [3rd round]*

Participants' communicative practices are heterogenous and multimodal. The technological and online affordances played a great role in shaping them like that. Affordances which comprise for their mediational and spatial repertoires and their processes of meaning-making.

Conclusion

In this section, I discussed participants' online choices and what governed them. To conclude, participants' online communicative choices were diverse and flexible and are governed by many factors. There is also constant interaction between what happens offline and how it is reflected online and in many instances, there is a leak in communication practices making online/offline boundaries obscure. While the online/offline borders merged, it happened that during my data collection phase, participants' physical movement was restricted due to the global pandemic. Themes in the next section are a result of the outbreak of Covid-19.

5.4. Mobile resources during immobility times

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic significantly changed many aspects in people's everyday life including restricting their mobility and the way they connect and communicate. In the UK, from the 23rd of March 2020 until June the 30th,2020, a first national lockdown took place which meant that people were not supposed to leave their homes unless for limited purposes (shop for essentials and a form of exercise once a day), and they were not allowed to meet any friends and family who are not members of their household. Restaurants, offices, libraries and many other spaces where people used to meet and socialize were closed. As a result of the longitudinal aspect of my research and as this happened during my fieldwork, I was interested

in knowing the implications of this on my participants' lives. Below, I will list some of these implications.

5.4.1. Staying in the UK or going back to Algeria?

The unexpected situation put participants at a crossroads, do they go back home to Algeria or stay in the UK? Once the lockdown took place, everything was put on hold, social activities were canceled, and meetings and studies shifted online. Countries as well started to close their borders and tighten the restrictions. International students were facing the dilemma of whether to go back home or stay in the UK. The decision was to be made after carefully weighing up the pros and cons but also in a very short time. Although, in some instances, it did not really seem like a choice. Ekram particularly felt that she was "stuck" here rather than chose to stay here:

> **Me:** Why did you decide to stay here and not go back to Algeria?
>
> **Ekram:** I did not decide that actually, I was stuck here, I had work to do so I couldn't go home. I had the RD2 to prepare and the interview and all so I could not go home.
>
> **Me:** Ok, do you wish if you were in Algeria though, say you didn't have work, would you prefer if you were there?
>
> **Ekram:** If I didn't have work, yes, I would prefer if I was there with my family. **[3rd round]**

Merriam, on the other hand, stayed because her flight was cancelled:

> **Merriam:** my flight was cancelled, and I couldn't go and for going through the consulate, it was too late to register my name when I knew about it, so for the moment, there is no way to go.
>
> **Me:** Do you wish if you were there?
>
> **Merriam:** Yes, for my family, especially that recently I lost a member of my family, so I wanted to be there. It was my aunt. **[3rd round]**

At times, it was a question of convenience. Ilyess decided not to return home and remain in the UK. He took this decision because it's easier to stay connected and focus on his studies in the UK and due to the mandatory quarantine period, that would make his travel more burdensome:

> **Ilyess:** the main reason is the internet and that I have access to things easier than if I go back, I thought about going home but it was too late,

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being with family is nicer than staying here but in here you get fast internet so you can do your research, you can do so many things, you can have meetings with your supervisors, and wouldn't be a pain just to talk to them [laughs], and also to go home, I need to go to London and then to Algiers, then spend the night there or the fifteen days of quarantine in isolation so no. [3ʳᵈ round]

Nada thought it would be best for her work if she stayed in the UK although she would have preferred it if she went back. She prioritized her studies and work over going back to Algeria:

Nada: One of the main reasons is that I have a schedule and I have work to do, going back to Algeria would have made some delays in my work, that's the main reason.

Me: Do you wish if you went back?

Nada: Yes, if I didn't have any work to do, I would have definitely went back to see my family. [3ʳᵈ round]

Eventually, Nada, Merriam, Ilyess, and Ekram ended up staying in the UK. Whether it was a choice or not, all of them wished if they were closer to their families back in Algeria in such difficult times. This influenced the way they connected with their families and the way they communicate. I briefly highlight the influence as reported by my participants below.

5.4.2. Staying connected during Covid-19

The question at that point was: how did the restricted mobility imposed on participants affected their relationships and networks in the UK and in Algeria? Staying indoors and limiting physical contact with others had implications on how and to whom participants stayed connected during the pandemic. I asked participants who they find themselves connected to more during the lockdown. Was it their friends and families in Algeria or people in the UK?

Nada felt that she was more connected to her family during Covid-19, calling them multiple times a day:

Nada: My father [laughs], I think my family, I started to call them four, five times a day, even my mom told me, "oh, you used to complain when I used to call you all the time, and now you are doing the same," and sometimes I ask them not to call me, it's my mood swing or if I have

*studies but I definitely contact them more than my friends during covid-19. **[3rd round]***

Merriam shares Nada's feelings:

> **Merriam:** *I feel we have been a bit detached [referring to her friends in the UK], it's not the same because we used to meet at the library, in the office, we go out together, have dinner, invite each other but lately we have been detached, each on their own, I don't see them anymore, so in the UK, I think no, I don't feel closer to my friends through Facebook.*
>
> **Me:** *Ok, so, you kind of answered this question but who do you think you are more connected to during this lockdown, UK people, or Algeria people?*
>
> **Merriam:** *People in Algeria. **[3rd round]***

As contact with his friends in the UK decreased, Ilyess increased his contact with his family back in Algeria:

> **Ilyess:** *Yeah, my contact with others had dramatically decreased in the last three months, so I had to find a way to communicate with others, and maintain contacts, you know anything to keep social because it's isolating, especially that I live alone in this house, so I need to reach out and make something out of that. It's more important now.*
>
> **Me:** *So, are you more in contact with your family than usually, I mean before Covid-19?*
>
> **Ilyess:** *I think so yeah, not by very much but usually it was once a week, but during these times, sometimes it's twice a week. **[3rd round]***

Ekram as well thinks that she is more connected to her family:

> **Me:** *Ok, so do you think you are now more connected to your family in Algeria or to your friends here in the UK?*
>
> **Ekram:** *I think to my family. **[3rd round]***

With less face-to-face, in-person interactions with their friends in the UK, participants turned to the online to connect with their families back home. This shift blurred the geographical boundaries and made them feel closer to their families even though they were thousands of miles apart. At the same time, they felt distant from their friends and networks in the UK as Ilyess explains below:

Me: Does keeping contact with your family now makes you feel closer or further away from them?

Ilyess: Closer I would say, as long as they are ok, I feel normal, but if there was something and I couldn't go, then you will feel very far.

Me: And what about your friends here, do you feel the same? Do you feel closer or further away from them?

Ilyess: I feel I am further away from them, everyone adapted to the situation on their own, and everyone went in their separate ways, it feels like I graduated and went to some other country, and everyone are starting their own lives, in Algeria or another part of the world, now it feels a bit like that, we went separate ways. [3ʳᵈ round]

Participants found themselves dwelling in between places. Living in the UK and being increasingly connected to Algeria affected participants' sense of belonging and attachment in different ways. For Ekram, the pandemic sparked concerns about her safety, the safety of her loved ones in Algeria, and the safety of people who lived around her in the UK. Humans' protective instinct to what they call "*home*" and their desire to always dwell in peace and prosperity (Ingold, 2005) is what Ekram reflects below:

Me: Ok since it's a global pandemic, your family are in Algeria and you are here in the UK, who do you think you can relate to more, people in Algeria or here in the UK?

Ekram: I think both. I think I lived long here that I can call it some sort of home and I would care about Algeria definitely, it's my home, but here too, I mean people are dying, you wouldn't wish it for anyone. [3ʳᵈ round]

For Nada, it was a bit different. As she was assured that the safety measurements in the UK were enough to keep people safe, her concerns were more directed towards her family in Algeria:

Me: Ok, and who do you think you can relate to more during this global pandemic? People in Algeria or people in the UK?

Nada: I think فدزاير par ce que ma famille التما. بالي مشغول اكثر على تما مش هنا [translation from Darija: I think in Algeria because my family is there. I think I am more worried about there than here.] Maybe

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> *because here I have more awareness than people in Algeria, maybe also because the restrictions here or the measurement taken to encapsulate the situation are more structured, so I relate more to people in Algeria. [3rd round]*

Merriam, on the other hand, realized that, as the lockdown isolated her and limited her, that "home" is in Algeria:

> *Me: And who do you think you can relate to more, people in Algeria or people in the UK? In terms of this situation? Because your family are in Algeria but you are living here in the UK.*
>
> *Merriam: I relate to Algeria, because I think I understood completely in this lockdown that I have nothing else except studies in here, I am disconnected from everything, I am disconnected from life, from the routine, I am not interested in doing anything else except working, talking to my family, cooking, working out and sleeping. I really understood that I am only here for studies, but this lockdown took the library from me, took the office from me, so what am I here for? Nothing [laughs]. [3rd round]*

The lockdown, the restricted mobility and changes in participants' everyday life including how they stayed connected and to whom had significant impact on participants' networks and sense of belonging. Participants experienced the lockdown differently; therefore, the outcomes were different. Each one of them subjectively constructed place and negotiated *home's* boundaries depending on what *home* means to them. The lockdown also had an impact on how they used language.

