

Code-switching and Emerging Identities in an Academic Driven Social Media Class Group

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Abstract

Research on code-switching particularly in academic contexts scrutinize the relation between code-switching and learner identity in sites where English is the language of wider population. Moreover, the focus is largely on emerging language learner identities in classroom-based communication. The aspiration of this study is to give precedence to the identity-related aspects of code-switching as they emerge in Turkish university students' interactions in a language class group page in social media where English functions as the language of academic study. The article reports on findings attained from a qualitative research, English-mediated communication with a post-structural orientation to identity construction where English language learners negotiate multiple identities utilizing various discursive practices and multi-modal resources in digital spaces. A close analysis of code-switching in the corpus of social media interaction highlights that there are multifold functions of code-switching and enable users to make different aspects of their multiple identities more or less salient.

Keywords: social media, digital literacy, negotiation, code-switching, multiple identities

1. Introduction

Post-modern globalization and technological advancement have tremendously changed the way people interact with others in a wide span of contexts ranging from business and academia to other kinds of everyday social encounters. Today, we are witnessing a consequent multilingual turn to the exploration of human contact both in real and virtual spaces where interlocutors bring along their multiple lingua-cultural resources to the borderless realms of language interaction. In this context, code-switching, which is conventionally understood as “the alternative use by bilinguals (or multilinguals) of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Muysken, 1995, p. 7), or “within the same utterance” (Bullock and Toribio, 2009, p. 2) is regarded as a complex interactional resource triggering identity-sensitive discussions.

Code-switching can play a role in making apparent individual's identities and the communities they belong to. Wei (2011, p.374) frames code-switching as “not simply a combination and mixture of two languages but creative strategies by the language user”. Over the past several decades, studies on code-switching have focused on its spoken context (Cashman, 2005; Ellwood, 2008; Armour, 2009; Liebsche & Dailey-O’Cain, 2005), but few on its written context (Smedley, 2006; van Gas, 2008). This paper, thus, intends to shed light on identity related functions of code-switching phenomenon in Facebook, a sort of electronic writing which has its unique genre aspects utilizing features of both spoken and written discourse. The paper initially addresses to the complex relation between identity and language use to offer insight to the role of code-switching in communication and explores the phenomenon in the particular context of language education. The theoretical strand established is then used as a base for the discussion of the findings attained from the qualitative research on identity-sensitive aspects of code-switching in students' Facebook interactions. Lastly, the paper discusses the overall findings.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Identity and Language

The concept of identity is complex and its study draws upon multidisciplinary research which addresses to its dynamic nature involving many interweaving elements varying across time and place (Norton, 1997; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Merchant, 2005; Parkinson & Crouch, 2011). Thus, it is not possible to understand identity

without a simultaneous understanding of the linguistic, social, cultural, historical processes from which identities emerge. While recognizing the impact of macro processes in identity construction and enactment, the agentive role of individuals who constantly adopt various discursive positions in the flow of talk (Ivanic, 1998; Stroud & Wee, 2005; Varghese, et al., 2005; Menard-Warwick, 2005) should also be addressed. The understanding of identity as a complex and multi-faceted concept also underpins identity research in terms of language learner identity in second/foreign language education. Adhering to the post-structural view, additional language learning is seen as a site for identity construction (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2008; Block, 2007), where “learning a language or taking on new literacies in a particular social context has consequences for the identities of its users” (Menard-Warwick, 2005, p. 254). From the standpoint of poststructuralism, identity is something that is constructed and reconstructed in the flow of interactions of the social life, rather than something that one carries with him or herself. Earlier research on language learner identity focused mostly on countries where English is mainly the means of communication in daily life and the studies were largely about immigrants' experiences studying English (McKay and Wong, 1996; Boshier, 1997; Miller, 2000; Norton, 2000). The identity of language learners offers a projection to how they understand their relation to the English-mediated socio-cultural contexts, how that relation is developed through time and space, and how learners understand their reflections for the past and the future (Norton, 2000, p.5). Becoming an English language user entails aspirations, feelings, and emotions and offers a vision of future possible identities that can be acknowledged by means of English. The theoretical construct of “imagined communities” (Norton, 1997; 2000) is helpful in understanding the process of additional language learning as a site for identity construction. In this sense, Norton (2010) pinpoints that;

(...) learners can feel a sense of community with people they have not yet met, including future relationships that exist only in a learner's imagination. We suggest that these imagined communities are no less real than those where learners have daily engagement and might even have a stronger effect on their current actions and investments (p.3).

Another concept “investment” is useful to understand the projections of language learners to the future when we try to understand their desire to learn a new language. Norton (2013, p.3) notes that “if learners “invest” in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital”. This conception is different from the traditional view of motivation.

