Social Media Language, Authenticities, and Affordances

Brazilian food discourses in the UK

Francielle Carpenedo

Institute of Modern Languages Research

School of Advanced Study

University of London

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Declaration

I hereby confirm that this is my own work. Where other sources of information have been used these have been acknowledged.

Francielle Carpenedo

Abstract

This thesis examines Brazilian culture in the UK through Brazilian food discourses on social media and online. Taking into account how increasingly blurred and embedded the "offline" and "online" are in contemporary society, this study is interested in the potential of social media spaces as growing arenas for processes of identification and community construction. In this way, it investigates communicative practices within online Brazilian food spaces in the UK through accounts of the technical and social factors influencing discourse, and the generic moves, stance-taking practices, and audience design at play on Facebook company Pages. Applying elements of digital ethnography, this project also moves language analysis beyond the log data possibilities to shed light onto social media communicative use and purpose for the cultural entrepreneur and their audiences in everyday practices. As the largest nationality among Latin Americans in the UK, further understanding the presence of Brazilian culture in the UK paves the way for better grasping the social and linguistic composition and diversity of contemporary Britain. Hence, this research explores the social interplay and convivialities emergent through discursive practices taking place around Brazilian food online. Drawing on data such as Facebook posts, comments, reviews, notes, websites, and interviews, it analyses how communicative practices in the translingual online space intersect with food, identity, community, and social media use in the context of superdiversity. Given the interdisciplinary scope of this project and its developing fields of enquiry, it also makes a methodological contribution in qualitative digital Modern Languages research design. The data informing this research was collected before the Covid-19 pandemic crisis of 2020-21, and therefore its findings are situated within pre-pandemic professional and social communication practices.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

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List of Tables

List of Illustrations

List of Figures

Style Guidance

Notes on referencing and general style

- Harvard: *Guide to the Harvard Style of Referencing* (Anglia Ruskin University, 2017).
- 'Single' quotation marks were used for citations from sources, with italics marking the original emphasis.
- "Double" quotation marks were used for my emphases in the thesis.
- "Et al." has been used for works with three or more authors.
- Direct quotations or specific passages from online journal articles or e-books with no pagination were indicated by paragraph or chapter numbers.
- […] signposts omissions from quotations throughout.
- Text within square brackets [ ] signpost interventions in the source text or explanatory comments for clarity/readability.
- Interview speech excerpts are quoted as per transcripts.
- Digital data excerpts/examples are quoted as published by original authors online. Sic has not been used throughout to indicate unconventional usage.
- The word "Pages" has been capitalised throughout when referring to Facebook public Pages for clarity.

Digital data conventions

- Images have been provided where relevant for the discussion.
- [*translation*] - Translated text was provided within square brackets and in italics where applicable.
- Underline - Indicates main features being discussed in a given example.
- Usernames - Anonymised by descriptive term 'user' and numbered for easy reference - e.g. User1, User2, User3.
- Company names in comments and reviews' replies - Anonymised by descriptive term 'company'.
- Blue underlined usernames - Indicates a user has been "mentioned/tagged" in interaction (i.e. hyperlink to user profile is embedded in the source). - e.g. User1.

Notes on interview excerpts

Symbol	Meaning	Example/comment
?	Questioning intonation	Who was that?
!	Exclamatory utterance	Look!
...	Pause/interruption	In front of… the table
[ ] **[ ]**	Overlapping speech	square brackets around simultaneous/overlapping words
[xxxxx]	Inaudible	unable to transcribe
( )	Uncertain	unsure transcription - (loves) it
(( ))	Extra details	analyst comment on any topic - ((moves book))

(Conventions are based on guidance provided by Du Bois (2006) and Richards (2003, cited in Copland and Creese, 2015, p.193)

- Excerpts have been translated by the researcher and presented in English. Where original excerpts were in Portuguese, this is provided in the footnotes.
- Key to interviews: codes for citing the companies interviewed can be found in Appendix C with the relevant company/interviewee details. Company names in full were referred to in-text only when their inclusion was directly relevant to the clarity of an example being discussed.[1]

[1] This thesis has analysed company discourses in aggregate and had no focus on any companies specifically. Whilst emphasising the value and variety of personal trajectories shaping this cultural sector, insights from entrepreneurs were used to shed light onto interpretations of patterns encountered during the analysis, and therefore to enlighten the understanding of communication practices overall. All companies are seen as representatives of the variety of communication practices encountered.

Abbreviations

DA: Discourse Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CMC: Computer-Mediated Communication

CMD: Computer-Mediated Discourse

WOM: Word-of-mouth

eWOM: Electronic-word-of-mouth

DCOE: Discourse-centred online ethnography

SNS: Social Networking Site

TCAT: Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is a discourse-oriented analysis of computer-mediated communication (CMC) with a focus on discursive identity and community emergent from Brazilian food online spaces. Whilst attending to the interwoven and polymediated (Madianou, 2015) state of online communication, its specific analytical focus is on Facebook public company Pages. The social media data in this research consists of Facebook Pages' posts, comments, and reviews, and is complemented by Facebook and websites' "about" sections, further content within these such as menus, interviews with entrepreneurs, and observational notes. The data informing this research was collected before the Covid-19 pandemic crisis of 2020-21, and therefore its findings are situated within pre-pandemic professional and social communication practices.

Facebook company Pages were made available for any company in 2007, and similar to websites, they are visible to anyone with access to the internet but are enabled with Facebook features (Brügger, 2015, paragraph 34). As a marketing tool, they allow companies to promote their brand and users to interact with companies' content and are also the source of marketing materials users encounter within their own Facebook news feed. Combined with the advent of user-generated communication, Facebook promotional Pages transform both the dynamics of marketing and (online) sociality, since marketing materials become part of the social context and networks of consumers. Likewise, consumer discourses become part of the marketing environment and as such they are no longer passive receivers of content.

1.1 Why Brazilian Food and Promotional Discourse?

In tune with the wider initiative supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) from which this project stems,[2] the overall interest of this research rests in Brazilian culture and presence in the UK as translated by online promotional food discourses. This specific focus emerges from my experience with marketing and cross-cultural texts, an interest in the meaning-making potential of food, and the research needed for further investigation into the intersection between food and language (Riley and Paugh, 2019; Karrebæk et al., 2018; Cavanaugh et al., 2014). Having been born in Brazil and now living in the UK for over a decade, the relationship between human expression and translocal signs and

[2] This research project is hosted by the Institute of Modern Languages Research at the School of Advanced Study (University of London). It is part of the AHRC's Open World Research Initiative (OWRI) 'Translingual' strand of the 'Cross-Language Dynamics: Reshaping Community' research programme (SAS, 2017) which aims to explore the role of language in relation to contemporary issues such as social cohesion, migration, and business in the UK (see AHRC, 2016). A series of blog posts, which emerged as part of the process of interviewing entrepreneurs has also been published on the project's blog (see SAS, 2017a).

processes became of ever-growing interest in my trajectory. The research understands Latin Americans, including Brazilians (the largest Latin American nationality in the UK), as having a growing presence in the UK, with practices and activities which merit further investigation in the UK context (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; McIlwaine and Evans, 2018). It also recognises the fundamental importance of the connection between food, identity, human nature and culture (Barthes, 1961; Lévi-Strauss, 1966; Douglas, 1972; Fischler, 1988; Montanari, 2006), and the potential this connection has to shed light on aspects of human experience and understanding of the world (see Fischler, 1988). For those who are away from their home country, food can represent a way of negotiating identity aspects which relate to home memories and senses of belonging. For other residents in the "host" societies, food can represent a way of venturing into the new, encountering another culture, or accessing past experiences and knowledge. Cultural food experiences are also significant in the performance of lifestyles, and are part of mundane social accomplishments, routes for excitement in globalised contexts, and translocal dimensions of superdiverse conviviality (see Warde and Martens, 2000; Abarca, 2004; Wood and Muñoz, 2007). Food consumption, in this sense, provides an arena where aspects of diasporic, translocal, and global processes of identification and community construction are performed, and digital spaces allow for the articulation of these aspects.

From the perspective of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, meaning interacts with contextual assumptions (see Xu and Zhou, 2013, p.492; Alba-Juez, 2016) whilst we construct ourselves discursively (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.4). We do this as we go about experiencing everyday life, running our businesses, or practising consumption, both online and offline, and speaking and typing. In doing so, we reflect aspects of our world views and our efforts to achieve goals and position ourselves without losing face. This research, therefore, understands discourse as a resource that allows us to better understand each other, our processes of meaning-making, and the surrounding social reality.

The accommodation of language (including semiotic signs) according to one's perceived audience (Bell, 1984) and the resulting interactions with an audience can say much about the negotiation of identities, relationships, and ideologies as expressed through both the audience's and initiator's messages. Online promotional discourse presents a rich landscape for this to be observed, given the deliberate use of shared knowledge involved in the persuasion of audiences (see Xu and Zhou, 2013). This landscape can be particularly rich in environments where the audience has a voice, such as social media platforms, where opinions and structural platform features come into play.

CMC studies (Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.127) have been expanding since the 1990s (Androutsopoulos, 2006, p.420; Herring et al., 2013, p.3) and social media such as Facebook is a growing field of research (see Thurlow, 2017, pp.135-136). Within this context, business profiles (as opposed to user profiles) create further opportunities to explore culture, identity, and the affordances of the web. These environments provide space to make sense of the production of meaning in context,

where both the online and the offline are intertwined (see Hine, 2000, p.39; Tagg et al., 2017, pp.31-32; Thurlow, 2017, p.136) and are relevant to understanding connections between discourse and social practices.

Against this backdrop, this research broadly deals with the following aspects of discursive practice:

- Language use: the social, cultural, and marketing communication strategies within multidirectional environments.
- Language effects: the resulting brand and user merged processes of social and professional performances.
- Language, actions, and technology: the significance of social media in processes of getting things done, meaning making and connectivity, both professionally and personally.

The focus is then to foreground the role of language and digital communication in structuring processes of identity and community construction. To achieve this, language and communication are the primary object of study and the research questions presented below were developed to enable the in-depth and progressive exploration of interconnected mechanisms of communication. These allow the researcher to start with accounts of structural features of communication and move towards their intersection with the self, the social, and everyday processes of connectivity in the context of food consumption. Interpretations, therefore, build from the identification of evident linguistic and platform features which, together with implied meanings, point to relevant connections in the sociocultural field. This allows for further discussions, which connect previous literature, desktop research, online observation, and insights from entrepreneurs, on the role of language and digital communication in the accomplishment of daily social and professional goals, ways of existing, sense-making, and connectivity.

In line with this rationale, this research addresses the following questions:

1. In relation to Brazilian gastronomic spaces in the UK: how is communication achieved within Facebook promotional Pages?

- What are the communicative strategies employed by both businesses and consumers to present themselves and engage online?
- How do these strategies vary according to their target audience?

2. What can language use within promotional Facebook Pages reveal about consumer and company identity authentication online in a globalised context?

- How do discursive practices go beyond plain product description and assessment and into social and professional performances?

3. What do Facebook Pages' affordances and language practices reveal about processes of connectivity, relationships with and through the online sphere, and the purposes of the digital in the cultural business context?

- How are the platform's affordances and language managed to get things done?
- How are connections built or maintained?
- How are business, social, personal, and online-offline processes intertwined?

In addressing these questions, this study aims to:

- Zoom into connecting points between language, food (spaces), identity, community, and the digital from a constructive discursive perspective (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).
- Provide a description of language use within the Pages analysed, offering an illustrative record according to the linguistic frameworks adopted.
- Discuss discursive (co)authentication processes at play in the multidirectional communicative context framed by social media features.
- Discuss intersecting points across platform affordances and connectivity in personal, professional, and collective communicative actions.
- Foreground the value of born-digital materials and multiple methods of analysis in accessing social and communicative actions across the 'online-offline nexus' (Blommaert, 2017).

1.2 Research Context and Methodology

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the social media data in this research consists of Facebook Pages' posts, comments, and reviews, as well as Facebook and websites' "about" sections, further content within these (e.g. menus), interviews with entrepreneurs, and observational notes. This data has been collected manually from Pages of twenty-one Brazilian food enterprises across the UK and includes discourses from both chains and independent companies located in London and other UK cities (see chapter 3 for a detailed account of the thesis's methodology). As with the discursive character of this research, its analytical angle combines different subfields of discourse analysis (DA) and identity theories. However, the social nature of the research questions, and the bottom-up process followed in this study, have also meant considerable attention has been paid to other areas of research such as online ethnography more broadly, and literature intersecting food with globalisation, identity, migration, and diaspora studies.

In line with the aims of this study to explore brand-/self-presentations and community processes, the main theoretical approach draws on discursive constructionist identity theories. Identity in this light is seen as fluid, fragmentated, public, and performative, constructed contextually in interaction, and as a

result of life-long negotiable linguistic and semiotic intertextualities, knowledge, and references (see Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Against this socially constructive background, identity is not only personal, but also social and therefore entwined in inferences in the world around us. Hence, in this study, identity is understood as situated discursive social negotiations of a sense of self and others, with membership and individuality as co-created and co-occurring (Tracy and Robles, 2013; Edwards, 2009, pp.19-20; Joseph, 2004, pp.3-5). Exploring the relationship between (digital) language and identity therefore opens the way for further understanding discursive brand-/self-presentations as well as connectivity and relationship processes in contemporary society.

Without claiming to be a fully-fledged ethnography (see Holmes, 2013, pp.125-126), this study has taken on board insights from online (discourse-oriented) ethnographic practices (see Androutsopoulos, 2008; Hine, 2000). It has, in this way, sourced literature to complement interpretations as the study progressed, and as themes and practices became more evident. As well as specifically approaching discourse from relevant notions such as that of authenticity and affordances (Bucholtz, 2003; Coupland, 2003; Gibson 1977; Bucher and Helmond, 2017), it has invested in frameworks from DA subfields to frame discursive interpretations, and for the systematic analysis of posts, comments, and reviews. These frameworks were used as thinking tools to achieve a contextual, attitudinal, structural, and interactive understanding of the data as well as the role of multimodality in meaning-making processes. They provided insights taking into account professional genre rhetorical moves (Bhatia, 1993; 2004; 2005), audience design (Bell, 1984), discursive stance-taking (Du Bois, 2007; Martin and White, 2005), and CMC features (Herring, 2007). Beyond the application of specific frameworks, relating language to social context necessarily involves further (inter)disciplinary endeavours. In this sense, the specific focus of this study on Brazilian cultural presence and food spaces in the UK meant delving into further relevant literature. As such, literature relating to the Brazilian presence in the UK and abroad, and to topics such as food, consumption, and migration was consulted to triangulate and contextualise interpretations emergent from the data (e.g. Cook et al., 1999; Ahmed, 2000; Abarca, 2004; Molz, 2007; Möhring, 2008; Margolis, 2013; Almerico, 2014; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Evans et al., 2015; Martins Junior, 2020). Detailed accounts of the literature reviewed, and methodology developed for this study can be found in chapters 2 and 3.

1.3 Matters of Translation

A great deal of data in this research is in Portuguese, from both digital publications and interviews. Together with all materials gathered for this research, these have been analysed in the original form, and then translated by the researcher as applicable. As with all translations, the approach within this study was guided by its communicative needs, and the purpose, or 'skopos', of the translation (Vermeer,

1989). With this in mind, texts have been translated in pursuit of a balance between faithfulness and naturalness; in other words, keeping the closest possible content and form to the original whilst attempting to convey the source language effects or mood in the target language (Nida, 1964; Newmark, 1988, p.48). Given the primary readership of this thesis (i.e. academic) and the analytical value of language itself, these facets of the translation process were constantly negotiated (Eco, 2003, p.6). This was so levels of accuracy, source language style, target language fluency, and language structure were in harmony with clarity in the arguments, especially in relation to the digital data. Notes on Portuguese renderings with further context have been provided in footnotes where these were felt to contribute to and benefit the understanding of the reader.

1.4 Matters of Terminology

The following terminology were felt central for this thesis' overall argument and are therefore used as elucidated below. Other significant terms, for which clarification was felt beneficial contextually, are explained as discussions unfold.

Superdiversity

"Superdiversity" refers to the change in migration patterns globally that has been taking place since the 1990s, when flows of migration became more diffuse and less predictable. Vertovec (2007) has proposed the term to offer a 'multidimensional perspective on diversity' that reaches beyond the more prevalent public conceptualisation of migration and multiculturalism in Britain, i.e. migratory conceptualisations based on more predictable inflows from former British colonies which were subject to rights of entry that took place between the 1950s and 1970s (pp.1026-1027). Migration worldwide since the 1990s has seen inflows of people from diverse places in the world, with distinct social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, or reasons for migrating. In this context, sociocultural categorisation becomes much more complex and predictability weakens (see Blommaert and Rampton, 2011, p.1; Androutsopoulos and Juffermans, 2014, p.1). In this thesis, references to the notion of "superdiversity" aim to capture and acknowledge this superdiverse reality, and the resulting layered, entangled, and overlapping relationships across cultures and individuals today.[3] Occasionally, references to the notion of "multiculturalism" are made, for instance, whilst referring to interdisciplinary discussions or previous literature. Overall, however, I have found that the connotations of "superdiversity" provide a more suitable level of comprehensiveness for the purpose of this thesis.

[3] Consider the case of Manchester, its linguistic and thus cultural diversity, for instance (see Gopal et al., 2013).

Translingual Practices and Translanguaging

Although loosely defined, notions such as "translingual" practices and/or "translanguaging" emerged with the aim to encapsulate the fluidity and interplay of communicative resources in the process of meaning-making beyond named languages (Canagarajah, 2013, pp.6-9). In foregrounding transversality as opposed to juxtaposition in relation to communicative systems, such terms challenge notions of stability in how we interpret language and society (see Androutsopoulos and Juffermans, 2014, p.2). In this thesis, these concepts refer to how communicative repertoires move between linguistic structures and systems as well as beyond them (Wei, 2011, p.1223; also see Baynham and Lee, 2019). In this way, "translingual" and "translanguaging" function as umbrella terms covering the variety of multilingual and multimodal practices encountered within named languages, as well as the cognitive resources which challenge their boundaries. The use of these terms does not replace specific terms such as code-switching, bilingual, or multilingual in this thesis. These too were considered useful terms which, even with their implied language systems' separateness, have functional terminological value across the literature. As such, they provide the specificity required to maintain clarity when referring to the multitude of ways language is used.

Translocality

The conceptualisation and applications of "translocality" are vast and diverse, though the term is often used to acknowledge socio-spatial dynamics, simultaneities, and identifications which can include, although they are not necessarily limited to, the nation-state (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). From a discourse perspective, the notion then lends itself to embrace local, global, but also situated signs which are part of the multidirectional process of circulation of ideas, symbols, and knowledge which can impact both migrant and non-migrant world constructions and sense-making. "Translocality" encapsulates the fluidity necessary for the understanding of culture in a superdiverse context (see Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Kytölä, 2016), and how digital communication can reach 'beyond domestic spaces and national boundaries' (Thurlow, 2017, p.140). In this thesis, the term accounts for the confluence of signs, the fluidity that characterises discursive constructions, as well as the multiplicity of references to places, people, and situated in-between formations, not necessarily primarily related to the nation or nation-state, that are possible in experiential and meaning-making processes. This does not mean that the following discussions dismiss the relevance of 'transnationalism' (see Poblete, 2018) and its terminological value; they include it instead of foregrounding it. "Transnationalism" is still referred to when directly applicable to the argument or in connection with previous literature. Nevertheless, "translocality" has proved more fitting for this research, as spatial registers and references are fragmented, and it can also allow for in-country spatial references (Holmes, 2016, p.303; see also Matras, 2018). For those moving abroad, their range of spatial registers does not simply stay behind. Similarly, for those in or from the "host" society, assuming a primary connection

to the nation or nation-state in discursive constructions cannot encompass the value of localised experiences. In this sense, "translocality" can account for the variety of references that people, regardless of their (trans)national background, are exposed to in a superdiverse and globalised society, and which compose spatial and national constructions that take place as people go about their daily lives.

Community

The term "community" can often be used to refer to defined groups of people, sometimes assuming the existence of homogeneity, group solidarity, place commonality, or, in light of the virtual context, 'social aggregations that emerge […] to form webs of personal relationships' (Rheingold, 2000, p.xx; see also Canagarajah, 2013, p.16). Often part of institutional, political, "top-down", or idealised discourses, it can carry reductionist connotations which do not reflect the complexity of life in Britain or the lives of Brazilians in Britain (see Martins Junior, 2020). In the context of this project, "community" is seen as fragmented and made of transitory senses of alignment or affinity that people may feel in relation to others, due to their cultural background, personal or professional trajectories, or mundane positionings. It entails a daily exercise of imagination that draws on intertextual messages available around us. This thesis thus accords with widened conceptualisations of the term, encompassing fleeting moments of conviviality, temporary alignment, or "like-mindedness", which, discursively emerge as expressions of moments of rapid and passing senses of connectivity or social bonds (see Drasovean and Tagg, 2015; Zidjaly, 2019). This aligns with notions such as that of '*light*' communities (Blommaert, 2018, pp.68-69, emphasis in original) and 'ambient affiliation' (Zappavigna, 2011) proposed by previous research, and as such, refers to discursive moments which create a sense of collectiveness and/or connectivity.

Authenticity

The concept of "authenticity' stems from ideas of genuineness, truthfulness, originality, or uniqueness (see Varga and Guignon, 2020; Coupland, 2003, p.217; Zukin, 2008, p.728). This, however, is based on personal knowledge and experiences, a result of intertextual assessments, expectations, and therefore a subjective and malleable construct across societies (Lu and Fine, 1995; Cook et al., 1999; Zukin, 2008; Möhring, 2008; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015; Torabian and Arai, 2016). Within the sociolinguistic views of authenticity with which this thesis aligns (Bucholtz, 2003; Coupland, 2003; Blommaert and Varis, 2013), "authenticity" is not seen as an object to be defined. Instead, it is seen as intrinsically connected to identification, constructed in discourse, and processual; an outcome of language practices which is dependent on subjective interpretations. As such, "authenticity" cannot be defined, but is expressed in a variety of ways through discourses. As the discourses in this thesis suggest, sounding authentic in the context of cultural food consumption includes references to Brazil and aspects of its culinary practice, as well as other (trans)local references which relate to mundane, personal, social,

lifestyle, and consumption matters. “Authenticity”, in this study’s perspective, is as diverse as the context in which its construction takes place. It is made of moments in which different aspects of certain ways of being or feeling are expressed in discourse, be they based on international, home, or abroad experiences.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis has been organised into seven chapters. This introduction has provided an overview of the overall research topic, aims, theoretical and methodological angles, and definition of the relevant terms. Chapters 2 and 3 present a thorough account of the literature reviewed, theoretical background, and methodology developed. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss the main findings of this study. This is then followed by concluding reflections in chapter 7.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review and theoretical considerations of this study organised in four branches of knowledge. It begins by intersecting relevant discussions across research on food, globalisation, diaspora, and identity. This is done by drawing on research stemming from food studies in relation to multiculturalism, identity, and cultural food consumption in a globalised context; by providing an overview of Brazilian migration worldwide and in the UK; and by exploring matters of Brazilian identity (abroad) in connection to entrepreneurship, and mundane and (food) consumption spaces. The chapter then moves on to the relevant literature to contextualise this research’s connection to online tools and spaces by considering the advent of the web, social networking sites (SNSs), and Facebook as a promotional tool. Following this, the chapter proceeds to explore the communicative dimension of the thesis by considering CMC as a phenomenon in human interaction, and the relationship between social media affordances and language use. The final section of the chapter discusses the body of knowledge which underlies the theoretical stand of this thesis. As such, it concentrates on the relationship between identity and discourse, and the fluid and social constructive perspective which underpins non-essentialist views of identity. Given the direct connection between identity and authentication processes, this section also provides a retrospective discussion on the conceptualisation of the notion of authenticity within sociolinguistics with the relevant literature consulted, and its value for this study.

Chapter 3 covers the methodology and decision-making that led to this study’s development. It starts by introducing the research questions, followed by the analytical approach adopted and how (online and discourse-oriented) ethnographic insights lend themselves to this research. It then discusses the process of data selection and collection, including interviews, that took place, and the preparation of the corpus containing posts, comments, and reviews. This is followed by reflections on ethical issues in light of this research and the detailing of the linguistic frameworks adopted for interpreting the data.

Chapter 4 presents the analytical insights resulting from the application of the frameworks to the corpus. In doing so, it provides an illustrative record of the following: the technological and social factors connected to discourse within Facebook company Pages; the rhetorical moves encountered across the company posts; the addressivity strategies employed by companies and users; and the process of stance-taking across posts, comments, and reviews, including highlighted themes encountered in this process.

Having achieved an understanding of language use within Pages, chapter 5 concentrates on the connection between language around food and identity performance. It considers language use as a resource for the authentication of identity in the context of food spaces, and the resulting co-construction of value and knowledge at play within multidirectional communication. Combined with insights gained from the interview process, desktop research, and online observation, the chapter delves into the relationship between senses of self and collectives, and the discursive construction of company names, brand concepts, matters of home and belonging, cross-cultural mediations, and (trans)local social and mundane expressions.

Chapter 6 moves on from specific authentication processes to explore the relationship between communication practices and digital affordances in processes of meaning-making and of getting things done. It does so by uncovering the affordances of the platform by relating Facebook's mechanisms to the production of meaning across Pages' "about" section, posts and "reactions", comments, and reviews. Combining the knowledge acquired from the analysis of the corpus with insights from the interviews and online observation,[4] the chapter zooms into processes of connectivity and relationship management, as well as the tangibility of the digital in everyday actions. This is considered primarily in relation to Pages, but also more broadly in relation to social media and other communication tools.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by firstly addressing the research questions in relation to different discussions that took place in this study. This is followed by considering the research's methodology, and the rationale of the research design and its relevance. It then reflects on the overall contributions and limitations of the study, as well as directions for further research.

[4] The term "observation" is used in this study to refer to the "back in time", as opposed to "as it happens", process of systematic observation of Pages' publications (see Hine, 2000, pp.22-23). As Androutsopoulos (2008, paragraph 11) points out, systematic observation is often implicit in work on language in new media. Taking the time to take notes and observe in this way assists with making sense of interactions, developing a '*feel*' for discursive practices, and informs rich sampling for analysis and for potential interviewing routes (paragraphs 14-15, emphasis in original).

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Background

The literature review and theoretical background presented below focus on the fields of research which have informed the process of answering the research questions of this thesis. These include research within the fields of food studies, diaspora studies, CMC, and language and identity. To create a coherent argument, this chapter will be divided into four sections presenting the relevant literature pertaining to each of these research areas before proceeding to its concluding remarks. It will begin by providing the literature reviewed in relation to food, globalisation, and (Brazilian) diaspora and identity.[5] The second section will comprise an overview of Web 2.0, SNSs, and Facebook as a promotional tool. The third section will then proceed to consider CMC as a phenomenon in human communication, and its relationship to social media affordances. The final theoretical section will explore the relevant literature related to the study of language and identity, and the significance of the notion of authenticity to this study.

2.1 Food

Food studies (Almerico, 2014, p.2) has been considered a field of research since around the turn of the millennium (Jackson, 2015, p.ix) and can therefore be described as an emergent area of research. Through the lens of food studies, food goes beyond its nutritional value; its relationship to culture, society, and human existence being the main object of study (see Jackson, 2015, p.x; Almerico, 2014; see also Montanari, 2006; Douglas, 1972; Lévi-Strauss, 1966; Fischler, 1988; Barthes, 1961). In this sense, food is an object of study across a variety of research areas including globalisation (e.g. Inglis and Gimlin, 2009), commercial opportunities (e.g. Lindgreen and Hingley, 2009), production and consumption (e.g. Bell and Valentine, 1997), anxiety in consumer culture (e.g. Jackson, 2015), cross-cultural food encounters (e.g. Coleman, 2011), travel and tourism experiences (e.g. Yeoman et al., 2015; Molz, 2007), eating out (e.g. Warde and Martens, 2000), diaspora, cosmopolitanism,[6] and multiculturalism (e.g. Cook et al., 1999; Abarca, 2004; Buettner, 2008; Molz, 2011; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015). Within the context of this research, food studies lends itself to the understanding of online identity practice generated by food spaces from a superdiverse and globalised perspective.

[5] In this thesis, "diaspora" is conceptualised as a 'type of consciousness' (see Vertovec, 2009, pp.5-7) which results from individuals' trajectories and experiences in the context of mobility and which can entail an awareness of multiple localities, realities, and identifications.

[6] "Cosmopolitanism" in this thesis broadly refers to the cultural realm of citizenship, thus referring to matters of 'identity, community and belonging' (Molz, 2011, p.33) which emerge from contacts with cultural diversity, experiences of mobility, travels, consumption, and lifestyle in a globalised world.

Therefore, it is the potential of food to trigger processes of connectivity and individual or group identity (see Almerico, 2014, p.3; Hayes, 2009, p.215), as expressed through online communication and affordances, that shapes the arena for this thesis. Given the interdisciplinary engagement of my research, in this first section, I will start by setting a background which relates food to globalisation. The aim in this instance is not to provide a historical account of the phenomenon of (food) globalisation, but to set a linear rationale leading to considerations regarding the role of cultural food in diasporic and non-diasporic experiences. I will attempt to address this by considering how food provision, consumption, and identity practices intersect with themes such as commodification, authenticity, and hybridity in globalised settings. I will conclude this section by considering the presence of Brazilians abroad, and research addressing Brazilian identity in relation to (food) spaces from a diasporic perspective.

2.1.1 Food and Globalisation

The connection between people, mobility, and food can be better understood in relation to globalisation, the origin of which is an ongoing debate. Some scholars treat globalisation as a recent phenomenon related to technological revolutions from the 1970s onwards. Some point to the advance of imperial systems and capitalism in the nineteenth century as significant drivers of globalisation. Other scholars stretch its origins as far as 5,000 years ago, taking different points in history into account such as the spice trade and Silk Routes. Others believe globalisation started in 1492 with the European colonisation of the Americas and the resulting spread of human relations and the transatlantic food trade (see Inglis and Gimlin, 2009, pp.10-13; Prange, 2011; Pieterse, 2012; Riley and Paugh, 2019, pp.34; 39). In any event, through the movement of things and people throughout history, flavours have been transported, thus altering taste buds and the choice of ingredients across the globe. Accordingly, many of the ingredients considered key to European cuisine such as potatoes, peanuts, and chocolate are derived from the Americas (Inglis and Gimlin, 2009, pp.12-13). This can also be extended to mundane practices in the UK such as drinking tea or eating out in restaurants, the origins of which are traced back to Indian and Chinese, and French cultures respectively (see Green, 1996, cited in Cook et al., 1999, pp.243-244). In this sense, the role of food in culture transformation goes back centuries (see Phillips, 2006).

Globalisation is argued by scholars to have both homogenising and heterogenising cultural effects (Robertson, 1995; Appadurai, 1996, p.32; Inglis and Gimlin, 2009, pp.7-8). On the one hand, arguments concentrate on the effects that an economically driven globalisation may have on culture. In this light, the spread of capitalist consumerism in connection with commodification practices, or the potential control of American corporations (e.g. McDonald's and Coca-Cola) over (food) cultures, a process of 'McDonaldization' as described by Ritzer (2000), can be seen as potentially homogenising (Ashley, et al., 2004, pp.95-97). On the other hand, arguments for heterogenising effects consider culture never to be fully controlled by economic forces. From this perspective, the very opportunities for mobility created by globalisation, as well as efforts to challenge its homogenising effects, are drivers for

strengthening and creating senses of belonging, affiliation, and identity (Inglis and Gimlin, 2009, p.8). In this way, the social embedding, mixing, and positioning of people (thus food), give rise to culture forms that are both local and global, in other words, a process of 'glocalization' (Robertson, 1995).

In this light, globalisation seems to be able to compress the world, link environments, and create localities (see Robertson, 1995, p.35), combining players who act, react, and adapt to each other. As Möhring (2008, p.129) points out, whilst the emergence of national cuisine was a reaction to increased international contacts, and political, economic, and cultural competition in the nineteenth century, the diversification of cuisines we see today can be understood as a reaction to the standardisation of food culture linked to fast food production and consumption. Such diversification is connected to the rise of eating out both as a leisure and normalised activity. Since the 1960s, money spent on eating out in Western countries has gradually increased, with take-away meals increasing from 14 to 27 percent of all meals eaten in the UK between 1975 and 1984 (Möhring, 2008, pp.130-131). Another relevant factor in this diversification process is the global circulation of knowledge about foodways through tourism, media, product advertising, and migration (Phillips, 2006, pp.44-45). As previous research has shown (e.g. Gabaccia, 1998; Möhring, 2008), the spread of cultural food restaurants in the United States of America (USA) and Europe is connected to migration processes. Since the 1980s, eating in cultural restaurants has played a significant role in the food service industry in Europe, with the UK having the largest cultural food market by 1997 (see Basu, 2002, pp.149-150; Möhring, 2008, p.131). As well as a mechanism to enact a "holiday" or a diasporic "home" (Wood and Muñoz, 2007; Möhring, 2008; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015), eating out has been a strong cultural and social practice that, whilst commodifying and enabling resistance, has been shaping experiences and mundane activities of consumers for decades.

2.1.2 Cultural Food in the Globalised Society

The reflection of globalisation in contemporary Britain is noticeable every time one leaves the house. As Ashley et al. (2004, pp.91-92) point out, a typical British suburban area is likely to display a variety of food spaces, ranging from McDonald's and cultural restaurants to food outlets of different sizes. Taking the suburban area where I live on the south west edge of London (Kingston upon Thames) for illustrative purposes, there is an Indian, an Italian, a Chinese, and a Thai restaurant, an English and a French cafe, a Polish and a kebab shop, a McDonalds, and four supermarkets, all less than 10 minutes' walk from home. In various locations throughout the UK, cultural food is not only cooked and available on one's doorstep but ingredients for home cooking are also available in most supermarkets (Ashley et al., 2004, pp.91-92). This provision of culinary and cultural diversity embedded into an individual's most mundane activities may play a part in the conceptualisation of multiculturalism. Cook et al. (1999) examine the role of multicultural imaginaries in the construction of globalised identities through everyday food provision and consumption in the UK. As they explore culinary culture as a form of

identity practice which entails the construction and use of cultural differences, they identify multicultural imaginaries associated with themes such as culinary diversity, authenticity, and hybridisation. In this light, they explore processes of differentiations through which diversity/multiculturalism is constructed routinely.

One of the imaginaries identified is that of an endless offer of difference, which through commodification stimulates the consumer adventure into the new or simply a break from boredom (Cook et al., 1999, pp.230-234). Through a combination of cultural signs at play in cultural restaurants and those in circulation in the media (e.g. magazines, advertising), consumers can picture a foreign world made of iconic cultural components to which the food experience is attributed. A consequence of this process can be the decontextualisation and recontextualisation of cultural forms as they are placed into a non-native social context. Also related to this is the self-service nature of consumerism in relation to the simultaneous consumer desire for novelty and 'mainstream positionality' (hooks, 1992, p.23). As the consumer combines the desire for difference and comfort, s/he may be over-investing in the pleasures of the experience and thus overlooking the significance of the associated group. In this way, this engagement in consumer decision-making may cause one to devote more attention to joy than cultural nuances. This process has an impact on the construction of the concept of authenticity, another imaginary analysed by Cook et al. (1999, pp.234-239).

Authenticity stems from the idea of a genuine, truthful, honest, close to nature, original or unique self (see Zukin, 2008, p.728; Coupland, 2003, p.217; Varga and Guignon, 2020). As a hard-to-define construct (see Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015, p.140) based on personal instinct and knowledge, it is helpful to think of authenticity in distinct contexts. Taking gentrification as an example, consumer satisfaction is often connected to the recreation and appearance of businesses, thus the neighbourhood, due to a switch in demand. As new arrivals find a mismatch between their desire for "up to date" coffee shops and the available take-aways in their new area, they also exercise their sense of belonging and identity. By both adapting to the area and causing the area to adapt to their presence, local and personal authenticity get reconstructed (see Zukin, 2008). To further exemplify, we can think of another context, such as that of domestic and social life, where notions of authenticity can be exercised as a re-claiming of personal cultural knowledge (e.g. not serving Italian pasta with Greek salad to guests) or by fulfilling nostalgic traditions (e.g. having a British roast) (see Cook et al., 1999, pp.234-239).

For the cultural restaurant sector, authenticity is often influenced by consumer expectations potentially associated with cultural imaginaries that are frozen in time (see Cook et al., 1999; Möhring, 2008). This can pave the way for business competition, and thus the reinforcement of aspects of tradition. This is often visible in commercial and advertising practices, where, for instance, the word "authentic" or recognisable cultural allusions (e.g. flags, touristy places, famous movies) can function as a discourse marker of the consumer's expected experience (see Girardelli, 2004; Wood and Muñoz, 2007; Möhring,

2008, p.140). Such practices come as no surprise within a crowded, globalised, consumer-oriented market, where claims of authenticity involve a constant negotiation between tradition and consumer knowledge (see Lu and Fine, 1995). The challenging task for entrepreneurs in the globalised cultural food sector, without ignoring the 'omnivore's paradox',[7] is to decide how to adapt to customers who may be keen to try authentic food, but at the same time, feel hesitant about trying dishes that fall outside their previous experience (Lu and Fine, 1995, p.544). Taking into account the recontextualisation involved in this process, businesses go through a constant redefinition of authenticity.

The above processes may be seen as commodification in a negative light. However, it is important not to neglect the element of agency linked to challenges and opportunities generated by globalisation, and the connection between mobility and (food) culture transformation. In this sense, a goal-oriented approach to authenticity (Jackson, 1999, pp.100-101) can be associated with resistance (see Frost, 2011; Lu and Fine, 1995). As businesses position themselves within economic and political forces, a process of negotiation (and transformation) may be triggered to ensure survival and/or visibility. Frost's (2011) examination into how local restaurateurs managed Brick Lane's reputation (thus their own) in London through the Curry Festival illustrates this situation. The festival, managed by the restaurateurs, aimed to promote and support local restaurants at the event, and throughout the year. Whilst the restaurant businesses played a significant role as employers of local Bengalis, and in supporting suppliers and services within the local community, they often faced challenges related to high rents, competition for custom due to the concentration of establishments, the street's reputation as cheap, and their dismissal by food critics (Frost, 2011, pp.228-232; see also Buettner, 2008, pp.884-885). Within this context, whilst trading on cultural credentials, the festival was taken as an opportunity to challenge criticisms (e.g. take a healthy stance by replacing artificial colourants with beetroot) and further influence media coverage of the area constructively (Frost, 2011, pp.236-237). A similar perception also runs through Lu and Fine's (1995) research on Chinese food in the USA as a means towards social achievement. Their research considers social, cultural, and economic constraints, such as market forces, competition, and skills required to both maintain tradition and standardise the experience of the local customer.

Thus, whilst it is sensible to bear in mind that simultaneous processes of commodification and hybridisation may trigger effects such as the reduction of cuisines to one or two dishes or the illusion of acceptance (see Möhring, 2008, p.140; Abarca, 2004; Buettner, 2008, pp.868-872), creativity and originality have a role to play. A cultural restaurant abroad is a product of, or a reaction to, its own context of emergence, be it targeted at the "host" population or even at the diaspora, as we will explore

[7] i.e. the simultaneous human resistance to accept new foods and the unknown (neophobia) and need for change, variety, and exploring new foods (neophilia) (see Fischler, 1988, pp.277-279; Hayes, 2009, p.220).

shortly (see Assunção, 2011, p.90; Linger, 2001, p.91).[8] As Abarca (2004) suggests, the insistence on authenticity, be it for the eyes of the "host" or the diasporic audience, can intervene with mutual cultural and social influence, and turn people into representatives of difference (pp.7-10). In a superdiverse society, this can happen in relation to both the "host" culture and one's own culture, as processes of differentiation are not exclusive to cross-cultural encounters (see Robins, 2019).

When cultural practices are reinforced abroad, even if attempting a faithful reproduction of those from a given country of origin, they will not necessarily resonate with all practices or individuals from a given culture. This is because food practices change and get adapted as people go about their lives. Even within one's home country, definitions of cultural and food authenticity are subjective and so can vary among individuals. When individuals move abroad, these can evolve even further. As migrants start renegotiating their identities, their relationship with food and home culture may change, be repurposed, and re-signified (see Morasso and Zittoun, 2014; Robins, 2019). Representations of authenticity abroad are, in this sense, unavoidably imagined to an extent. Food, as a symbolic resource, is entwined in identity processes. As the mix of flavours and cuisines becomes more embedded in globalised identities (see Molz, 2011), cultural aspects of food may fade away, be reinvented, or transformed. Food, following this, plays a role which is varied in social life, be it in association with the de/recontextualisation implied by cultural commodification (see Lu and Fine, 1995; hooks, 1992, p.31), the celebratory yet perhaps confusing aspects of fusion cuisine (see Stano, 2017),[9] or the management of mainstream and diasporic identities.

Regarding diasporic identities, a final theme intersecting cultural food and identity is that of home and belonging in connection to food (spaces) and diasporic communities. Ahmed (2000) reflects on the notions of home, "away", migration, and estrangement in connection to diaspora. As she points out, the 'association of home with familiarity […] allows strangeness to be associated with migration' (p.88). From this perspective, the estrangement generated by the act of migration plays a role in processes of reconfiguration of identity, which takes place outside the original home rather than being brought from it. Living abroad therefore creates multiple homes to which memories can get attached. For expatriates, the movements between homes allow for home to be romanticised, and the impossibility of being at the "original" home can cause the "host" land to not quite feel like home. The lack of a memory bank to

[8] The term "host" in relation to land, society, audience, language, or practices has been consistently used with quotation marks. This is because, although useful for clarity in referring to translocal or cultural references, it suggests a level of dependability on the hospitality of a given setting, and lacks connotations that embed all cultures and individuals as contributors to and constituting of the "host" setting or practices.

[9] As suggested so far, the fusion of ingredients and cultures can be seen as entwined in longstanding globalisation processes which include the movement of people, ideas, and products. The terms "fusion food" or "fusion cuisine" as used in contemporary society, often in the context of creative or new practices and trends in the restaurant scene, was not felt to encompass all layers of historical meaning and processes (see Geiling, 2013; Riley and Paugh, 2019, pp.43-46) with which this thesis engages, and was therefore not specifically used throughout.

make sense of the new environment can cause one to feel out of place, triggering a level of reconfiguration of oneself in relation to home and the world (see Ahmed, 2000, pp.77-94).

As new identities are instigated, coping mechanisms such as the creation of acts of collective remembering can play a role. Food, in this sense, plays an important role in the migrant experience. Vázquez-Medina and Medina (2015) analyse the role of 'La Pulga' market (California, USA) in fulfilling a sense of belonging through its sensorial, visual, and familial aspects. By observing and talking with people in the market, they describe the similarities to Mexico that fill its atmosphere. These vary from the presence of regional Mexican music in the car park, to overheard comments connecting smells to hometowns. As they explain, the environment causes subjects to test and share their memories, as well as recreate their recollections of home. Visiting the market works not only as a mechanism to maintain links to Mexico, but also to seek the 'psychological comfort' provided by the symbolic meaning of certain food stuffs (Cantarero and Medina, 2000, p.354, cited in Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015, p.136). A strong link to nostalgia seems to stand out in such situations where memory plays a central role. As Vignolles and Pichon's (2014) research suggests, nostalgia is linked to belonging and identity reinforcement. This relates to the negotiation between the available memory bank made of consolidated moments with smells, tastes, and objects from the motherland, and the memory bank under construction in the "host" land (see Ahmed, 2000; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015). As emotions emerge from an 'idealized past' (Vignolles and Pichon, p.228), a route to deal with the mismatch in belonging between both homes is created. In their analysis of links between nostalgia and consumption, Vignolles and Pichon (2014) found connections between food consumption and childhood memories, the longing for unavailable or out of market products, and the power of product design over taste. The power of product design highlights the role of visuals in memory processing which is helpful in making sense of aspects of food spaces such as the decoration and look of the food itself.

Food spaces such as cafés, restaurants, and shops can indeed play a role in 'belongingness' (Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015, p.138). In her study of Brazilian culinary cultures in London, Brightwell (2012a, also 2012) analyses the potential of nostalgia for the diasporic food outlets. She discusses the creation of a sense of home abroad and spaces of collective belonging. Her study suggested the formation of a compilation of Brazilian food spaces in London, catering for the taste of a new wave of Brazilian migration from states such as Goiás, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Paraná. This entailed the circulation of new types of Brazilian food stuff, as well as new spaces for the construction of '*Brazilianness*' abroad (Brightwell, 2012a, emphasis in original). The study pointed out that identity performance in such spaces 'could not be framed only in terms of how *Brazilianness* was commodified to be consumed by the *other*' (Brightwell, 2012a, p.58, emphasis in original). Within this context, where the marketisation of one's own culture to one's fellow compatriots also takes place, authenticity is moulded by needs which stem from one's very own translocal experiences and knowledge. The

construction of authenticity is then not primarily motivated by cross-cultural difference across countries and continents, but by home and abroad feelings (Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015). The result, it seems, is an environment that although motivated by profits, goes beyond commercial transactions. Although this implies a personal involvement with food spaces by both the management and the consumer, Brightwell's research (2012a, p.73) suggests that such spaces may also cause people to feel trapped within their own cultural boundaries. This is because these may become an obstacle to achieving the original objectives of moving abroad, such as immersing oneself in the "host" culture (see also Robins, 2019). Accordingly, experiences do vary across individuals, and opportunities may not always coincide with personal objectives.

2.1.3 Brazilians Worldwide

Significant Brazilian emigration started in the 1980s, intensifying in the latter half of that decade (Margolis, 2013, p.4). With the exception of migration in response to the dictatorship (1964-1985), when academics, artists, and politicians fled the country, economic struggles have often been highlighted as a motivation for leaving Brazil, though change of lifestyle has also been a factor (see Martins Junior, 2020, pp.4-5). Regarding the former, factors included levels of inflation, unemployment among the young, and a lack of opportunities in the fields of expertise of graduates and trained professionals in Brazil (Margolis, 2013, pp.8-9). Between 1980 and 1990, 1.8 million Brazilians left the country, a significant number for a country previously acquainted with immigration flows rather than emigration (Brzozowski, 2012, pp.137-138). Although calculating an accurate number of Brazilians abroad is a challenging task due to untraceable irregularities and dual citizenships (see Evans et al., 2007, pp.5-10; Robins, 2019a, p.6), according to the Ministério das Relações Exteriores (MRE, 2015), Brazilians are estimated at 3,083,255 around the globe, with over 750,000 in Europe.

According to the comprehensive account of Brazilian migration provided by Margolis (2009; 2013), who dedicated her research to Brazilians in New York and beyond, many Brazilians who left from the late 1980s were from the middle strata of society, with flows of migration to the USA, Japan, Portugal, and other European countries (Margolis, 2013, p.17). In North America and Europe, Brazilians usually work in low paid jobs within the service sector (e.g. as cleaners, waiters, and painters). However, in Portugal, due to their ability to speak the language, administrative jobs also become more readily accessible, with a highlighted wave of dentists also having migrated (Margolis, 2013, pp.23-32; Padilla, 2005, p.3). In Japan, most Brazilians work in manufacturing. As Margolis (2013, p.122) explains, as a result of a law passed in 1990, Brazilians of Japanese ancestry were welcomed to the country in an attempt to regulate the labour shortage in industrial jobs in Japan. Their presence in Brazil (Nishida, 2018, pp.18-43; Smith, 1979) is associated with the previous immigration of about 190,000 Japanese to Brazil, who came to fulfil the need for cheap labour in coffee plantations between 1908 and 1942. This resulted in Brazil being home to the largest Japanese descendent community outside Japan, with an

estimated 1.5 million in Brazil by 2008 (Margolis, 2013, p.122). Other than the countries just mentioned, further locations such as the UK became popular with Brazilians over time. Seeking both cultural and financial capital, Brazilians' choice to come to the UK was helped by factors such as having ancestry in countries of the European Union such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal (see Cwerner, 2001, p.16; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016, p.44), and the convenience associated with entering countries which do not require tourist visas to be arranged before the journey (see Kubal et al., 2011, pp.19-20; Frangella, 2010, p.34).

2.1.4 Brazilians in the UK

As with other Latin American groups, Brazilians have mostly entered the UK with EU passports, tourist or student visas (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016, p.43; McIlwaine et al., 2011, p.47). With a majority arriving between 2000 and 2011 (McIlwaine and Evans, 2018, p.6), Brazilians in the UK are estimated at between 120,000 and 300,000 (see Evans et al., 2015, p.9; MRE, 2015; Kubal et al., 2011, p.5). Most are settled across London, with some areas being known for having more Brazilian residents. These are the district of Bayswater and the boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark, Haringey, and Brent, where 30,000 have been estimated to live (see Evans et al., 2007, p.5; Evans et al., 2011, p.25; Evans et al., 2015, pp.24-25; McIlwaine and Evans, 2018, p.6). Brazilians are also scattered throughout the UK, with a presence in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland (Evans et al., 2015, p.9), and have become the largest nationality among Latin Americans in the UK since 2000 (McIlwaine et al., 2011, p.14; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016, pp.10-11). Given the aforementioned difficulties in providing an accurate number of Brazilians abroad, including the UK, official data is likely to be an undercount. Especially in London, where most Brazilians in the UK reside (McIlwaine and Evans, 2018, p.6), the community and commercial provision targeted at Brazilians is indicative of a higher number and more solid presence of Brazilians. As previous research (see Evans et al., 2007, p.5; McIlwaine et al., 2011, p.14; Brightwell, 2012a) points out, the presence of churches, restaurants, and other service providers such as lawyers and travel agencies, often advertised in publications in Portuguese aimed at Brazilians and other Portuguese speaking communities, is impressive.

As briefly mentioned above, though economic struggle is an undeniable factor in the motivations for Brazilian migration worldwide, this is not homogeneous. For some, lifestyle is claimed to be the main motivation for migration, with economic factors being either absent from or only partially connected to their migration decision-making (see Robins, 2019a). In this sense, previous research (Cwerner, 2001, p.16; Margolis, 2009, p.12; Kubal et al., 2011, p.7; Robins, 2019; 2019a; Martins Junior, 2020, pp.4-5) suggests that lifestyle migration motivations relate to the Brazilian imaginary of modernity abroad which is parallel to awareness of Brazil's underdeveloped condition, the desire to travel the world, enjoy freedom of movement, better quality of life, anonymity, and to acquire cultural and social capital by improving English skills or discovering new cultures. As Cwerner's (2001) research has shown,

Brazilians who came to London in the late 1980s and 1990s were usually young (between 20 and 40), single, of middle-class background with no homogeneous economic motivations to leave, and many with steady jobs in Brazil and plans to return. Indeed, most of these first-wave migrants were predominantly from southern and south-eastern Brazil, its wealthiest regions (Martins Junior, 2020, p.5). Nonetheless, since the early 2000s, with further restrictions on entering the USA, this scenario has changed, and migration from less wealthy areas such as the central and north-eastern regions of Brazil, and by working-class Brazilians has increased (Kubal et al., 2011; Frangella, 2010; Brightwell, 2012a; Martins Junior, 2020, p.5). This makes the current Brazilian migrant population in the UK very diverse in terms of regionality, social class and motivations to leave Brazil, and can have an effect on how Brazilian identity is renegotiated abroad (see Martins Junior, 2020).

2.1.5 Brazilian Identity Abroad

With an intensified presence after 2000, London has witnessed the further emergence of provisions to satisfy both the variety of Brazilians abroad and the rising popularity of Brazil through mass media. As Frangella (2010) suggests, from the proliferation of hair salons, restaurants and samba schools, to the popularity of the 2002 film *City of God* (Miramax, n.d.), professional footballers, caipirinha and the export of cachaça, and the Selfridges' Brazilian themed month in 2004 (Lane, 2004), Brazil increasingly circulated in public discourse, with a gradual level of trendiness being attached to its imaginary (see also Leu, 2004). Beyond these, events such as the death of the Brazilian Jean Charles de Menezes who was mistaken for a terrorist in 2005 (BBC, 2015) have also played a role in bringing awareness of Brazilian presence in the UK. This circulation of ideas and imaginaries, fed both by Brazilians and non-Brazilians, plays a role in how Brazilian identity is represented and contested through difference abroad.

Within Brazil, identity can often be associated with regionality (see Robins, 2019). This can be a factor in the identification as a Brazilian abroad, as it entails a process of reassessing and rearticulating oneself between encounters with Brazilians from other states and expectations of the "host" society (see Brightwell, 2012a, p.62; Martins Junior, 2020, p.20). This has been noted by Margolis (2009, pp.32-34) who observed that Brazilians in New York drew on pre-existing regional distinctions to differentiate from each other (see also Sheringham, 2010, pp.67-68; Robins, 2019). It has also been researched among Brazilians in London through the work of Martins Junior (2020) and Robins (2019, 2019a). Both studies bring to the fore processes of "othering" among compatriots which are often connected to social class, regional, and racial divisions in Brazil, pointing to the scale of diversity of Brazilians in London. In a similar manner, processes of differentiation can also take place in relation to other cultures. As Marrow's (2003) research suggests, Brazilians would not readily categorise themselves as Latinos or Hispanics (used interchangeably in the USA), given that the term "Hispanics" decontextualises their history (i.e. Portuguese language and affiliations); and that this Spanish-centric understanding of Hispanics/Latinos by US natives does not match the interpretation of the terms carried by Brazilians.

This differentiation from other cultures may be triggered by daily reminders of invisibility connected to poor knowledge about Brazil among locals (e.g. the erroneous assumption that Brazilians speak Spanish) (see Margolis, 2009, pp.92-95; 2013, pp.188-189). A similar sentiment seems to be at play for Brazilians of Japanese descent in Japan, where they have also shown dislike for being confused with Japanese Peruvians (Margolis, 2009, p.97). Following this, an element of situational resistance to affiliations with idealised groups abroad exist at some level, signposting that homogeneity across migrants cannot be assumed.

This also relates to how stereotypes can have an impact on migrants' lives, including those directly associated with Brazilians in general. According to Malheiros and Padilla (2015) and Beserra (2007), the effects of stereotypes on the migrant experience can be both negative and positive. Malheiros and Padilla (2015) highlight how Brazilians in Portugal deal with the sexualised image of Brazilian women on a daily basis. Their study reveals that whilst the negative connotations may not be appreciated by Brazilian women, Brazilian women entrepreneurs have turned the situation in their favour through entrepreneurship in the beauty sector. Aware of the admiration of Brazilian physical beauty present in the imaginary of Portuguese women, Brazilians invested in the sense of exceptionalism and quality that can be attached to Brazilian aesthetic techniques (Malheiros and Padilla, 2015, p.696). Along similar lines, Beserra (2007) discusses the strategies used by Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class women in Los Angeles to deal with the exoticised image of Brazilian women. Whilst some women demonstrate discomfort with the situation, to the point of lying about their nationality, others take ownership of what they perceive to be positive aspects of the stereotype.

In this sense, dealing with stereotypes and seeking acceptance is also associated with agency. In addition to the above-mentioned research by Malheiros and Padilla (2015), Brazilian entrepreneurship has been noted elsewhere (see Sales, 2005; Sheringham, 2010; Brightwell, 2012; 2012a). According to Sales' research (2005), Brazilian-owned businesses have been key players in the development and revival of the city of Framingham (Massachusetts, USA) (see also Margolis, 2013, p.28). As the author explains, and as indicated by the US press in 1994 (see *Boston Globe*, cited in Sales, 2005, p.46), through the establishment of Brazilian commercial activities, the city enjoyed growth in wealth, housing value, and a reduction in drug dealing on the streets over time. A decade later, this visibility was confronted by an anti-immigration movement (Sales, 2005, pp.45-49). Massachusetts seems to be an area where Brazilians have achieved a marked presence. As Margolis (2013, pp.89-90) points out, by 2010, the state had an estimated 400 Brazilian-owned businesses. These started as salons, food outlets, medical practices, and language schools catering for Brazilians, but have increasingly catered for the broader public since 2000. Within this context, Brazilian businesses often start with savings from cleaning, catering, construction, and delivery jobs (Martes, 2010, cited in Margolis, 2013, p.90; also see Lopes, 2010, p.139).

Negotiations of space and efforts to succeed also intersect with the search for an environment where identity and belonging can settle. In this sense, the importance of spaces in fulfilling people's needs deserves attention (see Zukin, 2008, p.735). Sheringham's (2010) research into Brazilians in Gort (Ireland) analyses the role of mundane spaces such as food spaces, fashion shops, salons, and churches in the community. Whilst creating a connection to home, these places also added to the reworking of identity and belonging by creating opportunities for social networking and interaction. It stands out that whilst home is reinvented in such places, attachments are also created to the local setting. This is seen by Sheringham as a positive engagement with the "host" environment as opposed to an escape from the local reality (Sheringham, 2010, p.77).

The intersection between food, food spaces and Brazilian identity has been explored by some, notably Linger (2001), Lopes (2010), Assunção (2011), Brightwell (2012; 2012a), and da Silva (2013). Linger (2001, pp.74-92) examines the role of a Brazilian restaurant in Nagoya (Japan) in displaced identity performance. Within this context, the restaurant functions as a space for coping with the isolation, and cultural and linguistic marginalisation faced by Brazilians. In her doctoral thesis, Assunção (2011) observes Brazilian food practices in the everyday life of Brazilians in Boston (USA). Her research highlights the role of food in recreating a pre-migration sensorial environment (i.e. familiarity) and Brazilian representations through food provision and products in the area. Da Silva (2013) studied Brazilians' processes of adaptation into the new food context of Barcelona (Spain). Her research pointed to eating habits, table manners, and food ingestion logic as markers of difference, as well as flavour and palate as identity, memory, and nostalgia triggers for Brazilians. In this sense, Brightwell's (2012; 2012a) above-mentioned research is of direct relevance to the context of this thesis. Her research focused on Brazilian food provision and consumption in London. Through observation of both commercial and domestic spaces, her work foregrounds the public and private relationships of Brazilians with food, the role of Brazilians in sustaining Brazilian food provision in London, as well as the nostalgia economy as a driver in the sector. Regarding nostalgia economy, the role of food spaces in relation to identity, belonging, and the recreation of home abroad stands out. Finally, Lopes' (2010) research intersects Brazilian restaurants and identity construction in New York City. She explores themes such as the commodification of food, the variety of restaurants available, their audiences and practices, and Brazilian representations.

My research engages with these studies in relation to identity, consumption, and cultural representations, but proceeds to run these themes specifically through language and digital practices in order to understand how social media communication intersects with processes of connectivity and identity construction in the context of Brazilian food spaces in the UK. The research is therefore interested in how matters of representation, identity, and sense of community intertwine with the online sphere, and how constructions emerge through CMC, specifically in connection with food spaces and

across different languages. Rather than departing from the assumption that representations are homogeneous, this research understands target audiences as affecting discursive actions, and thus accounts for practices within Pages which are influenced by the presence of a diaspora as well as the general public. Therefore, the focus is not only on the role of language in the identity constructions for and by Brazilians abroad, but also on the identities performed for and by non-Brazilians in relation to these spaces. The aim is to explore the potential of communications emergent within food spaces on social media to further understand the connection between social media use, cultural food, and individual and company identity performance online.

2.2 Web 2.0: SNSs and Facebook for Businesses

In contemporary society, digital technologies have gradually come to play roles previously played by other means (e.g. letters, phone calls, face-to-face encounters) and have introduced a new dynamic to how moments are shared (e.g. real-time pictures, videos, and thought sharing through SNSs). As an exercise of social life, these technologies have transformed the mechanics of daily errands, planning, and decision-making (Lemos and Di Felice, 2014, pp.7-9). In this sense, it is interesting to reflect on how embedded the "virtual" and the "real" worlds are in current society, as the distinction between "online" and "offline" becomes increasingly blurred (see boyd and Ellison, 2007; Tagg et al., 2017, pp.31-32). For instance, we can reflect about how, as an extension of offline activities, social media may influence our perceptions of involvement with places, people, or knowledge (e.g. eating at a restaurant can include reviewing and/or tagging a restaurant online during or after the experience). Historically, humans have communicated their thoughts in a variety of ways. Information has been disseminated orally, through writing, mass media, the internet, the web, and with a shift in power relations, through social media (see Lemos and Di Felice, 2014, pp.9-11). In this sense, since the advent of the web in the 1990s, the flow of communication has gone through significant changes (see Herring, 2013, p.2; Lemos and Di Felice, 2014, pp.9-11). With applications increasingly enabling users to generate and share content, the web has increasingly meant that publicly available discourses are no longer unidirectional sources of information for authoritative content (see Lemos and Di Felice, 2014, pp.7-8).

The World Wide Web was invented by the British scientist Sir Tim Berners-Lee in 1989 at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) (see Gillies and Cailliau, 2000, p.132; CERN, 2018). The very first webpage, which had information about the WWW project itself, was created at CERN at the end of 1990 (see Gillies and Cailliau, 2000, pp.202-203; CERN, 2018). It was from 1993, however, when CERN made the Web software available in the public domain, that the web became more popular and thus attracted wider attention (see Gillies and Cailliau, 2000, p.261; Herring, 2013, p.2; CERN,

2018). In its early years, websites were more static in nature and single-authored, containing personal homepages, frequently asked questions, and e-commerce content (Herring, 2013, p.2). In the late 1990s, the web became more dynamic. Homepages then allowed users to update content and interact with audiences, being the foundation for what we now know as blogs (short for weblogs) (O'Reilly, 2007, pp.24-27; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, p.60; Yus, 2011, p.95). This shift towards the user and a more dynamic web environment is what triggered the use of the concept Web 2.0, as opposed to Web 1.0 (see Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, pp.60-61; Herring, 2013, pp.1-4). The term was first used by Darcy DiNucci (1999, p.32) in a magazine article, popularised with a brainstorming session at a conference in 2004 (see O'Reilly, 2007, pp.17-19), and referred mainly to developments in web technology that allowed applications to be constantly modified by users as opposed to solely controlled by certain individuals (see Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, pp.60-61; Herring, 2013, pp.1-4). Web 2.0 is not a term to specify technical updates of a new web, and Web 2.0 sites predate the coinage of the term. Instead, it refers to the web that we have known since the appearance of the phenomenon of user-generated content, which marked a change in how the web is used (see Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, pp.60-61; Herring, 2013, pp.1-4).

2.2.1 Social Networking Sites (SNSs)

SNSs, also referred to as social media (platforms), are Web 2.0 sites that allow one to create and exchange user-generated content, build a public or semi-public profile, and share and view connections with/of other users (see boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.211; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). The first SNS, called SixDegrees.com, was launched in 1997. It was the first site to allow users to create a page which combined features such as a profile, friends list, and friends list navigation (boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.214). The novelty of SNSs lay not in these features, as they already existed in earlier technologies such as community sites and instant chat (boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.214). What was new about SNSs was the reconfiguration of such features into a new context with user participation.

After that, sites started supporting 'combinations of profiles and publicly articulated Friends' (boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.214). As explained by boyd and Ellison (2007, pp.214-218), sites would then allow the creation of personal, professional, and dating profiles (e.g. AsianAvenue, MiGente, and BlackPlanet). From 2003, SNSs were increasingly popular and diverse. From facilitating connections between bands and fans (e.g. MySpace), business people (e.g. LinkedIn), Christian churches (MyChurch) and video and photo sharing (YouTube and Flickr) to personal connections (e.g. Orkut and Facebook), SNSs gradually became a global phenomena. As people experimented with these sites, they had peaks of success but also lack of interest. Some of the challenges these websites faced were related to technical difficulties such as user growth management or falling out of fashion. Whilst some of these sites grew in popularity over the years (e.g. Twitter and Facebook), some had no success in certain countries but became popular in others. For instance, Bebo became popular in the UK, New Zealand, and Australia;

Mixi in Japan, and Orkut in Brazil (boyd and Ellison, 2007, pp.214-218; see also Fragoso, 2006). The latter was abandoned around 2009 through a 'massive migration to Facebook' (Spyer, 2017, p.11) in Brazil. In the diasporic setting, Orkut virtual communities (see Schrooten, 2012; Oosterbaan, 2010), as well as Facebook groups (see Foletto, 2018), also became noticeable spaces for practices of togetherness, belonging, settlement, livelihood, and memory work for Brazilians.

This thesis focuses on Facebook, one of the most popular social media platforms of our time (Georgalou, 2017, p.3; McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase, 2017, p.17). Social media is generally thought of as spaces confined within personal extended social networks (see boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.211), though much activity also takes place in its public sphere. This thesis explores a public and promotional social media space, Facebook company 'Pages' (Facebook for Business, 2018; 2019), which, from a discursive and social perspective, have been less explored (Gilbert, 2016, p.19; Hower, 2018). Some language research (e.g. Gilbert, 2016; Al-Attar, 2017) has started to pay attention to Facebook public promotional environments, though I have not encountered research extending this to the context of this thesis (i.e. translingualism, culture, and food consumption). In relation to translingualism, Souza's work (2017) highlights the relationship between language choices and engagement success in Brazilian migrant churches' Facebook Pages in the UK, USA, Italy, and Portugal. Overall, however, studies on public and promotional Pages seem to be more readily available, for instance, from a marketing and management research perspective (e.g. Song et al., 2019) or on the spread of misinformation (e.g. Allcott et al, 2019). Studies on private/semi-public pages such as Facebook personal profiles (e.g. Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Androutsopoulos, 2014) have shown how users can often construct their identity online under the awareness of their addressees, imagined audiences, and (un)intended overhearers, putting strategies in place to include and exclude certain audiences. Accounting for the promotional Facebook Pages' public context instead can reveal further insights in this sense, broadening knowledge on the intersection between SNSs, individual and brand expression, and promotional practices in contemporary society. Within this thesis, the aim of discussions is therefore to understand self and brand performances within Pages, their significance within the cultural food context, and the blurring boundaries between marketing and social performances enabled by the structure of the medium.

Facebook Pages are a tool for communication between businesses and consumers (Caers, et al., 2013, p.992). However, in the context of the participatory web, although motivations for communication are related to consumerism, identity performance is co-created by companies and individuals alongside their daily activities. This provides a valuable opportunity to gain further insights into the relationship between human communication and the digital and the developments at play across current publishing practices. Below, an overview of Facebook as a platform is provided.

2.2.2 Facebook

Facebook (originally Thefacebook) was created in 2004 (Brügger, 2015, paragraph 9). It was originally a college network for Harvard students (i.e. joining required an institutional email address) which then expanded to support other universities (boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.218). In 2005, it expanded into being a network for high school students and corporate networks (boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.218), and finally in 2006, Facebook opened to the public, becoming one of the main social trends of the early twenty-first century (Caers, et al., 2013, p.983). Founded by Harvard computer science student Mark Zuckerberg and fellow students Eduardo Saverin, Dustin Moskovitz, Andrew McCollum, and Chris Hughes (Levy, 2010, p.8; Brügger, 2015; Georgalou, 2017, pp.16-17), Facebook is currently the most popular social media platform worldwide, with 2.74 billion monthly active users as of September 2020 (Facebook, 2020).

Facebook is a social media platform that allows users to communicate and share photos and videos with people worldwide. According to the company (Facebook, 2018), 'people use Facebook to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what's going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them'. Users build a password protected personal profile with details such as their name, age, location, picture, cover photo, relationship status, education and workplace, some of which are public by default (e.g. age range, language, country, username, profile picture) (see Caers, et al., 2013, pp.983-984; Facebook, 2018a). Below their profile picture, users have a timeline where they can post their thoughts via text, photos, videos, and links in the form of a "status update".[10] This is inserted as an answer to the question "What's on your mind?" in a box on the upper part of the page. This feature, as well as the ability to post 'stories' (Facebook, 2018c),[11] is also available in the user's 'home page' (Facebook, 2018b), above their news feed. Within the home page, the news feed is a constantly updated list of posts from friends and Pages to which the user is connected. The home page is the first page that appears once the user logs in (Walker, 2018).

2.2.3 Facebook as a Promotional Tool

The advent of user-generated communication through social media such as Facebook has changed the mechanics of marketing. Traditionally, companies have managed their reputation via marketing logos, slogans, and tag lines (Levy, 2010, p.3) through paid advertising and one-way mass media. With social media, companies were then able to tailor their approaches according to niche audiences and with a significant reduction in budget (Scott, 2011, p.6). This created opportunities to communicate quickly

[10] The timeline used to be referred to as "wall" and was renamed "timeline" in 2011 (Walker, 2018).

[11] A "story" is a feature introduced in March 2017 (Constine, 2017) which allows users to post photos or videos to their audience through their mobile phone application and remains available for 24 hours (Facebook, 2018c).

and directly with customers, and to humanise the brand through a more spontaneous communicative identity, which was not possible within one-way marketing strategies and mass-oriented advertising (see Levy, 2010, pp.3-4). Moreover, electronic-word-of-mouth (eWOM) has made customers' opinions visible to businesses and fellow consumers. This interconnectivity plays a part in the normalisation of a level of reliance by the consumer on strangers' opinions due to prompt and wide accessibility. In contrast to traditional word-of-mouth (WOM) (i.e. transmitted verbally, to localised audiences, without digital records) (Vásquez, 2014, pp.2-3), eWOM allows for spontaneous expression by the consumer, and it means that a multidirectional flow of statements and comments are constantly published and recorded online. As a promotional tool, Facebook company Pages combine efficient eWOM channels such as the space for consumer reviews,[12] and a timeline, which allows both company and consumer expression via comment boxes.

