

FROM POSTS TO BONDS: UNCOVERING ADOLESCENTS' FRIENDSHIP ON FACEBOOK THROUGH LANGUAGE USE

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Abstract. *Social media, such as Facebook, is used not only as a communication tool but also as a space to maintain friendships and expand friend networks, particularly among adolescents. In response to this phenomenon, the current study investigates friendship dynamics among teenagers by analyzing the language used in their Facebook posts. To accomplish the objective of the study, a corpus analysis was employed to identify patterns of friendship expression. Data were collected using a Facebook feature called Virtual Advertising Operations (VAO), resulting in 1,243 posts related to the theme of relationships. Among these, the most prominent sub-theme was bonding and bridging with friendship as the primary topic. To analyze the data, we used categorization and the detection of textual information. The study underscores Facebook's importance as a key platform where youth build and strengthen friendships. Examining how they use language highlights themes like loyalty, emotional sharing, and social connection that shape their interactions on the platform. These insights emphasize that adolescents use Facebook not just to communicate but to actively shape and express their social relationships. The study also discusses implications for language education from social media content to cultivate students' pragmatic competence and to provide meaningful and real-world communication practice. Future studies are encouraged to explore other modes of digital interaction, such as images and multimedia.*

Keywords: *Adolescent, Bond, Friendship, Language Use, Social Media.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Social media, such as Facebook, is a tool for conveying information, expressing ideas, and virtual self-representation (Laor, 2024; Masoom, 2023; Yuan & Huang, 2025). However, teenagers, as the most active users, tend to use their Facebook accounts to make friendships (Angelini et al., 2023; Lai et al., 2019; Murari et al., 2024). For many young users, friends are the most important thing in supporting their lives besides family (Langheit & Poulin, 2022; Ma & Lai, 2021). As a result, it is important for young people to expand their friendship network not only in the real world but also in the virtual world (Koch et al., 2025; Yau & Reich, 2018, 2019). In this study, the focus is on adolescents' practices in using social media such as Facebook for friendship based on language use.

This study focuses on how adolescents use social media, particularly Facebook, to develop friendships through language. Language plays a crucial role in social interaction, and its utilization on social media sites such as Facebook can offer a profound understanding of interpersonal connections (Ulqinaku et al., 2024). Moreover, adolescents frequently utilize a unique form of communication that mirrors their social dynamics and interpersonal connections (Uhls et al., 2025). Research suggests that the language in social media posts reveals various elements of friendship, including closeness, group belonging, and social status (Androutsopoulos, 2014; Ashokkumar & Pennebaker, 2022; Tagg, 2015).

On Facebook, adolescents use language for several social purposes, such as disseminating personal updates (Jenssen et al., 2014), providing feedback on friends' posts (Phuong & Nguyen, 2019), and participating in group discussions (Isam et al., 2022; Stern,

2017). In addition, the use of emoticons (Ju & Zhao, 2024), and even the timing of posts (Tagg & Lyons, 2024) can serve as indicators of the intimacy and character of these interactions. For instance, the presence of informal language (Bhargav & Bhargav, 2014), private jokes (Xie et al., 2020), and regular contact (Burke & Kraut, 2014) often indicates strong interpersonal bonds. Adolescents also use linguistic strategies such as code-switching and slang to align with particular social groups or navigate different social contexts (Jones & Hafner, 2021; Morales Lugo, 2024; Soo, 2025; Yousif, 2025).

Furthermore, the language used by adolescents on Facebook frequently mirrors their intention to uphold and enhance social connections (Lai et al., 2019). Through their posts and comments, users can express support, acknowledge accomplishments, or offer condolences, underscoring Facebook's role as a medium for social support and emotional communication (Buehler, 2017; Buehler et al., 2024; Cruse et al., 2024). Understanding these linguistic patterns, therefore, provides valuable insight into how adolescents establish and navigate their friendships within a digital environment.

Numerous studies have examined Facebook usage among youth from multiple academic disciplines, including linguistics. For instance, while adolescents often use Facebook to maintain existing friendships (Niland et al., 2015; Rousseau et al., 2019; Wahyuni et al., 2023), they also engage with features like 'friend requests' to connect with unknown friends (Butt, 2020; Mýlek et al., 2020; Ukomadu, 2018). In other words, it can be implied that previous research focused on the use of Facebook and the issue of youth development and has not presented specific data, such as young people's use of language in Facebook social media posts, to reveal the fact that friendship is the dominant topic that appears on young users' Facebook accounts. Thus, this study was conducted to fill the gap in previous research related to adolescents and social media. Therefore, the research aims to investigate issues that arise in adolescents' friendships based on the use of language in Facebook social media posts.