5.4.3. Language during a global pandemic

Being increasingly connected online and increasingly disconnected offline changed the way participants used language. Online, participants were connected to their families and to a lesser degree to their supervisors and university friends. Offline, they were connected to their housemates or neighbors and very few close-by friends. This affected participants' use of language in different ways. Because this section is about participants' offline language use, I will focus on that leaving the impact of the pandemic on the online language use to the last part of this chapter.

On the one hand, Merriam and Ekram noticed a change in their English language use. Merriam commented on that saying:

> **Merriam:** *I find myself using zero English [laughs], I just use it when I write emails and when I am working, and in meetings with my supervisors, that's it, even when I talk to my friend, I use half Arabic, half English, but not proper English. The way I used to use English without Corona is so different. I am afraid to lose my English very soon [laughs]* **[3ʳᵈ round]**

Less contact with people offline meant less English use not only to Merriam but also to Ekram:

> **Ekram:** *These days I think I use less English; I think the only English I am using is with my flat mate.* **[3ʳᵈ round]**

Contrary to Merriam and Ekram, Ilyess thinks he started using more English. Differences in the ways the lockdown affected participants' language use is due to the people they chose to be around and as their support bubble. According to Gov.uk website, a support bubble is "where a household with one adult joins with another household (on an exclusive basis). Households within a bubble can still visit each other, stay overnight, and visit public places together" (GOV.UK, 2020).

> **Ilyess:** *I am not sure but maybe more English, not excessively but- so my three friends that I told you about [referring to his friends from his support bubble], two of them are Algerians and [name omitted] is British, and we meet very often now, and I use English most of the time, this is why the increase because I am hanging out more with an English person.* **[3rd round]**

The effect of the lockdown on language use, however, was not as clear to all participants as it was to Ekram, Merriam and Ilyess. Nada did not notice any change in how she used language.

> **Nada:** *I did not really notice to be honest; I mean I didn't pay attention to what language I am using. I think it was still the same, because I always code switch with my friends Arabic with English. I think there is no difference between before the covid and during the covid.* **[3ʳᵈ round]**

The online blurred the boundaries between the online and the offline worlds making it possible to stay connected to friends regardless of geographical distance, and in the case of Nada in a similar manner to that of the offline.

5.4.4. Online communicative practices during a global pandemic

In section 5.4.2, Nada stated that during the national lockdown that took place in March, she became more connected to her family, especially her dad, with whom she uses mostly Darija. The content of her contributions changed a bit to give advice and share her opinions about the global disease and so did her communicative practices online. Being worried about her family in Algeria and connecting to them more due to the pandemic interacted with how Nada uses her communicative resources online. When the lockdown started and during the first two to three months, Nada's contributions in SA and Darija increased, below she explains why:

> *Nada: Papa* اونجلي مايفهمش *so*لانو أختي, يفهمهم باش بالعربي عفايس نحط
> *les* أكثر من أي انسان خلاف لأنو *family members*تاني ماتفهمش اونجلي مليح, يعني
> *amis* و هنا كامل *entourage'*تاعي كامل تقريبا يفهمو اونجلي. *Par*
> *contre* الناس الكبار اللي عندي فالفايسبوك و الناس اللي في دزاير *capable* مايفهموش
> الفرونسي ولا الاونجلي *so*بالعربية نحط *[translation from Darija and French: I*
> *post things in Arabic so my father understands them because he*
> *doesn't speak English, my sister too so this means I consider my family*
> *members more than anyone else because almost all my friends are*
> *here and almost all my entourage understands English. On the*
> *contrary, old people I have on Facebook and people in Algeria might*
> *not understand French and English so I post in Arabic] [3rd round]*

Covid-19 also took Merriam back to the time when her use of English was limited:

> *Merriam: I think I am using less English, more Arabic and more French,*
> *it's like the sort of language I am using online during this confinement*
> *is the same sort of language I used to use in Algeria before coming to*
> *the UK.*
> *Me: Why?*
> *Merriam: because I am disconnected from the fact that I am in the UK,*
> *I don't meet English people, like my teachers, I don't go to the library, I*
> *don't get in touch with a lot of people, I don't go out so often, I use*

> *English, when I speak to some specific people online, like my supervisors. That's it. It's equal to how I used to use it in Algeria because I only used to use English at university and with my teachers and that's it and the same is happening now. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Merriam's communicative practices online, not only travelled in place but also back in time as she started using less English. The offline reality of her restricted physical mobility which had an impact on how she used her linguistic resources, was not limited to the offline but extended online. Despite the fact that her online audience stayed the same and that it was her offline audience that was affected by the global pandemic. Merriam projected the effects of the lockdown on her use of her communicative resources online. Similarly, Ekram started using her communicative resources online differently during the pandemic. Throughout April and May, during the initial surge in coronavirus cases both in the UK and Algeria, Ekram's posts in English decreased and her contributions in SA escalated. Her communicative choices align with changes in the content of her contributions:

> *Ekram: So, if I am talking about Covid-19, I don't have that many people here to warn, the people that I know here are already warned [laughs] because they are all PhD students, so I would use Arabic because I want people at home to be more aware. [3ʳᵈ round]*

The outbreak of coronavirus affected Ekram's online communicative practices like it did with Nada and Merriam. The effect was evident in their language choices as well as the content of the posts (posts were increasingly related to Covid-19 pandemic). Between March 2020 and April 2020, the first month of the lockdown, Ekram updated 31 posts that are Covid-19 related, Merriam, 16, and Nada 21. They shared news, advice, warnings, and even memes. In his Twitter, Ilyess did not post anything related to the pandemic, however, the effect could also be traced in Ilyess's use of the online, in a different way. Just like Ilyess switched to another social media website upon his arrival to the UK, he reported to me, that during the pandemic, he started to use Instagram.

> *Ilyess: I am using this mini blog on Instagram, I am using it for a while, I would write in English in it because the audience are from all over the world, in Arabic, it wouldn't really make sense. [3ʳᵈ round]*

Due to lack of consent of access to his Instagram account, I was unable to observe Ilyess's communicative practices. It is, however, evident that offline everyday events interacted with

his use of the online. Lockdown led Ilyess to explore new social media websites. The continuum of online/offline was very visible during the Covid-19 pandemic. Participants' restricted mobility due to safety regulations had an impact on to whom and how participants stayed connected, and this resulted in changing their offline communicative practices and was reflected in the online.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the implications of mobility for participants' communicative practices. Findings shed light on the diversity of the processes of repertoires' mobilization across different contexts, times, and spaces. Participants' repertoires are emergent and are shaped by their life experiences. They also transcend human and include diverse semiotic resources. Participants negotiated and reconstructed their repertoires alongside their identities and language ideologies upon their arrival in the UK. They engaged in processes of scaling and envoicing through their use of their repertoires. Their reflexivity enabled them to come to terms with the diversity and fluidity of their practices and communicative repertoires. This negotiation was not evident only offline as it often interacted with their everyday online life. Even at times of crisis, participants continued the negotiation of their communicative practices reflecting the on-going, continuous, and emergent process of communicative repertoires' construction. Having thoroughly discussed the findings in the previous two chapters, an in-depth discussion of them will be presented in the following chapter.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The first part of this chapter provides a discussion of the main findings presented in chapters four and five in relation to the research questions and the literature cited throughout the thesis. It looks at the findings from a macro scale level to draw on a holistic understanding of them. The main aim of this study is to understand the mobility of communicative resources of four Algerian PhD students across time and space. Data was generated using in-depth interviews and online observations to answer the following research questions:

1. How does the mobility of Algerian PhD students influence the emergence and use of their communicative repertoires in online and offline settings?

2. How can the study of the interplay between online and offline everyday interaction expand our current understanding of language in contexts of mobility and contact?

The findings presented in chapters four and five will be further synthesized in this chapter to gain insights into the dynamics of participants' communicative resources and to answer the above research questions under the following headings:

1. Moving communicative repertoires,

2. the online/offline nexus and,

3. a contribution to the sociolinguistics of mobility and resources

Overall, the first part engages in in-depth discussions and interpretations of the findings and states the core contribution of the study in hand and how it elaborates on previous studies and theories in the field. Therefore, when applicable, links to previous studies and literature will be established, and references to participants' answers will be mentioned. In the second part, I will turn to the implications of my research, its limitations, and conclude with some final remarks reflecting on my own PhD journey of conducting this project.

6.1. Fluid communicative repertoires: the case of four Algerian PhD students in the UK

"We live in a world shaped by flux" (Kirby, 2009: 1). A modern world characterized by the compression of time-space and an astounding development in communication and transportation (Cresswell, 2006: 20). A world where mobility is central to the experiences of humans. This study focuses on the changes brought along by the mobility to individuals and its implications for their communicative resources. In this section of the chapter, I summarise the outcomes of geographical and temporal mobility on the communicative practices of Nada,

Ekram, Merriam, and Ilyess. I then explore how these outcomes fit within the broader and more general body of literature.

6.1.1. Mapping mobility's effects on the communicative repertoires of participants

From the data analysis, we see how the movement of participants was not simply a movement from one geographical space and time frame to another, it was a continuation and an enactment of their biographical trajectories and lived experiences. The impact of mobility on their encounters, hence, their communicative resources happened in myriad ways and took many forms as the previous chapters demonstrate. Overall, however, these effects of mobility, as narrated by them, can be understood as an on-going process of three stages, *construction*, *deconstruction*, and *reconstruction*. Below, I present a model, informed by the analysed data and the literature, of how my participants mobilize their communicative practices in space and time.

