

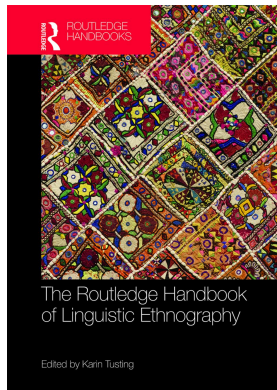
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Digital approaches in linguistic ethnography

Piia Varis and Mingyi Hou

Introduction

It has by now become a truism to say that the emergence of digital technologies as a mass medium for communication in the last two decades or so has introduced all kinds of changes in how we communicate and live our lives (Androutsopoulos, 2006a; Baron, 2008; boyd, 2008; Herring, 2011; Miller, 2011; Jones et al., 2015; Blommaert, 2018). Consequently, new types of research have appeared to address these changes, and existing, established approaches – (linguistic) ethnography included – have adjusted themselves to be able to address these new environments and their influence on communication, social relationships and societies at large.

While quite a large number of ethnographic studies analysing digital communications have emerged, at the same time there is no one coherent body of work. These studies also appear under different labels, such as virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000), internet ethnography (boyd, 2008) and digital ethnography (Varis, 2016; Maly, 2017, 2018a; Hou, 2018a; see also Pink et al., 2016 for a less linguistically oriented account). While these studies all share an ethnographic approach, they also have their theoretical and methodological differences. For instance, some draw more heavily on media studies, and others on sociology; some combine both online and offline data, while others focus on online environments only; they also differ in terms of the kind of ethnographic tradition they rely on as well as the degree to which they pay close attention to language. At the same time, a new sub-discipline of anthropology, namely digital anthropology (Miller & Slater, 2000; Horst & Miller, 2012), has also come into being in the last two decades. While the insights generated by this new sub-discipline can be of interest to linguistic ethnographers, similarly to many other ethnographic studies on digital communication, the kind of attention to details of communication found in linguistic ethnography is often missing (cf. Rampton et al., 2015, p. 32).

In this respect, within ethnographic research on digital communication, it is the digital ethnographic work mentioned above that is closest to the interests of linguistic ethnographers. Labelling the approach digital ethnography also has the added advantage of not prioritising the ‘online’ dimension (as in e.g. *virtual* ethnography, implying that the ‘offline’ is excluded), or making the online–offline distinction relevant per se from the outset. With

‘digital’, we refer to communication shaped by digital technologies. As this has both ‘online’ and ‘offline’ dimensions (for instance, a tweet may appear online on Twitter, but it is always produced in a specific offline context with material objects such as smartphones or laptops), prioritising one or the other *a priori* does not seem justified. We do not therefore propose that a digital approach to linguistic ethnography should by default only include ‘online’ data, or on the other hand always include ‘offline’ data, too. Rather, digital ethnography is interested in the ways in which people use language, interact with each other, employ discourses and construct communities, collectives, knowledge and identities, through and influenced by digital technologies. What kind of data and field sites each researcher will encounter and use to this end depends on the shape of each individual study.

Historical perspectives

The theoretical and methodological tenets of linguistic ethnography arise from a strategic combination of linguistics with ethnography. While ethnography helps researchers to arrive at a deeper understanding of the phenomena studied through an in-depth investigation of the contexts in which they occur, linguistics ‘ties ethnography down’ through a systematic analysis of language (Rampton et al., 2015). This complementarity is also part and parcel of the language-focussed studies on digital media assuming an ethnographic approach.

However, early digital ethnographic works did not necessarily treat language as a primary object of enquiry. Early research on ‘cyberspace’ in the 1990s, on e.g. MUDs (multiplayer virtual worlds; the acronym referring to ‘Multi-User Dungeon’, or ‘Multi-User Domain/Dimension’) or Usenet newsgroups, considered the internet as a transcendental space (Hine, 2015, p. 33). Online identity and virtual community were the ‘twin pillars’ of academic discussions (Silver, 2000), where interaction and identity performance were presented as being qualitatively different from those in offline contexts (Robinson & Schulz, 2009). The characteristic features of the internet of that time – e.g. that it was mainly textual and anonymous – were taken as liberating in the sense that they were believed to transcend the enduring power structures of offline environments (Turkle, 1995; Stone, 1996). Online, in other words, it was possible to be whoever one wanted to be, and (consequently) subvert offline social arrangements and hierarchies.