2. METHODS

This study explored how youth engage in friendships through their Facebook posts, using corpus analysis as the approach. The research followed three key steps: gathering data, collecting it, and conducting an analysis.

Data gathering was carried out with Facebook's Virtual Advertising Operations (VAO) tool, following Din & Isam (2020), which involved creating a dedicated advertising page, running targeted ads, downloading the data, and filtering it to meet the research goals. This innovative data collection method allowed researchers to access a large volume of real-world user-generated content, resulting in a total of 6,000 Facebook posts collected over one year.

From this dataset, 1,243 posts related to the theme of relationships were selected for in-depth analysis. These posts were filtered using the Indonesian keyword equivalent of 'relationship' (*'hubungan'*), rather than the English term, to ensure the filtering process reflected the actual language used by participants. The authors acknowledge that using a single keyword may have limited the dataset by potentially omitting posts on friendship that did not include this term explicitly. However, posts were subsequently reviewed manually to confirm their relevance to the overarching themes of friendship and interpersonal

relationships. The study involved 250 Facebook users from different provinces across Indonesia, reflecting a wide variety of educational backgrounds ranging from elementary school to higher education. Participants were recruited voluntarily, with their consent and personal details gathered through a questionnaire sent via Facebook Messenger, following Tuten & Solomon (2018). This approach ensured ethical data collection and alignment with the study's goals.

The analysis focused on identifying common themes and linguistic patterns related to friendship. Posts were categorized into three sub-themes: bonding and bridging, joint action, and values/norms/culture, in line with prior literature on social capital culture (Cao et al., 2013; Colman, 2015; Hossain & Ali, 2014). A predefined codebook was developed based on these sources. Posts were then manually coded according to these categories. To enhance reliability, two researchers independently coded a subset of the data (20% of the posts), and inter-coder agreement was calculated using Cohen's Kappa, which yielded a score of 0.81, indicating strong reliability (Derksen et al., 2024). Discrepancies were discussed and resolved collaboratively. The remaining posts were coded by a primary researcher using the established criteria.

In terms of analysis tools, the *AntConc* program was used to generate word lists and perform KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance searches (Anthony, 2024). The *Word Cloud Generator* (Gupta, 2014) was also used to visually represent the frequency of terms associated with friendship-related subthemes. Since the original posts were written in Indonesian, the authors translated the selected examples into English for inclusion in the article. Care was taken to preserve the tone, slang, and emotional expression of the original content, particularly given the importance of language use in the analysis. A side-by-side comparison with the original text is available in the appendix to maintain transparency.

3. RESULTS

The analysis of adolescents' Facebook posts shows that their online interactions are largely influenced by themes of friendship, particularly the subthemes of bonding and bridging, which emerged as the most dominant category in the dataset. Of the 1,243 relationship-theme posts, approximately 68% (around 84) were categorized under bonding and bridging. In contrast, about 18% of the posts reflected the sub-theme of joint action, while 14% fell into the category of values, norms, and culture.

These trends are consistent among youth from diverse backgrounds, whether they are in middle school, high school, or higher education, and regardless of whether they live in urban or rural areas. Table 1 offers examples of posts that highlight these subthemes, translated into English. The original posts can be found in Appendix A. Each entry includes a respondent code with details about sex (F for female, M for male), domicile (U for urban, R for rural), school level (ES for elementary school, MS for middle school, HS for high school, and HE for higher education), number of comments, and likes.

