

Reacted 🙄 to Your Message: Contrasting the Functions of the Reacji and of the Standard Emoji in Messenger Conversations

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Abstract

The reacji, the iteration of the emoji used to react to messages, has been observed to reduce noise and make conversation more efficient. This study aimed to pinpoint the differences between reacji and emoji using four concepts from traditional conversation analysis (CA): adjacency pairs, turn-taking, preference, and repair. The data was culled from six (6) dyadic conversations with young college-age Filipinos on Messenger. While findings show much similarity between the reacji and emoji, observations in line with the four concepts prove that there are several functions in which the reacji indeed differs from the emoji, such as being the preferred response to certain prompts (e.g., encouragement) and allowing simultaneous and more direct engagement. The paper concludes with acknowledging the contribution of the reacji in streamlining online communication.

1 Introduction

The *emoji* has been noted for its pervasive influence in computer-mediated communication (CMC), pop culture, and numerous fields of research. A portmanteau of the Japanese words for ‘picture’ (絵 *e*) and ‘word’ (文字 *moji*), the first emoji were introduced in 1999 by Shigetaka Kurita, an employee of Japanese mobile company NTT DoCoMo, as little pixelated icons for use in its newly released mobile internet platform, i-mode (Negishi, 2014). As more units representing other ideas beyond expressions, such as places, animals, and national flags, were added, emoji have mostly been defined as pictographs (see Alshenqeeti, 2016; Gesselman et al., 2019; Sadia, 2004), i.e., symbols serving as direct representations of concepts or objects (Houts-Smith, 2010). For example, the emojis 🤗 and 🐬 represent a hug and a dolphin, respectively. Usually selected from a built-in emoji keyboard in most digital applications, they may also be expressed via

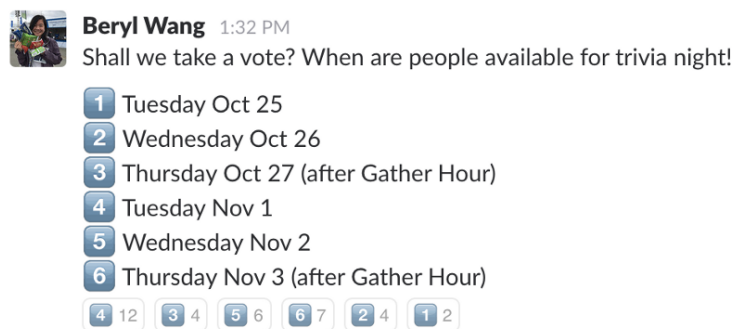
typing *shortcodes* (e.g., :hugging_face:) as supported by select apps such as Discord (Emojipedia, 2019).

After the Unicode Consortium standardized the first collection of emoji in 2010, use of emoji became globally popular (Novak et al., 2015). Its functions included controlling the tone of the message, clarifying jokes, and generally enlivening conversation (Konrad et al., 2020; Stapa & Shaari, 2012). Emoji use, however, has extended to other purposes aside from just stylistically or emotionally augmenting ideas expressed in words. The pictographic nature of other non-expression emoji allows users to string or match the images together, creating personalized meaning without text (Kelly & Watts, 2015) and giving rise to propositions of a solely emoji-based language (see Alshenqeeti, 2016; Danesi, 2016). As of 2021, there are currently more than 3,300 emoji in the Unicode Standard (Logi & Zappavigna, 2021).

The new iteration of the emoji that this study focuses on is the *reacji* (*reaction* + *emoji*). Introduced in 2015 by business communication app Slack (Crook, 2015), it is an emoji which the user selects to ‘react’ to a message, that is, “an emoji used to show reactions, e.g., on Facebook or Twitter” (Maxwell, 2020). Its primary goal was to enhance efficiency in messaging (Haughey, 2016), as may be inferred in the example in Figure 1 where different numerical emoji were used to respond to a poll.

Figure 1

A Poll on Slack (Haughey, 2016)



Achieving this goal has apparently been a success, with other instant messaging applications having enthusiastically followed suit in adding the *reacji* over the years. Social networking site Facebook, under Meta (formerly known as The Facebook Company), adopted this initially as a feature in its public posts in 2016. Six *graphicon*¹ expressions, represented by modified versions of Unicode emoji (Tian et al., 2017), were integrated as extensions of the “Like” button, enabling users to ‘react’ to content on their News

¹*Graphicons* (*graphical* + *icons*) are “graphical devices found on contemporary social media platforms” and include “emoticons, stickers, GIFs, images, and videos” (Herring & Dainas, 2017, p. 2185). It must be noted here that emoticons—“string(s) of keyboard characters that, when viewed sideways (or in some other orientation), can be seen to suggest a face expressing a particular emotion” (Danesi, 2009, p. 110, as cited in Jibril and Abdullah, 2013)—are usually automatically rendered as emojis in Messenger (Dolot & Opina, 2021). For example, the emoticon suggesting a tongue-out expression (: -P or :P) is displayed as 🙄 when sent.

Feed pages. In recent efforts to enable users to express solicitude during the COVID-19 pandemic, a new “Care” reaction emoji was added in 2020 (Lunden, 2020). These seven are displayed below in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Currently Available Reaction Emojis on Facebook (Meloni, 2020)

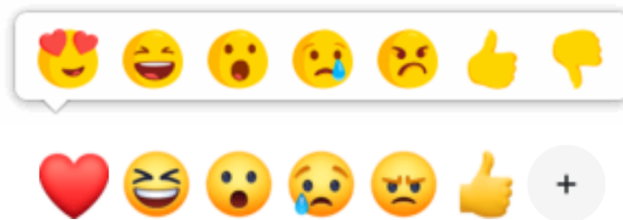


Note. From left to right: “Like”, “Love”, “Care”, “Haha”, “Wow”, “Sad”, and “Angry”.

Meta’s instant messaging app Messenger then adopted the reacji feature in 2017, although only with seven emoji characters similar to the ones depicted above. These are shown and compared with the current reaction designs (for Windows 10) in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Initial Versus Current Selection and Design of Messenger Reactions

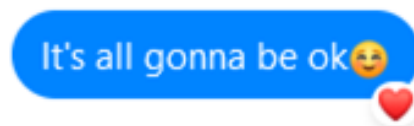


Note. The top row is taken from Go (2020), showing the previous set of Messenger reacjis. The bottom row is a screenshot of the current iteration of Messenger reacji; note the plus sign that denotes the customizable feature of the panel.

In October 2020, all emoji were made available as reactions, along with the addition of a customizable panel for personally preferred emoji (Go, 2020). As with the original Slack reacji, in using Messenger Reactions, users may specify their sentiments in reacting to messages, acknowledge others, and express themselves in a “lightweight way,” attesting to the efficiency of the feature (Moxon, 2017). Figure 4 is an example of a Messenger reacji.

Figure 4

Messenger Reacji Affixed to Message



In the example above, the reacji is the heart which appears at the lower right corner of the message rather than right below it (cf. Slack example in Figure 1). Besides the positioning, notice that the Slack reacji and the Messenger reacji differ in size. The former

is smaller than the standard emoji present in the message, while the same size is retained in the latter. Furthermore, Messenger limits the user to one reacji, while Slack allows more than one. In both apps, the name of the person who had performed the reaction is identifiable.

This study looks at the behavior of the reacji as a linguistic and paralinguistic tool and will determine how its functions differ from that of the standard emoji, using concepts from conversation analysis (henceforth CA). The variables mentioned will be observed through analyzing the messages of Filipino users, myself included, on Messenger. This data context is expected to provide a wealth of insight into the use of the reacji since Messenger is exceedingly popular in the Philippines, an observation noted even by Loredana Crisan, the head of Messenger at Meta (Mateo, 2022). Furthermore, emoji are the most used graphicons by young Filipinos on said platform (Dolot & Opina, 2021).