Facebook does not charge users to join; it supports itself financially through the sales of advertisements. It has used advertisements since its early days with banner advertisements on profile pages (Brügger, 2015, paragraph 15). In May 2007, Facebook started to make it possible for users to advertise items they would like to buy or sell. In November the same year, it allowed the creation of profile Pages beyond the individual, which made it possible for any business, organisation, artist, celebrity and so on to have a public presence. This meant marketing, advertising, and promotional discourse started to have a wider presence within the platform. Companies would then set up public Pages within Facebook free of charge, of which users could become fans if they wished (see Brügger, 2015). Nowadays, these "fan pages" are commonly referred to as "Pages" only, and users can become "followers" instead. In this thesis, I will refer to the Pages under study as "company" or "business" Pages for clarity.

Company Pages are similar to websites, visible to anyone within and outside Facebook, but 'taking advantage of all the features and functionalities offered by the Facebook universe' (Brügger, 2015, paragraph 34). Within the Page, companies can make use of Facebook features in similar ways to users, such as commenting or sharing posts, and since late 2017, also "stories" (see Dillet, 2017; Hayes, 2017; Facebook for Business, 2018b). Any user is welcome to visit these Pages and interact with the content within it by sharing, reacting, commenting, and leaving reviews/recommendations. When users do interact in this way, this interaction can appear in the news feed of their network of friends according to Facebook's algorithm settings at the time (see Constine, 2016; Facebook, 2018d).[13] Additionally, if

[12] From August 2018, Facebook reviews have been replaced by recommendations (Facebook for Business, 2018a; Social Report, 2018). Reviews are still displayed on the Page, though not enabled.

[13] News Feed advertisements started in 2012 (Constine, 2011b; Irvine-Broque, 2012) as a development in response to mobile phone screen sizes (see Metz, 2017). Before then, advertisements were displayed on the right side of the interface only (Delo, 2011; Constine, 2011b). Although this started in 2012, Facebook had already tested it between 2006 and 2008 (Constine, 2011b).

users choose to "like" a company Page (i.e. click the button "like" above the company's timeline), they become their followers by default, thus welcoming the company's posts to appear alternated with friends' posts within their own news feed (Facebook, 2018e).[14] In this way, through users' "liking" of a Page and interaction with its content, the company can enjoy visibility both in the news feed of the user and their network of friends, who do not necessarily follow the company (see Metz, 2017; Facebook, 2018d). Further ways to advertise on Facebook are available and keep evolving. These can be both organic (i.e. based on users' activity) and paid (i.e. allowing businesses to select their target audience according to interests and/or demographics) (Boland, 2014; Dodson, 2015; Facebook for Business, 2018c; 2018d; Facebook, 2018f).

To understand how business and individual social expressions conflate within the public and promotional context, as well as the purposes social media may serve for those involved in communication, it is necessary to understand companies' and consumers' positioning, as well as the affordances of the platform in relation to language use. In order to do so, aspects of language use online as well as structural features of social media will be explored.

2.3 Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC)

CMC is the study field concerned with private and public communication via digital media (e.g. email, SNSs, texting, and online forums) (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p.75). As Herring (2001, p.612) points out, the particularities of language online, due to being visually presented and free from physical context, provide a rich landscape for the study of discourse and social practice. The emergence of 'human-to-human communication' via computers dates to the 1960s in the US Department of Defense for the purposes of transferring data and programs between remote computers (see Rheingold, 2000, p.59; Herring, 2001, pp.612-613). During the 1970s, it was used by scientists for interpersonal communication, and subsequently by elite academics and business individuals in the 1980s. With commercial internet service providers, it then became popular with the wider public during the 1990s (Herring, 2001, pp.612-613).

Studies on computer-mediated discourse (CMD) were starting to appear in the 1980s, though as Herring (2001, p.613) explains, language scholars' interest in the field only picked up from 1991. Over time, various terms to describe CMC, such as 'internet-mediated communication' (Yus, 2011), 'electronically mediated communication' (EMC), 'digitally mediated communication' (DMC), and 'netspeak' have been used (Crystal, 2011, p.2). In this thesis, CMC, CMD, and "discourse" are used interchangeably

[14] Users can unfollow a company Page if they wish to stop seeing their posts (Facebook, 2018e).

throughout to mean 'communication produced when human beings interact with one another by transmitting messages via networked or mobile computers, where *computers* are defined broadly to include any digital communication device' (Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.127, emphasis in original). This definition is useful for this study as it implies communication in general, and thus goes beyond plain text and is inclusive of images, emojis, and emoticons. The rationale here is in line with Barton and Lee's (2013, p.16) observations concerning texts in the digital sphere, which argue that the concept of "text" has become fluid enough to imply multimodality.

Accordingly, this study understands plain text and semiotic signs as complementary to each other (see Thurlow, 2017, p.142). It aims, in this way, to take into account meanings deployed by words, images, emojis, and emoticons as applicable. Whilst the internet is the largest database of language available (Crystal, 2011, p.1) and the written word plays a central and connecting role in communication (e.g. email, comments, tags, hashtags, titles, descriptions) (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.36-39; Kytölä, 2016, p.376), the use of multimodality has evolved together with the affordances of new media to play an unprecedented part in meaning-making on the web. In this sense, the physical affordances and context of the mode of communication have an impact in meaning-making (see Barton and Lee, 2013, p.16; Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.129). The increased availability of information and the multifunctionality of mobile phones, as well as relationships with 'devices' (Hess, 2015, p.1640), may be related to the increase in use of multimodality. For instance, consider how the ability to rapidly take a picture, share it online, or quickly react with a "heart" or "thumbs up" emoji to a post can both convey the meaning intended and allow multiple interactions in less time. In a communicative context where culture is central, such as the one in this thesis, plain text indeed plays a significant role in delivering meaning, though the technical affordances of the platform, and the potential emotional and symbolic messages which can be embedded in visuals can also play an important part in this process.

2.3.1 Social Media Affordances and Language

CMC is shaped by technical and situational factors that vary among the different online contexts (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.4-6). Hence, attempting to identify specific fixed characteristics of CMC pertaining to social media can be challenging given its social character. The language in social media such as blogs, Twitter, or Facebook is dependent on both structural factors and the types of interaction and topics users pursue online (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.4-6). To address this organisational issue related to CMD, Herring (2007) has developed a classification scheme of categories based on both technical and situational factors influencing communication online. The scheme (detailed in section 3.4.1) proposes ten technical CMC influencing factors such as private messaging, channel of communication, and persistence of transcript; and eight situational factors such as purpose, topic, norms, and code. As Herring explains (2007), this list is not exhaustive, and factors may be ignored or added as applicable. In the context of this thesis, for instance, affordances absent from the list such as

"searchability", "tagging" and "mentioning" used to find, connect, or call a user's/entity's attention can be added to the list (see boyd, 2011, pp.46-48; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.166-167; Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.131; Facebook, 2018g). Herring's list has been used in this study to achieve a technical and contextual understanding of the platform before moving to analyse the discourse "within" it. A description of the relevant features specific to the context of Facebook Pages will be provided in the analytical chapter (section 4.1) of this thesis.

Like written or oral communication, CMC has many aspects of its own which work to achieve desired communicative goals. Within the online space, unlike in face-to-face encounters, users are often separated by space and time, which allows for asynchronous communication. In this scenario, the lack of paralinguistic features such as gestures and intonation leads users to resort to graphic and visual resources such as images and symbols to convey their communicative message (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.166; Herring, 2001, p.617; Barton and Lee, 2013, p.29). Some of these aspects such as the use of non-standard language (see Herring, 2013a; 2020) have been seen as less correct or damaging to standard language by some (see Komesu and Tenani, 2009, pp.626-627; Herring, 2001, pp.616-617; 2020, paragraph 1). However, research has shown evidence that only a small percentage of non-standard features in electronic communication can be related to inattention or lack of language knowledge, as these are often deliberate decisions by the user (Herring, 2001; 2013a; 2020; also Thurlow, 2017, p.139). Examples are the use of emojis (e.g. "🙂") and emoticons, e.g. ":-)"; repeated punctuation for emphasis; numbers as substitutes for letters, e.g. "gr8"; vowel omissions, e.g. "pls" for "please"; laughter expression such as "haha"; capitalisation and vowel/consonant lengthening for orality effect, e.g. "AMAAAZING!!!!; "@" to address someone; and "#" as a topic/opinion marker (see Herring, 2001; 2013a; Yus, 2011; Zappavigna, 2011; 2017; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Georgalou, 2017). These features will be important in the analysis of this research, given its interest in understanding emotions and experiences within Pages.

Herring (2013a, pp.2342-2343) highlights the fact that languages other than English have been less studied with respect to their CMC features, but suggests there is evidence that strategies and proportions vary from language to language. Regarding Brazilian Portuguese, online environments in connection to language change as well as aspects of CMC features have been observed by some (e.g. Komesu and Tenani, 2009; Almeida Filho, 2011; Valadares and Moura, 2016). As well as some of the features mentioned above, Komesu and Tenani (2009) have observed the presence of phonetics indexing regionality (e.g. "goxto" instead of "gosto" where the "x" sound mimics Rio de Janeiro's regional accent) and the relationship between (the use of) CMC language and self-expression. Almeida (2011) considers CMC language in chat rooms in various cities of Brazil, providing a record of linguistic behaviour of chat rooms as a textual genre. He pays particular attention to CMC features such as non-standard spelling, orality, emoticons, and abbreviations in relation to standard Brazilian Portuguese.

Valadares and Moura (2016) investigate slang neologisms in Portuguese on Facebook and how digital spaces contribute to their formation. Their research points to a variety of digital spaces from which these emerge, and the ephemeral potential, or otherwise, of the slang neologisms analysed. Beyond specific language features, yet still related to CMC communication in Brazil, Recuero (2014) investigates the symbolic meanings of online actions such as "liking", "sharing", and "commenting" on Facebook by Brazilians, highlighting their significance in facework online. Given the amount of text in Portuguese in this research data, this thesis adds to records in this sense, as well as contributing to the use of Brazilian Portuguese online in the international context. In relation to the latter, research such as that of Vieira Alves (2017) and Souza (2017) contribute to the visibility of Portuguese from a diasporic, cultural, social, and economic perspective. Vieira Alves' (2017) research concentrates on the linguistic planning and expansion of Brazilian Portuguese internationally, including in the digital sphere, whilst the aforementioned work of Souza (2017) focuses on the transnational use of Portuguese within Facebook Pages of faith settings in the UK, USA, Italy, and Portugal. Having explored the literature considered relevant to account for the social, promotional, and virtual aspects of this thesis, I now turn to reflect on its main theoretical stand, that of discursive identification.

2.4 Language, Identity, and Authenticity

In this section, the theoretical background which has informed my approach to understanding language and identity construction online is presented. Given the importance of the relationship between identity and online language in this thesis, the section concentrates on how identity is conceptualised in relation to language and interaction. The intention is to explore the literature in relation to the research questions, as opposed to being exhaustive in relation to identity across disciplines. In line with this, this section starts by highlighting developments in identity studies which have led to the current sociolinguistic non-essentialist perspectives on identity construction. Given the digital focus of this research, the section will then contextualise this view on identity within perspectives from identity practices online. It will finish by tying the notion of authenticity from a sociolinguistic perspective to identity expression and how this notion lends itself as a lens for the analysis of identity.

2.4.1 Language and Identity

Identity has been key to research across a range of disciplines, including sociology, cultural studies, psychology, and linguistics (see Zanatta, 2011; Hall and du Gay, 1996; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). It has gone from being rationalised as an 'internal *project of the self*', to later accounts about '*social and collective identity*', to post-modern perspectives pointing to its fluid, fragmentary, and '*constituted in discourse*' character (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.17, emphasis in original).

The notion of identity has developed over time, with theories leaning towards either essentialist or constructionist views. An essentialist view about identity places identity within an individual's mind, treating it as a cognitive phenomenon which governs human action. This view assumes that a stable and private identity lies and can be found within, even though people present themselves differently depending on context. A constructionist view understands identity from a public and thus performative perspective (as opposed to a fixed and private phenomenon). In this view, with which this thesis aligns, identity is constructed through discursive (i.e. language) and semiotic (e.g. clothes, hairstyles etc) means and is interpreted by others. It is socially constituted in discourse to accomplish social action. In doing so, it spells out social and individual processes people go through over time, which are observable through discourse. Identity, then, is not found within the mind but flows and adapts through life (e.g. education, upbringing) with interests, beliefs, hobbies, and social networks which are always subject to recontextualisation and transformation. In this constructionist view, humans can be seen to have many identities which are not fixed, and language is central to this articulation (Vásquez, 2014, pp.57-59; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, pp.3-4; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p.587).

The notion of identity as socially and discursively constructed is related to theories of social interaction and aligns with performative perspectives in discourse (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Butler, 1990). Sociologist Erving Goffman's (1959) *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* is a pivotal work in the consolidation of the notion of identity as socially and discursively constructed. Goffman's theory sees the world as a stage and interprets social interactions as a series of performances in which the self performs different roles in everyday life. Central to his argument is the notion of "impression management", in which self-presentation and behaviours are constantly managed (i.e. identities are recontextualised according to goals and expectations). In line with this, in an effort to keep face, interactants influence parties involved towards their own definition of a situation (see Lee, 2017, p.55; Goffman, 1959, p.15), delivering expressions that cause impressions which in turn translate their situational identity. In other words, as we live by inference and adapt our communication according to settings, we express ourselves according to how we wish to be perceived, and to the influence of environments and situations we are involved in. Expressiveness in relation to the latter (i.e. influence of environments) is arguably harder to control, as these are often given off through body language or unintentionally (see Goffman, 1959, pp.14-19). Building a sense of self is then not only about who we (think we) are, but who we want to be or think we should be to others in different situations. This practice takes place as we move forward in maintaining and creating social relationships. Identity in this sense can be broadly defined as '*the social positioning of self and other*' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p.586, emphasis in original).

Personal and social identity can be seen as distinct notions. Broadly speaking, personal identities refer to aspects of everyday people's personalities or individual traits which, though seen as rather stable,

can vary situationally, such as being friendly, serious, funny, timid and so on (see Edwards, 2009, pp.19-20; Tracy and Robles, 2013, pp.22-23). Social identities intertwine what have been described as master/transportable and interactional identities. The former refers to aspects arguably seen as more static (i.e. do not change situationally) such as age or gender, though keeping in mind that what it means to be of a certain age or gender changes over time, contextually, and through interaction (see Tracy and Robles, 2013, pp.21-22; Zimmerman, 1998, pp.90-91). The latter refers to the lifelong roles that we take in communication according to goals and expectations. These develop out of a combination of 'building blocks drawn from a common human store' (Edwards, 2009, p.20) as we position ourselves across hierarchies over time, such as those at home, school, church, and the workplace, which entail transitional affiliations and social networks (see Lee, 2017, p.55; Tracy and Robles, 2013, p.22; Martin and White, 2005, p.29).

Nevertheless, as people socialise, their personal identities are constantly negotiated according to expectations, histories, and situations. These identities are based on perceived understandings of stable aspects (e.g. gender, age) as well as situational roles (e.g. friend vs boss) emergent across life positionings. Hence, constructing the self or one's uniqueness implies a constant role playing which entails affiliations shaped by interactions and negotiations with other people, groups, and entities available in the sociocultural field. This means that social and personal aspects of the self are dependent on each other, and so different group and personal identities intertwine. Also, expectations regarding personal identities depend on perceptions of social roles and descriptive attributes in society (see Tracy and Robles, 2013, pp.23-24). Given the convergence implied, these explanatory differences between personal and social identities are not treated as separate within this thesis. In employing the term "identity", I refer to the situated discursive social negotiation of a sense of self and others, and understand membership and individuality as co-created and co-occurring (see Edwards, 2009, pp.19-20).

2.4.2 Identity Online

Earlier research concerning identity online brought to the fore the variation between online and offline identities, for instance, by documenting the possibilities that cyberspace brought to communication in enabling the construction of personae of our own creation through characters in game role-playing (e.g. Turkle, 1995). Given the significant role played by plain text in other online communication due to limited means for physical or paralinguistic expression (e.g. forums or bulletin boards), research has also explored matters such as deception and impersonation online (e.g. Donath, 1999). Further research relating to identity online (e.g. boyd, 2001) also pointed to intersections between offline identities and online behaviour, suggesting that cyberspace served as an extension for identity performance possibilities as opposed to a separate arena (Hargittai, 2007, pp.277, 293; Yus, 2011, pp.36-37).

The discursive expressions of online identity, i.e. 'the set of resources which people draw upon in presenting and expressing themselves via interaction' (Seargeant and Tagg, 2014, p.5), differ from offline expressions. Online, physical attributions are less salient, and self-expressions can follow a selective approach given the environment's affordances. Just as people present themselves differently depending on context (e.g. theatre stage vs classroom vs living room), adaptations also happen in the online context according to the situation in which they find themselves. This may come with decisions regarding anonymity levels, and suitability of the identity facets one wishes to express in the online environment. Also, online environments can often convey a global sense of space due to their transnational communication reach and higher levels of publicness, factors which influence communication practice (see Seargeant and Tagg, 2014, pp.5-7; Yus, 2011, pp.36-39). With this in mind, and in line with the fluid, dynamic, and fragmented constructionist view of the notion of identity, online identities are not another type of identity, but simply 'the identity work that *happens* to occur online' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.245, emphasis in original).

In line with the above, the identity aspects that we express online as well as those expressed offline are part of a continuous process of authentication which takes place according to communicative goals and tools available to those communicating. In this mindset, understanding the discursive construction of identity does not seek to unfold the contents of a possible true self, but how multifaceted identities and senses of being are expressed through language (Gee, 2011, pp.106-107). As Seargeant and Tagg (2014, p.7) point out, the notion of authenticity, which refers to the extent to which an online persona is seen to relate to its creator and the social value placed on this perceived authenticity, in other words, how believable expressions can be, plays a key role in online identity work. With reference to Grice's (1975) logic of conversation, Seargeant and Tagg (2014, p.7) explain that authenticity works like an 'anchor' in communication. In information exchange, some reciprocal expectations are implied to achieve a cooperative transaction which includes personal investments in relation to accuracy, relevance, or clarity, for example (see Grice, 1975, pp.45-49). This relationship between identity and authenticity encapsulates contextualised sociocultural values, behaviours, and expectations which are key to how identities are perceived and presented online. Within Facebook promotional Pages, authenticity becomes instrumental to customer attraction, alignment, and interaction. It motivates performances from both companies and users whilst value placement and its co-construction emerge through multidirectional engagement. Following this, in this thesis, the notion of authenticity becomes central for making sense of the construction of both individual and company identities. In the next section, this relationship between communication, identity, and authenticity is further explored.

2.4.3 Authenticity

The word "authenticity" has its origins in the Greek "authentikós" (autós, self) and "authéntes", meaning 'vouched for, warranted' and 'one who does things with his own hand' respectively (Skeat,

2007, p.24; also Lacoste et al., 2014, p.1). Indeed, on broad reflection of what being authentic may mean, a sense of undisputed origin, legitimacy, originality, genuineness, authorship, honesty, and/or truthfulness is implied (see Zukin, 2008, p.728; Coupland, 2003, p.417; Varga and Guignon, 2020, also section 2.1.2 of this thesis). In sociolinguistics, the notion of authenticity has been experiencing a shift of focus in its theorisation since the early 2000s (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.74). To situate the approach to authenticity taken in this research, I will discuss some of the conceptualisations that have shaped this notion, and then present the literature that informed my reasoning in this study.

Situating Authenticity

As Bucholtz (2003, pp.398-401) explains, from its initial conceptualisation as a field in the 1960s, sociolinguistic approaches to the notion of authenticity were rooted in dialectology and anthropology. Partly as a residue of Romanticism, the rural was valued as the authentic source of cultural knowledge. According to this view, studying language from historical to current times would allow for understandings of the present - for instance, moving backwards from current languages to make sense of a linguistic past, or documenting language and practices from those seen to be remote from urban modernity (authentic speakers) to study dialects and traditional cultural practices. According to this type of analysis, reaching as close as possible to origins would assist the understanding of cultural and linguistic change. In this mindset, the creation of group boundaries and approximate alikeness among members is implied. This essentialist view, as explained by the author, is a valuable analytical tool since it allows the identification of groups not yet described (see also Zimmerman, 1998, p.91). At the same time, this view is also problematised because of its potential to reduce the diversity of humanity or disempower those excluded from groups by deduction of membership criteria (Bucholtz, 2003, pp.400-401).

According to Gill (2011, pp.55-58), some of the features of what has been traditionally described as "authentic language" relate to being spoken by native speakers from homogenous speech communities, being typically spoken by males, and of a naturally occurring, local, spontaneous, and unrehearsed character. As the author points out, these views remain influential in sociolinguistics, but there are also inconsistencies which point to the importance of other dimensions of authenticity. As he explains, seeing males as typical speakers stemmed from the more standardised (i.e. "less natural") spoken forms of females who were in turn interpreted as less community embedded. At the same time, attributing authenticity to being native and thus natural would place standardness as central. Nevertheless, Coupland (2003, p.420) reminds us that the focus in sociolinguistics on validating the vernacular, which prevailed for decades, has valid reasons because it aimed at validating discourses 'from the inside' rather than from above.

The early 2000s marks a shift in the theorisation of authenticity (Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.74). As part of this process, Bucholtz (2003, pp.398-399) offers an alternative approach to authenticity, suggesting that rather than 'an object to be discovered' in language, authenticity could be viewed as 'the outcome of the linguistic practices of social actors and the metalinguistic practices of sociolinguists.' In connecting authenticity to identity, she argues for the concept of '*authentication*' (Bucholtz, 2003, p.408, emphasis in original) to account for the processes of negotiation of social practices from which authenticity emerges. Moreover, Coupland (2003, pp.425-426) highlights the existence of the detraditionalising effects of globalisation on social life which break previous structures where the authentic speaker would be found, making social organisation progressively less stable and less categorical. Previous linguistic and cultural prerequisites for membership, in this way, become loose and insufficient. In line with this, he proposes that some points for reflection in the realignment of approaches to interpreting populations include the following: the reduced predictability of social-structural factors; the translocal (vs local only) motivations for linguistic choice; electronic interaction as a new means for intimacy; the value of performance as a lens for identity and community construction; social demographics not as a determinant of identity; and culture as a fluid (not stable) discursive construction of styles, practices, and rituals.

Coupland (2003; also 2014) further suggests five dimensions to the construction of authenticity, namely 'ontology', 'historicity', 'systemic coherence', 'consensus', and 'value'. 'Ontology' refers to the claim of "real" existence as opposed to a derived one (e.g. wood vs plastic, real vs fake painting); 'historicity' refers to longevity and thus survival of things; 'systemic coherence' implies there is a connection with the social and cultural matrix which sustains authenticity claims; 'consensus' refers to the sense of authorisation and acceptance of an authenticity claim within a constituency; and finally, 'value' points to the ratified and anchored status which people may hold on to when recognising authenticities. In suggesting these, he does not imply they are separate components of authenticity, but attributes which are detectable in the discursive process. Another helpful conceptualisation is that of '*enoughness*', proposed by Blommaert and Varis (2013, p.146, emphasis in original), which refers to the benchmark of emblematic features one considers to be sufficient to convey or interpret authenticity in superdiverse contexts.

This thesis aligns with post-2000s revaluations and conceptualisations of authenticity (see also Johnstone, 2014, pp.97-98; Hower, 2018; Leppänen et al., 2015; Lacoste et al., 2014; Coupland, 2014). In doing so, it does not seek to find an "authentic speaker" who fits into set criteria or to discredit the relevance of essentialist categories, but to see through the discursive process of authentication (Karrebæk et al., 2015, p.22), taking into consideration the complexities of a globalised sociocultural setting. In this sense, situated performative identity practices aim to achieve a discursive desired effect. In these discursive acts, establishing whether the identity performed is "true" to the text producer

becomes irrelevant, and message approval as "original" or "genuine" becomes audience dependent. As Blommaert and Varis (2013, p.156) suggest, 'authenticity is manufactured by blending a variety of features, some of which […] are sufficient to produce the particular targeted authentic identity.'

In the context of this thesis, identity and authenticity constructions emerge from the entwined discourses of consumers and companies within a branding/promotional environment. In resonance with Thurlow and Aiello's (2007) analysis of transnational branding in the airline industry, this thesis sees a parallel between how language users and marketers invoke identity features through stylised performances of the self and others to project identities which are meaningful to a target audience (see p.332). As will become clear in the following chapters, discursive construction draws on global and local circulating meanings and signs. These can range from references to lifestyles (e.g. wine culture), to subjectivity (e.g. taste, relationships, emotions), and Brazilianness – i.e. all expressions of Brazilian character (see Sutter et al., 2015 for a broad reflection on the term) such as cultural and national specific references based on relevance to Brazilians and internationally (see Thurlow and Aiello, 2007).[15] The following section provides an overview of literature which informs the rationale of this thesis on authenticity.

Authenticity and Identity Online

Changes brought by globalisation and superdiversity have created new conditions for authenticity, and, as Leppänen et al. (2015, p.1) suggest, have problematised the relevance and availability of demographic and territorial parameters. The need for authentication continues, however, to be crucial for identification, and digital communication becomes one of the conditions under which authenticity work is witnessed through locally negotiated meanings (see Coupland, 2003, p.427).

Research addressing authenticity in online contexts has highlighted the significance of the appropriate use of resources (or otherwise) in conveying authenticity. Karrebæk et al. (2015), for example, study the social media activities of Danish born artist Anita Lerche in constructing her Punjabi authenticity whilst engaging with her international and translocal audience. As a non-Asian singer known for her solo albums in Punjabi, the singer invests in resources such as clothing, Punjabi language, and accent to construct her artistic authenticity. As the study shows, authenticity is, however, co-constructed, not judged by a single criterion but by what is perceived as enough depending on the receiver. The diversity of audiences judging this performance means that whilst she can be viewed as successfully employing semiotic resources such as linguistic skills to index Indianness, her "looks" also convey a level of discrepancy to the audience since she is not Indian (Karrebæk et al., 2015, p.25). This simultaneous

[15] As with other country branding discourses, expressions of Brazilianness can include references to emblematic symbols and signs such as the national flag (and its colours), samba, feijoada, or guaraná. These are often recognisable items from nature, customs, tourism, artefacts, gastronomy, sports, and arts, within others (see Thurlow and Aiello, 2007; Blommaert and Varis, 2013; Sutter et al., 2015; Beserra, 2007; Assunção, 2011, p.100).

transgression of traditional borders and relation between language and geographical belonging is also highlighted by Nørreby and Møller (2015), who investigate how adolescents in Copenhagen authenticate ethnicity in relation to each other, social media trends among Danish youth, beauty, and hip hop culture on Facebook. In this process, they (dis)affiliate and (dis)align with ethnicity perspectives, highlighting how ethnicity is taken as something to play around with by participants, as opposed to fixed descriptors in relation to individuals.

In relation to cultural consumption, Coupland et al. (2005) focus on how discourse practices of Welsh mining heritage tourism events invoke notions of authenticity in their analysis of promotional leaflets, webpages, poster displays, and tour guides' talks. They note that heritage displays are susceptible to the diverse ambitions and sensitivities brought by different visitors, and thus break the assumption that (in)authenticity is ingrained in the displays themselves. As their text suggests, the acknowledgement of this interactive constructive character of authenticity weakens criticisms which reduce heritage tourism to consumerism encapsulated in versions of the past. As a quality of individuals' social experience, authenticity then offers routes for the renegotiation of values and historical senses of self. This subjective construction of authenticity was also highlighted by Torabian and Arai (2016), who examined travel blogs to understand tourist perceptions of souvenir authenticity. In their analysis, the importance of local materials, hand and local production, the presence of an artist's signature or hallmarks, and attribution of higher cost to uniqueness stood out. In analysing bloggers' perceptions of souvenirs, they suggest a variety of meanings are attached by tourists to "authentic" souvenirs. Among these, depicting images, reinforcing identities, importance for local employment, and memory building are mentioned. Some factors influencing authenticity assessments included tourists' interpretation of history or time, relationship with local artists, and the importance of stories behind the souvenirs in self-authentication.

In the realm of food, culture, and consumption, Mapes (2020) explores the performance of cultural capital and good taste through the examination of food texts such as websites, food packaging, and shop displays from an artisanal cured meats producer in Switzerland. Her analysis points to intersecting strategies of historicity, simplicity, and locality/sustainability to perform a fashionable and socially/politically virtuous identity. The author demonstrates how resources such as images, colours and dialect are strategically deployed in the construction of an elite authenticity. Focusing on high-end dining and in light of Coupland's (2003; 2014) semantic dimensions of authenticity, Karrebæk and Maegaard (2017) study the discursive construction of a Bornholmian authenticity for a high-end restaurant in Copenhagen. Through the analysis of spoken discourse, the restaurant webpage, fieldnotes and photos, the regional affiliation to the Danish island of Bornholm emerged as the means for the creation of uniqueness and distinction in the saturated high-end dining scene. Interestingly, part of the restaurant's construction of authenticity involved the creation of a new image for Bornholm as opposed

to the maintenance of an existing one. This followed developments from businesses and politicians, after decades of economic decline on the island, to change existing associations with the island (i.e. that of a fisherman's place or ordinary tourist spot to that of a high-quality product and unique experience). Their analysis points to reinterpretations of tradition to construct an authentic Danish New Nordic cuisine and the role of servers in suggesting authenticity through their narratives, which is then realised by those guests who acknowledge it and thus engage in its construction.

Also in relation to food and consumption, Vásquez and Chik (2015) investigate how online reviewers display their culinary capital to a potential aligned audience based on authenticity, taste, quality, and the experience value of one-Michelin-star restaurants. In allowing for the inclusion of a greater diversity of perspectives about "high end" dining, they argue online reviewing practices challenge established hierarchies in food culture and yet continue to reproduce social hierarchies given the economic capital these experiences require. They also note a relationship between reviewers' cost concerns and a middle-class sensibility which points to the aspirational dimension of this kind of experience. In this way, their study explores issues of social class and taste in connection with user-generated discursive construction of foodie identities. Hower (2018) explores the construction of authenticity in the corporate social media platforms of the American diner Denny's. She highlights a mixed performance of authenticity in which a 'disinterested' and corporate 'company invested' identity emerge. As the author explains (paragraph 16), her analysis focuses on plain text and brand discourse only (i.e. images and user-generated content excluded) and so does not illustrate the co-production of value that takes place through consumer work (i.e. the authentication process). Accordingly, the study was intended to provide an initial avenue for further research into corporate authenticity construction. In examining a variety of business discourses (i.e. both from chains and independent companies), the current project furthers this research in this respect. Additionally, in taking into account the social media content produced by companies as well as consumers, this thesis explores the co-production of value in the process of authentication of the parties involved.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the literature reviewed in relation to food studies, globalisation, diaspora studies, CMC, and language and identity. It provided the body of knowledge considered necessary to contextualise food, globalisation, and Brazilian culture, and identity within the line of enquiry of this thesis. It has also contextualised the research digitally, by providing a background overview of the Web 2.0, SNSs, Facebook as a promotional tool, and the literature connected to the thesis's main theoretical stand on language and identity. I now move on to describe the methodology developed for this project

in the next chapter, where I will explore matters related to ethnography, data selection, gathering, and preparation, as well as ethical issues, and the linguistic frameworks adopted for analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodology described in this chapter traces the decision-making process during the development of this project with regards to data selection, collection, and methods of analysis. The chapter starts by outlining the research questions and analytical approach which have underpinned this research, together with the relevance of ethnographic insights for the thesis. It then discusses the process of online data selection, collection, and corpus preparation, as well as details on the interviewing process. This is followed by a reflection on ethical issues, presentation of linguistic frameworks adopted for analysis, and finally a brief overview of the upcoming sections of this thesis.

3.1 The Research Questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to analyse the discourse produced by Brazilian restaurants in the UK as well as their audiences on Facebook company Pages. The core data for analysis, which I sometimes refer to as a "corpus" for clarity in relation to the whole dataset, consists of Facebook posts, comments, and reviews. Although the focus of linguistic analysis is the processes occurring within Facebook Pages, this study also draws on further data such as Facebook and websites' "about" sections, menus, observational notes, and semi-structured interviews with food entrepreneurs to enable a more contextualised and comprehensive understanding of meaning-making processes. The aim is to shed light on language use and actions, as well as the construction of identity and community through online communication, taking into account the affordances of social media for self and company expression.

Departing from the assumption that speakers accommodate communication according to their perceived audience (see Bell, 1984; Giles and Ogay, 2007) thus reflecting aspects of their contextual understanding of the world, the aim of this thesis is to foreground the diversity of language use and communicative practices emergent in Brazilian restaurant chains and independent restaurants' Pages in connection to social practice. As part of this process, the thesis also seeks to further understand the purposes social media serve within the cultural business context, for both the entrepreneur and interactants in Pages. Along with the online observation which has informed data selection and collection, the following research questions (and sub questions) are addressed:

1. In relation to Brazilian gastronomic spaces in the UK: how is communication achieved within Facebook promotional Pages?

- What are the communicative strategies employed by both businesses and consumers to present themselves and engage online?

- How do these strategies vary according to their target audience?

2. What can language use within promotional Facebook Pages reveal about consumer and company identity authentication online in a globalised context?

- How do discursive practices go beyond plain product description and assessment and into social and professional performances?

3. What do Facebook Pages' affordances and language practices reveal about processes of connectivity, relationships with and through the online sphere, and the purposes of the digital in the cultural business context?

- How are the platform's affordances and language managed to get things done?
- How are connections built or maintained?
- How are business, social, personal, and online-offline processes intertwined?

The methodological design that follows aims to address the specific interests of the above questions. As with the focus of this project on discursive processes of identification and connectivity within Facebook Pages, understanding the communicative complexity of practices therein is the primary aim of this thesis. This complexity, however, is connected to contextual factors and actions which may be hinted at but not necessarily presented in detail by log data. To reach closer to these contextual factors, this research engages with both lexical and multimodal description through the adoption of linguistic frameworks and other routes of enquiry to delve into the context of communication production, (inter)actions, and sociocultural realities. These include exercising an ethnographic sensitivity and conducting interviews with entrepreneurs to better grasp communicative behaviours, connecting points between the data and offline practices and other digital channels, and gaining insights from specialist knowledge and into aspects of content production.

3.1.1 Analytical Approach

The analytical angles adopted in this thesis were chosen according to the aim of this research and were applied according to their potential to enrich understandings of different aspects of communication. The present project is concerned with how communication happens online and how this is connected to the use of social media in mundane activities. It is interested in the diversity within linguistic practice and meaning-making processes which enable the accomplishment of everyday communicative goals. In this sense, language style and shared knowledge play a significant role in the achievement of connectivity between parties. Considering the context of this research, its analytical approach combines insights from different subfields of DA such as discourse-centred online ethnography (Androutsopoulos, 2008), professional genre (Bhatia, 1993; 2004; 2005), audience design (Bell, 1984), discursive stance-taking (e.g. Martin and White, 2005), and CMC (Herring, 2007) – for further details see below, section 3.4.

The relevance of these perspectives, as well as the complementary literature, emerged as part of an ethnographically minded bottom-up process of navigating the web and of getting to know the data through repeated observation, notetaking, and data collection. This approach, which also aims to make a methodological contribution to digital research in Modern Languages, paves the way to provide both linguistic and contextual analysis. In other words, it allows the connecting of linguistic choices to subject position (see Jaffe, 2009, pp.3-4), the understanding of processual insights as well as connections between speech and action through observation and interviews (see Boellstorff et al., 2012, p.92), and consideration of the activity of parties involved (Boutet and Maingueneau, 2005, p.xvi).

Discourse theory is a vast field of inquiry which relates to linguistics, as well as social, cultural, and political meanings in language use (see Gee, 2011, pp.ix-x) to varying degrees. This thesis focuses on language as a situational and communicative activity. This means that other forms of DA that concentrate specifically on textual rather than contextual factors, or issues such as institutional/political dominance and power relations (see Alba-Juez, 2016), were less suited for its purposes. This decision-making was informed by a progressive and repeated process of observing and getting acquainted with the data. For instance, I did not start with a specific interest in studying generic moves in Facebook Pages' posts. It was the value of the recurrent use of language in a given environment for the accomplishment of the author's intentions, relationship building, and community practices (see Miller, 2015; Bhatia, 2015, p.14; Lomborg, 2011, pp.56-58) that led to the decision to adopt this approach.

In addition, it was upon the realisation of the evaluative character of both companies and consumer discourses that the connection between stance-taking, language, and (online) identity became evident and therefore previous research such as that of Du Bois (2007), Martin and White (2005), Georgalou (2017), Vásquez (2014), Biber et al. (1999), and others became of interest. Accordingly, overlapping routes of inquiry were also considered. An example of this was sentiment analysis, also referred to as opinion mining, and traditionally known for its computer assisted/automatic detection forms to determine polarity within texts (i.e. negative vs positive vs neutral sentiment) (Taboada, 2016; Mäntylä et al., 2018). Sentiment analysis is particularly useful for the understanding of public opinion on a large scale and has been widely used to examine user-generated content such as product reviews and social media texts (see Mäntylä et al., 2018, p.18; Zappavigna, 2017, p.436). Although developments in the field towards more nuanced description of emotions, images, and implicatures, as well as the detection of sentiment in non-English texts, are gradually taking place (Taboada, 2016, pp.338-339; Mäntylä et al., 2018, p.17), this approach was not felt to directly address the purposes of this thesis which specifically aims beyond polarity, and concentrates on contextual, multimodal, and implied meaning-making through its qualitative character. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which, by combining social perspectives such as those of Foucault and Bourdieu with linguistics, concentrates on the nature of power relations and text production through 'hegemonic structures within texts'

(Joseph, 2004, p.58; see also Wodak, 2001) was also considered. However, its specific interest in the 'relation between language and power' as well as 'struggle and conflict' in discourse (Wodak, 2001, p.2) did not speak strongly to this project's particular concern with the relationship between language, food, identity, and everyday processes and practices. In the everyday case, attention moves outwards and revolves around micro-structures of feelings, actions, practices of connectivity, and value co-creation emergent through language and across the digital.

This progressive and repeated process of adapting to data insights has guided the development of the research (see Herring, 2004, p.358), both whilst choosing the main linguistic frameworks to be adopted and the literature which later informed the in-depth discussions beyond the analytical chapter and around authenticity and affordances. Following this, as patterns, themes, and subthemes were identified, further relevant literature was called upon in order to make sense of the data. Before proceeding to describe the development of the dataset and the discourse models adopted for analysis of the data, I will reflect on how ethnography proved useful for this research.

3.1.2 (Online) Ethnography

In order to make sense of promotional environments beyond product display and assessment, ethnographic insights have played an important role in the data selection process and in enabling close understanding of the context of language production, situated meanings, and of the people involved in communication. Ethnography emerges in nineteenth-century Western anthropology as a term for 'a descriptive account of a community or culture, usually […] [then] outside the West' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.1). It was firstly practised by travellers who delivered their fieldwork writings to scholars for theorising, and later, entirely by the anthropologists themselves once these roles were unified.[16] Ethnography does not have a 'well-defined' or 'standard' meaning (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.2), as over time it has been reinterpreted and recontextualised according to different purposes and circumstances. Its practice however usually involves the participation of the researcher in the lives of people for periods of time, observing, listening, questioning, and gathering whatever data is available to shed light on emergent issues (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, pp.1-3; see also Boellstorff et al., 2012, pp.13-15).

As an approach for understanding communities and social life, ethnography usually centres attention on the following: everyday contexts; data from various sources including observation and conversations; relatively '*unstructured'* data collection which generates categories during analysis;

[16] A pivotal figure in the formulation and dissemination of an ethnography which unified the role of the explorer and the theorist was Bronisław Malinowski (1884 - 1942), who taught at the London School of Economics from 1922 to 1938 (Boellstorff et al., 2012, pp.14-15).

small scale focus for in-depth study; and localised, sometimes broader, interpretations of meanings and practices (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3, emphasis in original). As will become evident throughout this chapter, my research has taken useful insights from ethnographic practice, which included 'unobtrusive' observation and born-digital data collection (Hine, 2011; Nguyen et al., 2020, p.4), whilst also conducting face-to-face interviews both in person and via digital means. Approaching research in light of ethnographic practice has allowed the process of connecting language, technology, identity, relationship processes, and food with everyday practices in the virtual space, and to 'have a characteristic *funnel* structure, being progressively focused over its course' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.160, emphasis in original). Together with a gradual immersive approach to understanding issues emergent both from digital observation and from conversations with entrepreneurs, keeping an ethnographic mindset also included awareness of matters related to 'making the familiar strange' and vice-versa (de Jong et al., 2013), in other words, seeing matters being studied from the outside and the inside (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, pp.9, 89). In this sense, the ability to exercise reflexivity and empathy at multiple levels became an important tool in the process. It allowed for the necessary 'analytic space' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.90) to emerge without ignoring our sociocultural human nature, which makes distancing and immersing a dynamic and malleable, as opposed to bordered, process (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, pp.15, 88-90).

Although core to anthropological practice, ethnography has been adopted and adapted across a range of disciplines (Domínguez et al., 2007). One of the major contributors to bridging ethnography and the study of language was Dell Hymes, who pointed to connections between language and society and criticised linguistics for its structural language focus as opposed to contextualised cultural actions of communities (see Copland and Creese, 2015, p.18). Hymes (1964) proposed an '*ethnography of communication'* (p.2, emphasis in original), advocating the investigation of communication beyond language form and including contexts of situation.

During the 1990s, scholarly attention to the virtual worlds across disciplines brought ethnographic practice online in order to understand the internet in relation to a variety of issues, including online communities, cultures, and social worlds (Boellstorff et al., 2012, pp.25-27). An important study for the solidification of online ethnography is Christine Hine's (2000) *Virtual Ethnography*, which, whilst contributing to ongoing research into communication technologies, developed a methodology for investigating the internet and its uses (see Hine, 2000, p.2). Over time, ethnographic approaches taking the internet into account have been further developed from a variety of angles. These intersect the virtual and the digital with the realms of marketing, consumption, materiality, relationships, identity, and literacy studies to name a few, and are referred to with terms such as 'virtual ethnography' (Hine, 2000), 'netnography' (Kozinets, 2015), 'cyberethnography' (Domínguez et al., 2007, paragraph 1), and 'digital

ethnography' (Pink et al., 2016). As the variety of terms and research areas suggest, online ethnography 'is a multifaceted trend' (Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 1) and serves a variety of research aims.

In relation to this thesis, insights from the discourse-centred online ethnography (DCOE) proposed by Androutsopoulos (2008) proved most useful for pursuing a rich understanding of communication processes at play and moving beyond the exclusive focus on 'log data' (see also Holmes, 2013, p.124). Accordingly, practice-derived guidelines for DCOE include the following: observe relationships and processes, 'repeat observation', 'maintain openness', 'use observation insights as guidance for further sampling', 'formulate and customise interview guidelines', and show interviewees their own material (Androutsopoulos, 2008, table 1). With this in mind, I now turn to describe the process of data selection, collection, and analysis that took place in the course of this research.

3.2 The Dataset

3.2.1 Data Selection

Although I started this research with an overall interest in the social media presence of Brazilian food culture in the UK, its primary focus on Facebook emerged from the process of understanding Brazilian food entrepreneurs' online practices. In order to delve into the potential of the data available online, I first explored the different "corners" of the Web 2.0 to grasp where and how Brazilian food was mentioned in the UK. To identify available sources, a series of searching methods were tested. The aim was to start as broadly as possible to identify where Brazilian food providers and promoters were placed, and how they were present on the internet.

In the early stages of this project, to maximise search results, Google and Yahoo search engines were used to filter popular food terms,[17] both in English and Portuguese (e.g. "Brazilian food"/"comida brasileira", "churrasco", "coxinha"), to understand the variety of places and sources available online. This led to websites where Brazilian food was mentioned such as Google Maps (Google, 2018), Facebook 'Pages' (Facebook for Business, 2018; 2019), TripAdvisor (2017), Londonist (2018), Time Out (2018), Bbmag (2017),[18] and Canallondres (n.d.).[19] This broad search indicated five main types of

[17] Google was used due to its popularity and leadership on the web (Mangles, 2018). Yahoo was used as it is still widely used and differs from Google regarding its search strategies (see Walton, 2017; Rende, 2017). Allied Bing and Yahoo search engines seem to produce similar results (see Walton, 2017; Rende, 2017), and are the next most used on the web (Statista, 2018).

[18] Bossa Brazil Magazine (see Bbmag, 2017) is an online and printed bilingual Brazilian magazine aimed at UK readers reporting on events, personalities, culinary, and other aspects related to Brazilian life and culture.

[19] Canallondres (n.d.) is a Portuguese online TV channel by Brazilians about the Brazilian diaspora in Europe.

food promoters: restaurants and cafés, festivals, food shops, private and catering chefs, and blogs.[20] From these, restaurants/cafés stood out in quantity, variety, and social media presence, providing the richness required for this research.

To avoid being limited by the results of a single source, I compiled a list of restaurant webpages provided by sources where data was both manually and algorithmically generated. These were: Bbmag (2017a) online magazine directory, Leros magazine website (2017),[21] Time Out directories (2018a), Google and Facebook search engines. This search indicated the presence of Brazilian restaurants in most major UK cities such as Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, and London. In cities other than London, steakhouses and chains seemed to be predominant, whilst London showed a wider variety of Brazilian establishments including chains and independent steakhouses, cafés, and restaurants. Following this, it was clear that selecting data primarily according to location (e.g. one city only) could reduce the diversity and richness of data, leading to the decision to have data utility for addressing the research questions as the criterion for selection. Useful data, in this context, was seen as that which represents the variety of Brazilian spaces and their audiences in the UK (e.g. chains and independent businesses, approaches to cultural aspects such as food types and regions of Brazil) and which presents rich material for communication analysis (e.g. topic variety, language use and choice, use of multimodality, and cultural references).

As part of the above process of making sense of the data available on the 'messy web' (Postill and Pink, 2012), I also set Google Alerts (Google, n.d.) to track mentions of Brazilian food online.[22] This was a valid experiment as it revealed the occasional "hidden" website, but overall, it did not play a vital part in the data selection. The advantage of Google Alerts is that it can search for mentions by location (e.g. UK), but at the same time it picks information about Brazil from a range of sources such as news websites covering an array of subjects worldwide (e.g. food policies and industry). Additionally, Google Alerts' usefulness and accuracy may be purpose dependent and has been questioned by some (see Sullivan, 2013; Haden, 2014; Woodward, 2017; Kelly, 2018). Looking back, it might have been interesting to have tried alternatives to Google Alerts (see Woodward, 2017) such as Talkwalker Alerts (2018) simultaneously so they could complement each other. But ultimately, this was not a significant aspect of data selection.

[20] Examples of these are*:* Made In Brasil (2017), Brazilian Taste (n.d.), Produtos Brasileiros (2018), Luciana Berry (n.d.), Hot & Chilli (McPhee, 2017).
[21] Leros was the first Brazilian publication in the UK, founded in 1991 (Leros, 2013). It now coexists with other sources of information aimed at Brazilians such as Bbmag (2017), Canallondres (n.d.), eLondres (n.d.), and UK no Ar (2018).
[22] Where sites for tools and applications such as Google Alerts or Deliveroo are formally referenced, these were intended to provide the existent version or webpage at the time of the research.

Looking into social media success as an indicator of public engagement quantitatively for data selection was also considered (i.e. "likes" or shares on social media platforms). Given the popularity of Twitter in the UK, the most used SNS after Facebook (Revive.digital, 2018; Statista, 2018a), I was intrigued by its potential for this research. In order to examine some sample data, an experiment with Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset (TCAT) software (see Borra and Rieder, 2014) consisting of keyword searches to find entities or individuals in the UK was carried out from November 27th to December 1st 2017. This did not prove fruitful for finding and selecting data, as the software was unable automatically to identify the user location. An attempt to work around this issue was to add city or neighbourhood names to food items in order to "filter" mentions only in the UK. But this caused the software to reach its rate limit, i.e. 1% of the global Twitter volume at any time (see Ojala, 2018), due to the different word contexts of use.[23]

Additionally, as I got more acquainted with the restaurants' online activities, I came to realise that the combination of TCAT and social media metrics could perhaps risk excluding from the dataset (smaller) businesses aiming at a Brazilian or more localised audience due to these being absent from Twitter, not having as many followers, or engaging in less social media activity. Generally, restaurants aiming at a wider audience (e.g. chains) seemed to have a wider online footprint (i.e. more followers and platforms). On the other hand, those aiming at the local and/or Brazilian customer seemed more noticeable and active on Facebook. This overall presence on Facebook by restaurants could be due to Pages taking priority in businesses' promotional packages, since these were created specifically for public promotion, and have been freely available since 2007. Also, in addition to the significant use of Facebook for marketing and personal practices in the UK (see Rose, 2018; CMA, 2020, pp.5, 9, 57-59, 118-119), some companies' choice of platform may be associated with Facebook's popularity in Brazil/with Brazilians – the country with the second highest number of Facebook users in the world (see Souza, 2017, p.55; Spyer, 2017, p.11; Valadares and Moura, 2016, p.186), Twitter's lower popularity in Brazil/with Brazilians compared to the UK (Statista, 2018b), or with Twitter's affordances and nature (e.g. written word rather than image focused, character restrictions), which may be seen as less suitable for the purposes of food promotion.

Following this, TCAT and Twitter did not provide a diverse enough data sample for this research. Therefore, the project could no longer benefit from its functionalities for quantitative data collection and analysis. Nevertheless, this exercise revealed interesting features of TCAT such as following users and searching for @mentions and hashtags of events. These highlighted aspects of online

[23] Examples of this would be the following: the literal meaning of the snack named "coxinha" is "chicken drumstick", however the term is also an expression referring to a 'bourgeois playboy' in Brazil (Sims, 2016); or, although not the case in London, UK city names such as Liverpool, Manchester or Newcastle are also names of football teams mentioned worldwide.

communication which can assist with understanding online behaviour and/or audience targeting within Twitter and other social media platforms, and therefore was still a fruitful exercise in relation to this research.

After noticing that some independent restaurants who noticeably aimed at the Brazilian audience were only present on Facebook, navigating through different restaurants' Pages became a routine exercise. This gradually revealed the qualitative character (see Flick, 2014, pp.11-12) of this research as the variety of food spaces, language use (e.g. language choice, style, nostalgia and experiential expressions) and cultural references (e.g. posts and restaurant names indexing regionality and food variety) within Facebook stood out. This highlighted the significance of observational manual data collection to avoid sacrificing context (see "Sampling" under 3.2.2) and thereby allow the formation of a rich dataset suitable for the analysis of discourse and interpretation.

Moreover, among the different review online spaces (e.g. TripAdvisor (2017), Yelp (2018), and Facebook Pages (Facebook for Business, 2018; 2019)), Brazilian companies often seemed to use Facebook and TripAdvisor. As the research objective is to investigate interactions of businesses aiming both at general and localised audiences, it was important to find an environment where both were active and thus comparable. This made Facebook an interesting and potentially productive space for this research. It allows analysis of both businesses' and audience performance (i.e. posts, comments, and reviews), whilst providing a sociocultural arena for semiotic and language expression (Georgalou, 2017, p.3). Accordingly, within Facebook, manual search became essential for capturing and selecting informative content.

3.2.2 Data Collection: Methods and Sampling

Methods

This study follows a 'blended data' collection approach, which entails the collection of screen data, with user-based data (i.e. interviews) serving a complementary role (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p.80). In this way, the study looks at the web both as an 'archive' of language but also as a 'place' (Androutsopoulos, 2014a, p.77) of interaction. Accordingly, whilst adopting and adapting elements of an ethnographic method (e.g. online observation and interviews) and style (e.g. daily life aspects), the study does not intend to perform a fully-fledged ethnography but one 'concerned with the use of language in digital social life' (Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 41; also see Lee, 2014, p.96; Holmes, 2013, pp.125-126).

As detailed under section 3.2.1, Pages for analysis have been selected according to the usefulness of their content (i.e. content evidencing the variety of Brazilian food, spaces, audiences, and diversity of language use online). As such, many selected Pages are of establishments in London due to the variety

available and the substantial presence of Brazilians in the capital. On the other hand, I made sure to include at least one company Page from establishments in other UK capitals where available (Cardiff and Edinburgh) and from some major cities (Liverpool and Manchester) to allow for the communicative potential of different audiences and businesses across the country. Whilst establishments chosen from London range from cafés, restaurants and bars to steakhouses (both independent and chains), those located in other UK cities are all chains and steakhouses.

In order to analyse communication according to perceived audiences,[24] restaurants were categorised as chains or independent businesses.[25] Since some companies have establishments in various locations,[26] I selected one city/branch per company to ensure the dataset was of a feasible size for qualitative analysis whilst including a variety of locations.[27]

Table 1: Selected Companies and Branches

Name	**Category**	**Type**	**Location**
Bem Brasil	Chain	Steakhouse	Liverpool/L1 3DN
Cabana	Chain	Restaurant	London: E20 1GL
Fazenda	Chain	Steakhouse	Manchester: M3 3AP; Edinburgh: EH2 3DF
Preto	Chain	Steakhouse	London: CR0 1YB; EN1 3EF; KT1 1EU; SW15 1SP; W2 4SJ; SW1V 1DE; W1D 6LN. Chelmsford: CM2 6 FD; Colchester: CO1 1DH; Leatherhead: KT22 8DW; Loughborough: LE11 1TH
Temakinho	Chain	Restaurant	London: W1D 4TF
Touro	Chain	Steakhouse	London: SW19 1RQ
Viva Brazil	Chain	Steakhouse	Cardiff: CF10 1GD
Brazilian Gourmet	Independent	Restaurant	London: W1T 6LY

[24] Although location can be indicative of audience, the assumed contrast regarding marketing/language strategies between chains and independent establishments (i.e. wider vs narrower reach) has informed categorisation. For instance, at first, it seemed that more Portuguese was used in Pages of companies located closer to areas known for having more Brazilians residing, such as Brent in London (Evans et al., 2011, p.25), but intimacy with the data suggested that this first impression follows only to a degree, it is not a norm.

[25] The size of companies selected varies, falling within definitions of micro to large companies in the UK (see Gov.UK, n.d; Companies House, 2019). As descriptions of how many stores may constitute a chain (see Oxford, 2006, p.355; OED, 2020) also seem to vary, for the purposes of this research, chains have been defined as businesses with 3 or more restaurants under the same name whilst independent businesses as those with a maximum of 2 restaurants. The term "chain", as opposed to "franchise", has been used to refer to businesses with restaurants in various locations in the general sense. Desktop research suggests that those businesses with branches in various locations belong to one firm or owner (OED, 2020), and are generally referred to as "chains" in public discourse (e.g. Temakinho, 2019, Young, 2016; Mullen, 2015; Gerrard, 2017; Heward, 2014; Bem Brasil Restaurants, 2015), though I was unable to ascertain this directly with companies. The distinction between franchise (Oxford, 2006, p.230; also see OED, 2020a) and chain (Scott, 2018, also see OED, 2020) was not felt to influence the selection of Pages, as the brand name and a level of similarity seemed to be retained across branches.

[26] See appendices A and B for the number of establishments and locations per company during the period of data collection, as well as maps representing the companies' UK and London footprint (including all branches). Bearing in mind that companies do not necessarily hold the same trading name as their company registered name (Townley, 2019), the existence of these businesses has been verified through records in Companies House (n.d.), physically visiting places, and online activity.

[27] Except for two companies. One, due to it holding one Page for many branches, and another, for which I picked two locations given a recent branch opening at the time of selection and the potential for rich interactions in a novelty period (see Table 1).

Cantina do Gaúcho	Independent	Steakhouse	London: N16 5AA
Cantinho do Goiás	Independent	Restaurant	London: SM4 5LF
Carioca	Independent	Restaurant	London: SW9 8LB
Esfihas Excellent	Independent	Pizza and Esfiha Restaurant	London: NW10 4SY
Kaipiras by Barraco	Independent	Bar & Kitchen	London: NW6 4TA
Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: SE27 9AA
Little Brazil	Independent	Bar & Restaurant	London: SW19 1AU
Made In Brasil	Independent	Restaurant and Bar	London: NW1 7HJ
Made In Brasil Boteco	Independent	Restaurant and Bar	London: NW1 8AJ
Mineiro café	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: NW10 4UX
Mum's Pizzas Brasileira	Independent	Pizzeria	London: E10
Tchê Tapas	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: NW10 4UE
Tia Maria	Independent	Bar & Kitchen	London: SW8 1RB

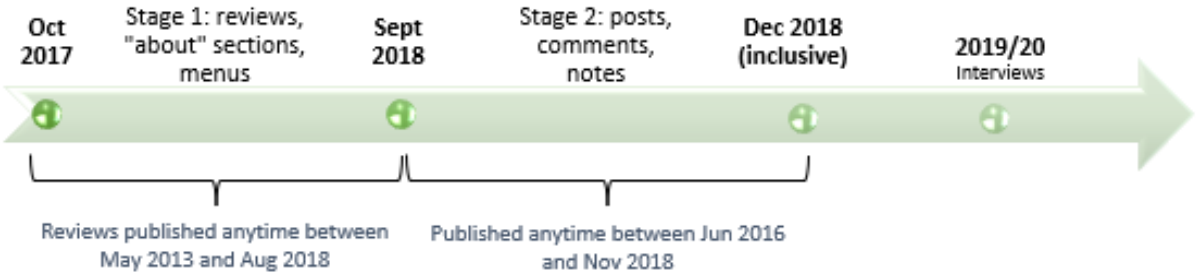
As detailed in the timeline below, observation, notetaking, and digital data collection took place between October 2017 and December 2018.[28] Data collection included materials such as menus and "about" sections from websites,[29] and Facebook Pages' "about" sections, reviews, posts, and comments. Given the fluidity of the web, trusting that information will be available through a link when needed can be a risky decision (see Boellstorff, et al., 2012, p.119). To ensure access to the relevant data at sampling stage, information was saved as PDF, Word, TXT, and WARC files as I navigated through pages.[30] This was then followed by interviews with some of the businesses' directors between November 2019 and February 2020.

[28] This timeframe equates to just over one year within this study. It was set to combine and create a linear flow between early-stage desktop research and getting acquainted with the data, building a progressive focus through observation and notetaking whilst keeping the expected 3-year length of the project in mind.

[29] "About" section refers to the section(s) of the website where most of its description or company history is displayed. For some, this information was displayed on other tabs such as the "home" page instead.

[30] The WARC (Web ARChive) file format enables the recording of the multiple resources which may be embedded in a webpage (e.g. images or audio-visual material, webpage links). It has been designed specifically for storing web content and is often used by archives such as the UK Web Archive for recording publicly available online information (see Coram, 2014; DPC, 2020; Library of Congress, 2020).

Illustration 1: Data Collection Timeline



Stage 1: Facebook reviews, "about" sections and menus

Website and Facebook Pages' "about" sections, menus, and Facebook reviews were collected first, between October 2017 and September 2018. The reviews collected were published anytime between May 2013 and August 2018. As independent companies often displayed more content in Portuguese but fewer reviews per day than chains, ensuring the capture of content in Portuguese was prioritised and thus dictated the publishing timeframe (i.e. as far back as 2013) of reviews collected. During this first stage of data collection, all data collected from Pages was done whilst logged-out of the platform. Although public content within Facebook is clearly indicated by the globe icon next to reviews and posts' publication date, this was to allow a more efficient data collection of reviews (set to be displayed in date order, with the most recent appearing first) whilst ensuring all data captured within long screenshots was public.

As screenshots were taken, the content from these pages was also copied into Word files and TXT files to simplify the transcription of the data at a later stage given that content from screenshots does not transfer as easily. Recording content as WARC files, for which I used the web archiving service Webrecorder.io - now Conifer (Rhizome, 2020) - can be time and memory space consuming, so this approach was only used occasionally to record websites where the content was more dynamic (i.e. moving pictures). Websites' "about" sections were added to the Internet Archive Wayback Machine (2014) as a precautionary measure where possible.[31]

During the collection of reviews, some of the Facebook 'reactions' (Krug, 2016) such as the clickable heart icon to imply "love" were not displayed by Facebook in its logged-out layout. This came to my attention as I was preparing reviews for the corpus (explained below) at the end of the first data collection period. Whilst reviews in this dataset are significantly written in plain text and other multimodal features such as emoticons and emojis have been captured, capturing "reactions" during the posts' collection phase was important given the amount of interaction possible between users under a

[31] At times, the internet archive displays an error message and does not allow certain webpages to be added.

post and the role of "reactions" in the expression of emotions. Accordingly, the collection of posts during the second stage of data collection was carried out whilst signed into the platform, ensuring every post collected was public (i.e. displayed the globe icon).

Stage 2: Facebook posts and comments

The collection of posts with comments, as well as systematic notetaking, took place between September 2018 and December 2018 (inclusive), and consisted of posts published anytime between June 2016 and November 2018. This publishing timeframe ensured a variety of interactions were captured, from everyday posts to festive posts. Going back as far as 2013 to match the reviews' publishing timeframe seemed unfeasible for manual collection, and not all companies have been active since then.

Collecting more "static" information first (i.e. "about" sections, menus, and reviews) was a helpful exercise in grasping an overall feeling for the content, thus informing the selection of restaurants. The collection of posts/comments at a later stage then allowed a window of time for deeper exploration of the Pages whilst taking notes (see Hine, 2000, pp.22-23). This was done every few days and the time spent within Pages varied according to Pages' activities. This was also done chronologically, moving from content published early in the timeframe towards more recent content (i.e. 2016 - 2018).

Observational notes were invaluable for maximising memory potential (see Boellstorff, et al., 2012, pp.82-83), so that it would be possible to build a corpus which represented the variety of language use, practices, and themes across Pages. As Androutsopoulos (2014a, p.77) points out, systematic observation allows us to acquire some tacit knowledge underlying semiotic practices. In this sense, the nature of the web was an advantage, as it provided the possibility of looking back in time to make sense of the data (Hine, 2000, pp.22-23). Therefore, although observation of content was done "back in time", as opposed to "as it happens", which implies some activity was not entirely observable (e.g. content deletion, flow/speed of replies/commenting), the rationale behind observing and taking notes was to allow for the collection of interesting interactions, and at the same time, learn language behavioural aspects (see Androutsopoulos, 2008) such as frequency of posting, commenting, liking, sharing, tagging, emoticons, emojis, and topics present within the platform.

Interviews

Interviews with a third of the companies' entrepreneurs were carried out between November 2019 and February 2020. Whilst online activities provide insight into interesting aspects of communication behaviour, understandings of communicative practices were further enriched and complemented with insights provided by entrepreneurs. These related to their trajectories, brand identity, food served, target audiences, thought processes whilst producing materials and interacting, and their opinions about the purposes social media may or may not serve within their business context. In order to invite companies

to take part in this research, contact was made via email, private messaging, and where time and distance allowed, I approached them in person to explain the purposes of my research. I only contacted companies once I was already acquainted with the published materials produced by all twenty-one selected companies. The aim was not to concentrate specifically on the life of interviewees but to maintain a 'strong focus on discourse' practices (Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 41) whilst valuing the cultural food market and content creation knowledge of those willing to get involved, as well as their histories and views, which are intrinsic to the bigger picture. Interviews allowed for the triangulation of analytical interpretations, the resulting descriptions of 'insider language use [and] norms' (Herring, 2004, p.369), as well as the encountering of new themes and contextual understandings. Specifically, the histories of the entrepreneurs, their industry knowledge, personal concerns, and insights into how communication is processed at the act of production were unique opportunities offered by the interviews. In this respect, it is worth noting that neither the digital nor the interview data claims to be representative of the entire Brazilian food sector's state, history, or communicative practices in the UK. However, the correlation between the entrepreneurs' views and experiences in the cultural food sector with the data insights was invaluable for shedding light onto communicative patterns, intentions, audience communicative behaviours, and the significance of social media.

Seven companies agreed to take part in the interviews - two chains and five independent companies. Further details can be found in appendix C. Interviews were carried out either face-to-face (at their businesses) or via Skype, depending on the time and availability of interviewees, either in Portuguese or English, according to their preferences. These were semi-structured interviews with open-ended topical areas for exploration (see Flick, 2014, p.217). They covered everything from personal and professional histories to broad and specific communicative practices exemplified by their own published material, and opinions about social media use and significance. A list of the variety of topics covered during interviews can be found in appendix D. Whether at their businesses or via Skype, they were recorded with a portable voice recorder and their duration varied according to availability and the time different entrepreneurs were able to dedicate to the project. Most of these lasted about an hour (between 40 and 60 minutes), with a couple lasting between two and three hours, amounting to 88,362 words once transcribed (see Table 2 for an overview of the dataset size). These were transcribed by the researcher in their original above-mentioned language, aided by a transcription pedal for time efficiency, formatted into a line numbered and time stamped Word document for easy reference, and also stored as PDF files.

Transcripts were produced to fit the informational purpose interviews served in this research (see Copland and Creese, 2015, pp.191-199 for a discussion on conventions and transcription processes), that is, to provide the level of detail necessary to reproduce the words and flow of the conversations to

enable thematic analysis by the researcher. Levels of delicacy, e.g. conventions such as pauses, interjections, and punctuation (see 'Notes on interview excerpts', page 15), were applied to allow for a detailed enough and yet accessible reading of the transcript. The thematic coding of transcripts was done through close and repeated reading of the transcript to generate new and overlapping themes (and subthemes) in relation to learnings from the digital dataset and the businesses' overall communication practices. This allowed insights into patterns and themes already noted by the researcher, or those less or not readily evident in the log data such as digital communication decision-making, biographies, social and economic factors, and food sector knowledge which may influence business discourses, use of digital tools, and online-offline relationships.

Sampling

As Herring (2004, p.350) points out, analysing all the relevant phenomena in relation to a question within CMC is often impossible, as the text can quickly amount to unfeasible quantities for the human coder. As she further explains, given the centrality of context for discourse interpretation, sampling data randomly is rarely a choice, as it can mean sacrificing context. Following this, reducing loss of context was prioritised in this study. As laid out in illustration 1 above, sampling was conducted with a timeframe in mind whilst following a 'purposive' method (see Polkinghorne, 2005; Etikan et al., 2016). Purposive sampling involves selecting materials that can address the research questions, enabling the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of experiences and to prioritise richness over the amount of data (see Polkinghorne, 2005, p.140; Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 15). Therefore, bearing the research questions in mind, useful data was seen as that pointing to the variety of Brazilian spaces and their audiences in the UK and rich material for communication analysis (see above, section 3.2.1).

In the process of sampling reviews, attention was paid to ensuring highlighted language use and topics, and detailed descriptions and interactions, in both Portuguese and English, were included. As for the posts, I ensured the inclusion of posts with significant amounts of interactions and those which captured highlighted features of language behaviour, including code usage, overall topics, and cultural allusions (including but not limited to gastronomic) in light of my observational insights. Bearing in mind the need to be selective to keep the data to a workable size, and the time constraints, observation and notes were essential in guiding selection of the examples that came to compose the corpus later.

Regarding the size of the dataset, previous research with similar data (Vásquez, 2014; Gilbert, 2016; Myers, 2010a; Georgalou, 2017; Al-Attar, 2017) was used as a guide. Previous studies show significant variation in the size of datasets depending on the overall research focus. In her book which deals exclusively with online reviews, Vásquez (2014) analyses discourse from different perspectives, including identity, based on 1,000 consumer reviews. Regarding Pages' posts and comments, Gilbert (2016, p.128) found a corpus consisting of 18 brand posts and 540 comments to be revealing when

approached in multiple ways in her research into identity performance. Furthermore, Myers (2010a) specifically investigates stance-taking in blogs using a concordance tool with a corpus of about 100,000 words. And finally, employing a discourse ethnographic approach, Georgalou (2017) used a dataset made of just over 40,000 words extracted from Facebook profiles, combined with further data such as screenshots, interviews, and notes (altogether just over 65,000 words with the addition of screenshots). Taking into account the multimodality of the data, wordcounts from "about" sections, sampled posts, comments and reviews, notes, and interviews, the final dataset size for this research (see table 2 in the following section) was based on these numbers.

This research aims for relevance rather than representativeness (see Flick, 2014, p.173), and it is, therefore, interested in addressing aspects relating to 'the diversification of ways of living in one society' (Flick, 2014, p.541). Accordingly, my efforts were invested in compiling data which could address the intersection of language with identity and community processes. To summarise, the data gathered includes Facebook posts, comments, reviews, Facebook and websites "about" sections, further content within these (e.g. menus), notes, and semi-structured interviews. This variety of data was meant to allow the paying of specific attention to language practices within Pages, as well as achieving triangulation and contextual understandings. Whilst the corpus containing posts, comments, and reviews was compiled to aid a close understanding of patterns of language behaviour by the application of the frameworks adopted, combined with desktop research, data such as "about" sections, menus, and interviews served a contextual and triangulating role. These added to, clarified, and complemented understandings of the core data and about the purpose social media serves in the cultural food sector. This made it possible to situate discussions within the context of the wider web and other social media, shedding light onto communication processes and communicators' relationship with the digital.

Preparation of the Corpus

As the data was collected manually, having screenshots as well as editable formats such as Word and TXT files facilitated the organisation of the data for the corpus. All text from sampled reviews, "about" sections, and Facebook posts (with comments) was transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet, with links to PDFs of posts for easy access to their multimodality. This allowed the content most descriptive of companies ("about" sections) and the data considered the main object of analysis (i.e. posts, comments, and reviews) to be stored in one place and, in the case of the latter, organised with consecutive tabs suitable for coding and discourse analysis.[32] Although comments and reviews in languages other than English and Portuguese were captured during observation, these were not included in the corpus. The

[32] Nvivo (QSR International, 2020) was also considered to assist with the analysis of the interview data. The software was tested by the researcher, and although suitable for the purposes intended, it was deemed to be most useful and efficient (e.g. for organising themes in less time) with larger datasets than that of this research, and was therefore not used.

variety of languages present within the platform is an interesting aspect to be researched. However, unless another language is mixed within an interaction (e.g. a code-switch or creative use of different languages), specifically analysing languages other than those most relevant to this study and those in which the researcher is competent goes beyond the scope of this research.