6.1.1.1. Constructing communicative repertoires, identities, and ideologies

This initial stage goes all the way back to Algeria before the arrival of participants to the UK. From their early childhood and teenage years, participants were constructing beliefs about, and ways of, using the communicative resources available to them which they would encounter in their daily lives. The construction of these beliefs was dependent on their environment and their individual lived experiences; therefore, we can trace similarities as well as differences in them across participants. For instance, because of their different upbringings, Nada and Ekram, who both had Berber origins and had more encounters with Berber during their childhood, included Berber resources in their repertoires while Merriam and Ilyess did not (see the language portraits in chapter 4). On the other hand, they all internalized a "monolithic view" about English (Hall, 2012). To them English was either "American" or "British" and by exhibiting certain features from one of these varieties in their speech, they can affiliate with speakers of American or British English. This was perpetuated through their education and their exposure to the media. In their journeys of learning English, participants constructed language ideologies about what being a successful communicator of English entails, language ideologies that are dominant in the Algerian society (Rampton and Holmes, 2019). To them, speaking "correct", "standard", and "formal" English would guarantee academic success and communication. In the same way, they built beliefs and practices about all their other resources.

Throughout their lives, participants constructed and accumulated repertoires of resources. These resources entered their repertoires at different points of time and different places, and because of different events such as their mobility. Therefore, closely related to the construction of their communicative repertoires is the construction of their language ideologies and perceptions of their identities. Ilyess, Nada, Merriam, and Ekram had different beliefs about the resources they use in their daily interactions and what the use of these resources would say about them. Resources, ideologies, and identities were being shaped and re-shaped by the life events of participants, the people they met, and the places they visited. They formed part of their sociolinguistic trajectories (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Busch, 2012; Blommaert and Backus, 2013), which made them diverse and flexible. The diversity and inclusivity of participants' communicative repertoires and their linguistic ideologies were evident in the plurality of resources they reported on using in their social interactions such as body language and gestures. They were also apparent in their communicative practices on social media.

This process of constructing repertoires, as explained above, fits with the definition of repertoires by Blommaert and Backus (2011) as "indexical biographies". They are the result of years of the accumulation of resources in contexts of biographical circumstances, what Blommaert (2018: 6) calls "*chronotopic contexts*". These characteristics of repertoires as defined by the two scholars make them also *chronotopic,* following Bakhtin (1981) who defines chronotopes as spaciotemporal configurations. Chronotopic communicative repertoires are not only the aggregate of all meaning-making resources that individuals assemble in specific places and times but are also the identities, social roles, and ideologies, that they index (Blommaert and Backus, 2013: 28; Rymes, 2014; Blackledge and Cresse, 2017:35). As such, the repertoires of individuals are sensors to their life experiences such as their mobility, which makes this process a life-long process. In contexts of mobility, when constructed chronotopic repertoires of two or more people come into contact, a de-construction process might take place before re-constructing them again. Below, I explain this second stage in more detail.

6.1.1.2. Deconstructing communicative repertoires, identities, and ideologies

Deconstruction is the liminal rite of passage that participants went through upon their arrival to the UK. According to Turner (1967), in liminality, individuals are "betwixt and between", a middle phase participants passed through where they stood in-between spaces, times,

values, attitudes, and beliefs of home and host countries. From the data analysis in chapters four and five, we see that this was the stage when a shift in participants' practices, beliefs, and identities started to occur. Particularly in situations where they were confronted by new beliefs and practices that conflicted their existing ones. For example, we see in section 5.1.2 in chapter 5 that after moving to the UK, participants came to the realization that English is more diverse than they thought, new language ideologies started emerging (Rampton and Holmes, 2019). With this realization, participants went through unsettling moments when they questioned their use of English against what they were taught and how different people use it. In such moments when the gap between participants' constructed repertoires and the new repertoires were most visible, they started deconstructing myths about English (see Badwan, 2020) and re-negotiating its use.

During deconstruction, participants re-evaluate their meaning-making resources, what beliefs they hold about them, and how they might represent them, which make them prone to inequalities (Blommaert, 2010). However, this also makes this liminal space full of potentialities. While standing at a threshold, participants had the chance to explore different paths and opportunities for either change or persistence. This phase of transition was referred to as *boundary crossing* by Akkerman and Bakker (2011). From its start to end, people at this phase might go through four stages (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011: 142-147), which can be traced in the data for this study. First, *identification,* this is when various realities are observed, and differences are identified. After that, *coordination* in which participants, through a dialogic engagement, reconcile these differences. They then would proceed to reflect on them and re-evaluate their own practices and beliefs against them, this is what Akkerman and Bakker (2011) called *reflection*. Finally, *transformation,* a process of change by which new, in-between practices might emerge. At this last stage, participants would start re-constructing their practices, ideologies, and identities. I will further elaborate on this in the next section.

6.1.1.3. Re-constructing communicative repertoires, ideologies, and identities.
In those particular interactional moments, when participants de-constructed their previously constructed communicative repertoires, ideologies, and identities, they started re-constructing them. By reconstruction I mean the *chronotopic synchronization* of participants' repertoires and histories (Blommaert, 2015, 2016, 2018). This means that particular social interactions in the UK invoked in participants certain histories and lived experiences such as

their experiences of learning and constructing the English resources. While deconstructing these practices and beliefs, they were also synchronising them drawing on chronotopes of normalcy (Blommaert, 2017). In other words, chronotopic synchronization entails the re-evaluation and transformation of one's communicative repertoires in specific spatiotemporal configurations. It is a process of change whereby new communicative repertoires might occur. The process is context-specific; therefore, it can take any direction and can occur through adapting new repertoires or resisting them. For instance, participants synchronized their repertoires through expanding on them by adding English resources that they observed and identified as *normal* language use during deconstruction (see section 5.1.3 in chapter 5). Later, as their experiences of mobility continued to unfold, synchronization involved processes of *scaling* (see Canagarajah and De Costa, 2016; Gal, 2016) (see section 5.1.4 in chapter 5). The participants re-oriented the vector (Blommaert, 2018) because they started being more agentive and authoritative in the use of their repertoires, synchronizing their identities and language ideologies alongside their communicative practices. Reconstruction, therefore, is a process always in progress.

Because reconstruction is on-going, we see that the constructed communicative repertoires of participants are deconstructed and reconstructed again when they went back to Algeria. For instance, the changes in the Darija resources of Nada and Ilyess due to their mobility (see section 5.2.2 in chapter 5) became constructions that were deconstructed when confronted in interactions and again reconstructed. The everlasting imprint of mobility on the communicative repertoires of participants can also be traced in their online practices and repertoires. From the data, we see that the chronotopic synchronization online happens because of the diversification of their targeted audience. I will elaborate on that in the next section. This process of reconstruction allows for evolution through constant re-evaluation of one's repertoires during social interactions, through "*chronotopization*" (Karimzad, 2020). A notion that refers to how "perceptions of normative behaviour are dynamically constructed and organized in relation to times, spaces, and types of people involved in the interaction" (Karimzad, 2020: 108). Therefore, re-construction can be a re-occurrent event in everyday interactions. Mobility, however, can contribute to triggering it and highlighting it because mobility "captures the gist of people's progression in time and space" (Theodoropoulou, 2015: 65). The above is a brief portrayal of mobility's effects on participants in this study, which is illustrated below:
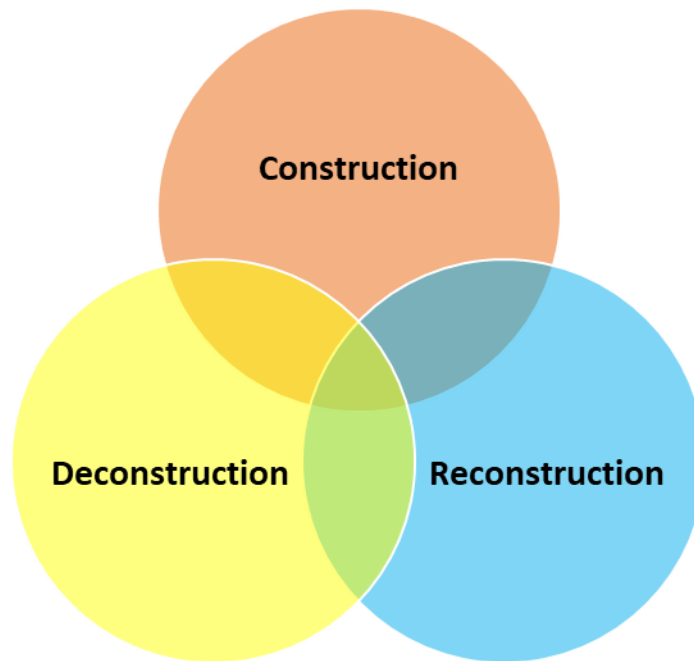
Figure 92: An illustrative diagram of mobility's effects on participants of the study

The figure above captures the iterative processes of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction interwoven throughout the lives of participants. The Venn diagram illustrates how these processes intersect in moments of interactions and blurs boundaries between them. This means that in interactions, these processes do not occur separately rather simultaneously, and with no clear-cut boundaries between them. It also highlights the dynamic, ever- changing, and evolving nature of the constructed/reconstructed communicative repertoires of individuals. These repertoires are moulded and shaped in relation to the lived experiences and trajectories of people (Blommaert and Backus, 2013; Blommaert and Rampton, 2016). By taking one major and transformative event in the lives of participants, and taking a narrative, biographical approach to studying it, it was possible to apprehend how their repertoires evolved in time and space. This evolution took place in particular chronotopic moments during social interactions where participants lived experiences of language and their histories met with other different experiences and histories. The circular model is also to emphasize the non-linear, on-going nature of these processes through which repertoires develop and unfold (Blommaert and Backus, 2013: 16) fuelled by certain events like mobility.