While early ethnographic studies in this area may not have labelled themselves as linguistic ethnography, they were nonetheless sometimes strengthened by a close analysis of interaction at the micro level. Exploring the emergence of community in newsgroups dedicated to discussions of soap opera, Baym (1995) examined participants’ language practices such as genre, strategies and topics of disagreement, and humour. Similarly, Campbell (2006) explored how digitalised (white) skinhead identity was negotiated online through participants’ textual performance and meta-linguistic activities such as mimicking accented speeches.

On the other hand, a large number of studies have since explored language on the internet and computer-mediated communication, but a great majority of them have done so without adopting an ethnographic approach. From the label ‘computer-mediated communication’, we may already infer that early studies took as their starting point a connection between the nature of language and its situation of ‘being mediated’. There was thus at least a degree of technological determinism in these studies, i.e. the idea that the technology or medium in question and its features determined the nature of linguistic and cultural material found there. As Androutopoulos (2006a) points out, the first wave of these studies contextualised online linguistic features and strategies solely against the features of the medium in question. Due to the focus on the medium, data were thus conceptualised in isolation from its

discursive and social contexts. The appearance of the notion of ‘netspeak’ (Crystal, 2001) to characterise online communications is indicative of the understanding of the language used in online communication as being “distinct, homogeneous and indecipherable to outsiders” (Androutsopoulos, 2006b, p. 420).

The second wave of computer-mediated communication studies, on the other hand, was informed by pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies, emphasising situated language use and linguistic varieties. In the second wave, researchers investigated whether a specific offline sociolinguistic phenomenon, such as multilingualism, linguistic ideologies or sociolinguistic innovation, appeared in comparable ways in the new online environments (see the edited volume by Danet and Herring (2007), and the 2006 special issue of *Journal of Sociolinguistics* edited by Androutsopoulos). However, as in the first wave of research, the analysis of log data – collections of “characters, words, utterances, messages, exchanges, threads, archives, etc.” (Herring, 2004, p. 339) – still remained the main approach. Although some studies in this strand adopted an ethnographic framing of the data (Su, 2007; Barton & Lee, 2013), they focussed on what in traditional sociolinguistic terms, borrowing Pennycook & Otsuji, (2014) words, consisted either of examining language-to-language relations (bilingualism and code-switching) or language-to-person relations (identity construction, as in the case of the above-mentioned studies). They thus did not necessarily share the specific epistemology of linguistic ethnography which aims at gaining insights into the “mechanism and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” through “close analysis of situated language use” (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2).

Critical issues and debates

Going beyond the first and second waves identified earlier, some central questions at this moment for those researching language and digital environments, in the words of Jones (2016, p. 235), include

(...) how discourse circulates in networks, how selves (as discursive constructions) become instantiated in webs, how the nodes and ties of networks are created and strengthened through the moment by moment conduct of social interaction, and how people ‘talk’ with algorithms.

An increasing amount of work addressing these issues already exists (see e.g. Rymes, 2012; Leppänen et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2015; Varis & Blommaert, 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2016; Blommaert, 2018; Procházka, 2018). It forces us to consider questions of interaction, agency and context. Context in linguistic ethnography is “(...) conceived as dynamic, interactively accomplished, and intrinsic to communication” (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 26). However, questions of context in digital communication have been mainly limited to the immediate ‘micro’ context of interaction, or the ‘macro’ context of broader societal discourses and developments. This means that one specific context – the digital media and technologies themselves – has largely been ignored (see however Hou, 2018c; Varis, 2017). This regardless of the fact that, as van Dijck (2013, p. 29, emphasis original) has pointed out, a digital platform is “(...) a *mediator* rather than an intermediary: it shapes the performance of social acts instead of merely facilitating them.” Digital environments, thus, are very much part of the “mechanism and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” mentioned above (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2). In practice, this refers to things like ‘like’ buttons, functions to share and repost, favouriting, editing and so on. And, in terms of the ways in which people

'talk' with algorithms as mentioned above, this has to do with people's digital literacies and strategies to determine how algorithms work in different environments such as dating applications, social media sites and websites using recommendation systems, and making pragmatic inferences regarding their workings (Jones, 2015, 2018). In terms of communication and social practices, digital affordances can also, for instance, be employed for 'algorithmic activism' (Maly, 2018b) where individuals and groups can influence the visibility of certain social media posts by interacting with them in certain ways (on the issue of discourse and visibility online, see also Hanell and Salö, 2017).