An important topic of discussion in the literature on second/foreign/additional language learner identity revolves around its discursive aspects, thus how identity is reflected and constituted in spoken and written discourse. Along with many other identity-sensitive elements of discourse, code-switching is a widely scrutinized topic to attain a deeper understanding of its role in foregrounding identity construction. The goal of the following section is to uncover the basic theoretical definitions of code-switching from different standpoints to problematize its realization especially in L2 mediated contexts where the target language is not the language of the majority.

2.2 *Code-switching and Identity*

Along with code-switching a myriad of terms for defining the concept of alternation between two or more languages exist in literature; to cite a few, borrowing (Muysken, 1995), language switching (Blum-Kulka & Levenston, 1983), codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011), code mixing (Muysken, 2000; Wei, 2005; Romaine, 1995) and translanguaging (Garcia, 2013). Some of the conceptual distinctions between these terms are structural in essence with particular emphasis on syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on code-switching while others are more interactional in essence, focusing on function and/or emerging meanings in the instances of language alternation in communication. A third perspective involves a sociolinguistic turn to the exploration of how code-switching functions in bilingual communities. Scholars who pursue structural differences in their conceptualization of code-switching ground their theories and definitions on usage-based variations. For instance, Muysken (1995) defines borrowing as a kind of intra-sentential code-switching. Another scholar Brice (2000, p.20) differentiates “two kinds of language alternations, that is, intersentential (code switching) and intrasentential alternations (code mixing)”. The interactional approach, on the other hand, is more concerned with what personal and/or sociocultural motives encourage its emergence in ongoing interaction. Myers-Scotton (1993) offers an expanded conceptualization of code-switching which emphasizes instances of shifts between languages, dialects, styles and registers. The understanding of languages as separate linguistic systems was challenged by various scholars (Garcia, 2009; Shohamy, 2006; Williams, 1996) who claim translanguaging to be a more comprehensive term than code-switching in defining the essence of bilingual and also multilingual repertoire of language users as an integrated system. As Otheguy, García and Reid (2015, p.281) put it, translanguaging defines languages as “social, not linguistic, objects”. While paying tribute to all these terminology-based discrepancies, code-switching can be adapted as a general concept for addressing the

phenomenon of alternating between multiple languages in communication. In this frame, code-switching has synergized further research on the relationship between language choice and identity (Bailey, 2002; Nino-Murcia & Rothman, 2008) from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Sociolinguistic studies on code-switching were initially centralized in bilingual research contexts; where it is “treated as a competence, even an advanced competence, which allows the speakers to negotiate their social relations in finely-tuned detail” (Arnfast & Jorgensen, 2003, p. 23). It has been studied to explore how each language reflects a particular identity in bilingual communities and how interlocutors negotiate these identities (Heller, 1988; Scotton, 1988; Woolard, 1988). Research on code-switching in bilingual context have revealed a wide range of interactional functions such as shifting to another language when quoting one’s words for emphasizing the group identity, specifying a person as the next-speaker and/or for appealing to collective memory (Grosjean, 1982) in another language. In his analysis of code-switching in bilingual talk, Auer (1984) made a further distinction between participant and discourse related functions of code-switching; the former being used to avoid mistakes or misunderstandings, to facilitate comprehension, to align with the language of the institutional context and the latter being more concerned with the organization of an interaction. Discourse related functions of code-switching consist of adding color to an utterance, introducing a joke, giving the floor to a new participant, or signaling a change in the interaction (Baoeub & Toumi, 2012). Thus, this new understanding of code-switching comes to mean the realization of the full potential of language users in achieving communication in various social contexts.

Over the years, code-switching were further explored in the context of institutional settings such as schools with specific reference to classroom interaction in bilingual education (Martin-Jones, 1995; Aguirre, 1988; Gumperz, 1982). Today, research on code-switching in educational settings have gained momentum in a larger terrain with the internationalization of education and the consequent rise in English medium instruction in various academic contexts (Guthrie, 1984; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003, Chen & Rubinstein-Avila, 2015; Gwee & Saravanan, 2016) and some of these studies specifically focused on the instances of code-switching in language classes (Elridge, 1996; Sert, 2005; Ferguson, 2009; Thompson & Harrison, 2014) specifically in contexts where class language is not the language of the wider society.

The notion of communities of practice enunciated by Lave and Wenger (1991) has also been taken up in identity research with due focus on code switching. As they claim, communities of practice are actually social learning systems participants collaborate in placing themselves as group members and act accordingly to prove their membership through their language-driven choices. The recognition of language classes as communities of practice made these settings interesting sites for exploring how and towards what end learners code switch to communicate, build solidarity and/or claim membership in second-language mediated classroom interaction. As mentioned above, bilingual researchers have taken code-switching as a skill employed in negotiation to continue their social relations and second/foreign/additional language researchers have also started to take code-switching as an important tool in social relations. Following this strand, code-switching is no more seen as an inevitable outcome of second language learners’ lack of competence and proficiency in a particular language (Reyes, 2004; Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2005). This change in perspective aligns itself with the view that second language learners are social agents rather than passive receivers of language input. Adhering to this view of L2 learner identities, Ellwood (2008) elaborates on the relation between language and identity with specific reference to code-switching:

Code choices reiterate old identities, create new identities, and reject or accept imposed identities. In the classroom, codeswitching is one form of identity work that, when investigated, can reveal the relevance of invisible or unacknowledged factors that contribute to students’ identities (p.539).