Originally crafted for studying spoken conversation, CA has been applied successfully by scholars to CMC (e.g., Gibson et al., 2018; Meredith, 2017; Nishimaki, 2014; Zaferanieh, 2012). In fact, it has helped to establish analytical means for identifying the affordances of technologies in interaction (Tudini & Liddicoat, 2017). The example by Schegloff (1968, 1979), one of the first proponents of CA, of a ringing telephone signifying the beginning of a conversation demonstrates that “the technology itself is a significant constituent of the interaction” (as cited in Tudini & Liddicoat, 2017, p. 2). The latter authors then infer that different user features alter the manner of online conversation. It is thus important to note the formal qualities of the reacji feature, as I have done so above, albeit only as a prelude.

A CA methodology for online conversation has in fact been proposed (Giles et al., 2015), known as digital conversation analysis (DCA). The term mainly refers to an analytical orientation that uses more or less the same concepts as CA while taking into account the general nuances of online conversation, such as the asynchronicity of online chat (Giles et al., 2015). It forms a young research field with its own issues that have yet to be resolved (Jucker, 2021)—issues which involve changes in terminology (see Meiler, 2021). I choose to use the traditional terminology, however, since it has been proven to be sufficient in many studies in their analysis of online talk. Though this may somehow incline the analyst to eventually compare online talk with face-to-face communication, it is not an unwelcome orientation in this study.

Furthermore, I do not mean to directly apply CA to the data gathered. Instead, only several rudimentary concepts would be borrowed to substantiate this preliminary analysis of the reacji, while of course keeping in mind that its technical features fundamentally distinguish it from the objects of analysis for which they were originally formulated (i.e., face-to-face talk).² I thus leave it to further studies to discuss reacji according to any revised terminology of DCA.

²Studies such as Sampietro (2021) show that concepts of traditional CA still may be applied to CMC, even after the introduction of DCA. Despite specifying that she used the latter, her analysis depended heavily on the traditional concepts, and still proved successful.

1.1 Research Objectives and Research Questions

In exploring the application of CA to online talk, Giles et al. (2015) remarked that researchers should always remember the intrinsic relation between each piece of data and the online software from which it was culled. In other words, the technical environment offered by messaging applications must be taken into account in this type of research. This leads us to the notion that the reacji, becoming relevant in conversation only through a software feature, behaves differently from the standard emoji, which possesses broader areas of use. The primary goal of this study, therefore, is to identify the linguistic and paralinguistic qualities that distinguish the reacji from the standard emoji using concepts from CA as analytical tools. It seeks to answer the following:

- How does the reacji figure in online conversation, as opposed to the standard emoji?
- What communicative needs does the reacji fulfill that the standard emoji cannot (and vice versa), and how are these needs fulfilled for each?

Furthermore, while CA emphasizes an inductive orientation, in this research, I will also investigate two prior observations of mine. These would form the secondary objectives of this study. From my experience of using the Messenger app before and after the launch of the reacji feature, I have noticed that users are less inclined to produce textual replies while still affording to remain amicable; and that the feature results to the minimizing of disruptions, hence also allowing extensions of a speaker's turn. I stress again that these are not strict, confining hypotheses; according to the bottom-up nature of CA research (Seedhouse, 2005), the data—and not any prior assumption, no matter how informed—must eventually determine the outcome of the research.

1.2 Significance of Research

Previous studies have focused on the pragmatic functions of emoji in tweeting, instant messaging, and reacting to Facebook posts (e.g., Barbieri et al., 2016; Giuntini et al., 2019; Sadia, 2004). As of this writing, there is as yet no published work focusing on the reacji as it is used in online private messaging. Additionally, in terms of framework, many researchers have already employed other perspectives related to semiotics (e.g., Sadia, 2018) in their analyses of emoji, with the context-oriented CA approach being a less popular choice (e.g., Gibson et al., 2018; Sampietro, 2021). While this study will use CA concepts, the semiotic nature of emoji cannot be ignored, so this study also gives insight as to how the semantics and context of emoji are undoubtedly interconnected. I thus hope to eventually contribute to our understanding of how emoji and other features are adapted technically to address the conversational problems that characterize online conversation.

The remaining content of this draft is thus organized: Section 2 discusses the literature relevant to the present study, and Section 3 outlines the research methodology. These are then followed by the data analysis and discussion of findings in Section 4, and the conclusions and recommendations in Section 5.

2 Literature Review

Studies on emoji have burgeoned in a variety of disciplines all throughout the past decade until now, so I will limit this literature review to the studies within the field of linguistics, with special attention to semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. Bai et al. (2019) provided a good summary of emoji-related linguistic research. They noted that studies in this field tend to comment on emoji as a paralanguage, and as “non-verbal clues” of communication (p. 3). With discourse analysis as a popular framework, findings among these studies usually confirm how emoji augment speech acts and the interaction process. Furthermore, emoji have been proposed as capable of being used as an independent language. In these studies, results suggest how emoji are equivalent to morphemes of ordinary language. Yet, researchers are divided on whether they can truly form a distinct language devoid of text (Alshenqeeti, 2016; Ge & Herring, 2018; Makhachashvili et al., 2022).

In this brief review, I shall first summarize key ideas in the literature relating emoji to the three linguistic branches of semantics, syntax, and pragmatics, in that order. I then briefly gloss over what has been written so far about the reacji, and then conclude with how this study shall contribute to our current knowledge base of emoji.

2.1 Emoji and Semantics

Emoji are commonly analyzed in the literature in terms of emotional expression within online interactions (Gesselman et al., 2019; Wagner et al., 2020). The literature has also tended to present emoji as the digital substitutes of gestures and other paralinguistic elements of spoken communication (Danesi, 2016; Giles et al., 2015; Logi & Zappavigna, 2021; Tian et al., 2017). Studies in this field have proven that, just as gestures presumably differ in meaning, emoji semiotics and semantics are also essentially multifarious. To begin with, emoji are rendered differently via Unicode based not only on the specific apps and software used but also on the versions of such. This has been found to be conducive to miscommunication, since a cross-platform translation of emoji basically occurs (Miller et al., 2016). For instance, the emoji with the CLDR Short Name³ ‘face with hand over mouth’ has a blush in Apple devices (🙈) but none in Samsung devices (😬).

Moreover, interpretation still varies among users even for the exact same Unicode rendering of an emoji (Miller et al., 2017). As a recent example, Makhachashvili et al. (2021) analyzed the semiotics of 😓 ‘grinning face with sweat,’ which they showed as mainly signifying “joy,” “laughter,” and “inconvenience,” according to questionnaire data. The concepts of “stressful,” “sincere,” and “unexpected,” among others, were

³CLDR refers to the Unicode Common Locale Data Repository, which “provides key building blocks for software to support the world’s languages” (Unicode, n.d.). For researchers, it is important not to let the names given to the emoji interfere with analysis (Logi & Zappavigna, 2021). For this paper however, I will still make use of the CLDR names obtained from version 15 of the Unicode emoji list <<https://unicode.org/emoji/charts/full-emoji-list.html>> for convenience; they will be set off by single quotation marks (‘ ’). It must be noted that Messenger updates its emoji repertoire independently of the Unicode list on the said website.

also proposed by respondents. Interpretations may in fact be influenced by user-based factors such as professional career, preference of apps used, and languages spoken (Makhachashvili et al., 2022). These are all in line with the earlier findings of Miller et al. (2016), who noted the ambiguity of emoji in terms of both sentiment and semantics. Sentiment here refers to a polarizing quality, i.e., whether positive, negative, or neutral. Semantics, on the other hand, refers to the interpretation given by the speaker. And just as meanings of words change, the evolving semantics of emoji has also been recognized, with the first longitudinal study on semantic shift of emoji from 2012 to 2018 by Robertson et al. (2021).