As Rampton et al. (2015, pp. 30–31) put it,

The contexts in which people communicate are partly local and emergent, continuously readjusted to the contingencies of action unfolding from one moment to the next, but they are also infused with information, resources, expectations and experiences that originate in, circulate through, and/or are destined for networks, media and processes that can be very different in their reach and duration.

A central critical issue for digital approaches in linguistic ethnography therefore has to do with how to study and explain practices while accounting for the mediating digital context – without falling into the kind of technological determinism mentioned above in the context of the first wave of research on computer-mediated communication. Under 'Future directions' below, we indicate certain interdisciplinary possibilities for addressing these issues.

Current contributions and research areas

Androutsopoulos (2008, p. 2) was one of the first scholars to outline an ethnographic approach to "socially-oriented linguistic studies" on digital media. Responding to the prevalent use of log data in sociolinguistic studies of digital communication, he argued that "research based exclusively on log data is not ideally positioned to examine participants' discourse practices and perspectives or to relate these practices and perspectives to observable patterns of language use" (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2). What he labelled as 'discourse-centred online ethnography' was designed to "combine the systematic observation of selected sites of online discourse with direct contact with its social actors" (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 2). In doing so, this approach allows for "reconstructing fields of computer-mediated discourse, reconstructing participants' literacy practices, and analysing their sociolinguistic awareness" (Androutsopoulos, 2008, p. 1). Androutsopoulos has investigated, for instance, the formation of sociolinguistic style and hip-hop on the German-speaking web (Androutsopoulos, 2007) as well as multilingual practices on diaspora websites in Germany (Androutsopoulos, 2006b).

More recent digital approaches try to meet the challenge of "understand[ing] and explain[ing] people's life-worlds and communicative practices comprehensively" (Varis, 2016, p. 60). The "embedded, embodied and everyday" nature of the contemporary internet (Hine, 2015) also implies that digital communications play an important integral part in people's lives. This is one of the issues that Stæhr and his colleagues (Stæhr, 2014; Nørreby & Møller, 2015; Stæhr, 2015; Stæhr & Madsen, 2015) have engaged with in the Amager project (Madsen et al., 2013) which investigates multilingual and multicultural practices of adolescents and children in Copenhagen.

Making an important contribution to understanding digitally mediated lifeworlds and communicative practices, Stæhr and colleagues conceptualise the online dimension in relation to the specific research aims and participants of the project. As Stæhr and Madsen (2015, p. 68)

point out, “any study of the social and linguistic life of contemporary youth can hardly overlook that a significant part of young people’s everyday communication involves or takes place in social media.” This point of departure necessitates the inclusion of social media communication into their accounts of contemporary sociolinguistic processes. For instance, one of their case studies (Stæhr, 2015) illustrates how social media and the written discourse they entail feature in current processes of enregisterment (see Agha, 2007). This study of language use on social media complements existing research on linguistic change which has predominantly focussed on spoken language. Stæhr and Madsen (2015) have also found that adolescents increasingly use more monolingual and standard linguistic practices in their hip-hop productions on YouTube, a radically different scene compared to that of previous conceptualisations of hip-hop as a subversive cultural practice. They suggest that digital communication in this case also needs to be contextualised in relation to adolescents’ everyday sociolinguistic practices, for instance offline hip-hop mentoring classes and club activities. Also within the Amager project studying Copenhagen youth, Nørreby and Møller (2015) examined how students apply ethnic categories in creating and maintaining friendship ties, and to tease and flirt, on Facebook, illustrating how social media is “a brilliant tool for constructing and acknowledging identity with the possibilities for making multimodal posts...” (2015, p. 50).

Digital communication has also received the attention of linguistic ethnographers in professional settings. Van Hout (2015, p. 72), with the business news desk of a Belgian newspaper as his ethnographic site, has investigated “how a news story about government research funding makes its way into the newsroom, onto the reporter’s computer screen, and into the newspaper”. The study combines different kinds of data, collected through physically co-present ethnographic observation and software screen recording of journalists’ writing practices and interviews – unmediated and mediated fieldwork – to track newsroom text trajectories across time and space (Van Hout, 2015, p. 76). While the studies within the Amager project mentioned above conceptualise students’ online linguistic practices and offline social processes as mutually contextualising, Van Hout’s research connects the mediated on-screen and face-to-face practices in following the news flow.