Second language learner identity research has revealed various findings which address to the multiple socio-cultural, pragmatic and interactional functions of code-switching such as establishing and maintaining solidarity, negotiation, seeking clarification, managing conflict, expressing alignment/disalignment, holding floor and managing turns (Brice, 2000; Ramsay-Brijball, 2004; Rolin Ianziti & Varshney, 2008) but also recognized its complexity stemming from its openness to different interpretations. Ferguson (2009), therefore, rightly suggests going beyond the listing of the functions of code-switching to explore the instances of their occurrence in the flow of interaction with a due focus on the complex process of identity formation and negotiation in participatory learning. Auer (1984, p. 3) makes a similar point when he claims that the occurrence of code-switching “is closely tied to the specific, never-identical circumstances in which alternation occurs”.

3. Method

Based on the arguments given above, the aspiration of this study is to provide identity related code switching

features relevant to emerging identity construction of students in their ongoing interactions in a social media class group page. Qualitative and descriptive in scope, the present study does not concern with the notion of typicality or representativeness but with the particularities and complexity together by exploring unique cases of code-switching in post-structuralist essence as in its own nature, identity is fluid and context-dependent. It is like a jigsaw puzzle, pieces come together and help us to make sense the whole. Thereby, teachers and educators can be more interested in the reasons of their learners' code-switching practices on their way to 'become' a language learner and construct a language learner identity instead of focusing on the frequency and amount of their code-switching instances.

3.1. Participants

This study was done with the participation of 35 (23 male, 12 female, age varied between 18 and 23) foreign language preparatory school students at an English-medium state university in Turkey in the academic year of 2011-2012, spring term. The students were enrolled in obligatory preparatory language classes for one year to attain the required proficiency level in English before they continued their undergraduate studies in social studies and civil engineering departments, where 30% of courses are taught in English.

3.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher collected the data from two pre-intermediate level writing classes which she instructed for a period of four months. A group page was created in social media to encourage students' English language use outside school contexts as Akçaoğlu and Bowman (2016) investigated, Facebook used for academic purposes can enrich the relationship between students and instructors by fostering a sense of connectedness and increase their motivation toward lessons. The participants joined the group page on voluntary basis. The initial aim is to explore how code-switching functions in identity-sensitive ways in a rather flexible and informal communication platform where students shared, negotiated and jointly constructed themes. The researcher logged onto Facebook on a daily basis, proposed triggering questions and posted media messages but students were also offered a flexible context to generate their own themes. The participants showed signs of building a sort of class community and continued to socialize in the group page by sharing ideas, songs, and cartoons. As Chesebro & Borisoff (2007, p. 9) pinpoint that "this is in line with the nature of qualitative research, the subjects are allowed to identify and determine topics of communication, provide transitions from one topic to another, and provide any qualifiers they see fit".

In post-structural research orientation, as Jenkins (2008, p. 17) discusses, "there is something active about identity that cannot be ignored: it isn't 'just there', it's not a 'thing', it must always be established". As indicated by this remark, the conceptualization of identity is fluid, context-dependent and always changing, thus, different identities become salient in the flow of an interaction. An understanding of identity as relational and discursively constructed implies the continuous making and remaking of who we are (Ivanic, 1998). As concerns multiple identities that are shaped both socially and individually, the study uses Tracy's (2002, pp. 18-19) framework of identities, comprising master, personal, interactional and relational identity and their dynamic interplay in communication. According to Tracy (2002, p. 21), master identity "references those aspects of personhood that are presumed to be relatively stable and unchanging: gender, ethnicity, age, national and regional origins". The second category is personal identity. As Tracy (2002, p. 22) defines it is "what in ordinary life we think of as individuals' personality and character, their relationships with others, and their attitudes about events, issues, and other people". In contrast to those two fairly stable categories, there are two other categories that are more dynamic and context-dependent. These are conceptualized as interactional identity, namely, "roles that people take on in communicative context with regard to specific other people" (Tracy, 2002, p. 22) and as relational identity, the agency that one can exert in performing an identity, the kind of relationship s/he enacts. In search of clues for these emerging identities, code-switching instances in the data were analyzed to see how code-switching functions in identity research on digital spaces. From the data corpus, posts which include instances of code-switching occurred were identified for analysis. The research method chosen for this study is qualitative where the focus is upon meaning making in the progression of interaction. A cross-disciplinary frame, including conversation analysis, multimodal analysis and participatory research was established to analyze the intersection between identity and code-switching in social media communication. First of all, the research embraced tools of conversational analysis such as word choice, topic-change, adjacency pairs, openings and closings and interruption to pursue discourse related features of identity-making in communication with specific focus on code-switching. Üstünel & Seedhouse (2005) provides an overview of conversation analysis in relation to code-switching as such:

The classic question which we must ask at all stages of a CA analysis of data is: "Why that, right now?"