2.2 Emoji and Syntax

Konrad et al. (2020) note a broader function of emoji: their utilization in modifying linguistic text, in which we can see the semiotic and semantic import of emoji beyond emotional expression. Tian et al. (2017) agree that “emojis and the linguistic text can modify the meaning of each other” (p. 12), and summarized the six ways in which emoji interact with words and phrases. These are presented below (p. 12):

- replacing words/phrases, e.g., *I want have [sic] a 🍷.*
- adding accent or emphasis by repeating a word/phrase, e.g., *Take note 📝 Sam, this is how you season food, you are almost done there babe. Like you did the chicken 🍗 the other nights.*
- expressing emotion independently from the text, e.g., (Facebook update from survivor of the Florida gay club shooting June 12, 2016) *I am safely home and hoping everyone gets home safely as well. 😭*
- enhancing the emotion implied in a text, e.g., *This would probably be really good. 😊*
- modifying the meaning of a text, e.g., *I bet you are enjoying your revision 😊.*
- for politeness, e.g., *Can you please cook us something that I tag you in instead of your 4am pastas? Thanks. 😊*

These examples demonstrate what Makhachashvili et al. (2022) consider a recent trend in linguistic research: the “semiotically complicated text” (p. 142). Users suggest that emoji influence lexicon rather than grammar (Qureshi et al., 2021), but there is also evidence that they indeed play a role in syntactic relations. Grosz et al. (2021) proved this by using formal semantics to explain how *face emoji* (those that suggest facial expressions, e.g., 😏 ‘face with rolling eyes’) differ from *activity emoji* (those that represent objects and actions, e.g., 🚶 ‘person walking’) in their in-text behavior. They note that the former has a first-person indexical property, serving to express the attitude of the author; while the latter has an anaphoric one, tending to refer to some other entity represented in the accompanying text. Here it is again evident that the semantic components of emoji go beyond that of emotion. It will be useful to keep this in mind in exploring the role of the emoji.

2.3 Emoji and Pragmatics

These context-based findings emphasize the influence of the surrounding text rather than the putative denotation or connotation of the emoji. This verbal context, then, serves as the determiner of the function that the emoji fulfills.

Gibson et al. (2018) employed principles of CA methodology to illustrate the importance of context in understanding the role of the standard emoji. Their results confirm the ambiguity in emoji interpretation, especially with face emoji. They cited studies such as Miller et al. (2016) whose survey revealed miscommunication and confusion among respondents concerning such emoji. Thus, there is not always a clear fit “between the emoji’s communicative function and their possible meaning” (Gibson et al., 2018, p. 95). In the conversations they analyzed among Chinese users on Weibo, the function of the emoji in question (i.e., the laughing token 😂 ‘face with hand over mouth’) was determined not by any preconceived understanding of what the sign meant but through the text itself, as well as through its placement along the lines of text.

Miller et al. (2017), however, revealed that the textual environment of emoji still fails to mitigate its ambiguity. According to their findings, some emoji actually became more ambiguous when used alongside text versus when regarded in isolation. Reasons include the possible element of sarcasm, or that the text is too short to give proper context. A limitation of their study, however, was that they examined their data only in terms of sentiment rather than semantic factors (unlike Miller et al., 2016), since it eased their burden of analysis and interpretation. That is, open-ended responses about the meaning of emoji as collected from respondents are more difficult to interpret statistically since they are not measured with a scale as with sentiment.

If emoji carry a variety of meanings, they also play a variety of pragmatic roles. With the questionnaire as a popular choice for eliciting data for determining these roles, research shows that emoji are used by conversationalists not only to express emotions but also to emphasize or soften messages, clarify jokes, enliven conversations, and add cuteness (Dolot & Opina, 2021; Konrad et al., 2020; Qureshi et al., 2021). They are also used to denote celebration, to respond to thanks and to compliments, and to mark opening and closing of conversations (Al Rashdi, 2018). Sampietro (2021) proved using CA fundamentals that the 😊 ‘face with tears of joy’ emoji functioned to elicit laughter when used at the end of a piece of text. It also signaled acceptance of the invitation to laugh when used standalone and in a series. Lastly, Konrad et al. (2020) also associated emoji with “acknowledgement” and “speed or convenience” (p. 225), themes which will be further explored in this study. This list of functions is by no means exhaustive, and we can only expect further additions to it as technological platforms continue to offer new applications for the emoji—par excellence of which may be the reacji, so far.

2.4 The Reacji

The most insightful discussions on reacji were, for a time, limited to promotional blog posts and articles (Halp, 2019; Peters, 2020). Kokovina (2022), in her study of modern English buzzwords, seems to be the first academic study to mention the term. This

lexicographic study notes neologisms that have been added to the Macmillan Online Dictionary and the Global Language Monitor, with “reacji” having been added in the former. As it was conferred the buzzword status, Maxwell (2020) from Macmillan also wrote a special article in its honor. In it, she noted one of its oft-cited advantages: that of reducing communication noise (see also Halp, 2019).

Usage of the term is still in its infancy, however. The following works in which the reacji makes an appearance simply refer to it as an emoji. The first of these is Meiler (2021), who used CA to explain storytelling in online conversation. While he deliberately disregards the reacji in his analysis due to its uncommon occurrences in his dataset, he noticed one of its most important technical limitations: the absence of a timestamp. This exemplifies the quasi-synchronous quality of online chat (Garcia & Jacobs, 1999) and may offer insight to the analysis of this study.

Next is the study of Dolot and Opina (2021), which surveyed the use of graphicons among young Filipino users on Messenger. Following Herring and Dainas (2017), they listed “reaction” as a function of emoji and showcased the reacji in this regard. While the reacji is in essence an emoji, my study takes a different perspective from theirs by treating the reacji differently from the standard emoji. This is mainly because the function of “reaction” may also be illustrated through merely typing (or selecting from the emoji keyboard) and sending the emoji as a standalone, rather than through the procedure of tapping and holding⁴ in order to react. Further, standalone graphicons were the example given by Herring and Dainas (2017) for this function. Another issue would be how the size of an emoji may affect interpretation, since standalone emoji when sent as messages are of a considerably larger size than when used in-text (Miller et al., 2017). The reacji remains the same size as the text, so this is a technical factor that distinguishes the reacji from the emoji.

2.5 Summary

If I were to choose one word to summarize the current knowledge on the nature of emoji, it would be “various.” First, in the area of semantics, we have seen how emoji use allows both sentiment and semantic ambiguity. Then with regard to syntax, the emoji has been shown to interact with the text in various ways depending on what kind of emoji it is. And lastly, emoji have been shown to exhibit various pragmatic roles according to when, where, and why it is used in online talk.

Furthermore, I noticed that emoji studies usually employ computational and quantitative methods. With easily accessible, cloud-based communication exchanges (and their agents) as data subjects, it appears to be a thoroughly data-driven sphere of research. Questionnaires are also utilized to support and confirm findings, but the digital sophistication of techniques as used in this field is more notable. And only rightfully so, since digital materials are used as main sources of data.

This study, then, likewise emphasizes the importance of empirical observation, a principle in traditional CA (Seedhouse, 2005), due to the collected data. It also takes a more

⁴On a desktop, the same is accomplished by clicking a gray emoji icon that appears beside the message, which then presents the user with a panel from which the reacji is selected.

qualitative approach, however, with examples and insights from the users themselves, especially with the added analytical method of autoethnography. These means offer the insights sufficient to clarify both the semiotic and context-dependent nature of the emoji in the form of the reacji, and will show how this latter feature fulfills the communicative necessities that the standard emoji fails to meet.

3 Research Methodology

This study examines the difference between the reacji and the standard emoji using concepts from the Conversation Analysis (CA) framework. Borrowing concepts from approaches such as CA in analyzing communicative systems—the system of emoji, in this case—would enable us to take into account important context-based issues (e.g., cultural competence), according to Gibson et al. (2018). There was an effective online reduplication of classic CA: it essentially involved “treating associative meanings of emoji as irrelevant to the action unless/until they can be demonstrably shown to be of importance to the interlocutors” (p. 97). Below, I outline the fundamentals of CA and four relevant concepts from the framework that inform the methodology for this research.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

While emphasizing the order of interaction, the Conversation Analysis (CA) approach is focused on representing speech in terms of “social acts” (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 165). Participants are depicted as monitoring and manipulating grammar and lexicon in order to accomplish such acts (Schegloff et al., 2002, as cited in Seedhouse, 2005). Conversation analysts concern themselves with the “demonstrable construction of meaning in interaction” (Gibson et al., 2018, p. 93). Seedhouse (2005) summarized its four principles, namely:

1. There is order at all points in interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998).
2. Interactions are context-shaped and context-renewing.
3. No detail is “disorderly,” “accidental,” or “irrelevant” (Heritage, 1984).
4. Analysis is driven by data, i.e., any theoretical assumption about the context of participants is unwelcome unless expressed by the participants themselves in interaction.