Repeated "thanks" messages (e.g. sometimes left by companies in reply to a review rating containing no message), and reviews which did not appear to be genuine have not been included in the corpus. Detecting fake reviews is difficult and sometimes virtually impossible (Malbon, 2013; Vásquez, 2014, pp.185-186; 2014a, p.87). In an effort to avoid these, reviews that lacked naturalness or read as decontextualised (e.g. overly outraged) were excluded. Although the corpus contains both short and long reviews, an effort was made to ensure that a substantial number of reviews containing detailed accounts of events/experiences and interactions were included. Regarding accuracy or truth of accounts, as with other types of data (e.g. interviews, diaries, letters etc), these are original products of particular moments and thus dependent on contextual factors (see Bornat, 2010, p.45) such as opinion, environment, inclinations, memory, and the emotions of the writer. Human nature in this sense is of interest within the context of this thesis, as the very act of choosing what to express and how to express it online is seen as part of the process of performing identity.

Sets of data other than those described above were organised in folders as screenshots and Word files. The final dataset therefore includes a corpus made of Facebook posts, comments, and reviews, Facebook and websites "about" sections, further content within these (e.g. menus), notes, and interviews. Table 2 provides an idea of numbers:

Table 2: Dataset Size

922 reviews, 583 posts (with comments)	75,963 words
"About" sections	5,322 words
Observational notes	47,478 words
Interviews	88,362 words
Total	217,125 words
Screenshots (including posts, reviews, "about" sections, and menus)	650

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Other than the interviews, the data collected for this study is of a public nature (see Kozinets, 2015, pp.135-136). This is content from public social media such as "about" sections, posts, reviews, and comments from company Facebook Pages or websites. The use of public content for academic research might seem uncomplicated at first, given that it can be accessed by any member of the public without restrictions. But considering the fluidity of the web, its ever-changing nature and thus ever-possible

concerns (see Zimmer, 2010), a single solid consensus on ethics in research with online data does not seem to prevail (Kozinets, 2015, p.130). Thus, some reflections specific to this research as well as recommendations for an ethical approach should be taken into account.

As the current study includes user-generated content such as comments and reviews, it is informed by guidelines concerning online research such as those from the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) (2020), the terms and policies of the platform (see Facebook, 2020e), recommendations on good practice in applied linguistics from the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) (2006, 2016), the SAS (2019) guidance from which this research received approval, and previous practice in the field (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2008; Gilbert, 2016; Al-Attar, 2017; Giaxoglou, 2017; Pihlaja, 2017). Ess and AoIR (2002, pp.5-8) broadly point out that when it comes to online research, the more the acknowledged publicity the less the obligation related to privacy, confidentiality, and consent there may be. However, one still needs to consider potential harm related to the subject-matter of the research. Regarding this research, Facebook business Pages are deliberately created for commercial publicity. Within these Pages, the topic displayed (i.e. business/food promotion) presents no apparent risk for the text creators and the researcher, as the content does not stand out as controversial, upsetting, or sensitive (see Vásquez, 2014, p.20; Page et al., 2014, p.71).

Regarding the terms of the platform, Facebook Page policies (Facebook, n.d.) focus on advice concerning actions within the Page by administrators (e.g. business representatives). In addition, their data policy (Facebook, 2019) states '[p]ublic information can be seen by anyone, on or off our Products, including if they don't have an account', and 'accessed, reshared or downloaded through third-party services'. Furthermore, Allen et al. (2006, p.607, cited in Kozinets, 2015, p.153) recommend that 'manual, non-automated access [by researchers] of information on publicly available web-pages [even ones belonging to corporations] should be acceptable without special permissions or actions'. Following this, given the Pages' public and commercial nature, and thus the implied user awareness of their potential diverse audience, both companies and commenters/reviewers can be seen as content creators and thus can be attributed as such (see Pihlaja, 2017, pp.217-218). As for the former, the very nature of product/company advertising comes with the explicit intention of gaining publicity, and so within this thesis, attribution is provided to companies as content creators.[33] As for the latter, although users are also creators of content with an assumed awareness of the environment's public nature, applying the same rationale deserves further consideration. Unlike company content, displaying content from Facebook users implies attribution to individuals rather than an entity, and they often use their real names (Pihlaja, 2017, p.221). With this in mind, and considering this research is primarily interested in

[33] Also see Intellectual Property Office (2014).

the content emergent through language as opposed to the actual individuals (Pihlaja, 2017, pp.222-225), this research draws on practices from the BAAL recommendations (2006, p.7; 2016, p.4) and previous research within online publicly-accessible venues (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 20; Pihlaja, 2017, pp.222-225; Giaxoglou, 2017, pp.237-238). Following this, whilst consent did not seem feasible, particularly given the large number of reviewers/commenters and weak contact channels, nor was it required, given the reasonable expectations of venue publicity, a case-by-case approach and anonymisation have been adopted to balance any concerns (e.g. personal details display/searchability).

Nonetheless, though awareness of the venue's public status is implied, expectations about the venues' nature and content sharing may still vary (see Giaxoglou, 2017; Pihlaja, 2017; Buchanan and Zimmer, 2018). In this way, considering the need for representative examples for this research's linguistic argument, the following additional measures to safeguard privacy and minimise searchability of content were taken (see Kozinets, 2015, pp.155-156; Giaxoglou, 2017, p.238; Pihlaja, 2017, pp.221-225; Al-Attar, 2017, pp.75-76): 1. Anonymisation of company names and users' personal details/identifiable information from comments and reviews; 2. Display of excerpts from comments/reviews and/or content which is untraceable through search engines at the time of the research as far as possible; and 3. Display of comments separate from the post to which they were originally attached.[34] Following this, attention is constantly paid to ethical issues throughout the research, with a processual, case-by-case approach whilst choosing examples to represent findings assisting decision-making (see Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 20; Markham and Buchanan, 2012, p.5; Franzke et al., 2020, p.4).

Consent has been acquired in relation to the interviews carried out with the directors of the establishments.[35] Although permission was granted both to refer to the name of the establishments and the name of the interviewees, I have chosen to maintain the company names only and refer to entrepreneurs according to their position within the business.[36] In this process, I have tried to be aware and not expose any potential sensitive/confidential information, and pseudonymised any third-party names.

In relation to the research topic, as a Brazilian individual and linguist who has now been living in the UK for over a decade, I am aware that my experience as a migrant and cultural analyst/mediator (i.e. translator and interpreter) is also part of how I make sense of the world and thus inevitably plays a role in how matters are interpreted. At the same time however, I believe my trajectory also gave me the ability to empathise on multiple levels with varied contexts and perspectives, and so as a researcher, to

[34] These have been applied as a precautionary measure to safeguard privacy and reduce traceability where possible, though the changing nature of the web and its functionalities are unpredictable.
[35] Copies of the consent form are provided in appendix E.
[36] Companies were generally referred to through the key to interviews available on appendix C.

commit to maintaining a critical positioning whilst engaging with this project's digital and oral discourses.

3.4 Analytical Frameworks

Below, the main frameworks adopted for analysis in this thesis are explained. As with the focus on identity performance and meaning-making resources employed online, this thesis draws on four different analytical models to interpret the data. It relies on Herring's (2007) classification scheme and Bhatia's (1993; 2004; 2005) move analysis for promotional genre to explore technical and social factors influencing CMC and the rhetorical moves in company posts to engage with their audience respectively. These provide an understanding of the structural and communicative context in which activity takes place online.

In order to understand in depth identity performances and community processes within Facebook Pages, Bell's (1984) 'audience design' framework and the analysis of discursive stance-taking (e.g. Martin and White, 2005; Du Bois, 2007) are applied to posts, comments, and reviews. Whilst both approaches provide insights into identity and community matters, the former specifically helps with understanding language use in conjunction with Facebook affordances to address others and thus enact relationships, and the latter considers discursive resources which spell out attitudes, opinions, positionings, and affiliations in communication. The application of the audience design framework to topics and interactions within Pages can highlight clusters of assumed shared knowledge, speakers' audience perceptions, understandings of digital affordances, and online/offline relationships embedded in communicative practices. Exploring discursive stance-taking can provide insights into how language and digital affordances lend themselves to company and consumer positioning. Together with the complementary literature, which ranges from advertising to multimodal discourses to enrich interpretations (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Painter et al., 2013; Thurlow and Aiello, 2007; Myers, 1994; 2010; Barton and Lee, 2013; Seargeant, 2019), notes, company websites' content, online desktop research, and interviews then inform, triangulate, and connect contextual points regarding practices and the significance of social media as chapters develop.

3.4.1 Herring's Classification Scheme: The Affordances of Facebook

In order to undertake the analysis of Facebook as a space and a tool for interaction, I start by broadly understanding its affordances and mechanisms. Considering the abundance of data provided by CMC and the need to address information organisation online, Herring's (2007) classification scheme was designed specifically for CMC discourse. The goal of the scheme is to enable awareness by the researcher of technical and social contextual aspects that can influence CMC discourse. Guided by the

assumption that CMC discourse is influenced both by medium (technology) and situation (social), Herring (2007) identified ten technological and eight social categories based on empirical evidence from research. As she explains, some categories may not apply to a given sample, whilst other categories may be added if relevant to discourse practice online. For instance, within the context of Facebook, the addition of categories such as 'searchability' and 'tagging' (see boyd, 2011, pp.46-48; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.166-167; Facebook, 2018h) seems appropriate. The basic categories proposed by Herring (2007), otherwise indicated, are explained below, with "searchability" and "tagging and mentioning" already added.

Technological factors

Synchronicity: synchronicity relates to asynchronous or synchronous systems. The former are those exchanges that do not require participants to be logged on simultaneously (e.g. email, discussion boards), and the latter refers to exchanges that require simultaneous presence of parties (e.g. "real-time" chat systems) (see also Androutsopoulos, 2006, p.420).

Message transmission: one-way transmission is achieved message-by-message whilst two-way is achieved character-by-character or line-by-line, i.e. the receiver can see the message as it is produced, e.g. ICQ (Herring, 2001, p.615).[37] This can influence processes of turn-taking and self-presentation.

Persistence of transcript: this refers to how long a message is kept on the system after being received. Persistent transcripts are those where deletion of content is managed by the user (e.g. email). Non-persistent transcripts are those where deletion of content is not controlled by the user (e.g. chat systems such as Snapchat (see Snapchat, n.d.)). The more persistent systems are, the more they enable users to think about how to articulate language, as well as managing multiple conversations.

Size of message buffer: the number of characters allowed in a message. These are "unlimited" (i.e. allow more characters than people's capacity/will to type/read, e.g. email) or limited (e.g. Twitter, 140 or 280 characters, dependent on the language of the user (see Rosen, 2017)).

Channels of communication: the mediums through which communication is achieved, such as video, audio, and graphics.

Anonymous messaging: a technological affordance which allows users to perform anonymous communication through usernames such as nicknames and pseudonyms.

[37] ICQ was an instant messaging program made available in 1996 which played a significant part in allowing people to communicate online in real time to a variety people, including those from their offline social networks (Jones and Hafner, 2012, p.145).

Private messaging: a feature that allows users to communicate privately with other users, even within environments where public conversations are also performed (e.g. social media timeline versus private messaging function).

Filtering: a feature that enables blocking messages from unwanted users.

Quoting: the ability to quote from a previous message (i.e. without retyping, copying and pasting). An example of this would be WhatsApp's quoting feature (see Deccan Chronicle, 2016).

Message format: the order in which messages are displayed (e.g. from oldest to newest).

Searchability: a feature that facilitates searching for information manually within a website (see boyd, 2011, pp.46-48).

Tagging and mentioning: a feature that allows identifying, linking, or mentioning another user or entity in a photo or comment (see Facebook, 2018g; 2018h).

Social factors

Participation structure: how participants are involved in communication (e.g. one-to-one or one-to-many); the level of publicness or privateness involved; and the participants' choice in terms of disclosure (i.e. anonymity/pseudonyms or real identity).

Participant characteristics: the background, skills, experiences, and sociocultural and interactional norms. Participants' ideologies, attitudes, and beliefs may have an impact on how and what they choose to communicate.

Purpose: the explicit purpose of the environment (e.g. social, professional) as well as goals of interaction of participants (e.g. promote a brand/sell a product or review a product/inform others).

Topic or Theme: both official and other topics predominant in the environment.

Tone: the manner in which discursive acts are performed (e.g. seriousness, formality). These can be achieved through resources such as quotes, emoticons, emojis, within others.

Activities: discursive means used to achieve interactional purposes. Examples of these would be the use of promotional language as a means of persuading others or product evaluation/opinion as a means of impression management.

Norms: conventional practices within the environment. Organisational norms refer to who manages the environment in relation to members' admissions, participant behaviour etc. (e.g. in a social media group). Social appropriateness norms refer to the implied or stated CMC behavioural standards (e.g.

online etiquette or Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)). Norms of language refer to linguistic conventions particular to the users (e.g. abbreviations, acronyms, insider jokes).

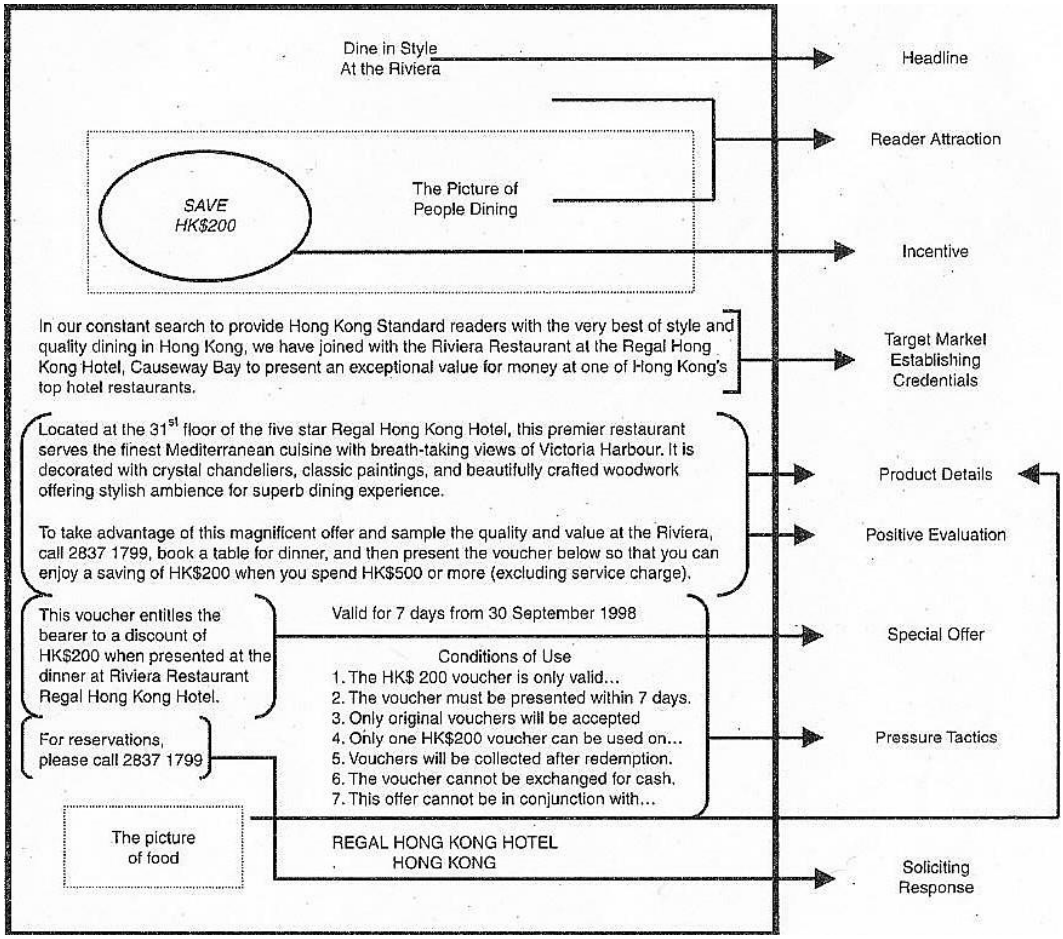
Code: the language used to achieve communication.

3.4.2 Bhatia's Moves in Promotional Discourse

Having achieved a structural and situational overview of the communicative environment, Bhatia's (1993; 2004; 2005) approach to analysing rhetorical moves in promotional discourse is then applied to companies' posts. As Bhatia (2004, p.57) explains, the versatility of genres means that some genres will incorporate characteristics of others (e.g. elements of business letters, advertising, and book reviews all in one space) thus forming 'genre colonies'. Originally applied to print promotional discourse, but later adopted to analyse online promotional discourse (e.g. Koteyko, 2009; Al-Attar, 2017), this generic perspective provides the flexibility required to cope with the hybridity of social media communication, whilst allowing the recognition of communicative logics suggestive of social, situational, and intentional aspects in discourse (see Lomborg, 2011). By allowing the identification of the rhetorical moves used by the companies to engage with their audience, Bhatia's approach can bring forward contextual understandings of the communicative mechanics and intentions at play. In this way, it should provide insights into how companies are achieving their communicative purpose considering both language and platform use. Given the professional and social nature of Facebook Pages, and thus their generic hybridity, this thesis enquires how moves behave across the corpus from a 'practices' (Tagg, 2015, p.11) perspective (i.e. what can be done or achieved through their use in a translingual social media environment). Against this background, a move entitled "Building relationships and conviviality" to account for the highlighted presence of phatic and general (non-product) information across posts has been added. Since Bhatia's approach was developed for printed adverts, it did not account for this flow of sociability at the level present in the Facebook promotional Pages analysed. This deviation from product focus in promotional social media discourse has been previously noted by Al-Attar (2017), though not specifically analysed given the purposes of the research in question. Al-Attar's (2017) thesis applies this model to similar data to determine monolingual posts' membership of the promotional genre as part of a comparative study between different promotional texts focusing on cosmetic and car advertisements. I have not encountered the application of this framework in a translingual setting similar to that of this thesis.

With the addition of the above-mentioned move, unless indicated otherwise, Bhatia's (1993, pp.46-56; 2004, pp.59-65) moves in promotional discourse are presented and exemplified (illustration 2) below.

Illustration 2: Rhetorical Moves in a Print Advertisement



(Bhatia, 2004, p.64)

Headlines: used to attract the reader's attention. With the increased use of multimodality in advertisements, visual inputs can also serve this purpose (also see Bhatia, 2005, p.218). Within Facebook Pages, videos and other features such as colour, capitalisation, titles and post captions can play this role. Entitling it as simply "headlines" did not seem representative of features encountered in promotional social media content, so the heading "reader attraction" has been used instead.

Targeting the market: indication of target audience. This can be achieved through images and words that are indicative of a specific mindset, lifestyle, or type of consumer.

Justifying the product or service: indicating the importance of the product/service and/or establishing a niche. This can be achieved through highlighting its demand and a specific use for a specific audience.

Detailing the product/service: identifying, describing, and indicating the value of the product/service. This can be achieved both linguistically and semiotically through description, evaluation and demonstration of the product usefulness. This move and the "justifying the product or service" move seem to be embedded in each other, as in the process of detailing the product/service, explicit or implicit justification of their need or importance is offered. In a similar mindset to Al-Attar's (2017, p.83)

research, these moves have been merged and will be addressed under the heading "detailing the product/service".

Establishing credentials: the attempt to create a positive impression on the reader by highlighting qualities, prestige, or expertise associated with the company or product.

Celebrity or typical user endorsements: overlapping with the "establishing credentials" move (and thus discussed simultaneously in my analysis), this move will prompt a positive impression by inviting the reader to associate the writer/product/service with a prestigious celebrity, positive remarks, or testimonials. Within social media, endorsements are not restricted to users or celebrities only, as other forms of endorsements such as appearances in the media or participation in community events or activities are also encountered. For comprehensiveness, this move is referred to as "endorsements" during analysis.

Offering incentives: encouraging purchases by means of discounts, offers, vouchers, or rewards.

Using pressure tactics: encouraging purchases by establishing conditions for the customer to benefit from offers (e.g. offers and discounts are incentives that can be conditioned by time or minimum expenditure). In this way, pressure tactics aim to trigger purchases of the already inclined customer. It is directly associated with the "offering incentives" move and therefore has been discussed simultaneously in my analysis.

Soliciting response: providing the routes to facilitate connection between the writer and the reader (e.g. phone number, contact name, address, email, websites, social media accounts).

Building relationships and conviviality: as mentioned above, to account for the flow of sociability in promotional social media and identify its points of emergence in discourse, this move has been added to the coding process. Some discursive aspects of posts serve a non-product focused and phatic function, which means they act as an icebreaker within the communication context to keep an interactional atmosphere (Batabyal et al., 2014, p.172). Here, phatic communication is understood from a pragmatic perspective, in which its '*doing sociability*' element occurs simultaneously with information exchange (Jaworski, 2000, p.113, emphasis in original), as opposed to being 'informationally empty' (Batabyal et al., 2014, p.173).[38] These are posts in which the provision of general information, company views, experience descriptions, or mundane remarks serve to signal the author's presence whilst establishing bonds and conviviality with those "present" in the interaction setting (see Varis and Blommaert, 2015;

[38] See Coupland et al. (1992) for an overview on the topic.

Batabyal et al., 2014). These can occur together with the description of a product/service or as a separate post, working towards consumer engagement and adding personality to the brand.

Following the above descriptions, a summary of the adopted moves is provided below:

Table 3: Rhetorical Moves

Rhetorical moves
Reader attraction
Targeting the market
Detailing the product/service
Establishing credentials
Endorsements
Offering incentives
Using pressure tactics
Soliciting response
Building relationships and conviviality

3.4.3 Audience Design: Addressivity Strategies

Based on the concept of 'audience design' (Bell, 1984), the analysis of addressivity in this thesis is guided by insights from its more recent applications to online communication by both Tagg and Seargeant (2014) and Androutsopoulos (2014). Bell's (1984) framework, which originally considered speech style variation by the same speaker on different radio stations, saw hearers and imagined audiences as a key factor. Tagg and Seargeant (2014) adapted his framework to gain insights into how users perceive their audience on Facebook in association with language choice and style. Whilst Bell's framework (1984) was created with the analysis of spoken interaction in mind, the authors have tailored it to suit analysis of CMC in a semi-public online environment. Taking into account the participant roles identified by Bell (1984) (speaker, addressee, auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper), Tagg and Seargeant (2014) created five categories which they referred to as poster, addressee, active friends, wider friends, and the internet as a whole. Androutsopoulos (2014), on the other hand, takes four of these participant roles into account in applying the framework to CMC. His participant roles are referred to as posters, addressee, bystanders, and overhearers. Inspired by the above-mentioned models, below, I explain the categories and terminology adopted in this thesis in relation to Bell's (1984) participant roles.

Speaker: referred to as "poster" in SNS environments, this may not only be the user who initiates interaction but those commenting under a post or leaving a consumer review, for example. In this thesis, I refer to speakers as "posters", "commenters", and "reviewers" for clarity.

Addressee: targeted individuals, those known, ratified, and addressed (Bell, 1984, p.159); posts/comments/reviews can be directly or indirectly targeted to specific individuals. This can be done directly through the use of the vocative, mix and choice of language, or indirectly, through an

intertextual "hint" (i.e. shared knowledge) relevant to the speaker and an addressee (not necessarily noticeable by the addressee) (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.172-175).

Auditor: according to Bell (1984, p.172) auditors are 'the third persons ratified as participants in a conversation'. Referred to as 'active friends' by Tagg and Seargeant (2014, pp.175-177), these are circles of people known to be a potential audience by the poster (i.e. accepted Facebook friends), who can then decide whether to "consume" posts or not. Androutsopoulos (2014, p.65) uses the term 'bystander' for this category, referring to those users who actively engage in a wall exchange and thus remain interested and relevant for the exchange. I adopt the term "bystander", though taking insights from both adaptations. The "bystander", in this thesis, is taken to include both participants engaged and relevant in an exchange (e.g. commenting under and/or "reacting" to posts) and those groups primarily imagined in "undirected" broadcasts which may or may not be consumed by the audience. My aim in adapting this category is to create an analytical tool to account for addressivity processes at the "auditor" level (i.e. group acknowledging and imagining) in an environment where not all potential interactants are Facebook "accepted" friends or connected by social networks. The public and promotional character of Pages implies a constant need to imagine an audience beyond those readily engaged, given the awareness of potential interaction from those "around". An orientation towards the bystander can therefore imply awareness of groups of interactants, users interested/engaged with post/comments topics, and wider groups in the sociocultural field by employing resources such as specific shared knowledge, topic, and language choice.

Overhearers: 'those known to be present, but unratified' (Bell, 1984, p.172). Androutsopoulos (2014, p.65) defines the entire social network as an overhearing audience, following the study of media talk, which views mass-media interactions as always tailored to overhearers (see Hutchby, 2006, pp.14, 18). At the same time, Tagg and Seargeant (2014, pp.177-179) refer to this category as 'wider friends' to account for a wider circle of friends, other than the active friends with whom posters communicate. In this thesis, I adopt the term "overhearer" to include any remaining possible receiver of the content, in other words, any possible capable reader of the content (Bell, 1984, pp.177-178). This is to allow for a thinking tool to detect discursive strategies pointing to the awareness of a wider audience.[39]

Bearing in mind that these categories overlap in discourse (i.e. more than one audience can be addressed in a post or comment through varied resources), their application to the data serves as a heuristic device to understand different levels of addressivity at play on public Facebook Pages. Furthering knowledge about how these strategies may vary can assist with grasping the diversity of audiences involved in

[39] Bell's (1984, p.178) category 'eavesdropper' was not specifically included given my analytical focus on detecting audience awareness. The effect of publicness and thus of parties whose specific presence is unknown is discussed throughout as applicable.

design, the role of language in achieving levels of connectivity, and thus processes of construction of identity and community online. According to the above exploration of the framework, the participant roles explored in this thesis are as follows.

Table 4: Participant Roles

Participant roles
Poster Commenter Reviewer
Addressee
Bystander
Overhearer

3.4.4 Company and Consumer Stance-Taking Online

The final analysis applied is that of stance-taking by companies and consumers. For that, my reasoning aligns with Du Bois's (2007, p.163) theory of stance:

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

Stance, therefore, refers to the expression of a writer or speaker's attitudes, feelings, beliefs or commitments, both explicit or otherwise (i.e. literal or inferred) (see Du Bois, 2007; Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.89-90). Rather than suggesting a set of fixed stance expressions to explain the different types of stance-taking (e.g. evaluation, positioning, and alignment), Du Bois (2007) advocates the understanding of the stance act as a phenomenon, which suggests these different discursive moves are aspects of a single act of stance-taking. In other words, as one evaluates something, one positions oneself and thus aligns with others and/or their beliefs or assumptions.

Stance-taking plays a crucial role in opinion expression and thus in the construction of identities (see Barton and Lee, 2013, p.31). In an interactional and versatile environment such as social media, this is not realised solely linguistically but multimodally through visuals and the very act of publishing a post, commenting, or leaving a review (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.88-91). Barton and Lee (2013, p.87) point out that since a writer/speaker often targets a particular audience, the way communicators interpret a stance statement may shape further interactions. In this light, stance-taking implies a communicative circuit by which communicators influence each other's views in relation to the world. As with the context of this thesis, and in resonance with the above authors, a stance act will then be made of the stance-taker (poster/commenter/reviewer), a stance object, the resources available (language code, evaluative lexis, verbs, punctuation, semiotic signs), and the addressee (the reader). Given the

multimodality of social media, it seems appropriate to consider communicative acts in context as opposed to words/textual evidence only. With that in mind, this analysis approaches communication within social media from a holistic angle, in which contextual meaning is prioritised whilst communicative evidence is used to explain the act of stance-taking.

During analysis, I drew on previous studies on identity and stance-taking in social media, such as those by Barton and Lee (2013) on language online, Vásquez (2014) on consumer reviews, and Georgalou (2017) on Facebook, as well as other literature available on stance-taking (e.g. Biber et al., 1999; Martin and White, 2005; Scheibman, 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009; Myers, 2010). The aim is to identify resources and meaning-making processes taking place within Brazilian restaurants' Facebook Pages to gain insights into company and consumer stance-taking beyond plain product assessment and into social action. In this light, the conceptualisation of attitudes presented by Martin and White (2005, pp.42-45), namely 'affect' (emotional reactions), 'judgement' (behaviour assessment), and 'appreciation' (assessing the value of things), as well as that of 'epistemic' stance, 'the stating of facts, knowledge, or beliefs', as put by Barton and Lee (2013, p.91; also Biber et al., 1999, pp.972-974) was helpful when working through texts. As more than one stance can be expressed within a communicative act (Simaki et al., 2020, p.216; Georgalou, 2017, p.178), and taking multimodality into account, I follow Georgalou's (2017, pp.178-202) approach and concentrate on modes of stance-taking and communicative resources as opposed to types of stance. Much of the literature consulted on stance-taking became relevant to phenomena as these emerged, however Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle, Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory, Biber et al.'s (1999) grammatical marking of stance, and Barton and Lee's (2013) and Georgalou's (2017) approach to multimodal stance-taking have steered my analytical gaze from the beginning. Unless directly quoting or otherwise indicated, the below overview of the communicative resources to which this analysis pays attention is based on these works.

Choice of code: the choice of language used to communicate online is itself a stance marker, which indicates the relationship between the stance-taker and other subjects, and to whom the message is addressed. In this way, language code can index inclusion, exclusion, and taking context into account, point to further social identity aspects (see Androutsopoulos, 2014).

Social media built in features: clicking the "like" or "reaction" buttons, using emojis, or resharing a post are social acts which can index attitudes and alignment to views and affiliations with the content posted by others. Furthermore, summoning individuals through "mentioning/tagging" in comment boxes can enact affiliation and maintenance of online and offline relationships.

Posting on Facebook: posted messages, GIFs, memes, photos/videos, and intertextual materials can index users' views of the world or affiliations. For instance, the posting of group selfies, photos of

events/occasions, food, or song lyrics can work as 'indexical signs' (Du Bois, p.146) of affect, appreciation, nostalgic, or humorous stance.

Indirect resources: stylistic choices, metaphors, irony, swearing, the use of vocative voice, and rhetorical questions are context dependent resources that can work for different purposes. For example, the use of a rhetorical question can strengthen a point of view, the use of vocative can work to create intimacy, an emoji can convey affect, and irony will have an implicit meaning to convey (see also Myers 2010; Vásquez, 2014; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Drasovean and Tagg, 2015, paragraph 12). As Martin and White (2005, p.62) point out, ideational meanings can invoke stances even in the absence of direct lexical stance markers.

Typography: written expressions of laughter ("haha"), emoticons, letter capitalisations, vowel and consonant lengthening, and exaggerated or random use of punctuation can index emotional and humorous stances. This allows levels of formality, gestures, facial expressions as well as tone of voice and mood into the typing of communication.

Linguistic properties: evaluative and appreciative lexis (e.g. "beautiful", "delicious", "happy", "amazing"), verbs (e.g. "love", "think"), and adverbs ("definitely") can be indicators of feelings, tastes, or point of view. Further examples of linguistic resources are the use of noun phrases and generic pronouns for generalisations or personal pronouns for subjective meanings (see Scheibman, 2007) which can give insights into users' audiences, collective assumptions or personal positionings.

In her book on identity on Facebook, Georgalou (2017, pp.178-202) describes stance according to modes as opposed to types of stance. This approach has been adapted in this thesis according to communicative practices within Facebook public Pages. The modes explored in this thesis are presented in the grid below:

Table 5: Stance-taking Modes and Resources

Modes of stance-taking	**Stance-taking resources**
Direct stance-taking	Lexical items such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives and nouns.
CMC-specific stance-taking	Typographic resources such as emojis, stickers, emoticons, word reductions, homophones, acronyms, unconventional punctuation, capitalisation, and vowel/consonant lengthening.
Indirect stance-taking	Implied stances. These are contextually achieved by ways of structuring language, language style, and inferences in combination with visual resources. Examples are declarative sentences, rhetorical questions, generic pronouns, imperatives, puns, code-switch, and metaphors.
Cross-modal stance-taking	Multimodal affordances such as URLs, GIFs, songs, memes, purpose-made or ready-made re-sharing of posts, videos, and reviews.

	Intermodal meanings through the blending of visuals and words.
Collaborative stance-taking	Collaborative stance-taking in dialogue using available resources and contextual cues.

In order to explore in depth how users engage in both individual/professional (speaker position) and sociocultural (general belief within communities) stance-taking, the highlighted lexical and semiotic markers of stance, as well as modes and ideational meanings (i.e. themes and sub-themes) were identified.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the decision-making process regarding the overall analytical approach, data types, selection, collection, sampling, ethical considerations, and linguistic frameworks adopted for interpretation of the data from which broader discussions stem in this thesis. It has also presented the research questions addressed and the rationale behind these questions. The adoption of the above frameworks, whilst complementing each other, lies within the highlighted potential of each of these to foreground certain aspects of communication. Whilst the first and second models enable consideration of aspects related to the nature of discourse use and setting (i.e. CMC/promotional discourse and platform affordances), the third and fourth models shed light on the mechanics of communication and can highlight resources and practices of connectivity and identity performance.

The following chapter presents the analytical insights and communicative practices employed by both businesses and consumers within Pages' posts, comments, and reviews in relation to the platform's affordances, promotional genre, addressivity strategies, and stance-taking in discourse. Chapters 5 and 6 will simultaneously apply learnings from the above frameworks, together with insights from interviews and further relevant literature, to connect 'language around food' (Riley and Paugh, 2019, pp.145-173) and platform affordances to the construction of identity and senses of community within Pages.

Chapter 4: Communication Practices: Analytical Insights

In chapter 3, I detailed the methodological design and frameworks adopted in this thesis, after having reviewed the relevant body of literature in chapter 2. Following this, the present chapter details patterns of language use and practices highlighted through the application of each framework adopted, exploring the social and technological affordances, promotional moves, addressivity strategies, and discursive stance-taking at play within Facebook Pages. By presenting analytical insights, this chapter aims to zoom into the communicative features of the environment, the linguistic and semiotic behaviour encountered in posts, comments, and reviews, and point to subsequent areas to be discussed in the following chapters.

4.1 Herring's Classification Scheme: The Affordances of Facebook

As detailed in section 3.4.1, Herring's (2007) classification scheme is designed to enable researcher awareness of both technological and social factors of CMC discourse. By providing an open list of categories based on empirical observation, the scheme brings to the surface medium and situational aspects influencing CMC discourse, and was my starting point in making sense of the Pages. As Herring (2007) explains, categories may or may not apply to a given dataset, and additional factors may be added to the list. In this analysis, two categories absent from the list were added, "searchability" and "tagging and mentioning" (boyd, 2011, pp.46-48; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.166-167; Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, p.131; Facebook, 2018g). The relevant categories and insights which resulted from observing the Pages under consideration in this thesis are considered below.[40]

Technological factors

Synchronicity: Facebook is mostly asynchronous. Apart from its live streaming feature, in which communication is synchronous,[41] features such as posting, commenting, and tagging are asynchronous. This creates a setting which does not require simultaneous presence of interactants for communication goals to be achieved. These structural features of the platform create an open-ended fluid interaction setting which prompts users to tune to the frequency and length of chunks of meaning produced in

[40] As with the focus in analysing interactions existent specifically within Facebook public Pages (as opposed to Facebook personal pages), Herring's (2007) framework has been applied with the functionalities and features from this specific environment in mind. Following this, this analysis does not attempt to cover features and affordances pertaining to personal profiles, unless directly relevant to the understanding of activities emergent in this dataset (e.g. news feed). Specific features observed in the public Pages but not included in the dataset (e.g. Stories) are pointed out as such in this analysis.

[41] Live streamed videos were only collected when displayed as a permanent post by the company after the fact.

response to each other's activities as and when most suitable for communicators. This points to a switch in meaning-making processes from other forms of communication such as phone calls or in-person encounters, given that message delivery is not conditioned by time or presence.

Message transmission: one-way. Messages are transmitted in chunks of meaning (i.e. a comment, a review, a post) and only seen once sent by the user.

Persistence of transcript: mostly persistent. This can influence self-presentation and language articulation since users have more time to elaborate their thoughts before posting. Except for Facebook Stories which disappear after 24 hours,[42] content such as posts, comments, and reviews stay visible until deleted manually or with account closure. Facebook stores data until 'no longer necessary' for its services on a 'case-by-case determination' or until an account is deleted (Facebook, 2019).

Size of message buffer: Facebook limits posts to 63,206 characters (Social Report, 2019; Potralinski, 2011; Lavrusik, 2011), and comments to 8,000 characters (DSIM, 2018; Constine, 2011). Although character restrictions exist, these are effectively unlimited as they exceed writing and reading lengths most people are willing to perform (see Herring, 2007, paragraph 40). Given the fast-paced nature of communication exchanges on these Pages, such restrictions do not seem to condition language production.

Channels of communication: communication is multimodal. Mostly performed via plain text (e.g. comments, reviews, posts) and images (e.g. photos, flyers, memes, emojis), but also via videos including live streaming, Stories, and GIFs.

Anonymous messaging: user anonymity per se is not allowed according to Facebook's name policy. It states everyone should use their identifiable 'everyday life' name, and nicknames such as variations derived from authentic names (e.g. Bob for Robert) are also allowed (Facebook, 2019a). Given the social and 'anchored' character (Zhao et al., 2008, p.1818) of connections maintained by users through Facebook, this could have an influence in self-presentation, and potentially signpost, but certainly not guarantee, a lesser likelihood of fake interactions, though fake activity is known to take place in SNSs and is challenging to detect (Malbon, 2013; Vásquez, 2014a, p.87; Serazio and Duffy, 2017, p.491). Pages are created from personal profiles and must be attached to an individual. The platform also has rules to avoid vague or misleading Page names such as forbidding the use of generic words or locations (see Facebook, n.d.; 2020a).

[42] Stories are not included in this thesis dataset.

Private messaging: private messaging is possible between customer and companies within Facebook Pages.[43] Companies can only contact users this way if publicly or privately messaged by the individual first (Facebook, 2019b; Facebook for Business, 2015). If private messaging is turned on for the Page, it does not require users to "like" or follow the Page in order to contact a company.

Filtering: Facebook allows Page admins to ban unwanted accounts from publishing, "liking", or messaging their Page (Facebook, 2019c).[44]

Quoting: there was no specific quoting feature other than "sharing" content within Facebook until 20th March 2019, when Quote Replies (similar to WhatsApp quoting feature) was introduced to Facebook's messaging system (Gartenberg, 2019).

Message format: Facebook Pages' timelines display most recent posts at the top of the Page. Page admins can, however, manually pin a post to the top of the timeline if they wish (Facebook, 2019d). Facebook news feed posts (as seen by the personal account holders) are by default algorithmically selected as 'top stories' (Facebook, 2019e) but can be tailored to prioritise profiles, or temporarily display most recent posts at the top (see Facebook, 2019f; 2019e).

Comment threads under company posts appear in chronological order or algorithmically ranked as "most relevant" depending on settings. These can be manually reordered via the dropdown menu on the top left of threads as "new", "oldest", or "all comments" temporarily (Facebook, 2019g). Within company Pages, user posts (e.g. company mentions, check-ins) appear under the "Community Tab". Comment threads under posts permanently display the most recent comments at the bottom.

Reviews, replaced by recommendations from August 2018 (Facebook for Business, 2018a; Social Report, 2018), appeared under the Reviews tab as "most helpful" but allowed users to sort the list as "most recent" manually.

Searchability: Facebook search feature allows users to search for organisations, groups, and people. Users can also search their friends' list of friends and navigate their list of "likes" (e.g. public Pages and figures).

Tagging and Mentioning: companies can tag other Pages depending on their settings, and people provided they are over 18 and have "liked" the Page (Facebook, 2019h). Users can also "mention" companies depending on Pages' settings (Facebook, 2018g). In both cases this means a link is created to the profile tagged or "mentioned", and those parties "mentioned" are notified by the platform (Allton,

[43] Private messages are not included in this thesis dataset.
[44] Page admins are creators of public Facebook Pages who can assign roles to other accounts to manage a Page (see Facebook, 2019i)

2017). The ability to tag users and Pages within posts has been available on Facebook since 2009, whilst "mentioning/tagging" in comments has been available since 2011 (Ostrow, 2009; Constine, 2011a).

Table 6: Technological Factors

Technological factors[45]- summary	
Synchronicity	Asynchronous
Message transmission	One-way
Persistence of transcript	Persistent
Size of message buffer	Posts: 63,206 characters Comments: 8,000 characters
Channels of communication	Multimodal (plain text, images, videos, GIFs)
Anonymous messaging	Identifiable name and nicknames for users Pages must be attached to an individual Rules for naming Pages
Filtering	Yes (e.g. banning accounts)
Quoting	Yes ("sharing" function)
Message format	Varies. Mostly controlled by settings concerning its chronological and algorithmic organisation.
Searchability	Yes (e.g. organisations, groups, people)
Tagging and Mentioning	Yes (Pages and people can interact this way)

Social factors

Participation structure: public, many-to-many communication, where the author, the reader, and the viewer may be involved. Whilst one-to-many (e.g. broadcast/post) and one-to-one (e.g. direct address) forms of communication are possible (Lomborg, 2011, p.56), unlike mediums characterised by one-way (e.g. printed advertisement) or two-way (e.g. phone) communication, the possibilities within Pages are less controlled by the initiator, as any user may participate at any time. Although the Page admin moderates the environment, as messages are broadcast to a wider audience who are invited to interact, authorial stance is granted to both companies and consumers by the platform structure (see Barton and Lee, 2013, p.44; Herring and Androutsopoulos, 2015, pp.130-131).

Participant characteristics: in line with the constructive perspective on identity of this study (i.e. emergent through discourse and contextually dependent), users' characteristics such as demographics,

[45] Specifically related to this thesis dataset.

beliefs, and attitudes are not a point of departure but a potential reflection of their communication performance (see Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p.587; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, pp.3-4; Goffman 1959).

Purpose: the official purpose of the environment is commercial/professional, while the purpose of the interactions is both commercial/professional and social. The explicit promotional character of Facebook Pages (see Facebook for Business, 2019) and the sociality which permeates the essence of social media (McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase, 2017, p.15) mean that the environment can serve both commercial and social purposes for companies and consumers. Actions taking place include, though are not limited to, brand and business promotion, product evaluation, development and management of relationships, information and opinion sharing.

Topics: the topics present are varied. Broadly speaking, food, other aspects of Brazilian culture, product quality and description, and references to mundane activities (e.g. social activities, weather remarks, or personal taste or preferences) populate the environment.

Norms: Facebook Pages are public spaces (Facebook, 2018a). Anyone can see the content displayed within it. Furthermore, any user can interact with the Page, which includes following, "liking", "reacting", posting, and tagging within the space. Overall, Page interaction features are managed by the Page's admin whose abilities include the management of the content published, the Page structure (e.g. features and tabs on display), and moderation (e.g. banning spam or accounts, or turning off functionalities such as reviews or private messaging). Pages' admins can also assign roles to other account holders to manage a Page (Facebook, 2019i).

Code: English and Portuguese are the main languages in use and analysed for the purposes of this thesis. Occasionally, Italian, Spanish, French, and German have also been noted.

Table 7: Social Factors

Social factors[46] summary	
Participation structure	Public, many-to-many form of communication.
Participant characteristics	Emergent through discourse.
Purpose	Commercial/professional and social.
Topics	Varied.
Norms	Public space with many-to-many interactions. Content published by companies and functionalities of a Page are managed through Page's admin roles.
Code	English and Portuguese. Occasional Italian, Spanish, French, and German.

[46] Specifically related to this thesis dataset.

The above analysis has provided a route of deep enquiry into Facebook's structural mechanisms and context of communication, allowing an organised overview of the platform to be achieved. Through this initial analysis, the importance of the platform's structural affordances (e.g. "liking", "tagging", "commenting") as enablers of multidirectional discourse stood out. The coexistence of the public and promotional character of Facebook Pages and Facebook's social affordances were also pronounced, paving the way to further grasp the hybridity of purposes and topics in the environment. In the following section, the promotional character of companies' discourse is studied through the analysis of promotional moves.

4.2 Bhatia's Moves in Promotional Discourse

The below analysis is informed by Bhatia's (1993; 2004; 2005) generic approach to explore the rhetorical moves applied by companies through their posts. The aim is to contextualise the company related data within its primary discourse setting (i.e. promotional) with a framework that can account for the generic malleability of social media language use and practices (i.e. mode of communication, content dissemination, resources used) (Bhatia, 2015, p.14). The desired outcome of advertisements is to persuade audiences to invest financially in a product/service or experience (Xu and Zhou, 2013, p.494). To achieve this communicative goal, advertisements use a number of rhetorical moves in discourse (Bhatia, 2004, pp.63-65). Taking into account the contextual and structural affordances of the discourse setting, the below analysis illustrates the varying degrees to which these rhetorical moves occur across posts to build the knowledge necessary to understand what these moves achieve in the context of this research.[47]

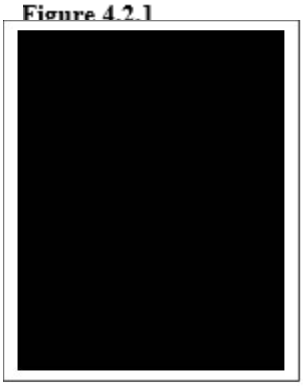
Promotional Moves Across Posts

Reader attraction: across posts, the reader attraction move was realised through the use of resources such as images, videos, GIFs, emojis, links and hashtags, plain text as captions (e.g. above the post image), plain text on images, colours, and font styles/sizes. As Painter et al. (2013, p.135) explain, bimodal texts may commit meanings from different semiotic systems. In the below example, the use of emojis in the upper caption as well as the ambience depiction through the picture can both catch the reader's attention. The use of bright green check marks to index approval, the green flag emoji for Brazilianness, and the face emoji for "deliciousness" can all deliver meaning before the reader proceeds

[47] This analysis did not intend to determine the presence of every identified move in one post or to quantify their occurrence by type of resource (e.g. image vs plain text) but to highlight the existence of these overlapping moves at the post level. A detailed explanation of typical promotional moves in advertisements according to Bhatia's (2005, 2004, 1993) models and how these have been adapted for this thesis can be found in chapter 3 (section 3.4.2).

to make sense of the words on display. As Thurlow and Aiello (2007, p.326) point out, human attention is selective and thus unable to retain many stimuli simultaneously, meaning that perceptually we are more sensitive to relationships of difference. Another feature with potential to attract the reader is the blue hashtags which are clickable links. As well as the colour salience, the awareness of their topic search functionality may add to readers' perception of difference. Hashtags highlight a switch from printed advertising since platform features allow for meanings to be produced in more dynamic ways given the intertextuality implied.

Figure 4.2.1

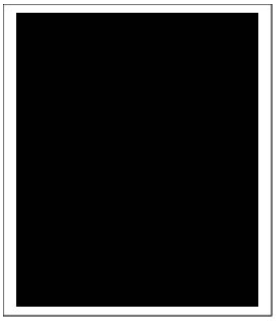


'It's as Brazilian as it gets 🇧🇷 and thats not even the half of it! 😋
✅ Feijoada (Brazilian beans with pork)
✅ Feijao Tropeiro (Brazilian beans with cassava flour and bacon)
✅ Pão de Queijo (Cheese bread)
✅ Banana Frita (Fried Banana)
✅ Coxinha (Chicken Croquettes)

#pretorestaurant #preto #brazil #brazilian #braziliancuisine #rodizio #food #foodie #foodblogger #meat #grill #bbq' (Preto, 2018)

Platform built-in mechanisms such as status updates can also play a role in attracting the reader. The platform content delivery system automatically labels the published material into meaningful actions as taken by users (e.g. post/photo/link/video shares, album shares/additions, profile/cover images updates, and event shares/additions) (see Eisenlauer, 2014). In this way, through status updates, the platform points to the actions taken by the poster by describing these at the top of the post in blue colour. In figure 4.2.2, the sentence 'shared an event' announces the user's action. The clickable word 'event' in blue colour links to the event details, points to company practices (i.e. event promotion), and together with the blue company name in bold, stands out by its upper placement and colour harmony in the lettering (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p.120). Other attention triggering features here are the use of capitalisation on 'free entrance', the flyer image which spells the theme of the post (i.e. tattoo practice), and the bold white fonts used against its dark background.

Figure 4.2.2

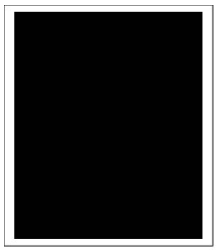


'**Made in Brasil** shared an event
21 September 2017

In celebration of London Tattoo Convention, Made in Brasil Boteco in partnership with the Tatoo Artist Joao Lemos (Marrom) presents Walk In Day Tattoo! Marrom and his guests will be tattooing without booking (from £50). Tribo Batucada and DJ Siclano Silva will takes you to a music journey from the Notheast of Brasil to the Souteast of Brasil swing. FREE ENTRANCE!'
(Made in Brasil, 2017)

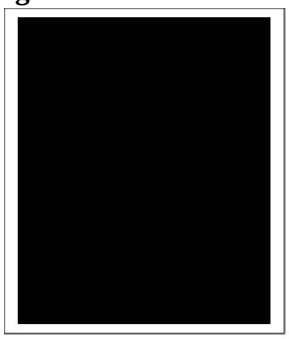
Targeting the market: the main indicators of target market across posts are language code and the solutions companies claim to provide to their potential clientele (e.g. transnational/novel/cosmopolitan experiences). Figure 4.2.3 uses English to communicate, implies novelty through the construction 'have you tried', and describes the product through the word 'national' and the "cherry" emoji (alluding to the guaraná fruit in the absence of its emoji). These indicate a highlighted orientation to non-Brazilians in this post given the decision to spell out what is commonly implied knowledge (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.6-7) to Brazilians. In contrast, in figure 4.2.4, the use of English, reference to the Meat Free Monday campaign,[48] and the choice to advertise a well-known vegetarian menu item in the UK, a mushroom burger (see Elkin, 2014), point to a general audience.

Figure 4.2.3



'Have you tried Brazil's other national drink Guaraná (after the Caipirinha)? 🍒'
(Preto, 2017)

Figure 4.2.4



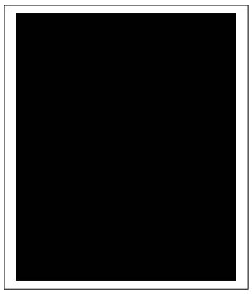
'Meat Free Monday never looked so good... Chargrilled marinated halloumi and portobello mushroom burger.'
(Cabana, 2017)

Companies also chose to use Portuguese, alone or mixed with English, to address translocal audiences. In figure 4.2.5, the Brazilian and Portuguese pastries are described by their Lusophone names (as opposed to English equivalents or paraphrases), and Brazilian and Portuguese flag emojis reinforce the food's transnational character. Whilst the food pictures provide a general idea of product type (i.e. pastries), signs available do not specifically further inform those unfamiliar with the product names.

[48] Meat Free Mondays, as practised currently, started in 2003 as a health, and later environmental and human/animal welfare, campaign called Meatless Monday at Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future (2019) in the USA. In the UK, the Meat Free Monday movement was launched in 2009 by Sir Paul McCartney and daughters Mary and Stella, and its popularity has influenced schools, universities, and businesses in the country (see Meat Free Monday, 2019; O'Malley, 2019; and Vaughan, 2009). The idea of abstinence from meat (i.e. meat-free days), as well as signposting mindset and eating developments in society, carries intertextual value in discourse given its religious and war significance historically (see Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future, 2019).

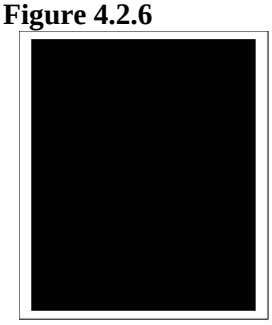
Posts also provide content in both languages. Figure 4.2.6 provides dish descriptions in both English and Portuguese - the Portuguese notably hinting at Brazilians, given the added affect implied by the diminutive "inho" in 'caldinho' (see dos Santos and Coelho, 2008). This bilingual approach ensures that both Brazilian and non-Brazilian (including Lusophone) audiences are individually addressed, embracing both translocal and local audiences.

Figure 4.2.5



'Hummmm!
Fatia húngara, pão de Deus, sonhos,Tijelada etc...'
(Mineiro Cafe, 2017)

Figure 4.2.6



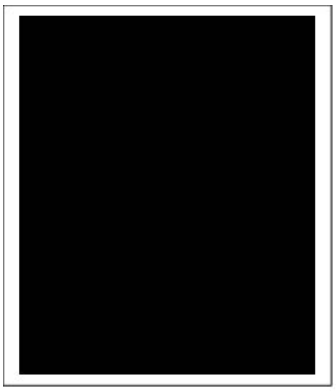
'How about having a pinto beans broth in this raining weather?
Que tal um caldinho de feijão nessa chuvinha?'
(Little Brazil, 2018)

Targeting the market therefore seems to be achieved through resources such as language, shared knowledge, and visuals. Depending on the primary perceived audience of a given post, deployment of these resources varies. Nevertheless, this analysis does not intend to claim that posts target exclusively one audience or another. Instead, it recognises signs of variation in language behaviour, in combination with cultural knowledge, that are indicative of primary audiences at a given time. Audience targeting in connection to language choice and shared knowledge is a significant route of enquiry in this research given its potential for processes of identity and community construction (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014). The strategic dimensions of addressivity employed across posts, comments, and reviews will be explored in detail later in this chapter from an audience design perspective.

Detailing the product/service: this move is usually achieved through lexical and semiotic identification, description, or evaluation of products/services. Within posts, it occurs through plain text, emojis, videos, and images detailing events, depicting dishes/drinks, and cultural and company practices. For instance, the event in figure 4.2.2 is largely described through plain text, which states place, artist, minimum charge, bands, date, and time. In figure 4.2.3, the soft drink is identified by its name 'Guaraná', with authentic value implied by the word 'national', and further depiction through visuals.

Similarly, in figure 4.2.4, other than visuals, product identification and description occur in 'halloumi and portobello mushroom burger', whilst positive evaluation is inferred through the sentence 'Meat Free Monday never looked so good'. Throughout, evaluation also occurs through emojis such as '😋' implying "deliciousness" in figure 4.2.1, and CMC orality (e.g. Portuguese interjection 'Hummmm!' for deliciousness/approval in figure 4.2.5 (see Dicio, 2019)). Posts are also used as menu boards for product/service detailing. In figure 4.2.7, the product is identified and described through dish names and ingredients, evaluated as 'exotic' and 'tropical', and emojis visually reinforce the dishes' main component/diet type in plain text.

Figure 4.2.7



'TODAY's SPECIAL
WHITE FISH A MILANESE WITH VINAIGRETTE SAUCE

EXOTIC OXTAIL STYLE WITH CASSAVA,BASIL & ONIONS SEASONED WITH SAFFRON AND TROPICAL HERBS

CHICKEN PARMIGIANA WITH MOZZARELLA CHEESE AND TOMATO SAUCE

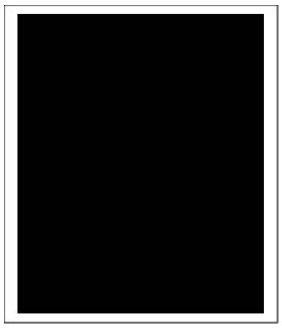
SOY MEAT,CORN,PEA,TOMATO AND ONIONS VEGETARIAN PANCAKE

CHOOSE 2 SIDES: *RICE *Brazilian beans *VEGGIES *SALAD'
(Brazilian Gourmet, 2017)

Following the above examples, visuals can work to reinforce caption descriptions (i.e. point to key topics) and evaluate a product (e.g. "deliciousness" through a face emoji). In this respect, two further levels of performance played by visuals in product detailing were noted: where these complemented captions (i.e. clarify/add meaning to primary message); or conveyed a message alone (i.e. absence could alter the intended primary message). The former is exemplified by figure 4.2.8, where the Portuguese caption identifies the product ('pãozinho de queijo'/'little cheese bread') and qualifies it as Brazilian through the flag emoji.[49] The product is then further depicted by pictures which reveal that apart from selling baked cheese breads, the company also sells the ready cheese bread mix for home baking. Still within the same picture, the significance of the post date (Easter Sunday 2018) is acknowledged through the rabbit displayed on the cup. Whilst the primary message (i.e. cheese bread sale) is achieved through a combination of words in caption and images, the allusion to Easter and availability of bread mix add separate visual layers of meaning to the post, thus performing a complementary role.

[49] Where translations have been provided by the researcher, the diminutive suffix "inho", often used in Portuguese for added affection has been translated literally or sometimes omitted for analytical and description purposes. For instance, in figure 4.2.8 'pãozinho de queijo' has been translated as 'little cheese bread'. More fluent, domesticated, and sentiment embedded translations (e.g. 'good old' or 'lovely' cheese bread) are possible but were not deemed suitable for skopos of translations in this thesis.

Figure 4.2.8

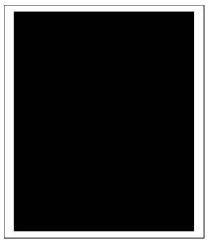


‘1 April
Bom dia!
Vai um pãozinho de queijo ai? 🇧🇷’
(Mineiro Cafe, 2018)

[*1 April*
Good morning!
Hey you, up for a little cheese bread? 🇧🇷]

The latter is illustrated by figures 4.2.9 and 4.2.10, where much of the product/service description is performed by visuals. In figure 4.2.9, the caption celebrates the annual Brazilian São João party through the expression ‘viva’/‘long live’ followed by a video of the celebration event that took place at the venue.[50] Here, the description of service (i.e. people dancing, buying drinks, and the band playing) comes largely embedded in the sharing of an originally live streamed video. In figure 4.2.10, the product displayed, a cinnamon pineapple, usually the last item of a meat ‘rodízio’ (Freixa and Chaves, 2017, pp.255-256) in Brazilian steakhouses (Rego, 2017), is solely depicted by the image. In both these cases, multimodal resources play the main role in meaning-making and their removal interferes with the delivery of the intended message of the posts.

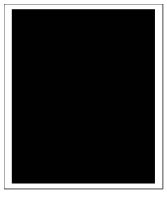
Figure 4.2.9



‘Tia Maria Bar & Kitchen shared a live video.
25 June 2017 ·
Viva São João no Tia Maria !’
(Tia Maria, 2017)

[*Tia Maria Bar & Kitchen shared a live video.*
25 June 2017 ·
Long live São João at Tia Maria !]

Figure 4.2.10



‘Best way to finish your meal!’
(Viva Brazil, 2017)

[50] Festa de São João, also known as Festa Junina (June Party) are annual celebrations held in Brazil every June and July in connection to Saint Antony, Saint John, and Saint Peter. According to de Souza (2004, p.343), the celebration was originally conceived as an effort to Christianise pagan rituals associated with the European summer solstice. It was brought to Brazil by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century during colonisation (Silva, 2019; de Souza, 2004, p.334).

These examples highlight how discourses can emerge through a variety of communication modes, and how modes can commit to different degrees of delicacy of meaning-making (see Painter et al., 2013, pp.134-135). This is particularly pronounced within social media given its structural affordances, and resonates with Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, p.24) in that all semiotic modes available in a culture are means of articulation of discourses. Posts like these can also play a phatic function, as they keep the conversation going by breaking the "silence" and sharing moments with their audience. This is a significant element of social media communication (Varis and Blommaert, 2015; Batabyal et al., 2014) and will be discussed as a separate move towards the end of this section.

"Establishing credentials" and "Endorsements": as companies publish their promotional material, they affiliate to qualities, prestige, or expertise in order to create a positive impression. By presenting themselves as Brazilian establishments, their credentials as connoisseurs of Brazilian food and culture are already implied. The specifics of this move however are detectable in posts by the provision of evidence of specific topic knowledge (e.g. music, regional/national food, wine, audience needs/desires/emotions), views (e.g. social, environmental), or prestige (e.g. in connection to institutions, celebrities, events, festivals, competitions). In figures 4.2.11 and 4.2.12 respectively, cultural credentials are established via providing specific knowledge about Brazilian music and the dish feijoada. In the latter, both cultural and market expertise are reinforced through the provision of pronunciation advice, which conveys confidence, and the mention of vegetarian/vegan options, which indexes awareness of customers' needs. Along similar lines, in figure 4.2.13, the company shows awareness of its customers' needs through the knowledge of Brazilian diasporic experiences. Drawing on the relationship between nostalgia, smell, and home, the company works towards establishing transnational credentials by reaching out to potential customers' memory banks (see Ahmed, 2000; Vignolles and Pichon, 2014; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015).

Figure 4.2.11
'Cocktail of the Month - a tribute to Cássia Eller. […]
Cássia Rejane Eller (December 10, 1962 - December 29, 2001) was a Brazilian musician. She performed a fusion of rock and MPB. She was rated as the 18th greatest vocalist and 40th greatest Brazilian musician by Rolling Stone Brasil. [cocktail picture]' (Made in Brasil Boteco, 2017)

Figure 4.2.12
'🇧🇷 Feijoada (fey-jwah-duh) is Brazil's most beloved national dish. It is served every day at Little Brazil Bar & Restaurant! We also have vegetarian/vegan option available! [feijoada picture]' (Little Brazil, 2018)

Figure 4.2.13
'Nao perca a oportunidade de experimentar essas delícias Esfihas e matar aquela saudades do Brasil ,até o cheirinho da pizza e igual 😋 [...] porque aqui vc se sente em casa (Esfihas Excellent, 2017) [Esfihas picture]' (Esfihas Excellent, 2017)

[*Do not miss the opportunity to try these delicious Esfihas and kill the nostalgia about Brazil , even the smell of pizza is the same* 😋 [...] *because here you feel at home*]

Credentials are also established and reinforced through direct and indirect endorsements from customers, celebrity visits/encounters, awards, and media mention or partnerships. An example of this is figure 4.2.14, where a positive impression is created via affiliation with Brazilian rapper Marcelo D2 (see AllMusic, 2019). Using the possessive pronoun 'our' and referring to the artist as a 'guest', the close relationship between the celebrity and the company is highlighted (see Bhatia, 1993, pp.49-50). In figure 4.2.15, a company provides evidence of their market relevance through the sharing of a customer's post in which the fulfilment of nostalgic needs is expressed. In this way, the company recontextualises and reorients the customer's message towards its own audience (see Varis and Blommaert, 2015, p.35).

Figure 4.2.14
'Our special guest Marcelo D2 having fun at Made in Brasil.
[singer picture]' (Made in Brasil, 2017)

Figure 4.2.15
'User1 checked in to [company name].
[date] · [city name]
Having dinner at a Brazilian pub in [city name].
I wanna go home 😢'

In figure 4.2.16, customer satisfaction and company success intertwine with social media metrics. By publicly announcing 'over 1,000 likes' were achieved, and thanking customers for reviewing, commenting and "liking", the company attributes gratitude and pride to users' actions and platform technological features. This points to the value of engagement as endorsement and thus the tangibility of online actions in this context. Companies also post about their media appearances, as in figure 4.2.17, where the connection between the company and the notion of Brazilian cultural diversity is highlighted via link share. By posting the magazine article where the company has been mentioned, the company attributes prestige to itself, reinforces its cultural credentials, and enjoy the possibility of further dissemination of the content through its own audience.

Figure 4.2.16
'We have reached over 1,000 likes on our facebook page...
Thank you to all our customers for your support! We are very happy with all the reviews and feedback about our service […] A Big Thank you to everyone for Liking us, Commenting, Encouraging and Supporting us! 🙂' (Little Brazil, 2017)

Figure 4.2.17
'Temakinho shared a link.
[…]
FLUXMAGAZINE.COM
Meet Temakinho, where Brazil and Japan collide – Flux Magazine' (Temakinho, 2017)

By focusing on brand image rather than product specification, these moves significantly work towards company identity construction. These signpost the impression management character of social media advertising and thus how brands adapt resources and discourses according to the environment and how they wish to be perceived (see Goffman, 1959, pp.14-19). As Bhatia (2004, p.61; also 2005, p.218) points out, 'image-building advertisements rely more heavily on establishing credentials.' Considering the social and phatic character of social media, the presence of these interconnected moves across posts is reassuring. "Establishing credentials" and "Endorsements" were coded in over 84% and 14% of posts respectively, indicating that aspects of impression management strongly permeate posts. This points to the connection between context and discursive identity construction, as companies adapt to communication behaviours present in their environment (Kelly-Holmes, 2005, p.5). As McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase (2017, p.21) point out, the presentation of self is one of the key elements of social media engagement. As these examples suggest, this also applies to the discourse of entities.

"Offering incentives" and "Using pressure tactics": purchases are often encouraged through incentives such as discounts and offers, and are often conditioned through pressure tactics (Bhatia, 1993, pp.52-55) such as time and minimum expenditure. Often, incentives in posts appear in the form of happy hour, set menus, free menu items/services, special dish offers, food vouchers, bill discounts, and prize draws (e.g. Christmas baskets, event tickets). These can be conditioned by time of the day/week/year, minimum expenditure, age, time/physical availability, and online activity. Figures 4.2.18 and 4.2.19 offer a discount and free delivery respectively. These offers are then conditioned by the date in 4.2.18, and both weekdays and minimum expenditure in 4.2.19, 'Wednesdays and Thursdays' and '£15.00'.

Figure 4.2.18
#Brazilian #mothersday is right around the corner, 13th May 2018. We hope you are going to treat your mother very special! So why don't you treat her to a delicious meal @pretorestaurant Get 50% OFF YOUR BILL with this exclusive mothers day special offer! 👉 http://bit.ly/2JOfFxR
[flyer]' (Preto, 2018)

Figure 4.2.19
'♨♨Não percam, nas ESFIHAS EXCELLENT todas as quartas e quintas feiras o delivery é grátis nas compras acima de £15.00.♨♨
👉phone: 07397 003827
[food pictures]' (Esfihas Excellent, 2018)

[*Do not miss it, at ESFIHAS EXCELLENT every Wednesdays and Thursdays the delivery is free with orders over £15.00.*♨♨
👉*phone: 07397 003827*]

Pressure tactics applied by the companies may also require users to act online. These include "liking", "sharing", "mentioning"/"following" a post/ad, clicking a link or booking online (see 4.2.18 above), or signing up for a competition or loyalty programmes. In figure 4.2.20, "liking" and "sharing" are both

conditions to enter a voucher draw, whilst in 4.2.21, "mentioning" an ad is part of the conditions to receive a discount. In figure 4.2.22, the chance to win rugby league tickets is conditioned by signing up online, whilst following the company in a different SNS is a requirement in 4.2.23.

Figure 4.2.20
'16 MEATS UNTIL CHRISTMAS: Garlic Picanha & Catena Malbec.
[…] We will also be giving out £25 gift vouchers every day - like and share this post to enter and come back tomorrow to check if you won!
[food and drink picture]' (Viva Brazil Cardiff, 2016)

Figure 4.2.21
'Come celebrate Carmen Miranda's birthday with Carioca. Mention this ad and say "Parabens Carmen" at anytime today to receive 10% off your food bill! […]
[image: Carmen Miranda]' (Carioca, 2017)

Figure 4.2.22
'[…] let's start our Tuesday with a competition to see Official St. Helens RLFC next 9th February.
See all details and enter via the link below. http://woobox.com/y9dinz' (Fazenda, 2017)

Figure 4.2.23
[text on food image] – 'Want to win a Brazilian sharing platter? Join us on Instagram, find the official picture and follow the instructions' (Made in Brasil, 2018)

Social media specific pressure tactics such as "mentioning", "sharing", and "liking", have a strong 'eWOM' (Vásquez, 2014, pp.2-3) character. Apart from creating a digital record, encouraging advocacy in this manner can increase content dissemination potential, as Facebook algorithms may trigger notifications of users' activities in their friends' news feed. Users also interact with promotional content for reasons other than benefiting from offers. They do so by interacting/"mentioning" friends under company posts, often to highlight places or products, and simultaneously performing discursive actions which go beyond eWOM and into social practice. The ways this happens will be emphasised during discussions on matters of authenticity and relationships in chapters 5 and 6.

It is worth mentioning that purchase incentives and pressure tactics were not prominent across the posts analysed (10.29%), which reinforces the overall posts' image-building goal. Since companies benefit from eWOM through organic interactions (non-offer related), traditional offers and pressure tactics do not necessarily represent the core of content engagement within Pages. Where both chains and independent companies employed this move, conditioning offers through online activity was mostly applied by chains. For independent companies, perhaps certain online activities, such as conditioning offers through online activity, do not take priority due to less availability of personnel/time to invest in social media campaigning.

Soliciting response: to promote consumer involvement, routes to facilitate connection such as phone number, address, emails, websites, social media accounts, buttons, and external links are provided.

These often coexist with a command or request, as in figure 4.2.19, where the use of imperative 'Do not miss it' is followed by the provision of the phone number. Additionally, in 4.2.22, the imperative 'see […] and enter' directly introduces the competition link. More dynamic forms of soliciting a response also occur, sometimes overlapping with pressure tactics, such as requests to book online or click buttons as in 'like and share this post…' in 4.2.20 or to follow a social media account as in 'join us on Instagram…' in figure 4.2.23. These examples work towards direct company-consumer exchanges, as "following", "liking", "sharing", or registering for a competition all imply a palpable connection between parties. However, "soliciting response" can take more fragmented forms through links to articles, videos, blogs, and events. These work towards consumer engagement by providing bridges for online interaction with company related content. Some of these subtler forms of inviting customers to take actions are illustrated below. In figure 4.2.24 the company connects potential user knowledge of the dish feijoada to then create room to further relate beans in general to Brazilian food culture, providing a link to its blog post. Similarly, by pointing the reader to an external link, 4.2.25 invites users to watch a video in which the company's participation in a festival is filmed. In figure 4.2.26, a Brazilian-Japanese company links to and quotes a *National Geographic* (Unger, 2016) article about the Brazilian-Japanese community origins.