Since this study focuses on CS, we modify this question to: “Why that, in that language, right now?” This encapsulates the perspective of interaction as social/pedagogical action (“why that”) which is expressed in a particular language in a developing sequence (“right now”)' (p.310).

First, students' interactions were reviewed to obtain a sense of the participants' use of code-switching and interactions were examined to determine the roles or identity related functions enacted in code-switching instances. As for the identification of the functions of code-switching, researchers traced the instances of code-switching in the whole sequence of interaction between users to arrive to a deeper understanding of their relevance to identity making. Along with emerging functions attained from the corpus, literature on the functions of code-switching (Greggio & Gil, 2007; Polio & Duff, 1994; Sert 2005) was also traced to attain a comprehensive frame for analysis and interpretation of data. Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2009, p. 57) point out that “the researcher does not approach reality as a tabula rasa. S/he must have a perspective that will help him/her see relevant data and abstract significant categories from his/her scrutiny of data” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.3). Instances of code-switching and their impact on identity were traced not only in verbal but also in non-verbal aspects of social-media communication with due attention to posts, emoticons, cartoons etc. Interaction in the social media platform usually reproduces the characteristics of speech. Due to the increase in the use of the internet, a new variety of language has emerged (Crystal, 2006, p. 6). As Averianova (2012, p.16) states “the unique linguistic and iconographic features of electronic writing comprise but are not limited to innovative abbreviation (acronyms, clippings, logograms, or letter-numeral hybrids and letter-morpheme substitutes, vowel deletion, etc.), emoticons, truncated simplified syntax, non-normative capitalization and other characteristics”. Finally, in this cross-disciplinary research frame, the selection, analysis and interpretation of data were taken as processes which involve active participation of the researchers. Observations and notes based on classroom interactions were used for understanding the underlying reasons for switching from one code to another. Furthermore, the study aligns with the view that identity research is researching with people rather than researching on people and therefore prioritizes reflexivity on the researchers' positioning and attitudes in every stage of the research process from data collection to interpretation, as well as in choice of language and translation (Risager & Dervin, 2015).

4. Findings

The analysis of data revealed that participants' code-switching to Turkish in the English-mediated academic social media site cannot be explained as a compensation strategy, but is rather related to their self-positioning in the class community. Throughout the study, different practices of learners' code-switching have emerged such as code-switching to establish a common shared ground in Turkish as learners of English, code-switching to negotiate social distance, code-switching to refuse commitment to the language learner identities attributed to them, code-switching to reflect their identity negotiation in the school environment and in the larger socio-cultural context and code-switching to show cultural identity. The following section below will present the identity related code-switching practices with related examples. The relevant portions of interactions are given with all their imperfections such as misspellings, uncorrected grammar, capitalization, etc. to keep its originality and translations are offered in brackets.

First of all, while interacting with the instructor, code-switching to Turkish allows learners to reaffirm their status as Turkish-speaking English language learners. In the extract given below, the student switches to Turkish to create a shared-ground with the instructor and hence establish rapport by foregrounding their master identities as native speakers of Turkish. It is interesting to note that a very sharp division is established between content and directives part where the content is offered in English to get feedback from the teacher but the remaining parts on requests and politeness strategies such as modesty are in Turkish.

Extract 1.

Student 1: Harms of Fast food

This problem plays a vital role for health. Firstly, unhealthy damages me for instance; ugly body, heart and vascular diseases ext. In addition, fastfood causes osteoclasia. People who fast food eating will obesity in the long run.

Thirdly, Scientist have revealed that effect of patience. This people isn't patience. Finally, we should eat regularly otherwise, death apply to us.

Bi saatte bu kadarlık oldu [That is all I could manage in an hour]

Kontrol edebilir misiniz? [Could you please check it?]

Bide sonu için bu yapıyı buldum uygun mudur? [And, for the conclusion, I've come up with this structure, does that work /is it acceptable?]

It is also important to note that code-switching to L1 is accompanied with a parallel shift in register in this instance of code-switching. The participant's use of expressions such as "Bi saatte" [In an hour] "Bide" [Also] do not align with writing conventions in Turkish, where more accurate forms would be "Bir saat içinde", "Bir de".

Code-switching for establishing a common shared background is not confined to student-teacher interaction, as data indicate it is also a common practice in student-student interaction. Data reveal several instances where students strategically resort to code switching from L2 to L1 when they require peer-support in their search for an expression in English. Even in those instances, they set boundaries between their identities as learners' of English and as peers in a learning community with a shared repertoire in Turkish. The following interaction shows that participants identify English as a subject to be studied but not as a medium for enacting their social identities as they constantly use Turkish as their shared linguistic resource. In other words, they do not readily claim identities as speakers of English.