He also summarizes four “interactional organizations” (p. 168) from CA, namely: (a) adjacency pairs, (b) turn-taking, (c) preference, and (d) repair. I briefly explain them below in considering the function of the reacji.

3.1.1 Adjacency Pairs

Sequencing in face-to-face conversation is normally characterized by adjacency, or spatial immediacy, of utterances. This is not so in the case of online chat because of the inability of participants to control the placement of their turns (Herring, 1999). For example,

when two online interlocutors press the “Send” button at the same time, either message may log into the thread first because of technical factors (e.g., internet connection). This may cause logical incoherence in the flow of the conversation.

An *adjacency pair* is a two-part structure of spoken material with the following features: (a) it is the length of two utterances, (b) there is an adjacent positioning of component utterances, with (c) different speakers as the source of each utterance (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The first one acting as the prompt is termed the *first pair part* (FPP), and the following reply that satisfies it the *second pair part* (SPP). This construction results in various pair types; examples include the question-answer, greeting-greeting, and offer-acceptance/refusal templates (p. 296).⁵ As a conversation is continued, the relevance of each subsequent reply to the previous utterance allows adjacency pairs to provide understanding of coherence in interaction (Tudini & Liddicoat, 2017).

3.1.2 Turn-taking

Turn-taking is the “organizing participation of interlocutors in talk” (Liddicoat, 2011, as cited in Tudini and Liddicoat, 2017, p. 416). Sacks et al. (1974) outline several components and rules that govern the conversation to prevent gap and overlap. Fundamental and of relevance here are the concepts of *turn constructional unit* (TCU) and *transition-relevance place* (TRP). While the former refers to any “sentences, clauses, phrases, and one-word constructions” that occur within a speaker’s turn, the latter occurs at the closure of and marks the “completion points” (p. 721) of such utterances, signaling the turn of another speaker.

3.1.3 Preference

Preference bears no conceptual relation to personal inclinations of the participants in a conversation. Rather, it is a generic concept that refers to the tendency for interaction to tend towards social solidarity (Seedhouse, 2005). The SPP of an adjacency pair may be selected from several choices, and whether or not these choices lean towards agreeability among interlocutors is what preference organization is concerned with. For example, accepting, rejecting, and ignoring are possible responses to an invitation. Accepting an invitation, as a socially favorable act, is a preferred action, the likes of which are implicitly motivated by an aim towards sociability (Pomerantz, 1984, as cited in Bilmes, 1988). With regard to form, these are usually given promptly and without hesitation (Seedhouse, 2005). On the other hand, SPPs marked by delay and that merit justification, or that have to be “qualified” or “accounted for,” are examples of dispreferred actions (Heritage, 1984, p. 267). They are also preceded by fillers such as “um” or “well” in English. They are also disaffiliative, i.e., opportunities for conflict (Seedhouse, 2005); while affiliative, or

⁵Nurhayati et al. (2020, pp. 84–85) offered an exhaustive list of pair types. Besides the three mentioned above, they included (a) request-agreement; (b) assessment-agreement; (c) compliment-acceptance; (d) leave-taking adjacency pairs; (e) complaint-apology; (f) warning-acknowledgement; (g) blame-denial; and (h) threat-counter-threat. Rüegg (2014) also considers a thanks-thanks response exchange as an adjacency pair.

preferred actions, are used to avoid it. Like the other concepts, preference organization is “strongly institutionalized” in human interaction (Heritage, 1984, p. 267).

3.1.4 Repair

The concept of *repair* refers to utterances made to address “problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding” (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 361). These include the echoing of elements of statements of the conversation partner, or prompts such as “hm?” In these two instances, repair is most common in the form of a question, but any declarative utterance of clarification also counts as repair.

3.2 Data Collection

The data sources are six (6) dyadic conversations between myself and six of my friends. I henceforth use the following pseudonyms: Elle, Leonora, and M.Love for the female respondents; and Dexter, Derrick, and Chris for the male respondents. Pieces of data are thus samples of messages—conversation exchanges in which I and my conversation partner have either included at least one (1) emoji, or have reacted to using at least one (1) reacji. First in the criteria for conversation selection was that they are above 18 years old, and I obtained casual consent from these people for me to use our entire conversation history as data sources. Then, the selected exchanges are only those starting from 2017 to limit the data sources to the time when the reacji feature had already been made available.

Upon receiving their initial consent, I selected specific conversation exchanges and removed or omitted sensitive material in transcribing them. The transcriptions, presented in table form, constitute the primary data for this collection method and depict the reacji as a response. To illustrate, a transcription of the message in Figure 4 is shown below in Table 1.

Table 1
Transcription Example

01	Participant 1 — Apr 4, 2023 10:24am It’s all gonna be ok 😊
02	Participant 2 ❤️ [REACJI]

The first column shows the ordinal numbering of TCUs in the interactional exchange. The second column holds the names of the participants, time stamps of the message, and message per se, and the third will hold the English gloss and/or explanatory notes if needed.

The transcriptions include as much as possible of the entire exchange (i.e., a conversation centered on a specific topic) in order to supply sufficient context. The selected messages and their corresponding reacji had been sent and encoded in Messenger before the time I had informed the participants of my study, in order to prevent the observer

effect. After obtaining initial consent from my respondents, I sent to them via email the transcriptions along with the informed consent form, which they reviewed and signed, respectively. After which, I proceeded to analyze the data, and then confirmed my interpretations by sending back to the respondents annotated copies of the transcriptions for their verification. Upon review, they then sent these files back to me.

Besides the messages, an interview was also made optional. Two (2) male respondents, Dexter and Derrick, were able to participate in this and gave me further insight as to their own emoji and reacji use.

3.3 Limitations and Scope of Research

I acknowledge that this study oversimplifies CA concepts for the sake of applying them loosely to its data. Thus, it emphasizes how online conversation mirrors that which occurs face-to-face. While this is not entirely discouraged (see Sampietro, 2021), the suggestion (see Meiler, 2021) to use the more digitally relevant revisions of concepts mentioned in this paper may be more advisable on the whole. These may then be utilized by future research.

Also, because I used convenience sampling and depended on recent conversations from the past five years, the respondents are all young, college-age Filipinos. This must be taken note of because as members of this demographic are the ones who spend more time on social media, they are also most likely to have updated apps and be thoroughly acquainted with emoji use. Furthermore, the emoji used in the transcriptions are the renderings on the desktop version of Messenger for Windows 10, which may appear different across other types of applications, devices, platforms, and updated versions. There is thus the uncontrollable factor that some of the emoji may have appeared differently as my respondents had used (or continue to use) them. Findings may also differ should conversations in other apps be analyzed. These variables may then also serve as impetus for further studies.

I noted the aforementioned issues because this study aims for a more descriptive rather than correlational orientation, and to furnish preliminary observations and insights only. It is also not a corpus study, and should not be taken to be statistically representative of the emoji use in this age group.

4 Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

The data collection was governed by questions of how the reacji behaves differently from the emoji, though parallels were found to figure prominently between them too. Since I was also a participant of the conversations, I also utilized autoethnography, a qualitative research method that focuses on the experiences of the author to create nuanced and compelling narratives (Poulos, 2021). These are rooted in one's experience as a member of a specific culture and thus produce epiphanies that help in understanding it (Ellis et al., 2011). Thus, as a member of the Messenger community, I analyzed my own use of the reacji as well.

I will first show the findings relating to the four CA concepts discussed above. I will then list the findings that go beyond these concepts, which focus on the similarities between the emoji and reacji.

4.1 Data According to the Four Interactional Organizations

4.1.1 Adjacency Pairs

Both emoji and reacji can function as the SPP, i.e., the answer to a prompt, but this occurs more often with the reacji. Emoji had been used as the SPP only thrice in the data, one of which is this example from Leonora, shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Series of Emoji Used as an SPP

09 **Leonora** — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am
Thank ü 😊

10 **Researcher** — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YRqXKmG9ivU>
Hating Gabi – Conching Rosal

11 **Researcher** — Dec 9, 2018 7:41am
Medyo fuzzy but beautiful nevertheless 😊

Kinda fuzzy but beautiful nevertheless 😊

12 **Leonora** — Dec 9, 2018 7:41am
😊😊😊😊😊

Note how the four insertions of 😬 ‘grimacing face’ followed by one of 😊 ‘beaming face with smiling eyes’ constitute a single TCU in response to my comment.