6.2. The online/offline nexus

On the one hand, mobility, defined as the physical movement of people, is not a new phenomenon, its scale and diversity, on the other hand, have been altered by the new technological developments (Urry, 2007: 195). In modern-day mobility, the online serves mobile individuals in maintaining contact with their countries of origin and fostering their enlarged networks in their host countries. This contributes to networked, complex, fluid, unpredictable, and diverse experiences of movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; 2016a; Phipps, 2013; Badwan and Simpson, 2019; Jaspers and Madsen, 2019). The online in present times has become so incorporated in people's everyday lives that boundaries between it and the offline are often blurred, mostly because people fluidly move between the two resulting in them to often converge and overlap (Seargeant et al., 2012; Cohen, 2015; Lyons and Ounoughi, 2020; Tagg and Lyons, 2021). In the lives of mobile individuals, not only boundaries between the online and offline are blurred but geographical borders are frequently crossed and (re)shaped, making people, in a sense, in-between spaces, both here and there (Deumert, 2014: 10), in the physical world and in the virtual world, also in their host countries and in their countries of origin. Likewise, the online was part of the lives of participants in this study long before moving to the UK and upon their mobility the use of it continued, in nuanced and transformative ways, however. In this section, I will explore the role that the online played in participants' geographical mobility and how mobility's effects on their offline communicative repertoires can be traced online.

The online shaped Nada's, Ekram's, Ilyess's, and Merriam's experiences of mobility and their relationships to "space". In the UK, participants used social media to maintain social ties with their geographically dispersed family and friends. This enabled a virtual co-presence which gave them a sense of proximity even though in the physical world they were miles apart (Lyons et al., 2021: 4; Deumert, 2014). Within their geographical mobility, participants were also virtually mobile resulting in the creation of a transnational social space (Lam, 2009). Thinking of space as social, the concept of the geographical, territorial place dissolves into social relations (Faist, 2009: 79) through time-space compression (Harvey, 1999; 2014). This makes "place" more dynamic and fluid, and borders flexible (Faist, 2009: 71). In my study, participants, as social actors, not only crossed borders but reshaped space through the on-going flow of their communicative resources even at times of their physical immobility (for instance in section 5.4.2, chapter 5, participants re-negotiated the meaning of "home"). We

see how although participants, to varying degrees, maintained their social networks during their geographical (im)mobility, they (re)negotiated the social capital of these networks throughout time (Bourdieu, 1996). For instance, in section 5.4.2 chapter 5, participants invested more time in connecting with their families and less time in staying connected with their friends. The networks of participants shifted, changed, grew, or shrank as they moved in space and time. Some networks were maintained, lost, and new ones emerged depending on how much participants invested in these networks. In the virtual world, this was evident in how through the use of the sum of their communicative resources, participants transformed and reshaped borders and boundaries, repeatedly. For instance, while they increasingly used their English resources at times to foster their new social networks in the UK (See online observation, chapter 4 and section 5.3.1 chapter 5), at other times, they increased the use of their Arabic resources (Darija and/or SA) to revitalize links with their old social networks (section 5.4.4 chapter 5).

In line with previous studies, this research also shows that the way participants invested in their social networks and used their communicative resources online can only be fully understood in relation to their offline realities (e.g., Seargeant et al., 2012; Androutsopoulos, 2014a; Pennycook and Dovchin, 2017, Tagg and Lyons, 2021). The use of the online for them was a set of embodied practices embedded in their wider social and physical world. Their communicative practices online can be linked to specific places, events, and times such as their geographical mobility and extended social networks, Covid-19 pandemic, the holy month of Ramadan and so on. They were also the result of their constructed/reconstructed offline and online identities and ideologies over times and spaces (see section 5.3.2 chapter 5). In that sense, participants' online communicative practices were *chronotopic*. In every post, they invoked time-space (re)configurations, which were relevant to the communicative contexts they were shaping. Inspired by scholars such as Agha (2007) and Blommaert (2015, 2017), Tagg and Lyons (2019) introduced the concept of *mobile chronotopes* to describe how in their online practices, mobile individuals "draw on different aspects of their communicative contexts, including their biographies, histories, beliefs and values, as well as the physical spaces in which they are located and their spatio-temporal understandings of the world" (Tagg and Lyons, 2019: 5). In the study of mobile communicative resources, the understanding of participants' communicative practices as chronotopic, networked, and holistic rendered the distinction between online and offline less relevant. The

focus is on constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed (see section 6.1. above) communicative repertoires, which are deployed in a multitude of contexts.

6.3. A contribution to a sociolinguistics of mobility and resources

"Change is the only constant."

Heraclitus

For about two decades now, the field of sociolinguistics has been revolutionized by changes in the conceptualizations of language, place, and the relationship between the two in the light of the current characteristics of modern society such as globalization (e.g., Rampton, 2006; Blommaert, 2010; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Coupland, 2011; Pennycook, 2012; Canagarajah, 2017). Intense geographical mobility coupled with the increased use of mobile communication technologies led to changes in the discourse of fixity, rigidity, and homogeneity around language and place to one of fluidity, flexibility, and heterogeneity (Canagarajah, 2017). The new paradigm of sociolinguistics problematizes notions like named languages, monolingualism, bi/multilingualism, and code-switching (Blommaert, 2013: 8). It acknowledges the diversity of communicative repertoires beyond established and imaginary boundaries, the agency of individuals in challenging these boundaries and voicing their identities and beliefs, and also the unpredictability of the sociolinguistic phenomena as it travels across time and space. My research expanded the knowledge on this body of literature by examining the (re)construction of the communicative repertoires of individuals, particularly in contexts of mobility, by taking a biographical approach to the study of repertoires and by looking at online and offline communicative practices as intertwined and related. In this section, I will explain in detail what my study adds to the new emerging paradigm of the sociolinguistics of mobility.

"You have to know the past to understand the present."

Carl Sagan (1980)

In order to understand what happened when my participants moved from Algeria to the UK in terms of their communicative practices, an important question needed to be addressed first which is: what communicative repertoires did they bring with them to the new place they now inhabit? Throughout their lives, participants accumulated indexical meaning-making resources. These resources are traces and trajectories of unique experiences and moments in life (Blommaert and Backus, 2013). In my study, I tried to gain insight into participants' worlds and histories through biographical accounts of their experiences with language, namely

through the language portraits and the narratives that accompanied them. A biographical approach offered a holistic view on the communicative repertoires of participants, through which the macro (socio-political, economic, and cultural background) and the micro (the context, the communicative resource, the interactants) levels of sociolinguistics were linked (Busch, 2006). It captured their fluidity, inclusivity, evolution through time and space, and how they reveal (re)constructed aspects of identity and beliefs about one's repertoires.

In a study that takes fluidity, unpredictability, and diversity as standing points when looking at the effects of mobility on the communicative practices of people, a biographical approach provides an insider perception of repertoires as interpreted and experienced by subjects themselves rather than as traditionally, socially, and politically defined and prescribed. It allows for their voices to be heard, especially in contexts of mobility where moving places might challenge one's constructed knowledge, beliefs, and their positioning in the society. While linking the past to the present and keeping an eye on the future, communicative repertoires were understood as a continuum rather than a set of discrete entities. A continuum of practices arising in social interactions in chronotopic contexts. This aligns with the emergent paradigm of the sociolinguistics of mobility and resources. Coffey (2020: 308) suggests that a biographical approach might bridge the gap between these new theoretical underpinnings and workable, comprehensible, and coherent forms of knowledge that account for individuals' histories. In a modern world characterized by constant change, liquidity, and uncertainty (Bauman, 2013), "the time seems to be right for a fresh methodological turn towards the study of individuals, a turn to biography," (Rustin, 2000: 34). Despite this, there is still some resistance of the biographical approach by some researchers and a poor grasp of it by others (Kich and Martins, 2019). This study contributes to this growing area of research on which, in my opinion, the surface has only just been scratched.

"We no longer enter the Internet – we carry it with us."