Figure 4.2.24
'You've likely heard of feijoada […]. But one thing you might not realise is that Brazil is known also for their very simple, yet classic dish of rice and beans, with or without meat.
http://braziliangourmet.co.uk/…/the-famous-brazilian-rice-…/
[food picture]' (Brazilian Gourmet, 2017)

Figure 4.2.25
'Bem Brasil at Liverpool Food and Drink Festival!
https://vimeo.com/234136075
[VIMEO.COM Liverpool Food and Drink Festival - Bem Brazil]' (Bem Brasil, 2017)

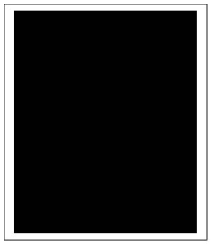
Figure 4.2.26
'"The country is a melting pot of diverse cultures from Europe and Africa, and many travelers are surprised to learn that Brazil is also home to nearly two million Japanese descendants, the largest group outside of Japan." 🇯🇵💔🇧🇷
Very interesting article by National Geographic about the origins of the Nikkei community and cuisine.
[Link-embedded title: Sake or Caipirinha? Brazilian-Japanese Food Culture]'
(Temakinho, 2018)

Although some of these routes may not provide a direct line of contact between the customer and the company (e.g. emailing or phoning to enquire about a service), they all provide alternative routes of engagement and optional proximity to the brand. These can be seen as virtual paths into getting closer to the company identity and thus contribute to establishing credentials. This interconnectivity across texts and pages presents a form of 'intertextuality' (Vásquez, 2014, pp.114-116), given the embeddedness of texts and voices in the posts. In online discourses, hyperlinks can serve this function

(Adami, 2015, pp.135-136; Myers, 2010, pp.28-47), as these are recontextualised into the discourse and the authorial positioning of the new text. Across posts, intertextuality has been noted to take place through link sharing, buttons (e.g. "share" button), allusions (e.g. songs, memes, book titles) and quotes such as in 4.2.26 above.

Building relationships and conviviality: in order to keep the conversation flowing, the provision of non-product related general information, company views, experience descriptions, or mundane remarks serve a phatic and convivial function (i.e. signal the author's presence whilst establishing bonds and conviviality within the interaction setting) (see Varis and Blommaert, 2015; Batabyal et al., 2014). These are posts communicating opening/closing times, community activities, festive wishes/notes, or entertaining/mundane talk through resources such as memes, humorous remarks, rhetorical questions, creative language use, greetings, links, videos, and images. These scatter additional layers of implied meanings in space and can overlap with the description of a product/service in a post or appear as a separate post, being able to fulfil more than one communication goal at once (Jaworski, 2000, p.114). In figure 4.2.27, this is performed via playing with the readers' Page content common-sense expectations (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.3-4). This is achieved by humorously stating 'joy' as the main filling of 'coxinha' instead of its actual filling, pulled chicken. Whilst the product is detailed and described semiotically and via plain text (i.e. 'most popular Brazilian street food'), the post is intentionally and primarily entertaining, working towards engagement whilst promoting a product.

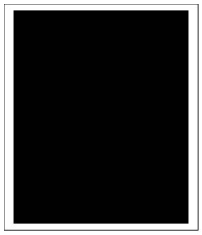
Figure 4.2.27



'Most popular Brazilian street food! Come and try, any time of the day! It is never early or late to have one! #braziliangourmet #coxinha #streetfood#fitzrovia #chicken #homemadefoor
[text on image] - WHAT'S INSIDE A COXINHA. JOY'
(Brazilian Gourmet, 2017)

Similarly, by means of a rhetorical question, in figure 4.2.28, silence is filled by building anticipation on a subject of general interest and in alignment to shared cultural identity aspects (i.e. football and nationality). Here, communication is designed to restate the company's Brazilianness through a rhetorical question in combination with semiotic signs which include their product (i.e. drink) and a Brazilian flag.

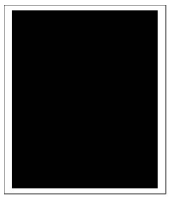
Figure 4.2.28



‘8 hours until England and Brasil go head to head in a 'friendly'… any guesses who we'll be cheering for?’
(Cabana, 2017)

In figure 4.2.29, this occurs by alluding to company practices (i.e. grilling) in connection to the popular meme ‘Keep Calm’, which emerged through intertextual reference to the never officially issued WWII poster ‘Keep Calm and Carry On’ (UOL, n.d.). By adapting the message to a feasible audience (i.e. meat consumers), the company takes advantage of the meme’s recognisability in the UK and recontextualises its use and meaning (see Varis and Blommaert, 2015, p.37). Furthermore, in 4.2.30, bonding functions are performed by showing gratitude and commitment to customers through sharing offline service moments (event pictures).

Figure 4.2.29



[text on image] – ‘KEEP CALM AND GRILL ON’
(Kaipiras by Barraco, 2017)

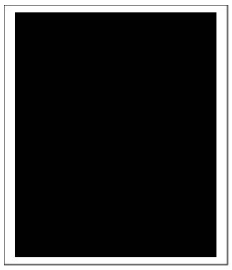
Figure 4.2.30
‘Gostaríamos de agradecer a presença de todos vocês... #sobreontem [...] [event pictures]’ (Cantinho do Goiás, 2017)
[*We would like to thank the presence of all of you... #aboutyesterday* […]]

In figure 4.2.31, the company conveys a friendly atmosphere by expressing their festive wishes whilst providing practical information about their closing time. By communicating in this manner, they work on their positive face both through adhering to social norms (i.e. wishes) and through managing their audience’s service time expectations.[51] Companies also ensure that they are noticed by updating consumers about company news. In figure 4.2.32, the post aims to build the audience’s excitement by announcing a future branch opening whilst not revealing the location.

[51] “Face”, in this thesis, is used to refer to ‘the view of self each person [or entity] seeks to uphold in an interaction’ (Tracy and Robles, 2013, p.19; also see Brown, 2015).

Figure 4.2.31
'A família Mistura de sabores deseja a todos uma feliz páscoa!!
Estaremos aberto até às 4h pm
[flyer]' (Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores, 2017)
[*Mistura de sabores family wishes all a happy Easter!!*
We will be open until 4 pm]

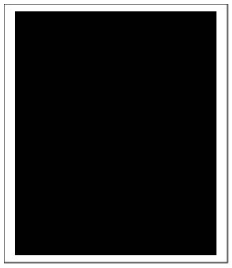
Figure 4.2.32



[text on image] - 'New touro Coming soon!'
(Touro Steakhouse, 2017)

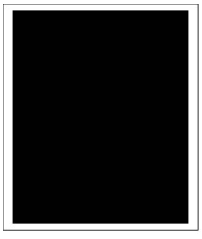
Following these examples, building relationships and conviviality can take various forms. This ranges from sharing moments, company news, being humorous, to plain greetings. The latter are exemplified by posts like the one in figure 4.2.33 below, or less explicitly, as in figure 4.2.34, where the company embraces potential collective feelings across audience layers by posting a shout-out to England on their match day during the football World Cup. In this way, companies work towards maintaining their presence online, allowing the platform to mediate online and offline goals.

Figure 4.2.33



'Good morning with lots of sun from Tchê Tapas'
(Tchê Tapas, 2018)

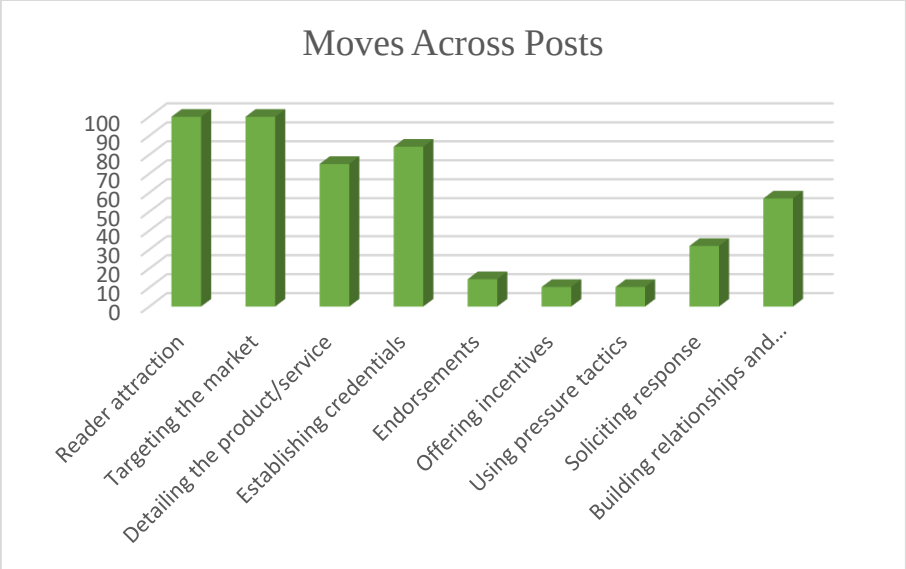
Figure 4.2.34



'Come on England!!!!'
(Kaipiras by Barraco, 2018)

To conclude, as with the first three elements in the illustration below,[52] typical traits of promotional discourse such as reader attraction, audience focus, and product focus have a solid presence in the corpus. However, considering the context of language production, it is interesting to observe the significant presence of impression management and interactional elements through the "Establishing credentials", "Soliciting response", and "Building relationships and conviviality" moves. Social media has been described as having a dense phatic element, a space where a 'great deal of sociality' takes place (Varis and Blommaert, 2015, p.44; see also Batabyal et al., 2014). Within promotional discourse, the need to stay present, keep face, and bond to audiences are layered between and within the rhetorical moves applied. Some of the ways in which advertising online differs from more traditional forms of advertising relate to the lack of viewing control by the advertiser. As Kelly-Holmes (2005, pp.79-81) points out, the online advertiser cannot pay for airtime to ensure consumers will see their content at a prime time; and unlike magazines or TVs where their visibility is embedded in the medium as a whole, web visibility requires the audience to find the advertiser independently. This points to consumer "engagement", rather than a product's "persuasiveness", as being crucial for the maintenance of visibility, and aligns with discursive practices which work towards building a presence and thus a memorable identity.

Illustration 3: Promotional Moves Across Posts



[52] Quantities from which percentages were calculated throughout this analysis can be found in Appendix F.

4.3 Audience Design: Addressivity Strategies

The following analysis sheds light on how companies and users perceive different audiences on Facebook promotional Pages' posts, comments, and reviews, and how these different levels of audience awareness may influence linguistic choices within Pages. The analysis draws on the principles laid out by Bell's (1984) 'audience design' framework for stylistic choices in spoken interaction, and its later applications in SNSs through the work of Tagg and Seargeant (2014) and Androutsopoulos (2014). In line with these studies, and as explained in chapter 3 (section 3.4.3), Bell's (1984) participant roles "speaker", "addressee", "auditor", and "overhearer" have been adapted in this thesis with Facebook Pages in mind and will be referred to as "poster/commenter/reviewer", "addressee", "bystander", and "overhearer". As the following analysis took place, consideration was given to social and technological affordances (see section 4.1), language use (including code and register), and the 'translocal' (Kytölä, 2016) context of communication. In what follows, I will explore Facebook affordances in relation to audience design, as well as addressivity strategies as they occur according to audience roles.

4.3.1 Facebook Affordances

As noted in section 2.2.3, Facebook allows for companies to create Pages for the purposes of advertising and promotion which include a timeline where their posts are displayed. Users can "like" and "follow" these Pages and can see posts either by visiting the Pages or as they appear in their news feed, alternated with their friends' posts. Other than posts from companies that users follow, they may also see company posts based on the activity of their Facebook friends (i.e. promotional content with which their friends have interacted can also appear on their news feed), or within Facebook groups. Another way in which users may cross paths with promotional content is through Facebook ads services, as companies may choose to use these in order to amplify their reach to certain audiences. In these scenarios, company Pages not only create routes to disseminate information to those who physically establish a link with the company by following the Page but also with their friends within the network. Similar to the broadcasting of information in personal profile pages, content is often undirected, and users are free to choose with what to engage (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.168). When users choose to do so, this engagement may be achieved through "like" and "reaction" buttons, as well as starting conversations via commenting in response to company posts or towards a specific or wider audience. This can also be done in the form of consumer reviews, often as a response to offline interactions with the company or service in question.

Considering the public nature of Facebook Pages, the general readership of both companies and users remains invisible, as one can never be sure who may read or engage with their content. This can lead to the coexistence of a variety of unlikely individuals pertaining to different paths of one's life in the same interactional context. An offline analogy to this are sporadic encounters (e.g. a wedding) where unlikely

acquaintances happen to meet in places other than those normally anticipated (boyd, 2011, pp.50-51). In online settings, since communicators are unable to control the diverse flow of communication that takes place, these encounters of people from different social networks happen more often and thus become normalised (see Androutsopoulos, 2014; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014). This has been referred to as 'context collapse' (Marwick and boyd, 2010; boyd, 2011), and can have an influence in interactional patterns of online communication. Given the publicness of Pages and the social networked character of Facebook, context collapse can involve both the potential presence of an individual's diverse social networks and users who are unacquainted. In the following section, I move on to the analysis of language use under these circumstances.

4.3.2 Addressivity Strategies

Following the participant categories adapted from Bell's (1984) framework, the following examples aim to explore specific ways in which companies and users address their audiences. As the analysis suggests, communicators deploy resources which lead to different levels of maximising and partitioning audiences (see Androutsopoulos, 2014), often invoking different sections of their audience in this process. These can happen alone or simultaneously within a given post, comment, or review and are indexed by signs of variation in language use across the corpus.

Addressees

As Tagg and Seargeant (2014, p.172) point out, the role of 'poster' can be played by both the initiator of the interaction (i.e. the company's initial post) and the responders within posts' replies (i.e. 'commenters'), in the context of this thesis, also "reviewers". Ways of addressing an individual or an entity, both directly and indirectly, include the use of the @ sign, the vocative voice, tagging and "mentioning" features, as well as language code, levels of formality, and topic. As observed by the authors, the occurrence of direct and indirect address towards a particular individual in initiators' posts tends to happen only sporadically. Indeed, across company posts in the dataset, this was coded in less than 5% of posts,[53] a low incidence compared to the other analysed categories. The use of vocative alone or amplified through "mentioning" (i.e. when the addressed account is directly hyperlinked to the post and notified by Facebook) was the main form of addressee design within posts (coded 8 and 11 times respectively). In Figure 4.3.1, the use of the "mentioning" feature to address a blogger both summons (i.e. vocative function) and effectively contacts the addressee through platform affordances.

Figure 4.3.1
'Thanks for paying us a visit! Healthy_fitmum we loved having you. Big CONGRATULATIONS on completing the London Marathon

[53] The numbers from which percentages were calculated throughout this analysis can be found in Appendix G.

[food picture] [customer picture]' (Preto, 2018)

Regarding the @ sign, its main function within company posts was not to perform addressivity. Instead, its most highlighted use was to represent locational preposition (Barton and Lee, 2013, p.179) as in 'Live music @ Barraco' (Kaipiras by Barraco, 2017). This is because, in the context of Facebook, its addressivity role is played by the "mentioning" feature. Unlike Twitter or Instagram, if the @ sign is typed followed by Page/profile name, Facebook prompts the user to select the addressee's name from a drop-down menu, replacing the @ sign with text. Following this, the infrequent display of the @ sign in the Pages does not necessarily translate into scarce practice, though the same functionality applies if the user/company name is typed without the @ sign. In terms of addressivity, although rarely, where the @ sign was used to address accounts within posts, it was often a result of having shared the post from another platform where "@username" is displayed when accounts are mentioned (e.g. Instagram).

Among commenters, addressee design was coded in over 95% of comments.[54] This is not surprising, given that comments will often orient towards either the initiator/poster or other commenters, aligning with the premise that communication primarily accommodates 'to the effect of the addressee' (Bell, 1984, p.161). The main resources to address companies or individuals were choice of code, the use of vocative and "mentioning", as well as topic. Among these, the use of "mentioning" seemed highlighted (counted 255 times), pointing to the dynamics of these public Pages. Contrary to posts, where broadcasts are primarily undirected (i.e. for users/consumers to decide upon responding or not), comments within the Pages often seemed designed with users in mind. Considering the publicness of the space and that Facebook may still highlight one's public activities to friends or at random, webs of interaction can often develop along with "mentioning" practices. Figure 4.3.2 displays an interaction between commenters under a company post which shares an article about their food in English.

Figure 4.3.2
'User1: User2, vcs gostam de sushi?! Poderiamos marcar nosso jantar lá, parece ser legal...
[*User2, do you* [plural] *like sushi?! We could book our dinner there, seems to be cool…*]
Likes: User2, User3

> **User2:** Adoramos User1, User3 tb ! Vamos agilizar isso !😘
> [*We love it User1, User3 too ! Lets get this done !* 😘]
> Likes: User3
> Wows: User4
>
> **User4:** User2 pergunta pela [person name] na próxima, ela é minha amiga. Trabalhamos juntas aqui em [city name] ... saudades!'

[54] Comments not coded under addressee design were those of undirected character. In other words, loose comments which did not respond specifically/only to one other comment or post (e.g. 'I was there last night and their signature cut Picanha is to die for.').

[*User2 ask for* [*person name*] *next time, she is my friend. We worked together here in* [*city name*] *... miss you!*]

In this example, User1 accommodates language choices according to her/his intended audience. S/he does so by moving away from the initial post by directly "mentioning" her/his addressee (User2), using Portuguese, and referring to specific shared knowledge about their intentions to meet. This is indexed by the possessive pronoun 'our'/'nosso', which points to a previous separate interaction. User2 then responds in agreement, summoning User3 via "mentioning", a user who had been indirectly addressed by the plural 'vcs'/'you' in the initiating comment and who also acknowledged it through the "like" button. Context collapse occurs with the appearance of User4, an acquaintance of User2 (indexed by expression of affect in 'saudades'/'miss you') not originally addressed, who, having expressed surprise through the "wow" "reaction" in the previous comment, steps into the conversation to share her social network. No responses follow User4's comment, perhaps due to a decision to refrain from further elaborating on the subject publicly or missing the comment entirely. In this interaction, the initial commenter diverges from the initial post through language choice and initiates further exchanges in which implied shared histories play a significant role in communication style (see Giles and Ogay, 2007, p.294). Still, it is noteworthy that the very existence of this conversation is also contextualised and anchored to the occurrence of the initial post and its original topic (i.e. food). Considering code choice, the first comment in this interaction is initiative, as it diverges from the original post and accommodates to another layer of the audience. At a multimodal level though, it is also responsive, as the very act of commenting (i.e. engaging) can be seen as a form of acknowledgement and of meeting the original poster's expectations. This highlights the combined responsive and initiative nature of communication (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.64) and its complex multidirectional potential.

Commenters also address companies directly. In example 4.3.3, a user replies in excitement to the opening of a company branch and, following a response from the company, proceeds to summon the company via "mentioning" to further enquire about their services. The company directly addresses the user through the vocative in the first reply, and, following the user's "mention", proceeds to "mention" the user in the latter reply. As the company works towards a positive face in their final reply (note: conjunction "but" and smiley emoji), they maximise their chances of content delivery by reciprocally "mentioning" the potential customer, as opposed to using the vocative alone.

Figure 4.3.3
'User1: Can't wait - we are coming over in March !!!!
Likes: Company

Company: That's great to hear User1, we are looking forward to welcoming you in March.

User1: Company name - are you taking bookings yet?

Company: User1 we aren't taking bookings at the moment but by the end of week will be able to let you know 😊
Likes: User1'

Throughout the corpus, commenters under post threads seemed active towards both companies and other members of the audience. Addressee design towards companies was coded in nearly 30% of comments whilst commenter to commenter was coded in over 50% of comments (the remaining being company-commenter address). This is different to personal profile Facebook interactions, where commenters may engage less often with each other to avoid long interactions in friends' news feeds (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.174; McLaughlin and Vitak, 2011, p.306). This could be related to the publicness of the Pages together with the higher likelihood of personal relationships between commenters than between post initiators and commenters. The dynamics of comment exchanges are an interesting aspect of relationship management and will be further explored in chapter 6. It is noteworthy that both the use of Portuguese and direct address towards companies stand out among independent companies' comments when compared to chains, sometimes even under posts written primarily in English. With overall Portuguese use also more frequent within independent companies' discourse, this may be indicative of some level of acquaintance between posters and commenters (local/regular clients, friends/family), as well as language reciprocity expectations and thus shared intentions to draw on (assumed) commonality. This signposts the potential of language in enabling a connection between businesses and their audiences, and thus to enact senses of community and/or management of ties.

As with the premise that communication is both initiative and responsive, all reviews can be seen as directed at a company and an intended audience at some level. By nature, they are statements about services provided by these companies and written for the benefit of a wider audience. Nonetheless, explicit individual or company address within reviews does occur at times (8.24%) and is mainly indexed by the use of vocatives and politeness markers (e.g. expression of gratitude, farewells). This aligns with the above-mentioned low incidence of direct address in initiators' posts and previous research (see Tagg and Seargeant, 2014), reinforcing the "broadcast" character of SNSs. Bell (1984, p.177) points out that 'mass communication inverts the normal hierarchy of audience roles', as 'auditors' or bystanders may become a primary concern for the communicator. I agree that this "broadcast" aspect permeates SNS communication, though in contrast to one-way media, the participatory character of SNSs disrupts and creates clusters of varied addressivity levels. Still, typical reviews with direct address are those thanking the company as in 4.3.4, congratulating, and/or addressing members of staff as in 4.3.5.

Figure 4.3.4
'Muito muito bom! Recomendo à todos, voltaremos em breve! Muito obrigada por nos receber'
[*Very very good! Recommend to all, we will be back soon! Thanks very much for having us*]

Figure 4.3.5
'The place is amazing and the food is fabulous!!!
Great job [person name] and [person name]!!!'

A final form of addressee design worth mentioning is the use of Portuguese to thank reviewers by independent companies under some English reviews. In figure 4.3.6, the company communication style results from a combination of vowel lengthening for orality effect (i.e. formality level), CMC forms of the pronoun "you" and the verb "to be" (i.e. você/'vc' and é/'e'), as well as the use of Portuguese. These signal a possible level of acquaintance with the reviewer given the informal tone and choice of the recipient's language by the company. This can be seen as a form of positive politeness towards the customer in an effort to honour the individual.

Figure 4.3.6
'Reviewer: The service is lovely and the place is very cozy!!'
Company: 'Obrigaduuuu vc e demais'
[*Thanks youuu u are too much*]

Bystanders

In line with the above analysis, addressee design happens rather infrequently within posts and reviews, and frequently from and between commenters, highlighting the social element of SNSs. Companies and reviewers most often target imagined groups or a general audience, as briefly discussed during the move analysis above (section 4.2) under "targeting the market". Below, this is explored in detail from an audience design perspective.

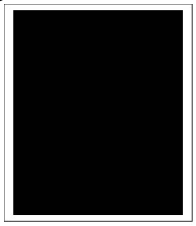
SNSs' interactions can be seen as undirected broadcasts, where posters often have groups in mind as they post. Considering the public and commercial nature of company Pages, the constant need to imagine a potential audience makes this a significant aspect across the posts analysed, with strategies observed in over 60% of posts, and also 43% of reviews. As the choice of language for commercial purposes is driven by marketing goals, the wide use of English as a lingua franca also stands out within company discourse, with over 60% of posts being written primarily in English.[55] However, as relating to consumers is key to advertising, in a superdiverse context, it can also imply language accommodation (see Santello, 2016, pp.11-20). Indeed, even though the use of English was high overall, it is interesting to note that over 30% of posts by independent companies (all located in London and some in areas widely populated by Brazilians and/or other Portuguese speakers) used primarily Portuguese. This is

[55] For analytical purposes, posts considered primarily in English or Portuguese were those which delivered information mainly in one of these languages but may have instances of code-switching within it. Posts which deliberately provided information in both languages (see politeness strategy under "overhearers" below) were not included in this count as neither language were considered to play a more significant role than the other in delivering meaning. An overall code usage table can be found in Appendix H.

significant if compared to the 2.25% Portuguese presence among chains (often located in other UK cities, central London or areas of London less populated by Portuguese speakers).[56]

Within company posts, there were five emergent patterns which highlighted an orientation towards the bystander (i.e. imagined groups/audience members). The most salient pattern, a form of audience partitioning, was the choice of Portuguese as a code, which indicates an orientation towards a Brazilian audience, but also encompassing Portuguese speakers who may share a Lusophone association. Nevertheless, an amplified orientation towards a Brazilian consumer is often indexed through localised Brazilian shared knowledge. Such posts often refer to food practice, regionality, nostalgia, and home and away common knowledge. In figure 4.3.7, the flyer promoting the cover act of a Brazilian rock pioneer, late musician Raul Seixas (Enciclopédia Itaú Cultural, 2017; Klick Educação, 2015), not only semiotically depicts a recognisable image of the rock star but also invokes localised knowledge through reference to a common audience practice in Brazilian live concerts: to shout "Toca Raul/Play Raul" to whichever band is on stage. Though the origins of this habit are uncertain, the shout has become a trend at gigs in Brazil after Raul Seixas's death in 1989 (Nogueira and Stamboroski, 2009), sustaining a strong link to Brazilian shared experiences. In choosing to "vocalise" these shared cultural meanings, the company is tailoring its discourse with a specific group in mind.

Figure 4.3.7



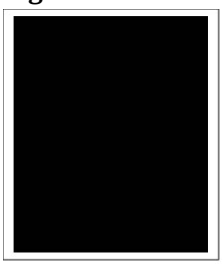
'Toca Rauuuuuuuuul!!!!!'
(Made in Brazil, 2018)
[*Play Rauuuuuuuuul!!!!!*]

Posts following this orientation were coded in 70 instances with most occurrences being among independent companies, pointing towards a community awareness. With a shift in target audience, the use of explicitation in translating Brazilian culture to the "host" audience was also highlighted, with 61 occurrences among posts in English, often chains. As figure 4.3.8 will show, this implies an assumed gap in knowledge between the language producer and their imagined audience, and aligns with Lanstyák and Heltai's (2012, p.113) suggestion that explicitness occurs in response to constraints in communication. Posts of this type often draw on aspects of culture and tradition.[57] Figure 4.3.8 provides insights into Brazilian natural diversity by making explicit to the "host" audience what can be considered implicit or familiar to the home audience. It does so by opting for the "host" language to

[56] See section 2.1.4 for an overview of the Brazilian population across the UK and Appendix B for an illustrative map of areas covered by companies from which data was collected.
[57] Tradition: here to mean belief, custom, or practice (OED, 2019), not limited to food cultures, but also other cultural aspects such as music and festivities.

communicate, implying the potential interest of the topic with the opening question 'Did You Know?', and proceeding to detail aspects of the fruit (cashew apple), both linguistically and semiotically. In this way, whilst promoting its expertise, the company actively takes the role of culture mediator. Another example of this pattern can also be seen in figure 4.2.12 within the move analysis, where food culture and pronunciation advice for the dish Feijoada is provided.

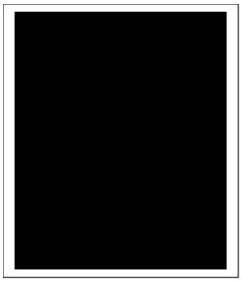
Figure 4.3.8



[text on image] – 'Did you Know? The cashew tree is a tropical tree that produces the cashew nut and the cashew apple. The species is originally native to northeastern Brazil. The cashew apple is a light reddish to yellow fruit, whose pulp can be processed into a sweet, astringent fruit drink or distilled into liquor. You cand find the pulp to try in Made in Brasil Boteco.'
(Made in Brasil, 2017)

Company audience design was also noted to be influenced by factors such as time, local events, or lifestyle. In figure 4.3.9, the company chooses to resort to local lifestyle, implying their suitability for a weekend/Sunday meal (indexed by allusion to weekend drinking and eating practices) by invoking locals in the area of Brixton (London) to enjoy their food. By resorting to English and their knowledge of local lifestyle, discourse is simultaneously oriented to those physically closer to the establishment and other potential readers who may take interest in their post.

Figure 4.3.9

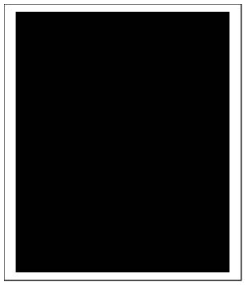


'21 May 2017 ·
How are you feeling Brixton? Hungover? Hungry? Eggs marks the the spot... #CarmenGetIt' (Carioca, 2017)

A further significant aspect of communication is the insertion of Portuguese words into primarily English posts (54 instances). These are often dish names, greetings, and food sector practice vocabulary such as "obrigado"/thanks, "passadores"/meat carvers, "fazendeiros"/farmers, "churrascaria"/steakhouse, and occur mainly among chains. These insertions often work to both foreignise and authenticate the identity of the company (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.36-37). Similar to the previous two patterns, such strategies are not exclusive to any audience, but invoke different segments of possible receivers. Still, as the act of foreignising signals efforts to translate or highlight one culture to another, a salient "host" audience awareness is implied. In figure 4.3.10, the company describes its desserts by Brazilian names 'Quindim', and 'Bolo Prestigio', providing no translation to the reader, even though one cannot assume all readers will understand the terms. This is because its

function in this instance is not primarily to provide detailed informative content (i.e. paraphrase or translate: "egg and coconut dessert" and "chocolate and coconut cake", respectively). Instead, combined with the visual description of their new selection of desserts, the use of Portuguese performs a symbolic function in which uniqueness is indexed by the presence of the country-of-origin language.

Figure 4.3.10



'Have you seen our new dessert menu? Make sure you try the Quindim, Guava Cheesecake and Bolo Prestigio! Not all at once of course!!' (Preto, 2017)

Across independent company posts, there was also a marked presence of English words within primarily Portuguese sentences (39 posts), pointing to a design towards a translocal audience. These illustrate mundane translingual thought processes in which repertoires go 'between different linguistic structures and systems […] and […] beyond them' (Wei, 2011, p.1223). They encompass the influence of personal histories, experiences, and environments in discourse. In figure 4.3.11, whilst using the Page as a notice board, the company offers service details to its customers.

Figure 4.3.11
'"AVISO" Nosso atendimento é por ordem de chegada, As Sextas e Sábados por serem dias mais busy, Please… Se possível façam seus pedidos com antecedencia.'
(Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2017)
[*"NOTICE" Our service works on a first come first served basis, fridays and saturdays due to being busier days, Please… If possible place your orders in advance.*]

Rather than an effort to use more than one language for the purposes of politeness or to maximise their reach (a pattern explored later), the poster's communicative repertoire in 4.3.11 transcends language boundaries. By incorporating the words 'busy' and 'please' in discourse, as well as the capitalisation of weekdays (traditionally lower cased in Portuguese), linguistic systems and structures are homogeneously intertwined. This accommodation points to a migrant or translocally linked imagined audience, which is equipped and comfortable with such structures. Such meaning-making processes are indeed common among Brazilian migrant communities (e.g. Castellarin, 2015). They encompass shared histories and experiences of both the initiator/poster and the imagined audience, highlighting through language the awareness of a community and its maintenance processes. This merging of language systems was also observed within posts' comments (noted 50 times), consumer reviews and their comments (26 and 14 times respectively) and will become evident across the following chapters.

Among reviewers, the use of Portuguese was the main indicator of bystander awareness, as its use partitioned the message accessibility. Similar to posts, topics relating to translocal awareness, such as

belonging, nostalgia, and the homeland further highlighted an orientation towards Brazilians. In figure 4.3.12, this orientation is indexed by the possessive pronoun 'our', a marker of similarity which points to a sense of collectiveness (see Planchenault, 2010), as well as use of Portuguese. Given that the use of the "host" language is assumed in the context of this data (i.e. UK based restaurant Pages), English as a language choice by the communicator was only evident when made explicit in discourse, as in 'best brazilian rodizio […] and I'm brazilian!!'. However, connotations and remarks on novelty and experience descriptions were more noticeable within reviews in English. This points to a potential level of topic significance across reviews designed with both Portuguese and non-Portuguese speaking consumers in mind, be these conscious or unconscious. Generally, reviews in English had maximised reach (e.g. 'Loved it! Great service, amazing food and drinks'), with more specific indications of imagined recipients at times. Examples are reviews primarily benefiting those unacquainted with Brazilian food practices, as in figure 4.3.13, or providing authenticity assessments based on claims of access to cultural knowledge (figure 4.3.14). In 4.3.13, novelty is indexed by 'never' (implying a new experience) and 'who knew' (implying a new route for knowledge) to reach out to those yet to consider the experience. In figure 4.3.14, the quality of being Brazilian implies expertise from the standpoint of an "out-group" audience member. In this case, her/his access to "insiders' knowledge" allows her/him to act as a culture mediator to fellow audience members.

Figure 4.3.12
'Gostinho da nossa comidinha, bom demais'
[*The flavour of our food, too good*]

Figure 4.3.13
'I have never had so many different types of meat. Who knew you could do so much with beef.'

Figure 4.3.14
'a must go my wife is brazilian and loves it'

Among commenters, the directionality within posts' threads was an interesting aspect of communication behaviour, given the platform structure and thus the potential for simultaneous address. Both comments with an orientation towards an imagined audience group and exchanges towards a group of individuals were observed during analysis. The former were often Portuguese comments styled under the influence of the presence of both the company and a potential audience. I coded 71 comments in which this was evident. These were often comments congratulating the company or providing remarks about the service. In figure 4.3.15, the commenter shows awareness of the company, by providing service remarks in response to a post, and of a translingual community, by choosing to use Portuguese:

Figure 4.3.15
'Recomendadíssimo!! Ambiente agradável, excelente comida. Atendimento 10. Bom demais!!!'
[*Well recommended!! Nice ambience, excellent food. Service 10. Too good!!!*]

The latter type of observed interaction was from commenters who actively engage in an exchange (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.65), with an orientation towards known and ratified participants. These were coded in 62 exchanges,[58] often signalled by choice of code, formality, and topic. Exchanges often displayed references to mundane topics (e.g. past and future social gatherings, holidays, personal taste) and remarks about services and experiences. In figure 4.3.16, in response to a company post displaying the carving of barbecued meat, User1 initiates the conversation by directly summoning friends through "mentioning". Potentially (settings dependent) notified by Facebook, two of them acknowledge the call by "reacting" to the comment. User2 then directly addresses the initiator through a "hint" to common knowledge (possibly a previous shared experience in the steakhouse) (see Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.173), which is indexed by the determiner 'that' and the CMC acronym 'lol' (Laughing Out Loud). This is acknowledged by User1's "reaction", further commented by User3 who suggests future plans, and intervened by User5, an originally non-addressed likely acquaintance (indexed by reference to a known third party). As users in this interaction directly address each other, they simultaneously design communication with all the potential participants in mind through choice of topic, formality, and shared knowledge. Context collapse occurs when User5 (not necessarily imagined by the initiator) joins their context of interaction to share a personal experience related to their topic (note 'one of these restaurants', classifying her/his knowledge – see Scheibman, 2007). Face is then managed by User4 through a "laugh" "reaction" and the online conversation ceases to happen. A similar situation, though in Portuguese, was explored in example 4.3.2 as direct address was discussed.

Figure 4.3.16
[Post displaying a meat carver serving a barbecued meat skewer]

'User1: User2 User3 User4
Wows: User2
Loves: User4

> **User2:** Ahhhhh that steaks lol
> Likes: User1
>
> **User3:** Need to go
> Likes: User1
>
> **User5:** Just watch out guys, [person name] had the worst meat sweats ever in one of these restaurants but that has more do to do with his inability to say no to steak! 😂😂😂
> Laughs: User4'

Similarly, this level of bystander awareness was also detectable along with the multilingual flow of comments. In figure 4.3.17, a food delivery enquiry in Portuguese by User1 is interrupted by her/his

[58] An "exchange" was understood as including all comments considered relevant to a given conversation under a post.

partner's humorous comment in English (relationship indexed by User1's term of endearment 'Amor'/love). As the thread develops, the company accommodates to User1's language and acknowledges User2's presence through the "like" button. User1 then switches to English in her/his reply to User2, managing face by responding with humour to the joke (indexed by the winking emoji). Following this, further comments under the same post show orientation towards both the company and those previously engaged in the exchanges. This is exemplified by an exchange started by User3, further lamenting on the same subject (i.e. delivery). In this case, User4, an acquaintance (indexed by a hint to geographical shared knowledge 'aqui pra gente'/'here for us' and the mention of phone application 'WhatsApp'), steps in to highlight an equivalent establishment in the area, but decides to finish the exchange in another platform, pointing to the platform publicness awareness. Here, the practicality of the platform as a means for communication and community maintenance becomes evident and highlights the embeddedness of the online and offline in everyday tasks.

Figure 4.3.17
'User1: Fazem delivery para [area code]?
[*Do you deliver to* [*area code*]?]
Likes: Company

> **User2:** Diet?? 😂
> Likes: Company
> Laughs: User1
>
> **Company:** Olá User1 não fazemos pois só entregamos até três milhas mais venha conhecer nosso estabelecimento será um prazer receber vc um abraço 🤗
> [*Hello User1 we do not because we only deliver within three miles but come to visit our establishment it will be a pleasure to welcome you a hug* 🤗]
>
> **User1:** Amor... User2 it is for the boys...not for me...But they don't delivery anyway...😜
>
> […]

User3: Pena q não entregam n região [area name]
[*Shame there is no delivery to region* [*area name*]]
Likes: User4 and Company

> **User4:** Aqui pra gente tem [type of establishment] tbm User3. Te passo por WhatsApp
> [*Here for us there is a* [*type of establishment*] *too User3. I will send it to you through WhatsApp*]
> Likes: User3'

Within comments, a highlighted level of awareness of bystanders can also be marked by the divergence from a commenter's code. This occurred rarely, and only from replies left by companies (coded 5 times). It occurs as a face management strategy such as apologies in English to Portuguese comments to maximise message accessibility (e.g. 'we are sorry to hear about your experience in [area name]');

and/or to maintain the orientation towards the imagined or active bystanders in a thread. In figure 4.3.18, User1 responds to a food post with excitement in Portuguese. The company then replies in English, possibly, in an attempt to contextualise the conversation in the lingua franca.

Figure 4.3.18
'User1: Deve ser uma delícia
[*This ought to be delicious*]
Company: We think so, User1. We hope to meet you soon 😊'

Overhearers

As Tagg and Seargeant (2014, p.178) point out, the use of English is often motivated by an awareness of a wider, multilingual audience. This is the case in the above initiative replies and examples such as 'best brazilian rodizio […] and I'm brazilian!!'. In this case, even though the content orientation of the review signposts an awareness of imagined individuals who could benefit from an insider's knowledge, choice of code also serves a wider multilingual potential audience. Considering the promotional and broadcast character of the data, overhearer design was analysed in terms of maximising the potential audience. Following this, three patterns stood out: 1. the delivery of main content in both languages by both companies and reviewers (67 and 13 times respectively); 2. the use of assumed general shared knowledge (i.e. topics recognisable by as many recipients as possible in the UK); and 3. drawing on gastronomic practices and imaginaries circulating locally (i.e. those potentially in the habitus of most in the mainstream audience). Bilingual content is most often used by companies in presenting their dishes (see figure 4.2.6 under move analysis) and services (figure 4.3.19), and in conveying festivity wishes and general information such as holidays and/or opening times (figure 4.3.20). This is also encountered in reviews, as in figure 4.3.21.

Figure 4.3.19
'Musica ao vivo hoje no Barraco Live music today 🎸🎸🎸
[video]' (Kaipiras by Barraco, 2017)

Figure 4.3.20
'We'd just like to wish you a Merry Christmas to and let you know that we will be open as usual on Monday the 26th. [...]
Gostaríamos lhe desejar um Feliz Natal, e avisar que estaremos abertos normalmente na Segunda. [...]' (Tia Maria, 2016)

Figure 4.3.21
'Very very good
Muito muito bom'

Bilingual content in this way attempts to linguistically embrace as many recipients as possible in the sociocultural field. Also, as noted by Androutsopoulos (2014, p.67), this can be interpreted as an act of positive politeness, as authors symbolically honour and individualise possible recipients of content.

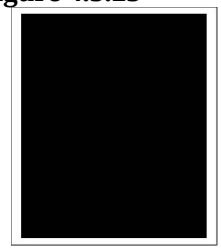
Furthermore, making specific reference to UK general shared knowledge such as weather, holidays, public figures, or social issues and events in an effort to reach as many individuals as possible is also used by companies (coded 84 times). In figure 4.3.22, by referring to the royal wedding, the company shows awareness of and sympathy for matters of national importance, whilst reaching out to both British and non-British born members of its audience.

Figure 4.3.22
‘"Happiness is only real when shared"
- Jon Krakauer, Into the Wild
Prince Harry and Meghan Markle congratulations on your marriage, and the beginning of an incredible journey of love and happiness!
[image: Prince Harry and Meghan Markle]’ (Made in Brasil Boteco, 2018)

Local affairs ingrained in the “host” society’s social routines, be they of more mundane nature, such as school term-times and bank holidays, or those pointing to social values and structures such as the environment, gender equality or royal matters, can broaden content relevance. As normative aspects of the “host” society, these can also come to occupy space in the new memory bank of those not born in the UK as traits of their “new home” (see Ahmed, 2000, p.78). In this way, the potential to count towards the definition of home of both the “host” and the transnational audience is twofold.

A final noteworthy pattern (coded 20 times, mostly among chains) is that of drawing on circulating local and global gastronomic practices and imaginaries to reach a wider audience. An instance of this is the overlap of tropical and British connotations in creating dish names such as Brazilian Mess Pudding (a passionfruit version of the British Eton Mess Pudding) or combining dishes commonly found/eaten in the “host” land (e.g. burritos) with Brazilian flavours. In figure 4.3.23, the company draws on cultural food items familiar to the UK busy urban scenario such as pitta bread, corn chips, and coleslaw. At the same time, Brazilian and tropical inspired elements are also present in discourse, such as black bean dip and coconut. In such instances, meaning-making processes resort to a complex mix of multicultural imaginaries which circulate in the “host” society (see Cook et al., 1999). Language use then reflects a process of glocalisation (see Robertson, 1995). Beyond the fusion of ingredients (see Stano, 2017), it embeds both local superdiverse and global cultural connotations to fit and function in the local setting (see Simi and Matusitz, 2017).

Figure 4.3.23



‘Lunch = Pulled Chicken Pitta with coconut slaw, corn chips & a warm black bean dip. Who's joining us?’ (Cabana, 2017)

To conclude, this analysis aimed at highlighting patterns of language behaviour which signposted direct and indirect address with specific individuals in mind (addressee design), an amplified orientation or awareness of the diversity of groups or individuals among audiences (bystander design), and a general orientation towards as many members of the audience as possible (overhearer design). Throughout the analysis, company posts, comments, and reviews were considered simultaneously initiative and responsive, as communication is tailored according to imagined and/or recognised audiences (see Androutsopoulos, 2014, pp.64-65). The analysis of the posts has enabled discussion of the potential diversity of audiences addressed simultaneously by companies, from the more localised to the more generalised audience. Across posts and reviews, orientation towards bystanders and/or overhearers stood out, with the latter also orienting (directly or indirectly) towards companies. Whilst comments were also oriented towards the bystander and overhearer, this is where addressee design was most commonly encountered. It was also noted that, within comments, companies tend to respond individually to queries, complements, or threats to face. They participate less frequently in conversations among consumers. Such conversations are often directed at acquaintances to draw their attention to a post. These frequently result in interactions in which shared past experiences, opinions, and past and future social gatherings are discussed. At times, these conversations are also joined by members of the public or an acquaintance not originally addressed in the conversation.

As a final point, and as previously mentioned, this analysis does not intend to claim audiences are targeted exclusively within a communicative act or to claim the patterns encountered go beyond the data analysed. The systematic coding of highlighted orientations across the posts, comments, and reviews was used as a tool to assist with the interpretation of the corpus as a whole and the recognition of relevant addressivity aspects. In this way, the audience design framework has enabled reflection on the diversity of recipients imagined and ratified in online communication, stressing the awareness of their existence through language behaviour. Immersion in the data from an audience design perspective has brought to the surface the superdiverse element of the "host" context through linguistic practices shaped by a diverse repertoire from a 'transnational collation of members' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.71) both at the individual and the company level.

4.4 Company and Consumer Stance-Taking Online

The following analysis explores how both companies and consumers take a stance on Facebook Pages, and relevant themes encountered during analysis. The aim of approaching analysis from a stance-taking perspective is to allow an overall understanding of how attitudes, feelings, or beliefs are expressed multimodally across posts, comments, and reviews. Keeping in mind that stance-taking resources do

not happen in isolation from contextual cues, I also explore the themes which surround the acts of stance-taking (see Du Bois, 2007, p.146).

This analysis was informed by various works on stance-taking (e.g. Biber et al., 1999; Martin and White, 2005; Du Bois, 2007; Scheibman, 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009; Myers, 2010; Barton and Lee, 2013; Vásquez, 2014). As the examples will show, stance-taking can be both explicit and implicit (see Martin and White, 2005, pp.61-62), meaning some stance markers will be directly indexed by lexical items, and others will be implied by visual, ideational, and contextual cues. This is particularly complex in CMC discourse, as typography, emojis, spelling and punctuation also index expression of attitudes (see Drasovean and Tagg, 2015, paragraph 12). In order to systemise thinking, I started by coding the most evident grammatical and multimodal markers, based on Biber et al. (1999), Martin and White (2005), Barton and Lee (2013), and Georgalou (2017), adding categories as they emerged whilst delving further into the literature. In this way, I paid attention to direct linguistic resources such as verbs, adverbs, and adjectives, as well as indirect resources for stance-taking such as the use of implicature, interjections, rhetorical questions, declarative statements, and visual resources such as links, images, emojis, and memes.

Given the significance of feelings and opinions in identity construction, I paid particular attention to attitudinal and epistemic meanings, along with intensifying resources used in discourse. As stances co-occur within the same post, comment, or review, these are discussed in light of 'modes of stance-taking' (Georgalou, 2017, p.178), pointing to various meaning-making processes at play, whilst foregrounding resources employed in discourse.

Direct stance-taking: given the explicit evaluative nature of service/product advertising and online reviewing, the corpus is rich in lexical evaluative stance markers (e.g. adjectives, verbs, nouns, adverbs) as illustrated below.

Figure 4.4.1

Source	**Text**
Reviews	1. 'Fantastic, authentic food with a great atmosphere & friendly staff!'
Reviews	2. 'Adorei! Muito boa! Super recomendo!!!' [*Adored it! Very good! Super recommend it!!!*]
Post	3. 'Crispy Churros dipped in decadently rich Hot Chocolate... these bad boys are sure to help you over Hump Day! [food picture]' (Cabana, 2017)
Post's comments	[Triggered by a company post displaying food] 4. 'Looks so goood.'

In the first example, the reviewer expresses appreciation for the food and atmosphere through evaluative lexis 'fantastic', 'authentic', and 'great', whilst positive judgment of staff is indexed by the adjective

'friendly'. In the second example, whilst food appreciation also appears in the form of the adjective 'good', the choice of words by the reviewer also points to affect via the verb "adore", and epistemic stance via the mental verb 'recommend', which here indexes the author's sense of authority on the subject (i.e. knowledge stemming from experience). Moving onto the third example, the company makes use of appreciative lexis such as 'crispy', 'rich' and 'decadently' to highlight the value of their dessert and thus its indulgent character. It also opts for colloquial language by evaluating the product with the idiom 'bad boys', casually reaffirming the promising tone in their product description. In example 4, aesthetic appreciation for the appearance of food is expressed by the evaluative adjective 'good', however here intensified by both the adverb 'so' (see also: 'very' and 'super' in review two) and the vowel lengthening in 'goood'. The latter translates as an orality effect implying excitement about the food and thus also an expression of affect, a feature further covered in the following category.

CMC-specific stance-taking: as well as the more evident lexical indicators of stance discussed above, CMC-specific features (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.4-5) such as emojis, stickers, emoticons, word reductions, homophones, acronyms, and unconventional punctuation are also present. These features are often used as ways to translate users' paralinguistic expression and emotional reactions in discourse. They can be embedded in word constructions or convey meanings which are confined within the CMC affordance alone.

Figure 4.4.2

Source	**Text**
Reviews	1. 'We love ettttttttttttttttttttttttttttttttttt!!!!!!!!!!!!'
Reviews	2. 'Simplesmente M-A-R-A-V-I-L-H-O-S-A!!!!!!' [*Simply W-O-N-D-E-R-F-U-L!!!!!!*]
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a company facade image via cover photo update] 3. '😍'
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a company post displaying food] 4. '😋'
Reviews	5. **Reviewer:** 'Just the best Brazilian bar in London Town'[59] **Company:** '❤️'

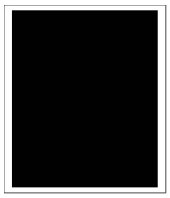
In the first example, although affective stance is primarily marked by the verb 'love', the use of CMC-specific strategies such as the replacement of "i" with "e", consonant lengthening, and repeated punctuation allows the production of an orality effect which strengthens the emotional reaction. Similarly, in example two, the user opts for capitalisation and repeated punctuation, and goes as far as

[59] Given that the vast majority of Pages in the dataset are from establishments in London, the city name across illustrative comments and reviews was not anonymised. However, together with the case-by-case approach of this study to content in choosing illustrative examples, city names other than London were anonymised to reduce traceability and safeguard privacy in relation to users and companies.

hyphenating spaces between letters to translate orality at the desired utterance speed. As Danesi (2016, pp.274-277) explains, such devices can indeed work to signify high degrees of emotivity. Furthermore, CMC-specific affordances can also occur alone, particularly as replies to posts and reviews. These will often portray positive emotions such as in examples three and five, where a sticker and a heart emoji are used to convey affection. Emojis can also express affect and appreciation simultaneously, as in example four, where the face emoji for "deliciousness" can both show appreciation for the value of the product being advertised and convey delight (see Lemke, 2013, p.63), here implied by the smiley and sensorial expression embedded with "lips licking" - i.e. 'facial features and bodily stance' (Painter at al., 2013, p.137). Emojis, in this sense, can go beyond words, serving a range of communicative functions (see Danesi, 2017, pp.21-25) deemed suitably descriptive of feelings by a user at a given time.

Indirect stance-taking: other than those markers specific to CMC discourse such as the typographic and lexical resources explored above, indirect forms of stance-taking also take place. One of the recurrent forms of taking a stance by both companies and reviewers is by using declarative present-tense statements (see Vásquez, 2014, pp. 47-48). Among posts, these seemed to play a significant role in company positioning (counted 70 times).

Figure 4.4.3



'It's the smoky flavour of the gammon and the sweet taste of the grilled pineapple that makes this combination just perfect
#Edinburgh' (Fazenda, 2018)

Figure 4.4.4
'Simplesmente, o melhor lugar pra se comer uma comida brasileira em Londres...!!!'
[*Simply, the best place to eat Brazilian food in London…!!!*]

Figure 4.4.3, shown in 'fairly close range' and at a 'steep angle' which suggests physical proximity with the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp.127-128), displays sensorial adjectives such as 'smoky' and 'sweet' to describe aspects of the combination of ingredients which is further evaluated by the company as 'perfect'. This sentence also comes in the form of a declarative present-tense statement, working to create 'an impression of indisputableness' (Neurauter-Kessels, 2011 in Vásquez, 2014, p.47; see also Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985, pp.68-69). Given the explicit promotional and service descriptive nature of advertising, such epistemic stance works to add to a company's performance of knowledge and expertise. These also happen frequently in the review's data, especially in combination with the superlative (Vásquez, 2014, pp.47-48) "best"/"melhor". This alone was counted 135 times in this context, emphasising the opinion and knowledge performance character within consumer reviewing

practice. Statements in this way are often produced in relation to a specific aspect of the service (e.g. food, drink, staff, ambience), as in figure 4.4.4. Another noticeable form of taking a stance by reviewers is by using generic pronouns, which can work to universalise experience (Scheibman, 2007, p.120). These were noted 98 times within reviews. In figure 4.4.5, the reviewer creates a relationship of empathy to readers who are keen on meat. By addressing them with the generic pronoun 'you', a view of the world in which there are other people with similar tastes and interests is shared, subtly suggesting the veracity of the premise as well as a route for understanding the point of view presented.

Figure 4.4.5
'Great food lots of choices if you love meat this is the place'

The use of rhetorical questions as a stance marker was also noted throughout and was counted 62 times in company discourse. Rhetorical questions, where both writer and reader already have their answers (Myers, 2010, p.109), work as a form of direct address to any possible reader, and to align the reader with the presupposed point being raised (Myers, 1994, p.49). In figure 4.4.6, by enquiring about people who might not like the idea of bread rolls with minced beef, the company presents the opposite point of view as obvious. By referring to a popular combination of flavours in the homeland, and then presenting the company as the solution provider in the UK by introducing a version of the combination, the implied assertion that the flavours match the readers' taste is conveyed. In this way, the company highlights its expert position as well as placing itself and customers in the same mindset. Additionally, the use of Portuguese in this instance, in combination with the topic and the affectionate diminutive suffix 'inho' (see dos Santos and Coelho, 2008), points to stance-taking with a Brazilian audience in mind, highlighting a level of group membership awareness.

Figure 4.4.6
'Quem é que não gosta de um paozinho 😋 com carne moída! Entao lançamos o Calzone de Carne moída.' (Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2017)
[*Who does not like a little bread roll* 😋 *with minced beef! And so we launched the Minced Beef Calzone*.]

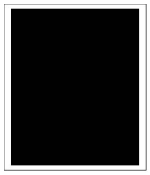
Figure 4.4.7
'**User1**: 😭 😭 😭 😭 vc não entrega no [area] pq pq 😭 😭 😭 😭 '
[😭 😭 😭 😭 *You do not deliver in* [*area*] *why why* 😭 😭 😭 😭]
Likes: Company

At times, points of view are also indexed by rhetorical questions within comments. Figure 4.4.7 displays a comment left within a post thread in which the different food delivery areas are discussed between a company and consumers. Already aware that delivery to their desired area is not possible, User1 takes an affective and judgemental stance by using the word 'why' twice and enclosing words with crying emojis. The expression of disappointment here is lightweight and not performed in a serious manner by the user. The main message, it seems, is to express a strong sense of desire for the product, rather than

triggering a justification by the company out of using the rhetorical 'why'. This is confirmed by the company choice to reply through the "like" button, as opposed to providing actual delivery details in a further comment.

Imperatives also have a marked presence within company posts (54 times). Indeed, commands have long been typical in advertisement discourse (Myers, 1994, p.47). Similar to rhetorical questions, imperatives, as well as directly addressing audiences through "you", create the impression of a conscious effort to engage with any possible reader (Myers, 1994, p.79; Cook, 2001, pp.159-161; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.90). As Myers (1994, p.48) suggests, the absence of politeness markers (e.g. "please") in commands, which often accompany requests in everyday talk, creates the impression that requests are for the benefit of the receiver rather than the speaker. This fosters a positive tone to imperatives in promotional discourse, traditionally defined as a 'nonpersonal' type of text (Richards and Curran, 2002), even though this is changing rapidly since the web (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.90; Hower, 2018; Thorson and Rodgers, 2019). In figure 4.4.8, the use of the imperative form works to create intimacy whilst maintaining subject authority. The epistemic stance is subtly taken further in the next sentence, using the modal 'can' as an indirect call to action to provide further advice on when to eat the snack (see Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985, pp.68-69).

Figure 4.4.8



'Come and try our amazing PASTEL! You can have it for breakfast, lunch & dinner ! Basically at anytime! #homemadefood #brazilianempanada#fitzrovia #fitzroysquare #clevelandstreet' (Brazilian Gourmet, 2017)

Imperatives can also be twisted through the creative use of language. In example one of figure 4.4.9 below, in campaigning for the reduction of plastic consumption, the company uses the imperative homonym 'don't suck' followed by the hashtag '#refusethestraw. As the company invites customers to stop using plastic straws through the hashtag, it adds humour whilst taking a stance towards environmentalist trends and views at the same time. Both literal and figurative meanings of the word 'suck' here are applicable, as it infers the physical act of sucking a straw should not be taken forward, as well as the moral implication of the act (i.e. using plastic) to the environment (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). Regarding creativity, puns also appear within comments, as shown in example two, where the commenter plays with the sound similarity of 'offal' and "awful" to portray dislike for chicken hearts. By doing so, the user creatively adds humour to the act of publicly conveying an adverse emotional reaction about how s/he feels about the idea of eating the food (i.e. affect) and its value as food (i.e. appreciation).

Figure 4.4.9

Source	Text
Posts	1. 'Don't suck #refusethestraw' (Made In Brasil, 2018)
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a company post displaying chicken hearts] 2. 'sounds offal'
Posts	3. 'Forró do Tia Maria does not take breaks at any given time unless it falls within our Christmas holidays or on the 1st of January. We are very pleased to announce that there will be exactly 52 Forró nights this year over here Let's Forrozear !!! [flyer]' (Tia Maria, 2018)
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a company post displaying a cake picture] 4. 'Esse bolo é a oitava maravilha do mundo [*This cake is the eighth wonder of the world*] Loves: Company'
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a company post displaying a pizza] 5. '**User1:** User2 eu quero vida' [*User2 I want this life*]

Further creative use of language also appears in combination with code-switch. In example three above, after informing readers about their commitment to keep up with their Brazilian forró music events, the company builds on their excitement about the event with a smile via an emoji and proceeds to code-switch from the English 'let' to the Portuguese expression 'forrozear' which means dancing or playing forró. Having used English to advertise their events, they act with an audience in mind through the single switch to Portuguese at the end of the message. This switch works to signal excitement (i.e. affect), to align with the more familiarised portion of the audience who readily understands the switch, and to challenge those who do not understand. As Androutsopoulos (2013, p.681) points out, some of the functions of code-switching are to index an addressee, challenge others' language choices, and distinguish information from affect. All of these seem to be at play here, with imagined audience segments in mind, contributing to the performance of their multifaceted identity.

Emotional reactions and appreciation are also conveyed by metaphors, as in example 4, where the commenter humorously (indexed by emoji) gives the unofficial title of "Eighth Wonder of the World" to the cake displayed in the company post, to which the company responds with a "heart" "reaction". Further affect is also conveyed through the vocative voice, often used to create intimacy both within comments and reviews. Example five illustrates this, where User1 summons User2 by "mentioning" to signal the desire triggered by the pizza image. S/he then portrays affect by choosing to close the message with the vocative 'vida'/'life',[60] a term of endearment in Portuguese used to address loved ones, often

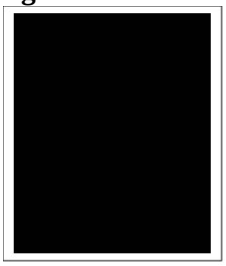
[60] I chose to use the literal translation in this instance to transmit the diversity of cross-cultural nuances in language use, since this does not affect the comprehension of the argument. A potential English equivalent would be "love" or "my love".

romantically or between family members. Interactions like these signal the playful and practical character of everyday uses assigned to the platform by the users. These go beyond plain product evaluations and into mundane practice, a theme further explored in chapter 6 where this thesis zooms into language, affordances, and connectivity practices.

Cross-modal stance-taking: in working with data from promotional food Pages, the level of multimodality, specially related to the use of images (e.g. food pictures) is high. The multimodal affordances offered by the platform mean that stance goes beyond lexical features and into visuals and URLs. As touched upon during the generic move analysis, multimodal affordances can work to reinforce and complement meanings, and transmit self-contained meanings already embedded in an item (e.g. images, videos, GIFs, songs, memes, customer's posts, own posts). Some of the recurring functions that multimodal elements play in stance-taking, such as to reinforce stances taken in caption descriptions (e.g. food picture in figure 4.4.3), create stance acts in combination with words (e.g. emojis in figure 4.4.7), or convey stances independently (sticker and emojis in figure 4.4.2), have already emerged in the course of this analytical chapter. With that in mind, within this section I will concentrate on multimodal materials and creations beyond these reinforcement and paralinguistic functions.

Links are often used by companies to add or complement stances. One of the observed ways in which companies act as culture mediators is by providing insights into how to pronounce dish names, as seen in figure 4.2.12 where pronunciation advice is offered through plain text (i.e. 'Feijoada (fey-jwah-duh)'). In figure 4.4.10 below, the company positively evaluates its product by relating the dish to the comfort of weekend meals. The post then continues to align with the reader, casually adding humour, by connecting possible dish name pronunciation obstacles to temporary weekend tiredness, as opposed to the complexity of its sound. It then mediates cultural expertise through a link to a pronunciation guide with audio files, instead of depicting pronunciation via phonetic transcription as in figure 4.2.12.

Figure 4.4.10



'Feijoada - making Saturday mornings feel better since, well, a long time ago. And, just in case you're fuzzy of mouth and of brain, here's how to pronounce it 🙂 https://forvo.com/word/feijoada/' (Carioca, 2017)

In this way, the post takes advantage of web affordances to add a twist to the practice of cultural mediation. By conditioning access to information by clicking the link, it allows the user to choose the depth of knowledge they wish to access, intertextually giving control of discourse reach to the user. Links are one of the interesting ways in which intertextuality happens online. They can be insightful in understanding the communicative paths users are invited to take by different companies (see Myers,

2010, p.38), and the polymediated character of digital communication (Madianou, 2015) – chapter 6 will touch on this again for illustrative purposes.

Stances, as Georgalou (2017, p.189) points out, do not have to be 'one's own words', they can also rely on intertextual materials which already stand for attitudes and views, as in the following examples. In item one of figure 4.4.11, a comment under a company post, User1 summons User2 via "mentioning", and posts a meme with reference to the film trilogy "Back to the Future" (see Back to the Future, 2019), in which the act of going back to the past has life changing implications. By doing so, the commenter creatively aligns her/his desire to revisit the restaurant with the excitement and importance implied by the meme.

Figure 4.4.11

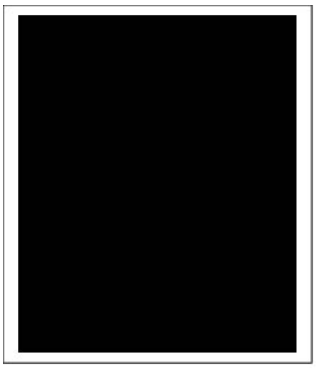
Source	**Text**
Post's comments	[Meme triggered by company post displaying a menu offer] 1. '**User1:** User2  ,
Reviews	2. 'Excellent food and excellent service would recommend this to anyone.😘 💋💋💋  ,

Ready-made stances also occur within reviews, as in item two above. After taking an appreciative (i.e. adjective 'excellent') and epistemic (i.e. mental verb 'recommend') stance towards the food, service, and establishment, the reviewer expresses affect through the facial expression conveyed by the emojis and the posting of an image with a religious theme from an external source (see bottom left of the image). In this image, both gratitude and good wishes are expressed through words, whilst further emotional mood is implied by celestial connotations, created by the ambience resulting from the colours

blue and white, signalling the sky and sun rays from which the words emerge (see Painter et al., 2013, pp.30-36; Seargeant, 2019 for visual affect and ambience).

As the above examples show, encapsulated meanings or connotations can be recontextualised to serve their stance-taking purposes. This can also happen in company posts by using memes (e.g. "Keep Calm and Carry On" meme versions, see figure 4.2.29), sharing memories, (re)sharing videos (e.g. figure 4.2.9), posts, reviews, and "check-ins" (e.g. figure 4.2.15). Additionally, companies produce messages of their own to suit specific marketing purposes, which can then be recycled. In figure 4.4.12, affect is expressed through a rhetorical question in which the value of a pizza is compared to that of happiness in Portuguese. The rhetorical question placed as a headline for attention catching (see Bhatia, 2004, pp.64-65) is highlighted by the use of capitalised white font, and visually answered through the image of a half savoury half sweet pizza, a beloved Brazilian combination. Further alignment with the audience is indexed by the use of homeland advertising expression 'disk' with the English word 'delivery' to refer to the delivery service.[61] The result is a localised message which can evoke a variety of feelings and memory triggers to a translocal audience. The post, in this way, works as a virtual flyer, which the company strategically reuses to reinstate or remind customers of their transnational stance over time.

Figure 4.4.12



[*What about allowing happiness to knock on your door?!*]
(Esfihas Excellent, 2018)

Collaborative stance-taking: the deployment of the diverse ways in which stance practice is achieved, through both lexis and multimodality, does not happen in isolation from context. Within Pages, audiences are imagined, and meanings are circulated and (re)negotiated (see Barton and Lee, 2013, p.31). In this light, stance-taking is a collaborative activity. From both a broadcast and thus imaginary perspective, and at the intersubjective level, stances are constantly recontextualised and exercised in

[61] 'Disk' is a sound-based unconventional spelling of the word "disque", which means "dial" in Portuguese. The word is used to advertise any deliverable service and is often found on fridge magnets or other freebies companies give out to consumers in Brazil. For instance, "disk gelo/disk ice" in an ad would mean customers can call for ice delivery (see Adir, 2015).

relation to sociocultural values and co-constructed as communication flows (see Du Bois, 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009, pp.198-199).

Figure 4.4.13 illustrates the intersubjective co-construction of stance through humorous evaluation of experience. User1 calls User2 and User3's attention via "mentioning" to an indulgent barbecuing meat GIF posted by a company. This is followed by a build-up in excitement as the participants interact. Following User2's affective stance through a sticker, User3's emotional reactions are indexed by a mix of exclamation, informal expression, repeated punctuation, and emojis, combined to convey the intensity of excitement and alignment intended. User1 than reveals the contextual cue from which the excitement stems, their Monday gatherings. This is acknowledged by User2 by "liking", and seconded by User3, who resorts to emojis for gestures to reaffirm commitment to the practice (see Seargeant, 2019, p.67). User1 then decides to caricature the experience by posting a GIF referring to an episode of Mr. Bean (see Mr Bean, 2010) in which the character feels the need to compete with another guest on his food intake abilities. By drawing on shared knowledge from contextually perceived reality, User1 here is humorously drawing out a funny view of the experience with which the group supposedly empathises. This is confirmed by User3's reply with another GIF, this time alluding to a bodily feeling common to meat-eating experiences, the 'meat sweats'. The GIF refers to an episode of the series Friends (see Friends, 2013) in which the character Joey commits to eating a whole thanksgiving turkey as he practices his carnivore identity. After a couple of comments, the interaction is then wrapped up by User1 through a combination of onomatopoeia (i.e. 'boom'), a collision emoji, and the informal 'death by' expression, figuratively suggesting the power and pleasure of meat in relation to human experience.

Figure 4.4.13
[GIF displaying the cooking of a barbecued meat skewer]

'**User1:** User2 User3
Likes: User3

User2: 😍
Likes: User1

User3: Oh hell Yeah!! 😋 😋
Likes: User1

User1: We've got another for our Monday meat clubs User2
Likes: User2

User3: 🙋🏾 🙋🏾 🙋🏾
Likes: User2

User1: [GIF]

User3: [GIF]

Likes: User1, User2

User1: 2nd October?

User2: Pencil me in
Likes: User1

User3: Should be able to!

User1: Boom 💥 death by sirloin! No better way to go x'

In the above dialogue, the participants build on values which relate to aspects of their experience of the world whilst drawing on creative language and intertextual materials which connect to layers of previously circulated and constantly renegotiated social values (see Koller, 2012, p.21). Figure 4.4.14 translates world views in relation to how translocality is experienced. As User1 highlights the company post to User2 via "mentioning", User2 replies unimpressed, adding validity to her/his claim using a declarative present-tense statement (Vásquez, 2014, pp.47-48). By posing that Brazilian shops are plentiful where they are, s/he disaligns with User1's implied positive positioning. User2's opinion seems to result from an awareness of the current state of Brazilian shops around them. The use of the word 'here' by User2 points to a translocal assessment of the situation as it implies a "there" exists, thus potentially implying that Brazilian shops are no longer a rare find. User1 engages with this thought-processing and introduces a counterpoint (indexed by the conjunction 'but') justifying efforts invested in highlighting the place due to its quality (see Myers, 2010, p.111). User2 then concedes to this argument by saying s/he will visit the establishment. In this interaction, the negotiation of viewpoints happens at a level of world experience related to translocal common knowledge, drawing on information from an environment where local lives (note: code-switched 'payday') and translocal matters intertwine in the routine of individuals.

Figure 4.4.14
[Company post displaying a Brazilian pudding]

'**User1:** User2
Likes: User2

> **User2:** Oque mais tem aqui è loja brasileira
> [*Brazilian shops is what there is the most here*]
>
> **User1:** User2 mais esse aí tá top
> [*User2 but this one is top*]
> Likes: User2
>
> **User2:** User1 e User3 ta amanha è payday vo da uma passada ai'
> [*User1 and User3 ok tomorrow is payday will pop over*]

The above interactions translate two different experiences: the leisure of breaking from boredom through experimenting with meat consumption and socialising, and the practice of seeking the familiar through encounters with "food from home" abroad. They reveal, in this way, snapshots of aspects of the role of cultural food (spaces) in diasporic and non-diasporic experiences in the UK. This is significant in understanding how language, food, and identity relate, and how this relationship is reinforced and maintained whilst building and sustaining senses of community and thus social cohesion through new communication tools and spaces. These topics are embedded within the themes which run through the data and will be further explored in the following chapter.