While similar instances are rare in the data, the use of `reacji` as SPP permeated all six conversations. Observe the next data sample shown in Table 3. Chris confirmed during data verification that he did intend the “folded hands” emoji to represent the statement “hopefully this is true.” While this may still be seen as an expression of mere sentiment, the fact that emoji can take the place of text, as observed by Tian et al. (2017), is highly plausible.

Furthermore, the impossibility of overlapping messages in a chat thread is more or less satisfied with another feature that enables users to reply directly to a prompt from another interactant, with the prompt attached to the new response. We see a reverse orientation with the reacji; as the SPP, it is attached to the FPP, so it follows the terms of adjacency positioning in the visual sense more exactly than a regular emoji TCU. This is then related to my initial observation that users are less inclined to produce textual replies, for the reacji becomes the second half of the adjacency pair. While mere display of sentiment is not acknowledged as utterance in CA, Facebook equates its six reacjis with actual words, e.g., defining the 👍 ‘thumbs up’ emoji as “yes” (Moxon, 2017). Haughey (2016) and Miller et al. (2016) also provide evidence for emoji reinterpreted as text. Observe the suggestion in Table 4.

Table 3*The Reacji as SPP*

01–03	[OMITTED MESSAGES]	
04	Chris — Dec 4, 2022 11:21pm Di naman galit si [REDACTED]?	<i>I hope [REDACTED] wasn't mad?</i>
05	Chris — Dec 4, 2022 11:21pm Huhu had an event to attend kasii	<i>Huhu it's because I had to attend an event</i>
06	Researcher — Dec 4, 2022 11:38pm [REPLY TO 04] Hahaha hindi naman, parang amused lang, in an understanding way!	<i>Hahaha not really, just somewhat amused, in an understanding way!</i>
07	Chris 🙏 [REACJI]	

Table 4*Reacji to Suggestion*

01	M.Love — Mar 1, 2021 9:36am Hi [REDACTED], good morning! Ask ko lang kung may nareceive ka na bang email from [REDACTED]?	<i>Hi [NICKNAME], good morning! I'm just gonna ask if you have already received an email from [TEACHER]?</i>
02	Researcher — Mar 1, 2021 1:50pm Ooh wala, meron na ba? :0	<i>Ooh none, is there already one? :0</i>
03	M.Love — Mar 1, 2021 1:51pm Wala rin actually haha naooverthink lang kasi bukas na class HAHAHA	<i>None also actually haha just overthinking because class is tomorrow already HAHAHA</i>
04	Researcher — Mar 1, 2021 8:36pm HAHA okey, thats good to know hahaha dont worry dearr	
05	M.Love 😄 [REACJI]	
06	Researcher — Mar 1, 2021 8:43pm Check din natin ang crs hehe	<i>Let's check CRS [Computerized Registration System] as well hehe</i>
07	M.Love 👌 [REACJI]	

In 07, the 🙏 'OK hand' emoji was used to respond to the suggestion to check CRS. Evidently, it may be read as a stand-in for the accepting statement "OK" or "alright." I had also asked in the interview for any questions or prompts to which reacji may be attached to as a sufficient response. According to Derrick, simple requests are the most likely, to which he would use a 👍 'thumbs up.' Dexter, on the other hand, proposed

a more contextualized prompt: if someone asked how he was doing with regard to academic requirements, he would then use the 🥹 ‘face holding back tears.’

Note, however, that this SPP feature also depends on the reacji used. In Table 5, the 👍 ‘thumbs up’ reacji is not an SPP.

Table 5

When a Reacji Is Not an SPP

01	Researcher — Apr 14, 2023 11:15am Seems sunny today 😊 see you at 3?
02	Elle 👍 [REACJI]
03	Elle — Apr 14, 2023 8:11pm Yea, see you at 3. 😊
07	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]

Here, the reacji is indeed merely an emoji functioning as a reaction, as observed by Dolot and Opina (2021). It is not an SPP since the latter was furnished in 04 with the response “yea.” Moreover, because the adjacency pair is defined as having the length of two utterances only, the reacji (in 02) is a separate utterance from the text (in 03); it may be said to supplement or preface it, rather than being the SPP per se with a follow-up text message. Lastly, should it be considered the SPP on grounds of chronology and literal adjacency, it would still be difficult to tell if it was a response to the assessment “seems sunny today” or to the question that followed. Thus, 03 contains the more likely SPP.

Pair Types One of the more common pair types that I noticed in the data is the suggestion-approval template, as may be seen in Table 6.

Table 6

Reacji in Suggestion-Approval Pair Type

25	Researcher — Dec 17, 2022 9:14pm [REPLY TO 14] Kahit ngayon na if it’s alright, para makapag-practice na hehe	<i>We can do it [division of tasks] now if that’s alright, so we can start practicing already hehe</i>
26	Chris 💚 [REACJI]	

Here, Chris added the reacji to signify his approval to my proposal for a project which he and I were working on. The new information-response template (“Adjacency Pairs,” 2022) may also be seen in the text-reacji interaction, as shown in Table 7.

Here, Derrick showed his acknowledgment of the new information that he had wanted to know. The reacji is thus seen to be effective in showing acknowledgment, as described by Konrad et al. (2020).

Table 7*Reacji as Response to New Information*

10	Derrick — Sep 22, 2022 11:17am i read a little yesterday	
11	Derrick — Sep 22, 2022 11:17am for my paper hahaha	
12	Derrick — Sep 22, 2022 11:18am What're you doing?	
13	Researcher — Sep 22, 2022 11:18am Oh ok haha, just submitted my abstract	
14	Derrick 👍 [REACJI]	

Reacji are also seen as the SPPs in leave-taking adjacency pairs, also called degreeting-degreeting response templates ("Adjacency Pairs," 2022). Here in Table 8 then is an example.

Table 8*Reacji as Degreeting Response*

10	Leonora — Jan 22, 2023 4:30pm ill ask sina mama :> ill get back to youuu 😊	<i>I'll ask mama [implied: both parents] :> I'll get back to you 😊</i>
11	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	

Here the heart functioned as an acknowledgment as well as a close to the conversation. The emoji plays this role as well, but much rarer than does the reacji. Observe Table 9, where it may be seen as an SPP to the 💖 'growing heart' reacji.

Table 9*Emoji as Degreeting Response*

04	Researcher — May 21, 2020 4:22pm Kumusta naman nyaha	<i>So how have you been haha</i>
05	Leonora — May 21, 2020 4:23pm ehe im doing fine. keeping myself busy :)) hbu?	
06	Researcher — May 21, 2020 4:24pm Same lol	
07	Leonora 💖 [REACJI]	
08	Researcher — May 21, 2020 4:24pm 😊	

Given the wide scope of pair types to which scholars add freely, I will also add one more from my data. This is the encouragement-gratitude template, which may be seen primarily with 02–03, and in 06–07 in the sample in Table 10. Since Chris replied 「頑張しましょう」 ‘let’s do our best’ (in 06) to the same (in 04), the heart reacji in 05 did not function as the SPP to 04. The TCU of 03 is thus the valid SPP to the Bible verse in 02, which may be taken as a statement of encouragement.

Table 10*Reacji as SPP to Encouragement*

01	Researcher — Dec 13, 2022 4:47pm Chris, よろしくお願ひします！ 😊	<i>Chris, I’m looking forward to working with you! 😊</i>
02	Researcher — Dec 13, 2022 4:47pm “Through God we shall do valiantly, And it is He who will tread down our adversaries.” Psalm 60:12	
03	Chris 💚 [REACJI]	
04	Researcher — Dec 13, 2022 4:48pm 頑張しましょう！！	<i>Let’s do our best!!</i>
05	Chris 💚 [REACJI]	
06	Chris — Dec 13, 2022 5:08pm よろしくお願ひします、ジュリアさん～！ 頑張しましょう 😊	<i>Looking forward to working with you too, Julia! Let’s do our best 😊</i>
07	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	

Observe yet another pair type in Table 11. The two-part construction of a laughable element followed by laughter is also considered an adjacency pair (Schegloff et al., 1977). Here, I used the 😄 ‘grinning face with squinting eyes’ emoji, also known as “Haha” in Messenger reactions, to accept Dexter’s invitation to laugh with the laughing token. A secondary observation also may be made here, in that reacji are used to react to a certain segment of the TCU only. In this case, it was the laughing token itself.