Extract 2.

Student 1: *Celebrities have many...imkan hangisi doğru kullanımdır ünlüler birçok farklı imkana sahip*

diyecem opportunity olabilir mi? yada doğru yazımı nedir? [for imkan, which usage is the correct one, I want to say "celebrities have many opportunities" can I use "opportunity"? If not what is the correct usage?]

Student 2: *aynen bence de opportunity olacak* [definitely, I think it must be opportunity]

Student 1: thanks.

Student 2: not problem

Student 3: (calling Student 2) *...sen de vurup durma şu cama :D* [Don't keep knocking on the window]

The initial code-switching is a communicative strategy for enquiring the correct word for "imkan" [opportunity] but then the students shift to English to make an ironic remark on their English language learner identities by closing the interaction with a conventional use of an adjacency pair, "thanks" –"not problem". Student 3 captures this instance and teases his peer by the sudden shift to Turkish "sen de vurup durma şu cama". The utterance is from a song which complains about unexpected rain drops hitting the window. He doesn't expect Student 2 to give a response to the question, so he uses such line from that popular song. It helps them create a group sense of shared background. As Eldridge (1996, p. 306) highlights; "switches in this category function as in-group identity markers. This is often realized through 'wordplay', where switches and mixes are creatively manufactured for comic effect." According to Chiasson (2002), if humor is used properly, it will allow students to feel a part of the class. When we consider the potential face threatening nature of classroom interaction, humor can act as a relaxation to reduce anxiety and create great rapport between learners in a classroom context and this also occurs in social media context. While in a language classroom, students are expected to speak in English, they are more flexible in social media and code-switching finds its place easily in such a flexible context.

As Shepard et al. (2001) emphasize people negotiate the social distance between them-selves and the person with whom they are interacting. Code-switching is one of the tools to negotiate the social distance. Analysis of data showed that the participants constantly code-switched to re-calibrate their self positioning as language learners and as members of a classroom community. As Eldridge (1996) highlights;

One feature of conversation is the way in which participants adopt certain temporary social roles. Given that conversation is a negotiated enterprise, participants may either try to sustain a particular role, or, alternatively, they may feel the need to adopt different roles as a conversation proceeds (p. 307).

Sometimes, the students switched to Turkish to tap feelings of solidarity and at other times they used code-switching to level off the power of the teacher and deny her moderator role in the academic driven class group page. In the interaction below, one of the students asks his friends for the answer key of the supplementary material given by the administration.

Extract 3.

Student 1: *Cevap anahtarını indiren arkadaşlar buraya koyabilir mi? Bulamıyorum ben*

[Can friends who downloaded the answer key put it here? I can't find it.]

Student 3: (addressing Student 4) *O da bulamadığını söyledi* [Student 4 also said that he couldn't find it.]

Student 4: I didn't find too. I think school didn't put on the internet.

Student 4: english didn't die :D

Student 2: here it is

Student 1: *Hani* [where], Student 2, *buradaki dosya* [this file here?]

Student 2: *Olum üstte mavi yazı warya yaazıyo işte dökümanların üstünde mavi bi yazı*

[olum there is a blue line written there, there is a blue line above the documents.]

Student 1: *Tamam buldum neden kızılıyorsun* [OK, I have found it why do you get cross me?]

Student 2: *:D adamım olurmo öyle şey ahahahah ayıpsın yaw :D* [my man is this possible, no way!]

Student 2: please english :D

The beginning of the interaction is marked in Turkish as the student is directly asking for his peers' help to reach to an answer key. As the student was addressing to his peers, he preferred to ask the question in Turkish. Nevertheless, some of the students preferred to respond in English, and highlighted their English language user identities. The fact that this social media platform was established as an extension of their learning community can be influential in their code selection. Code-preference of this type is somehow met with resistance by another student who uses a direct translation of a rather colloquial remark in Turkish which indicates sarcasm: "English did not die", implicating that it is still possible to find people who struggle for a cause no matter how hard it is. He teases peers for trying to express themselves in English even when enquiring on an answer sheet. On one hand, this student reaffirms his position as an English language user by making his remark in English, on the other hand challenges this identity and mocks all efforts for communicating in English when students have a shared lingua-cultural repertoire in Turkish. Code-switching to Turkish is also accompanied by a marked shift in register. The highly colloquial terms of address such as "olum"[sic]-"oğlum" meaning pal, show the students' sort of reaction to or the teasing of the whole process of interacting in English in an academic-based social interaction site. The sudden switching to English in the closing utterance, "please english" followed by an emoticon :) shows that the student acts as an animator for the teacher, and by mocking, challenges her in and out-of-class attempts for encouraging the students' to communicate in English.

Code-switching is not only a strong indicator of cultural identity but also a tool for refusing commitment to the language learner identities attributed to them in an institutional context. The following extracts display how students re-negotiate their learner identities when they successfully complete their obligatory language study program at the end of the term:

Extract 4.