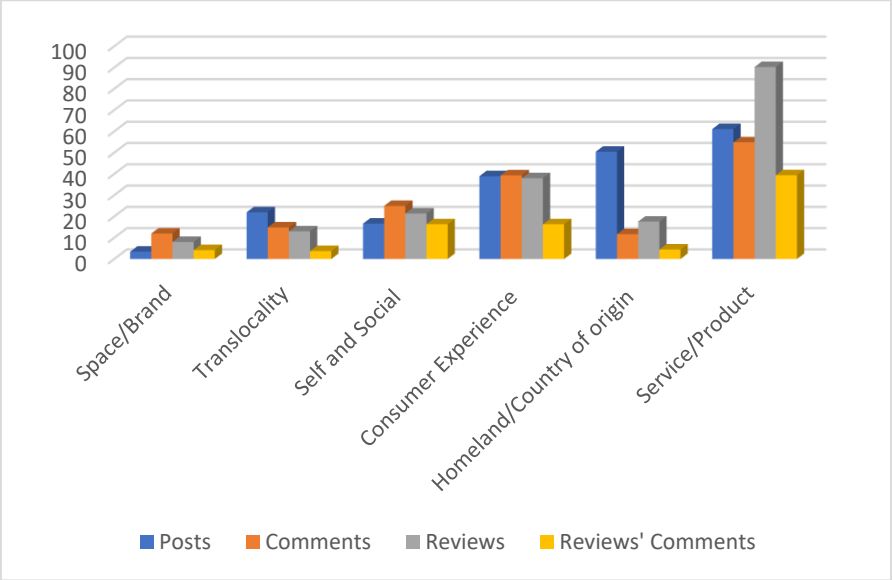
4.4.1 Themes and Stance

The above stance-taking examples aimed at providing an overview of meaning-making processes and resources employed by companies and consumers within the context of Pages. During the analysis, as well as identifying the relevant features and modes of communication present in discourse, I have also identified the themes emergent in the process of stance-taking. As illustration 4 below shows,[62] products or services are constantly evaluated across the corpus. This is expected, given the explicit purpose of such environments, and aligns with other research in promotional online environments (e.g. Chaves et al., 2014). However, users simultaneously relate to various other issues from the sociocultural field, and conversations often stem from imagined or lived experiences. Overall, topics include relationships, work, personal preferences and knowledge, and travels to name but a few. These relate to wider themes depending on the contextual cues present in and around communication (e.g. code, formality, multimodality, content words, implicitness). As Du Bois (2007, p.146) points out, 'stance is more than context-free connotations of words and sentences' with 'missing ingredients [that] can only be found by contextualizing the utterance'. In this sense, six main themes emerged from the data. These are

[62] Quantities from which percentages were calculated throughout this analysis can be found in Appendix I.

space/brand (i.e. the establishment or brand), translocality (i.e. allusions to places, home(s), world, belonging, nostalgia, memory), consumer experience (e.g. life style, memory, novelty, social gatherings), the self and the social (e.g. preferences, relationships, health, body, social issues), homeland/country of origin (e.g. heritage, tradition, imaginaries), and service/product aspects (e.g. food, drink, and staff).

Illustration 4: Themes Across the Corpus



Thematising the data in this way aimed at highlighting the presence of these overlapping themes across posts, comments, and reviews, and assisted with zooming into different communication practices surrounding product description and evaluation. Combined with insights from observation of the Pages, and the models applied, thematising was helpful in building an overall understanding of the compiled data, assisting with further relating themes to different types of establishments and observed language practices. As interpretations evolved, different subject inclinations from companies and users were noted. As illustration 4 emphasises, discursive links to the homeland/country of origin were often observed across company posts, also often in English, pointing to the significant role played by country allusions in the cultural authentication of brands abroad. As a unique selling point of cultural food spaces, such a focus is unsurprising. However, these happen along with other discursive nuances and practices. For instance, together with the expected service, product, and consumption character of discourse, a connection between matters of home and nostalgia, the use of Portuguese, and independent company Pages was noticeable. Similarly, the use of English in relation to chain Pages and allusions to the new in the context of multicultural consumer experiences in culinary culture (see Cook et al., 1999) was also noted. As will be discussed in chapter 5, authentication processes take diverse and fragmented forms across establishments and language practices, and are scattered across and entwined with the themes emergent from the data.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed account of strategies and insights resulting from the application of the analytical models to posts, comments, and reviews from Facebook Pages. Following learnings from this analysis, in the next two chapters I move on to explore and contextualise the identity and community constructions carried out through language and the affordances of the platform drawing on further online data such as websites, and observational and interview insights. Chapter 5 will concentrate on the discursive co-constructions of authenticity of companies and consumers online, whilst chapter 6 will be dedicated to communication production online in relation to the platform's affordances as a tool for social and business connectivity practices.

Chapter 5: Language Around Food: Constructing Authenticity Online

In chapter 4, I laid out the analytical processes followed to interpret the data from company Pages, presenting illustrative examples of the linguistic and semiotic behaviour encountered. This process pointed to topics considered relevant to the understanding of the relationship between language, food, identity, and online practices which will be further explored in the upcoming chapters. With chapter 6 focusing on communication production online in relation to the platform's affordances as a tool for social and business practices and connectivity, this chapter is devoted to the connection between language around food and identity performances. In other words, I will focus on language use emergent in online food spaces as a resource for the construction of authenticity. Social contexts where food is central, such as kitchens, dining rooms, or farms can bring up the potential of food as an iconic object of pleasure, distaste, and lifestyles. In these contexts, food indexes social identities and symbols of cultural authenticity. In line with this, food, in this thesis, is not the only meaning-making element or topic discussed, but a contextual pretext for social interaction (Riley and Paugh, 2019, p.145). Following this, through the co-construction of value emergent in the discourse of companies and consumers, the topics uncovered within the dataset point to ways in which identities are enacted within the online cultural food space in a globalised society. In order to explore how this is mediated through digital communication, this chapter zooms into identity through the lens of authenticity, as briefly defined below, and laid out in chapter 2 (section 2.4) of this thesis.

The relationship between language and identity in this thesis is approached from a discursive constructionist angle. This means identity is interpreted as momentaneous and performative, and thus constructed in discourse and according to the context in which it is produced. In this sense, identities relate to experiences, opinions, and feelings in relation to a given situation or environment. As previous literature suggests (see Cook et al., 1999; Abarca, 2004; Molz, 2007; 2011; Zukin, 2008; Brightwell, 2012a; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015), cultural food (spaces) play a role in both local and translocal experiences, creating a rich arena for identity work. With the advent of the web, a new space for the development of communication practices and identity performance arises, becoming part of this process. It is these communication practices within the virtual food space that constitute the main interest of this chapter, as the very act of using new means for specific identity goals reinforces their importance and the importance of language in this process.

5.1 Authenticity

Language conveys social meanings and situational assertions of world views, and it is, therefore, a tool through which individuals constantly work and rework the authentication of themselves and the world around them. Although it is a construct, the concept of authenticity often evokes genuineness, naturalness, truthfulness, originality, or uniqueness (see Coupland, 2003; Zukin, 2008; Karrebæk et al., 2015). And because it is a construct, it is intrinsic to one's identity performance and perceptions of self and others, a subjective construct based on personal instincts and knowledge (see Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015, p.140). Through communication, cultural meanings and authenticities are created and constantly negotiated along with the different logics drawn from different segments of life (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.144). These are part of social practices which entail discursive indexicalities pointing to aspects that can be seen as emblematic of certain identities (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.146). In line with this, authenticity, from the perspective of this thesis, refers to communication practices emergent in the discourse of companies and consumers on Facebook Pages to express self and entity uniqueness or credibility (see Bucholtz, 2003, p.408).

Cultural food provision and consumption entail experiences which are constantly created and negotiated through interactions conveying circulating knowledge and subjective viewpoints.[63] On the one hand, in a globalised world, presenting culture to consumers comes with a set of audience-targeting challenges which entail considering a variety of expectations (see Möhring, 2008) in relation to asserting genuineness (Bucholtz, 2003, p.408). As will be explored below, company self-presentation strategies vary according to how broad or specific their imagined primary audience is. At different levels, they resort to a spectrum of circulating knowledges which, in its context of emergence, can explicitly signpost Brazilian culture, but also other local and translocal matters. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, pp.4-8) suggest, meanings are not located in images or words alone, but in their design, production, and distribution. With user-generated communication present within these Pages, authenticity assertions are commercially and subjectively constructed, but also constantly re-evaluated according to individual knowledge and expectations. These expectations can relate to lived experiences in the country of origin or abroad, global cultural circulating and time-frozen imaginaries, and/or the self-service nature of consumerism, in which entertainment and comfort are simultaneously an object of desire (see Cook et al., 1999). Against this backdrop, identities are never fixed, they are co-constructed through a constant process of authentication.

[63] "Circulating knowledge" refers to current imaginaries (i.e. subjective constructions) resulting from the spread of ideas over time and which are entangled in (food) cultural diversification (see Koller, 2012, p.20; Phillips, 2006, pp.44-45).

Aspects of social identity and ways to define the world go through glocalisation processes, where local and global circulating resources are recontextualised in local settings (Robertson, 1995). In this process, local and global knowledge are layered with flows of communication and are thus constantly negotiated. These layers of meaning-making can convey an array of messages at the same time. For this reason, building on themes and overall insights arising from the analytical chapter, further online data and observation, and insights from Brazilian cultural entrepreneurs, the discussion below illustrates language use online in relation to two broad headings: 1. Naming the Brand, exploring highlighted aspects of company names in relation to authenticity and the interwoven state of business and personal trajectories; and 2. Co-constructing the Brand and the Self, exploring how discourse relates to matters of home, world and belonging, cross-cultural mediations, and (trans)local social and mundane affairs.

5.2 Naming the Brand

Company names are an integral part of a brand's identity, they are acts of presentation designed for constant display to an audience. They can affect memorability, create favourable images, and highlight the products' significance (see Shrum et al., 2012, pp.275). Given the algorithmic logic of social media, users encounter company names (as well as their posts) at random and likely more often than they would through other forms of advertising. This is because our physical proximity with smartphones/computers and the running of social and professional errands online are more embedded in our mundane actions than, say, the frequency with which we may come into contact with billboards, magazines, pamphlets, or TV adverts. This potential for a subtle yet more persistent visibility, as well as the similarities and interconnectedness between Facebook personal and business profiles, as chapter 6 later explores, adds another layer of dissemination and significance to brand names, and reinforces their role in the narrative of brands and their discursive construction of authenticity.

Within promotional content published on Facebook, company names are constantly exposed. Automatically placed under the company profile picture and at the top-left corner of every post, their physical and permanent distribution on the platform space is dictated by the platform's layout. Together with other layers of discourse, names in the national language and/or allusions to products and/or country of origin, at some level, index authenticity to different audience layers. In addition, as desktop research and insights from entrepreneurs exemplify, names do not happen in isolation and can embed connotations of personal trajectories of those behind business projects. In what follows, two highlighted features of company names will be used as a point of departure for discussion: product specification and country of origin.

5.2.1 Product Specification

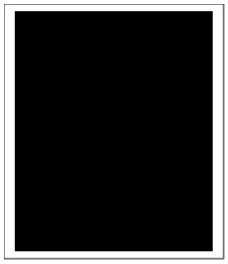
Company names referring to products in which companies specialise often draw on aspects of products in relation to Brazilian (gastronomic) culture. Examples are names descriptive of products sold, such as Esfihas Excellent (named after a popular snack in Brazil, esfihas), Mum's Pizzas Brasileira (descriptive of specialty, Brazilian pizzas), and Temakinho (named after a type of sushi, temaki).

Temakinho is the diminutive word for the cone shaped hand-rolled sushi type named "temaki". Its diminutive form, indexed by suffix "inho", translates the name as "little temaki" and works in Portuguese to add an affectionate sense to the word (see dos Santos and Coelho, 2008). By adding the suffix, a layer of Brazilianness is fused to the product showcased, otherwise internationally recognised as a Japanese product only. In this manner, the central London company signposts familiarity to Brazilians and foreignness for those unfamiliar with the language. Encouraged by experiences of the Honduran-born, Venezuelan-raised Italian founder in São Paulo, the intention of the brand was to serve a combination of flavours inspired by the Japanese-Brazilian restaurant scene (see Zevi, 2016). The Japanese-Brazilian culture from which the company takes inspiration to perform its identity is based on Japanese migration to Brazil (see Nishida, 2018, pp.18-43) and its resulting Nikkei cuisine (i.e. the cooking of Japanese diaspora) (Hara, 2015, p.6). By combining Portuguese sonority with a recognisable Japanese product in its name, the company brings hints of 'historicity' (Coupland, 2003) into its authentication process. Indeed, as Coupland (2003, p.418) points out, 'historicity' is one of the traditional meanings for authenticity, as it supports a non-fabricated character, given its survival and longevity. As observation shows, this authentication is complemented across other online spaces, such as in the company website "about" section which is devoted to Japanese Brazilian history (see Temakinho, 2018), and posts on social media, which reinforce country-of-origin connotations by combining flows of further information on the matter and colourful/tropical decoration imagery.

Still with a focus on product specification, Esfihas Excellent take a different approach. The brand was specifically named after the product in which they specialised when the company started. As explained by the directors during the interview, they were already famous among their friends for their esfihas in London. Selling these with a Brazilian audience in mind was therefore their point of entry into the UK food sector. Esfihas are open meat pies brought to Brazil by Lebanese and Syrian migration (Freixa and Chaves, 2017, p.208). These are often found in Brazilian bakeries and coffee shops, and are widely served and associated with Habib's, one of the biggest fast-food chains in Brazil. Their popularisation is connected to the latter, as previous to their opening in 1988, Middle Eastern food in Brazil was mainly served in traditional settings (Plummer, 2005; Mamona, 2013). For this reason, esfihas are highly popular and are therefore part of the home memory bank for many. Still, not long after Esfihas Excellent opened, with years of acquired skills in pizza making by the co-director and pizzaiolo, they started selling pizzas Brazilian style (i.e. with flavours and topping combinations famous in Brazil). This is

reflected semiotically in their logo (Figure 5.2.1), which displays a female genie (OED, 2020b), alluding to Arabian folklore, but who is holding a pizza. In this way, an additional shade of authenticity is encapsulated through the logo, which semiotically expands their textual name and complements their brand image.

Figure 5.2.1


(Esfihas Excellent, 2018)

Through product specification which resonates with their primary audience, the company resorts to the products' symbolic 'value' and granted 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003) of its relevance in the country of origin. 'Consensus' and 'value', as Coupland (2003, p.419) suggests, imply a high degree of contextual acceptance and ratified cultural value, and therefore tie into senses of authenticity. As familiarity with Brazilian pizza flavours and the connection between esfihas and the Arab world is implicit for Brazilians, translating this further seems to become redundant. Indeed, specific efforts to clarify these aspects have not been observed in other online publications by this company, suggesting the products' subjective value is a strong tie for its Brazilian audiences. In terms of audience design, this contrasts with the previous example, in which the chain draws on 'historicity' (Coupland, 2003) and continuous authentication through other flows of communication to fill possible audience knowledge gaps.

5.2.2 Country of Origin

Authenticity is also constructed through names with direct reference to Brazil. Signposting the country through brand names ensures clear expression of primary cultural food focus and thus removes potential obstacles in connection to language barriers across consumers. Examples of these are Little Brazil, Viva Brazil, Bem Brasil, Made In Brasil, Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, and Brazilian Gourmet. Along with direct reference to the country, further connotations of authenticity can be achieved by including the official spelling (Kelly-Holmes, 2005, p.36) of the country name (e.g. "Brasil" vs "Brazil"). Preserving the 's' in the spelling of Brazil abroad pays respect to the country's national language and official name. In adopting the spelling of its native setting, 'ontology' (real as opposed to derived existence) is claimed (Coupland, 2003, p.418). This point emerged in more than one interview. Taking Bem Brasil as an example, 'ontology' was the core of their decision-making when naming the brand. According to the interviewee, the word "bem" in Bem Brasil was used to work as the intensifier "very", literally meaning "Very Brazil", the sense implied being that of "very Brazilian". By choosing a name entirely in

Portuguese, including the country's name, 'ontology' is claimed at every level. Additionally, as later explored in this chapter, the risk of having the meaning of "bem" missed by some is outweighed by the foreignness intended. This importance of the mother tongue in constructing authenticity (see Mascia, 2015, pp.199-200) is well exemplified by the company's director, who contrasts the potential of using Portuguese with a possible anglicised version of the company name containing Brazil with 'z' and the sound equivalent of 'bem' through 'ben':

> Bem Brasil with "s" because it is "very Brasil", very Brazilian, otherwise it would have to be "ben" from Big Ben, and Brazil with "z".[64] (CH1)

In a similar vein, though more specifically, name authenticity is also indexed via regionality. Often referring to Brazilian states, but also cities, examples of these are Cantinho do Goiás (Goiás' Little Corner), Mineiro Cafe (Café of Minas Gerais), Carioca (citizen of Rio de Janeiro city), Cantina do Gaúcho (Rio Grande do Sul citizen's Canteen), and Tchê Tapas ("Tchê": a friendly term of address commonly used in Rio Grande do Sul state). Names indexing regionality can be used to both maximise audiences or address different layers of an audience. According to Carioca's website about page, their name choice was specifically related to the popularity of the city of Rio de Janeiro:

> **Figure 5.2.2**
> 'Close your eyes and think of Brazil. What comes to mind? Christ the redeemer […] Sugarloaf […] Copacabana […] these are immediately associated with Brazil by a lot of people around the world. For that same reason we chose Carioca as the name of our restaurant.' (Carioca, 2018)

Following this, and considering their Brixton London location, which increasingly attracts a variety of crowds due to a growing "trendy" reputation (see Marsh, 2016), it is the recognised global 'consensus' and touristic 'value' (Coupland, 2003) of the city of Rio that motivated their choice of name. Indeed, as local writer Le Mort (2014) explains, to coincide with the 2014 football World Cup in Brazil, the Brazilian restaurant 'changed its name from the slightly confusing Prima Donna to Carioca' (see also Gray, 2014),[65] betting on consumer knowledge potential to strengthen memorability (see Shrum et al., 2012, pp.278-279). In a different way, regionality has an interesting role in the naming of Tchê Tapas with "Tchê" being a friendly term of address used in Rio Grande do Sul state (Tchê Tapas, 2018). Although a masculine term of address, the greeting is gender-neutral in colloquial talk, with some usage similarity to the UK term "mate" (see Plotkin, 2013). Given that the company is located in the borough of Brent, where many Brazilians reside, their name relies on country-of-origin knowledge shared by Brazilians abroad relating to internal language variations. For those who do not grasp the expression at

[64] Bem Brasil com "s" porque é "bem Brasil", bem brasileiro, se não teria que ser "bem" de Big Ben e Brazil com "z".
[65] Its former name Prima Donna was a reference to Carmen Miranda's significance in Brazil, an important icon in the company's identity performance (see Ribeiro, 2016).

first, its combination with the locally known reference to Spanish "Tapas" seems to provide the level of service description envisaged by the director. Regarding this, insights from the interview were enlightening. The space opened in 2017, next door to the already locally well-known butcher shop of the director's family, and accordingly, the words "Tapas" and "Tchê" were chosen to encapsulate personal experiences and business goals.

> I lived in Spain, for one year, and I always liked this culture of tapas, always liked this culture of you being able to nibble and eat various things and this was the intention of the café, for you to eat nibbles and try various things at the same time. And "Tchê", is to be interconnected to the butcher shop, you know? My dad is Gaúcho, his family is totally Gaúcha, the type that wears bombacha, kerchief, and [drinks] mate tea every day. So, as he was already very well-known, we wanted to merge the names to boost it even more in the commerce[66] (IND5)

Accordingly, whilst strong Gaúcho family ties are described by regional markers such as traditional clothing and cultural habits (i.e. drinking mate tea), global influences are implied by attachments to translocal life experiences (i.e. tapas).[67] Following this, translocal mobility, personal histories, and business goals are intertwined in brand creation. Brand identity, in this way, does not happen in isolation, it also stems from translocal trajectories. As the husband and wife directors of Mum's Pizzas Brasileira story shows, their translocal endeavours played a central role in the outcome of their business. The Brazilian style pizza delivery and supper club in east London started when they felt they had completed a significant milestone in raising their children abroad. The company name, as director and chef narrates, was chosen by her husband '[b]ecause I am the mum that looked after a family a whole life and now […] I have the pizzeria, so it's Mum's Pizza'[68] (IND4). As she explains, they left Brazil 'to leave the Brazilian crisis which I don't know when is going to end'[69] (IND4). After having worked for other people since arriving in the UK with the family over fifteen years ago, she was eventually able to extend her skills and aspects of motherhood into their longed desire to own a business. She relates her joy in being a mum to the London lifestyle of flat sharing, and thus the potential of home comfort pizzas can symbolise.

> You need to do what you love to do […] So, I cooked my whole life, would I say "ah I'm tired of cooking!". No, there is no way around it, because it has already played a part in my life, you

[66] eu morei na Espanha, por um ano, e eu sempre gostei dessa cultura de tapas, sempre gostei dessa cultura de você poder petiscar e comer várias coisas e essa era a intenção do café, de você comer petiscos e provar várias coisas ao mesmo tempo. E o "Tchê", é pra ser interligado com o açougue, né? O meu pai é gaúcho, a família dele é totalmente gaúcha, do tipo de usar bombacha, lenço, chimarrão todo dia. Então, como ele já era muito bem conhecido, a gente quis juntar os nomes pra levantar ainda mais no comércio

[67] 'Bombacha' and 'mate tea' (Freixa and Chaves, 2017, p.256; OED, 2021) are here referring to traditional Gaúcho trousers and the tea traditionally drunk in the south of Brazil respectively.

[68] Porque eu sou a mãe que cuidou de uma família uma vida toda e agora [...] tenho a pizzaria, então é Mum's Pizza

[69] pra sair da crise do Brasil que não sei quando é que vai acabar

know? So, I raised my kids etc. and now I'm doing something that I like, because specially here in London, there is a load of kids without a mum[70] (IND4)

This is further reflected on their Facebook "about" section, where they reinforce the depth of life experiences as part of their authentic value:

Figure 5.2.3
'Uma mae, após uma vida inteira, zelando por uma família grande, vendo os filhos criados, já formados, decide entao que é hora de se realizar tambem naquilo que ela mais sabia por completo....cozinhar! [...] Brasileira, sangue italiano, original de Sao Paulo... combinaçao perfeita! Resultado... Pizza da mamma!!' (Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2018)
[*A mother, after a whole life, caring for a big family, seeing the kids raised, already educated, then decides it is time to also fulfil herself with what she knew the most….to cook!* […] *Brazilian, Italian blood, originally from São Paulo… perfect combination! The result… Mamma's pizza!!*]

Accordingly, brand identity is directly connected to being a mum abroad, and is further performed by combining Brazilianness, Italianness, and regionality into a perfect formula for pizza. On the one hand, being from São Paulo, a state with marked Italian ties and recognised gastronomic culture (see Collaço, 2010), indexes the knowledge and skills necessary for pizza making. On the other hand, being Brazilian means that knowledge of pizza flavours served in Brazil, which differs from the UK, is also available.

As the examples above show, levels of reference to country of origin when naming the brand take different approaches. Companies index authenticity via names through different levels of directness to Brazilianness, but not necessarily without embedding other connotations in their names. However, authentication through names can take a subtler approach. In such cases, the connection to country of origin is indexed through Portuguese, though without direct reference to specific cultural markers, such as country name, states, or food. Examples of these are Touro Brazilian Steakhouse (i.e. bull), Cabana Rio Bar and Grill (i.e. shack), Preto Brazilian Steakhouse (i.e. black), or Fazenda Rodizio Bar & Grill (i.e. farm/state). In these cases, the significance of the name may have a story or purpose not readily evident in the name and will vary according to companies. For instance, Touro, a chain with branches in London and Brighton focusing on the recreation of steakhouses according to Brazilian taste, found inspiration for the name in a decorative bull statue the director saw when visiting a butcher shop in Brazil with his father. As he explains (eLondres TV, 2017), when he complimented the statue, the butcher humorously highlighted the fact that the bull indeed looked good but was also efficient, as it served as a cachaça barrel and thus poured the spirit. Whilst serving the company's branding purposes

[70] você tem que fazer aquilo que você ama fazer [...] Então, eu cozinhei a minha vida toda, vamos dizer "ah, cansei de cozinhar!". Não, não adianta, porque já fez parte da minha vida, né? Então assim, criei os filhos e tal e agora eu tô fazendo uma coisa que eu gosto, porque principalmente aqui em Londres, aqui é um monte de filho sem mãe

with its resonance to meat, the name also allows for a personal memory. Indeed, the same style statue is owned by the company in the UK and is proudly displayed on the company's website (see Touro, n.d.). On the other hand, Fazenda (i.e. "farm" or "estate"), a chain with branches in cities other than London such as Manchester and Edinburgh, followed a specific linguistic rationale when choosing their name. With a primary focus on bringing the South American Gaúcho culture and rodízio style of serving to the British restaurant scene, their choice of name, as revealed in an interview with the company's managing director, prioritised evoking connotations which connected to the broad Gaúcho imaginary. Following this, a highlighted aspect of their brand identity relates to the overlapping South American Gaúcho heritage across Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil, the latter being where the rodízio style started (Freixa e Chaves, 2017, pp.255-256; Lopes, 2009). In this way, whilst showcasing Brazilian rodízio-style barbecue, their authenticity construction encapsulates various cultural aspects of South American countries bonded by the Gaúcho heritage, such as wine and food. Indeed, as the managing director explained, with both Brazilian and Argentinian backgrounds behind the company creation, the co-founders also brought part of who they are into the brand concept:

> people see Brazil as, you know, football and samba […] they don't see us as a premium product. […] Brazil as a brand, yeah? […] So that is why we were always clear that what we wanted to bring was the traditions of southern Brazil and Uruguay and Argentina, in a way, the Gauchos, yeah? But we were also very aware that the way of serving the meats, the rodízio style of serving the meat, is still a Brazilian product, because it was the Brazilian Gaúchos who brought it to the restaurant scene […] so therefore we thought we needed to find a name that was Portuguese, yeah, easy to pronounce, and […] we knew that we were trying to associate what we were doing with the countryside, with the meat more than anything, you know, with the Fazenda… that is why we chose Fazenda, you know. It is a simple, easy name, […] English speakers […] can pronounce it. (CH2)

Their name choice, in this way, considered the relevance of national language, regional Gaúcho culture, the cultural connotations that come with it (i.e. meat and countryside), and the potential pronunciation obstacles for the target audience. As such, the name allows their audience to detour from some typical branding and perceptions of Brazil abroad (see Beserra, 2007; Sutter et al., 2015; Jiménez-Martínez, 2018, p.139). This creates room for them to construct their own authenticity whilst bringing alternative or less established imaginaries (see Karrebæk and Maegaard, 2017) of Brazil and South America abroad. As he further elaborates, this fluid South American approach to the brand concept is also a result of fused relationships, entailing experiences and inclinations of those involved:

> We also need to remember that is not only John and me. So, John is from Argentina… Brazil, Argentina. But we also have business partners that are British […] we didn't want to scare people from coming because we were too "authentic" or we didn't want to go against our roots […], we always thought "Ok, what would be a restaurant that we would like to go to?" […] so we tried to identify us with the business, and that is what we did. (CH2)

Accordingly, for the brand creators, it was important to ensure that their concept could combine and balance expectations of South American culture in the "host" society and their own views and background.

5.3 Co-constructing the Brand and the Self

In a globalised world, companies or products, like people, can have glocal or hybrid identities (Kelly-Holmes, 2016, p.S53). In branding culture, promotional discourse works with cultural credentials as part of selling products abroad. As company names show, this process involves relating to Brazil as a form of authentication, but also to other social, local, and translocal matters. Within Facebook Pages, companies and consumers negotiate messages, expectations, and the social context in which they find themselves. As a result of platform affordances and thus the space for user-generated interactions, value is co-created and negotiated (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020, pp.40-42).

As chapter 4 suggests, authenticity on Facebook Pages is constructed in discourse through a variety of markers. These include resorting to various multimodal means for stance-taking which include reference to national and cultural emblems (see Thurlow and Aiello, 2007) such as emojis and images of flags or (native) ingredients, cultural icons and traditions, assumed shared knowledge, evaluative words, and other strategic uses of language. These signs are not used in isolation. They are intertwined with other messages about the world, and company and individuals' histories. In this way, an array of identifications come into play as afforded by globalisation (see Karrebæk et al., 2015, p.20). Authenticity, be it organisational or individual, is located within social perceptions attached to the experiences that consumption spaces can trigger, and the cultural nuances that come with the context of gastronomy (see Riley and Paugh, 2019, pp.145-171). These are part of a broad structure of cultural messages, which include relating to matters of home, world, and belonging, cross-cultural mediation, and expressions of social and mundane (trans)local affairs.

5.3.1 Home, World, and Belonging

Communication approaches taken by companies are varied and bring to the fore connections to the country of origin, and the local and global context of language production, both through lexical and semiotic signs. This diversity of approaches in designing the audience and thus the discursive construction of identity is reflective of a variety of assumed circulating knowledges. These go from frozen and under-construction Brazilian imaginaries to (g)local circulating knowledge and mundane affairs. A highlighted theme intersecting food (spaces) and identity practice abroad is that of home, world, and belonging. Within Facebook promotional Pages, this is most evident among independent companies' Pages, and with the use of Portuguese. As the following user's comment comprehensively

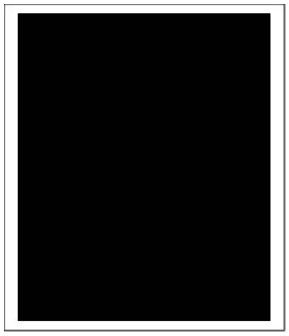
summarises, food, emotions, and home seem to naturally find a place in one's sense of belonging and of self.

Figure 5.3.1
'Cara tô lutando pra entregar onde moro... Tô morrendo de saudades da nossa terra e consequentemente da nossa comida...'
[*Man I'm fighting for delivery where I live… I'm dying of homesickness for our land and consequently for our food…*]

For someone distant from their homeland, food can work as a vehicle through which to channel feelings of homesickness. In this sense, feelings related to home and belonging can find room for expression in the virtual food space. In figure 5.3.1, home feelings are exercised by the affective stance-taking towards the 'land' and 'food' through the expression 'morrendo de saudades'/'dying of homesickness'. Moreover, belonging is specifically highlighted by the use of Portuguese and the pronoun 'nossa'/'our', indexing group membership through discourse. As Planchenault (2010, p.95) suggests, membership emerges in discourse through 'the expression of a feeling of not being alone […] [and] of sharing similarities and like-mindedness'. In this mindset, I will explore the many ways in which both companies and consumers relate to the interconnectedness between food, home, belonging, the world and thus the role of language in this online process of authentication.

In figure 5.3.2, the company posted several pictures of its lunch buffet, served everyday under an all-you-can-eat self-service system for a fixed price. Whilst this post is written in both English and Portuguese, sentences are not direct translations from each other, and are tailored to work together with subjective and sociocultural meanings represented by the pictures (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp.105-106). This may be seen as a form of intersemiotic and interdiscursive translanguaging (Baynham and Lee, 2019, p.12, 23). On the one hand, instead of describing every dish in English, the company paraphrases their cultural significance by evaluating these as typical. In doing so, novelty and product value for those unfamiliarised are emphasised whilst covering for their lesser potential to decipher all dishes. On the other hand, the images of the all-you-can-eat buffet resemble everyday Brazilian homemade food (see da Silva, 2013). By coupling these with the rhetorical question 'Saudades de casa?'/'Missing home?', the connection to home memories of Brazilians is triggered (see Myers, 1994, p.49; 2010, pp.109-110). In this way, discourse multimodally posits the company as the solution for homesickness, a stance reinforced by the invitation in the imperative 'venha'/'come' in the next sentence. Indeed, in Brazil, eating cooked lunch is common both at home and in work routines. Even in big cities, workers can find spaces where cooked food is served in all-you-can-eat buffets, "per kilo" buffets, or set meals combining basic elements of Brazilian cuisine such as rice, beans, and meat during lunch breaks (see Barbosa, 2007). This means these pictures connect to Brazilian practices at many levels, including eating habits (cooked food for lunch), eating formats (by kilo/all-you-can-eat/set meal), and memories of home, relatives, or work routine.

Figure 5.3.2



'Saudades de casa? Venha para o Mineiro Cafe!🇧🇷🇧🇷🇧🇷🇬🇧🇬🇧
Typically Brazilian Food!😀 😀' (Mineiro Cafe, 2016)
[*Missing home? Come to Mineiro Cafe!*🇧🇷🇧🇷🇧🇷🇬🇧🇬🇧
Typically Brazilian Food! 😀 😀]

Food plays a significant role in migrants' experiences, as it lends itself to one of the coping mechanisms for estrangement and self-redefinition abroad (see Ahmed, 2000). Therefore, it plays a role in acts of collective remembering and belonging. This is detectable through language and semiotic components in the above post, where the combination of choice of language code and topic adapts and enables the meaning potential of the images according to the written information. Moreover, whilst the use of flags and smiley emojis reinforces the company's transnational and affective stance, the platform's affordances enable the display of relevant offline activities online as these happen. The instrumental use of language and translocal knowledge are therefore key factors in communicating with both audiences in the same post.

This potential of homemade food to connect and embrace memories is highlighted across independent companies' discourses. Accordingly, their ability to transport one home at some level appears to be a significant factor in their process of authentication for compatriots abroad. This can, however, imply negotiations between adjusting businesses to the local setting and expectations held by Brazilians. In figure 5.3.3, different expectations regarding service style emerge among consumers' comments. By enquiring how much the company charges per person in the first example, User1 assumes that, like many places in Brazil, s/he will be able to pay a fixed price to eat as much as s/he likes. The company then clarifies that its menu is à la carte. Similarly, in the second example, User1 enquires about the availability of pizza rodízio (all-you-can-eat pizza tasting common in Brazilian pizzerias). In this instance, the user checks if the service is available, not assuming this is the case, but marvelling at the possibility. The company proceeds to reply in the negative, managing face through the term of affection 'meu anjo'/'my angel'. Hence, the examples point to the role food spaces are expected, by some, to play abroad. As customers enquire about restaurants' service systems, they employ their home knowledge and project possible desired home experiences onto the restaurants.

Figure 5.3.3

Source	Text
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a post in English displaying a plate of feijoada] 1. '**User1:** Quanto por pessoa? [*How much per person?*] **Company:** Oi User1, Nosso menu é a la carte.' [*Hi User1,* *Our menu is à la carte.*]
Posts' comments	[Triggered by a post in Portuguese displaying pizza pictures] 2. '**User1:** Vcs tem rodízio tbm??? [*Do you also have rodízio???*] Likes: Company **Company:** User1 nao temos rodízio meu anjo [*User1 we do not have rodízio my angel*] Likes: User1'

Service systems therefore can be one of the markers of authenticity for Brazilians abroad. However, other than the steakhouses where all-you-can-eat systems represent a strong selling point, all but one of the companies chose to serve à la carte rather than the all-you-can-eat buffet service. Considering the à la carte culture of the UK and thus lower expectations for all-you-can-eat restaurants, the potential cost and waste involved in such systems is perhaps a factor in this decision. In this way, it seems set meals containing rice, beans, and meat is often the path taken by companies to meet these dish format expectations. As highlighted by a couple of entrepreneurs who originally did not offer set meals in an effort to elevate food style away from everyday meals, these became favourites once introduced on their menus. As an independent company director suggests, authenticity for Brazilians bonds very strongly with mundane food associations.

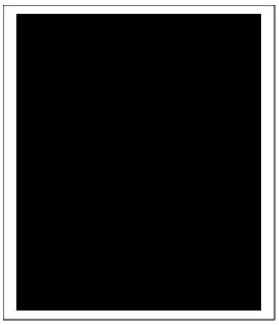
> before when we did not have the set meal, we had other dishes a bit more sophisticated, like a steak only with kale, a salad, you know something, like, lighter? First thing they used to ask for was rice and beans. So, I think that as much as we try […] to make something a bit different from our day-to-day, our usual meal, I think that when Brazilians enter an authentic Brazilian place, that has Brazilian food, they want our food[71] (IND5)

In line with this, certain elements of everyday Brazilian food seem to be key to those living abroad. Although companies provide a variety of dishes, rice and beans seem to have a powerful role in defining the space's authenticity, and in turn, consumers' own Brazilianness. Figure 5.3.4 illustrates this as, having expressed affect through platform affordances (note: emoji and its description 'feeling lovely'),

[71] antigamente quando nós não tínhamos o PF, a gente tinha outros pratos um pouco mais sofisticados, que nem só um steak com couvezinha, uma salada, sabe alguma coisa, assim, mais soft? Primeira coisa que eles pediam era o arroz e feijão. Então, eu acho que por mais que a gente tenta [...] deixar uma coisa assim um pouquinho diferente do nosso dia a dia, do nosso prato de sempre, eu acho que quando o brasileiro entra num lugar autêntico brasileiro, que tem a comida brasileira, eles querem a nossa comida

the company chooses to use Portuguese alone to allude to a dish of rice and beans. The post connects dish elements to feelings of cheerfulness (i.e. affect verb 'alegrar'/'cheer up') and mundane habits by indexing its everyday value in evaluating it as 'simples'/'simple'. This affective stance is further worked multimodally through the positioning of dish elements in the shape of a smile. The company is therefore drawing on the strong significance of the combination of rice, beans, eggs, and tomato in everyday Brazil. As warmly put by another interviewed entrepreneur, who feels their rice and beans set meal was a great menu addition, 'Brazilians spend a week without eating rice and beans, they go crazy'[72] (IND3).

Figure 5.3.4



'**Tia Maria Bar & Kitchen** is feeling lovely at Tia Maria Bar & Kitchen.
Porque até um simples arroz, ovo, feijão e tomate no Tia Maria; podem alegrar seu dia.
#boatarde' (Tia Maria, 2018)
[*Because even a simple rice, egg, beans and tomato at Tia Maria; can cheer your day up*
#goodafternoon]

Restaurants in London with recurrent reference to home imaginaries were also noted to make significant use of Portuguese and less reference to global frozen imaginaries (e.g. Carnival, Christ the Redeemer). This does not imply audience design is solely focused on Brazilians but reveals the potential of food in setting the scene for the performance of translocal identity abroad. It also highlights the connection of discourse with social settings since most Brazilians in the UK reside in London (McIlwaine and Evans, 2018, p.6). Companies allude, not only to food, but to loved ones associated with food experiences of Brazilians at home. This potential of food (see da Silva, 2013) is no secret between companies and those for whom the posts are intended. In figure 5.3.5, after mentioning its food is like that of 'mum, grandma, auntie', the company uses CMC-specific language for giggling via the acronym 'rs' (i.e. risos/laughs) and vowel lengthening for excitement in the request 'venhammmm'/'coooome'. Having partitioned their audience by choosing to use Portuguese only, the giggle implies having stated the obvious, positing company and audience in the same state of mind in which group belonging is evoked.

Figure 5.3.5
'Fizemos uma pequena reforma, Barraco mais clean, ambiente sempre gostoso, comida sempre caseira como da mamae, da vovo, da titia rsrsrs venhammmm' (Kaipiras by Barraco, 2017)
[*We made a little renovation, Barraco is spruced up, always a lovely environment, food always homemade like that of mum, grandma, auntie hihihi coooome*][73]

[72] O brasileiro, ele ficou uma semana sem comer arroz e feijão, ele fica louco.
[73] Note that the word "clean", here translated as "spruced up" is already part of the Brazilian vocabulary, though nuances vary greatly contextually, often used to qualify things as more pleasant to the eye, with no exaggeration, more relaxed or lighter in appearance (see dos Santos, 2020; Dicio, 2020a).

This value of food as a portal to home is co-constructed by companies' audiences across interactions. In reply to a Portuguese post displaying a cassava starch biscuit and a cup of coffee, typically eaten in Brazilian homes, User1 writes on evoked memories attached.

Figure 5.3.6
[Post in Portuguese displaying a typical cassava starch biscuits and cup of coffee]
'**User1:** Ô delicia, User2 ☕ 🍪 lembrei de mãezinha 👵 👌 😍
Likes: Company'
[*Oh delicious, User2* ☕ 🍪 *reminded me of mummy* 👵 👌 😍]

User1, with this comment, complements the product by evaluating it as 'delicia'/'delicious', expresses her/his translocal act of remembering through the mental verb 'lembrei'/'reminded', and reinforces the visual value of the post through emojis of a biscuit and cup of coffee. User1 further positively evaluates memories connecting mummy and the post image by posting a lady emoji followed by an ok/approval hand and an affective heart-eyes emoji. Hence, potentially coupled with shared knowledge between User1 and 2, the latter emojis not only reinforce meaning, but convey a story of their own. In this way, company and individual authenticity are exercised and simultaneously valued through promotional discourse. Indeed, cultural sensorial, visual, and familial aspects are strong factors in fulfilling one's sense of belonging, and promotional discourse can work as a bridge to encounters with one's cultural familiarities (see Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015). In addition, the daily presence of such discourses on users' screens can influence the sense of cultural proximity of those following and searching the Pages. With this in mind, online content expands the identity performance potential of food spaces from physical spaces to pre- and post-virtual interactions (i.e. comments, "reactions", reviews). Regarding this potential of food spaces for personal performance, a director explains that recreating familiar experiences for Brazilians was at the core of the business, both for commercial reasons and for personal satisfaction:

> when eating our pizza they need to say "I'm in Brazil!" […] the flavour and the smell, when you feel it, you are going to think of your dad and your mum. […] There have been people that even cried… Money is good? It is! But this dear, you never forget. […] it is very satisfying![74] (IND1)

Their online materials extend this performance. In figure 5.3.7, they describe their space as 'a little piece of Brazil here in London', directly addressing Brazilians through Portuguese and group membership via pronoun 'nossa'/'our' when referring to Brazilian cuisine. Home experiences, in this

[74] quando comer a nossa pizza tem que falar "Eu tô no Brasil!" [...] o sabor e o cheiro, quando você sentir, você vai lembrar do seu pai e da sua mãe. [...] Teve gente que chorou já... Dinheiro é bom? É! Mas isso aí nega, você nunca mais esquece. [...] é muito satisfatório!

case, are evoked through sensorial allusions via the verb 'sentir'/'feel' and the noun 'sencacao'/'sensation'.

Figure 5.3.7
'Nao perca,um pedacinho do Brasil aqui em londres feito pensando em vcs nossos clientes!venha sentir a sencacao de estar de novo comendo essas delicias da nossa culinaria Brasileira [...]
[food pictures]' (Esfihas Excellent, 2017)
[*Don't miss it,a little piece of Brazil here in london made with you our clients in mind!come and feel the sensation of eating these delights of our Brazilian cuisine again* […]]

Such constructions of authenticity with strong resonance of the homeland are reinforced by users both in comments and reviews. In figure 5.3.8, this sensation of being at home is highlighted by the reviewer who praises the suitability of the place for everyday meals, thus attributing consumer satisfaction to the mundane value of the service. By conveying attachment to her/his physical home and country of origin via the affect verb 'senti'/'felt', feelings of belonging and the co-construction of the value of home recreation abroad are exercised.

Figure 5.3.8
'Comeria aqui todos os dias. Me senti no Brasil, na cozinha da minha casa. Tudo muito saboroso!'
[*I would eat here every day. I felt in Brazil, in the kitchen of my house. All very flavoursome!*]

In line with the above examples, drawing on Brazilian culinary 'value' and 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003) can build a net of circulating meanings abroad and reach a wide portion of one's audience. However, the subjective character of authenticity plays a part. As the significance of different aspects of Brazilian cuisine vary among audiences, 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003) also gets negotiated online. We can take Brazilian pizzas as an example. A highlighted marker of authenticity in Brazilian pizzas, and thus key to the recreation of home for many, is the presence of a specific cream cheese known in Brazil as Catupiry, its brand name. Widely used on pizzas and other recipes in Brazil and not readily available in London (see Queiroz, 2015; LVC, 2019), the cream cheese's popularity means that pizza entrepreneurs have their own recipes and make it from scratch in order to serve it abroad. With that in mind, the quest for "home-like" catupiry cream cheese abroad is clear among users (see Vignolles and Pichon, 2014). In figure 5.3.9, triggered by a stuffed crust pizza picture, User1 directly summons User2 and User3 to see the Brazilian pizza advertised. User2 then confirms seeing a related video but questions the logic of any pizza without filling (note 'qual o ponto?'/'what is the point?'). User1 then aligns with User2 by implying pizza 'has to have' filling. The obviousness of this statement is implied by the subsequent interjection 'po'/'duh' and the English code-switch 'full catupiry', implying that catupiry to the maximum is, in fact, User1's concept of filling. In a humorous take on her/his friends' conversation, User3 suggests dipping their pizzas in catupiry, the implication being they care more about catupiry than the pizza itself. User2 then expresses disbelief in the possibility of "real" catupiry

outside Brazil, even without having tried the product, suggesting the least one can expect is a stuffed crust. The points raised are then clarified by the company, who in a different thread, informs customers that their crusts can be stuffed with both cheese and catupiry.

Figure 5.3.9
'**User1:** User2 User3
Likes: Company and User2

> **User2:** Tinha visto o vídeo mas não sei se tem recheio dentro... se não tiver, qual o ponto?
> [*Seen the video but do not know if it has filling inside… if it does not, what is the point?*]
> Likes: Company
>
> **User1:** User2 tem que ter po, full catupiry
> [User2 *it has to have it duh*, *full catupiry*]
> Likes: Company
>
> **User3:** Não é mais fácil vcs comprarem um pote de catupiry e colocar pizza dentro?
> [*Isn't it easier you both buying a jar of catupiry and put pizza inside?*]
> Likes: Company and User2
>
> **User2:** Pra mim tanto faz tanto fez que nem catupiry como do Brasil eh..... mas tipo, borda de pizza pra eu comer tem que ser recheada.....
> [*For me it makes no difference cause is not even catupiry like the one from Brazil..... but like, for me to eat pizza crust it has to be filled.....*]
> Likes: Company

Company: Sim tem recheio dentro também catupiry ou queijo
[*Yes there is filling inside as well, catupiry or cheese*]
Loves: User4'

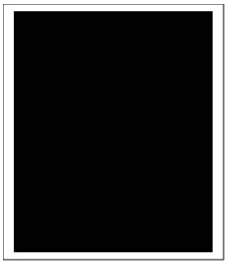
Through acts of collaborative stance-taking (see Jaworski and Thurlow, 2009, pp.198-199) online, users seek and negotiate pizza Brazilianness abroad, therefore co-constructing the self and product authenticity. By using the platform to discuss emergent matters, users express levels of expectations about Brazilian food spaces. They also simultaneously and indirectly address overhearing companies by code and topic, who can then respond should they wish. Such conversations on idealised products can involve context collapse, as overhearers, other than the companies, can join to add or clarify points to fellow users. In figure 5.3.10 below, User2, apparently unacquainted with User1, contributes to a comment thread under a post to reassure User1 of the product's quality.

Figure 5.3.10
'**User1:** Se for catupiry mesmo eu compro 5 de uma so vez...kkkkk
[*If it is really catupiry I will buy 5 at once...hahahahaha*]
Likes: Company
[...]
User2: User1 o Catupiry é delicioso e as pizzas nem se fala. Vc não vai se arrepender
😋😋😋😋

[*User1 the Catupiry is delicious and not to mention the pizzas. U are not going to regret it* 😋😋😋😋]
Likes: Company and User3
Loves: Company member of staff'

Spaces of collective belonging and recreation of home cater for the diverse Brazilian audience present in London (Brightwell, 2012a). As previous research has shown (see Frangella, 2010, p.34; Kubal et al., 2011; Martins Junior, 2020, p.5), since the early 2000s, the flow of Brazilian migration to the UK has diversified. Brazilians from Central and Northeast Brazil, as well as those already migrating since the 1980s and 1990s, from Southern and South-eastern Brazil, have also started to move to the UK. This created a rich landscape for nostalgia marketing and for a variety of ways to express Brazilianness to compatriots. Against this backdrop, authenticity can be constructed via the marketisation of assumed collective feelings and is not necessarily primarily tailored to the "other". Furthermore, this diversity of Brazilians in London also allows for specific cultural references based on translocal experiences, as opposed to home experiences. As Brightwell (2012a, pp.61-62) reminds us, Brazilians often refer to regionality when identifying each other within Brazil. With that in mind, the need to define oneself broadly as Brazilian abroad only emerges with translocal trajectories, as reassessments of the self between encounters with other Brazilians and expectations of the "host" society take place. According to previous research (see Sheringham, 2010), mundane spaces such as food spaces create opportunities for social networking and interactions in which identity and belonging can be reworked, a process which does not exclude bonding to the local context. Online (promotional) spaces also provide such opportunities abroad (see Schrooten, 2012), and this emerges in the discourse of companies as well as their audiences. In figure 5.3.11, the company humorously equates food habits/origins with Brazilian states' populations in Portuguese, before switching back to bilingual 'positive politeness' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.67) to deliver the phatic element of the post (i.e. greetings and promotional hashtags). The post refers to the fact that 'pão de queijo', a typical cheese bread, is often thought of as being 'Mineiro' (i.e. from Minas Gerais state) whilst 'chimarrão', a typical tea, is largely known to be drunk by Gaúchos (i.e. people from Rio Grande do Sul state). The photo complements lexical meanings by semiotically describing the cultural items (see Bhatia, 2004, pp.64-65), conveying their idealised value by placing these in the foreground against a faded background with highlighted texture (i.e. high saturation) (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.171).

Figure 5.3.11



'PÃO DE QUEIJO com CHIMARRÃO ou MINEIRO com GAÚCHO. [*CHEESE BREAD with MATE TEA or MINEIRO with GAÚCHO*.] —-Bom dia!!! Good morning!! #paodequeijo #tchetapas #itstchetime #tchefoods**'** (Tchê Tapas, 2019)

According to the interviewed company director, when producing their social media content, such references are playful ways to bring these cultural aspects together and attract the public. As I looked for the contextual relevance that brought figure 5.3.11 into existence, I commented on how the post relates to the producer's sense of space:

> Interviewer: What is interesting is that you are aware of this, you would not make this connection with the [Brazilian] states if this inter-relation [did not exist].
>
> Interviewee: [Did not exist][75], of course, uh-huh. No, really here is a mix of all people from Brazil.[76] (IND5)

Following this, regionality abroad emerges as a marker of self-authenticity translocally and is mediated and negotiated between online and offline encounters. This is also noticeable in consumer discourse. In figure 5.3.12, User1 comments under a post displaying meat cuts which was posted by a steakhouse inspired by Gaúcho culture. By using Portuguese, and expressions known to be used by Gaúchos such as 'tche' and 'tri legal', User1 moves towards the company and aligns with their identity performance. Through the informal expression "tchê", previously explained (section 5.2.2), the user implies "mateship". "Tri legal", a regional expression which attributes "extra coolness" to the subject of the sentence, literally meaning "three times cool", where the prefix "tri" works as an intensifier for the adjective "legal/cool", further reinforces the friendliness implied (see Plotkin, 2013).

Figure 5.3.12
'TEM QUE VIR ABRIR UM RODIZIO AQUI PRA [...] [city name] TCHE .....VAI SER TRI LEGAL
Likes: Company'
[*YOU MUST COME AND OPEN A RODIZIO HERE TOWARDS* […] [*city name*] *MATE .....IT WILL BE SUPER COOL*]

Given the positive tone implied by the comment, and alignment further confirmed by the company's "reaction", capitalisation seems to have been used here as an emotive intensifier (see Danesi, 2016, pp.274-277), as opposed to expressing aggressiveness, as often suggested by guides of netiquette (see Yus, 2011, p.234). Even though it is generally accepted that capitalisation works in a negative light online, users also approach it from a positive angle, taking advantage of the intensifier and emphatic potential of capital letters (see McCulloch, 2019, chapter 4). Also, as indexed by the adverb 'aqui'/'here', User1 places her/himself in a city other than the company's location and projects an idealised reality in which such a steakhouse would be available there via the future tense 'vai'/'will'. This points to communication primarily designed for sociality, as opposed to explicit product

[75] In this instance, brackets around the same words indicate simultaneous speech.
[76] Interviewer: Mas o interessante é que você tem essa consciência, você não faria essa relação com os estados se essa inter-relação [não existisse].
Interviewee: [Não existisse], claro, aham. Não, aqui realmente, é uma mistura de todos os públicos assim do Brasil.

evaluation. It is made possible by the platform's reach as it mediates virtual encounters with shades of Brazilianness constructed abroad. Furthermore, the global reach of the platform also allows for lived translocal experiences and memories to be re-accessed. In figure 5.3.13, User1 comments under a company cover picture update in which the façade of the building is displayed.

Figure 5.3.13
'**User1:** Já fui muitoo,..lugar top..saudades enorme de londres
[*I went loads,..top place..miss london enormously*][77]
Loves: Company

> **Company:** Muito obrigado, User1. Volte logo!
> [*Thank you very much, User1. Come back soon!*]
> Likes: User1'

As the user sees the new cover picture, memories of the place connecting the user to lived London experiences are triggered. Presumably in another country, or at least not in London, the user makes use of the platform to perform the translocal self by expressing the significance of the space in her/his time in London (note 'saudades'/'miss'). On the one hand, the past tense 'fui muitoo'/'went loads' may suggest that the actual physical space once served as a portal to home for User1, perhaps as a resource which played a part in reconfiguration processes abroad (see Ahmed, 2000, p.79). On the other hand, the platform, at a later date, bridges the user back to memorable aspects of translocal experiences, maintaining and reinforcing the work on translocal belonging that comes with mobility in a globalised world (see Sheringham, 2010; Taylor and Pitman, 2020, pp.195-196). Following this, levels of reconfiguration of oneself in relation to home and the world are triggered and can be exercised both on and offline, and attachments are created to the multitude of global and local cultural shades which permeate one's 'sense of place' (Massey, 1991).

In globalised contexts, world views can blend over time as each other's repertoires meet in long-term cross-cultural conviviality, through both travel and in the places one resides. The London borough of Brent, where two of the interviewed companies are located, is known to have a significant presence of Brazilians and thus Brazilian commerce (see Evans et al., 2007; 2015; McIlwaine et al., 2011, p.14; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016, p.17; McIlwaine and Evans, 2018, p.6). The area is not, however, predominantly populated by Brazilians, who, as with other residents born outside the UK, live in various locations (see Vertovec, 2007, pp.1041-1042). Other Latin Americans, Indian, Irish, and Afro-Caribbean residents are also known to have a presence in the area (Office for National Statistics, 2011; Capital West London, 2019; One Dome, 2020; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016, p.17). Following this, a significant amount of cross-cultural conviviality and thus cultural blending and competencies take place

[77] Note that the word "top" is already part of the Brazilian informal lexicon, used to compliment something and/or to mean good quality (Guimarães et al., 2018).

over time (see Nava, 2002; Vertovec, 2007). In line with this, attachments to an array of available repertoires become possible, allowing authenticity to be constructed in relation to Brazilianness, but also globality. This means authenticity in relation to Brazilianness is not necessarily a constant performance, since global senses of place (Massey, 1991) can inhabit both companies' and users' discourses. The director of Tchê Tapas translates this feeling as she elaborates on the company identity:

> inside the café and outside, you don't see any flags. […] I wanted to allow for a totally open identity for whoever wanted to enter, try out… Entering, the person would know it was a Brazilian café, but otherwise, I wanted to let it be totally open to any nation, any ethnicity […] we are in an area that has many Brazilians and that already has many Brazilian businesses[78] (IND5)

She also explains that the idea was not to make it a themed place, as people from other nations might feel a 'certain shyness when entering a space which is of a specific culture because they do not know what they will encounter'[79] (IND5). Indeed, as the director explained, much of their weekday clientele are non-Brazilian working professionals going about their daily tasks, so the exaggeration of difference may not be suitable for the purpose intended for the space. As Kelly-Holmes (2016) points out, the 'salience of country of origin as an advertising appeal' started to be questioned in the '*postnational* marketplace' (p.S53, emphasis in original). This sense of empathy for the diversity of ways people may engage with and feel about cultural spaces takes 'the local and the global' as 'meaningful parameters' for action (Kytölä, 2016, p.371). This also relates to the performance of cosmopolitanism in consumption spaces and will be approached from that angle later in this chapter. Moreover, the blend of global repertoires in audiences' identity performance as a result of moving around the globe, and the memory work involved in such processes (see Torabian and Arai, 2016), has also stood out. According to one of the interviewed directors, 'a lot of people travel or have been to Brazil or have a Brazilian friend'[80] and 'people who spent some time in Brazil […] come to offset their nostalgia' (IND2).[81] Such feelings extend into online interactions, as in figure 5.3.14, where User1 invites User2 to visit a restaurant following memories of lived experiences in South America. The excitement about the visit is performed via indirect stance-taking in granting the experience a place in their '"to do"' list. Additionally, the mental verb 'reminded' works as a memory trigger, whilst the positive evaluation of the South American trip is expressed through the word 'adventure'.

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[78] aqui dentro do café e lá fora, você não vê bandeira nenhuma. [...] eu quis deixar uma identidade totalmente aberta pra quem quisesse entrar, provar... Entrando, a pessoa ia saber que era um café brasileiro, mas se não, eu queria deixar totalmente aberto pra qualquer nação, qualquer etnia [...] a gente tá numa área que tem muitos brasileiros e já tem vários comércios brasileiros

[79] certa timidez ao entrar num espaço que é de uma cultura específica porque não sabe o que vai encontrar

[80] muita gente viaja ou foi pro Brasil ou tem amigo brasileiro

[81] gente que já passou um tempo no Brasil [...] vem matar a saudade.

Figure 5.3.14
[In reply to a post displaying a cachaça cocktail]
'User1: User2 here's a place to put on our "to do" list! Reminded me of our South America adventure'.
Likes: Company

This points to the strong significance of food and mobility in relation to globalisation in creating senses of affiliation and identity (Inglis and Gimlin, 2009, p.8), and indeed the role of language in reworking and maintaining personal attachments. In relation to the role of food spaces in a globalised society, familiarity seems to play a key part in how audiences seek experiences. As examples in this section suggest, such spaces allow for the reworking of moments stored in one's memory bank, be they in relation to home or cross-cultural encounters (see Ahmed, 2000; Molz, 2007; Vignolles and Pichon, 2014; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015).

5.3.2 Cross-cultural Mediations

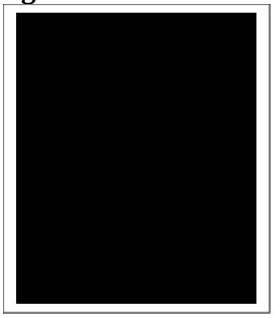
As the previous section has shown, cultural promotional spaces can serve as an arena for the co-construction of self and company authenticity in relation to home, world, and belonging for those away from the homeland or with cross-cultural experiences. Another role played by cultural spaces of consumption in globalised contexts is that of providing a break from boredom, a portal to excitement and/or to the new (see Cook et al.,1999; Molz, 2007), where both the familiar and unfamiliar can play a role. Below, I explore the language behaviour observed in relation to company and consumer authentication work in this context.

Constructing authenticity in the cultural food sector entails the mediation of shades of cultural difference. This is a significant element of conveying uniqueness and memorability as it fulfils some of the emotional expectations and gratifications that consumers may seek when choosing to deviate from their everyday and domestic routines through practices such as eating out (see Karrebæk and Maegaard, 2017; Warde and Martens, 2000, pp.42-55, 191-211). As expressed by the underlined text in the following review 'My first time to have lunch on my birthday... The kind of food is interesting... I love ❤️ it....!', experiential value is posited in the new, occasion, and classificatory difference. Accordingly, such mediations are part of brands' but also of consumers' own authentication processes.

A significant aspect of communication emergent in the discourse of companies in this respect was the insertion of Portuguese words into primarily English posts. This is a form of claim of 'ontology' which, through the use of national language, adds shades of foreignness to discourse and thus real as opposed to derived existence (see Coupland, 2003, p.418; Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.36-37). In figure 5.3.15, the insertion of the Portuguese words 'petisco' and 'fazendeiros' plays a specific role in the company's authentication, even if not readily understood by all readers. Inserting these differs in function to providing translation equivalents or paraphrases, consider '3 petiscos (Brazilian tapas)' (Made in Brasil,

2017) or ‘Picanha, our signature cut’ in the post below. The primary purpose of word insertions is not to provide explicit informative content (i.e. literal meaning: “appetizer” and “farmers”), but to perform a symbolic function in which authenticity connotations can prevail. This does not imply however an absence of encapsulated informative content, but a fragmented way of disseminating meaning whilst maintaining the desired connotations. Considering other elements of discourse, such as the connection between the name Fazenda and the reference to potential consumers as ‘Fazendeiros’, the visual clue to a ‘petisco’, and the URL to the ‘petiscos’ menu, audiences can pick up hints to interpretation depending on their knowledge and repeated exposure. Unlike printed advertising, social media advertising enjoys freedom of streaming frequency and choice of channels in which to publish information. This means that target audiences may make sense, or not, of terms with repeated exposure and, should they wish, follow alternative routes of understanding (e.g. links to menus or blogs) when these are provided.

Figure 5.3.15



‘Are you joining us for post-work Petiscos, Fazendeiros?
We can't go wrong with our Bauru Sandwich (with Picanha, our signature cut)...
Full Petiscos menu > https://buff.ly/2x5Ohty
#Edinburgh’ (Fazenda, 2018)

Complex discursive constructions such as figure 5.3.15 imply a negotiation between the author’s intentions, the audience’s assumed linguistic knowledge, and local market forces. In relation to word insertions, the company’s managing director provides helpful insights into their language production rationale:

> we always wanted to educate people and we think that education comes with authenticity as well […] so that is why we wanted to use words that we could. The “fazendeiros” thing is something that I don’t remember really how it happened. […] one of the guests said that they were “Fazendeiros” or something like that and then we just took it and I think, you know, people took it on board and the result has been positive in that sense, you know? But that is the positive example. And the example that didn’t work and we actually changed it very recently is the “petiscos”. […] So, the word “fazendeiros” was easy for them because you got “Fazenda/fazendeiros” and […] I think people got it. But “petiscos”, people didn’t get it, so we realised that just by changing the name to “bar menu” instead of “petiscos” the sales went up a considerable amount. So, that clearly says something, you know, it says that people really don’t see it like that. We still use sometimes the word “petiscos” because we want to educate […] if you actually go to the blog, if you see a few other posts, you can see that when we talk about the “petiscos” we also say what it is (CH2)

Following this, we can see that insertions simultaneously contribute towards business goals, construction of authenticity, and cultural mediation. On the one hand, these can go through testing and can persist, as in the case of ‘fazendeiros’, where word association to the company name and

pronounceability may have had an effect on audience reception. On the other hand, these may also require further consideration, as with the use of 'petisco', which perhaps due to a lack of linguistic reference had to be adapted to balance educational and marketing purposes. Furthermore, platforms may lend themselves to different facets of identity performance, and meaning is not necessarily encapsulated at one point of dissemination. As highlighted in the above excerpt, their blog expands on topics introduced on Facebook (see Fazenda, 2018 for example). Indeed, as observed during analysis and exemplified in chapter 6 (illustration 7), intertextual links are present and take different forms, leading to articles, own websites, videos, or cultural content that companies wish to communicate.

With this in mind, it is worth noting that whilst analysis has focused primarily on discourses emergent on Facebook Pages, observation and interviews have ensured a fuller grasp of contexts of production and ensured interpretation did not happen in isolation. Overall, word insertions appear to be chosen with reliance on the following: established term popularity (e.g. "obrigado"/"thank you", "caipirinha"); industry/cultural/gastronomic term relevance (e.g. "petiscos"/"appetizer", "churrascaria"/"steakhouse", "passadores"/"meat carvers"); and visual descriptions of inserted Portuguese words hinting at/reinforcing meaning. In line with this, the use of Portuguese within English sentences carries a combination of symbolic and informational value relevant to the communication context (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020, pp.39-40;), being both descriptive of product (thus instrumental) and open to receivers to combine old and new knowledge into their projections of service experiences (e.g. new, adventurous). Indeed, some of these terms are used by commenters and reviewers, indicating a possible growth in the terms' popularity abroad. In figure 5.3.16, the reviewer makes use of the term 'rodizio', displaying her/his knowledge on the subject. This epistemic stance is further worked by addressing any potential reader with the generic pronoun 'you', suggesting a specific interest in this kind of experience is shared by some, thus universalising the experience (see Scheibman, 2007, p.120).

Figure 5.3.16
'Amazing food. Great place. Recommended! If you like Rodizio, you'll love this place!'

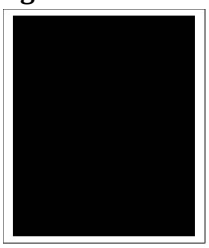
Accordingly, communication within promotional spaces can reflect the social context in which it arises, as inevitably it resonates with the consumers and the market of its time (see Nava, 2002, p.83). In resorting to platforms' affordances to express themselves, interactants draw on perceived levels of shared circulating knowledge in the social and economic context in which they operate. Hence, as a way to enact authenticity, forms of impersonal bilingualism such as word insertions are intrinsic to advertising practices (Santello, 2016, pp.14-15). Within social media, they are part of multi-layered identity co-constructions, and in this sense, speak to societal multilingualism, by extending the public records of translingual practices and thus shaping public discourse (see Androutsopoulos, 2007, pp.226-227; Gopal et al., 2013, p.6).

Authenticity is also enacted through explicit cultural knowledge mediation in brand posts, often by highlighting aspects of Brazilian 'historicity' or cultural 'value' (Coupland, 2003). These are seen in the form of translations (e.g. dish names) and paraphrases (e.g. cultural/dish components or relevance). Posts can also be dedicated to making an aspect of Brazilian culture explicitly visible to a "host" audience. Indeed, commenting on topics usually posted online, Little Brazil's director explains:

> Sometimes when we post, say about feijoada, I try to put something… where pão de queijo comes from, and then a bit of the history too[82] (IND2)

This is exemplified in figure 5.3.17, in which 'historicity', 'ontology', and 'value' (Coupland, 2003) are drawn on at various levels. The company provides the consumer with information about the regional provenance of the cheese bread (note 'originally'), making use of the national language to introduce the snack 'Pão De Queijo', as well as a paraphrasing, in which the snack is evaluated as 'authentic'. This is further reinforced by visuals, the use of the national flag emoji and the attribution (indexed by the expression 'due to') of flavour to a typical ingredient in Brazilian culinary, 'tapioca flour.' Capitalisation is then used to draw the readers' attention to their product's health properties (i.e. gluten free), enacting their expertise of market demands and gastronomic knowledge.

Figure 5.3.17



'Pão De Queijo (Authentic Brazilian Cheese Bread) is a typical brazilian snack, originally from the states Minas Gerais and Goiás. It is tasty as it gets, since they are so flavorful due to the cheese and the tapioca flour. It is also GLUTEN FREE!' (Little Brazil, 2018)

As further confirmed by this company director, the choice of using English only in posts is based on the assumed knowledge gap between the producer and their imagined audience (see Lanstyák and Heltai's, 2012, p.113). On the decision-making processes for writing bilingually or monolingually, the entrepreneur explained that although they often write bilingual posts, English is used alone where information is implicit to Brazilians to avoid lengthy texts where possible.

> for them [non-Brazilians] […] it is a curiosity, and we [Brazilians] already know it, since for ever, right? There is no need to explain, but for them it is interesting[83] (IND2)

In line with this, explicit culture mediation is performed through conscious choice of language and subject. As previous research has shown (Lu and Fine, 1995; Wood and Muñoz, 2007), authenticity plays a significant role in the experience of consumers and involves negotiations between tradition and

[82] Às vezes quando faz uma postagem, tipo de feijoada, eu tento colocar alguma coisa... de onde veio o pão de queijo, aí coloca um pouquinho da história também

[83] pra eles [...] é uma curiosidade, e a gente já conhece, desde sempre, né? Não precisa explicar, mas pra eles é interessante

consumer knowledge. Through their services and discourses, companies construct their own versions of authenticity to engage with their audiences. However, in a globalised context, the plurality of possible audiences means that assessments and subjective constructions of authenticity are also diverse. In order to fulfil their sense of experience, audiences seem to base judgement on their own and/or others' cultural knowledge. In figure 5.3.18, triggered by a "pão de queijo" post, User1 resorts to User2's knowledge to validate her/his assessment. In the comment, the snack is evaluated as 'quality', whilst someone else's country-of-origin knowledge is called for to supplement judgement. This suggests User1 has encountered Brazilian culture through food, however not by physically being in Brazil.

Figure 5.3.18
[Post with description and image of pão de queijo]
'**User1:** User2 do they legit make these in Brazil? They are quality'

Here, the reach and affordances of the platform enable User1 to: visually revisit and reassess experiential attachments resulting from a translocal cultural (food) encounter; and resort to another's translocal knowledge (acquaintance) as part of this process in an attempt to authenticate personal knowledge as well as the "other" (i.e. pronoun 'they', adjective 'legit'). This comment encapsulates meanings of interest to both commenters and companies and is thus part of a process in which value is co-constructed. These processes of authentication and culture mediation are varied across the corpus. For instance, in the following review, 'The best place in London to try caipirinha, the signature drink of Brazil!', the reviewer displays personal knowledge of the drink whilst paraphrasing its cultural value. Or, as in figure 5.3.19, which displays comments under a post in which a steakhouse humorously highlights their all-you-can-eat meat skewers and food buffet, asking the audience what else could one ask for, the implication being that is hard to think of a better feast.