4.1.2 Turn-taking

Both emoji and reacji can function as TRP, that is, they can both signal the next speaker’s turn. In Table 12, it is seen with Facebook’s “Like” icon, which doubles as an automatic response button on Messenger. Though distinct from 👍 ‘thumbs up,’ it performs the same functions here.

Note that the file attachment is considered a turn and was then followed up with the emoji. This then prompted me to claim the next turn. If, on the other hand, the reacji is regarded as a wholly non-verbal expression, i.e., a mere reaction, it may also be thought of as a tool facilitating the extension of the other party’s turn.

Table 11*Laughable-Laughter Adjacency Pair*

01	Dexter — Mar 24, 2023 9:52am hi [REDACTED] julia!! HAHAHAH	redacted: fun nickname for researcher based on preceding interaction
02	Researcher 😏 [REACJI]	
03	Dexter — Mar 24, 2023 9:52am nahagilap niyo na ba ni mx [REDACTED] si [REDACTED] for the reporting niyo? XD	<i>have you and Mx. [REDACTED] already come across [REDACTED] for your reporting? XD</i>
04	Researcher — Mar 24, 2023 9:52am Henlo! Yes we're talking na hehe, why?	
05	Dexter 😏 [REACJI]	

Table 12*Emoji as TRP*

04	Researcher — Oct 25, 2018 2:42am Here Elle, please print if you can... thank you!!!!	
05	Elle — Oct 25, 2018 2:44am Sure	
06	Elle — Oct 25, 2018 2:44am I'm so sorry	
07	Researcher — Oct 25, 2018 2:44am [ATTACHMENT]	
08	Elle — Oct 25, 2018 2:44am 👍	
09	Researcher — Oct 25, 2018 2:44am It's ok 😊 thanks again	

Table 13*Extension of Turn Facilitated by Reacji*

72	Derrick — Dec 13, 2022 5:15pm thanks julia!	
73	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	
74	Derrick — Dec 13, 2022 5:15pm how are you doing ba?	<i>how are you doing [QUESTION PARTICLE]?</i>

Observe the exchange in Table 13. Note that Derrick continues talking after I respond to his thanks with a heart reacji. In chat threads, Meredith (2017) noted, “the persistence of text on-screen ... affords ... ‘breaking up’ of turns, as the recipient can deduce which turns ‘fit’ together through examining the record of the interaction as it appears on screen” (p. 47). The reacji, however, proved to simplify this process of “breaking up” by allowing listeners to express themselves during another speaker’s turn. This then enables the extension of the turn of a participant in a group chat, in that they are able to send a series of messages or TCUs without being disrupted by their fellow interactants if they wish to acknowledge or answer a prompt. This is because they use the reacji to discreetly fulfill that function. In this regard, the reacji facilitates suspension of TRPs in the course of a Messenger conversation. And it does it more efficiently than the emoji, since the example of the latter in Table 12 is the only instance for emoji in the data.

4.1.3 Preference

In applying CA to online interactive learning contexts, Tudini and Liddicoat (2017) mention emoticons as “mitigating” elements in the dispreferred action of correcting the learner. I have found data concerning a similar role of both the emoji and the reacji.

Table 14
Emoji Used in Dispreferred Action

01	Elle — Dec 16, 2017 6:08pm Hi,Julia 😊 I just want to ask since your coming to the year end party will you be joining the games as well?	
02	Researcher — Dec 16, 2017 6:28pm Hi Elle! Hindi na tho. I'll just be eating with you guys. Hope it's fine with you 😊	Hi Elle! Won't anymore tho. I'll just be eating with you guys. Hope it's fine with you 😊
03	Elle — Dec 16, 2017 6:29pm Oh sige, yeah its okay 😊 its nice to have you come 😊	Oh sure, yeah its okay 😊 its nice to have you come 😊
04	Elle — Dec 16, 2017 6:29pm Thank you	
05	Researcher — Dec 16, 2017 6:42pm No problem 😊	

Note the positive affect being offered by the presence of emoji, even though I had performed the dispreferred action of choosing not to join in the games. As for reacji, as regards the discouraged practice of “seenzoning” conversation partners (i.e., viewing their messages without replying to them), I have observed a similar mitigating quality of the reacji. Let us again recall how standard emoji function as a form of acknowledgment (Konrad et al., 2020).

Table 15*Reacji for Preference*

10	Researcher — Mar 24, 2023 10:10am Salamat btw!	<i>Thank you btw!</i>
11	Dexter — Mar 24, 2023 10:11am yaaay!! thank u diiin!! :>	<i>yaaay!! thank u alsooo!! :></i>
12	Researcher 👉 [REACJI]	

In the exchange in Table 15, 🤞 ‘OK hand’ was used to close the conversation, and this confirms my initial observation that users produce quantifiably less textual replies while remaining amicable. It is interesting to note, however, that the fact that a reacji was used was not the only factor in the acknowledgment here. Dexter explained that had I used 👍 ‘thumbs up’ instead of 🤞 ‘OK hand,’ I would have portrayed myself as asserting distance which would be a dispreferred action on my part. This semantic fluidity of the emoji according to its users thus echoes previous findings on its ambiguity (e.g., Makhachashvili et al., 2021).

4.1.4 Repair

The use of emoji and reacji was seen in applying repair, although only one instance for each. The difference is that the emoji was used after repair has been accomplished, while the reacji was used to introduce it.

Observe the former in Table 16. Here, at 09, Leonora used the emoji to embellish her textual response even though she had already used the unlabeled letter “ü,” which also functioned as a smiley. This may have added emphasis to her appreciation of the clarification accomplished.

In the case of reacji, it was used once in introducing the initiation of repair. The initiation in Table 17 is 10, where Elle repeats the word “accepted” from 08. Thus, it can be said that her use of 😮 ‘face with open mouth’ preempted her doubt or disbelief at the new information, i.e., the fact that I would still have to undergo a selection process to be admitted as a dormer in the university. It then served as a first step in the confirmation process (in 10) that constitutes the initiation of repair.

4.2 Data on Other Similarities Between Emoji and Reacji

While I set out to pinpoint the distinguishing features of the reacji from the emoji, the inductive bent of CA behooves me to also document other observations that I had made beyond the four concepts of interactional organization. These are mostly functions and characteristics shared between the emoji and reacji, which are summarized below.

Table 16*Emoji in Repair*

03	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:36am Hmmm thats alright we will work with what we have. Pero if that is the case can u also look for vocals on Sa Kabukiran?	<i>Hmmm thats alright we will work with what we have. But if that is the case can u also look for vocals on Sa Kabukiran?</i>
04	Researcher — Dec 9, 2018 7:36am the video I just sent has vocals. So for hatinggabi you mean?	
05	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:37am Kasi diba may scene na mag eexchange ng music from Hatinggabi and Sa Kabukiran?	<i>Because there's a scene where the music would exchange from Hatinggabi and Sa Kabukiran, right?</i>
06	Researcher — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am yup	
07	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am So both nalang has vocals	<i>So both would just have vocals</i>
08	Researcher — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am okiee	
09	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am Thank ü 😊	

Table 17*Reacji Used to Initiate Repair*

05	Elle — May 16, 2019 7:40pm When do you transfer to your dorm?? 😊	
06	Researcher — May 16, 2019 7:40pm Ooohhhhhh	
07	Elle — May 16, 2019 7:40pm Helluuu	
08	Researcher — May 16, 2019 7:40pm Um if I get accepted, it will be around august	
09	Elle 😬 [REACJI]	
10	Elle — May 16, 2019 7:40pm Accepted?	
11	Researcher — May 16, 2019 7:41pm Yeah limited din slots e	<i>Yeah 'cause slots are limited too</i>

4.2.1 Expressing Contradictory Sentiment

Firstly, they are used to juxtapose seemingly opposing sentiments within conversation. The nuance lies in the fact that the emoji was used to show a process, and the reacji was used to demonstrate underlying sentiment. The two following examples are from my conversation with Leonora.