Student 1: I passed the proficiency exam. Compulsory prep education is over. *Türkçe'si; çalsın sazlar oynasın kızlar*. Thanks a lot. [In Turkish, let's play the music, let the girls dance]

Student 5: *Kangruculeyşins, İngilizceye çok fazla gerek yok artık ne de olsa*

[Congratulations, from now on there is no need for English anyway.]

Student 1: *Teşekkür ederim başgan bende seni tebrik ederim* [Thanks, boss, I congratulate you, as well.]

Student 2: *Yavrum tekrar tebrik ederim aslanım* [My boy, once more congratulations, you my lion :)]

Student 1: *Teşekkür ederim abi gözümüz aydın* [Thanks, bro, we should be happy]

Student 1: glad to meet you :), thanks for everything my teacher :)

Having succeeded in the proficiency exam, the student no more sees himself as a prep-school student. Thus the change of status from English language learner at the prep school of a university to an undergraduate student of a degree programme generates an identity-related resistance to the institutionally enforced foreign language study. This resistance comes to the fore by his code-mixing, "Kangruculeyşins İngilizceye çok fazla gerek yok artık ne de olsa" [Congratulations, from now on there is no need for English anyway]. It is note-worthy that he prefers to use Turkish spelling "Kangruculeyşins" for the word "congratulations". The desire to mediate English through their home culture and language also reveals itself in the student's switch to a Turkish idiom, "çalsın sazlar, oynasın kızlar" to express his overjoy and invite others to celebrate with him. The only line the student switched to English was when he thanked the teacher thus highlighting her institutional identity. The others express their solidarity by a complete shift to Turkish with a series of terms of addressing such as "aslanım" [my lion], "yavrum" [my boy], "başgan" [boss], all implicating a chauvevenistic attitude on the part of male students. Along with gender identity, cultural identity is also foregrounded by the participants' use of Turkish idioms; "gözümüz

aydın” as expressed by one student is a conventional way of congratulating someone with an indication of shared happiness. Nevertheless, data also show that students claim identities as English language speakers especially when they interact with the teacher but shift back to Turkish when communicating with peers. The following extract is significant in terms of showing how participants carefully positioned themselves differently even in the rapid progression of the interaction.

Extract 5.

Instructor: Who passed the prep class? Tell me, tell me!!

Student 2: thanks a lot. all this happens because of you all instructors :D

Student 5: hi :) I passed exam :)

Student 2: *adamın dibisin dibi ulan* :D [you are a true man, oh you man :D]

Student 5: *sende adamın kullanma klavuzusun* [You are like the guide of how to become a man, my dear (addressing Student 2) :)]

Student 6: very tanks my dear teacher I am very satisfy from you and my other teacher I want successful and happy time for my teachers and classmates.

Instructor: Have a nice holiday, thanks :)

Student 1: I send personel message my teacher :)

Student 7: My teacher have helped us about many matters thanks a lot :)

Instructor: (addressing Student 7) thanks dear

Student 5: dear teacher thanks a lot for everything

Student 5: (addressing Student 7) *sen nasıl bir insansın ya bu arada :) eze eze geçmişsin :) maşallahın ingilizcesini bulamayınca hepsini türkçe yazdım :)* [by the way, what kind of person are you :) you passed with higher points than everybody else :) I wrote the whole thing in Turkish as I couldn't find a correspondence for maşallah.]

Instructor: (addressing Student 5) I am happy for you, you have been waiting for it since September ;)

This social media interaction offers a strong point in terms of showing the role of code-switching in building solidarity. This interaction took place after the students had learnt that they had passed the proficiency exam. A sense of in-group solidarity is promoted especially among male students by the use of highly colloquial metaphorical expressions such as “adamın dibisin” [you are a true man], “adamın kullanma klavuzusun” [you are the guide to manhood], “adamsın” [you are a man]. As these examples show students do not just foreground their identities as members of a learning community but reinforce their own gender identities. Especially male students' writings involve idiomatic expressions as well as coarse speech particles like “be”, “ulan [you man] when addressing to their male peers. The cooperation between the male students in terms of forms of address mirrors their coordination and builds a sense of comradeship. The forms of address between students had a self-reinforcing effect, when one student used such comment, other students replied in that way, so code-switching and accompanying change in register are strong indicators that they enact multiple identities in the flow of talk. As Benwell & Stokoe (2007) discuss, the use of a shared lexis exclusive to the group, group history and memory are evidence of solidarity, especially when the establishment of group-membership is inflated with “manhood” and “brotherhood”. The frequent use of highly masculine forms of address implicates attempts to build an inner circle community of male students, although they are using an open platform for all class members.

The students' interaction with peers and with the teacher at the micro context of the social media group page is largely dependent on the macro processes of their identity negotiation in the school environment and in the larger socio-cultural context. The following piece of interaction shows such a case:

Extract 6.