Swinglehurst’s (2015) linguistic ethnography of Electronic Patient Records (EPR) in healthcare settings examines how this digital technology regimented clinic consultations and interactions. Swinglehurst analysed in detail a disruptive moment when the computer system in the clinic is down. She (Swinglehurst, 2015, p. 98) found that the medical practitioner’s “embodied practices have become so finely tuned to incorporate the technology that to conduct the clinic without it has become almost impossible”. She concludes from the scene that “consultation could not progress without nurse, patient and (working) template [provided by the digital system] all co-present” (Swinglehurst, 2015, p. 98). Moreover, she argues that the use of EPR in consultation interactions can plug the ‘here and now’ conversation into the ‘there and then’ institutional context. For example, while the medical practitioner may not personally initiate an enquiry into a patient’s smoking history, the computer, in practice the consultation template issued by the institution, prompts him or her to do so. For one, Swinglehurst’s study demonstrates the embeddedness of digital technology into daily life and professional settings. Indeed, as Hine (2015) suggests, once the internet disappears into the background as infrastructure, researchers may need to re-topicalise the digital infrastructure to examine its role in people’s lifeworlds. In Swinglehurst’s study, the EPR system is re-topicalised at the moment of its absence. From another perspective, Swinglehurst’s research also demonstrates how digital technology is not only a tool used by people, but it is also a mediator regimenting situated interaction, in this case injecting institutional framings onto the event – an issue we highlighted above, and will return to below under ‘Future directions’.

As digital media afford multimodal communication, linguistic ethnographers may also need to attend to a whole array of different semiotic repertoires and include elements such as (moving) images, emoticons and music in their analysis (see e.g. Rymes, 2012; Leppänen et al., 2014 on repertoires and resemiotisation online). For instance, Hou (2018a, 2018b) has investigated the global virality of the music video Gangnam Style and shows how this Korean popular music video is a heterogeneous construct composed of diverse semiotic resources. Most of the lyrics are in Korean, satirising the blatant consumerism in the Gangnam district of Seoul. This implies that the music video is a popular culture commodity produced and aimed to be distributed in the local South Korean market. However, its visual representation of metropolitan environments, beach holidays and fancy sports cars also speaks to global audiences living Western lifestyles, thus functioning as a viral multimodal semiotic resource in en-globalising the music video (Blommaert, 2012). The multimodal transcultural flows afforded by digital media also received attention in the above-mentioned Amager project in Copenhagen. Apart from attending to adolescents' sociolinguistic practices online and offline, Staehr (2014) also finds, for instance, that the transcultural and transnational (online) Illuminati imagery is appropriated by adolescent schoolboys to construct group solidarity in their everyday lives.

Main research methods

Copland and Creese (2015, p. 29) identify four approaches to data collection and analysis characteristic of linguistic ethnography, namely “interviews, fieldwork, interactions and text”. When adapting these to digital environments, linguistic ethnographers will encounter both similarities with, as well as challenges uncharacteristic of, offline research. For instance, it is suggested that observation in fieldwork may involve shadowing the participants, following them from one setting to another. Such movement also creates opportunities for an informal ‘on the hoof’ interview “(...) while the researcher and participant are moving from one space to another” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 34). In digital environments on the other hand, participants’ moving from one space to another or going ‘offline’ is likely to mean a breakdown in interaction with the researcher. Ethnographic practices such as shadowing and on the hoof interviews do therefore face limitations in digital environments. Nevertheless, a geographically bounded field site makes little sense in today’s ethnographic efforts, whether online or offline. Blommaert and De Fina (2015) indicate that contemporary cultural practices are polycentric, orienting towards multiple evaluative centres, and being enabled and sanctioned by ever-changing TimeSpace configurations. Beneito-Montagut (2011) suggests that, instead of focussing on predetermined sites, the ethnography of online interpersonal communication should be ‘user-centred’, thus being sensitive to users’ multi-situated use of communicative tools. Similarly, the mobile (Bushery & Urry, 2009) and multi-sited (Marcus, 1995, 2012) conceptualisation of a field site is propagated by Hine (2015) to study the embedded, embodied and everyday internet. Instead of being predefined, a field emerges in the process of the ethnographer’s reflexive engagement with what he or she is researching, and in digital environments, the scale and scope of movements (both that of users as well as of semiotic materials) can be overwhelming due to their networked, connective affordances (see Hine et al., 2009 for a discussion on qualitative internet researchers defining the boundaries of their projects). Once linguistic ethnographers subscribe to conceptions like networks of text, artefacts, practices and technologies (Gourlay et al., 2013) as their focus, it is less important to make distinctions between “being online and

offline, between real and virtual, and between paper text and screen text” (Pennycook, 2018, p. 48). This is also why we proposed in the beginning of this chapter to define digital communication as shaped by digital technologies with both online and offline dimensions, without prioritising one or the other *a priori*.