Table 18

Emoji and Opposing Sentiment

09	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am Thank ü 😊	
10	Researcher — Dec 9, 2018 7:38am https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YRqxKmG9ivU <i>Hating Gabi – Conching Rosal</i>	
11	Researcher — Dec 9, 2018 7:41am Medyo fuzzy but beautiful nevertheless 😊	<i>Kinda fuzzy but beautiful nevertheless 😊</i>
12	Leonora — Dec 9, 2018 7:41am 😬😬😬😬😬	

As for Table 18, Leonora explained that at first, there was an expression of awkwardness with the four 😬 ‘grimacing face’ emoji, which then turned into a 😊 ‘beaming face with smiling eyes’ emoji. She agreed that it may have been influenced by the preceding message, which placed “fuzzy” and “beautiful” in the same order. However, she did also say, in reference to this particular instance, that she also does not give much thought as to how she uses some emojis. Thus, the motive of why she used the sentimentally contradictory emoji cannot be known for certain.

In Table 19 with the reacji, Leonora explained that emoji 😭 ‘crying face’ was used to demonstrate that she was actually sad that she would not have been able to hang out with me. This evidently opposes the general mood of the conversation, hinting at how reacji can be used to express emotions beyond this mood.

4.2.2 “Contagious” Quality

Both emoji and reacji use are what I might call “contagious.”

In Table 20, when I presented some favorable news to Elle (i.e., agreeing to adopt her guitar), she and I went on a spree of reacting to one another’s messages with hearts. Here, ❤️ ‘red heart’ was attached to each textual message. It is noteworthy that the heart also manifests in the text, alongside several face emoji. It may be observed here that the heart, while not indicative of any facial expression, is sufficient to display a significant amount of affection and seems very much prominent in expression of sentiment on Messenger. It prompts one’s conversation partner to react in the same manner, maintaining the affectionate tone of the exchange.

Table 19

Reacji and Opposing Sentiment

10 **Leonora** — Jan 7, 2020 10:34pm
HAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA friday din check in mo? magcocommute lang ako e. if gusto mo sumama sa thursday 😊

11 **Researcher** — Jan 7, 2020 10:35pm
Ohhhh may something kami on thursday kasi :<

12 **Researcher** — Jan 7, 2020 10:35pm
sorry deahr

13 **Leonora** — Jan 7, 2020 10:35pm
kaya pala friday ka na babalik KSKSKSKSKS 🤔🤔 so that's why you'll go back on friday KSKSKSKSKS 🤔🤔

14 **Researcher** — Jan 7, 2020 10:37pm
yupppers hahaha

15 **Leonora**
😞 [REACJI]

Table 20

Contagiousness of Reacji

23 **Researcher** — Apr 9, 2023 6:43pm
Good eve Elle! I'll take it na 🤔 thanks so much for asking mee *Good eve Elle! I'll take it already 🤔 thanks so much for asking mee*

24 **Elle**
❤️ [REACT]

25 **Elle** — Apr 9, 2023 6:44pm
YAY! When are you free? I can drop it off at your house 😊

26 **Researcher**
❤️ [REACT]

27 **Researcher** — Apr 9, 2023 6:46pm
Awww thank you!! ❤️ Maybe around this week, but will let you know exactly when!

28 **Elle**
❤️ [REACT]

29 **Elle** — Apr 9, 2023 6:48pm
Okiiii, thank you for taking it 😊❤️

30 **Researcher**
❤️ [REACT]

Moreover, Leonora shared that her conversation partners do indeed eventually adopt her own custom emoji the longer she talks to them. Observe how this notion is made manifest even in the short-term, and with Leonora herself.

Table 21

Contagiousness of Reacji

01	Leonora — Feb 10, 2018 10:05pm Good evening Julia! Do you know the homework sa reading and writing? the essay thingy.	<i>Good evening Julia! Do you know the homework for reading and writing? the essay thingy.</i>
02	Researcher — Feb 11, 2018 8:35am Yup, what about it? We won't be writing the essay proper yet, it's just the planning stage. 😊	
03	Leonora — Feb 11, 2018 9:15am Oohh yeaah thank you dear 😊 and sa marketing?	<i>Oohh yeaah thank you dear 😊 and for marketing?</i>
04	Researcher — Feb 11, 2018 10:37am Marketing: send to [REDACTED] ppt slides of the value proposition, positioning statement, and target market of your own company 😎	
05	Leonora — Feb 11, 2018 11:57am 😎 cool thanks gurl	

The samples noted in Table 21 are 02 and 03, with the similar 😊 'smiling face' and 😊 'smiling face with smiling eyes' emoji; and 04 and 05, where the 😎 'smiling face with sunglasses' emoji is echoed. This suggests that specific emoji use is easily consistent between interlocutors, as is the case with many other aspects of language, such as vocabulary.

4.2.3 Supplementing Text With Sentiment

Then, it is true that reacji enliven conversation alongside emoticons and emoji, as may be seen in Table 22. Notice how the exchange utilizes both emoticons (in 06 and 07), emoji (in 08 and 10), and reacji (in 09 and 11) to demonstrate the role of these graphicons. This role was twofold: to mitigate the dispreferred action of giving the "bad news" of deferring from the organization I had been applying for and in which M.Love is a member, as well as to celebrate the fact that the task which she had given me to do had been accomplished nonetheless. Dexter, moreover, noted how emoji is comparable to intonation in regular speech, and Derrick also observed that emoji and reacji help to simulate the atmosphere of a real-life exchange, furnishing a fun element by adding literal color to the conversation. This is in line with Bai et al.'s (2019) observation on the prominence of emoji as nonverbal tools.

However, this confirms the fact that emoji and reacji only serve to maintain sentiment in conversation. In the interviews, Derrick and Dexter had discussed the importance

Table 22*Emoticons, Emoji, and Reacji in Conversation*

06	Researcher — Nov 4, 2020 6:22pm Bad news is I decided to defer ;_;	
07	Researcher — Nov 4, 2020 6:23pm Yun, priorities e :((<i>There, because of priorities :((</i>
08	M.Love — Nov 4, 2020 6:24pm Oooohhh I see i see 😞 yes I understand naman nga kasi huhu dami talaga pinapagawa sa acads ngayon huhuhu still, thank you for telling me! I appreciate it a lot 😞	<i>Oooohhh I see i see 😞 yes I understand anyway really since huhu we're being made to do a lot with our schoolwork huhuhu still, thank you for telling me! I appreciate it a lot 😞</i>
09	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	
10	Researcher — Nov 4, 2020 6:28pm Thank youuu ❤️ Good news is I was able to do the task naman	<i>Thank youuu ❤️ Good news is I was still able to do the task</i>
11	M.Love 😂 [REACJI]	

Table 23*Emoji Intensified by Text*

09	Researcher — Oct 14, 2018 9:46am Wait lang, there's an issue with my wifi. Just tell me when you have to go and prepare already 😂	<i>Just wait, there's an issue with my wifi. Just tell me when you have to go and prepare already 😂</i>
10	Elle — Oct 14, 2018 9:46am Sure sure	
11	Elle — Oct 14, 2018 9:46am 😂😂😂	
12	Researcher — Oct 14, 2018 9:53am Heerree	
13	Elle — Oct 14, 2018 9:53am There no file?	
14	Researcher — Oct 14, 2018 9:54am Lol it's still sending haha	
15	Elle — Oct 14, 2018 9:54am Ohh hahahaha 😂😂😂	

of text in their messaging, acknowledging that it still forms the bulk of content. For the former, a reacji usually has to be followed up with text, and the latter described his message content as being $\frac{3}{4}$ text and $\frac{1}{4}$ emoji.