Student 2: *arkadaşlar haftaya hangi sınavlar var bilen varmı?* [friends, is there anyone who knows the exams we have to take next week?]

Student 1: *Sınıftaki sınav listesini çaldın hala işini garantiye almak için soruyosun. İnsanlar madur* [You have stolen the exam list on the wall and you are still asking to see that you are on the right track. People are in a difficult situation.]

Student 8: *Çok haklısın :D* [(addressing Student 1) you are right :D]

Instructor: Hey hey, in English, please! As far as I know, you have your second VOCABULARY CIRCLE.

Student 2: *Kardeşim liste sınıfta benim aldığım devamsızlıktı sonra onuda panoya astım zaten çirkinlikte*

sınır tanımıyorsunuz hahaha :D bide bi sözüüm var: erkeğin olduğu yerde kızlara yer yoktur haddini bil yoksa bildiririm hahaha :D (hocalar hariç tabi onlar egemen güç) [my bro, the list is in the classroom, the one I took was the attendance list, then I put it back on the wall, you are becoming ugly hahaha :D I have a word for you (addressing Student 8) as well. There is no place for girls where there are men, know your place otherwise I will remind you of that hahaha:D (except teachers, they are the hegemonic power)]

Student 2: And thanks my dear instructor :D

The interaction begins with the enquiry of a student about the oncoming exams. The other two students tease him by claiming that he is actually the one who took away the notice which shows the exam schedule. Despite the instructor's warning to use English in their interaction, the student continues in Turkish to defend himself and to shoot back at his peers. He preserves his positive attitude to his male friend by addressing to him as "my bro...". However, he takes on an extremely chauvinistic attitude in his response to his female peer. In a mocking manner, he threatens his peer by saying that girls should never interfere when there is man-to-man interaction going on. Otherwise, he would have to "remind her of her lower social positioning and/or lack of importance" as expressed by the Turkish idiomatic expression, "haddini bildirmek". It is important to note that there were many instances of use of sarcasm in the data. It appears that sarcasm, at least to some extent, is very common among student-student interaction where identities are constantly negotiated. It does not appear that the learners truly mean to insult but rather challenge and tease each other by altercasting identities. In this particular interaction, he reacts to the way his peers positioned him as an irresponsible, selfish person by addressing to his peer as a female rather than a peer although master identities dependent on gender seem irrelevant in the context of interaction. As this extract shows interactional identities are mediated through personal, relational and master identities. Code-switching is used to alternate between identities that are evoked. He switches back to English in his response to the female teacher to show that his gender-based power negotiation excludes her as a target addressee. Nevertheless, this time he chooses to negotiate relational identities as teachers and students and challenge institutional identities attributed to them. He expresses his resistance to the asymmetrical relation between students and teachers by saying that teachers are "egemen güç" [reigning power], the ultimate authorities of the institutional settings. The final line of the interaction is very interesting because with his shift to English "and thanks my dear instructor", the student refuses to make the teacher part of the web-based peer interaction. In this case, shifting to English is used as a tool for attributing a "teacher identity" and refusing to make her a part of social classroom community. By being the participant researcher and having observed the class, the researcher was able to describe and name some of the details of critical classroom interactions and to examine how the classroom context influenced students' utterances constructed in the social media. As this example shows multiple identities are simultaneously enacted in the joint construction of talk and the preferences for different codes are the marked indicators of ongoing identity negotiation. In terms of register, one can notice extreme colloquialism such as "hahaha, bide" [lol, one more thing] although it is a platform mainly established with academic purposes.

A close analysis of social media interactions indicate that expressions with cultural overtones point to the strategic role of code-switching in identity building. The following interaction between the student and the teacher shows how cultural aspects of language use are negotiated.

Instructor: Hmm, I am a bit confused. Is it that simple? :)

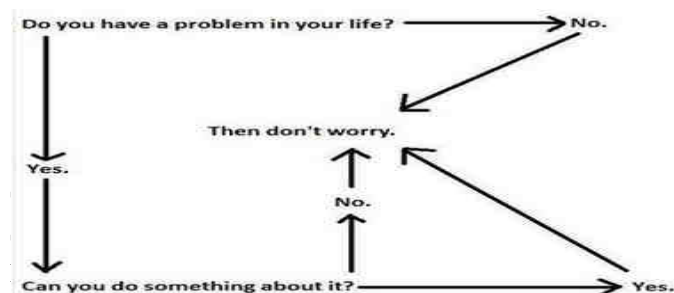


Figure 1. (A multimodal resource posted by the instructor retrieved from class group page on Facebook, April 8th, 2012)

In response to a multimodal resource posted by the teacher, the participants switched from English-mediated interaction to Turkish to offer the essence of cultural expressions which they feel can only realize its meaning potential in the native language. Expression such as “inşallah” and “hayırlısı” [with God’s will, hopefully] are inserted in their mainly English-driven communication.