Silva and Sheller (2014: 4)

We live in an era where our online and offline social lives are fused into one complex context of interactions. A characterization of a globalized state of the world where the online became so integrated in our offline life and vice versa, that it is now almost impossible to separate the two. This is what is sometimes referred to as a post-digital era where "we are increasingly no longer in a world where digital technology and media is separate, virtual, 'other' to a 'natural' human and social life" (Jandrić et al., 2018: 393). In sociolinguistic research, this means that

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efforts need to be made towards studies of communication practices which look at both the online and offline (Dovchin and Pennycook, 2017: 221). This is to ensure a complete and holistic understanding of meaning-making processes in a postmodern, globalized world. While there is still a need for more scholarly research which considers the interaction between online and offline communication (Blommaert, 2016:255), we are now witnessing, Blommaert (2019b: 486) states:

> *a shift from a scholarly universe almost entirely dominated by theoretical and methodological preferences for offline spoken discourse in fixed and clearly definable time-space, sociocultural and interpersonal contexts and identities, to one in which the world of communication is – at the most basic level – seen as an online-offline nexus in which much of what we assumed to be natural, primordial and common sense about language-in-society needs to be revised, rethought and redeveloped.*

My research suggests a strong link between participants' offline realities (e.g., their language trajectories, their geographical mobility, their immobility during Covid-19 crisis) and their online practices, and in many instances the online was an extension to what was happening offline and vice versa (see for instance section 5.4.4 chapter 5). From data analysis, it was clear that participants live their lives in an online-offline nexus where the lines between the two are barely visible (Blommaert, 2019). In that sense, whether online or offline, communication practices are better understood in terms of the chronotopic contexts where they occur, and how they are constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed throughout participants' lives. From this perspective, instead of focusing on the differences between online and offline communication, which often promote a mis-conceptualized divide between the two, looking at them from a post-humanist perspective, following Pennycook (2017), and as governed by an ecology of interaction, following Badwan and Simpson (2019), repertoires are spatial and distributed. This study, therefore, taps into an under-explored area of research by engaging with recent post-human approaches to sociolinguistics (Pennycook,2017; Canagarajah, 2017) and contributes to its body of literature. In the following section, I will explore the implications of these contributions on the wider academic and social domains.

6.4. Implications of the study

Based on the contributions cited above, the current study has significant implications, particularly for academic and social justice research, and also for pedagogy. First, it offers a theoretical and a methodological lens in the model presented in section 6.1 of this chapter,

through which we can look at mobile communicative repertoires. This model enables researchers to consider the life trajectories and life histories of individuals and to account for the diversity of resources accumulated throughout a person's life. It also helps them broaden their analytical frame through a more detailed view which looks at the identities and language ideologies of people besides their communicative resources. It responds to calls in the field for adopting a flat ontology and spatial orientation –the non-hierarchal focus that goes beyond the individual and expand to the spatiotemporal resources- for data collection and data analysis (Pennycook, 2017; Canagarajah, 2017; Badwan and Simpson, 2019). It is a step towards moving away from priori conceptualizations of language towards a more inclusive and holistic conceptualization which embraces its fluidity and unpredictability. Moreover, the biographical approach embedded within this model also focuses on individuals and acknowledges their own interpretations of the world and their struggles, which brings me to the second implication of this study.

In the world today, the political and social discourse about language is often an exclusive one. Ideologies of purism (Blommaert, 1999), the one-nation-one-language ideology, the standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2004), the territorial principle (Piller, 2016), and others are widely spread and accepted as the norm even in super-diverse societies like the UK. These ideologies promote homogeneity, monolingualism, and monoculturalism as ideal and as the norm. They bound specific linguistic varieties to specific spaces (Badwan, 2021a), which give rise to sentiments of ethnolinguistic nationalism (Cameron, 2013) and consider certain varieties as standard, correct, formal, and belonging while excluding and oppressing others. Moreover, because of the widespread and acceptance of these ideologies as the norm, instances of linguistic hostility and discrimination persist and may go unnoticed. When the diversity, fluidity, and inclusivity of language is not reflected, the latter is used as a means to shape and maintain social inequalities (Heller and McElhinny, 2017). Hence, the need for research that engages with social justice in applied linguistics, and which focuses on the fluidity and diversity of language.

With linguistic diversity comes stratification and hierarchization and this, in turn, brings debates about linguistic justice to the fore (Phillipson, 2012; Piller, 2016; Pennycook, 2018). "Linguistic justice is about broadening our linguistic imagination to acknowledge that everyone has the right to be heard and to be listened to" (Piller, 2016:162). Research is one way to hear the voices of those who might be touched and affected by the world changes and

linguistic inequalities. My research is a contribution to such debate and a contribution to change the discourse of exclusion most present in the political nationalist discourse spread around the world. A discourse that often causes conflict and oppression to linguistic minorities. I endorse Badwan's (2021a: 169) aspirations for an inclusive world through scholarly research because "the world today is desperate for scholars committed to social justice" and believe that through reversing the discourse to one of inclusion, and through research, like this one, that aims to raise awareness about the fluidity of the linguistic phenomenon, instances of linguistic injustices in the world can be reduced.

Findings of the study might also have pedagogical implications and are beneficial to researchers interested in the teaching of foreign languages. This study offers an alternative expanded understanding of "competence" in second/foreign language acquisition, as recommended by Canagarajah (2017), by emphasizing that language is only one among other communicative resources. In the race of developing theories and models to enable learners to reach "native-like" linguistic competence, the main objective behind learning a language and communicating, which is making meaning by whatever means available, was lost. When this is taken into consideration, teaching a second/foreign language will start by an appreciation of what learners bring with them to the classroom and will be built from their already existing linguistic and spatial repertoires rather than starting from scratch. This is what Pennycook and Otsuji (2018) referred to as "the translingual advantage", through which the communicative resources of learners become an integral part of their learning development and communicative practices in the classroom. This defies reductionist approaches to education and notions of "language purism" and "language discreteness" that are the legacies of colonial policies.

Findings of this research then feeds into on-going calls for "de-colonising" language pedagogy (Phipps, 2019). An approach to language education that challenges normative practices and assumptions about language. An approach which is concerned with deconstructing existing hierarchies that were formed and maintained through former colonial policies, which often do not do justice to the diverse communicative repertoires of individuals. This research is a step towards challenging the hegemonic colonial policies that disadvantage speakers of certain varieties and languages. Such policies still exist today within language pedagogy and permeate educational spaces, particularly universities. Lanvers et al (2021) notices that spaces like universities in Anglophone countries, particularly, are

monolingual and do not reflect the linguistic diversity and fluidity of learners' communicative repertoires. As such, by raising plurilingual and translingual awareness among educators and students within the educational sector, the pedagogical implication will be normalizing fluid and diverse communicative practices in teaching and learning interactions in higher education and inside the classroom.

6.5. Limitations and directions for future research

Despite the insightful data and findings this project yielded, there are still some limitations which prompt for directions for future research. One of the limitations is the lack of offline observation. Immersing oneself in the field of study by systematic offline observation would have offered more understanding of the day-to-day communicative practices of participants and the use of their technological devices as they connect to their social networking sites. In other words, to gain a better vision of their use of their communicative resources in their natural and open environments and to what extent the online is integrated in their everyday lives. Moreover, how they fluidly move across sites and establish social presence in the spaces they occupy through their communicative repertoires. Besides that, while I only examined the online practices of participants through looking at their posts, examining their comments on their own posts or others might have as well provided useful data on how participants interact with their online audience. Posts were an interesting area of study. As Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 25) argue, even what may seem as monologic forms of communicative practices is actually interactional. Posts constitute a form of interaction in themselves because they are shared with an audience and reveal moments of decision-making regarding language choice and audience design (see Lee, 2011). However, an analysis which extends to the comments might provide a deeper understanding of online interactivity through which participants would (re)construct their communicative repertoires. Another limitation is the focus of the current study on academic sojourners. Although findings of the study drew attention to some interesting effects of mobility on communicative practices and resulted in the development of a model which may be relevant to other contexts of mobility, examining different types of mobile individuals, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and migrant children, may point out some different processes of repertoires' (re)construction. These limitations give room to the original contribution of this research to develop further, as I will explain next.

A promising area for development is classroom environments. This is because the classroom environment plays a major role in the construction of communicative repertoires.

This was evident in my participants' narratives, but I also have a closer experience with this from my work with children at schools. During my PhD course, I worked as a research assistant on an EU funded project on the education of migrant children. The aim of the MiCreate project was "to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting a child-centred approach to migrant children integration on educational and policy level" and to provide "a comprehensive examination of contemporary integration processes of migrant children in order to empower them" (MiCreate, 2019). Although the focus of the project was not on language alone per se, from my observation, classrooms were spaces where children from not only different cultural, social, and religious backgrounds, but also various linguistic histories and trajectories would meet and interact. Regardless of their migration history, observing these children's construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of communicative practices over a long period of time and across a variety of spaces, including the online, and taking a biographical approach which centralizes the voices of children would be an interesting line of inquiry for similar projects in the future. This is to follow and trace the different strategies of (re)construction that individuals acquire and develop from a young age and throughout the course of their lives to communicate their resources, identities, and language ideologies, and to acknowledge their agency even in highly structural environments such as the educational institutions.

6.6. Final remarks

This PhD thesis has been life transforming. As a result of it, I gained in-depth knowledge about my field of study. I learnt about the tenets of scientific research. I encountered many people throughout it, in conferences, workshops, and courses, whom insights were not only a great addition to my thesis but changed my perspective and often provided me with a fresh outlook. It was as well a process of ups and downs. There were instances when I struggled to find my own academic voice as I was sinking in reading and writing about others' voices. Instances of hesitation, whether I was making the right or wrong decision. Moments of uncertainty, especially during the global pandemic when it was not clear to me what direction my project would take. As I grappled with its peaks and troughs; however, I became more resilient and confident. While doing my research, I also learnt to listen carefully to the stories and voices of people and to keep an open mind while doing so. The diversity and multiplicity of my participants' experiences were eye opening and led me to re-consider concepts that I previously took for granted, such as "Algerian", "multilingual", and "mobility". I embraced the

complexity of these concepts and tried to reflect it in my study. Finally, I hope that this research would contribute to our understanding of the intricate process of communication in a modern world aspiring for inclusion and social justice.