Table 1. Posts on the bonding and bridging subtheme within the friendship spectrum

Posts	Friendship spectrum
1	Meeting an old friend after such a long time apart that we've even forgotten how to joke around like we used to :v [F/R/HS/17/30]
2	What's the point of dating if it only ends in hostility? Instead, focus on building and mending friendships . Gather as friends , understand each other, and let it lead to marriage. #MarkThis ✔️ 😊 [F/U/HS/16/63]
3	I'm grateful to have you all. When we chat , we forget about the world, laugh together , eat together , and even get into mischief together . It's hilarious when we see each other being silly. Some of us might be wealthier, some more beautiful, but what matters is that we always find something to laugh about. There's always someone who likes someone else, someone who always stands out, and that keeps us laughing and building happiness, even in times of pain. 😊 🌻 ❤️ [F/R/HS/18/13]
4	In our class, I definitely know that our friends always help and share with each other 😊 😂 [M/U/MS/12/59]
5	You've got a handsome face. They say you've got money. But even finding someone new is tough for you, and you're still chasing after my leftovers? Are you happy, huh? Just so you know, that friend you picked up is my trash. Sure, you've got the looks. There's someone new over there, and you're grabbing them too. Do you even realize who you're messing with, asshole!! [F/R/HS/17/20]
6	You're the one who started this conflict, friend. Why did you leave and walk away from us? That's your mistake. When one of our friends gets into trouble , the rest of us step in. It's not about ganging up; it's about showing what friendship means. When one of us is affected, we all take action. #oldfriend [F/U/MS/12/15]
7	Avoiding me because of your friends' gossip? It's better if I never knew you in the first place. 😊 > 25AdyEdtz-> Respond? [M/U/HS/16/46]
8	Watch your mouth when you talk about others. Keep your comments in check . Not everyone who's friends with me on FB has my WhatsApp, and they're fine with it, unlike you , who's being rude 😊. Blocked immediately, folks 🚫 🚫. Sent from Elivia Novela [F/R/HE/20/59]
9	I really hate it when I forget to log out of someone else's Facebook on their phone, and then the chats with friends are read . Privacy is important; there are things that don't need to be shared with everyone, including parents. It's just that boomers' thinking can be primitive sometimes; they don't understand when it's just joking around, and then they lecture endlessly 😊. They don't even understand the context of the conversation; if you respond, they'll label you as disobedient [F/U/HE/18/34]
10	Dear my friends, There's something I want to say to all of you..! But I don't know how we can meet to say it. I really want to thank you all. You have shown the positive side of my life, you know? I love you not just as friends or by your names , but I also love your true selves. With all the attitudes you show. Maybe I'm someone who doesn't have many friends in real life , but because of you, I've found millions of people I can call family. Maybe I'm someone who enjoys solitude in a crowd, but I'm always entertained by your silly antics. Every little thing from you Can make me happy, even though it's just through a screen [F/U/MS/12/45]

Further analysis using *AntConc* identifies specific lexical items that reflect the subthemes of bonding and bridging within the friendship spectrum. Table 2 presents these lexical items that have been translated into English, such as [long time apart], [understand], [gather], [chat], [eat], [mischief], [laugh], [help], [share], [pick up], [get into trouble], [better never knew], [talk], [keep in check], [blocked], [read], [by your names], and [real life]. The use of lexical items that represent the spectrum of friendship, such as [friend], [friends], [friendships], [you], [together], and [best friend], addresses issues related to loyalty, dispute, emotional expression, and opportunities to build relationships. This strengthens each use of words that can illustrate the subthemes of bonding and bridging within the friendship spectrum.

Table 2. Lexical evidence of bonding and bridging subthemes within the friendship spectrum

Posts	Lexical evidence		Issue
	Bonding and bridging subtheme	Friendship spectrum	
1	[long time apart]	[friend]	Dispute
2	[understand], [gather]	[friend], [friendships]	Loyalty
3	[chat], [eat], [mischief], [laugh]	[you], [together]	Opportunities to build relationships
4	[help], [share]	[friends]	Emotional expression
5	[pick up]	[friend]	Dispute
6	[get into trouble]	[friends]	Loyalty
7	[better never knew]	[friend]	Dispute
8	[talk], [keep in check], [blocked]	[you]	Emotional expression
9	[read]	[friend]	Emotional expression
10	[by your names], [real life]	[friend]	Opportunities to build relationships

Additionally, the *Word Cloud Generator* application reinforces the evidence obtained through lexical analysis with *AntConc*. It confirms that friendship is the primary theme discussed by adolescents on Facebook. The prevalence of the most frequent words, '*kawan*' and '*bareng*' (translated as 'friend' and 'together' in English), emphasizes the prominence of this topic. Figure 1 highlights the frequency of friendship-related keywords from Facebook posts, with prominent terms like 'friend' and 'together' showcasing the importance of connection and bonds in their online interactions. This visualization not only supports the findings from the corpus analysis but also underscores friendship as the dominant theme in digital communication.