Figure 5.3.19
[Post displaying food feast, questioning the audience what else one could ask for]
'**User1:** Liver and onions?
Laughs: User2
User2: Patty n chips
Likes: User1
[…]
User3: Grilled pineapple with cinnamon?'

In response, User1 suggests the more locally traditional dish 'liver and onions' (Simply Beef & Lamb, 2020). User2 "laughs" in reply and follows with suggesting the battered and deep-fried mash potato snack found in fish and chips shops (Barrie, 2017; Wikipedia, 2020), 'patty n chips'. In doing so, users find room in the virtual space, supposedly in a teasing manner, to co-construct the value of the experience implied by the post as well as that of their opinion. The point is that by replying to the post referring to dishes which deviate from the post's rhetorical intentions, disalignment with the post and alignment with each other (thus self-authentication) is performed. Similarly, in a separate comment,

User3 enquires about the 'grilled pineapple with cinnamon' by means of rhetorical question, pointing out that the menu lacks the item. With the knowledge that Brazilian steakhouses are known to offer this dish at the end of the rodízio experience, the implication is that authenticity in this context is not complete without the item. Based on personal knowledge built about what is known (i.e. consensus) to make up a rodízio experience, User3 contests the company's authenticity whilst performing her/his foodie identity via a claim of culinary capital (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015). This points to the current fluid state of marketing under online circumstances, as user-generated content becomes part of the circuit of information advertised online. As Kelly-Holmes (2020) suggests, the participation of the working consumer in online marketing contexts implies a switch in the dynamics of marketing in relation to the production of value and the control of message flow. Moreover, assumed consensus about food practices and traditions are not free from personal standards. Figure 5.3.20 displays a comment under a post in which dissatisfaction about the feijoada is expressed. The user refers to ingredients of a 'true' feijoada without revealing what these are, possibly inferring the dish lacks some of the commonly seen traditional ingredients derived from pork, such as smoked sausages, tail, and ears (see Castanho and Bianchi, 2016, p.164). The commenter's expectations, it seems, are that Brazilians, likely the primary audience of the comment given the use of Portuguese and lack of explicitness, are assumed to have enough of this group knowledge to benefit from the comment.

Figure 5.3.20
'A feijoada ñ me surpreendeu, poderia ter sido melhor como por exemplo colocando os ingredientes de uma verdadeira feijoada'
[*The feijoada didn't impress me, it could have been better as for example by putting in the ingredients of a true feijoada*]

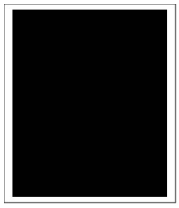
The absence of remarkability implied by the commenter could be explained by the fact that some Brazilian restaurants abroad may choose not to include all traditional ingredients in feijoadas as it may not match the general palate of their audiences. Although, even in Brazil, consumers differ as to what ingredients they welcome in a feijoada and traditional styles vary across states (Folha de S.Paulo, 2000). The trouble for the cultural entrepreneur in a superdiverse context therefore is to find a balance between the plurality of their audiences, their palates, and expectations. As figures 5.3.19 and 5.3.20 suggest, whilst consumers work with companies in the co-construction of authenticity by providing feedback/opinions, they simultaneously draw on assumed in- and out-group knowledge and feelings which allow the performance of their own identities. As highlighted by one of the entrepreneurs interviewed, the subjectivity of taste means that authenticity is always going to be questioned at some level:

> we will always have this, and it is normal, we understand it […] I do know that even when they come and they give us some kind of feedback […] it's [based] just on their personal background or experience (CH2)

Indeed, as authenticity is dependent on subject interpretations, universal consensus among audiences is unlikely. Companies accommodate the provision of cultural (food) encounters according to their audiences, and in this sense, accounting for different palates can shape discourses of culture mediation. Where a level of mismatch between country-of-origin food practices and local gastronomic habits and concepts exist, companies use creative strategies to convey empathy for their audience's assumed food palate. In figure 5.3.21, the company positively evaluates chicken hearts as a 'delicacy' and 'true Brazilian', thus highlighting their cultural 'value' (Coupland 2003, p.419) in Brazil, where they are a common element in barbecues (Toledo, 2018). It then proceeds to pose a rhetorical question inferring that trying these is in itself an act of bravery. By doing so, the company draws on knowledge of a (non-Brazilian) audience's palate to create empathy with its target audience whilst also expressing the potential excitement implied by the novelty of the dish (see Molz, 2007, pp.84-86).

Figure 5.3.21

'Chicken hearts marinated in wine and garlic - a true Brazilian delicacy. Are you brave enough to try them??' (Viva Brazil Cardiff, 2018)



As it is widely eaten in Brazil, the delicacy will therefore mentally connect many to home. For those unacquainted, it can symbolise an encounter with difference. As cultural gastronomic practices differ, consumers go through personal negotiations whilst processing levels of (un)familiarity. The less frequent flavours are across cultures, the more the omnivore's paradox seems to come into play (Fischler, 1988; Hayes, 2009, p.220). This simultaneous attraction and reluctance to embodying difference stems from different cultural norms of food habits and thus absorption across different cultures. In this sense for instance, eating practices involving bugs, snails, frogs, or offal (e.g. haggis or chicken hearts) can be potential objects of desire, curiosity, or rejection at different levels, sometimes simultaneously, depending on gastronomic practices with which consumers are acquainted (see Molz, 2007; Hayes, 2009; Miller, 2019). We see these feelings triggered by cultural food encounters being reinforced and performed in the virtual space.

Figure 5.3.22 displays various threads under a post expressing this multitude of experiences with chicken hearts. Thread one points to rejection, as indexed by exclamation 'pfui' by User1. The company then playfully shows empathy through the expression 'not a fan' and grinning emoji, acknowledging possible reactions to the dish. The informal mood of the interaction is confirmed by User1's "laugh" "reaction", managing face by smiling and evaluating other food as 'delicious'. In thread two, User2

calls the attention of User3 to the chicken hearts image, which User3 proceeds to evaluate the look of as "not too bad". The omnivore paradox is then further indexed by the introduction of a counterpoint through the conjunction 'but' (Myers, 2010, p.111) which reveals the conditional hypothetical knowledge (i.e. 'if I knew') of the composition of the dish as a factor for refraining from eating it. In thread three, curiosity seems to motivate the intersubjective stance-taking, as acquaintances evaluate an experience with chicken hearts. User4 takes a stance towards User5 in relation to the daring aspect of the experience. This is indexed by the astonishment implied by both User4's affirmative exclamations, where certainty is indexed by the mental verbs 'bet' and 'knew'. At the same time, the combination of the interjection 'awww' (Urban Dictionary, 2020) with the confused emoji on the second exclamation shows both empathy and perhaps personal hesitance. User5 then corroborates the acquaintance's stance by evidencing her/his excitement for the experience through the statement of previous menu research. Finally, thread four evaluates the delicacy as 'different' and 'nice', expressing both strangeness and enjoyment in the user's appreciative stance. The company then shares its culinary capital with the user, taking an expert stance through declarative present-tense statements (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015; Vásquez, 2014, pp.47-48) in relation to possible reactions and taste development.

Figure 5.3.22

[Triggered by a post displaying chicken hearts]
Thread 1
'**User1:** Pfui!
Company: Not a fan, then 😀
Laughs: User1
User1: No! But everything else is delicious 🙂'
Thread 2
'**User2:** User3 Chicken hearts!
[…]
User3: They don't look too bad but if I knew what I was eating I'd be like nooooo'
Thread 3
'**User4:** User5 bet you ate these!
Likes: Company
User5: I did 😀
Likes: Company
Wows: User4
User4: awww man i knew you woulda!!! 😕
Likes: Company and User5
User5: I knew it was on the menu before I even went. I ate everything, hearts were tasty!
Likes: Company and User4'
Thread 4
'**User6:** Tried them 1st time I came in, was different but nice
Likes: Company
Company: Not a bad reaction for a first, User6 🙂 For some they are a bit of an acquired taste indeed!'

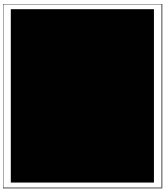
These examples point to everyday cosmopolitan negotiations that take place within consumption spaces as individuals move beyond their own cultural boundaries (see Molz, 2011). They reflect processes of encounters with difference through which familiarity can be built (see Hayes, 2009, p.220). As pointed out by one of the interviewed entrepreneurs 'in general people who try it [chicken hearts], they have it, they like it. […] Is the little adventure bit.' (CH2). Furthermore, familiarity can be found through the new, as the following comment suggests:

Figure 5.3.23
'The things you do to impress your kids - actually mind over matter. Quite tasty in a black pudding type way'.

Accordingly, in describing her/his motivation in the duties of parenthood to overcome any hesitation about trying the delicacy and the subsequent rationalisation (indexed by 'mind over matter') of the experience into something familiar (i.e. 'black pudding'), the commenter takes a stance on family roles and personal boundaries.

As thus far explored in this chapter, posts present food and culture in consideration of potential audience reception of concepts. In this process, fusing and pairing local and global cultural references can also enact brand identity. Most often in English and within chains, but also among independent companies, posts merging cross-cultural (food) signs involve combining international circulating (food) knowledge. In this way, food expression can behave in a similar manner to language, in the sense that style will vary contextually and primarily in response to an (imagined) audience (Bell, 1984). In figure 5.3.24, instead of offering the cinnamon pineapple alone, often served by steakhouses in Brazil at the end of the barbecue, the company chooses to offer pineapple with gammon side by side at their UK establishments. Similar to how the bilingual posts may imply 'positive politeness' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.67) by recognising possible recipients through language choices, pairing cultural signs addresses more than one possible audience simultaneously.

Figure 5.3.24



'We think this is the perfect pairing...
Presunto com Abacaxi | Smokey gammon served with sweet pineapple
Our Food menu > https://buff.ly/2oLnBrl
#Edinburgh #Meat' (Fazenda, 2018)

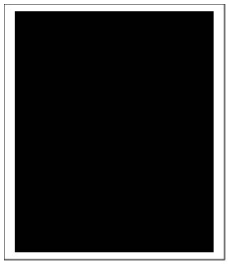
Through the mental verb 'think' and the evaluative adjective 'perfect', the company performs their culinary capital (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015). This is then followed by the use of Portuguese for naming the dish and provision of translation, which portrays their cultural knowledge and character

simultaneously. By pairing the classic Brazilian pineapple with gammon, fusion of British and Brazilian concepts take place. In this way, their service complies with the Brazilian practice of serving pineapple at the end of a barbecue, but also hints at the flavour connections between Brazilian foodways and their customers' palate. This maximises communication reach by appealing to various layers of the audience, who can have the items alone or paired, depending on their cultural experience. As the company's managing director puts it:

> pineapple is the Brazilian thing, gammon and pineapple is the British thing, so […] we said look "Let's bring the favourites, let's bring the things that people can relate to.", because if I just bring pineapple, maybe is not gonna be the same, people would like to have both […] just trying to make it, you know, more palatable, more approachable (CH2)

Whilst flavours can be paired in the process of culture mediation, these can also be fused into the creation of new flavour combinations. An instance of this is the Brasilian Mess dessert in figure 5.3.25, posted across the company's Instagram and Facebook pages from a food and travel blogger account, as acknowledged through the @name mention. The fusion of cultural signs is indexed by naming the dish as Brasilian Mess, alluding to the traditional English dessert Eton Mess (OED, 2020c), and thus contextualising the creation within a traditional British imaginary. Tropical imaginaries are then multimodally signposted by resorting to the native South American passion fruit (OED, 2020d), highlighted by its yellow colour and seeds on the top of the dessert. This is then further, and ontologically (i.e. Brasil with 's'), tied to Brazil through the written sign 'Welcome to Brasil' in the background.

Figure 5.3.25



'We are loving this pic from @gezentianne of our Brasilian Mess pudding - Brasilian x England, pudding edition!' (Cabana, 2017)

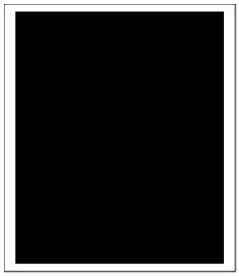
In this way, tropical connotations and Brazilian authenticity are recontextualised in the "host" mindset through the fusion of country-of-origin and local circulating knowledge, reflecting processes of glocalization (see Robertson, 1995). In combination with personal knowledge, shades of cultural expressions can take readers mentally to their own chosen imaginaries. As a reviewer of a London establishment puts it:

Figure 5.3.26
'Saw on the outside how colourful and vibrant it was so I obviously have to get a Caipirinha. Best decision all day, possibly the best one I've ever had. Will come back again when in London again.'

In the above review, excitement is implied by the connection between "colour", "vibrancy", and "caipirinha", epistemically reinforced by the adverb 'obviously'. The experience is then further positively evaluated through the adjective 'best', and cross-cultural encounter is then attributed to London. In this way, the virtual space circulates translocal imaginaries and '*small stories*' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, pp.116-117, emphasis in original) as part of discourses of everyday global lifestyles. This reflects daily practices of cosmopolitanism within consumption which include cultural encounters as an ordinary feature of modern life in western societies (Molz, 2011, p.35). Circulating imaginaries can produce international familiarisation which, whilst also shaped by marketing and personal interpretations, can produce a stance of openness towards divergent imagined worlds (see Urry, 1995, pp.166-167).

In this way, considering the global market and mobility flows in superdiverse contexts, the normality of cross-cultural encounters can turn difference into another mundane feature of everyday consumption errands (see Nava, 2002, p.94; Poblete, 2018, pp.41-42). Figure 5.3.27 draws on mundane urban food consumption imaginaries in the "host" society. It displays a burrito with nachos and guacamole at the centre of the post. The snack, traditionally connected to Mexican imaginaries (OED, 2020e), is routinely consumed in British urban society as part of snack selections sold in many supermarkets, pubs, and coffee shops. By flavouring the snack with salt cured beef, a common ingredient in Brazilian gastronomy, flavours of Brazil are embedded within the restaurant's cosmopolitan gastronomic practices. In combination with the popular drink guaraná in the background of the picture and bilingual expression, which ensures audiences are widely embraced and acknowledged, connotations of Brazilianness and globality are expressed through the picture. Hence, as global cultural aspects are normalised as part of the brand's identity performance, authenticity is here constructed with nuances of cosmopolitanism, as opposed to Brazilianness only. This reflects the different shades of cosmopolitan processes (Canagarajah, 2013, pp.195-196) which can emerge in promotional discourse. Whilst the 'Brasilian Mess' dessert in figure 5.3.25 draws perhaps on more stable local and global imaginaries to glocalise the product, in figure 5.3.27, meaning-making processes are based on fluid concepts already encapsulated in the daily routine of potential consumers (see Nava, 2002, p.94).

Figure 5.3.27



'Weekend special!
Little Brazil's salt cured beef burrito, served with nachos and homemade guacamole.
Especial do fim de semana!
Burrito de carne do sol, servido com nachos e guacamole caseiro.' (Little Brazil, 2017)

Furthermore, this normalisation of difference means that cultural spaces can promote both comfort and break from boredom simultaneously in modern society. As such, encounters with the familiar and/or the unfamiliar become scattered aspects of consumption experiences. When in cultural food spaces, customers can tailor experiences by opting for commonly eaten dishes/snacks in the "host" society (e.g. paninis, croissants, cooked breakfasts), recognisable flavours in elements of Brazilian dishes (e.g. meat and vegetables), or new flavours displayed in the menu. As the following interview excerpt points out:

> there are people [non-Brazilians] that come here who only eat picanha and say "Today I will have something different." [...] They eat a moqueca, then, get addicted to moqueca, then keep coming back.[84] (IND2)

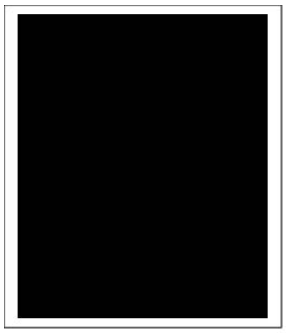
Reference is made here to the potential of picanha (the signature meat cut of Brazil, cap of rump) to provide comfort to the palate of non-Brazilian customers since its flavour is comparable to something with which they are familiar (i.e. steak). At the same time, moqueca (a coconut milk and seafood-based stew) is referred to as a marker of difference, representing an element of novelty in the menu, which seems quite palatable to the wider audience. This points to a level of conviviality with cultural food spaces and the embeddedness of these spaces in the mundane imaginary of consumers, who whilst dealing with the 'omnivore's paradox' (Fischler, 1988, p.277) allow themselves to see cultural spaces as a route for difference, sameness, and incorporation of new flavours to their gastronomic repertoire (see Hayes, 2009). This came across in another interview with the director of a north London café with a Monday to Friday clientele made up primarily of non-Brazilians working in the area. As she puts it, customers 'super adapted to our culture'[85] and 'they always eat the Brazilian set meals and the plate is cleared!' (IND5).[86] This points to an environment where cultural encounters are part of the routine of

[84] tem gente que vem aqui que só come picanha e fala "Hoje vou comer uma coisa diferente." [...] Come uma moqueca, aí, vicia na moqueca, aí fica voltando.
[85] super adaptaram a nossa cultura
[86] eles sempre comem os PFs brasileiros e o prato sai limpinho!

many. This ability to fulfil several roles in the lives of local consumers not only reflects the café's construction of authenticity but also that of the neighbourhood and customers (see Zukin, 2008).

The global sense of space in which businesses operate allows them to express their identities in fluid ways. Global and local connotations can emerge through food but also through daily activities. Figure 5.3.28 recontextualises the popular Irish St. Patrick's Day celebration into the company's Brazilian forró dance nights. In doing so, the central London independent company joins the local excitement about the occasion by celebrating it according to mainstream fashion in the service industry, that is, on the 17th March and drawing discursively on established Irish cultural imaginaries, such as stew, whiskey, Guinness, Colcannon mash, and shamrocks (see Blommaert and Varis, 2013, pp.153-156).

Figure 5.3.28



'Tomorrow at Tia Maria London
[text on image] – 17 March 2017
Party like the Irish @ Forró do Tia Maria
Live Forró
With Zéu Azevedo trio
Featuring Carol Sant'Anna
Special of the Day
Homemade Irish Beef, Whiskey & Guinness Stew with Colcannon Mash
[…]' (Tia Maria, 2017)

This sense of urban globality seems to add elasticity to how agency and opportunity are experienced by the companies. Just as globalisation processes involve the linking and creation of (new) localities (Robertson, 1995, p.35), so do the marketing processes in a given society. Whilst the Brazilian cultural credentials are indeed forms of authentication across the data analysed (see Lu and Fine, 1995; Frost, 2011), the normalisation of difference also allows a number of repertoires to be explored in brand performance. In this way, brand performances in the "host" society can be as hybrid as one's target audience. As highlighted by one interviewee:

> Interviewee: our target audience is everyone, of course the Brazilian community as well, you know? For instance, I celebrate everything. Father's Day in Brazil? I do Father's Day here. Father's Day here in England? I do it as well. Carnival? I do it. [...] St Patrick's Day? I do it as well. England match is on? I transmit it. A Brazilian match?
>
> Interviewer: But it is also that identity thing of being here as well, isn't it? You go on doing the two things, you don't stay only in one world.

Interviewee: Of course.[87] (IND3)

This versatile positioning by companies (see Simi and Matusitz, 2017) often emerges through the variety of language and semiotic behaviours encountered in the dataset. Although not representative in terms of population, these are in themselves indicators of the linguistic and cultural diversity present in the UK, and of the globalised aspects of the lives of its population. As figure 5.3.29 shows, from translocal attachments (examples 1 and 2) to mundane consumption activities such as gathering with friends (example 3), spaces occupy different triggers in the memory of consumers which are exercised in the virtual space.

Figure 5.3.29

Source	**Text**
Posts' comments	[Post sharing pictures of a birthday event] 1. '**User1:** Cantinho londrino/brasileiro delicioso!!!!!' [*Delicious little London/Brazilian corner!!!!!*]
Reviews	2. 'The [neighbourhood name] branch replicates the dining experience I had experienced in Brazil a few years back. I strongly recommend it.'
Posts' comments	[Post displaying a meat carver and skewer] 3. '**User1:** Omg i love it already!!!! [country name] has something like this called carnival. User2 pls organise girls dinner date'

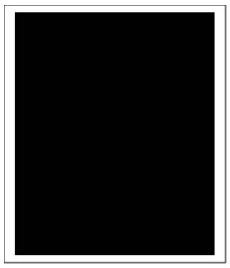
As previously mentioned and exemplified, typical imaginaries are part of authentication processes of cultural spaces abroad. However, the intertwined state of global consumption practices, experiences of conviviality, and the affordances of platforms result in other forms of discursive authentication which merit attention and were therefore addressed within this chapter. Before proceeding to the last section of this chapter, I return to explore performances drawing on typical cultural imaginaries other than food. Within Pages, these were found to include cultural icons (e.g. Camren Miranda, Pelé, Ayrton Senna) and celebrities (e.g. singers, footballers, actors/actresses), famous locations (e.g. Rio, Amazon), and traditions (e.g. dance/music, festivals, festivities, beliefs).

A recurrent reference across Pages' data is to Brazilian Carnival and Carmen Miranda. In figure 5.3.30, the restaurant aligns its New Year's Eve event with the internationally known Brazilian Carnival tradition, recontextualising it into local festivities. It does so by drawing on local New Year's Eve knowledge, which often welcomes a celebratory mood, including outdoor celebrations, fireworks, festivals, and fancy dress (see Clare, 2019). Even though the Brazilian Carnival usually happens in February, recontextualising it allows the company to construct their authenticity by means of

[87] Interviewee: nossa target audience é todo mundo, claro que a comunidade brasileira também, entendeu? Por exemplo, eu comemoro tudo. É dia dos pais no Brasil? Faço o dia dos pais aqui. É dia dos pais aqui na Inglaterra? Faço também. É carnaval? Faço. [...] St. Patrick's Day? Faço também. Tem jogo da Inglaterra? Transmito. É jogo do Brasil?
Interviewer: Mas é aquela coisa da identidade de tá aqui também, né? Tu vai fazendo as duas coisas, não fica só num mundo.
Interviewee: Claro.

overlapping inclinations in traditions in both countries, such as fancy dress, the festival and celebratory mood. Celebratory and glamorous imaginaries are evoked by the golden and shiny mask in the centre of the post. The elevated formality of the occasion is indexed by lexical choice in 'masquerade ball' and dress code requirements, which condition participation and portray exclusivity. Finally, further connections to Brazilian imaginaries are achieved via reference to 'caipirinha' and 'samba dancers', and this is followed by a mutual New Year's custom between countries: 'fizz at midnight'.

Figure 5.3.30



'Who is joining us tonight for NYE Brazilian Carnival Style tonight?'
[text on flyer] – New Year's Eve Carnival
31st December 8pm – 1am
Brazilian Masquerade Ball with live latin music and Samba dancers
£39.95 per person
Including Caipirinha, canapés, Full Rodizio with gourmet salad island, seafood, chocolate fountain with strawberries and a glass of fizz at midnight
Dress code: Mask and a fancy dress required
Find out more: www.vivabrazilrestaurants.com/nye'
(Viva Brazil Cardiff, 2016)

In this way, the post recontextualises and adapts aspects of the Brazilian festival to the local festivity mindset of New Year's Eve. Identity work in superdiverse contexts can thus involve blending just "enough" authenticating emblematic features with non-emblematic features (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.156). Furthermore, cultural signs are also transposed into English words via creative use of language. In figure 5.3.31, the use of the word 'caipirinha' with the expression 'o'clock' relies on the popularity of the Brazilian drink, and thus its suitability to start enjoying a Bank Holiday weekend. Furthermore, as noted during observation, the company's homophone-based hashtag '#CarmenGetIt', coupled with its Rio de Janeiro and Carmen Miranda inspired decoration, plays on the similarity of sound with the informal expression "Come and get it". The pun, which is repeatedly used over time across posts by the company, invites customers to experience its service whilst incorporating appreciation for its products and cultural identity. It encapsulates an invitation for product consumption in English and a reminder and/or hint at the company's Rio de Janeiro identity through the connection to the Brazilian symbol Carmen Miranda.[88] In this process, the hashtag in English entertains the reader through the mental work involved in deciphering meaning (Myers, 1994, p.43) whilst creating a memorable brand identity which carries both local (i.e. English language) and country-of-origin

[88] Carmen Miranda was a Portuguese born and Brazilian raised (Rio de Janeiro) entertainer who became a celebrity in Brazil in the 1930's and later internationally, being the highest paid entertainer in Hollywood in 1946. She became a reference in Brazilian culture and played an important role in the internationalisation of Brazilian and Latin cultural aspects and perceptions (see Guenter, 2019).

connotations (i.e. Rio and Carmen Miranda). However, the authenticity effect potential is not universal. Whilst it is reasonable to assume Rio de Janeiro to be a strong international connector to Brazilian imaginaries, knowledge about Carmen Miranda may vary across audiences in the UK. This means the reference can invoke foreign, home, and/or global connotations depending on the receiver, and may serve an educational purpose over repeated exposure.

Figure 5.3.31
'Bank Holiday weekend
We're declaring it #CaipirinhaOclock early
#Brixton #CarmenGetIt
[food picture]' (Carioca, 2018)

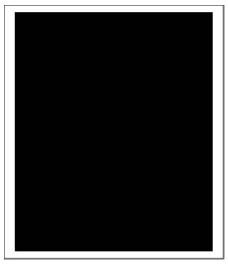
5.3.3 (Trans)Local Social and Mundane Expressions

The fragmented nature of social media advertising means that cultural signs in posts are merged at various levels. This is because message streaming can be tailored situationally in a less costly and more fluid format than, say, some printed or TV advertisements, where messages are more ephemeral since once released these do not remain as a record on the web for constant interaction (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020, p.43). The turn to engagement that came with social media use meant that brands could react to fresh circulating knowledge, as well as their sets of representational imaginaries, creating room to perform their identity beyond pre-established cultural signs. As the move analysis has shown (see chapter 4), within this Facebook dataset, building credentials, phatic and convivial discourse were significantly present compared to traditional promotional moves such as offering discounts or using pressure tactics. This indicates that the companies' identity work fluctuates between the construction of a commercial/expert and a personal/intimate face (see Hower, 2018). Communication includes, in this way, taking a stance towards current social and mundane issues, and thus relating to the local space and information flow. This does not imply a non-engagement by brands with various facets of identity construction prior to social media. However, the spontaneity allowed by social media was felt to play a role in the production of the discourses analysed. It highlights, in this way, how new communication systems and affordances can influence the flow of language and topic production, which in turn, become part of circulating knowledges.

Companies draw on matters of social and mundane character to communicate with their audience. Topics include environmental, political, lifestyle, and mundane activities according to their situational and offline relevance (e.g. the local weather or current news or issues). Figure 5.3.32, a post by a central London chain, expresses solidarity with the death of Brazilian politician and human rights activist Marielle Franco less than a week after she was killed for her political stand on March 14th 2018 in Brazil (see BBC, 2020). By thanking Marielle in Portuguese, providing an image of Marielle, and choosing to communicate solidarity with those familiar with the Portuguese word and/or the context of her story, the company takes a stance towards the minority issues her life and death raised (see Lima and Oliveira,

2019). Brand authenticity, in this instance, is constructed through taking a social stance, as the company mediates awareness of relevant Brazilian issues which are also global, since the topic received international attention.

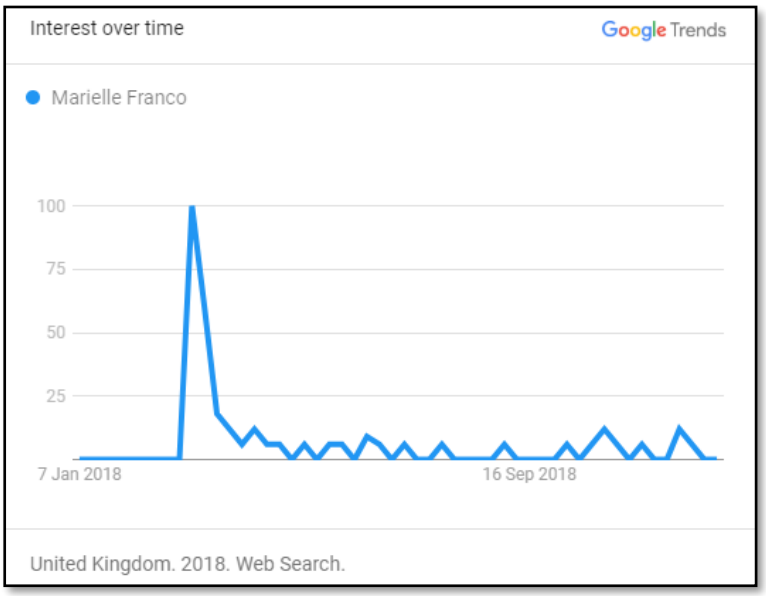
Figure 5.3.32



'Obrigado por tudo 🌺 #MariellePresente' (Temakinho, 2018) [*Thanks for everything* 🌺 *#MariellePresent*]

Audience alignment here is detected through "like", "crying" and "love" "reactions". Looking further into the image's semiotics, green palm branches on the background and the hibiscus flower can be interpreted as expressions of tropical/nature associations, and grief/respect respectively. We can therefore see potential symbolic interpretations by association of signs in this post to activism, grief, and nature/Brazil (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp.105-106; Painter et al., 2013, p.35). Additionally, the hashtag #MariellePresente reinforces their stance, given its relevance at the time when it reached the world Twitter Trending Topics (Lima and Oliveira, 2019, paragraph 9). Indeed, a search in Google Trends (illustration 5 below) shows UK web searches on Marielle Franco at its highest point during March 2018 (Google Trends, n.d.). Hence, whilst stance-taking resorted to a variety of signs as afforded by the medium, including lexical, semiotic, and CMC specific, it also resorted to local repercussions of the politician's death for instantaneous company identity performance.

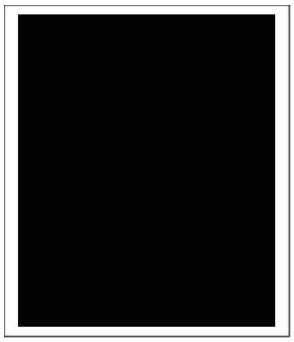
Illustration 5: Google Trends Search



(Google Trends, n.d.)

Local matters of global relevance also find their way into social media promotional Pages. Figure 5.3.33 displays a message in support of those affected by the 2017 Manchester Arena suicide attack (see Dodd et al., 2017) a day after the event. By doing so, the company takes a supportive stance towards local social matters whilst reinforcing its transnational belonging. This is indexed semiotically by the merging of the Union Flag and the Brazilian flag in the background, which allows attachment to both nations to be portrayed simultaneously. As with the previous example, alignment from the audience is expressed via "like", "crying" and "love" "reactions".

Figure 5.3.33



'Terrible news to hear, our prayers and thoughts are with all those affected.' (Made in Brasil, 2017)

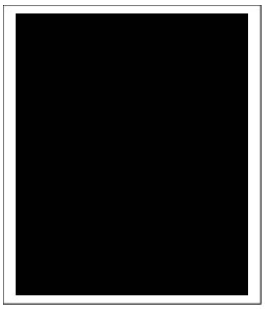
Though sporadic, interactions in relation to social issues trending at the time were also noted. Figure 5.3.34 displays replies from users to a post in which the company enquires about how customers feel about them going plastic straw free. Both users reply in alignment with the company's environmental ethos. Whilst User2 expresses complete approval, User1 specifically takes an epistemic stance by evaluating paper straws as a 'great'/'ótima' alternative.

Figure 5.3.34
'User1: Os paper straw são uma ótima alternativa…
[*Paper straws are a great alternative…*]
User2: Aprovado'
[*Approved*]

By enquiring about the customers' opinions on the matter, the company actively retrieves information of interest from the customers. In doing so, it takes the co-construction of value resulting from user-generated content a step further, highlighting the platform's role in the dynamics of promotional discourse. Leaving the realm of events of major current relevance, companies also authenticate themselves by taking a stance towards mundane matters and long-lasting memories. These are often ingrained in the everyday concerns of social life and include references to the weather, popular culture, and lifestyle. Among these, the connection between specific drinks (e.g. wines, cocktails, beers), and certain foods (e.g. meat, snacks), seasons, experiences, and lifestyles stood out throughout. In figure 5.3.35, the company takes an affective stance towards the summery weather. Coupled with an outside picture, lexical items refer positively to the sun and customers through the metaphorical greeting 'hello

sunshine' reinforced by emojis. It then informally (i.e. 'pop in') invites customers for sparkling wine and tea, perhaps with some light-hearted and uncompromised disbelief on the latter (indexed by the teacup message inferring one may rather drink prosecco than tea), signposting the symbolic value carried by the sparkling wine in relation to the weather (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp.105-109). The interrobang ('?!') followed by the winking emoji, however, allows excitement to be expressed towards any of the actions a customer may choose to take, given that tea and sparkling wines are well-established practices in the British social context.

Figure 5.3.35



'23 July ·
Hello sunshine! 🌞🙂
We are open as usual until 10:30 PM!
Pop in for Buck's Fizz... prosecco... Champagne... tea?! 😉
#glutenfree #breakfast #champagne #wines #cocktail #caipirinha #tapas #alacarte #homemade #fitzrovia #fitzroysquare #healthydish #seafood
[text on image] – There's too much tea in my prosecco' (Brazilian Gourmet, 2018)

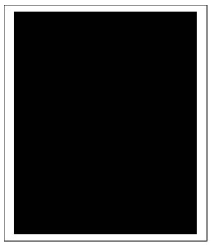
Based on momentaneous influences (e.g. weather), the central London company moves towards an imagined state of mind of their audience, drawing on mundane habits and ways of passing time fitting for the weather, in other words, '*miniature* aspects of life' (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.144, emphasis in original). Different aspects of identity are then intertwined in the post as follows: 1. A professional identity, by stating opening times, and descriptors of location, service, and product through hashtags; 2. A partially casual or 'disinterested' identity (Hower, 2018), for instance, by the use of phatic 'hello' and weather talk, mirroring non-promotional communication style, where social intentions supersede product sales intentions; and 3. An everyday globalised identity, by referring to (trans)local habits such as sparkling wine consumption, at the time, strongly associated with UK drinking practices (see Blair, 2017). This social potential of the platform can also mean that users will talk about mundane topics which permeate their lifestyles. In figure 5.3.36, in reply to a post that poses the question of how long a wine bottle should last once opened, with a link to an article on the subject, users take a humorous stance on the matter:

Figure 5.3.36
'**User1:** It will keep for about 3 days more than enough time to drink it in 😀
User2: Until the headache the next day fades away of course! 😉
User3: Not long in our house haha'

In the above comments, users seem to reply primarily for sociability and social engagement, as opposed to service or commercial related enquiries. By doing so, they find space to construct their own authenticity with regards to personal lifestyles within the promotional space. User1 shares her/his stance via a present tense declarative statement on how long to keep a bottle of wine open, thus performing her/his culinary capital. Furthermore, by referring to a 'headache' and consumption speed ('not long'), reinforced through smileys as well as the laugh expression 'haha', User2 and 3 figuratively express cheerful and fun feelings for the practice of alcohol consumption.

A final mundane expression afforded by the platform within promotional discourse is related to popular artists, dates, or events with which companies wish to be associated. In figure 5.3.37, the Camden Town based company pays respect to the late British singer Amy Winehouse by posting a reminder of how much she is missed on the anniversary of her passing. By referring to her as 'our Camden Queen', taking an affective stance through the verb 'missing', and relying on consensus about the singer and the neighbourhood, their connection and belonging to Camden Town and its alternative scene is reinforced.

Figure 5.3.37



[text on image] – '7 years missing our Camden Queen
14 September 1983 - 23 July 2011
AMY JADE WINEHOUSE' (Made In Brasil, 2018)

Indeed, according to an interview by the company (Made In Brasil, 2011) with Record, a Brazilian TV channel, losing Amy Winehouse meant a feeling of desolation for Camden Town, as the singer was the face of the area. Moreover, the company also has fond memories of the singer, as she used to visit the venue (Made In Brasil, 2019). This sense of belonging to Camden Town is also expressed during the interview with this company director:

> A community of which I consider myself [part] is here, the Camden Town community, you know? So, everything that Camden has on I take part in, I work together […] Camden has this alternative side that I also try to sort of allow for the bar as well.[89] (IND3)

He further explains that their local efforts in Camden include getting involved with local projects such as the Music Walk of Fame (2020), meeting with the bar community, and taking an alternative approach to venue activities (e.g. bringing less fashionable Brazilian music styles). This points to the on- and offline interconnected state of processes of authentication that permeates promotional discourse. As

[89] Uma comunidade que eu me considero é a comunidade aqui de Camden Town, sabe? Então, tudo que tem aqui em Camden eu faço parte, eu trabalho junto [...] Camden tem esse lado alternativo que eu também tento meio que deixar esse lado do bar também.

with individuals' identity performance, social media affordances mean that companies can perform the self situationally and perhaps more spontaneously. Against this backdrop, online and offline performances work in complementary ways. Online authentication becomes therefore a layer in a broader web of authentication processes performed routinely by companies.

5.4 Conclusion

The present chapter has documented and interpreted the many ways in which companies and consumers construct authenticity within UK Facebook Brazilian food Pages. It has also detailed and exemplified authentication as a process of constant negotiation through collaborative discursive actions. By concentrating on communication practices that emerge 'around food' (Riley and Paugh, 2019, p.145), it has explored relevant themes highlighted by both the digital and face-to-face data. First, it looked at the discursive construction of authenticity through company names and the relevance of personal trajectories for the creation of brand concepts (section 5.2). It then proceeded to explore three broad relevant themes connecting identity and language use to cultural consumption spaces and consumer authentication processes (section 5.3). On the one hand, it brought to the fore how senses of home, world, and belonging are enacted by both companies and consumers from the perspective of mobility and translocal lived experiences. On the other hand, it explored how processes of cross-cultural conviviality are enacted and expressed through promotional discourse from a perspective of consumption practices in the everyday cosmopolitan and globalised society. Finally, it explored how (trans)local mundane and social expressions emerge as part of everyday authentication processes of companies and consumers. In drawing on circulating knowledges relevant to the imagined receivers of content, available communicative resources, as well as authenticity dimensions of 'historicity', 'ontology', 'value', and 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003), markers of '*enoughness*' (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.146, emphasis in original) in discourse came to the fore. In this sense, together with the use of Portuguese, authenticity dimensions such as 'value' and 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003) seemed effective resources to encapsulate circulating group shared knowledge and thus sense of community. The use of 'historicity' and 'ontology' (Coupland, 2003), on the other hand, seemed often connected with making culture explicit internationally.

By taking into account the diversity of language use, stances taken in discourse, and the affordances of the medium, the role of language and digital technology in conveying global senses of self and place (see Massey, 1991) and in transforming the dynamics of advertising (Kelly-Holmes, 2020) have come to the fore. This has been enriched by valuable insights taken from interviews with Brazilian entrepreneurs, from observation, and further desktop research and the consulted literature. Facebook, by virtue of its mechanisms and architecture, serves as a tool for the display, mediation, and co-

construction of authenticities and values. Authenticities, in this mindset, do not revolve around being one thing or another, but creating constant realignments with contextual emergent identity positionings (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.156). In light of language use, SNSs also contribute to public collaborative knowledge creation and dissemination. Social media plays further roles in how discourse is produced, social errands are carried out, and how professional and personal processes are materialised. Such matters will come to the fore in the next chapter, as Facebook Pages' affordances are explored in relation to those involved in communication.

Chapter 6: Getting Things Done: Affordances, Practices, and Language

Having explored the process of authentication emergent through language expression in connection to food spaces and discursive identity performance in chapter 5, I now turn my attention to the relationship between all parties (both companies and consumers) and the digital as a communication tool, expanding into the relevance of digital affordances in everyday meaning-making processes and as a means of getting things done. In this mindset, this chapter digs deeper into how the platform features and structure relate to the production of meaning entwined with processes of brand-/self-presentation and the creation of rapid senses of connectivity. Drawing from observation, analytical insights from chapter 4, and the perspective of interviewed entrepreneurs, this chapter will be presented in two sections before moving into its concluding remarks.

To contextualise the focus of this chapter on the relationship between everyday online communication practices and actions, I will start by briefly introducing my approach in making sense of social media communicative repertoires and affordances. In the second section of this chapter, I will explore affordances encapsulated within Pages' "about" section, posts and "reactions", comments, and reviews. Whilst also exploring the significance of digital means within the context of text producers (i.e. cultural food sector), this section will discuss affordances of the platform in relation to language production, sociality and relationship processes. Though the overall line of enquiry emerges from Facebook Pages, it is also contextually entwined with other online spaces and activities. Therefore, attention was given to how new technologies interact across communication processes, and the resulting insights are foregrounded as relevant.

6.1 Setting the Scene: Social Media Affordances and the Mundane

The discussion in this chapter concentrates on everyday communication behaviours, i.e. 'on-the-ground micropractices', emergent alongside 'major social formations' in order to zoom into aspects of social life '*as we know it'* (Blommaert, 2018, p.66, emphasis in original). The phatic and multidirectional character of social media allows for attention to be paid to forms of everyday (inter)action which configure scattered shared senses of reality. This configuration is seen through the 'ultra-fast sharing of sentiments, instant reactions to events, images and symbols' and displays of 'ideological agreement not necessarily accompanied by full ideological endorsement' (Blommaert, 2017, p.5). Blommaert (2017; 2018, pp.63-69, emphasis in original) refers to the idea of '*light'* groups or communities to describe the emergent malleable and spontaneous connectivity present in the online-offline nexus – e.g. the networked and topical groupness implied by Facebook "friending", and brand-focused, lifestyle, or foodie interactions. Focusing on these "light" practices, as opposed to "thick" perceived social

organisation categories (e.g. social class, race), allows an exploration of the elements which form and complement the complex structure of globalised sociocultural fields (see Coupland, 2003, pp.425-426).

To connect Pages' features to everyday practices and their social significance, the concept of "affordance" becomes a useful thinking tool. The concept originated in ecological psychology through the work of Gibson (1977) in an effort to describe how animals perceive their environments in relation to the possibilities for action it affords, i.e. "affordances". Gibson pointed to the ways in which species perceive the environment according to its possibilities in combination with its properties (e.g. the surfaces, colours, and layouts) as opposed to the properties in isolation (see Gibson, 1977, pp.67-68). Later applied and adapted across disciplines, including design (e.g. Norman, 1988) and technology studies (e.g. Hutchby, 2001), the concept of affordance, as described by Bucher and Helmond (2017, p.235), usually refers to 'what material artifacts such as media technologies allow people to do'.[90]

The idea that an affordance goes beyond a mere feature is well exemplified by Bucher and Helmond (2017, pp.233-235). They describe the public reaction to Twitter's decision in 2015 to replace the "favourite" button (represented by a star) with the more market-aligned "like" button (represented by a heart) to ease newcomers' experience with the platform. At the time, some users were disappointed with the change in meaning implied by the act of "liking" a tweet, as opposed to "favouriting" it, which points to how users related to the star button according to its affordance of expressing their feelings. This also foregrounds how humans and technologies interact and the possible influences technologies may have over users' communication decision-making and actions. Still, since users draw on resources to achieve their own communicative goals, this is a process that varies according to users (e.g. end-users vs advertiser vs researcher). Technology, in this light, does not fully control the ways in which humans behave (Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.2-3). For example, consider the existence of scams within consumer review sites, as opposed to their intended service/product evaluation and assessment function (Vásquez, 2014, p.140); the embedding of threads (Perez, 2017), the @ sign, and retweets in Twitter's design following users' practices (boyd et al., 2010, cited in Lomborg, 2011, p.67); or, in the context of this thesis, the creative repurposing of the photo albums of a Facebook Page as the menu section of a company. In this case, as the interviewed director explained, as she worked her way through the platform structure when creating the Page, she decided to use the albums to display the menu:

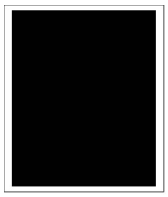
> on Facebook, to create the page […] it said something about having to do it in pdf […] so I thought the best way was to make the albums. And I have put on the top there this message […] "Go to albums, the menu will be there!"[91] (IND4)

[90] Also see Bucher and Helmond (2017) for an overview of its conceptualisation across disciplines.

[91] no Facebook, pra criar a página [...] falava alguma coisa que tinha que fazer em pdf [...] então eu achei a melhor forma fazer os albunzinhos. E eu coloquei lá em cima essa mensagem [...] "Vai em álbuns que o menu vai tá lá!"

By adding captions with product descriptions to the album pictures (e.g. flavours, prices) and by "pinning a post" (Facebook, 2019d) on the timeline directing users to the menu (see figure 6.1.1 below), the director repurposed a platform affordance to fit the company's communicative needs (see Hutchby, 2001, p.449). Indeed, as previous research (Norman, 1988, pp.29-31; Barton and Lee, 2013, p.2; Myers, 2010, p.21) suggests, the relationship between humans and technology can be understood as an interaction between users and technology systems, which whilst mediating people's lives and being appropriated, at times simplifies and at times complicates an intended action.

Figure 6.1.1



[*Notice to all*
Menu will be in Albums
(*Our Pizzas of 33 Flavours*)
Thanks]
(Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2018)

6.2 What Facebook Affords

In this section, I will explore Facebook Pages' affordances and how these relate to language use and communication goals. Given the descriptive and representational character of the "about" section, I will take this as a starting point for discussion by looking at some of its affordances within the context of the platform more generally. This is then followed by those affordances implied in the act of posting, reacting, commenting, and reviewing.[92] These will be discussed in connection with communication practices observed within the Pages, and their significance to the online-offline intertwined state of both individual and professional relationship and sociality processes. The aim is to zoom into the interaction between parties involved and the platform, and the fleeting moments of conviviality and knowledge articulation which build on momentaneous senses of community and connectivity. These scattered communicative actions across Pages fuel a fragmented but nonetheless constant flow of information which can create passing senses of achievement and alignment across superdiverse audiences.

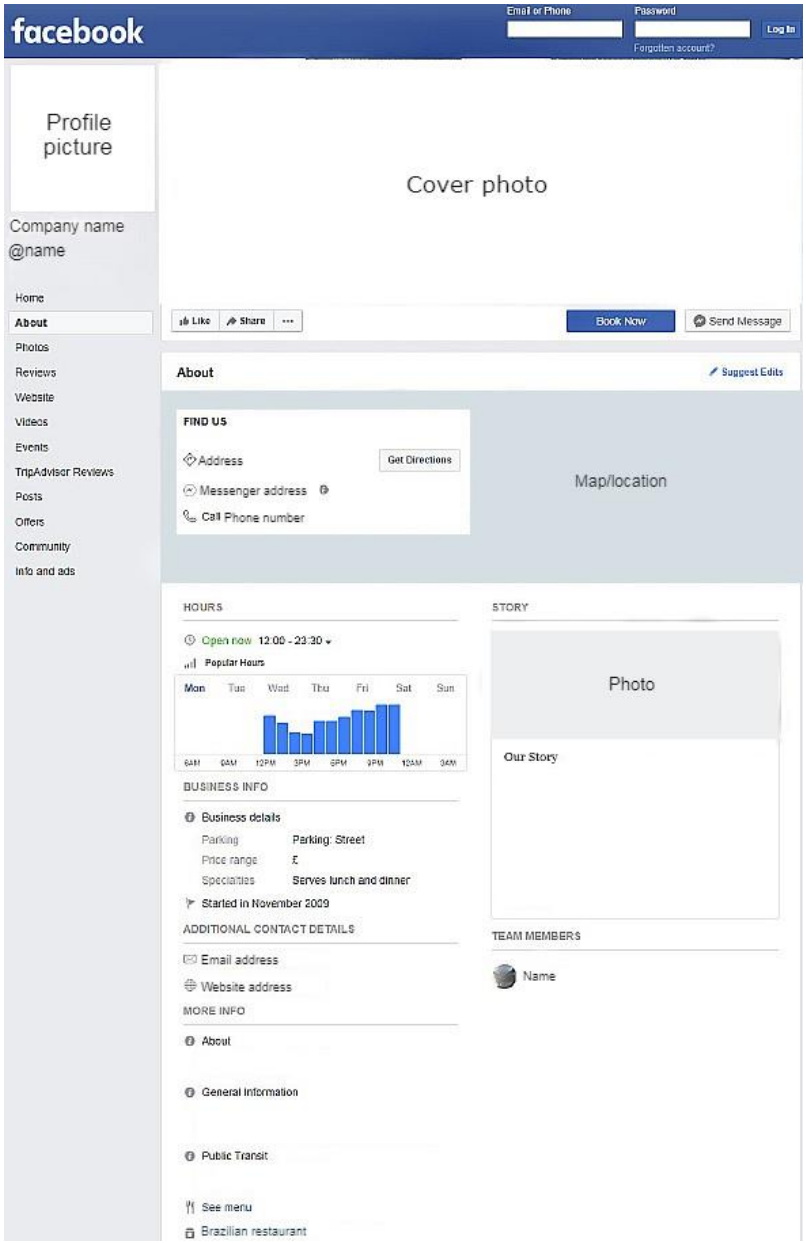
6.2.1 "About" Section

In a similar mindset to Facebook personal profiles, though with business description in mind, Facebook Pages' "about" section (illustration 6) provides a space in which key features of companies' identity are displayed according to the entrepreneur's wish. Upon creation of a Facebook Page from a personal profile – a Facebook Page must be attached to an individual – Page owners (admins) can insert

[92] For an overall description of both technological and social factors influencing CMC discourse, see chapter 4 (section 4.1).

information about their companies (see Facebook, 2020a). These include opening times, business description, contact details, dress code, links to websites/SNSs, as well as a graph with popular service hours. Business profiles can also add a cover photo, include a profile picture, attach documents, point to team members, and have a dedicated section to tell their story should they wish (the representation below illustrates some of these features). As part of the platform structure, some of the practical details displayed in the "about" section such as phone number, address and opening times are also conveniently placed in the "home" section of the company Page and thus save the consumer from having to navigate extensively for information. Additionally, as with personal Facebook profiles, both the profile picture and cover photo (together with their @name and buttons, e.g. "like") move across to other Facebook sections which are clickable from the left-hand side.

Illustration 6: Facebook "About" Section Structure



In relation to affording a brand image, the very ability to display characteristics about the business within the structure of the platform in a reasonably static space means that consumers can, should they wish, extend their knowledge and create an overall picture of the business through social media. In allowing both practical and descriptive information to be displayed within one section, Facebook merges and links to information traditionally encountered on commercial websites across different tabs (e.g. "contact", "menu", "about"/Our Story). Combined with the possibilities of posting content as often as Page admins wish, the interactive character of the platform, and its low/no cost potential, the platform can serve as a one-stop window through which companies display and disseminate information. The relevance of these features is not specifically shaped by their stand-alone properties, as these exist across other technologies (e.g. websites, blogs). It is their reconfiguration into this context that re-signifies these features and thus their affordances (see boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.214). Some of the motivations in deciding to devote attention to Facebook in this research related to the variety of companies present within Facebook. Although some of them were also present in other platforms with varying levels of activity, having a Facebook account was consistent to them all. Furthermore, some companies present on Facebook did not have an active website, which was also intriguing given the assumed importance these have in building a commercial presence (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, p.80; Kaplan, 2020; The Nielsen Company, 2015). This switch in the significance of websites for business to the relevance of being present on SNSs became evident during the interviewing process. Generally, opening a Facebook account (and often an Instagram account) came with the opening of the website at the start of the business. However, for some independent companies, having a social media presence preceded having a website or even replaced it. Nevertheless, a sense of change in the significance across digital tools was often expressed. As an entrepreneur from a chain puts it:

> when we started in 2010, social media […] was already strong in a way, it wasn't as it is today, obviously, but Facebook was the big thing […] And then you had others, but we did not use any others. So, the reality is that we knew that websites were the way to promote yourself. Like, before it was even more website than anything else, yeah? […] It was your id to the world, your face […] So, we did obviously invest money in creating a decent website, but we understood that the old or traditional, let's say, marketing tools and ways of communication were still available, but we never really spent a lot of money on traditional media. […] we knew that social media was the way to amplify word-of-mouth. (CH2)

In this case, interactivity (i.e. WOM) seems to be a driver from the perspective of the entrepreneur. For some independent companies, this aspect, as well as the financial benefits of SNSs, especially when dealing with a limited budget at the start, seemed to outweigh the relevance of a website. In this respect, a director from an independent company explained their rationale for having started with social media as opposed to a website:

> Interviewee: the website was also an extra cost. So, since everyone uses Facebook and Instagram nowadays, so, we thought "No, we will at least be able to use the social media." [...] And we started small, like, with a limited budget and all. So you already know that Facebook

> and Instagram will do the trick, you know? Logically, afterwards is good to have a website. So later over time we set up the website.
>
> Interviewer: [...] in the past the website was the most important thing, wasn't it?
>
> Interviewee: Yes, today there are places that don't have it, do they, that already use the others.[93] (IND2)

The above excerpts point to both social and professional affordances offered by the platform. By highlighting the significance of WOM and the fact that 'everyone uses' the platforms, both excerpts elevate the interactive and thus connective element of social media. Additionally, as expressed by the latter, the financial benefit of using social media platforms for free affords a less complicated entrance for a business into the virtual promotional scene (see Thorson and Rodgers, 2019, pp.3-5; Lomborg, 2011, p.65). This does not imply websites are not considered a significant element of the digital marketing package by the interviewed entrepreneurs, but perhaps, that a transitional realisation of value from one tool to the other is at play. In this light, the older communicative affordance becomes a potential add-on or an investment with less palpable results in the current market. As highlighted by another director from an independent company:

> we've set up everything together, the website, Facebook, and Instagram. [...] However, up until now many people don't know that we have the website, that's funny. [...] I can see how much access I have per month, for instance, and I see that it is extremely low. [...] if I was to open something again today, I would not set up a website. Because it was a cost for me from which I did not see much return. Now, the other bits, you know, which is totally free, you only pay for an Ad if you want, I had much more return.[94] (IND5)

These excerpts suggest technological developments afforded businesses additional paths for communication. It does not mean websites have lost their communicative affordances, but that their value is contextually less relevant for some. Reading beyond pure informational purposes and into business identity construction, social media affordances such as those in Pages' "about" sections and other affordances across the platform provide clues about the communicative intentions of its creators (Yus, 2011, p.118; boyd, 2011, p.43). They allow expressions of just enough hints of the emblematic aspects of identity considered sufficient by the companies to add to their authentication process (see

[93] Interviewee: o website também já era um custo a mais. Então como todo mundo hoje em dia usa Facebook e Instagram, então, a gente pensou "Não, a gente vai conseguir pelo menos usar a social media." [...] E a gente começou pequeno, assim, com um capital limitado e tudo. Então você já sabe que o Facebook e o Instagram vai fazer o serviço, entendeu? Lógico que depois é bom você ter um website. Então depois com tempo a gente colocou o website.
Interviewer: [...] antigamente o website era a coisa mais importante, né?
Interviewee: Sim, hoje tem lugares que não tem, né, que já usa os outros.

[94] a gente abriu tudo junto, o website, o Facebook e o Instagram. [...] Porém, até hoje muitas pessoas não sabem que a gente tem o website, é engraçado. [...] eu consigo ver quantos acessos eu tenho por mês, vamos supor, e eu vejo que é extremamente baixo. [...] se eu fosse abrir alguma coisa de novo hoje eu não abriria um website. Porque foi um custo pra mim que eu não vi muito retorno. Já as outras partes, né, que é totalmente grátis, você só paga por um Ad se você quiser, eu tive muito mais retorno.

Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.146). In contrast to other platform sections which are characterised by the fluidity of new content (e.g. posts and reviews), the "about" section provides a hub for companies' attributes once visited by potential consumers. Within it, companies can manage levels of connection (e.g. team member info, contact channels), establish their point of difference (e.g. type of food and cultural focus), suggest the mood of the space (e.g. dress code, music type, group/family friendly), and thus the desired interpretations and projections of offline experiences. These are then further worked through more fluid daily practices that take place through the management of posts, comments, and reviews. In flow with the blurred dividing lines between physical and virtual realms, these are layered between processes of creation, management, and maintenance of relationships (see Yus, 2011, p.119).

6.2.2 Posts and "Reactions"

Facebook posts are open-ended communicative events firstly expressed by companies through their Pages and then disseminated further through actions by users, companies, and platform mechanisms. Once a company publishes a post, this can be accessed in their Pages or in groups where this may have been shared. Users may also encounter these in their news feed if their friends interact with Pages' content, if they follow the Pages, or are members of groups where the content is shared (see Constine, 2016; Facebook, 2018d; Facebook, 2018e; Metz, 2017).

My analysis of audience design as well as stance-taking has foregrounded the various ways companies and users position themselves with regards to potential recipients. In this sense, the very act of posting in combination with language use in itself affords ways of taking a stance (see Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.88-91). As the analysis suggested, the use of English alone or with deliberate acts of code-switching (e.g. Portuguese words in English sentences) points to a broad target audience which ensures the inclusion of non-Portuguese speakers in its design. English as a main language was highlighted among chains but was also significantly present among independent companies. Indeed, from the companies interviewed, those who used English as their main language had a broad audience in mind. According to the chains interviewed, doing 'everything in English as much as possible'[95] (CH1), and the use of English as 'a company policy' with Portuguese words 'already pre-stated' (CH2) were part of their repertoire. In talking to the entrepreneurs, every business trajectory was different and had an effect on the company's public voice. Factors influencing audience design included personal trajectories, the business size/investment, sociocultural context, and the concept idealised by entrepreneurs. For instance, bigger spaces such as those required for running a steakhouse will also imply the need for a higher flow of customers. In this case, tailoring it narrowly with one group in mind (e.g. Brazilians), as opposed to the wider public, may not fit the market demands and/or the sociocultural context. Indeed,

[95] tudo no máximo em inglês possível

in considering the significant presence of Brazilian footballers playing for Manchester clubs back in 2007, when Bem Brasil's first branch opened, as well as the novelty implied by being the first Brazilian churrascaria in Manchester (Manchester Bars, 2008), the director reflects:

> what [...] made this the most successful restaurant in Manchester, for at least a year or even more, was because the reaction of the public and the football players was instantaneous, was immediate[96] (CH1)

In this case, the size, novelty, situational factors, and publicity implied by the presence of footballers in town influenced the public discourse of the company. Indeed, picking up on this relationship with sports and Brazil, their branches have walls filled with celebrity pictures, and decorations include items such as football jerseys and replicas of Ayrton Senna's helmet. Language choice, in this way, becomes intertwined in a net of cultural, social, and economic factors. These also apply to those companies which choose to communicate mainly in Portuguese. In the case of Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, which started small with a team of two people, the strong focus on Brazilians and thus the use of Portuguese meant securing a connection to the public thought to relate the most with the business. However, as the director explains, plans for expansion entail including English in how they manage their public engagement.

> I write in Portuguese because the audience is Brazilian. […] when I reach the English audience […] I will have to do it in English, of course.[97] (IND4)

Indeed, posts which communicated mainly in Portuguese during analysis pointed to how companies partition their audiences for the purposes of targeting specific audience layers. In this sense, another interesting strategy, mainly deployed by independent companies, was the deliberate delivery of main content in both English and Portuguese to achieve a maximising effect, as in figure 6.2.1.

> **Figure 6.2.1**
> 'We also have Brahma our famous larger draft Brazilian beer! 🍻
> Temos também Brahma chopp bem gelada! 🍻
> [drink picture]' (Little Brazil, 2016)
> [*We also have very cold Brahma draft beer!* 🍻]

As confirmed by this company's director during the interview, the provision of content in both languages is for the purposes of embracing all potential audiences (see Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.67), whilst removing any potential language barriers. Having noticed that sometimes posts like the one above would display Portuguese on top followed by English underneath, I was curious as to understand if there were any underlying reasons. In speaking to the director, I learnt that the order of language

[96] O que [...] fez isso aqui ser durante um ano pelo menos ou até mais, o restaurante de maior sucesso de Manchester, foi porque foi instantâneo, foi imediato, assim, a reação do público e dos jogadores de futebol

[97] eu escrevo em português porque o público é brasileiro. [...] quando eu chegar no público inglês [...] eu vou ter que fazer em inglês, é lógico.

display is sometimes influenced by specific communicative intentions and spaces within the platform. Regarding the language order when writing company posts, he explained:

> In the beginning, it was like this, like, I used to put English and [then] Portuguese […] But I post a lot in Brazilian communities, so sometimes I swap, because since it is going to the Brazilian groups the person then sees it in Portuguese.[98] (IND2)

Following this rationale, language order will match the primary audience in mind of a given post. In choosing to tailor the use of different languages according to intentions to post within Facebook 'groups' (Facebook, 2020b), language code and Facebook affordances of space for the emergence and maintenance of '*light*' communities (Blommaert, 2017, emphasis in original) become evident.[99] Text, in this way, is produced accordingly and moved across the virtual spaces available, which themselves are a result of a level of collective awareness in the first place (i.e. shared interest, concerns, and language abroad). In line with this, linguistic decision-making in creating posts is causally related to the existence of a platform feature (i.e. Facebook groups) as well as to sociocultural awareness (e.g. Brazilians abroad), and feeds into the flow of online actions which create a sense of 'togetherness' (Schrooten, 2012).

This process intertwines perceived worldviews of both content creators and receivers. Translation in light of translanguaging displays processes of bricolage by which successive moments of interculturality and the repertoire of communicators are at play (see Baynham and Lee, 2019, pp.39-40). Indeed, in the above example, although the main content is provided in both languages, these are not literal translations and involve bilingual 'creative and critical meaning-making' (Sato, 2019, p.450). On the one hand, using the pronoun 'our' and evaluating the Brahma beer as 'famous' in English works to make explicit its cultural significance and authenticate the company abroad. This also collectively refers to Brazilians in relation to the "host" audience. Indeed, Brahma, as a cultural credential, also emerges among reviewers, e.g. 'We loved the food, the dessert and the best Brazilian beer (Brahma)', indexing a circuit of value co-production (Kelly-Holmes, 2020, p.43). The Portuguese sentence, on the other hand, highlights the beer is served 'very cold'. In doing so, it signposts Brazilian 'like-mindedness' (see Planchenault, 2010, pp.94-95), reminding the Brazilian audience that the temperature of the beer served by the company aligns with Brazilian expectations, a value also emergent within Portuguese reviews - e.g. 'ceva gelada, boa comida e boa música!' [*cold beer, good food and good music!*]. Highlighting own culture to the in-group abroad therefore allows receivers to connect content to the different sociocultural fields they are familiar with, which may not be directly evident given

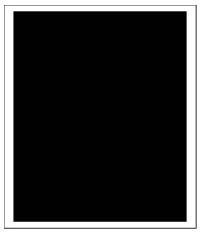
[98] No início, era assim, tipo inglês e português que eu colocava [...] Mas eu coloco muito nas comunidades brasileiras, então às vezes eu inverto, porque como vai nos grupos brasileiros aí a pessoa vê em português.

[99] Groups can be created by individuals or Page admins for various purposes such as exchanging information in Portuguese about events, services, jobs and so on (e.g. Tudo Londres, n.d.; Londres Brasil, n.d.).

emergent sociocultural assumptions that take place abroad (e.g. UK vs Brazil beer temperature). Against this backdrop, the process of making explicit the implicit in a superdiverse context can be seen as two-fold, as distinct languages and nuances are connected to distinct imagined audiences according to different presumed expectations.

Nonetheless, beyond making explicit the implicit abroad, strategies to connect to audiences may also involve less culture centred approaches. In line with the above example, figure 6.2.2 maximises reach by providing content in both languages. However, as opposed to making explicit the implicit to the "host" audience in the English sentence, it resorts to reduction strategies to deal with constraints in communication.

Figure 6.2.2



'Combinação perfeita, Costela Tchê & Antartica Original @tchetapas Perfect combination of Beef Ribs & Beer #itstchetime' (Tchê Tapas, 2017)

As the Brazilian beer brand 'Antartica Original' is likely less often encountered in the UK, but is popular in Brazil, its name is kept in Portuguese but not in English. Under the assumption of lower popularity of the brand in the UK, the English sentence omits the brand and generalises the product as 'beer' instead. Generalising meaning in this way occurs in an effort to promote a connection to the "host" audience by removing linguistic obstacles in the process of alignment with the intended reader. As a risk avoidance strategy, it works to overcome a potential lack of cross-cultural awareness by avoiding confusion (Baker, 2011, pp.23-28). As explained by the director who created the post:

> to someone who is not Brazilian, they may look at this and think that it is a soft drink, a juice, have no idea, so, I tried to generalise what it is, you know, so they can understand.[100] (IND5)

In relation to the platform, the @username in this post suggests this was originally produced with affordances available on Instagram and cross-posted onto Facebook (see Mechanised, 2017). In terms of functionality, the @username, if clicked, will direct the user to the company profile within Instagram but not on Facebook, though its locational preposition function (Barton and Lee, 2013, p.179) remains. Although not all companies publish this way, being able to link platforms (Instagram, 2020) points to the interconnected character of virtual spaces, meaning that communicative decision-making made in the context of one platform is then seen as fit to navigate the wider polymediated space (Madianou,

[100] pra alguém que não é brasileiro, pode olhar isso aqui e pensar que é um refrigerante, que é um suco, não tem noção, então, eu tentei generalizar o que é, né, pra eles poder entender.

2015). This process resonates with Jones and Hafner (2012, p.1) in suggesting that creating 'coherent reading pathways through complex collections of linked texts' is part of the cognition implied by digital literacies.

Similarly, the use of hashtags, whilst deemed fit across different spaces, may also emerge under the influence of affordances of a different platform. Within Facebook and Instagram, hashtags can be clicked and searched in order to filter topics through posted content, though since December 2017, Instagram also allows users to follow hashtags (Instagram from Facebook, 2017; also see Facebook for Media, 2016). Indeed, with reference to how followed hashtags may appear in users feeds when followed, whilst commenting about his use of hashtags, one of the entrepreneurs remarked that on Instagram 'the people who follow that hashtag, they will maybe see if they [accounts followed] post'[101] (IND2), indicating how hashtags seen on Facebook posts can be posted primarily with Instagram's functionalities in mind. Across the posts analysed, examples of hashtag use by companies include product description (e.g. #feijoada, #brazialianfood), establishing credentials through social stance-taking (e.g. #refusethestraw, #MariellePresente), performing a phatic function (#enjoy, #bomdia, #goodmorning), evaluations (#delicious, #yummy) (see Zappavigna, 2017; Bhatia, 1993; 2004), and company specific hashtags (e.g. #itstchetime). These were also noted to appear in both languages in the same post, as is the case with dish descriptions (i.e. barbecue) in figure 6.2.3.

Figure 6.2.3

'✨🍴Hoje em vez da nossa tradicional Feijoada teremos churrasco para o almoço✨🍴
Bom apetite😊
✨Today instead of our traditional Feijoada we will serve Brazilian Barbecue 🇧🇷🍴😋
#enjoy
#brazilianbardecue
#lanchonetemisturadesabores
#churrasco [#*barbecue*]
#delícia [#*delicious*]
[food picture]' (Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores, 2017)

In relation to language choice in hashtags, an entrepreneur explains:

> I try to translate everything in this way to gain more views, you know? To open it up. So, sometimes, I put like this, "almoço" and I put "lunch", I put "comida brasileira" and I put "brazilian food", you get it?[102] (IND5)

[101] as pessoas que seguem aquele hashtag, ela vai ver de repente se eles postarem

[102] eu tento traduzir tudo assim pra ganhar mais visualizações, né? Pra abrir. Então, às vezes, eu coloco assim, "almoço" e eu coloco "lunch", coloco "comida brasileira" e coloco "brazilian food", entendeu?

Following these interview insights, the use of hashtags can be motivated by both linguistic reach potential (i.e. to gain more clicks and views), and by potential Instagram following practices, in case of posting across platforms. Through the (bilingual) use of hashtags, companies anticipate users' different hashtag searching preferences, hence topic affiliations (see Zappavigna, 2011), and thus connect linguistic decision-making to potential affordances.

Deliberately or otherwise, translanguaging takes place by creative and dynamic engagement with multiple languages and signs (see Sato, 2019, p.450; Baynham and Lee, 2019; Wei, 2018, p.27). The many practices encountered throughout this thesis, from inserting words in different languages, to translations, to switching and merging languages, signs, and styles, point to the translingual character of the Pages (see Baynham and Lee, 2019, p.20). Within posts predominantly in Portuguese, English words such as "phone", "free" (figure 6.2.4 – 1), pizza "topping", "please", "enjoy" (figure 6.2.4 – 2), and "delivery" (figure 6.2.4 – 3) were often merged into meaning-making systems.

Figure 6.2.4

Posts' Excerpts
1. 'Promoçao deste final de semana. Qualquer pedido free uma sobremesa' (Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2017) [*This weekend's offer. Any order, a dessert is free*]
2. 'Reabre amanhã [...] com a deliciosa Feijoada que vc já tanto sentia saudade. #lanchonetemisturadesabores #enjoy' (Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores, 2017) [*We reopen tomorrow* [...] *with the delicious Feijoada that u already missed so much.* *#lanchonetemisturadesabores #enjoy*]
3. 'todas as quartas e quintas feiras o delivery é grátis' (Esfihas Excellent, 2018) [*every Wednesdays and Thursdays the delivery is free*]

As Wei (2018, p.18, emphasis in original) points out 'Multilinguals do not think unilingually in a politically named linguistic entity, even when they are in a *monolingual mode* and producing one namable language only for a specific stretch of speech or text.' In line with this, when asked about the use of English words within Portuguese sentences, directors of Esfihas Excellent, who publish content primarily in Portuguese, explain that the use of words such as "delivery" in their posts (as in example 3 above) is not deliberate:[103]

> Interviewee 1: It's automatic.
> Interviewee 2: Automatic. […] Same as customers, they call and say "I'm in NW9 [spells in English]" […]

[103] It is worth mentioning that "delivery" is not absent from the marketing vocabulary in Brazil as a loanword (see Gonçalves, 2017). However, this is not a rule and alternates with its Portuguese equivalent "entrega" (see Dicio, 2020), which is also in use within Pages as well as its verb form "entregar" ("to deliver").