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Appendix 1: Ethical approval letter

Project Title: The effects of Mobility on Algerian students' language ideologies and practices

EthOS Reference Number: 8977

Ethical Opinion

Dear Hadjer Taibi,

The above application was reviewed by the Arts and Humanities Research Ethics and Governance Committee and, on the 16/07/2019, was given a favourable ethical opinion. The approval is in place until 01/10/2022 .

Conditions of favourable ethical opinion

Application Documents

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Consent Form	Hadjer Taibi Consent Form	30/05/2019	v1.3.0
Project Proposal	Hadjer Taibi Research proposal	30/05/2019	v1.3.0
Information Sheet	Hadjer Taibi-Participant Information Sheet	10/07/2019	v1.3.0

The Arts and Humanities Research Ethics and Governance Committee favourable ethical opinion is granted with the following conditions

Adherence to Manchester Metropolitan University's Policies and procedures

This ethical approval is conditional on adherence to Manchester Metropolitan University's Policies, Procedures, guidance and Standard Operating procedures. These can be found on the Manchester Metropolitan University Research Ethics and Governance webpages.

Amendments

If you wish to make a change to this approved application, you will be required to submit an amendment. Please visit the Manchester Metropolitan University Research Ethics and Governance webpages or contact your Faculty research officer for advice around how to do this.

We wish you every success with your project.

Art and Humanities Research Ethics and Governance Committee

Page 1 of 1

Manchester Metropolitan University

Title of the research

The effects of Mobility on Algerian students' language ideologies and practices

Invitation to research

You are invited to take part in this research project. My name is Hadjer Taibi. I am a Ph.D. student at Manchester Metropolitan University at the department of Languages, Linguistics and TESOL. My research project looks at mobile individuals in the context of globalization, particularly, how their language ideologies and practices are affected when they move across place. Please read this information sheet for more information about the project. Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the research?

This research is a Ph. D project and aims to investigate the effects of mobility on language ideologies and practices in a globalized world. It further aims to explore how mobile individuals' online and offline language practices interact. This research builds on previous research addressing issues surrounding communication, mobility and globalization and is designed to address existing gaps and add to the existing literature.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because as a mobile individual who has travelled/ has been travelling between Algeria and the UK, you will have knowledge about how language ideologies differ from one place to another and you also have been experiencing and noting how such differences affect one's own language ideologies and practices.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is voluntary and it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. You are able to withdraw at any point during the research process and you are not obliged to justify your withdrawal. You are also able to decline to respond to questions prompts at any point in the interview.

What do I have to do?

You will be asked to attend a series of interviews, three in total, one each two months, which I estimate will take between one hour and half to two hours. The interviews will mainly revolve around your language ideologies, and practices, and how they are affected by mobility. For the aim of this study you will also be asked to be added on my Facebook friends' list. This is to observe your online language practices through your posts and comments and interactions to other' posts/comments. For analysis, I will need to take screenshots of your posts/comments and your reactions to other posts/comments. If you take part in this research, any information you provide will be treated with complete confidentiality. The interviews will be audio recorded, however, all the information provided will be completely anonymised. No participant in this research will be identifiable nor traceable after the publication or presentation of the findings. Data will be only processed using a computer that is equipped with all the data security measures.

Are there any risks if I participate?

The study will cause no physical or psychological harm to participants. The discomfort or stress participants may experience will be the same experienced as in everyday life.

Are there any advantages if I participate?

There are no direct advantages for participants in this research. However, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the field of sociolinguistics and bring us a step closer to accepting linguistic diversity as the norm and achieving social justice.

What will happen to data I provide?

When you agree to participate in this research, we will collect from you personally-identifiable information. The Manchester Metropolitan University ('the University') is the Data Controller in respect of this research and any personal data that you provide as a research participant. The University is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO), and manages personal data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the University's Data Protection Policy. We collect personal data as part of this research (such as name, telephone numbers or age). As a public authority acting in the public interest we rely upon the 'public task' lawful basis. When we collect special category data (such as medical information or ethnicity) we rely upon the research and archiving purposes in the public interest lawful basis. Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the

information about you that we have already obtained. We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties. If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.**

We will only retain your personal data for as long as is necessary to achieve the research purpose. For further information about use of your personal data and your data protection rights please see the [University's Data Protection Pages](#).

What will happen to the results of the study?

Results of the research will be published, however, you will not be identified. The results will not carry any traceable details of you. After publication, the research will be available to all participants.

Who had reviewed this research?

This research is reviewed by: Dr. Khawla Badwan. Dr. Cemi Belkacemi. Dr. John Bellamy. It is also reviewed by Research Ethics and Governance Managers.

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

Hadjer Taibi, Hadjer.taibi@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Dr. Khawla Badwan,113 Geoffrey Manton Building, Manchester Campus, UK. [Tel:+44(0)1612476299](#) . Email: k.badwan@mmu.ac.uk

Professor Susan Baines – Faculty Head of Research Ethics and Governance, Email: s.baines@mmu.ac.uk

Katherine Walthall - Research Group Officer, [Tel:+44(0)1612476673](#) , Email: artsandhumanitiesethics@mmu.ac.uk

What should I do now?

You can take a period of a week to think about whether to take part or not. If you have any inquiries or require any further explanation during this week, please send your inquiry to the email below. If you do wish to take part, please send your decision to the email below. I will

then contact you to arrange a time for the interview and forward a consent form for you to sign. If you decide not to take part, you are not required to do anything.

If you have any concerns regarding the personal data collected from you, our Data Protection Officer can be contacted using the legal@mmu.ac.uk e-mail address, by calling 0161 247 3331 or in writing to: Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, All Saints Building, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6BH. You also have a right to lodge a complaint in respect of the processing of your personal data with the Information Commissioner's Office as the supervisory authority. Please see: https://ico.org.uk/global/contact-us/

Contact for further information

If you have any further questions then please feel free to contact

Hadjer.taibi@stu.mmu.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering taking part.

Manchester Metropolitan University

CONSENT FORM

Title of the project: The effects of Mobility on Algerian students' language ideologies and practices

Name of the researcher: Hadjer Taibi

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 30.05.2019 (version v1.3.0) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any consequences for me. ☐

3. I have been informed that the interviews will be audio recorded and I give my consent for this recording to be made. ☐

4. I give permission to the researcher to add me on her Facebook, to use and take screenshots of data from my Facebook (this includes posts and/or comments that I have reacted too). ☐

5.   I understand that all information I provide will be treated as confidential and   will   be anonymised. ☐

6.   I agree to the use of anonymised direct quotes from my interviews, my Facebook profile in publications and presentations arising from the study. ☐

7.   I   agree   to   take   part   in   the   above study. ☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 4: First interview guide

Participants' profiles

1. Can you introduce yourself please?

2. Where are you from in Algeria?

   -ethnicity

3. How would you describe your social class when you were in Algeria?

4. Do you feel this has changed after coming to the UK?

5. Can you tell me a bit about your hometown?

6. Why did you come to the UK?

7. Since when you have been in the UK?

8. How long you have been in Manchester?

9. How would you describe Manchester?

10. Do you miss home? What do you miss about it the most?

11. Can you tell me a bit about your experience in transitioning to a new country.

12. What things changed when you moved here?

Geographies of mobilities

1. When in Algeria, have you ever been to cities other than your hometown? (ask about educational transition)

2. Did you notice any difference between the way people speak in your hometown and the other cities?

3. Have you ever been to countries other than the UK?

4. Other cities in the UK?

5. Did you notice any difference between the way people speak in Manchester and the other cities?

Language Trajectory (the language portrait)

1. You can talk to me through it, while you are doing it.

2. Talk to me through your history of language.

3. What were your ways of speaking as a child?

4. Did it change when you entered school?

5. How did you feel about French when you first started learning it?

6. Did French's value change when you came here?

7. When do you use it at all?

8. What about English?

9. Have you ever struggled with English?

10. How did you speak as a teenager?

11. Can you express yourself in Standard Arabic?

12. How does this make you feel about it?

13. Do you use social media websites?

14. Which site do you use most?

15. Why?

Appendix 5: Second interview guide

Mobility's implication for language practices

1. Can we go through the tasks that I sent to you?

Implications for language ideologies

1. What do you think of the status of these languages in Algeria?

English, French, Berber, standard Arabic, Darija

2. How does it make you feel when you hear each of these languages in Algeria?

3. Which ones do you use in Algeria?

4. How do you think people in Algeria perceive you when you use them?

5. How does it make you feel hearing them in Manchester?

6. Which ones do you use in Manchester?

7. How do you think people in Manchester perceive you when you use them?

Virtual Communication (setting the scene for next round of interviews)

1. Since when you started using Facebook?

2. How many friends do you have on Facebook?

3. Do you know them all in real life?

4. What of the languages and communication strategies listed in the tasks you use online?

5. In what contexts?

Appendix 6: Third interview guide

The online During a pandemic

1. Why did you stay in the UK?

2. Do you wish if you went back to Algeria? Why?

3. Who do you communicate with these days (online and offline)? How do you use language in your daily life? Do you find yourself using less/more English repertoires these days?