Figure 1. Tag cloud of the friendship spectrum

4. DISCUSSION

Adolescents consider friends to be individuals who are deemed the most loyal and influential after family (Langheit & Poulin, 2022; Ma & Lai, 2021). This high regard is evident in their online expressions, where loyalty emerges as a core principle. The importance of loyalty in Indonesian youth friendships is reflected in joyful and emotionally expressive posts, suggesting that strong friendships are closely tied to mutual trust and commitment. As Troy (2024) notes, loyalty is an indispensable aspect of meaningful friendships. This loyalty is clearly demonstrated in [Post 2] and [Post 6], where users highlight emotional support and solidarity in the face of challenges. These expressions reaffirm the notion that digital platforms like Facebook function as extensions of offline relationships. Previous studies (Herbener & Damholdt, 2025; Koch et al., 2025; Niland et al., 2015) also emphasize that virtual friendships represent an investment in 'fun times together' with real-life friends.

However, in very close friendships, disputes or quarrels can arise, as noted by Ahn et al. (2025) and Bagwell & Kochel (2022), where annoyance is cited as one aspect of friendship. This is evident in [Post 1], [Post 5], and [Post 7], where quarrels and expressions of disappointment are triggered by perceived violations of loyalty. It can be observed that the words [friend] and [long time apart] are present. From this data, it is evident that there are disputes between friends who were previously close but now have strained relationships due to prolonged absence. Old friends may find it challenging to maintain their previous banter after extended periods apart. Disputes in Indonesia are often a topic of discussion on Facebook accounts, with many stemming from betrayals of friendship loyalty. This is highlighted in post 5, where the terms [friend] and [pick up my trash] are used. The phrase 'Are you aware that the friend you picked up was my trash?' illustrates a friendly dispute sparked by perceived disloyalty. These findings confirm that perceived betrayals of loyalty trigger many Indonesian young users' posts about disputes. This finding is supported by Taylor et al. (2022) and Vendemia et al. (2017), who assert that Facebook friends can become adversaries following the posting of offensive content.

In addition to loyalty and conflict, Indonesian adolescents use their Facebook accounts as a means to express their emotions. Posts such as [Post 4], [Post 8], and [Post 9] are rich in emotion, ranging from affection to frustration. This aligns with previous research indicating that adolescents use social media as a space for emotional disclosure (Bazarova et al., 2017; Settanni & Marengo, 2015; Vermeulen et al., 2018). According to Smith (2022), digital writing styles among youth often reveal behavioral and personality traits. Similarly, Qin & Meng (2025), Seok & Doom (2022), and Triana et al. (2022) argue that emotional outbursts in digital contexts can reflect broader cultural and psychological patterns. The consistent use of expressive language suggests that Facebook is not just a space for communication, but also a medium for emotional processing and identity construction.

Apart from issues of loyalty and failures in friendships, adolescents also use Facebook as a medium to expand their friendship networks. This is evident in [Post 3] and [Post 10], where users express gratitude for new social connections made through the platform. These findings are further corroborated by the research of Butt (2020), Niland et al. (2015), Uhls et al. (2025), and Wahyuni et al. (2023), which asserts that Facebook serves as a platform for expanding online friendship networks, although it may have potential implications for the quality of real-world friendships. In contrast to the findings studied by Amichai-Hamburger et al. (2013), Angelini et al. (2023), Nesi et al. (2018), and Ukomadu (2018), who argue that adolescents use social media to increase their number of friends and maintain existing relationships.

The insights from this study have clear implications for language education, especially in assisting learners in cultivating pragmatic competence in both formal and informal registers. Since adolescents frequently express emotions, negotiate loyalty, and manage social tension through digital platforms, language education could leverage social media content to teach real-world communication strategies. For instance, teachers can use anonymized excerpts from Facebook posts to explore linguistic markers of empathy, humor, and disagreement. Similarly, classroom activities such as role-plays, writing prompts, or group discussions based on themes like friendship, conflict resolution, and emotional expression can assist students in practicing conveying nuanced social meanings. These tasks not only foster engagement but also bridge the gap between textbook language and authentic adolescent discourse, especially in second or foreign language settings.