> Interviewee 1: Yes. That's true. [...] And another thing that we also say is "driver" [in English], we don't say "entregador" [delivery boy] anymore.[104]
> Interviewee 2: [Or] "Motoqueiro" [Mortorcyclist/delivery boy].
> Interviewer: You say "driver"?
> Interviewee 1: Yes. We write "driver".[105] (IND1)

These are practices which, as part of the mundane, enclose common repertoires and intertextual links to language use emergent in the context of translocality.[106] Indeed, as pointed out by interviewee 2, customers also switch to English when speaking in Portuguese. The use of language in certain ways by certain people in a given context (see Castellarin, 2015), therefore, creates intertextual links between the voices of those who, even if for a moment, feel part of a group or connected at some level.

In addition to the connectivity made possible by the intersection between language systems in the act of posting, further insights into how a sense of community may also be created through topic choice were gained through the interviews. Within personal Facebook accounts, posters have in mind a group or groups of people seen as their active circle who are more likely to respond to certain communicative events (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.175-176). In combination with "hints" at shared or localised knowledge (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.173), similar processes occur in the public promotional context analysed. In this respect, Fazenda's managing director described the thought-process involved in creating content with different groups in mind:

> Interviewee: sometimes we do speak of specific things that we know that are for specific groups. So, when we talk about wine, wine is not for everybody, but we talk about wine, so the wine lovers of Fazenda, yeah, they will probably react more to that.
>
> Interviewer: Yeah, so you notice that that can happen, a repeat reaction of a certain group of people and things like that.
> Interviewee: Totally, yes. (CH2)

Embedded in a net of practices through which companies authenticate their brands, this is not an isolated attempt to connect to audiences, but a dimension of relationship building and maintenance blurred within online and offline processes (see Yus, 2011, p.119). As noted through observation and confirmed by the entrepreneur, wine culture is a significant part of the company's identity. As its offline activities also include wine tastings and masterclasses, they therefore create a circuit of conditions in which

---

[104] E.g. excerpt from a comment in the corpus: 'admitindo driver' [*hiring driver*].
[105] Interviewee 1: É automático.
Interviewee 2: Automático. [...] Igual freguês, liga e fala "Eu tô no NW9" [...]
Interviewee 1: É. É verdade. [...] E outra coisa também que a gente fala é "driver", a gente não fala mais "entregador".
Interviewee 2: "Motoqueiro".
Interviewer: Fala "driver"?
Interviewee 1: É. Escreve "driver".
[106] Indeed, with most interviews being conducted in Portuguese, translanguaging was also part of my, as well as interviewees' spoken repertoires. These are present across excerpts, though close analysis and description of these go beyond the digital scope of this project.

different moments of conviviality and *'light'* communities (Blommaert, 2017, emphasis in original) with their audiences can be formed. Moreover, as he further explains, posts can also be tailored with professional relationships in mind:

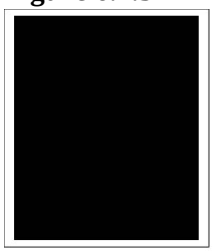
> we have brand partnerships, so we work with a number of other brands across the areas, some national, some local. I will give you an example, we work very closely with […] a ballet company […] and they do things everywhere. But when we talk for them or with them or we talk about things in social media that have to do with ballet or with arts, we know that not everybody is picking up, only the people who we may have a connection with (CH2)

As such, offline professional ties are also maintained online. A further interesting point in terms of how information circulates and thus entwines the online and offline was made by another entrepreneur, who noticed a level of interaction online from customers who previously asked for a specific dish, the parmigiana (see figure 6.2.5 below):

> Interviewee: a client arrives and say "Ah, you don't have the parmigiana?" – which is a special – [...] then I say, "We will try to do it this weekend.". Then, we post it there and the person "Ah…" [...] There is, there is an interaction.
>
> Interviewer: [...] So you already know that a certain number of people who want the parmigiana exist?
> Interviewee: Yes, the parmigiana. Uh-huh, that happens.[107] (IND2)

Through the oral representation of the client's response "Ah…", the entrepreneur is here inferring an interaction such as a comment or reaction can follow a previous, separate, and offline exchange. In this sense, the flow of content published within the Page can work to create a sense of continuity and connection with consumers.

Figure 6.2.5



'🇧🇷 Weekend special: Beef parmigiana - escalope beef with tomato sauce and mozzarella cheese, served with white rice and chips.👩‍🍳👌👍
🇧🇷 Especial do fim de semana: Bife à parmegiana - carne empanada ao molho de tomate, coberto com queijo mussarela, servido com arroz branco e fritas.👩‍🍳👌👍' (Little Brazil, 2018)

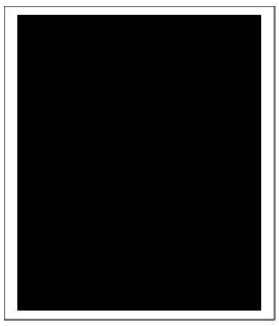
Furthermore, responses to a promotional post, be it via commenting or clicking a button, can appear in the news feed of the interactant's friends. This means that consciously or otherwise and, intertwined with the platform's marketing logic and mechanisms (Facebook for Business, 2020; Facebook, 2020c),

[107] Interviewee: chega um cliente e fala "Ah, você não tem a parmegiana?" - que é um especial – [...] aí eu falo, "Vamos tentar fazer esse final de semana.". Aí, a gente posta lá e a pessoa já "Ah..." [...] Tem, tem uma interação.
Interviewer: [...] Então você já sabe que existe uma certa quantidade de pessoas que querem a parmegiana?
Interviewee: Sim, a parmegiana. Aham, isso acontece.

nuances of users' activities or tastes may be consumed by friends. This connective flow of information may reinforce users' ties by means of alignment, familiarity, or mutual trust whilst fuelling the WOM potential of the platform (see Fisher, 2015, p.62). In line with this, a combination of language use, tangible and/or intangible technological affordances may lead to moments of connectivity with content and other users.

Overall, an expected high use of "likes" over other "reactions" was noted in the data. Since added in 2009, the "like" button has become one of the most present 'sociotechnical objects on the web' (Peyton, 2014, p.113). As the aforementioned Twitter decision to switch from the "favourite" to the "like" button suggests (see Bucher and Helmond, 2017, pp.233-235), its communicative significance goes beyond Facebook and across to other spaces on the web. As Barton and Lee (2013, pp.88-89) explain, users' communicative intentions through the "like" button can vary from expressing positive stance, interest, support, alignment, acknowledgement of reading, to replying in the affirmative. As the authors rightly point out, meaning therefore resides in the act of clicking the button as opposed to being encapsulated in the word "like" alone. In doing so, it is the interaction between language, humans, and technology that affords an action. Across posts, other frequently clicked "reactions" observed were both "love" and "wow". The former can be interpreted as the expression of a level of affect, whilst the latter may convey amazement or surprise. "Reactions" such as "haha", "sad", "angry" were also noted, however these were not as prominent. As explored in chapter 5, posts nuance nostalgic, novel, and experiential meanings. Against this backdrop, the frequent use of the affective "love" and "wow" buttons seem to reinforce and complement a circuit of product value creation (Kelly-Holmes, 2020, p.43) whilst affording emotional expression. In this regard, it was also interesting to note the presence of temporary "reactions" within Pages. In figure 6.2.6, as the company expresses its wishes for International Women's Day, a stance towards gender equality is taken. By choosing to define the company as "feminist" in capital letters and in low saturated pink colour, often construed as an indexical of femininity in Western cultures, the company loads the letters with subtlety and sociocultural meanings (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, pp.229-233, 269; Koller, 2012, p.32). In this way, meaning goes beyond lexical forms, creating an ambience where positioning is simultaneously affective and political.

Figure 6.2.6



'Happy Women's Day!'
(Temakinho, 2017)

In this post, users' affect and/or alignment with the company stance are expressed through "liking" and "loving" the post, but also through the "grateful/thankful" temporary "reaction" '💮'. This "reaction" is a result of a campaign by Facebook originally created to provide users with the ability to react in gratefulness to mothers in countries where Mother's Day matched that of the US (see Know Your Meme, 2017; Harrison, 2017). This is interesting in reflecting on the relationship between users and platform affordances, as the adoption of the temporary "reaction" indicates that levels of accuracy in communicating feelings online matter for some. Given the global reach of content, this is also highlighted off the platform in queries and blog posts expressing a level of disappointment by those able to see but unable to click/use the "reaction" (see Facebook Help Community, 2019; Brown, 2017; Harrison, 2017), such as the UK and other countries where the celebration takes place on a different date. Another "reaction" encountered was the temporary "Pride" "reaction" '🏳️‍🌈', which Facebook created for 'major markets with Pride celebrations' (Schultz, 2017). In resonance with the previous example, the platform was criticised by some for the ways it conditioned access to the "reaction" (see Holter, 2017; Montgomery, 2017; Matias et al., 2017), highlighting how "reaction" buttons can be perceived by their affordances of self-expression as opposed to their properties in isolation. Even so, user-platform relationships can also come with obstacles, as noted in another post through a self-correction by a user. Having clicked the "angry" "reaction" '😡' in response to a picture of chicken hearts, the user proceeded to comment 'Not angry mean 🤢 yuck' under the post. As the platform complicated the user's intended action (see Norman, 1988, pp.29-31; Myers, 2010, p.21), s/he resorted to the comment boxes and the use of an emoji to steer possible interpretations towards a level of rejection rather than anger, managing face with resources available.

A final remark before moving on to consider the affordances of comments within Pages relates to the significance of Page "likes" from a company standpoint. As the move analysis suggested, customer engagement may also work as a type of endorsement for companies. In figure 6.2.7, evidence of customer satisfaction and company success is provided through social media metrics. By attributing gratefulness to customers through the direct address "you", and celebrating customer "likes", the company highlights its achievements, treating platform engagement and mechanisms as endorsements.

Figure 6.2.7
'Uhuuuuu! 🎉 2.000 Curtidas. 🎈 🎈 Obrigado á todos vcs pelo carinho. 🙏 Ninguém é perfeito mas espero nunca decepciona-los❤️' (Mum's Pizzas Brasileira, 2018)

[*Uhuuuuu!* 🎉 *2.000 Likes.* 🎈 🎈 *Thanks to you all for the affection.* 🙏 *Nobody is perfect but I hope to never disappoint you*❤️]

This virtual conceptualisation of success points to the interwovenness of the online and offline in current society, and the tangible significance of platform affordances embedded in everyday social media

practices. In speaking to the director of the company specifically about this post, not only the market, but also personal entrepreneurship significance emerges:

> Facebook, when it was at 1900-odd, notified me that it was getting close. Then when it got to 2000, then I could not hold on, I said "I have to share this.". I said, "This is so lovely, everyone needs to know."[108] (IND4)

6.2.3 Comments

Whilst interactions within promotional Pages often start product centred, ties with customers or friends, and across locations (e.g. family or friends in Brazil) are also managed and maintained through the platform. This was highlighted during the interviews with independent companies and, together with expectations of linguistic reciprocity, may speak to the more noticeable use of Portuguese and direct address to independent companies foregrounded by the audience design analysis. We can see these relationships emerging through the act of commenting in figure 6.2.8, where User1 refers to past moments in the establishment whilst advocating for the company.

Figure 6.2.8
[In reply to a cover photo update]
'**User1:** Melhor casa brasileira em Londres!👍 Já vivi noites inesquecíveis no [company name]. A tapioca é sem igual. Saudades
[*Best Brazilian house in London!👍 I lived unforgettable nights at* [*company name*]. *The tapioca is unique. Miss you*]
Likes: User3
Loves: Company, User2

> **Company:** Você é de casa, User1. Também estamos com saudades.
> [*You are part of the house, User1. We also miss you.*][109]
> Loves: User1'

By evaluating nights at the space as 'inesquecíveis'/'unforgettable', User1 refers to past memories in the place with affect, which is reinforced by the longing expression 'saudades'/'miss you'. Whilst managing ties with the company, s/he also makes use of the platform to advocate for the company and its food (note 'melhor'/'best' and 'sem igual'/'unique') and contribute with consumer knowledge to any potential reader. The company reciprocates by taking an affective stance through 'saudades'/'miss you', and by expressing the user's significance to the space through the expression 'você é de casa'/'you

[108] o Facebook, quando tava no 1900 e tanto avisou pra mim que tava chegando. Aí quando deu 2000, aí eu não aguentei, eu falei "Eu tenho que compartilhar isso.". Eu falei, "É tão gostoso, todo mundo tem que saber."
[109] 'Você é de casa' (literal meaning: "You are from the home/house") expresses how close or acquainted people are in a relationship (Infopédia, n.d.), and is often used in line with expressions such as "make yourself at home/comfortable" to ease formalities with those close or acquainted, for instance, during home visits. In keeping with the language analytical focus, I have chosen to translate this as 'You are part of the house', to remain as natural as possible without sacrificing form and content extensively.

are part of the house'. User1 then acknowledges receipt and expresses affect by clicking the "love" button. Relationship management is further illustrated in figure 6.2.9 below, where a customer replies in excitement to the reopening of a company after a period out of service. In this instance, User1 conveys excitement towards the opening through the exclamation 'Aheeeee!!!' (intensified by vowel lengthening and repeated punctuation), evaluates the news as 'fab', and celebrates with party popper emojis. A previous relationship with the company is then indexed through the past tense of the affective verb 'missed', to which the company expresses affect by clicking "love".

Figure 6.2.9
'**User1:** Aheeeee!!! Fab news!!!🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉🎉 We missed you guys!... Loves: Company'

Company-consumer relationships can go beyond commercial transactions to varying degrees. As one of the directors explained, sometimes customers 'also become friends, because of the restaurant […] I go to their house and they go to mine and etc'[110] (IND2). This was also highlighted by another director, who saw relationships with women expecting babies develop from posting food pictures in an online group.

> I became friends with many pregnant women. […] they used to come with a belly and now they come with the kid walking.[111] (IND1)

Relationships then seem to emerge in the online-offline commercial/personal blur of mundane activities (see Tagg et al., 2017, pp.31-32). In combination with human action, the platform affords further paths and/or dimensions for connecting either pre- or post-visit. In this way, through new ways of thinking which develop along with the digital, even if unconsciously, the dynamics of daily actions are changed (see Jones and Hafner, 2012, p.1). Relationships with companies are also maintained translocally. In the first example of figure 6.2.10, a friend congratulates the company's success, and expresses her/his good wishes and the desire to be able to visit. Relationship maintenance is here indexed through the establishment of status/intimacy (i.e. 'amiga'/'friend'), the verb 'merece'/'deserve' implying an informed positive judgment, and the wishful expression 'que venha muitos anos'/'many years to come'. The translocal physical distance bridged by the platform emerges in the user's final remarks 'quem sabe um dia'/'who knows one day', which points to a current impossibility of physical presence. In a separate exchange under the same post, User2 translocally evaluates past physical experiences, presumably, with members of the company (i.e. 'ter conhecido vcs'/'having met u') and in relation to the UK (i.e. 'nesse país'/'in that country'). Affective stance is then taken multimodally through emojis, with good wishes

[110] se tornam amigos também, por causa do restaurante […] eu vou na casa deles e eles vão na minha e não sei o que
[111] Eu fiz muita amizade com mulher grávida. [...] elas vinham com barriga e agora tão vindo com o filhinho andando.

being encapsulated in the expression ‘god bless’/‘Deus abençoe.’ Family relationships are also maintained through the platform. In example 2, a relative (i.e. ‘cunhado’/‘brother-in-law’) replies in excitement to the success of the company on seeing pictures of an event held at the establishment. Positive informed judgment is again expressed through the verb ‘merece’/‘deserve’ and the expression ‘já deu tudo certo’/‘it all worked out fine’ conveys a sense of satisfaction in relation to a shared anticipation of the relative/company’s success.

Figure 6.2.10

Posts’ Comments
[In reply to post celebrating the company’s first year anniversary] 1. ‘**User1:** Parabéns amiga vc merece tudo e muito mais, que venha muitos anos e eu quero quem sabe um dia saborear essas delícias. [*Congratulations friend u deserve everything and much more, many years to come and I want to who knows one day savour these delights.*] […] **User2:** foi um prazer ter conhecido vcs nesse pequeno tempo que estive nesse país 😘💔 que Deus abençoe vocês’ [*it was a pleasure having met u in the short time I spent in that country* 😘💔 *may God bless you*]
[In reply to a post picturing an event held at the restaurant] 2. ‘Vc merece cunhado ,já deu tudo certo’ [*You deserve it brother-in-law , it all worked out fine*]

On reflection about interactions from friends and family within a company’s Facebook Page, one of the directors provided helpful insights:

> when I created the Page, I had the option to invite people to “like” my Page, so I put all my contacts. […] So, some really, when I post a photo I do see [that] from Brazil, they click “like” […] or comment. Those who already came here to visit me [from Brazil], for instance, write “Ah, that pizza…” […] Especially family, you know, one or another ends up writing something[112] (IND4)

Following this, entwined with the significant uptake of Facebook in the UK for personal and marketing purposes (see Rose, 2018; CMA, 2020, pp.5, 9, 57-59, 118-119) and how embedded Facebook is in everyday communication of many Brazilians (see Souza, 2017, p.55; Spyer, 2017, p.11; Valadares and Moura, 2016 p.186), platform setting-up mechanisms can also play a role in shaping exchanges. Ways in which Page admins interact with the platform from the moment of account creation are therefore part of the process of setting the conditions for future interactions. In this way, the combination of personal

[112] quando eu criei a página, eu tinha opção de eu convidar as pessoas pra curtir a minha página, então eu coloquei todos os meus contatos. [...] Então, alguns realmente, quando eu ponho uma foto eu vejo mesmo, lá do Brasil, eles põem curtir [...] ou escrevem. Quem já veio aqui me visitar, no caso, escreve “Ah, essa pizza...” [...] Principalmente a família, né, um ou outro acaba escrevendo alguma coisa

life histories, communicative intentions, and the actions afforded by the platform are entwined in the ways that reactions and connections circulate. These can then be further amplified by means of contacts of contacts and interests circulating on and offline (trans)locally. Considering the multidirectional circuit of interactive content displayed daily in users' feeds, the relationship between memory work and the mechanisms of the platform becomes subtly but constantly present. As Bucher (2018, p.6) points out, algorithms and software features, which prompt users to take relational actions, function as a memory device and play a part not only in connecting past relationships, but in maintaining and cultivating formed relationships. As with other content/discourses with which we interact daily, such as family/holiday pictures, objects, marketing materials in public spaces, or even product packages (see Torabian and Arai, 2016; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015; Vignolles and Pichon, 2014), what we see on social media can trigger positionings and emotional connections, and add to our 'socio-cognitive representations' (Koller, 2012, p.20). In relation to forms of advertising, however, social media differs in that audiences are no longer passive receivers of content as, for instance, with billboards or TV/film adverts (Serazio and Duffy, 2017, p.481). This makes content much more relatable as co-creators are also audiences. Culture, knowledge creation, and consumption are then interwoven, and content is disseminated from brand to user but also from user to user (see Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, p.76). Since this dissemination can include actual users' networks (see Fisher, 2015, p.52), its potential for memory work is constantly validated by and through fellow users via platforms mechanisms and language use.

Among users, comment boxes afford the creation of passing senses of connectedness, conviviality, and sociality. In relation to translocality, they can stroll through the 'online-offline nexus' (Blommaert, 2017) whilst maintaining relationships from distinct times and spaces, and thus reworking global senses of place (Massey, 1991). In figure 6.2.11, in recognising the company's façade, User1 summons User2 by the "mentioning" feature and, together with signs of affect expressed by emojis, invites her/him to share a moment of remembering. User2 engages with User1 by expressing desire (i.e. 'vontade'/'feels like') specifically for that company's feijoada (indexed by demonstrative pronoun 'aquela'/'that'). Also, from the cute spouting whale emoji, a sign of cheerfulness or excitement may be interpreted. After a couple of exchanges of appreciative remarks about their past experiences in connection to the feijoada, they invite each other to recreate this moment in the cities where, presumably, they live in Brazil. This fast-forwarding in time during the conversation is indexed by User2 through the adverb 'agora'/'now', and the verb "precisar/need" points to a sense of willingness to tie up trajectories moving forward.

Figure 6.2.11
[Triggered by a post displaying the company façade]
'**User1:** User2 lembra dessa lugar ? 😍💔
[*User2 remember this place ?* 😍💔]
Loves: User2

User2: Siiiiiiim! Que vontade de comer aquela feijoada 💪

[*Yesssssss! Feels like eating that feijoada* 🤤]
Likes: User1

User1: User2 uma dlc né
[*User2 delicious isn't it*]
Likes: User2

User2: Gordice eterna 😂😂😂
[*Eternal greediness* 😂😂😂]
Likes: User1

User1: User2 agora precisamos comer ou aí ou aqui em [Brazilian city name]
[User2 *now we need to eat either there or here in* [*Brazilian city name*]]
Likes: User2

User2: Siiiiim! Está convidado a vir para [Brazilian city name]. E assim que der eu vou pra [Brazilian city name] 😍
[*Yesssssss! You are invited to come to* [*Brazilian city name*]. *And as soon as possible I will go to* [*Brazilian city name*] 😍]
Likes: User1

User1: User2 combinado haha'
[User2 *deal haha*]

As explored in chapter 5, physical as well as online spaces of consumption allow for the reworking of attachments and social networks abroad (Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015; Sheringham, 2010; Brightwell, 2012a). However, as the above example suggests, the use of the platform also affords ways of continuing these discursively translocally. Assisted by features such as "mentioning" and/or notifications, users can gather in the virtual space to share moments of conviviality connected to past experiences of mobility whilst no longer abroad. Global identity construction therefore emerges in new forms of expression in relation to technologies (Zidjaly, 2019, pp.361-362). Such practices are also embedded in everyday convivial moments as people go about their daily errands whilst managing group and one-to-one relationships through the platform. In figure 6.2.12, User1 connects to another two acquaintances via "mentioning", to engage with memories shared by the group. User3 responds in the affirmative by both clicking the "like" button and providing her/his humorous (note: 'haha') assessment of the situation, to which User2 and User1 respond through the "like" and "laugh" buttons, respectively. Following the mood of the conversation, User2 reciprocates through the laughter expression 'hahaha' and comments on memories attached to the occasion. The exchange then ends with positive affect expressed through the "love" button by the initiator. In a separate thread under the same post, User4 "mentions", presumably, her/his partner and proceeds to share memories of their first date, to which the partner replies with affect by clicking on the "love" "reaction". The company then drops into the conversation to positively evaluate the dessert whilst maintaining the affectionate tone implied by placing its remarks between several heart emojis. User4 returns the affect by clicking "love" whilst

User5 conveys appreciation through vowel lengthening for orality effect (i.e. 'Mmmmmmm') and affect through 'xxx' to signal kisses.

Figure 6.2.12
[Post displaying a guava flavoured dessert]

'**User1:** User2 User3 Can you remember when I had this?
Likes: User3

> **User3:** Haha the look on your face when it arrived after all the meat you'd already eaten.
> Likes: User2
> Laughs: User1
>
> **User2:** Hahaha watching you two roll out of that building was the highlight of my year
> Loves: User1

User4: User5, our first date desert. 5 and years on and still going xx
Loves: User5

> **Company:** ❤️❤️❤️ We love it ❤️❤️❤️
> Loves: User4
>
> **User5:** Mmmmmmm yummy xxx'

As they co-create discourse, users in figures 6.2.11 and 6.2.12 pick on content posted by companies, recontextualise this content into tangible memorable experiences through language and platform features, and thus validate its relevance. Whilst these processes point to the switch brought by user-generated content to advertising (Serazio and Duffy, 2017, p.481; Levy, 2010, pp.2-3), they also point to a new context where ties and identities may be exercised.

This new context includes the ability to read and interact with both Facebook "friends" and "non-friends" in the same space, which means that Facebook Pages combine and amplify the power of WOM with the prestige implied by public advocacy. As previously mentioned, users can access posts by visiting the Pages themselves, through their news feed activity, and by means of notification and "mentioning". Once a user reads/interacts with public content from Pages, s/he "leaves" the realm of "Facebook friends" and enters a universe of broader access to remarks of unacquainted users and vice-versa. This "WOM" potential of the platform was emphasised during the interviews. As exemplified by one of the directors: 'we post, say, a feijoada, then people already start putting the name of other people "Ah, let's go over there this weekend."'[113] (IND2). As another director puts it: 'This thing of mentioning

[113] a gente posta tipo uma feijoada, aí o pessoal já começa botar o nome de outras pessoas "Ah, vamos lá nesse final de semana."

[…] One calls the other and this goes a long way.'[114] (IND4). Indeed, exchanges such as in figure 6.2.13 are common across comments.

Figure 6.2.13

Posts' Comments
1. '**User1:** User2 User3 User4 Likes: User2 **User3:** Vamos vamos vamos 😁 😁 😁 😁 [*Let's go let's go let's go* 😁 😁 😁 😁] Likes: User1, Company **User4:** Vamosssss [*Let's gooooo*] Likes: Company'
2. '**User1:** User2 let's go próxima semana xx' [*User2 let's go next week xx*]
3. '**User1:** User2 e esse a [dish name] que ti falei [*User2 this is the* [*dish name*] *I told you about*] Likes: Company'
4.'**User1:** User2 User3 we should go here for our girls night x Likes: User2 Loves: Company [...] **User3:** Yep I'm up for that!!!! We just need to set a date now! Xx Likes: User1 **User2:** Yep me too. We will get a date in the diary. I will check [name]'s shifts xxx Likes: User1'
5. '**User1:** User2 Loves: Company **User2:** Let's go Loves: Company'

Such comments are often in passing, and goal oriented (e.g. often to highlight a product or suggest social activities). Even when not directly or solely evaluating a product, these convey layers of advocacy through the value implied in the practices taking place. In example 1, the grinning face emojis together with the repeated invitation 'vamos'/'lets's go' in Portuguese imply excitement about both a potential social encounter and the company. In example 2, through "mentioning" and code-switching, User1 connects to User2 to suggest a visit to a restaurant. Example 3 represents a continuation of a previous interaction, presumably off the platform, in which the platform is used to deliver information to an acquaintance through public demonstration of interest. In example 4, the users set the foundation for a

[114] Esse negócio de marcar [...] Um chama o outro e isso vai longe.

social occasion (i.e. 'girls night'). Once User3 and User2 confirm that they are in line with User1's suggestion, further details are then presumably to be discussed at a later moment. Comments may also be composed solely by a "mentioned" name and no further remarks, as in example 5. The act of "mentioning", as these examples show, structures interactions through which information can be exchanged and excitement about experiences can be projected. In this process, as part of Facebook's 'programmed sociality' (Bucher, 2018, p.4), features like "mentioning" and notifications create webs of users who are invited into Facebook's promotional space where reading nuances and/or interacting with unrelated users is also possible (see Jones and Hafner, 2012, p.7). This intensifies Pages' e-WOM potential as it adds a layer of non-acquaintances to the traditional idea of WOM. Indeed, as an entrepreneur points out, e-WOM is helpful 'because apart from the person that you [users] are talking to, there are others that are there' [115] (IND2).

As users move across public and private spaces, their awareness of publicness may also be reflected in language behaviour. As noted in chapter 4, commenters under posts seem active towards both companies and other members of the audience. Even if in short and often passing interactions, commenters interact with each other under posts, forming long compilations of threads and scattered comments.[116] Given the public and promotional character of the Pages as well as the multidirectional flow of interactions, the concern with 'clogging Friends' News Feeds' with multiple messages (McLaughlin and Vitak, 2011, p.306; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.174) is absent. Still, implicit norms seem to be at play. Commenters under posts do not often seem to persevere with exchanges until resolution; for instance, when users suggest or plan an activity with acquaintances, there seems to be a point in which conversations cease and are either left unfinished (e.g. 6.2.13 - 4 above) or taken to another medium, perhaps more private, such as a phone call or a WhatsApp exchange (e.g. chapter 4, figure 4.3.17). In assessing the publicness of the space, the potential wide audience implied (see McLaughlin and Vitak, 2011, pp.307-308), and choice of communication channels available, or 'polymedia' (Madianou, 2015), users may choose to switch communication routes. Furthermore, it is also common for "mentioned" users not to reply or react to comments solely made by "mentioned" usernames or primarily informational (e.g. 6.2.13 - 3 above). This can be related to issues of publicness or choice of media, but also can imply an information-forwarding role to the "mentioning" feature.

[115] porque além da pessoa que você tá falando, tem outras pessoas que estão ali

[116] Threaded comments are 'several related comments' (Farina, 2018, p.45) under Pages' posts. The longest thread noted, formed by users "mentioning" a username/clicking the "reply" button to each other's comments, was made of 14 related comments. Compilations under posts can be made of several different threads attached to a post, and commenters may also orient discourse to each other in comment boxes without structurally "threading" their exchanges (i.e. without clicking the 'reply' button or "mentioning" the username).

Software and features, in this way, become an interwoven part of the process through which actions are consolidated on and offline.

An interesting aspect of interactions between companies and consumers relates to how comment boxes provide an additional path for service enquiries, traditionally performed via e-mails or phone in the business context. This is interesting from both a genre and a practice perspective. From a genre perspective, the interaction between language practices and the platform highlights the blurring of genre boundaries in the digital context. In figure 6.2.14, User1 checks on the opening date of a new branch via comment boxes deploying CMC orthography and typography which is indexed by omission of initial capitalisation and word shortening (i.e. "when is" vs "when's" vs 'whens') (Herring, 2020, paragraph 6 and 10). The company then provides a cheerful answer, with a grinning face emoji expressing a sense of gladness or perhaps pride in relation to the opening. In example 2, User1 checks on the capacity of the space and enquires about an online menu. The use of capitalisation, standard spelling and choice of words (e.g. 'comporta'/'accommodate') here points to a level of formality from the consumer. In replying, the company tailors communication 'primarily to the effect of the addressee' (Bell, 1984, p.161) by matching levels of formality (e.g. formal phrase 'tais como'/'such as' and verb 'comporta'/'accommodates'). It further takes a professional stance by structuring the reply in a business letter/email manner (see Bhatia, 1993, pp.50-56), clarifying service/product details (i.e. capacity, common menu dishes), adding a polite ending (i.e. 'seja bem vindo'/'welcome' and 'obrigado'/'thank you'), signature, and formatting (i.e. line breaks).

Figure 6.2.14

Posts' Comments
1. '**User1:** whens the [area name] one open? **Company:** 23rd April! 😁'
2. '**User1:** Quantas pessoas o [company name] comporta? Possuem um cardápio online? [*How many people does* [*company name*] *accommodate? Do you have an online menu?*] **Company:** Nosso restaurante comporta 16 pessoas [...] Temos alguns pratos que servimos todos os dias, tais como: feijoada, carne de panela [...] Seja bem vindo! Obrigado [Company name] Likes: User1' [*Our restaurant accommodates 16 people* [...] *We have some dishes which we serve every day, such as: feijoada, pot roast* […] *Welcome!* *Thank you* [*Company name*]]

This variation in style between example 1 and 2 points to the generic fluidity that can take place within social media through continuous collaboration of various content creators and thus multiple textual

resemblance (see Lomborg, 2011, p.66). As explored during analysis, the digital language under study in this project employs promotional moves, phatic expression, varied stylistic choices, CMC-specific language, and multimodality. Whilst the analysed posts do conform significantly with promotional moves, the influence of user-generated content and platform affordances emerge through companies' styles; for example, through the significant presence of phatic expression (see chapter 4/illustration 3), non-standard/CMC language throughout, and topic variety in connection to the frequency of posting afforded. Given the participatory character of social media, and the software interactive configuration with its adaptability to appropriation by users, generic patterns in social media are subject to continuous revision and change, as the medium is able to support multiple genres (see Lomborg, 2011, p.67; Miller, 2015, p.64). Its participatory and multidirectional character means that the "cost of entry" into the publishing space for different ways of thinking and speaking is lower (Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, p.77). This allows for a variety of players to produce, co-create, and publish discourses at both the consumer and the business level. Indeed, regarding the accessibility and availability of Facebook as a tool for promotion in comparison with traditional 'advertisements' such as print, TV, and radio (see Bhatia, 2005, p.218), one of the directors from an independent company commented: 'An open door for people to show what they are capable of was missing. This was closed to us!'[117] (IND1).

From a practice perspective, business enquiries through comments such as the ones in the above figure, as well as recruitment conversations, dance night information, and table reservations, as in figure 6.2.15 below, suggest a development in how transactions take place.

Figure 6.2.15

Posts' Comments
1. '**User1:** I saw that you looking for a KP? **Company:** Hey User1, fill in this online form and someone will be in touch shortly: [link] Likes: User1 **Company:** User1 Awesome! Thanks for applying and we'll be in touch soon for a chat :) Likes: User1'
2. '**User1:** Are you doing any more salsa classes/ nights? 💃 **Company:** Hi User1, we always post on our [webpage name] if we are hosting any classes or events. Keep an eye out here: [link] 😉'
3. '**User1:** Precisa reservar mesa? [*Is there a need to reserve a table?*] Likes: Company **Company:** Se for sexta ou sabado sim!

[117] Faltava uma porta aberta pro povo mostrar do que eles são capaz. Isso era fechado pra gente!

[*If it is for Friday or Saturday yes!*]
Likes: User1

User1: Ok obrigada 😉
[*Ok thanks* 😉]
Likes: Company'

As containers of promotional discourse, Pages extend what we perceive to be characteristics of promotional texts (i.e. topics, codes, styles) and what can be achieved by being in contact with these (i.e. beyond one-way publishing/passive reading). Business relationships customarily performed at more (semi)private levels (e.g. via email, phone, or face-to-face) are now, to some extent, performed at a public level by some through 'persistent' transcripts (Herring, 2007, paragraph 39; also see Demata et al., 2018, pp.II-III). Beyond the use of social media for the purposes of brand exposure, platform features can afford both consumer and businesses information exchange and service provision. In relation to users' commenting practices, a director mentioned 'They generally [...] ask about the opening hours and if we deliver to a given place'[118] (IND1). According to another entrepreneur, whose promotional strategy is significantly based on social media engagement:

> we are always taking care of our guests through it [social media]. You know, people want to book, or people were asking questions, or want information or whatever it is, it's all done through that social media. (CH2)

As noted during observation and interviews, the depth of involvement/time spent on social media platforms varies across companies. All companies interviewed had their social media channels managed in-house, with some having used third parties at some stage. Overall, from those interviewed, social media is managed either by a dedicated team or an individual. In the case of independent companies, all but one had their social media primarily managed by one of the directors, with some having the occasional help from family members. Factors such as availability or allocation of personnel, and time available to invest in social media management therefore seem to influence companies' levels of social media activity. From observation, this was felt to be more applicable to the frequency of post publishing, however the level of interaction with users, for instance through comment boxes, was not felt to be necessarily connected to their posting behaviour. In terms of how companies manage their replies, business/service-related enquiries seem to be prioritised overall whilst phatic engagement within comments varies. As a director explained, her comments on their Page are normally for clarifying purposes, she gives an example:

[118] Eles perguntam [...] geralmente o horário de funcionamento e se entrega em tal lugar.

> I posted a picture of the feijoada on Friday, then a girl went there and said "Hey, let's eat there on Sunday!". Then I wanted to clarify "Note, our feijoada is only on Fridays, but we have other dishes on the other days as well".[119] (IND5)

For another entrepreneur, comments can also trigger service actions, as this may be picked up from a comment and moved to other necessary channels (e.g. private messaging):

> people may come and comment on something and say "Yeah, I am looking for a table for 4…", we reply and say, "we are going to send you a DM, send us the time, how many people, and we will deal with it". (CH2)

Comment boxes, in this way, become one of the routes to getting things done for both consumers and companies. This does not imply platforms then become the main tool for business communication, but instead, as with non-promotional social media, they represent a change in the ways actions are taken and thus how humans relate to technologies. Part of these changes in communication can also relate to the sociotechnical value placed on the wider web of digital tools available. In resonance with the apparent switch in how entrepreneurs feel regarding the relevance of websites discussed at the beginning of this chapter, they also sense a switch in relation to the role played by emails in daily communication with consumers. When asked if emails are often used in communicating with customers, these were some of the replies:

> Email nearly nothing, zero! In truth, email was more in the beginning that I used to receive some questions, some English [people] asking to reserve a table[120] (IND5)
>
> email is good when you, for example, have a group […] it's more for special requirements[121] (IND2)
>
> if it is a person who wants to have a big party, then it's via email.[122] (IND3)

This view on perhaps a more limited use of email systems for daily company errands may be connected to the increased use of table reservation applications (e.g. Quandoo, 2020; OpenTable, 2020). As highlighted by one of the entrepreneurs, before using table reservation applications it was 'through the website or they would then call here. Because our website had its own [system] that went straight to our email'[123] (IND2). In a similar way, another interviewee mentions that '[m]ost bookings by younger people is all through the internet, through the system […] In the past we had the diary, didn't we, we

[119] eu postei uma foto da feijoada na sexta, aí a menina foi e falou assim "Ó, vamos lá comer domingo!". Aí quis deixar claro "Olha, a nossa feijoada é só na sexta-feira, mas temos outros pratos nos outros dias também".

[120] E-mail quase nada, zero! E-mail na verdade foi mais no começo que eu recebia algumas perguntas, alguns ingleses pedindo pra reservar mesa

[121] o e-mail é bom quando você, por exemplo, tem um grupo [...] é mais pra especial requirements

[122] se é uma pessoa que quer fazer uma festa grande, aí é por e-mail.

[123] pelo website ou então ligava aqui. Porque o nosso website tinha o próprio que ia direto pro e-mail da gente

used to write in the diary. Not anymore!'[124] (IND3). Indeed, previous research by Kimes and Kies (2012) suggested that whilst phone calls were still a popular route for restaurant booking at the time of their study, people under the age of 35 were more likely to use multi-restaurant sites for reservations as opposed to phone and company websites. Different company goals, sizes, and services will, naturally, imply different relationships with and perspectives on digital tools. What becomes clear overall however is that, according to their own context, goal-oriented actions are scattered across a variety of tools available. This is also the case with delivery services. Whilst some companies use delivery apps (e.g. Uber Eats, 2020; Just Eat, 2020; Deliveroo, 2020), other companies take their orders on the phone or via WhatsApp. To illustrate how this happens, a director recreates an order exchange with a customer:

> People go to WhatsApp and say "[…] I will send you the picture of the pizza to see which one this is, which is it?", "Look, this one is the Portuguese with extra pepperoni.", "I want one of this", you get it?[125] (IND1)

From seeing a picture online, the customer then moves to WhatsApp to take advantage of its multimodal possibilities. Daily communication therefore can be multimodal with plain text and visuals complementing each other. This highlights the interconnectedness of different platforms and modes of expression in the process of communication. In explaining how communication circulates in their experience, he says:

> Here [Facebook] is to see what we offer and to say bad or good things about us. And WhatsApp is for ordering[126] (IND1)

The implication is that, from a business perspective, individuals will use the public space to access service possibilities (i.e. content) and evaluate their services. As the above excerpt suggests, WhatsApp messaging also plays a role for some independent companies. Beyond the purpose of taking orders, other affordances are mentioned in relation to the application. When asked why and how WhatsApp fits into the business, a director explains:

> we send pictures. So, it is the easiness really […], there is also a way to send videos […] [or] record audio, because you cannot always be writing.[127] (IND4)

This "easiness" of use is further reinforced by another director:

> WhatsApp is such a simplified thing […] You take it, paste it […] and it goes to everyone![128] (IND1)

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[124] A maioria dos bookings do pessoal mais novo é tudo pela internet, pelo sistema [...] Antigamente a gente tinha o diário, né, escrevia no diário. Não tem mais!

[125] As pessoas vão no WhatsApp e falam "[...] vou te mandar a foto da pizza pra ver qual é, qual é essa?", "Olha, essa aqui é a Portuguesa extra pepperoni.", "Eu quero uma dessa!", entendeu?

[126] Aqui é pra ver o que a gente tem e pra falar mal de nós, ou bem. E o WhatsApp é pra fazer pedido

[127] a gente manda foto. Então assim, já a facilidade mesmo [...], vídeo também tem como mandar [...] gravar áudio, porque nem sempre você pode ficar escrevendo.

[128] o WhatsApp é um negócio tão simplificado [...] Você pega o negócio, cola [...] e vai pra todo mundo!

Accordingly, being able to instantly send pictures and record voice messages seems to facilitate the workload of the businesses. Indeed, for a business with a small team of personnel, and a smaller target audience, often Brazilian and thus likely familiar with the use of WhatsApp for a variety of interpersonal and commercial purposes (see Resnick-Ault, 2020; also Spyer, 2017), being able to quickly reply via voice message as opposed to typing, or to forward images directly to those intended, may afford the multitasking required to run the business and customer engagement.

6.2.4 Reviews

Online reviews have become part of the everyday lives of many of us. As a global phenomenon (Vásquez and Chik, 2015, p.248), it is now possible for users to review any type of product online. Considering their consumerist and product-centred character, online reviews may be seen, by some, as a trivial activity. However, many of us will invest some time expressing our opinions through online reviewing as well as taking time to read reviews. This may happen as part of our decision-making when buying products online, considering accommodation, or choosing restaurants to visit. At these moments, we are not only assessing the value of a product but carrying out actions afforded by both digital technologies and language. These include being able to provide information and opinions and describe experiences whilst simultaneously advocating (or not) for companies and (dis)aligning with fellow users. As insights from chapter 4 suggest, language use points to communicators' primary imagined audiences and positioning strategies, and in doing so, reveals a glimpse of world views which travel through discourses. As previous research has shown (Vásquez, 2014; Jurafsky et al., 2014; Vásquez and Chik, 2015), online reviews go beyond mere product evaluation and turn into social action.

Given the cultural and translingual nature of the Facebook Pages analysed and the superdiverse character of UK society (see Vertovec, 2007; University of Birmingham, 2020; Budach and de Saint-Georges, 2017), positionings and forms of connectivity within reviews are also diverse. As a highly evaluative activity in which the simultaneous address to companies and the wider public takes place, reviews rely on and reveal intertextual (trans)local knowledge and thus orient towards forms of alignment available in the sociocultural field. As such, group relationships or a sense of community are produced in combination with the platform mechanisms. Figure 6.2.16 shows an orientation towards those who speak Portuguese in the context of the UK, given the required abilities to decode the contextualised language use. Translanguaging practice, in this case, includes common English consumption vocabulary (i.e. 'fresh', 'booking', and 'drinks') which naturally flows within Portuguese structures. The English expression "the best time" in Portuguese, potentially more salient in the reviewer's mental lexicon when writing (Lanstyák and Heltai, 2012, p.105), and the transference of the expression 'out of this world' further index the communicative habitus (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.3-4) of the reviewer's audience.

Figure 6.2.16
'**User1:** Eu tive um dos melhores tempos ontem no [company name], começando pelo booking com o [person name] que foi super atencioso [...]
A banda [band name] deu um show de profissionalismo com um repertório que me arremeteram pra ótimas lembranças no Brasil [...]
A comida estava extraordinariamente deliciosa, fresh, quentinha e super saborosa.
[…] os drinks estavam: "out of this world"

[*I had one of the best times yesterday at* [*company name*], *starting by the booking with* [*person name*] *who was super attentive* [...]
The band [*band name*] *nailed professionalism with a repertoire that took me back to great memories in Brasil* […]
The food was extraordinarily delicious, fresh, warm and super flavoursome.
[…] *the drinks were: "out of this world"*]

Company: Muito obrigado User1! 😃 👍'
[*Thank you very much User1!* 😃 👍]

In the above example, the reviewer's repertoire speaks to those equipped to pick up on both the language system and perspective implied in the review. The act of reviewing in this way affords the reviewer to compliment a service whilst contributing to public perspectives on the Brazilian restaurant sector. By mentioning memories back in Brazil and investing in vocabulary understandable by Portuguese speakers abroad, the review highlights the presence of a group able to decode the message and thus adds a translocal perspective on the food service industry to public knowledge. This act adds to and thus solidifies the presence of a divergent repertoire onto the virtual space. Hence, even if for a moment, the participatory nature of the Page affords a sense of groupness within promotional discourse to a layer of the audience commonly less addressed in the realm of mass unidirectional advertising. Through the mundane act of self-expression, the reviewer challenges hierarchies of voice-representation (Vásquez and Chik, 2015, p.247) in the cultural food sector, enabling the auto re-creation of divergent repertoires in this context (see Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, pp.76-77). In this sense, how language is used, and also the affordances of where language is used, can have an effect on ways of experiencing the world.

This circulation of different languages and discourses in reviews (and comments), may also have an effect on the language behaviour of companies. As previously discussed in this thesis, some users do diverge from the main language of posts whilst addressing companies, suggesting possible expectations of reciprocal language skills from companies. Though replies in Portuguese are not absent from chains, this is most evident across independent companies. As confirmed by one of the directors interviewed, comments and reviews happen 'in both languages and we reply in both languages. If it came in Portuguese, I reply in Portuguese. If it came in English, I reply in English'[129] (IND3). Through

[129] nas duas línguas e a gente responde nas duas línguas. Se veio em português, eu respondo em português. Se veio em inglês, eu respondo em inglês

reciprocal language use, the company creates a connection to its diverse customer base whilst ensuring to individualise recipients (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.67). Language use is, therefore, part of the signs which count towards a superdiverse identity. For some companies, the existence of Portuguese reviews affords a public layer of recognition, which adds to the solidification of their own slice of the market. As one of the directors explained, one of the ways she senses recognition is:

> through the reviews that Brazilians have put there on Facebook […] I want to continue simply for what they write there, can you believe it? Because it is so good to see that you are recognised, […] they see that it was made with love[130] (IND4)

For companies with a clearer concentration in the Brazilian segment of the market, who sell a particular range of culturally specific products, the reach potential of the platform, perhaps helped by its popularity among Brazilians in particular (Souza, 2017, p.55; Spyer, 2017, p.11; Valadares and Moura, 2016 p.186), can play a significant role in keeping their focus on this group. This seems to be the case with the interviewed companies who specialise in products tailored specifically with the Brazilian taste in mind. In considering the usefulness of a website for their business purposes, the directors of an establishment suggested the following:

> Interviewee 1: the website may be good… [for] a restaurant that does not reach the Brazilians. […] That reaches everyone. Now if it reaches, let's say, a community, then Facebook is better.
> Interviewee 2: Yes, because it encompasses that number of people who search there.[131] (IND1)

Accordingly, the link between interest, searchability, and features of connectivity (e.g. "mentioning", notifications, "liking") affords entrepreneurs and consumers a smoother route for connection. Another director with a focus on a Brazilian audience specifically highlights the potential of social media to reach beyond the local neighbourhood. She further elaborates on why social media platforms are right for her business:

> Instagram and Facebook, […] because my audience really is the Brazilian – today is Brazilian – so in my case it has to be this type, because my neighbour here is not Brazilian. Back in Brazil, if you open a pizzeria, everyone around is Brazilian. Not here! Here, where are the Brazilians?![132] (IND4)

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[130] pelos reviews que os brasileiros colocaram lá no Facebook [...] eu quero continuar só pelo que eles escrevem lá, você acredita? Porque é tão bom você ver que você é reconhecido, [...] eles veem que aquilo foi feito com carinho

[131] Interviewee 1: talvez o website seja bom... um restaurante aí que não é que atinja os brasileiros. […] Que atinja todo mundo. Agora se atinge, vamos supor, uma comunidade, aí o Facebook é melhor.
Interviewee 2: É, porque ele engloba aquele tanto de gente que procura ali.

[132] o Instagram e o Facebook, [...] porque o meu público mesmo é o brasileiro - hoje é o brasileiro – então no meu caso tem que ser esse tipo, porque o meu vizinho aqui não é brasileiro. Lá no Brasil, se você abre uma pizzaria, todo mundo ao redor é brasileiro. Aqui não! Aqui, onde os brasileiros estão?!

In this light, social media's 'programmed sociality' (Bucher, 2018, p.4) becomes a significant functionality for companies to sieve through the superdiverse audience. Considering that the most credible publicity comes from people we know, and the ever-increasing level of trust people posit in online opinions (The Nielsen Company, 2015, p.4; Vásquez, 2014, p.3), the 'social media logic' (van Dijck and Poell, 2013) of Facebook accounts for both. Additionally, the level of naturalisation of this logic means that it can find room even in interpersonal face management, as in the following comment, used as a conversation starter, under a review by another user: 'My facebook just gave me a notification that u had done this review'. As with other objects in the sociocultural field, users attach meanings to brands or products and what they represent. These may relate to links between dining out and lifestyle, food and home memories, or cross-cultural food and novelty. In connection with different individuals' contextual senses of the world, they become part of scattered moments of self-performance and conviviality online. In resonance with this, Fazenda's managing director exemplifies a circuit of expression noted in the business context:

> some people […] place the review because they want to have a connection with the brand and I see that more on Facebook and Google than I do in TripAdvisor because there is much more connection with Facebook […] [They] talk in their Facebook timeline saying "We've been to Fazenda, it was amazing, is incredible!" and then they go and do their review. […] I think it's really about them acting as nowhere different that they would if they went to a concert, you know, all they want to do is to share their experience with the world. (CH2)

As we move forward adapting to new technologies of our own times, ways of sharing and expressing become intertwined with the mechanisms of the tools we use. Consider how the printing press, the telegraph, the postal service, the telephone, or the television mediated people's lives whilst being appropriated by people to facilitate life (see Seargeant, 2019, p.33; Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.1-3). Social media is a technology of our time and its naturalisation in everyday life includes Facebook's algorithmic, personal, and commercial logic. The self-presentation and interpersonal potential of social media means that a level of connection to brands as part of daily social 'digital practices' may serve relationship building, lifestyle or membership enactment purposes (see Jones et al., 2015, pp.2-3). In the first example of figure 6.2.17, the reviewer starts by evaluating the restaurant as the 'best' in town. S/he then adds a comment to the review which includes a selfie with friends and a footballer at the restaurant, captioned with the locational preposition '@' (Barton and Lee, 2013, p.179) and the footballer's name. By doing so, the reviewer offers digital proof of a state of being, publicly expressing a connection between personal taste (e.g. football), physical space, the brand, and celebrity culture as part of her/his experience and thus self-authentication (see Hess, 2015). Similarly, in example 2, the reviewer starts by evaluating the experience as 'great', staff as 'brilliant', and food as 'fantastic'. S/he then takes an epistemic stance by assessing the wine list as 'comprehensive', hinting that a level of wine knowledge was used to inform her/his judgement. Finally, knowledge evidence of the Brazilian way of dining by comparing (i.e. 'easily as good') the experience to a similar restaurant which is positively

evaluated as ‘award wining [*sic*]’ is conveyed. In this process, product/service assessments as well as connections to the brand and “good” taste (e.g. wine, award winning dining) all serve as resources for self-authentication.

Figure 6.2.17

Reviews’ Excerpts
1. **User1:** Best Restaurant in [city name]! **User1:** @ [restaurant name] with [footballer’s name] [group picture with footballer]
2. What a great way to eat. Our servers were brilliant, the food was fantastic and the wine list comprehensive. We have eaten Brazilian once before at [restaurant name] at [area name] in [city name] (an award wining restaurant) this was easily as good.

The act of online reviewing affords identity practices attached to consumption spaces which simultaneously authenticate the self and the brand and, in this way, have a significant value for entrepreneurs. Across interviewees and within their own specific business contexts, a highlighted affordance of social media seemed to relate to the switch in power relations that came with the advent of user participation. In relation to the restaurant and hospitality industry, an entrepreneur elaborates on the value of social media for reputation management:

> Interviewee: You are always depending on someone’s opinion. But the reality is that social media allows that opinion to be realistic […] social media allowed us and people from other countries and other restaurants […] to tell our story. Before we couldn’t tell our story […] I had to wait for the newspaper to create a story about me […] Now, is down to me, is not down to them. We do it, we talk about it, and then we let other people amplify it. So, I don’t depend on anybody, no business depends on anybody, it depends on yourself. So, if what you do is great, and you talk about it, and you find the right channels […] people will amplify it. So, for me is amazing, I think social media is a great thing for businesses nowadays. […] I think today people are more likely to use their own words. Before the only words we could see out there was whatever was in an editorial. […]
>
> Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah. And you can see how this relationship grows, I guess, which is something you had no way to see before, with people and how…
>
> Interviewee: Correct. (CH2)

From this perspective, social media translates into agency for both the business and for the consumer. It intersects with ‘shifts in the balance of agency in the everyday experiences of work, citizenship, and personal life’, as knowledge flows are no longer solely top-down (Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, pp.77-78; also Lomborg, 2011, p.65). As van Dijck and Poell (2013, p.9) point out, the association between consumers, content and advertisers has long implied a ‘deployment of recommendations and social networks.’ However, the amplification of WOM afforded by the ‘networked capability of digital platforms’ (Serazio and Duffy, 2017, p.485; see Thorson and Rodgers, 2019, pp.3-5) can outweigh or offset the power of top-down communication. In resonance with this, and in relation to how positive or negative social media is for business purposes, a director explains the following:

> More positive than negative. […] Because we have more good reviews than bad reviews. So in truth, there it says what your business really is.[133] (IND3)

Indeed, as noted during observation, the majority of Pages analysed had ratings between 4.5 and 5.0 out of a 5-point scale. Previous studies (Jurafsky, 2014, pp.104-106; Jurafsky et al., 2014; Hu et al., 2009) do suggest consumers most often express satisfaction on online reviews sites and that moderate views are less likely to be expressed. Moreover, even though people generally tend to express extreme views – e.g. due to tendency for trauma coping or positive self-presentation and face work (Jurafsky et al., 2014) – those who buy a product (i.e. purchasing bias) are also more likely to write positive reviews (Hu et al., 2009, p.145). This very much aligns with the following interviewee's reflection about why people comment or leave a review:

> I think it is like this, if the person likes it very, very much, they comment. If the person does not like it, a lot, they also comment. […] Neither here nor there, they don't…[134] (IND3)

Following this, the ways people feel about their experience or content may trigger online actions. As such, it is the combination of the platform capabilities with human social nature that turns reviews into a valuable tool for promotion. Mostly, interactions across reviews are made of responses from the company to consumers. The frequency and content of company replies vary across the dataset but often consist of expressions of gratitude such as 'Thank you so much! ❤️', or are tailored according to the reviewer's comments, as in figure 6.2.18.

> **Figure 6.2.18**
> 'Nós é que agradecemos por ter escolhido nossa casa para comemorar seu niver e celebrar a vida, User1! Muito obrigado.'
>
> [*We are the ones to thank you for having chosen our house to celebrate your bday and celebrate life, User1! Thank you very much.*]

Here, the company personalises and creates intimacy by mentioning the topic of the review ('niver'/'bday') and directly addressing the user (i.e. 'User1'), signposting the time invested specifically with that individual in mind. As the comment under a post 'good to see a company actually monitoring their social media pages and replying - and in a timely manner 😀' left by a user suggests, this is appreciated by some.

[133] Mais positivo do que negativo. [...] Porque a gente tem mais boas reviews do que bad reviews. Então na verdade, ali fala o que realmente é o seu negócio.

[134] Eu acho assim, se a pessoa gosta muito, muito, ela comenta. Se ela não gosta, muito, ela também comenta. [...] Não fedeu não cheirou, ela não...

In this circuit of interpersonal communication within the promotional space, practices of solidarity and conviviality towards companies and between consumers were also part of users' repertoires. In the first example of figure 6.2.19, whilst User1 evaluates the service as 'fantastic', a level of dissatisfaction is expressed in evaluating the meat as '2 rare'. This is, however, counterbalanced by the user through highlighting her/his view does not represent that of those with whom the experience was shared, who 'loved it'. User2 then interacts by sharing her/his matching experience (i.e. 'felt the same') and proceeds to introduce a counterpoint, marked by the conjunction 'but' (Myers, 2010, p.111), to contextualise the misunderstanding into the mechanics of the service system. User1 then makes a concession by highlighting her/his unawareness (i.e. 'didn't know'), expresses gratitude (i.e. 'thank you'), and follows by saying s/he would go back. Solidarity is also expressed by the user in the second example, who feels 'surprised' by some reviews encountered as these do not match her/his experience. The user introduces her/his positioning through the mental verb 'believe', suggesting one should feedback in person (i.e. 'tell them!'), as opposed to directly expressing views publicly. Whilst the review expresses solidarity towards the company, it directly communicates with an audience of reviewers. Furthermore, having posted in Portuguese on another occasion, the user's choice to write in English would then signpost an awareness of a wider, multilingual audience with whom s/he wishes to communicate her/his positioning (see Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.178).

Figure 6.2.19

Reviews' Excerpts
1. '**User1:** The service was fantastic […] but the meats were far 2 rare for me. Rest of the family loved it and would give a 5* though.... **User2:** The first time I went here I felt the same thought the meat was way to rare but they cook it more if u ask n do just how you like it **User1:** I didn't know this so thank you will definitely go back now…
2. I have seen bad reviews from Brazilian people and got surprised as didn't have any bad experience so far. I believe that if you think the feijoada it's not up to scratch....tell them! […] I love going there with friends'

The turn to engagement made possible by the advent of user-generated content means that offline WOM practices and feelings of audiences can permeate the public online sphere and extend conversations to those outside their circles. These practices are shaped by moments of rapid information sharing which can extend the sense of likeness into the outer world, and in this sense, form clusters of convivial experiences and senses of 'togetherness' (Schrooten, 2012). With platform affordances such as GIFs, stickers, or emojis, and the mutual orientation implied by web interactions, the traditional 'nonpersonal' (Richards and Curran, 2002) character of promotional discourse is rapidly changing, increasingly allowing more room for the personal and the informal in meaning-making processes (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.90; Hower, 2018). In figure 6.2.20, the company textually thanks the consumer for

the multimodal act of leaving 5 stars and applauds the act through clapping hands emojis. The consumer reciprocates by replying with a GIF made from a scene from the film 'Wayne's World' (Murray, 2017) in which the character smiles with his thumbs up.

Figure 6.2.20
'User1 reviewed [company name] – 5★
Company: Thanks so much, User1. 👏 👏
User1:


Given the multimodal as well as the 'high oral quality' of SNSs (Yus, 2011, p.118), social media consumption spaces then afford senses of intimacy and affect previously less connected with promotional content. As the interactive character of spaces creates room for less private and formal business exchanges (e.g. email vs phone vs comment box), generic boundaries which inform our conceptualisations of business transactions constantly evolve (see Bhatia, 2005, pp.219-220). This relates to the functionalities of the platform and the lower control levels held by like-minded content creators, such as professional groups, for instance, in mass media production, where content reproduction (i.e. resemblance) is more likely than innovation (Lomborg, 2011, p.66).

The presence and influence of digital affordances in our daily lives has material value in how we make judgements, manage our whereabouts, and express opinions. We can get a glimpse of this through the discourse of the reviewers. In figure 6.2.21, the user in the first example explains that 5 stars were given to the company due to Facebook not allowing 10. Whilst the user takes an appreciative stance by implying the company deserves more than possibly expressible, Facebook's agency is conceptualised through its capability of determining the measure at which something is evaluated. In the second excerpt, as the user points to the search on Facebook as part of the process of choosing to visit the restaurant, the influence of the platform in people's everyday movements is highlighted. In the third example, the user evaluates the food as 'amazing', points to 'other reviews' as evidence for the claim, which is supported with adverbs 'obviously' and 'just', and finishes by reinforcing her/his opinion with the affect verb 'love'. By alluding to other reviews, s/he grants the opinion of fellow consumers enough weight to inform one's judgment, which speaks to the increased level of reliance posited on online communication (The Nielsen Company, 2015, p.4; Vásquez, 2014, p.3). Lastly, the user in the fourth example leaves a review as a response to content rather than service, signposting a level of routine visual contact (i.e. 'vejo sempre'/'always look') with the restaurant's publications which suffice to publicly evaluate the place.

Figure 6.2.21

Reviews' Excerpts
1. 'Eu gostaria de deixar as minhas 5 estrelas porque possivelmente o facebook não deixaria colocar 10.' [*I would like to leave my 5 stars because possibly facebook would not allow putting10.*]
2. 'fiz a pesquisa no Facebook sobre o restaurante brasileiro mais próximo da minha área e encontrei este.. .. Viemos e gostamos.' [*I did the search on Facebook about the closest Brazilian restaurant of my area and found this.. .. We came and enjoyed it.*]
3. 'The food is obviously amazing, just look at the other reviews. […] I love this place.'
4. 'Ainda não tive oportunidade de conhecer pessoalmente, mais acredito ser de boa qualidade. Pelas publicações na página onde eu vejo sempre. Obs :muito bonito o ambiente e de boa aparência os pratos divulgado' [*I did not have the opportunity to see it in person, but I believe it to be of good quality.* *By the publications in the page where I always look.* *Ps. the space is very beautiful and the advertised dishes are of good appearance*]

This embeddedness of digital tools in our routines was also mentioned during the interviews. In this sense, on reflection about the significance of platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, a director explained:

> people like seeing pictures of the food, of what it looks like […] So, it is like a portfolio, that I have there, people ask [for a dish], see it, I show and so on […] And it is also good for people to have it. It is a portfolio that people have in their house too, isn't it, it is there on the mobile and when they want something different, they can look there, if we have it or not, and can come over[135] (IND5)

Changes in how things get done are intertwined with the expanded levels of agency of those involved in communicating. In comparison with the passive commissioning and receiving exercise entailed by traditional media, the ability to use participatory new media requires users to understand social and technical architectures which create a 'new cognitive load' (Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, p.77). In combination with the communicative goals emergent in the social context, levels of development in cognitive activities which are necessary for taking advantage of new communication technologies reshape abilities, conceptualisations, and the way we experience the world.

[135] as pessoas gostam de ver foto da comida, de como que é [...] Então, é tipo um portfólio, eu tenho ali, a pessoa pede, já vê, eu mostro e tal [...]. E é bom pra pessoa também ter. É um portfólio que as pessoas têm na casa delas também, né, tem ali no celular e quando quiser alguma coisa diferente, pode olhar lá, se a gente tem ou não tem, e pode vim

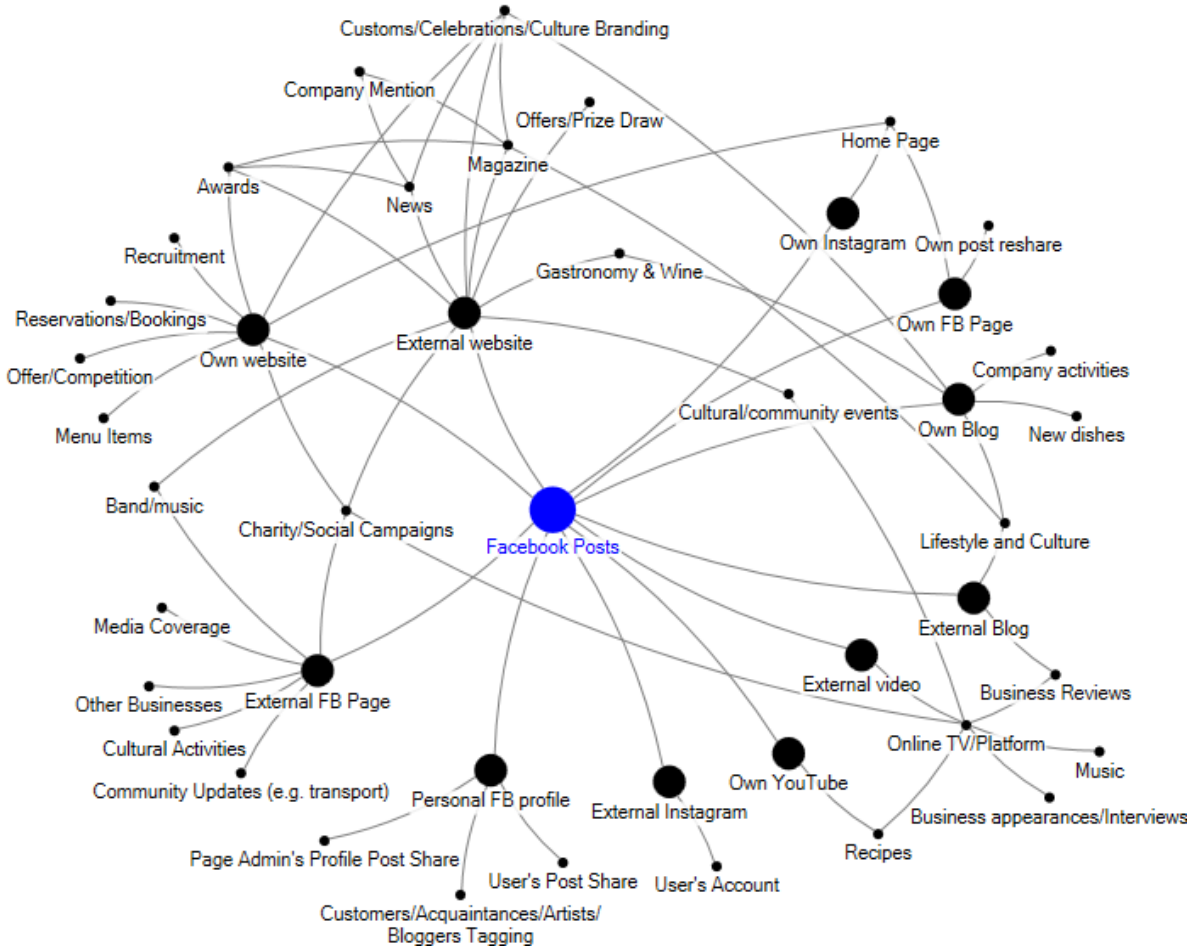
6.3 Conclusion

The present chapter has paid specific attention to the intersection between communicators, language production, and platform affordances entwined in everyday processes of business-/self-presentation and connectivity. Drawing on interpretations from the data, observational insights, and the perspective of entrepreneurs, it has addressed the significance of and roles played by Pages, and the digital more broadly, in the everyday realisation of actions, relationships, and sense of community for companies and consumers.

In considering the discourses of both companies and consumers, the multidirectional nature of communication, and affordances encapsulated within Pages' "about" section, posts and "reactions", comments, and reviews, intersections between technology, mundane communication, and human action were emphasised. These included the afforded social expression, conviviality, advocacy, and professional practices realised through platform features and (trans)languaging. This foregrounds the evolving communicative aspects connected to human-technology relationships, which entail multimodal and multiple generic resemblances in discourse, digitally mediated service practices, and the bridging of the platform in the consolidation of actions. To this end, Facebook Pages were analysed according to their possibilities and properties combined, as opposed to properties in isolation (see Gibson, 1977, pp.67-68). Along with 'microhegemonies' (Blommaert, 2018, pp.50-51) governing the superdiverse repertoires and situated sociocultural fields, the technological properties available within Pages afford parties involved levels of agency in the public space which can translate into contextual visibility. Exploring communication in this light has also brought to the surface the intertwined social, commercial, and programmed character of relationships created and managed (trans)locally through the platform by multiple parties. This points to the evolving 'cognitive load' (see Cope and Kalantzis, 2007, p.77) that comes with understanding the complex and fluid net of possibilities and architectures of communication in our times.

In making sense of the intertwined state of social, personal, and consumption practices and the digital, insights from the interviewees as well as awareness of the connected state of communicative tools and spaces were key for contextualising the sociocultural and technical aspects of communicative processes. These made it possible to reach closer into the variety of audiences, professional practices, diversity of communicative contexts, and the fragmented ways communication moves across online-offline dimensions. Intertextual links to other discourses, modes of communication, and online spaces are present throughout, and are part of the flow of content readers may engage with. The types of hyperlinks and thus spaces to which consumers are invited to navigate from within posts provide a glimpse into the possible directions that posts may lead from within Facebook and into the wider virtual space. Illustration 7 reflects the hyperlink flow I have encountered within the posts analysed.

Illustration 7: Facebook Posts' Intertextual Hyperlink Flow



Although discourses from these spaces did not comprise the primary dataset for this thesis, awareness of them provided a tangible route to contextual cues as well as an evolving realisation of the clustered nature of online practices.[136]

To conclude, the affordances manifested within Facebook promotional Pages are interlinked with social, technological, algorithmic, and commercial practices. Social media plays a central role in how society communicates and how knowledge circulates. Its complexities are, therefore, relevant for discussion from many angles and across diverse disciplines and contexts. Within the context of this

[136] In keeping with the focus on the significance that Facebook Pages (and SNSs more broadly) have for communication and communicators, this chapter has concentrated on practices emergent within this context. Other advertising practices mentioned by companies include magazines, newspapers, TV, electronic billboards, and radio. However, for some interviewees, traditional advertising no longer plays a part, has not played a part, or plays a minor part in their public engagement. This is not to say that traditional forms of advertising are not relevant but are more or less contextually helpful depending on the business. For companies who have been in the market since before Pages existed (see Brügger, 2015) or became popular, other forms of media naturally played a role in their journey. This is the case, for instance, with one of the companies interviewed, who considered traditional advertising such as electronic billboards, TV, magazines, and radio essential for the business given the clientele for whom the company caters and their localised marketing focus.

project, the aim was not to applaud, or otherwise, any glories or misfortunes of the advent of social media (see Demata et al., 2018, pp.II-IV), but to systematically analyse its mechanisms, resulting transformations for communication, and affordances of engagement for those involved. Technological innovation and transformations are, after all, constant in our society and have always been powerful forces in the lives of those who are simultaneously influenced by them and appropriate them (Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.1-3). From a language use perspective, and in line with the aim of this thesis to grasp the multidirectional communicative context, the task was then to establish how communication is achieved 'with respect to different modes, media and audiences in specific communicative situations' (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p.64).