The following figure is important in terms of the multimodal resources used in social media. In the figure below, the student benefitted from the multi-modality function of the social media. She shared a cartoon which depicts a person looking up a dictionary to find out the definition of “someone” and for its correspondence “Kamil”, a special name, which is also the name of her friend for whom she shares this cartoon, is written.



Kamil sözlüklere bile konu olmuştun bak bak :D [Kamil, you have become an issue in dictionaries, have a look at :D]

Figure 2. (An example for multimodality resource posted by a student retrieved from class group page on Facebook, March 8th, 2012)

His male peer responded to this post and called Kamil to the arena. The terms of address used in the classroom were transferred to the interactions in the social media. Referring to a shared experience in the classroom, his male peer used terms of address such as “pepe, buddy”. In the classroom, the student was sometimes called as “pepe” by his peers when he put on a sulky face resembling a cartoon character Pepee. Then, the student, for whom this cartoon had been shared, joined the interaction and used “hasanım” [my Hasan], which seems to be more than a term of addressing, he tried to identify his intimate relationship with his male friend who first gave response to this post. He wanted to establish a very close relationship by using the referent “hasanım” which comes to mean “my man Hasan”. So, language preference served as a device with which students could address each other. Although they preferred to use Turkish terms of address, they kept teasing each other in English. They used their own repertoire in Turkish as a resource and translated them directly into English; “I will drink your blood”, “both of you is dead”. Code-switching triggered further code-switching as they did not want to be excluded from peer group. In this instance, another interesting thing is that the student communicated through song titles with his friend. The data show that teasing and disagreement can be used jointly not only to establish relational identity but also to reaffirm a preexisting bond between friends. This piece of extract also signals that they have started to enact both their identities as native speakers of Turkish and language learners of English at the same time.

Digital environments give the participants the potential to display their multilingual repertoires more easily than classroom discourse. They can use their L1 language without worrying too much. On the other hand, in the classroom, students are expected to create academic discourse as the overall aim is to gain competence in using standard language. The use of an online environment increases code-switching instances as it creates a more free space whereas in classroom contexts the students are rather faced with the norm-abiding role of academic English.

5. Discussions and Conclusion

This study showed code-switching as one of the discursive practices to display multiple identities while the participants are constructing, reconstructing and negotiating their identities in the flow of interaction in social media, a more flexible context where students can interact with their peers and the teacher as learners or as conversational partners. Overall analysis of data showed that there are multiple identity related reasons for switching from one code to another. First of all, participants used code-switching to emphasize their membership to a language learning community which is dependent on a shared repertoire in the native language. When asking for help from the teacher and peers or when requesting information, participants' code switching and code-mixing mark their self-positioning as language users who are joined in a shared enterprise in language learning, which necessitates the use of their entire linguistic and cultural repertoire both in the target and native language. In other words, they mediated their multiple language sources for reiterating the same message both in target and native language. Moreover, they used code-switching to build interpersonal relationship by reducing and/or increasing their social distance to peers and the teacher. One of the most important findings is that they preferred to interact with peers in Turkish but switch to English when interacting with the teacher within the same interaction and thus used code-switching as a discourse mechanism for calibrating their standing in relation to the teacher. The study offered several instances of de-centering the teacher either by code-switching to Turkish or English for renegotiating the overall purpose of this social media site. Another noteworthy finding is that they used code-switching to show their resistance to the view claimed by the previous participant in the interaction or avoid conflict in an interaction, clarifying his/her point by using their native language rather than target language.

Overall, a close analysis of qualitative data collected from students' social media interaction, contributes to the understanding of language learner identity building as a process of negotiation, acceptance and/or rejection. It is above all the discursive practices which mirror the emergence of multiple identities; thus identity is primarily about language choices. Approaching the data through a discursive lens enables the researcher to see how identities are constructed in and through discourse.

It is also obvious that macro-dynamics of the educational context were at stake in their interactions. It became clear that the participants' learner identities were shaped and reshaped by their attitudes to compulsory English language education at tertiary level. The data have illustrated that learners construct new identities while interacting with their peers and the teacher employing the features of the social media context. Therefore, teachers should see learners with multiple and changing identities. Teachers, educators and curriculum designers should keep this in mind while preparing syllabus, class activities and the curriculum. This study is important as it displays code-switching and identity construction in the flexible and open realms of computer-mediated communication with multiple semiotic resources. It is evident that social media provides language learners with new ecological resources such as multimodality, emoticons, visuals, etc. All these features make social media a worthy area to search the issue of identity.

This paper specifically focuses on identity related aspects of code-switching in asynchronous computer-mediated communication and its implications on emerging identity negotiations in the presence of the participant researcher. In future studies, similar research can be repeated without the presence of the researcher to see the possible effects of the researcher, who is also the instructor of the class, on the interactions. Also, gender of the participants can be a factor in the code-switching practices, which has not been the main focus of this study. Further studies can be done analyzing gender-related identity features. In written communication, such further research on new media communication may be conducted to understand this issue better.

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