As we saw in the discussion above on current contributions, ethnographers studying ‘digital communication’ also conduct their fieldwork and collect data differently depending on how they conceptualise communication, and the issue at hand. Researchers in the Amager project have witnessed their adolescent participants watching YouTube videos on their mobile phones and discussing online phenomena during class breaks at school. Drawing a comprehensive picture of the communicative worlds of the adolescents should thus include both the ‘online’ and ‘offline’ dimensions. The approach to digital media in the studies by Van Hout (2015) and Swinglehurst (2015) mentioned above is different due to the specific professional settings of their ethnographies. Digital media in these cases are ‘cultural artefacts’ (Hine, 2000), technical tools used with situated goals. The ethnographers demonstrate how the technologies are incorporated in the practices of professional work, and also exert agency in regimenting the working experience as suggested by Swinglehurst (2015). These studies also employed ‘traditional’ offline field work, while, for instance, in the case of Hou’s (2018a, 2018b) research on Gangnam Style as a transient transnational and transcultural flow, the aim was to delineate the multimodal text trajectories of the music video on the internet, especially how it is transformed into local versions (parodies of the original). To this end, the ethnographic work was conducted solely online.

However, following the movements and mobility of participants and cultural practices in digital environments does not presume that the ethnographer’s activities are taking place in the same time frame as those of the participants – they can rather be accessed as an archive of activity. This means that “entire histories of activity can be made into data with a couple of clicks without ever having witnessed the interactions while they actually unfolded” (Varis, 2016, p. 62). In other words, “(...) ethnography can be time-shifted so that the ethnographer’s engagement can occur after the events with which they engage happened for participants. Ethnographer and participants no longer need to share the same time frame” (Hine, 2000, p. 23). While the argument can be made that time-shifted ethnography does not grant the researcher similar access to people’s experience as ‘real-time’ engagement (Hine, 2000), whether time-shifted research is considered adequate or not depends again on the specific research goals in the ethnographer’s agenda, and the role of the data collected in the analysis (see e.g. Maly, 2018a for a digital ethnographic study involving triangulation through different types of online and offline data). Nevertheless, Hine (2000) emphasises the importance of observation and participation in real time when the interactions unfold. This is because she treats the experience of receiving and ordering messages and the temporality of updates as important research objects in her study on newsgroup interactions. However, given that interactions potentially unfold around the clock due to the disembodied translocal nature of digital environments, continuous real-time observation may be impossible simply for practical reasons. Many digital media also provide timestamps and sometimes afford access also to original, unedited entries when messages have been edited, thus affording certain cues to the researcher as to how interactions have unfolded over time (Varis, 2016). Van Hout’s (2015) study mentioned above is another example of how technology may assist researchers in accessing their field sites. In this case, the ethnographer employed screen videoing software to capture the journalists’ writing practices for later analysis. Thus, both real-time and time-shifted methods can have their place in ethnographic research of participants’ digital experiences.

Future directions

Linguistic ethnography is by its nature interdisciplinary (Shaw et al., 2015), and this is no less true for the digital approaches. Here, we want to highlight future directions which involve questions of interdisciplinarity in relation to technology and the ways in which its role and nature is conceived of in linguistic ethnographic research.