Chapter 7: Concluding Reflections

This final chapter summarises the findings of this thesis in relation to its research questions. It will start by addressing the three research questions that have guided this research, pointing to key outcomes throughout. It will then reflect upon the methodological aspects of this thesis and how these have lent themselves to a focus which stemmed from language use through to professional and social practice. I will conclude by considering the limitations of the study, and directions for future research.

7.1 The Research Questions

This research was designed to zoom into connecting points between language, food (spaces), identity, community, and the digital from a constructive discursive perspective (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). The starting point was to shed light onto the presence of Brazilian culture in the UK through Brazilian culture entrepreneurship and with the recognition of social media as a sociocultural arena for business-/self-presentation and community performances. To this end, it took discourses emergent within Brazilian cultural food Facebook promotional Pages as a focal point from which to broaden knowledge about the different aspects of language use and actions enabled by this environment, and the significance of the digital for the parties involved.

In chapters 4, 5, and 6, overlapping points of interest were explored with each chapter complementing the others whilst addressing specific attention to one of the research questions. Chapter 4 concentrated on overall language use through the application of four linguistic frameworks to Pages' posts, comments, and reviews, detailing and paying attention to the communicative resources shaping practices within, and in relation to the expression of identity and collectives through Pages. Chapter 5 took insights from the application of the frameworks and combined these with insights from interviews and online observation, as well as triangulation with the literature reviewed and desktop research, to explore identity authentication processes in connection to themes emergent from the data. In a similar mindset, chapter 6 addressed the relationship of parties involved in communication with the digital as a tool for getting things done. In doing so, it concentrated on the interplay between communication and Pages' affordances for business/self-presentation and processes of connectivity. The following research questions were addressed:

7.1.1 Communication Strategies and Engagement

Research Question 1

In relation to Brazilian gastronomic spaces in the UK: how is communication achieved within Facebook promotional Pages?

- What are the communicative strategies employed by both businesses and consumers to present themselves and engage online?
- How do these strategies vary according to their target audience?

In chapter 4, I presented the results of the application of the adopted frameworks, detailing highlighted communication strategies employed by companies and consumers within the Pages. In doing so, a broad understanding of communication practices taking place was acquired, allowing for a detailed illustrative record of language use, and for the identification of areas for further exploration according to the aims of the research. This has signposted the level of complexity and diversity of language behaviour across chains and independent companies, language codes, topics, and style, and it has also highlighted discursive patterns which were indicative of communicative purposes. Overall, and at different levels, depending on the communicator, language use resembles both casual/'disinterested' (Hower, 2018) and commercial/promotional discourse, pointing to a circular discursive influence between addressees and addressers. Below, I reflect on insights from the four analytical frameworks applied in chapter 4 in relation to communication strategies and engagement.

Herring's Classification Scheme

Herring's (2007) scheme for CMD provided a window onto the structural and contextual affordances of the space, bringing to the fore the possibilities of the communication environment. Analytically, the scheme afforded awareness of insightful features such as the asynchronous, open-ended, and multimodal nature of communication, "tagging/mentioning" features, persistence of transcript, present codes, topical grasp, and the 'anchored' (Zhao et al., 2008, p.1818) character of the communicative space. These highlight developments in meaning-making processes in relation to synchronous communication since multiple interactions are unconditioned by time and presence whilst being influenced by persistency of transcript, publicity, and structural affordances of the space.

Bhatia's Moves in Promotional Discourse

As well as providing a description of rhetorical moves within company posts, the application of Bhatia's (1993; 2004; 2005) model (chapter 4 - 4.2) has revealed interesting insights into 1. the possibilities brought by Pages for the realisation of these moves; and 2. the extent to which company posts differ from and/or conform to typical advertising moves in this context. In relation to item 1, the data has

signposted that together with lexical items, a substantial role is played by the Pages' built-in mechanisms and multimodality in the realisation of promotional moves (see Painter et al., 2013; Eisenlauer, 2014). For instance, in addition to colours, font sizes and style, reader attraction is also made possible by images, emojis, hashtag descriptors, and the platform's built-in modes of expression, such as the automatic colouring and labelling of action descriptions within status updates (e.g. "shared an event" or "shared a link") which are placed at the top of posts. Additionally, combined with the possibility for companies to post at their own will, product/service description can include visuals which reinforce lexical meanings (i.e. emphasise key messages through images), provide evaluative meaning (e.g. emojis), add layers of meaning, or convey meaning alone. In other words, commitment to meaning in posts can be realised in dynamic ways and across the various semiotic systems available. Along with lexical resources, companies also establish credentials and endorsements multimodally through posting selfies and pictures of celebrities, sharing customers' public posts or "check-ins", links to articles with company mentions or cultural information, and celebrating digital achievements (e.g. Page "likes"). Common print advertisement moves, such as offering incentives (e.g. offers), applying pressure tactics (e.g. limiting offer by time), and soliciting response (e.g. contact routes such as phone number) within posts can also take multimodal forms and involve/require multimodal actions from users. For instance, participating in offers and/or following routes of contact with companies may include "liking", "sharing", "mentioning"/"following" a post/ad/account, online bookings/subscriptions, navigating hyperlinks, or entering competitions online. In relation to item 2, the analysis has shown that whilst posts do conform with typical promotional moves (see chapter 4/illustration 3), the presence of non-product specific information, company views, experience descriptions, or mundane remarks serve a phatic and convivial function. To account for these, a move called "Building relationships and conviviality" was created, which together with other impression management and interactional moves such as "Establishing credentials" and "Soliciting response", have pointed to image/identity building and engagement as highlighted communicative actions in the space, as opposed to primarily product's "persuasiveness".

Audience Design

Analysing the data from an audience design perspective (Bell, 1984; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Androutsopoulos, 2014) has allowed a closer look into how discourses from posts, comments, and reviews are tailored according to different levels of audience awareness. In other words, how communicative resources are strategically deployed to connect to intended and/or imagined recipients. In analysing the affordances of the environment in relation to content dissemination and connectivity, the following points stood out:

- If users "like" or follow a Page, they may see content from this Page in their news feed.

- If users' friends interact with a given promotional Page, users may also see the Page's content on their news feed.
- If companies choose to use Facebook ads services, users may see these in their news feed.
- Engagement features include "liking", "reacting", tagging, "mentioning", commenting, and reviewing.
- The public character of Pages means that the general readership of companies and users remains invisible and can include both acquainted and unacquainted parties.

The analysis has brought to the surface a series of resources deployed by posters and commenters/reviewers to invoke, often simultaneously, different sections of their audiences. These were considered in light of the following participant roles: the addressee, the bystander, and the overhearer.

Addressee: some of the main ways in which specific individuals or entities can be addressed include the use of the vocative voice, tagging and "mentioning" features, language code, and topic. As with previous research (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014), the design of posts is most often undirected, with addressivity towards a specific account happening only occasionally. Whilst this is also the case within reviews (though bearing in mind a review is in itself a responsive action towards a company), the opposite is seen within comments, as commenters often orient towards a company and/or other commenters. This reveals comment boxes under posts as spaces characterised by multidirectional communication, where, as further discussed in chapter 6, single "mentioning" acts were observed to perform an information-forwarding role, and where compilations of threads and scattered comments take place. This suggests a possible variation in behaviour from personal profiles, where commenters seem to engage less often with each other to avoid long interactions in friends' news feeds (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, p.174; McLaughlin and Vitak, 2011, p.306), and may be explained by the publicness of the Pages together with the higher likelihood of personal relationships between commenters than between post initiators and commenters. Nonetheless, a noticeable use of Portuguese by and towards independent companies (including responses to messages initiated in English), as well as insights gained from the interviews, pointed to expectations of language reciprocity and/or possible levels of acquaintance between communicators (e.g. local/regular clients, friends/family), highlighting the role of language in bonding and pursuing connectivity. Another highlighted communication aspect, which also ties into discussions in chapter 6 and relates to the publicness of the platform, was the unfinished character of interactions in comment boxes, which may be influenced by users' assessments of publicness and choice of media channels available other than Facebook.

Bystander: across companies' posts, the main strategies indexing different groups or layers of audiences included 1. audience partitioning via the use of Portuguese and Brazilian cultural or localised shared knowledge; 2. 'explicitness' (see Lanstyák and Heltai's, 2012, p.113) in primarily English posts to

introduce aspects of culture and tradition to those who are unfamiliarised; 3. reference to time, local/neighbourhood events, and lifestyle, appealing to and assuming the existence of alignment with a given layer of audience members; 4. the presence of Portuguese dish names, greetings, and food sector terms into primarily English posts, expressing shades of cultural identity (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, p.36); and 5. the presence of English words within primarily Portuguese posts, reflecting mundane translingual repertoires (see Wei, 2011), signalling awareness of translocal collectives through discourse. Overall, it was interesting to note that whilst English as a lingua franca is predominant across all companies' discourses (and expected given the desired reach implied by promotional practices), the presence of primarily Portuguese posts among independent companies was still significant, and for some, it was a primary code. This speaks to superdiversity, as it suggests the awareness of a sufficiently solid Portuguese speaking audience in the sociocultural field. This was noted in companies in the London areas which are known to have a Portuguese-speaking audience, but also elsewhere, highlighting the potential of the digital in reaching beyond expected boundaries. Across comments and reviews, the presence of different linguistic systems and resources was also noted. As part of a process of value co-creation (Kelly-Holmes, 2020), these reflected acts of self and/or company authentication which were further explored in chapter 5. Overall, users' language code, topic, and hints referring to common knowledge/concerns were highlighted as indicators of awareness of bystanders. In this sense, among other themes, it was interesting to note that novelty and/or experience descriptions seemed pronounced in English, whilst nostalgia and home matters seemed more evident in Portuguese. In choosing to "vocalise" these, the varied audiences with whom users associate, and their ways of interpreting and relating to food spaces, came to the fore.

Overhearers: the most salient resource to maximise reach was the use of English, with three patterns highlighted throughout: 1. the delivery of main content (e.g. dish/service descriptions, festive wishes) in both languages to maximise and acknowledge all possible recipients (noted in posts and reviews); 2. the use of assumed "host" broad shared knowledge within posts (e.g. weather remarks, holidays, or social issues) to connect content to as many individuals as possible; and 3. drawing on both local and global (gastronomic) practices and imaginaries to name and/or create dishes/services. This merging with locally circulating multicultural imaginaries (see Cook et al., 1999) works to translate, create, and disseminate cultural nuances, highlighting the 'glocalization' (Robertson, 1995) processes at play in the superdiverse sociocultural field through discourse.

Company and Consumer Stance-Taking Online

The analysis of stance-taking, informed by insights from Biber et al. (1999), Martin and White (2005), Du Bois (2007), Barton and Lee (2013), Georgalou, (2017), and further literature on the subject, explored the different modes and resources used in discourse for the expression of attitudes, feelings, and beliefs, and the themes surrounding these positionings. As such, it zoomed into ways identity

construction emerges in discourse whilst attending to topics and nuances coexistent with the evident product/service description/assessment character of promotional discourse. The following modes and resources for stance-taking have stood out in the analysis.

Direct stance-taking: lexical items such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and nouns. Examples of these are "fantastic", "authentic", "friendly", "adore", or "recommend". These are deployed by users and companies to evaluate, describe, and emphasise aspects and views in connection to food and spaces of consumption.

CMC-specific stance-taking: typographic resources such as emoticons and emojis (😋,🇧🇷,💪🏼), stickers ( , 😍), word reductions ("lv it/love it", "dlc/delícia"), acronyms ("lol"), unconventional punctuation, capitalisation, and vowel/consonant lengthening were used throughout. These enable the expression of paralinguistic features of language (e.g. gestures and intonation), along with descriptive, symbolic, and emotional meaning-making through typing.

Indirect stance-taking: these combine the strategic use of language, semiotic signs, and contextual inferences to produce implicit meaning in discourse. Highlighted examples of resources and their potential are: declarative sentences which convey an uncontested tone; generic pronouns such as "you" which can work to universalise experience through shades of alignment and empathy; rhetorical questions for suggestive point of view alignment by hinting at the assumed obvious; imperatives for senses of beneficial authority; puns and metaphors which often offer humour, symbolic comparisons, and multiple meaning-making; and code-switching which can both align with and challenge different receivers whilst indexing senses of self and the world. Along with these, the role played by semiotic signs such as pictures of food or ambience in delivering/adding layers of subjective (translocal) familiarity, and hence memory triggers, stood out. Other highlighted markers were the use of superlative (e.g. "best/melhor") for emphasis on certainty, the possessive pronoun "nosso(a)/our" in connection with collective awareness, and the Portuguese diminutive suffix "inho" for added affection.

Cross-modal stance-taking: semiotic resources can play reinforcing, complementary, self-contained, implied, and paralinguistic roles in meaning-making processes. In addition to the most evident resources such as images, stickers, and emojis, other resources include: URLs which can serve as intertextual links carrying extended paths of informational load; GIFs and memes which can add humour, affect, and intertextual/encapsulated meanings from circulating discourses; and similarly, virtual promotional flyers, own and/or users' posts, "check-ins", videos, and reviews. All of these are made possible by affordances of the platform such as (re)posting and (re)sharing, which allow the recontextualisation and reorientation of pre-existent discourses (Varis and Blommaert, 2015).

Collaborative stance-taking: collaborative or intersubjective stance-taking refers to the process in which communicators draw on available resources and contextual cues to co-create positionings, opinions, and relationships in interaction. In dialogue, resources are drawn by the parties involved to manage face, express humour, influence and (dis)align with each other, and share experiences. Through this process, ties are built and maintained, ideas are recontextualised, and views are reshaped in discourse. Within the Pages analysed, as foregrounded in chapter 5, this happens along with intertextual flows of information in the multidirectional communicative space, as value, knowledge, and positionings are disseminated, co-created, and negotiated across scattered acts of posting, commenting, reviewing, and "reacting" (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020).

7.1.2 Language Use and Authentication

Research Question 2

What can language use within promotional Facebook Pages reveal about consumer and company identity authentication online in a globalised context?

- How do discursive practices go beyond plain product description and assessment and into social and professional performances?

Chapter 5 explored the connection between 'language around food' (Riley and Paugh, 2019) and identity performance in light of the co-construction of authenticity (Bucholtz, 2003) by attending to discursive identity expressions, context, and shades of meaning intertwined with promotional discourse and its product description/assessment character. I started by considering resources for authentication across company names. The following points stood out:

- Names can be descriptive of a specific product in which a company specialises. This can offer the product-acquainted reader a straight route into its relevance and depending on the sociocultural field and communicative practices of the company, it can both narrow and/or broaden the audience design. On the one hand, company names highlighting specific cultural products not yet widely known by the mainstream audience directly speak to niches within the superdiverse context. This is because the cultural significance, and thus authenticity implied by the product, is fulfilled by, for instance, "home" knowledge already acquired by the audience. On the other hand, company names descriptive of a product may also aim more widely by simultaneously signposting the unfamiliar and the familiar to a diverse audience through combining language use and a narrative which speaks to the mix of available circulating knowledges about a given food type or culture.
- Names can often refer to the country of origin on different levels. These include references to Brazil, Brazilian states, and/or regional expressions. A highlighted aspect in adding layers of

authenticity to the names was the significance of the national language as a claim of 'ontology' (Coupland, 2003), for instance, by including the official spelling of the country name (e.g. "Brasil" vs "Brazil"). Although reference to country of origin stands out as a marker of authenticity within names, this was noted to vary across companies. The use of the national language in itself, without direct reference to specific cultural markers, can also work as an index of authenticity. Names can stem from home memories, be influenced by matters such as ease of pronunciation, personal heritage, and shades of cultural practices, as opposed to direct or explicit allusions to the country itself.

- Names can also be influenced by the trajectories of their creators. Insights from the interviewing process and further desktop research brought to the fore the rich diversity of life histories that can lead to cultural entrepreneurship, drawing a connecting line across professional, commercial, and personal fulfilment. In this way, aspects of mobility, cultural heritage, memories, translocal and globalised experiences, as well as business intentions, can be encapsulated within chosen company names and brand concepts developed by entrepreneurs.

In the remaining sections of chapter 5, I explored the co-construction of authenticity by companies and consumers within posts, comments, and reviews, in relation to matters of home, world and belonging, cross-cultural mediations, and (trans)local social and mundane affairs. Within the multidirectional nature of the communicative space, an interplay between company and consumers' explicit or implicit discursive feedback takes place via posting, commenting, reviewing, and "reacting". In this process, views are reinforced and negotiated, further informing and fomenting a circular process of dissemination in which companies and audiences align with and adapt to each other in a given sociocultural context. Below, I reflect on highlighted aspects of communication in relation to the discussed themes.

Home, World, and Belonging

In relation to home, world, and belonging, discursive expression has signposted the potential of food (spaces) in appealing to memory and nostalgia, and as a coping mechanism for the diasporic process of being "here" and "there" experienced by some when abroad (Ahmed, 2000; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015). This relates to previous discussions on the presence of Brazilians in the UK, and the role of food and public spaces in providing opportunities for social networking and identity performances connected to translocal experiences (e.g. Frangella, 2010; Martins Junior, 2020; Brightwell, 2012a; Sheringham, 2010). Through both lexical and semiotic signs, companies appeal and respond to such memories and emotions. This process includes the use of resources such as Portuguese, allusions to eating habits, formats and routine, and to the sensorial, comforting, and mundane value of homemade food in connection with assumed home experiences and knowledge of the audience.

Authenticity construction was also expressed by reference to Brazilian regionality, which speaks to the diverse presence of Brazilians in the UK, the relevance certain cultural aspects can acquire in the process of mobility (Brightwell, 2012a), and the awareness of a varied Brazilian imagined audience abroad. This significance of home, world, and belonging in relation to food spaces is reinforced and ratified by audiences by means of multimodal stance-taking, which includes expressions of place-bound memories, personal attachments, and alignments and affects through lexical and semiotic means and multimodal acts such as commenting back to companies, "reacting" to posts, leaving reviews, and holding conversations with other users.

In this context, authenticity is co-constructed through the expression of fluid (trans)locally relevant attachments, and under the influence of cross-cultural and globalised conviviality (see Nava, 2002). In their own contexts, companies work towards finding a balance between drawing upon enough emblematic references of varied identity aspects (see Blommaert and Varis, 2013), and the possible imagined recipients of their content. In this light, authenticity enactment can include shades of 'value' and 'consensus' (Coupland, 2003) both acquired "back home" and emergent from trajectories of mobility in combination with the sociocultural habitus businesses and consumers find themselves in and seek alignment with.

Cross-cultural Mediations

Exploring cross-cultural mediations has emphasised communicative processes which express and fuse the new, the familiar, the global, and "host" cultural imaginaries. Often with a wide, international audience in mind (i.e. "host" society residents, including Brazilians), value co-creation between brands and consumers highlights processes of cultural and social encounters, cosmopolitan, consumption, and lifestyle practices. These speak to the social and "break from boredom" value encapsulated in dining out activities (Warde and Martens, 2000), which, in the context of this thesis, includes encounters with cultural nuances and imaginaries embedded in experiences of food consumption (see Cook et al., 1999; Möhring, 2008; Karrebæk and Maegaard, 2017). This can simultaneously work to highlight and normalise difference, given the cross-cultural conviviality possible in superdiverse societies. As part of the process of performing culture internationally, scattered discursive layers of 'historicity' and 'ontology' (Coupland, 2003) within Pages (as well as other disseminating points, e.g. websites or blogs) play a part in brand authentication processes. Discursive performances involve references to gastronomic practices, cultural insights into Brazil and/or Latin America (e.g. sport, art, tourism, customs, natural beauty), and the use of translations, paraphrasing, and the national language within primarily English communicative acts. These happen along with and fused to "host" circulating (global and local) knowledge and imaginaries (e.g. festivities, gastronomy, customs), bringing to the fore

cosmopolitan and glocalised cultural, gastronomic, and social expressions which can be emblematic of identities in the context of a globalised society.

The global background from which these practices stem means that consumption and social experiential nuances as well as translingual practices carry both symbolic and informational meaning (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020), and emerge and circulate with those involved in discourse. In translating culture widely, the cultural and market expectations of a diverse pool of potential recipients become relevant. This can be a challenging task for entrepreneurs, as it involves balancing the assumed "host" and country of origin taste, the infinitude of memories that can be acquired through mobility and attached to food, as well as available circulating imaginaries. Against this backdrop, idealisations of the roles and purposes of food spaces are vast. This means that the already flexible range of features which can ratify authenticity for those most acquainted with the country of origin may not be the same as for those absorbing aspects of a given culture from a distant setting. Throughout users' discourses, performances signpost cultural marvelling and claims of knowledge, encounters with novelty and cross-cultural negotiations, globalised conviviality and senses of self, along with simultaneous encounters with the familiar and unfamiliar (see Fischler, 1988; Lu and Fine, 1995; Hayes, 2009; Molz, 2007; 2011; Vásquez and Chik, 2015; Riley and Paugh, 2019).

(Trans)Local Social and Mundane Expressions

In addition to allusions to home, world, belonging and cross-cultural mediations, (trans)local social and mundane expressions emerge through discourse. These are references to fresh circulating knowledge which go beyond cultural emblematic signs of authenticity and which are enabled by the spontaneous and fragmented nature of social media. Authenticity in this manner comes in the form of instantaneous delivery of phatic, convivial and "up to date" discourse which allows companies to add a current and fluid personal/intimate tone to their organisational and cultural expert identity. Combined with user-generated content, these communicative practices create opportunities for daily alignment with a cosmopolitan and superdiverse audience through various topics and intertextual nuances. These often relate to relevant (trans)local social and mundane matters including environmental, political, lifestyle, weather, or current news.

Though replies to content in this context also occurred, alignment from users was mostly noticeable in the form of "reactions". This is possibly related to the broad topical addressivity potential of the content. Whilst social and mundane topics appeal to many members of the audience, they do so independently of cultural or specific knowledge levels, and may, therefore, not individualise experience projections as directly as other topics. In this way, such posts can serve a socialising and visibility role and therefore foster memorability, engagement, and sympathy. Together with Pages' features which allow users rapid

multimodal stance-taking such as “reactions”, convivial and phatic connotations in promotional discourse fit the social networking “mood” of the space. This allows for the possibility of humanising the brand in alignment with ‘*miniature* aspects of life’ and recipients’ ‘small sociocultural roles’, as opposed to ‘totalizing categorical identities’ (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.144, emphasis in original). In doing so, and reinforced by users’ engagement, these affordances and participants shape the production and composition of public content disseminated.

To finish, and before moving on to address the final research question, an intersecting point found across the above thematic layers relates to how cross-cultural and translocal encounters take place in a globalised world, and how these permeate and are reflected in the messages produced in the context of this thesis. The aforementioned themes and strategies overlap across discourses of companies and users, with some being more noticeable across independent or chain Pages. However, at different levels and tailored according to communication goals, these practices occur across the data analysed and are not exclusive to one type of company or another. Depending on which layers of the audience a given post aims for, strategies and topics are drawn upon accordingly, and resonating or divergent user-generated content may follow. Insights from the data and the interviews have pointed to how distinct world views and repertoires can blend over time in the context of globalisation. In contemporary Britain, cross-cultural encounters do not necessarily start at or happen in isolation through moments of cultural food experiences, or say, holidays. Knowledge is built through daily conviviality in schools, universities, work, transnational residency, which result in superdiverse personal, professional, and public relationships that many of us engage in within the UK urban scenario. This reveals a two-fold process. On the one hand, this can prompt translocal affiliations, multiple empathies, diversity awareness or naturalisation, and thus a level of normalisation of difference (Nava, 2002), which suggests that intertextual links available in the sociocultural field are superdiverse, adding flexibility to authentication practices and their ratifications (see Blommaert and Varis, 2013). On the other hand, entrepreneurs face a complex sociocultural arena in which to find a balance between mediated signs, the ever-growing potential ratifications of authenticity, and market intrinsic forces (see Lu and Fine, 1995; Frost, 2011; Kellman, 2019, p.341; Brightwell, 2012a; Vignolles and Pichon, 2014). Discursively, this results in social and commercial communicative practices on the web which reflect the complexity of the social fabric therein, and can exercise a level of force in developments of ‘public norms of discourse’, including an extension of the visibility of translingual practices (see Androutsopoulos, 2007, pp.226-227). This clustered yet fused sense of urban glocality is reflected in the discourse of consumers, companies, and in the mobile trajectories that shape the sector which, in turn, play a part in societal multilingualism.

7.1.3 Affordances, Practices, and Language

Chapter 5 primarily focused on the role of language in relation to the co-construction of authenticity, as well as the resulting alignment achieved by language use in strategic ways. Chapter 6 devoted attention to communication production online in relation to affordances of Pages as a tool for social and business practices. It explored the production of meaning entwined with processes of brand-/self-presentation and connectivity in the online-offline nexus. In doing so, it zoomed into moments in which rapid senses of "light" communities and conviviality take place, the relationship between the digital, business, social, and personal relationships, and its tangibility in the context of Brazilian cultural businesses.

> Research Question 3
>
> What do Facebook Pages' affordances and language practices reveal about processes of connectivity, relationships with and through the online sphere, and the purposes of the digital in the cultural business context?
>
> - How are the platform's affordances and language managed to get things done?
> - How are connections built or maintained?
> - How are business, social, personal, and online-offline processes intertwined?

By centring the discussion around the concept of "affordance", i.e. 'what material artifacts such as media technologies allow people to do' (Bucher and Helmond, 2017, p.235) and its role in mundane communication, chapter 6 considered the relationship between language and affordances within Facebook Pages' "about" section, posts and "reactions", comments, and reviews, as well as its intersection with the wider virtual space.

"About" Section

The "about" section of Facebook company Pages provides a hub for key features of a company to be displayed, affording aspects of brand identity to coexist in a reasonably static space. Some of the profiling discursive affordances are profile picture, cover photo, team members, company story space, contact and service details, dress code, and food type. These foreground the Pages' communicative intentions, which can then be exercised through more fluid practices such as posting and commenting as relationships are managed and maintained in the online-offline nexus. Structurally, the reconfiguration of the features encountered across other technologies into Pages re-signifies their value and thus their affordances (see boyd and Ellison, 2007). This reconfiguration signposts how the constant evolving of new technologies and communication spaces increases the options available and possibilities for action for their users. In chapter 6, this was exemplified by the inconsistent presence of websites across companies' promotional packages. This inconsistency was noted during observation, later discussed during the interviews, and suggested a switch in the significance of websites as a tool

for business expression. At the same time, the relevance of SNSs for businesses was emphasised in connection with their affordances of interactivity, WOM potential, the financial benefits of free membership, and the popularity among users. These pointed to an intersecting line across access, connectivity, social, and professional affordances, which speaks to the variety of companies considered, their needs and sociocultural arenas.

Posts and "Reactions"

The combination of language use by companies with the posting feature affords them the opportunity to position themselves and to publish tailored materials at their own leisure. Language choice in this sense plays an important role in maximising or partitioning intended recipients (Androutsopoulos, 2014) as posts are disseminated. In relation to the motivation for delivering materials primarily in one language or the other, chapter 6 has pointed to personal trajectories, the business size/investment, sociocultural context, and the brand concept idealised by entrepreneurs as influencing factors. These factors are intertwined with a combination of market demands, the necessary flow of customers implied in the realisation of a given brand concept, and the available circulating knowledges in the sociocultural arena. As such, whilst a heightened use of English can often correlate with larger companies or those in areas with a free-flow and varied customer potential, a more significant investment in the use of Portuguese may secure a smaller company a more direct connection with the niche market required for sustaining the business. Against this backdrop and amongst the aforementioned factors, language choice then becomes entwined in a net of cultural, social, and economic factors. An alternative addressivity path examined is the provision of bilingual posts (i.e. with equivalent informative content in both languages). These aim at maximising potential reach by removing language barriers, whilst embracing different layers of audiences and thus expressing an inclusive identity. Exploring bilingual posts has provided insights into how the platform's affordances of space (i.e. groups) may motivate the display of languages in posts (i.e. according to primary audience of groups). These have also shed light onto how different nuances of meaning are conveyed in different languages, that is, how sentences in different languages with similar overall meanings can be tailored to spark connotations according to the recipients' assumed knowledge (gap) or expectations, highlighting the connection between language and collective clusters of knowledge.

Within posts, the relationship between digital affordances and language production also brought to the fore the polymediated (Madianou, 2015) character of the communicative space, and how certain practices such as the use of hashtags may take place through one SNS and also be published in another. Overall, the freedom of streaming and affordances of access of the platform seem to play a significant role in facilitating an entry into the publishing space for a variety of players and translingual practices. This creates a public space where different repertoires can diffuse and thus connect with different clusters of recipients. This variety of repertoires throughout, including the use of different language

codes, translations, and the switching and merging of languages, signs, and styles, point to the translingual character of the Pages. Deliberate or otherwise, multilingual practices within Pages go from those most common in advertising to automatic switches resulting from non-unilingual thought processes and repertoires of translocality (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Santello, 2016; Wei, 2018).

Another interesting aspect regarding the mechanics of promotional social media audience design relates to the connection between creators, active circles of recipients, and the online-offline nexus. As with personal Facebook accounts, the awareness by content creators of certain audience groups and active circles of recipients (Tagg and Seargeant, 2014, pp.175-176) also influences communication processes in the public social media promotional space. This happens in moments of specific topic choice, hinting at professional partnerships, key brand identity themes, services, or activities which stem from and to offline events, conversations, encounters, and practices. This highlights the layered communicative actions across the online-offline nexus and their continuous role in creating daily senses of connectivity. This offline-online interwovenness of communicative actions was also highlighted by the tangibility of social media metrics (e.g. Page "likes") in translating company success, and by the significance of "reactions" to posts (e.g. "like", "love") as a self-expression affordance among users and in connection to specific ways of feeling (e.g. "grateful/thankful" and "Pride" "reactions").

Comments

The exploration of (inter)actions through comment boxes revealed a variety of practices of connectivity including the management of ties between companies, customers, friends, and family across locations. These have highlighted the potential of the platform to serve as a space where users can simultaneously advocate for businesses and maintain personal (family, friends, partners), social, and professional relationships both locally and translocally. Posts with images of a company's physical space were illustrative of this process, for instance by triggering "life abroad" memories, and allowing users to discursively and translocally re-connect to and re-think past experiences and physical places (see Taylor and Pitman, 2020, p.195). In this sense, ties are managed (some no longer physically possible), local and global senses of place are reworked (Massey, 1991), memories attached to food spaces and experiences are relived and projected, and social and phatic errands are carried out in scattered moments of conviviality. Also, mostly noted across independent companies was the maintenance of (trans)local ties, established pre- and post-visits, between companies and customers, friends, and family members through comment boxes. In this regard, interview data suggested that platform built-in features such as inviting friends to 'like' a Page (Facebook, 2020d) can play a role in structuring the communicative habitus for potential future interactions, highlighting the tangibility of technical features of the platform beyond the interface level. Furthermore, the dynamics of paths through which users may come to either follow or interact with Pages, such as by seeing friends' (inter)actions or being "mentioned", bring to

the fore the interwovenness of personal, social, and professional networks, the long-standing practice of WOM, and the commercial and programmed social logic of Facebook. This combination of content creators and disseminators means that content relevance is co-created, constantly validated, and may serve individual, consumption, and commercial needs in circular and simultaneous ways. As with other public and semiotic discourses we interact with daily, social media content can trigger positionings and emotional connections, and within its algorithmically powered relational action potential, be a part of daily memory work (see Bucher, 2018, p.6).

At the more practical level, comments have been shown to play a role in the organisation of gatherings, excitement projection, information forwarding specifically through the "mentioning" feature, and WOM – the latter potentialised by the (semi-)public character of the space. Furthermore, comments provide an additional path for business enquiries, including recruitment exchanges, service requests, clarifications, and reservations. Comment boxes, therefore, become one of the routes to getting things done, signposting the relationship between everyday online communication practices, affordances, and possibilities for new actions. As such, additional layers for possible actions are presented by the platform within the wider web of digital tools and spaces, transforming how (and which) humans relate to and value available technologies at a given time. The interconnectedness between the wider net of digital possibilities and communicative actions was emphasised by entrepreneurs' reflections about the use of comment boxes, email boxes, table reservation applications, phones, and the messaging application WhatsApp. In particular, the interplay between different applications and modes of communication by consumers highlighted during the interviews (e.g. a product seen on SNS and ordered via WhatsApp through both visual and written communication) exemplifies how technologies and ways of expression are intertwined across fields of interaction.

Reviews

Accessing reviews and reviewing is a mundane exercise for many as a means to inform consumer decision-making and share information with a wide audience regarding consumption practices (Jurafsky, 2014, pp.92-93). As with posts, reviews are often designed with a broad audience in mind, aiming widely with undirected content, whilst contrary to posts, they simultaneously (in)directly address companies. However, embedded within this practice of sharing widely, discourses still signpost an imagined level of commonality and possible alignment available in the sociocultural field. In the act of reviewing, different communicative habitus (see Kelly-Holmes, 2005, pp.3-4) and opinions are expressed, affording passing senses of groupness or like-mindedness across audience layers. Facebook reviewing space and its accessibility to large audiences prompts a variety of repertoires, such as user-generated translingual expressions, to participate, add, and thus reshape promotional public discourse (see Bhatia, 2005, p.224; Cope and Kalantzis, 2007). This allows for a variety of perspectives, including

those shaped by translocal experiences, to add to public knowledge on the service industry (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015). These discursive positionings and alternative alignments circulate in the public space and can translate into tangible niche entrepreneurial recognition, adding to the economic and emotional value attributed to the cultural food sector. Entwined in algorithmic, personal, and commercial logic, the self-presentation and interpersonal potential of such digital practices means that relatability of individuals to brands and their connotations can feed a lifestyle, membership, and sociality performance.

Facebook's ability to sieve through and reach further into segments of the superdiverse audience speaks to its WOM potential and the ever-increasing level of trust posited in online opinions (The Nielsen Company, 2015, p.4; Vásquez, 2014, p.3) which are powered by its programmed 'social media logic' (van Dijck and Poell, 2013). Within reviews, this programmed and sociotechnical logic was exemplified by discursive references to technology alongside daily thoughts and processes; and overall, through Facebook's functionalities such as notifying Pages and users about new metric achievements, comments, reviews, and friends' activity. This illustrates how technology itself participates in processes of sensing the context and the world, and of getting things done. It points to a circular sway and co-creation between humans and technology and thus ways in which technologies are naturalised or "domesticated" (see Pierson, 2006, pp.208-209) by people whilst also steering and mediating their lives (Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.1-3). From this point of view, levels of 'agency' (Cope and Kalantzis, 2007) are scattered and fluctuate across digital spaces, businesses, and consumers, threading across online-offline cultural, social, and economic matters. Whilst social media can exercise a level of control over people, these can also be used to resist control (Thurlow, 2017, p.138). As the interviewing process suggested, reviews, as well as SNSs in general, play an important role in a brand's public representation. These are seen to play a positive part in offsetting the power of top-down communication forces in relation to brands' reputation and agency. Businesses' own words and consumers' own words then become valuable assets for professional and personal expressions in the realm of the cultural food sector. They can transform promotional discursive practices, for instance in relation to its traditional 'nonpersonal' style (Richards and Curran, 2002), create new possibilities for actions, and have personal, professional, and convivial significance to the parties involved as they articulate themselves.

7.2 Methodological Considerations

Intimacy with the data and thus awareness of themes and practices encountered was developed as part of a process which started with observational insights that led to the sampling of rich data for the application of the linguistic frameworks. These were then enriched and evaluated in light of the contextual knowledge and feedback on communicative practices highlighted during the interviews.

These layers of both broad and confined gaze on the dataset foregrounded patterns, activities, and realisations through discourse which allowed both detailed and in-depth discussions to emerge.

To foreground the role of language and the role of the digital in identity and community processes, the chapters approached communication processes from different, yet inseparable, angles. Organising discussions in this way has allowed overlapping interests in language and the digital to be considered from distinct perspectives. First, with stronger focus on language use in strategic ways (chapter 4), and then, moving on to explore these further in connection to discursive themes, practices, and affordances of the platform (chapters 5 and 6). To address the research questions, the following rationale was adopted whilst furthering and triangulating analytical and observational insights with the relevant literature and interview learnings.

Communication Strategies and Engagement: was addressed by keeping the primary focus on systematic analysis and description of language use within posts, comments, and reviews, providing a detailed illustrative record.

Language Use and Authentication: was addressed by keeping the primary focus on discursive (co)authentication processes, connecting themes and language use online to company, individual, and collective expressions in the digital space.

Affordances, Practices, and Language: was addressed by keeping a primary focus on the relationship between Facebook Page affordances and language production and practices to achieve connectivity as part of performances of personal, professional, and collective communicative actions.

In order to work with the born-digital data (Nguyen et al., 2020, p.4) that forms the basis of this project enquiry, and to make sense of it contextually, multiple methods were employed including observation of content, notetaking, desktop research, and lexical and visual analysis of content, as well as interviews (see Androutsopoulos, 2008; Holmes, 2016, p.299). The aim was to allow for both contextual immersion and close linguistic exploration of the born-digital data to enable interpretations to be informed by systematic and reflexive analytical approaches. Insights from digital and discourse-oriented ethnographic practices (e.g. Hine, 2000; 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2008) were crucial for grasping a sense of the activities, themes, and practices across online spaces. These have provided a background from which the organisation of a non-random, rich, and feasible sample (see Herring, 2004, pp.350-351) for the application of frameworks was possible. As different frameworks contributed to different insights about the data, creating numeric values of relevant aspects during analysis provided records of interpretative qualitative impressions over time (see Boellstorff, et al., 2012, p.35). As with this research's qualitative and ethnographic inspired character, the richness of discursive constructions, emergent processes, and themes are prioritised over numeric values (see Flick, 2014, p.542). Nevertheless, quantifying the relevant phenomena (frequent or otherwise) has facilitated tracking

interpretations from all frameworks and made it possible to revisit these as further data, literature, and contextual understandings presented themselves. Considering the 'messy' (Postill and Pink, 2012) and fluid character of the web and the data-driven/bottom-up approach of this thesis, I believe its methodological design underscores the benefits of phased data immersion, collection, and organisation (see chapter 3), multiple analytical and research angles, and interdisciplinary engagement. It provides, in this way, a triangulating dimension to complex small data digital materials. In doing so, this research presents a path for gaining discursive insights from social media public spaces and translingual promotional discourses which allows bridging log data, linguistic analysis, and content producers' insights in the context of advertising (see Androutsopoulos, 2008, paragraph 40).

7.3 Overall Contributions

This thesis contributes to research into multimodal discursive identity and community co-construction through translingual Facebook promotional Pages as an arena for Brazilian food business and user performances in the UK. Previous research (e.g. Gilbert, 2016; Al-Attar, 2017; Hower, 2018) on Facebook promotional Pages explored consumer identity, multimodality, generic features, and corporate authenticity in relation to monolingual global branding. This study approaches Pages from a social perspective to intersect the digital and its affordances specifically in relation to business and consumer discursive globalised performances, the co-construction of authenticity, and processes of connectivity in the context of UK translingual food consumption spaces.

Following this, my study speaks to research on digital literacies (see Jones and Hafner, 2012; Barton and Lee, 2013, pp.138-139; Holmes, 2013, pp.134-135) by concentrating on the linguistic and semiotic resources emergent from the following: mundane communication in public social media; promotional and vernacular language production; sense-making processes; social and commercial participation; and content dissemination in public spaces. In this sense, my thesis reveals the presence of a Brazilian business participatory culture in the UK made tangible through digital and translingual practices. By extending analysis and exploration into a translingual promotional digital environment in the UK, in addition to lexical meaning, this study foregrounds the potential of situated semiotic signs and phatic expression in enacting emotions, mundane and cultural implied meanings, and conviviality (Varis and Blommaert, 2015). In doing so, this thesis adds to the existent research on translingual (multimodal) stance-taking (e.g. Georgalou, 2017) and audience design (e.g. Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Androutsopoulos, 2014), and to discussions on (social media) generic fluidity and hybridity (e.g. Bhatia, 2004; Lomborg, 2011; Miller, 2015).

In considering discourses of various local, small, and medium sized businesses, the study of multilingual promotional texts attends to (g)localised multilingual advertising, as opposed to a focus on

global ‘super-brand’ (Piller, 2003, p.176) or corporate (e.g. Hower, 2018) discourses. In this sense, it devotes attention to scattered practices and localised aspects of advertising production which foreground the subjective, professional, and social realities embedded in the situational commercial nature of advertising. By considering ‘*miniature* aspects of life’ and expressions of ‘small sociocultural roles’ emergent from the dataset (Blommaert and Varis, 2013, p.144, emphasis in original), my analysis argues for the existence of a versatile (Brazilian) cultural social media promotional discourse in a superdiverse environment. This can include an audience design which orients towards ‘the *other*’ (Brightwell, 2012a, p.58, emphasis in original), compatriots, a general (globalised) audience, and the co-creation of a promotional discourse which is both casual and commercial. In approaching food and identity through the lenses of sociolinguistic authenticity, this study contributes and responds to research connecting language and food (Riley and Paugh, 2019; Karrebæk et al., 2018; Cavanaugh et al., 2014), showing processes of authentication which are observable through language from a co-construction point of view (see Karrebæk and Maegaard, 2017; Hower, 2018).

This thesis also contributes to debates on the role of (digital) consumption spaces in translocal and globalised settings. Beyond its main focus on UK (translingual) discursive practices, which aligns with matters of language and superdiversity (see Androutsopoulos and Juffermans, 2014; Budach and de Saint-Georges, 2017), its interdisciplinary engagement provides insights for food, migration, identity, and consumption studies (e.g. Cook et al., 1999; Warde and Martens, 2000; Molz, 2007; 2011; Möhring, 2008; Brightwell, 2012a; Ahmed, 2000; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015), particularly in relation to the digital. In relation to discursive practices, this engagement with the wider literature connects the study of CMC to matters of food, home, belonging, global senses of space, translocality, and cross-cultural encounters. Against this background, this study specifically adds to sociolinguistic debates on authenticity (see Bucholtz, 2003; Coupland, 2003), senses of light communities and conviviality in and through the virtual space (e.g. Varis and Blommaert, 2015; Blommaert, 2017; 2018), the digital co-production of value in business settings (see Kelly-Holmes, 2020), and the diversification of circulating public knowledge through diverse language repertoires online (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015; Cope and Kalantzis, 2007; Androutsopoulos, 2007). My research argues, therefore, that the translingual practices encountered in the digital space reveal the presence of translocal repertoires and actors as part of the consumption scene and flows in the UK. It demonstrates, in this way, how the digital can serve as an arena for public actions of those involved, records of these repertoires, and thus contributes to the shaping of public (norms of) discourse (see Androutsopoulos, 2007, pp.226-227; Gopal et al., 2013, p.6). In this sense, this thesis brings to the fore how a variety of perspectives, including those shaped by translocal experiences and/or the use of Portuguese, can add to public knowledge on the service industry (see Vásquez and Chik, 2015), and how discursive positionings and alternative alignments circulating in the public space can translate into niche entrepreneurial recognition. This variety in linguistic repertoires reveals how aspects of identity practice previously examined in offline settings,

virtual communities/groups, or personal profiles, such as those related to home, belonging, translocality, and global senses of space and self (e.g. Ahmed, 2000; Cook et al., 1999; Molz, 2007; 2011; Sheringham, 2010; Brightwell, 2012a; Vázquez-Medina and Medina, 2015; Schrooten 2012; Tagg and Seargeant, 2014; Georgalou, 2017) are articulated in and entwined with the promotional online space.

Finally, in intersecting language and food with the digital, this project highlights the methodological and social value of born-digital data, reaches closer to entwined online-offline processes (see Kytölä, 2016, p.385; Tagg et al., 2017, pp.31-32), and to discussions on the relationship between humans, communication, technology, and sociality (e.g. Bucher and Helmond, 2017; Bucher, 2018; Madianou, 2015; Hutchby, 2001, also see Thurlow, 2017). Specifically, concentrating on born-digital materials has allowed for this thesis to attest for and report on the integral part that the digital plays in everyday business and personal actions.

7.4 Limitations and Further Research

One of the challenges in researching digital discourse and technology is their changing and fluid nature. In this sense, not only do SNSs and/or Facebook features constantly evolve and affect communication processes, but the way discourse and the parties involved relate to and through tools and spaces also evolves.[137] As such, reproducibility is affected, as future accounts of online environments may not necessarily resemble all aspects described by this research. However, along with this unavoidable partial datedness, research embracing the 'familiar, reconfigured, and emergent' (Herring, 2013; see also boyd and Ellison, 2007) Web 2.0 discourses and technologies have solid roles to play. They record transitory, potentially vanishing illustrative material, as well as contextual reflections of the digital discursive and technological landscape which can inform further developments in digital humanities. For instance, considering the unforeseeable changes seen in the hospitality industry in the UK since the outset of the Covid-19 pandemic (see Totaljobs Group Ltd, 2020; BBC, 2021), particularly to the experiences businesses are able to provide and to how consumers interact with them, this study offers a pre-pandemic snapshot into aspects of communicative practices in this context.

Furthermore, this thesis is only representative of practices emergent in the set of company Pages included in the dataset. In order to maximise the representativeness potential of this dataset, topics addressed during interviews derived from the larger body of materials as opposed to materials from the seven (out of 21) companies interviewed. Nevertheless, the representativeness of the interviews against

[137] Examples of this are Facebook reviews being replaced by 'recommendations' (Facebook for Business, 2018a) or changes on the platform's layout design (see McLachlan, 2020).

the dataset is of suggestive value. Insights from entrepreneurs were seen as potential, not definite, indicators of processes and rationales behind practices. Such insights are subject to each individual's experiences, their degree of relatability with the digital, and their life trajectories, and are therefore indicative of possible contexts and practices underlying cultural businesses. The selection of entrepreneurs as interviewees for this research resulted from the richness of their promotional materials. Accordingly, the common criterion for contacting them was their assumed knowledge/experience in the UK cultural food sector and in ways of communicating their businesses in the UK, which, given the exclusivity offered, was of peerless value. As such, their knowledge adds to and enriches understanding of communicative practices encountered beyond the possibilities of research solely based on log data (see Androutsopoulos, 2008; Holmes, 2013, p.124). This speaks to the attentiveness of this research to ethnographic insights as supplementary to the analysis of discourse (see Androutsopoulos, 2008). Nevertheless, claims about practices of users or Brazilian cultural food businesses in the UK cannot be generalised or extended to larger populations (e.g. people not prone to post online) (see Kozinets, 2020, pp.203-204). Against the discursive background of this thesis, its findings account for the possibilities of identity and community processes across the included Pages. They describe discursive actions and communicative expressions and constructs of senses of self and the world, and whilst inevitably interpretative and at risk of inaccuracy, reflect the researcher's efforts to triangulate and contextualise, and thus provide the soundest possible framing of interpretation (see Gee, 2011, pp.30-36, 106-107).[138]

Further similar research comprising the coexistence of ethnographic insights and an automated large-scale perspective can provide longitudinal insights into some patterns encountered in this thesis (see Herring, 2013, p.21). This can also potentially extend knowledge on the linguistic digital footprint of translingual practices in a given context. Though not without challenges presented by the multimodality and implied meanings (see Zappavigna, 2017, p.445), developing research in this sense can add further to understandings of superdiversity through discourse. Additionally, whilst this research approaches content producers of posts, and in doing so, enriches interpretations about their practices as well as those of their audiences, it does not directly approach users with the materials. User-angled research could enrich and supplement understandings of discursive processes, sense-making, and relationships with the digital within consumption/promotional spaces from the consumer perspective. This research also did not include Facebook "stories" in its dataset; research on their communicative intentions and the role these play in promotional communication is also an interesting route for research. Furthermore, repertoires across modalities, digital channels, and spaces are also a promising area to investigate (e.g.

[138] For instance, it cannot be assumed that a given expression of affect in fact translates the true feelings of a person, or that the use of Portuguese or English translates into users' nationalities. What analysis can hold on to, and gain confidence from, is the value of contextual knowledge for interpretation stemming from the interplay between discourse practices, specific cultural and linguistic features, interview insights, and previous research.

Lexander and Androutsopoulos, 2019). Extending understanding of the interplay between communication and media choices can shed light onto how translocal experiences are lived, and the multilingual practices and mechanisms taking place in the context of globalisation. These can also inform emergent norms of communication as these develop across polymedia.

7.5 To Conclude

This thesis has examined online discourses emergent around Brazilian food in the UK to shed light onto processes of identification and community construction afforded by digital communication and practices. Against this backdrop, the concept of superdiversity has played an important role in contextualising the expressions emergent through discourse. It supports a growing and sensitive awareness of a state of diversity which reduces predictability in sociocultural features (see Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) and therefore the complexities of a given sociocultural field and the identity work therein. A 'multidimensional perspective on diversity' (Vertovec, 2007, p.1026) acknowledges the simultaneous existence of trajectories, influences, and ways of being. This acknowledgement of various possible sociocultural dimensions highlights the significance of *'miniature* aspects of life', and of how different logics can be at play in different segments of life (see Blommaert and Varis, 2013, pp.144-145, emphasis in original). In order to attend to this complex scenario, this thesis saw the analysis of discursive expressions from a variety of available actors, and their potential to spell moments of collectiveness, as an effective research tool to address the fragmented nature of globalised settings.

Fluid constructions of realities and attitudes, as well as actions, are carried out through discourse and the available tools, drawing on personal histories and perceptions built and recontextualised throughout our lives. We discursively construct the world in the various contexts of our lives, connecting fleeting senses of self and community as we go, guided by our own knowledge bank in connection with the variety of signs to which we are exposed over time (see Tracy and Robles, 2013, pp.21-24). In this thesis, such communication processes have been explored as emergent within Brazilian food spaces Facebook Pages in the context of British contemporary society. The variety of communicative practices encountered in the data are enabled by the existence of a Brazilian food sector in the UK, and thus foreground the social interplay of this culture with the sociocultural field through culinary and professional practices, situated actions, and linguistic repertoires. Such practices translate aspects of connectivity and identity specifically enabled by the medium and in relation to food spaces, bringing to the fore ways in which the digital lends itself to these activities.

By studying the relationship between digital affordances, language production, and online actions within the UK Brazilian food cultural sector, the relevance of communication and linguistic diversity

in the mechanics of society is emphasised. This research started with an understanding of Brazilians, as well as Brazilian cultural expressions, as having a growing presence in the UK (see Frangella, 2010; McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; McIlwaine and Evans, 2018), and with an intention to shed light onto these expressions as part of British society. By looking at professional practices connected to Brazilian culture, the trajectories that can shape cultural entrepreneurship in the UK, and the resulting connected activities enabled by the digital, this research has offered a glimpse into the UK superdiverse social fabric through the study of language use online (see Budach and de Saint-Georges, 2017).

Appendices

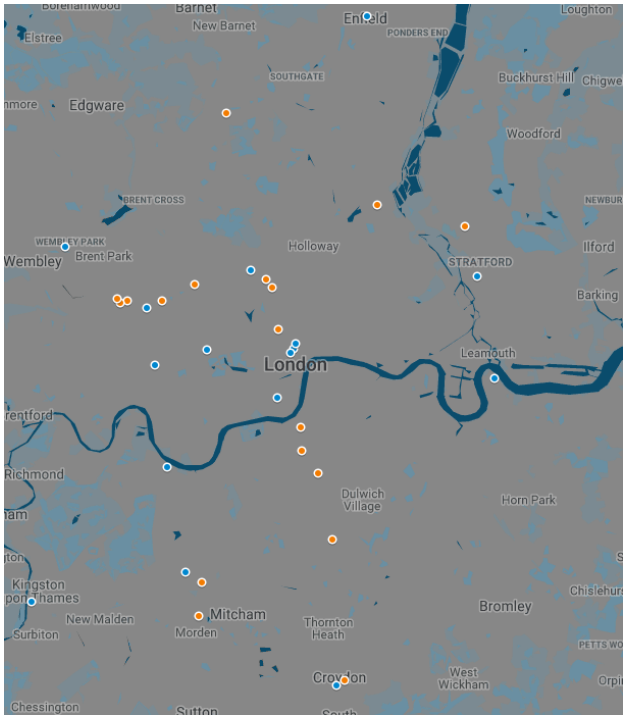
Appendix A – Companies

Name	Category	Type	Location
Bem Brasil	Chain	Steakhouse	Manchester: M3 2GQ; M1 1FJ Liverpool: L1 3DN
Cabana	Chain	Restaurant	London: E20 1GL; SE10 0DX; WC2H 8AB; HA9 0FD; W12 7GB Manchester: M4 3TR Leeds: LS1 5AT Southampton: SO15 1DE
Fazenda	Chain	Steakhouse	Leeds: LS1 4GL; Liverpool: L2 3YL; Manchester: M3 3AP; Edinburgh: EH2 3DF; Birmingham: B3 2AA
Preto	Chain	Steakhouse	London: CR0 1YB; EN1 3EF; KT1 1EU; SW15 1SP; W2 4SJ; SW1V 1DE; W1D 6LN. Chelmsford: CM2 6 FD; Colchester: CO1 1DH; Leatherhead: KT22 8DW; Loughborough: LE11 1TH
Temakinho	Chain	Restaurant	London: W1D 4TF Italy: Rome; Milan Spain: Ibiza; Formentera
Touro	Chain	Steakhouse	London: SW19 1RQ; NW10 5NT; NW3 4RL Brighton: BN1 2RA
Viva Brazil	Chain	Steakhouse	Liverpool: L2 0NR; Glasgow: G2 7AA; Cardiff: CF10 1GD
Brazilian Gourmet	Independent	Restaurant	London: W1T 6LY
Cantina do Gaúcho	Independent	Steakhouse	London: N16 5AA; N12 9EN
Cantinho do Goiás	Independent	Restaurant	London: SM4 5LF; SW9 9AE
Carioca	Independent	Restaurant	London: SW9 8LB; CR0 1LD
Esfihas Excellent	Independent	Pizza and Esfiha Restaurant	London: NW10 4SY
Kaipiras by Barraco	Independent	Bar & Kitchen	London: NW6 4TA
Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: SE27 9AA
Little Brazil	Independent	Bar & Restaurant	London: SW19 1AU
Made In Brasil	Independent	Restaurant and Bar	London: NW1 7HJ
Made In Brasil Boteco	Independent	Restaurant and Bar	London: NW1 8AJ
Mineiro Café	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: NW10 4UX; NW10 3ND

Mum’s Pizzas Brasileira	Independent	Pizzeria	London: E10
Tchê Tapas	Independent	Café and Restaurant	London: NW10 4UE
Tia Maria	Independent	Bar & Kitchen	London: SW8 1RB

Appendix B – UK and London Companies' Footprint

The UK footprint of companies selected (all branches)



The London footprint of companies selected (all branches)

Appendix C - Key to Interviews

Chains				
Key	**Company**	**Location**	**Interviewees**	**POB**
CH1	Bem Brasil Bar and Restaurant	Manchester, Liverpool	Director	Brazil
CH2	Fazenda Rodizio Bar & Grill	Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Birmingham	Managing Director	Brazil
Independent Companies				
Key	**Company**	**Location**	**Interviewees**	**POB**
IND1	Esfihas Excellent	London	Directors	Brazil
IND2	Little Brazil Bar & Restaurant	London	Director	Brazil
IND3	Made In Brasil Restaurant and Cocktail Bar	London	Director	Brazil
IND4	Mum's Pizzas Brasileira	London	Director	Brazil
IND5	Tchê Tapas Cafe Restaurant	London	Director	Brazil

Appendix D – Interview Topic Guidance

1. Personal details (including birthplace and date, time in the UK, job title) and business trajectory in the UK.
2. Company identity, type of experiences aimed for by the company, and expectations involved when having a cultural establishment abroad.
3. Relationships between business location and advertising practices (e.g. target audiences, menu development).
4. Different customers' tastes, expectations (e.g. preferred dishes, flavours Brazilians and non-Brazilians seek).
5. Means of communication over time and first social media platform.
6. Company posting practices (e.g. Page management, time consumed, post/interaction frequency, post topics).
7. Interactions with the audience. Are posts published with specific groups in mind? (e.g. friends, family, regulars, stakeholders). Do repeated responses occur?
8. Company language policies and practices (e.g. language choices online, translations, bilingual posting, and code-switching practices).
9. Specific usefulness of features and practices (e.g. private chat, comment boxes, reviews, "reactions").
10. Audience language practices and activities taking place (e.g. language code, advocacy, express opinions, chat with friends, service enquiries, reservations).
11. Usefulness of communication channels (e.g. email, phone, SNSs, websites, or paid advertising).
12. Purposes served (or not) by SNSs. What difference would it have made for the business trajectory if social media were not available?
13. Further additions from interviewees.

Appendix E – Consent Forms

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Institutional Reference No:
SASREC_1819-326-PhD

Participant Consent Form

Please confirm your participation as follows:

I (*please tick as appropriate*)

- ☐ Agreed to participate in an interview in connection with research being conducted by Francielle Carpenedo in connection with work for her PhD research **as explained in the Participation Information Sheet.**
- ☐ Had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study.
- ☐ Understand that the interview is recorded and may be identified by name.
- ☐ Understand that the interview may take up to 3 hours.
- ☐ AM free to withdraw from this study:
  a. At any time (or until the date this will no longer be possible, which I have been told)
  b. Without giving a reason for withdrawing
  c. If intending to study at the University of London, this interview will not affect my future at the University.
- ☐ Understand that in the event of withdrawing from the interview, any recording made of the interview will be destroyed, and no transcript will be made of the interview.
- ☐ Understand that, upon completion of the interview, the recording and information content of the interview may be used as follows (please tick according to your preferences):
  - ☐ The interview material may be quoted in research papers and the PhD thesis of Francielle Carpenedo and attributed to me.
  - ☐ The interview material may be quoted in research papers and the PhD thesis of Francielle Carpenedo, but I wish to remain anonymous.
  - ☐ The interview material may be quoted in research papers and the PhD thesis of Francielle Carpenedo with the name of the company included.
  - ☐ The interview material may be quoted in research papers and the PhD thesis of Francielle Carpenedo, but without the company name.
  - ☐ My comments are confidential, for the information of Francielle Carpenedo in the writing of her PhD thesis and research papers only and may not be quoted.
  - ☐ I would like to receive a copy of the interview transcript.
- ☐ May request that portions of the interview be edited out of the final copy of the transcript.
- ☐ Understand that at the conclusion of this study the recording and transcript of the interview will be kept in password locked storage and that the completed PhD thesis will be kept for public use by the University of London.

Signed (participant)	Consent date
Name in block letters	
Address or contact details:	

All signed consent forms will be stored securely by the researcher.

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Institutional Reference No:
SASREC_1819-326-PhD

Termo de Consentimento para Participantes

Confirme sua participação abaixo:
Eu (*assinale de acordo*)

- ☐ Concordei em participar de uma entrevista em conexão com a pesquisa sendo conduzida pela Francielle Carpenedo em conexão ao trabalho para a sua pesquisa de doutorado **como explicado na Carta de Informação ao Participante**.
- ☐ Tive a oportunidade de fazer perguntas e discutir o estudo.
- ☐ Entendo que a entrevista é gravada e pode ser identificada por nome.
- ☐ Entendo que a entrevista pode durar até 3 horas.
- ☐ SOU livre para me retirar desse estudo:
  a. Em qualquer momento (ou até a data na qual não será mais possível, a qual fui informado(a))
  b. Sem dar justificativa para me retirar
  c. Caso eu decida estudar na University of London, esta entrevista não afetará o meu futuro na universidade.
- ☐ Entendo que caso eu me retire da entrevista, qualquer gravação da entrevista será destruída, e nenhuma transcrição será feita da entrevista.
- ☐ Entendo que, ao completar a entrevista, a gravação e o conteúdo da entrevista podem ser usados da seguinte forma (assinale as suas preferências):
  - ☐ O material da entrevista poder ser citado na tese de doutorado e em publicações da Francielle Carpenedo, e pode ser atribuído a mim.
  - ☐ O material da entrevista pode ser citado na tese de doutorado e em publicações da Francielle Carpenedo, mas desejo manter o meu anonimato.
  - ☐ O material da entrevista pode ser citado na tese de doutorado e em publicações da Francielle Carpenedo incluindo o nome da empresa.
  - ☐ O material da entrevista pode ser citado na tese de doutorado e em publicações da Francielle Carpenedo, mas sem o nome da empresa.
  - ☐ Meus comentários são confidenciais, para a informação da Francielle Carpenedo ao escrever a sua tese de doutorado e publicações somente e não podem ser citados.
  - ☐ Gostaria de receber uma cópia da transcrição da entrevista.
- ☐ Posso pedir que partes da entrevista sejam editadas na cópia final da transcrição.
- ☐ Entendo que uma vez concluído esse estudo, o armazenamento da gravação e transcrição das entrevistas será protegido com senha e que a versão completa da tese de doutorado será reservada para uso público pela University of London.

Assinatura (participante)	Data do consentimento
Nome em letras maiúsculas	
Endereço ou informações de contato	

Todos os termos de consentimento assinados serão armazenados de forma segura pela pesquisadora.

Appendix F – Move Analysis

Total posts: 583 | Independent companies: 361 | Chains: 222						
Moves	**Total**	**%**	**Ind.**	**%**	**Chains**	**%**
Reader attraction	583	100	361	100	222	100
Targeting the market	583	100	361	100	222	100
Detailing the product/service	438	75.12	268	74.23	170	76.57
Establishing credentials	491	84.21	294	81.44	197	88.73
Endorsements	84	14.4	51	14.12	33	14.86
Offering incentives	60	10.29	31	8.58	29	13.06
Using pressure tactics	60	10.29	31	8.58	29	13.06
Soliciting response	186	31.9	95	26.31	91	40.99
Building relationships and conviviality	332	56.94	196	54.29	136	61.26

Appendix G - Audience Design Categories[139]

			Addressee Design		Bystander Design		Overhearer Design	
	Posts	**%**	**Posts**	**%**	**Posts**	**%**	**Posts**	**%**
Total	583	100	27	4.63	357	61.23	465	79.75
Ind.	361	61.92	22	6.09	246	68.14	246	68.14
Chains	222	38.07	5	2.25	111	50	219	98.64
	Comments	**%**	**Comments**	**%**	**Comments**	**%**	**Comments**	**%**
Total	1010	100	970	96.03	527	52.17	41	4.05
Ind.	612	60.59	585	95.58	293	47.87	26	4.24
Chains	398	39.40	385	96.73	234	58.79	15	3.76
	Reviews	**%**	**Reviews**	**%**	**Reviews**	**%**	**Reviews**	**%**
Total	922	100	76	8.24	398	43.16	570	61.82
Ind.	504	54.66	38	7.53	300	59.52	229	45.43
Chains	418	45.33	38	9.09	98	23.44	341	81.57
	Reviews' Comments	**%**	**Reviews' Comments**	**%**	**Reviews' Comments**	**%**	**Reviews' Comments**	**%**
Total	404	100	371	91.83	45	11.13	10	2.47
Ind.	226	55.94	212	93.80	21	9.29	3	1.32
Chains	178	44.05	159	89.32	24	13.48	7	3.93

[139] These categories overlap greatly across posts, comments, and reviews, i.e. communicators do not necessarily have an addressee, bystanders, or overhearers in mind only whilst communicating. However, coding addressivity strategies in posts, reviews, and comments according to salient markers of audience design has helped my own process of making sense of different levels of orientation across Pages.

Appendix H – Overall Code Usage[140]

Overall Code Usage								
Posts								
Variables	**Quantity**	**%**	**PT (+CS)**	**%**	**EN (+CS)**	**%**	**Other (MM/BL)**	**%**
Total	583	100	126	21.61	365	62.60	92	15.78
Ind.	361	61.92	121	33.51	163	45.15	77	21.32
Chains	222	38.07	5	2.25	202	90.99	15	6.75
Comments								
Variables	**Quantity**	**%**	**PT (+CS)**	**%**	**EN (+CS)**	**%**	**Other (MM)**	**%**
Total	1010	100	486	48.11	388	38.41	136	13.46
Ind.	612	60.59	434	70.91	110	17.97	68	11.11
Chains	398	39.40	52	13.06	278	69.84	68	17.08
Reviews								
Variables	**Quantity**	**%**	**PT (+CS)**	**%**	**EN (+CS)**	**%**	**Other (MM/BL)**	**%**
Total	922	100	352	38.17	546	59.21	24	2.60
Ind.	504	54.66	275	54.56	212	42.06	17	3.37
Chains	418	45.33	77	18.42	334	79.90	7	1.67
Reviews' Comments								
Variables	**Quantity**	**%**	**PT (+CS)**	**%**	**EN (+CS)**	**%**	**Other (MM)**	**%**
Total	404	100	140	34.65	246	60.89	18	4.45
Ind.	226	55.94	121	53.53	92	40.70	13	5.75
Chains	178	44.05	19	10.67	154	86.51	5	2.80

[140] Code-switch (CS): instances where a language other than the primary language of the publication is used.
Multimodal (MM): instances where the message was primarily delivered multimodally – without typed textual description (e.g. link share, profile/cover photo updates, videos, images, emojis, stickers, GIFs).
Bilingual (BL): posts which deliberately provided information in both languages (see politeness strategy under "overhearers" in chapter 4, section 4.3.2).

Appendix I – Themes Across the Corpus

Contextual Themes								
Themes	**Posts (583)**	**%**	**Comments (1010)**	**%**	**Reviews (922)**	**%**	**Comments (404)**	**%**
Space/Brand	20	3.43	121	11.98	74	8.02	17	4.20
Translocality	128	21.95	150	14.85	120	13.01	15	3.71
Self and Social	97	16.63	252	24.95	197	21.36	66	16.33
Consumer Experience	227	38.93	397	39.30	350	37.96	66	16.33
Homeland/Country of origin	294	50.42	118	11.68	162	17.57	18	4.45
Service/Product	356	61.06	554	54.85	832	90.23	159	39.35

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Resources of Data Collection

Bem Brasil Facebook Page (Liverpool): https://www.facebook.com/BemBrasilRestaurants/

Bem Brasil Website: https://www.bembrasilrestaurants.com/

Brazilian Gourmet Facebook Page: https://en-gb.facebook.com/braziliangourmet/

Brazilian Gourmet Website: http://braziliangourmet.co.uk/

Cabana Facebook Page (London, Stratford): https://www.facebook.com/CabanaWestfieldStratford/

Cabana Website: https://cabana-brasil.com/

Cantina do Gaúcho Facebook Page (London, Stamford Hill): https://www.facebook.com/cantinagaucho/

Cantina do Gaúcho Website: http://www.cantinadogaucho.co.uk/

Cantinho do Goiás 2 Facebook Page (London, Morden): https://www.facebook.com/Cantinho-do-Goias-2-633369453509177/

Carioca Facebook Page (London, Brixton): https://en-gb.facebook.com/Carioca-Brixton-378608922236453/

Carioca Website: http://cariocabrixton.com/

Esfihas Excellent Facebook Page (London): https://en-gb.facebook.com/esfihasexcellent/

Esfihas Excellent Websites: https://www.esfihasexcellent.co.uk/; https://esfihas-excellent.business.site/

Fazenda Facebook Page (Edinburgh): https://www.facebook.com/fazendaedinburgh/

Fazenda Facebook Page (Manchester): https://www.facebook.com/FazendaManchester/

Fazenda Website: https://fazenda.co.uk/

Kaipiras by Barraco Facebook Page: https://en-gb.facebook.com/kaipirasbybarraco/

Kaipiras by Barraco Website: https://kaipiras.com/

Lanchonete Mistura de Sabores Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/Lanchonete-Mistura-de-Sabores-1030199293698262/

Little Brazil Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/littlebrazilrestaurant

Little Brazil Website: http://littlebrazillondon.co.uk/

Made in Brasil Boteco Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/madeinbrasilboteco/

Made in Brasil Boteco Website: https://madeinbrasilboteco.co.uk/

Made in Brasil Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/MadeInBrasil1

Made in Brasil Website: https://madeinbrasil.co.uk/

Mineiro Cafe Facebook Page (London, Willesden Junction): https://www.facebook.com/MineiroCafeWillesdenJunction/

Mineiro Cafe Website: www.mineirocafe.com

Mum’s Pizzas Brasileira Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/mumspizzas

Preto Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/PretoRestaurant/

Preto Website: https://www.preto.co.uk/

Tchê Tapas Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/tchetapas/

Tchê Tapas Website: http://www.tchetapas.com/

Temakinho Facebook Page (London, Soho): https://www.facebook.com/pg/temakinhosoho/

Temakinho Website: https://www.temakinho.com/

Tia Maria Facebook Page: https://www.facebook.com/TiaMariaVauxhall/

Tia Maria Website: http://www.tiamarialondon.com/

Touro Facebook Page (London, Wimbledon): https://www.facebook.com/pg/tourosteakhousewimbledon/

Touro Website: http://www.touro.co.uk/

Viva Brazil Facebook Page (Cardiff): https://www.facebook.com/VivaCardiff/

Viva Brazil Website: https://www.vivabrazilrestaurants.com/cardiff/