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations. First, the filtering of data using a single keyword '*hubungan*' may have excluded posts relevant to friendship that used different terminology. Second, while inter-coder reliability was established for a sample, most of the data coding was conducted manually by a single researcher, which may introduce subjectivity. Finally, although translation efforts aimed to preserve the tone and meaning of posts, some nuances, especially those involving slang or humour, may have been lost or altered in the translation from Indonesian to English. Future research could explore a broader set of keywords, include multimedia elements such as images or emojis, and compare language use across platforms (e.g., Instagram, WhatsApp, TikTok) to gain a more comprehensive understanding of digital youth communication.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study provides significant insights into how Indonesian adolescents use Facebook to navigate and express their friendships. The analysis reveals that themes of bonding and bridging dominate their posts, highlighting the importance of friendships in their social lives. These young users frequently emphasize loyalty, manage disputes, express emotions, and seek opportunities to expand their social networks. The language used in their posts reflects a deep connection to their friends, indicating that emotional support and loyalty are crucial elements in their relationships. Additionally, Facebook serves as both a platform for expressing joy and support and a venue for resolving conflicts and expressing personal feelings. These interactions not only illustrate the role of social media in their lives but also offer insights into the cultural and social nuances that influence their friendships and social dynamics within the Indonesian context.

Moreover, the study underscores the multifaceted role of Facebook in youth's lives, facilitating the maintenance of existing friendships and the formation of new ones. The platform enables adolescents to navigate the complexities of their social interactions, express their feelings openly, and manage conflicts. It reveals how social media can reflect broader social behaviors and cultural patterns among adolescents. The findings suggest that themes of loyalty and emotional expression are particularly prominent in these interactions, highlighting the significance of these values in their friendships. By analyzing the language and content of these posts, the study illuminates the substantial role of social media in shaping and mirroring the social lives and emotional landscapes of Indonesian adolescents.

Importantly, the study also offers practical implications for language education. Given the prevalence of emotionally rich, socially meaningful content in these posts, language educators can use social media discourse to help students explore informal registers, practice authentic expressions of emotion, and reflect on themes like loyalty, empathy, and social negotiation. This has the potential to bridge the gap between classroom instruction and real-world communication, making language learning more relevant and engaging.

As a recommendation for future research, it is suggested to investigate the use of emoticons by adolescents on Facebook to visually represent their thoughts, feelings, and emotions in posts. Similarly, exploring the similarities and contrasting language used on social media and in other contexts could reveal insights into the formation of identity, personality, and emotions among adolescents.

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Received: 2 February 2025

Accepted: 18 June 2025

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the Directorate of Research and Community Service at Universitas Islam Riau for the generous support and access to Turnitin, which greatly facilitated the preparation of this manuscript. We also extend our appreciation to Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta for providing access to the Scopus database, which significantly enriched the research and references for this study.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ДРУЖБИ МОЛОДІ ЗАСОБАМИ МОВНОГО АНАЛІЗУ ПОСТІВ У FACEBOOK

Анотація. Соціальні мережі, зокрема Facebook, сьогодні використовуються не лише як засіб комунікації, а й як простір для підтримки дружніх стосунків та розширення кола знайомств, особливо серед підлітків та юнаків. Відповідаючи на це явище, у даному дослідженні розглядається динаміка дружби серед молоді шляхом аналізу мови постів на Facebook. Для досягнення мети дослідження було застосовано корпусний аналіз для виявлення характерних моделей вираження дружби. Дані збиралися за допомогою функції Facebook під назвою Virtual Advertising Operations (VAOOA), у результаті чого було отримано 1243 дописи, пов'язані з темою міжособистісних стосунків. Під час аналізу даних використовували категоризацію та виокремлення текстової інформації. Дослідження підкреслює важливість Facebook як ключової платформи, де молодь формує та зміцнює дружні стосунки. Аналіз мовленнєвих засобів дозволив виокремити такі теми, як вірність, емоційне спілкування та соціальна взаємопідтримка, що визначають характер їхніх взаємодій у мережі. Отримані результати свідчать про те, що юнаки та дівчата використовують Facebook не лише для обміну повідомленнями, а й для активного формування та вираження своїх соціальних зв'язків. Також у дослідженні розглядаються освітні можливості використання контенту соціальних мереж на заняттях з англійської мови для розвитку прагматичної компетентності студентів і створення умов для змістовного та наближеного до реального життя спілкування. У майбутніх дослідженнях пропонується звернути увагу на інші формати цифрової взаємодії, такі як зображення та мультимедійний контент.