4. How do you keep contact with your family in Algeria? Your friends here in the UK?

5. Does keeping contact to your friends and family in Algeria through the online make it easier for you to live through this pandemic? Do you feel they are closer to you this way or further?

6. What about your friends here in the UK?

7. Who do you think you are more connected to during this lockdown? People in Algeria or people here in the UK? (who the UK people are (uni friends? Neighbours? Etc. What language do you use when you communicate with them?). Why?

8. Who do you think you can relate to more? People in Algeria? Or people in the UK?

9. Do you feel you are using your Facebook more or less during confinement?

10. What do you mostly use it for?

11. Is it helping you go through your daily life? If yes, how?

12. How would this experience of confinement and social distancing differ if there was no online?

13. How do you use language online these days? Are there any particular changes in your linguistic use these days?

Chronotopic translanguaging

1. Do you use Google Translate during your everyday encounters? How? Why?

2. Which places in Manchester you find yourself obliged to speak only English?

3. Are there any particular places in Manchester where you feel you can use any languages or dialect freely?

4. Do you feel safer speaking English only if you happen to be outside at night?

5. What about during the day? Do you use more varied linguistic repertoires?

Mobility's effects on online language practices

1. Do you think the way you use language with people offline differs from the online?

2. If yes, how?

3. What languages, dialects or varieties do you use most on Facebook? Why?

4. Has it always been the case?

5. If no, what changed? And why?

6. If at all, how do you think moving to Manchester from Algeria affected your use of language online?

7. In our last interview, we listed the languages, dialects, and communication strategies you use when offline whether in Algeria or in Manchester? Can we go through them again and tell me which you use online?

Mobility's effects on online language ideologies

1. What governs the linguistic choices you make on social media? (I.e. if you want to post something or comment on something what do you consider in terms of language)

2. Has this always been the case?

3. In our last interview, I asked you to describe the languages, dialects, and communication strategies you use when they are used in Algeria, then in Manchester? Can we go through them again and describe them but now I want you to describe them in the context of the online, before and after you came to Manchester?

Samples from the participant's online profile? (Nada)

1. I noticed while I was observing your Facebook profile that most of your posts are in [language x]? Why? Has it always been the case?

2. You also post a lot in [language y]? Why?

3. And [language z]?

4. Has it always been like this?

5. You also sometimes use Darija, why? Why do you write Darija sometimes with Arabic letters and other times in Latin letters?

6. In many cases you also use more than one language or linguistic variety in the same post, like this one (show her some examples of this kind of posts), why do you do that? Did you use to do that back in Algeria?

7. In our last interview, you told me that you activated your Berber language when you came to the UK and I noticed that you posted few times in Berber in the last 4 months (show her an example from her posts), do you recall any instances of doing this before coming to the UK, i.e., instances of posting in Berber online?

8. I also noticed that you use a lot of emojis, photos and videos in your posts besides written texts, why?

Appendix 7: An example of the pre-tasks for the second round of the interviews (Nada)

Hello [name of participant], I hope that you are doing well and staying safe. As a result of the novel Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic, our interview will now be conducted online (you may choose the platform that most suits you). Can you please complete the following tasks prior to our next interview and send it to me? If you wanted to add any comments or questions please do, you can highlight those so it would be easier for me to spot them.

1. In our last interview, we spoke about your history of mobility across different cities and countries, we also talked about the different languages, dialects and varieties you use to communicate with different people in different contexts. In this second interview, let's focus more on the latter and try to explore it in more details. Below is a list of all the language varieties and communication strategies that you mentioned you use/used in our first interview. Can you please take a look at it first and decide whether it's accurate or not? Please feel free to add or omit any as you see fit. Later please answer the questions.

- **English**
- **French**
- **Arabic (standard)**
- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**
- **Dialect of west of Algeria**
- **[hometown dialect]**
- **Italian**
- **Turkish**
- **Berber**
- **Tunisian**
- **Egyptian**
- **Syrian**
- **Body language**
- **Google translate**
- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

A.   Now I want you to go back in time before coming to the UK, you are in Algeria. In what contexts you would use each of these varieties and strategies? (think of the where, when, with whom, about what). Write down the contexts next to the language variety.

- **English**
- **French**
- **Arabic (standard)**
- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**
- **Dialect of west of Algeria**
- **[Hometown dialect]**
- **Italian**
- **Turkish**
- **Berber**
- **Tunisian**
- **Egyptian**
- **Syrian**
- **Body language**
- **Google translate**
- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

B.   You are now in Manchester; in what contexts you would use them?

- **English**
- **French**
- **Arabic (standard)**
- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**
- **Dialect of west of Algeria**
- **[Hometown dialect]**
- **Italian**
- **Turkish**

- **Berber**
- **Tunisian**
- **Egyptian**
- **Syrian**
- **Body language**
- **Google translate**
- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

C.   Back to Algeria, but now you are visiting after you started studying in Manchester, how would your use of them differ?
- **English**
- **French**
- **Arabic (standard)**
- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**
- **Dialect of west of Algeria**
- **[Hometown dialect]**
- **Italian**
- **Turkish**
- **Berber**
- **Tunisian**
- **Egyptian**
- **Syrian**
- **Body language**
- **Google translate**
- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

2. For the last task, I want you to think of one, two, or more adjectives to describe each of these languages, dialects, and communication strategies when they are used in Algeria (either by you or by someone else)?
- **English**

- **French**

- **Arabic (standard)**

- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**

- **Dialect of west of Algeria**

- **[Hometown dialect]**

- **Italian**

- **Turkish**

- **Berber**

- **Tunisian**

- **Egyptian**

- **Syrian**

- **Body language**

- **Google translate**

- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

Now can you think of adjectives to describe them when they are used in Manchester?

- **English**

- **French**

- **Arabic (standard)**

- **Dialect of centre of Algeria**

- **Dialect of west of Algeria**

- **[Hometown dialect]**

- **Italian**

- **Turkish**

- **Berber**

- **Tunisian**

- **Egyptian**

- **Syrian**

- **Body language**

- **Google translate**

- **Confirm with the person to make sure they understood what I am saying**

Thank you so much for your time, [name of participant]. After you send me this, I will later contact to arrange and interview. Take care and stay safe.

Search

X9

DCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCc AaBbCcC AaB AaBbCcD AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBl

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Styles

1. **Using English in the UK**

1.1. (re)negotiating English language use

Ekram:

Excerpt 1:

the language I learned at high school and middle school and even university was more of academic language, grammar and all these things, and even the language I learnt from TV, from films and series, it was more like American **[interview 1]**

Nada:

Excerpt 1:

I used to use more American accent, but since my arrival in here, I switched to the use of the British terminologies and accent, well actually my English was a mixture of British accent, American accent and terminologies, and that's of course due to the lecturers I had in Algeria, I was not aware of the difference. **[interview 1]**

Merriam:

Excerpt 1:

Because we have the American accent in Algeria, I came with the fascination of "oh British accent!", you know, movies and Brontë, Victorian age, especially that I am doing literature, I am fascinated with this culture, I wanted to acquire the British accent. **[interview 1]**

1.2. Expanded English repertoires

Ekram:

Excerpt 1:

Because the environment has changed, so, when I came here, there were so many words that I used to pronounce wrong. And then when I heard how people pronounce them, I just corrected them, I picked them up. I don't know, it's like I re-learned English. **[interview 1]**

Nada:

Excerpt 1:

I started to say [weə(r)] instead of [wer], [bʌʔ] instead of [bʌt], you know [laughs]. **[interview 1]**

AaBbCcDc AaBbCcDc AaBbCc AaBbCcD AaB AaBbCcD AaBbCcDc AaBbCcD AaBbCcD AaBbCcD AaBbCcD AaB

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Styles

2. **The use of various semiotic resources**

Ilyess

Excerpt 1:

This didn't happen in a long time [referring to the use of google translate]. I used to do a lot especially in the office. One of my colleagues there, I find that he uses very literary English sometimes, in the beginning I used to interrupt him whenever he speaks, and just asks him, "oh what that word means?", with time, I just thought, ok let's not be obnoxious, so as he speaks to me, I am typing that word. **[interview 3]**

Nada:

Excerpt 1:

Sometimes I just go to google translate, I just translate from French or Arabic then show them the thing in English.

3. **SA in the UK**

Ekram:

Excerpt 1:

In Manchester, I would speak Standard Arabic to other Arabs. It's because they don't understand our Arabic dialects. I mean, because our dialect is a mixture of French and Arabic and all that, so wouldn't understand it. Otherwise, I would speak Arabic.

4. **Language + Identity**

Ilyess

Excerpt 1:

I used to consider myself as an Arab, but ever since I set foot in here and started meeting other Arabs from the middle east, I started to realize how different I am from them. With time I started to consider myself more as North African, but not an Arab because I see that we don't share a lot of things, our culture, food, how we dress even how we talk, when I talk to them, I am talking about people from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, etc., they have to make an effort to understand me which sometimes they don't, and I have to switch to Standard

1. Merriam's posts

Figure 33: translation from SA

When we confront those who are different from us in race, religion or culture, we are afraid of confrontation, that we will be judged to be racists or extremists. We are afraid of discussion, so we smile and remain silent. It is one of the finest means of escape or what is called peaceful coexistence or accepting the other or any lie we want to convince ourselves. But when we face someone who resembles us who does not differ from us in anything, when we face someone who resembles us in everything but chooses to have a different opinion or a different philosophy in life or only a person who says the truth as it is or a person who adheres to a culture or religious teachings, or an educational one, here our way of confrontation differs, we attack, protest, shout, no discussion, the smile evaporates, peaceful coexistence leaves, respect dies, criticism sweetens, we master cursing, master racism, and we love hypocrisy. Yes, we prefer the other to the self, and we don't wish good to our brothers. Unfortunately, we have let you down, O Messenger of God. Unfortunately, we practice Islam and do not know how to apply it. Unfortunately, all gone with the wind.