A similar example pointing to the importance of text may be seen in Table 23 from Elle, where the sentiment of emoji is actually intensified by text. Here, the three 😊 ‘face with tears of joy’ emoji in 11 and 15 vary in intensity according to Elle. While 11 contains emoji of a larger size, the ones in 15 depict her laughter to a greater degree because she used a laughing token alongside it. This finding may serve as an initial response to the suggestion of Miller et al. (2017) that the size of an emoji may affect its interpretation. Thus, that text is indispensable in online conversation makes the proposition of an emoji-only language yet a far cry, for these symbols mainly serve to embellish the text and provide the mood.

4.2.4 Varying Intensity

Another quality that emoji, and by extension reacji, have is that of varying intensity.

Table 24

Special and More “Intense” Emoji and Reacji

10	M.Love — Mar 1, 2021 8:53pm Gandaaaa 🤩 Yes whooo Lord please help us! asdfghjkl thank you [REDACTED], have a blessed sem!! 😭❤️	<i>Beautifulllll 🤩 Yes whooo Lord please help us! asdfghjkl thank you [NICKNAME], have a blessed sem!! 😭</i> ❤️
11	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	
12	Researcher — Mar 1, 2021 9:53pm Thank you 😭 and amen!! btw, sabi ni [REDACTED] during the assembly na it's also usual that profs will message on the day itself hehe. so we'll see!! God bless your sem ahead din ❤️	<i>Thank you 😭 and amen!! btw, [REDACTED] said during the assembly that it's also usual that profs will message on the day itself hehe. so we'll see!! God bless your sem ahead too ❤️</i>
13	M.Love 😭 [REACJI]	
14	Researcher — Mar 2, 2021 6:48am ayan na meron na hehe	<i>there, there it is already hehe</i>
15	M.Love 😊 [REACJI]	
16	M.Love — Mar 2, 2021 7:40am Ayun! Thank youuuu 🧡	<i>There! Thank youuuu 🧡</i>
17	Researcher ❤️ [REACJI]	

Observe Table 24, an exchange with M.Love after I had shared an original song about a student's prayer. Notice the use of the 🧡 ‘sparkling heart’ in 10 and 16, and 😊 ‘smiling face with hearts’ in 15. In the example, M.Love explained that the latter was a more personalized form of a display for affection and she used it more for female

conversation partners. The sparkling hearts, on the other hand, also reflect a more heightened sentiment.

Indeed, Dexter shared that the emotional intensity of emoji, for him, is somehow structured as a gradient. This is related to the next observation, which is that of personalization and customization. M.Love, Leonora, Dexter, and Chris all discussed their personalized use of emoji and what several of these meant to them. This all reflected their self-appropriation of meaning. For Chris, he had his own meanings for 🙏 ‘folded hands,’ which ranged from referring to prayer, requests, or hope; these also varied based on whether it was used as a reacji or not. Thus according to the meanings assigned to them by users, emoji and reacji vary in emotional intensity, which then allows them to customize their selection of frequently used emoji and reacji for convenience. For Dexter, he replaced 😡 ‘angry face’ with 😞 ‘disappointed face’ in his customizable “Your Reactions” panel to reflect his own personality.

This is also where we may see a certain semantic shift with respect to certain reacji. Because of the trends of personalization and customization, the default symbols of the reactions panel seem to be declining in their ability to express favorable sentiment. As mentioned to me by Elle, there is the notion of the “likezone,” where a person’s message is reacted to with 👍 ‘thumbs up.’ This is seen as less favorable and less welcoming as when, say, the heart reacji is used. Derrick and Elle do confirm that the heart is on a higher level of sentiment, but for M.Love and Dexter, even the default heart is beginning to lose its initial flavor. This is why they utilize other variants such as 💖 ‘sparkling heart’ and 💜 ‘heart decoration,’ respectively.

4.3 Discussion

Let us now return to my initial aim of differentiating the emoji and the reacji and summarize the findings to do so. In terms of adjacency pairs, the reacji is preferred as the SPP and is thus used for more pair types. It is also used more often than emoji to close conversations. This may be due to de-escalation of conversational activity: it seems that text, emoji, and reacji express direct engagement in a declining scale, in that order. As compared to the emoji, the reacji is not encoded as a turn in the chat, so it is of a lower level of “activity” and thus invites the close of a conversation more easily. As for turn-taking, the reacji is used to facilitate longer turns, also because of how it is attached to the message per se. It is thus preferred as the TRP and urges the current speaker to maintain their speakership. Lastly, emoji and reacji have similar functions in both preference and repair, though not without positional nuances.

The communicative needs fulfilled exclusively by the emoji are how it may demonstrate intensity through more than one insertion in succession (see Table 23). It is also crucial in the decoration of textual responses, especially as it can be placed prior to one’s own text; though according to Elle position does not affect interpretation. The reacji, on the other hand, may be thought of as also embellishing text, but it always spatially follows the other party’s textual message. This reveals that the visual factor must be considered in differentiating the emoji and reacji.

The reacji also offers a deeper and more direct engagement with the messages of one's conversation partner precisely due to its more efficient design. This is because one's emotional reaction is attached to the message of the other interlocutor, which in a sense is their possession or their personal space in cyberspace. It becomes visually part of their message. As a result of this attaching feature, the reacji is then the perfect asynchronous translation of the two-way simultaneity of face-to-face communication. This means that the listener can afford to show his or her engagement or appreciation even during his or her conversation partner's turn, with much less "noise" and occupied space as compared to when emoji or text are used. Only, this simultaneity is visual (text and symbols on screen) rather than auditory and visual (nodding, grunting, etc.). It is thus comparable to the concept of backchanneling, i.e., how interlocutors respond whilst the other party is yet speaking, in face-to-face conversation (Yngve, 1970).

The further similarities found between the reacji and emoji—that they can express contradictory emotion, have a contagious nature, supplement text, and intensify in sentiment according to their numerous variations—prove that the reacji is still essentially an emoji. Yet, the data collected has hopefully shed light on the pronounced capacities of the former as distinguished from those of the latter.

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper thus sought to explore those capacities using the four interactional organizations of CA. One of these, that of adjacency pair types, helped prove that the reacji can function as a response where the emoji does not (at least, according to the data I found). It is preferred over the emoji as the SPP due to its compactness and attaching quality, but this depends on the kind of FPP and kind of reacji—taken together, the kind of adjacency pair type that is used. Conversely, there are instances that show how the reacji fails to function as a real SPP due to the presence of the following text. Dolot and Opina (2021) were indeed correct in considering that the reacji may also just be an emoji functioning as a reaction.

Both emoji and reacji are only supplementary for emotional engagement in online conversation, and the text is still the bulk of content; but reacji fulfill this role of engagement more directly and efficiently, and are more versatile in doing so. This is due to the fourfold nature of the reacji: how it can be either TRP, SPP, both, or just mere reaction. It supplies more convenience and more direct simultaneous engagement, and is thus an effective tool in streamlining the pursuit of social solidarity in online communication.

As a result of my interpretation of the data, which yielded the reacji as not only capable of replacing a textual response but also a mere reaction, I would suggest a different way to transcribe reacji from how I had done it here. Because, while faithful to the chronological element of the interaction, my method depicted the reacji as encoded in the same space as an ordinary textual or emoji-only response. This then disregards its 'attaching' quality, an element proven to be indispensable when analyzing its unique functions, and makes it easy to identify as an SPP. Perhaps Meiler's (2021) method, where he included the

emoji at the end of the message and set it off with red brackets, would be more advisable for future studies.

Lastly, since this study was mainly composed of preliminary observations, a more nuanced analysis may be possible through a more rigorous application of DCA. Other CA concepts, such as the three-part exchange (an adjacency pair-like construction with three elements; see Tsui, 1989), can also be used to comment on how reacji commonly function as a third, closing component (see Table 15). Further insights may be drawn from other theories that have also been applied to CMC, such as Speech Act Theory (SAT), a theoretical opposite to CA that implies that meaning originates from within interlocutors rather than dictated by conversational context (Gibson et al., 2018). With this, reacji may be analyzed in terms of their function of conveying covert, intended messages (see Table 19), which may uncover yet another layer of emoji use in online talk.

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