A very new development in applied linguistics is the introduction of posthumanism into the field (Pennycook, 2016, 2018), “(...) urg[ing] us to reconsider what it means to be human” and investigating “(...) the particular ways we understand language in relation to people, objects, and place” (Pennycook, 2016, p. 1). Similar issues have, of course, already been addressed in nexus analysis and mediated discourse analysis, where embodied human engagement with objects and technologies has been an object of analysis for quite a while already (see e.g. Scollon, 2001; Norris & Jones, 2005; Jones, 2013; also Bucholtz & Hall, 2016). Nevertheless, given the shape of digital interactions, and as indicated above under ‘Critical issues and debates’, the questions asked within post-humanist thought regarding the relationships between humans, objects and space seem highly relevant for the study of digital interactions. People ‘talk’ with algorithms while chatting, shopping and browsing social media feeds, and interact through and with all kinds of ‘smart’ objects such as phones, watches and fridges. This raises questions not only about ‘context’, but also the kinds of resources that go into digital communication, as well as human agency, for instance in algorithmic environments (see also Rampton, 2017). Gourlay (2015, p. 488) for instance, applying posthuman thinking to literacy practices, suggests that while reading and writing via digital devices, “(...) it could be argued that authorship is distributed between the human, machine and the distributed agency of internet-based texts.”

In other fields, actor-network theory (see e.g. Latour, 2005) has featured prominently in addressing such issues of human–object relations. Most recently, Djonov and van Leeuwen (2018, p. 642) have introduced what they call “(...) a social semiotic model for analysing social media as semiotic software technologies, that is, as technologies designed to enable and constrain people’s ability to make meaning and participate in various social practices.” They

(...) propose an approach that has the capacity to account for the ways the design of social media – through the semiotic resources it makes available and how these are presented – enables and constrains their users’ ability to perform key social practices.

(Djonov and van Leeuwen, p. 642)

Their analysis of the academic social media website ResearchGate shows how it “(...) offers a very limited range of semiotic resources, and prevents members from visually constructing different individual or institutional identities” (p. 660). It seems therefore that new questions are being asked about our digital environments and our interactions through and with them, and some ways forward are appearing. For linguistic ethnographers, this is still largely uncharted terrain, so in the future it seems that in order to arrive at in-depth explanations of people’s lived realities, there is a need for engaging with some of the approaches mentioned here, or others which will enable accounting for human-technology relations.

This is also not ‘just’ a theoretical and methodological issue asking for our attention; as Rampton (2017, p. 10) has pointed out, new technologies and forms of digital communication have also enabled new forms of social control, including digital surveillance. This has potential implications for all of us, and most certainly not least for more vulnerable groups, such as asylum seekers, immigrants and ethnic minorities, who can be targets of even more stringent digital surveillance and profiling. These developments, Rampton (2017, p. 10)

points out, have “a strong communicative and interactional dimension” (see also Khan, 2014; Charalambous et al., 2016; Rampton & Eley, 2018), which is where linguistic ethnographers come in. At the same time, as Rampton (2017, p. 11) suggests, studying the new communicative practices and forms of control seems to require “(...) collaborat[ing] with computational specialists to tackle, *inter alia*, the codes, algorithms and protocols that translate human bodies, movement and communication into digital information”.

Here is thus another future interdisciplinary direction worth investigating: as it is hardly desirable or possible to (re)train linguistic ethnographers as computational scientists, there is plenty of room for collaborative work and interdisciplinary teams. In any case, it is clear that linguistic ethnographers have the kind of expertise that will enable them to research and consequently participate in debates on new digital developments, such as surveillance and profiling. And this is also one ‘real world’ problem that digital approaches can contribute to addressing, in line with linguistic ethnography’s commitment to “aspire to improve social life” (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 11).

Further reading

- Georgakopoulou, A., & Spilioti, T. (Eds.) (2016). *The Routledge handbook of language and digital communication*. London: Routledge. (This handbook not only features a chapter specifically on digital ethnography, but gives a very good overview of research on language in digital environments.)
- Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography for the internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday*. London: Bloomsbury. (While Hine’s research is not specifically focussed on language, she is one of the most authoritative voices on ethnography and the internet. This volume introduces ethnographic strategies for studying specifically the everyday, being thus of interest also for linguistic ethnographers.)
- Jones, R.H., Chik, A., & Hafner, C.A. (Eds.) (2015) *Discourse and digital practices. Doing discourse analysis in the digital age*. London: Routledge. (This edited volume is useful for linguistic ethnographers interested in analysing digital discourse in that it features a wide range of different case studies, from discourse analysis of games to apps and digital literacy.)
- Page, R., Barton, D., Unger, J.W., & Zappavigna, M. (2014). *Researching language and social media. A student guide*. Abingdon: Routledge. (This book focusses on researching language and social media, and is specifically interesting for those with less experience in studying language online. It also includes a chapter on ethnographic approaches to language and social media.)

Related topics

Multimodality; Participant observation and field notes; The ethnographic interview.

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