Figure 34: translation from SA

She was beautiful, my companion from childhood, elegant and beautiful. May God have mercy on her and forgive her and be kind to her.

Figure 35: translation from SA

There is no God save thee, Be Thou glorified! I have been wrong-doer

Figure 36: translation from SA

Self-sufficiency and inner peace must be among your priorities.

Figure 37: translation from SA

What is the news about the fires in [hometown]?

Allah blesse

Praise be to Allah anyway and may Allah help us

Figure 38: translation from French

In memory of my 2 uncles, my aunt, my cousin, and the parents of my dear friends who left us too early because of this disease. And a lot of strength and love to all who are fighting against this disease every day. You will forever live in my heart. It's not just Covid... unfortunately. I have some very personal reasons for this "post" and I'm sad of course. In the most difficult moments of life, we realize who our true friends are or the people who really appreciate us. Unfortunately, some friends click "Like" but don't read to the end because it takes a while to read it and when they see it's a bit long, they take a step back. I decided to share this message of support for a very special person who fought, fights and continues to fight, who teaches us to live each day as if it were the best day of life! Now I'm looking at those who have time to read this post to the end... (I think I'll find out). Cancer is very invasive and harmful, even after treatment is finished, the body is still struggling to restore the damage caused by radiation/chemo. It is a very long process. Please, in honor of a family member, or a friend who has died, or even for those who continue to fight cancer, copy and paste (without sharing) this text on your page. Then I'll know who's reading it. Please write "done" so we can see the power of unity together! To everyone who has lost someone, or is in the battle with cancer, hugs to each and every one of them and their families.

Figure 39: translation from French

A very instructive trip today.

Figure 40: translation from French

Oh my god, the world is going crazy

Figure 41: translation from French

Italians are well-dressed Arabs who know how to cook

Figure 42: translation from Darija

I want to live in the Algeria represented on TV

Figure 43: translation from Darija

Look! They gave birth

Figure 44: translation from Darija

Do you remember this time?

Figure 45: translation from Darija

And we want God to save us from this disease

Figure 46: translation from Egyptian

Leave him, he is still young

Figure 47: translation from Syrian

My relationship with concentration was really good but we couldn't keep it going

Figure 48: translation from Turkish

Happy Ramadan

Figure 49: translation from Darija and SA

All medical staff, be cautious please. Don't make me worry about you, I am far from you, please

Figure 50: translation from Darija and SA

I was looking at some Algerian pages making fun of other's traditions, food and clothing and I was literally disgusted about the way how we love hurting each other even if we are sharing same language, religion, culture and so many other common things. So fed up with Algerian hypocrisy and arrogance. Fake pride and so many prejudice about each other. Honestly, I will never understand what's so funny about or what's the kind of joy people have in making fun of other people's way of living, eating, wearing in a certain manner, or what's so funny about how people used to dress in 1990s for example or why people love certain colors instead of others, or why some people prepare the same dish in a different way. I will never understand the arrogance Algerian people have with each other for literally basic stupid things that won't add anything to the true meaning of life and humanity. Very disappointing. Let's raise above a little.

Figure 51: translation from French and SA

Magnificent, Masha 'Allah. More success if God's will

2. Nada's posts
Figure 57: translation from SA

Post on the left:

I will soon open a library

Post on the right:

Far from my usual habit of writing my thoughts (even if today I wrote a lot in my diary), today I have done a lot of thinking about my life and how it has changed during the past nine years. The thing that I liked is the change of man and his nature over time, and thus I started questioning life: What will you change next? I started looking at myself in the mirror. There is a slight change in my facial features. I looked into the depths of my soul and there was the smoking gun. I grew up quickly despite the few experiences I went through. I became a mature woman (as far as I know) despite my childish behavior at times. I learned a lot of things, especially after that spoiled girl who used to live inside me left, that girl with rosy dreams who at one time was very calm and very isolated from people. That girl, the one who used to live only in her world and doesn't care about anything else. I'm looking for her now, but I don't see her, I only see some or a few of her. I traveled not only to study, but I am in the process of building myself and building my future. I didn't know that I was excellent regarding some matters until I started making decisions about them. There were some wrong decisions, but they were useful simply because I learned from my mistakes, and I still learn and do not care about more mistakes in order to be able to gain immunity and strength against the coming shocks. This experience made me meet many people, special people in my life. Also, there were some people who taught me how to be strict, not to say that they were bad, because I do not like prior nor subsequent judgments about people, but it is worth saying that I learned some lessons from them. Regardless of all of this, I believe that every person who enters or leaves my life is for a reason that God Almighty knows. Either they teach me a lesson, or I teach them the lesson. But the bottom line is that I treat everyone who enters my life with integrity and goodwill from me. I treat everyone with kindness, praise be to God, everyone bears witness to this characteristic of me, and I hope that the Creator will love me and endear

his creation to me and here I remember the value of morals and principles that were planted in us and the virtue of my family and my teachers over me.

Figure 58: translation from French

Post on the left:

That's' why I want an Algerian

Post on the right:

Well today's conclusion is: one must not run after two hares at the same time

Figure 59: translation from French

Say what you want that insults my honor because my silence will be the answer to the petty. I do not miss an answer but: it is not appropriate for lions to answer dogs!

Figure 60: translation from Darija

You see him as healthy as a rooster and going to the hospital saying he has a stomachache. Stay at your home please.

Figure 61: translation from Darija

People of the past said: It's my business but it's people minding it.

Figure 62: translation from Italian

Post on the left:

I hate greedy people, they only think about themselves

Post on the right:

Everything will be fine

Post in the bottom:

To be or not to be, it's your choice

Figure 63: translation from Berber

If you stay patient, God will figure it out for you.

Figure 64: translation from Darija and English

"Oh world, alas!" (Lyrics from a famous Algerian song) I am singing this out loud now

Figure 65: translation from Darija and English

I miss my childhood, I was naughty

Figure 66: translation from Darija and English

Fox that I see every single day, I feel like I am living in action safari

Figure 67: translation from Darija and French

Thank you my little Kechrouda, I love you my little sister. When I come if God's will, I will wear it and won't take it off. I miss you and mom and dad

3. Ekram's posts
Figure 70: translation from SA

Marriage is an educational system, not a struggle between two rivals and guardianship is a mandate before being it an honor

Figure 71: translation from SA

Post of the left:

The level of education in Algeria is on its way to the abyss, and therefore the state as a whole will be a thing of the past because the future of the nation depends on the quality of education that future generations receives. I remember I was studying at university when I used to see all types of cheating, I would almost pass out, and now when I see the level of education, I feel sorry for my brothers who are still stuck in this system and secondly to everyone, I mean the rising generation as a whole who will not have the opportunity to learn or dream of a promising future and they are not guilty of anything except being born in such circumstances. Allah is sufficient for us! Most excellent is He in whom we trust! Glory to God.

Post of the right:

Today I spoke with my roommate [name omitted] about the subject of prophets and whether they are infallible. [name omitted] surprised me by saying that our prophet David had committed adultery with someone's wife and she had become pregnant by him (God forgive

me). And when I indicated that this is impossible because the prophets are people chosen by God, she replied that they are human beings and also sin, citing that Adam ate from the tree, and this is a mistake. Now while I was eating my breakfast, I could not stop thinking about it, especially since I know that our prophet Mosses had killed a soul, but God pardoned him after he repented. So, are the apostles and prophets infallible? Join me in the discussion, may Allah reward you

Figure 72: translation from SA

Prayer of day 14th:

Oh Allah! Don't blame me for the stumbling blocks. And save me from sins and omissions in them. And don't make me a target for calamities and pests. By your honor and the honor of Muslims.

Figure 73: translation from SA

Eid Mubarak my dears. May with each year, you will be closer to God. Distances may be long, but you are always in the heart

Figure 78: translation from Darija

Oh God! When will my studies be over? I am tired

Figure 79: translation from Darija

What did they say in Saudi Arabic? Will Eid be tomorrow? I am even confused about the direction of Qiblah in this country

Figure 80: translation from French

July

Figure 81: translation from SA

First Hijabi muslim judge woman in England. Mash'Allah

Figure 87: translation from SA and Darija

After the lockdown Insha'Allah, we will see all types of obesity

Figure 88: translation from SA and Darija

Peace be upon you people:

I have a question that's keeping me up at night. I know you will say what's going on with this girl, she is going crazy or apostatizing, I am still Muslim, praise be to God but curiosity is eating me alive. The question is as follows: we know that Christianity as a religion is distorted but how can they have successful exorcism. Meaning that the spirits even in movies for instance, we see an upside-down crucifix and spirits fear the holy water. Knowing that even in Islam, there exists healing invocations. Those who know, enlighten us please.