Ключові слова: зв'язок, дружба, мовна практика, соціальні мережі, молодь.

Appendices

Appendix A. Original posts on the friendship spectrum

Posts	Friendship spectrum
1	<i>Ketemu kawan lama sangking lamanya ngga ketemu sampe lupa becanda kaya dulu :v [P/LK/SMA/17/30]</i>
2	<i>Buat apa pacaran jika akhirnya Musuhan, memperbaiki temenan tapi. kumpul berteman dan memahami. Sampai kepelaminan#Tandai👍😘 [P/K/SMA/16/63]</i>
3	<i>Aku bersyukur punya kalian kalo udh ngerumpi lupa dunia ngakak bareng makan bareng nakal nya jga bareng suka ngakak kalo liat yg lain saling terlipat terbuka itu ada yang lebih kaya ada yg lebih kaya siapa yg paling cantik dan ada yg ada yg suka tapi ada yg suka ada yg pakai slalu ada dn buat kita tertawa membangun kebahagiaan di saat iklan yang terluka 😊🌻💖 [P/LK/SMA/18/13]</i>
4	<i>Sekelas gua pasti tau lah kawan kita bersama membantu dan berbagi sma yang lain 😊😂 [L/K/SMP/12/59]</i>
5	<i>Tampang lu ganteng. Katanya org punya duit Cari yang baru aja sulit masih aja nyari bekas kawan lu bahagia ??? sadar ya kawan yang lu pungut itu sampah gue.tampang lu aja oke.tu ada yang baru lu embat juga tu .Lo gk sadar bermain sama siapa njing !! [P/LK/SMA/17/20]</i>
6	<i>Loe yang mulai permusuhan ini tmn. knpa loe kluar dan pergi dr km, salah lo. satu dari sahabat kami kena masalah yg lain ikut campur bukanya kami keroyokan tapi kami menunjuk kan arti persahabatan satu diulang semua bergerak #tmnlma [P/K/SMP/12/15]</i>
7	<i>MengHindar Dari Saya Karena Bacot An Teman Anda? Lebih Baik Saya Tidak Mengenal Anda Terlebih Dahulu 😊 > 25AdyEdtz-> Tanggapi? [L/K/SMA/16/46]</i>
8	<i>Sembarangan aja kau ngatain orang Kau punya mulut dijaga Yang berteman di fb saya ga semuanya punya WA saya, mereka fine fine aja ga nyolot macam kau 😊Langsung diblok guys 🤔🤔 Yang hitam dari dek Elivia Novela [P/LK/PT/20/59]</i>
9	<i>Paling gak suka pas aku lupa log out fb dari hp orang, abis itu chat²an sama teman dibaca. Privasi itu penting, ada hal yang sebenarnya gak perlu diberi tau ke orang-orang, termasuk orang tua. Bukan apa, pemikiran boomer kadang primitif, gak ngerti kalau itu cuma candaan, abis itu malah diceramah abis²an 😞 padahal gak paham sama konteks pembicaraan, nanti kalau dijawab malah dicap anak durhaka [P/L/PT/18/34]</i>
10	<i>Dear my friends, Ada hal yang ingin ku sampaikan pada kalian..! Tapi aku tak tahu bagaimana kita bisa bertemu untuk mengatakannya, Aku sangat ingin berterima kasih pada kalian? Yang telah menunjukkan sisi positif dalam hidup ku Kau tau? Aku mencintai kalian bukan hanya sekedar teman Atau sekedar nama kalian, Tapi aku juga mencintai diri kalian yang sebenarnnya, Dengan berbagai sikap yang kalian tunjukan, Mungkin,aku seseorang yang tak punya banyak teman di kehidupan nyata ,tapi karena kalian aku menemukan jutaan orang yang pantas ku sebut keluarga.. Mungkin,aku adalah seorang yang suka menyendiri dari keramaian ,tapi aku selalu terhibur dengan tingkah konyol kalian, Hal sekecil apapun dari kalian Mampu membuatku bahagia meski semua itu hanya sebatas layar belaka [P/K/SMP/12/45]</i>

Note: sex (P for female, LK for male), domicile (K for urban, LK for rural), school level (SD for elementary school, SMP for middle school, SMA for high school, and PT for higher education), number of comments, and likes.