

ABSTRACT

Title of Document:

**INTERTEXTUALITY, IDENTITY WORKS,
AND SECOND LANGUAGE LITERACY
DEVELOPMENT IN THE DIGITAL
MEDIA:**

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF
TWO INDONESIAN COLLEGE
STUDENTS' LITERACY PRACTICE ON
TWITTER**

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Research shows us that those immersed in digital media are engaged in an unprecedented exploration of language, social interaction, and self-directed activity that leads to diverse forms of learning (Buckingham & Willet, 2006). In the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in particular, numerous studies have been devoted to investigate the diverse ways in which English language learners (ELLs) engage with English texts in the digital media and their relationships with English language learning (Hornberger, 2007). However, these studies have often focused on ELLs who live in English-speaking countries and are more exposed to the target language in their daily lives –internet-mediated or otherwise (Lam, 2000; Lam, 2009; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolezenberg, and Saliani, 2007). There is not enough empirical

research that have investigated the literacy practices of those ELLs who live the majority of their lives using another language, and yet are increasingly exposed and connected to English mainly through the Internet. Furthermore, among the research on ELL's literacy practices in the digital media, little attention has been paid to how these practices lead to the linguistic development of the users who are involved in the processes (Ivanic, 1998). This study aims to contribute to the knowledge base of SLA by exploring the different ways in which two Indonesian college students engage in producing and interpreting English texts in the digital media, and how these literacy practices lead to the development of their English literacy. Qualitative analyses conducted in this study focused on English texts that the students produced and interpreted in a social network site (SNS) called Twitter. Specifically, this study examined a particular practice that is gaining popularity among young people today - the practice of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992; Ivanic, 1998). This study explored how this intertextual practice relates to English language learners' identity construction and negotiation, and to the development of their English literacy. This study has implications for educators who seek new ways to bridge students' out-of-school literacy practices and school-based literacy, as well as connecting the literacy practices in digital and non-digital contexts.

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STUDENTS' LITERACY PRACTICE ON TWITTER

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Dedication

To the love of my life:

Abi, Ibrahim, and Maryam

Thank you, for walking through this journey with me every step of the way

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All praise and gratitude are due to Allah, for easing the path for me to complete this study. There is no aid and facility except from Him. The sleepless nights spent in reflecting, reconciling, and critiquing the ontological/epistemological biases of this miniscule body of knowledge have made me appreciate the vastness and perfection of His Knowledge. Despite its flaws, I pray that this effort will be accepted in the balance of my good deeds and be something that I can implement in my professional life as an educator. Anything good or beneficial that comes from it is due only to Him, and anything less than it is due to my own shortcomings.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale

This study explores a specific literacy practice called intertextuality, and how this textual practice relates to the development of English literacy and online identities of two Indonesian college students who read and write English texts on Twitter. The rationale for doing this study stems from both theoretical and practical concerns. On a theoretical level, there is a growing interest in understanding how people are incorporating digital social media into their everyday lives and the kinds of literacy development that take place with the use of the new media. Over the past decade and across the globe, young people¹ are growing up where digital media have become part of the expected social and cultural fabric of everyday lives (Buckingham & Willet, 2006; Ito et al., 2008). As these young people use the new media, their learning experiences are reconfigured. This leads us to the question: How does the Internet alter the nature of learning and literacy?

Some believe that many aspects of the digital media are creating all sorts of educational problems, such as creating youth with ‘low literacy’, who are not competent in producing complex, coherent, and standard forms of language (see Bauerline 2008 or Carr 2010). Others think that it is a panacea that will solve many of our educational problems, positing that the new media empower younger generations to challenge social norms and current educational agendas. With this growing public

¹ The literature varies in terms of its categorization of youth, young people, young adults, or young generation. In this study, I adopt Ito et al.’s (2010) perspective in categorizing young people broadly as people from the age of adolescence (13-18) to young adults from the age of 19-30; and specifically choose one segment of that population –that is, college students between the ages of 18 – 23.

discourse (both hopeful and fearful of the impact of digital media), educational communities are forced to re-think about *what* constitutes knowledge, and *how to* and *who can* learn, create, and disseminate it (Jewitt, 2006). Specifically in this study, the diverse ways in which young people interact with the new media force us to re-think about how English language learners (ELLs) use English for their specific contexts, and what it means to be literate in a second language (L2).

Young people today are gaining knowledge and competencies in the contexts that do not involve formal instruction. A growing body of ethnographic studies documents how learning happens in informal settings, as a side effect of everyday life and social activity, rather than in an explicit instructional agenda (Ito et al., 2010). Hull and Schultz (2002) and Gee (2003; 2008), for instance, report that youth's learning of literacy is developed through peer-based interaction. These informal interactions, Gee argues, "Come for free [and] develop naturally as the learner solves problems and achieve goals" (2008, p. 19). In the context of L2 learning specifically, this informal learning has an impact on ELLs who participate in digitally mediated communities. In an ethnographic study about one such case, Lam (2000) documents an ELL who was able to actively communicate in English with his transnational communities despite feeling frustrated over his insufficient English skills after formally learning it in school for five years. McGinnis and colleagues (2007) also report that many ELLs today learn to read and write in English outside of schools by creating and sharing digital texts around local, national, and global issues that are important to them.

Despite the continued debate on what constitutes a legitimate ‘literacy’ (Crystal, 2001; Warner, 2004), these recent studies have called our attention to the affordances of digital technologies in providing young people alternative opportunities to participate in meaningful interaction, and to learn in the context of that participation. From this perspective, the current theoretical framework for looking at literacy development shifts from ‘individual cognitive transfers of reading and writing skills’ (as it is commonly understood in schools) to ‘sustained participation in the social and cultural practice’ (New London Group, 1996). Using this theoretical framework for looking at literacy, this study aims to investigate one particular literacy practice that is gaining popularity today among young people –that is the practice of textual borrowing, known in the literature as intertextuality. Specifically, this study explores how this intertextual practice relates to the construction and negotiation of English language learners’ online identities, as well as the development of their English literacy.

On a practical level, the rationale for conducting this study stems from the observed trend among Indonesian young people in participating in online social media. As seen in table 1 below, Indonesia has experienced an unprecedented increase of Internet penetration (Internet World Stats, 2013). As the fourth largest population in the world, Indonesia’s Internet penetration skyrocketed from 2 million users in year 2000 to more than 50 million users in 2012 (Internet World Stats, 2013).

In one social network site (SNS) alone, Indonesian Twitter users reached 29 million users in June 2012, making the country the 5th largest Twitter nation globally, following the U.S., Brazil, Japan, and the U.K, as shown in figure 1 below

(Semiocast, 2012). Although the majority of SNS users in Indonesia use the national language (Bahasa Indonesia) when producing digital texts, an increasing number of users interact in English either by reading, writing, or sharing English-based texts with others via their SNSs (Saling Silang, 2011, Udem, 2009).

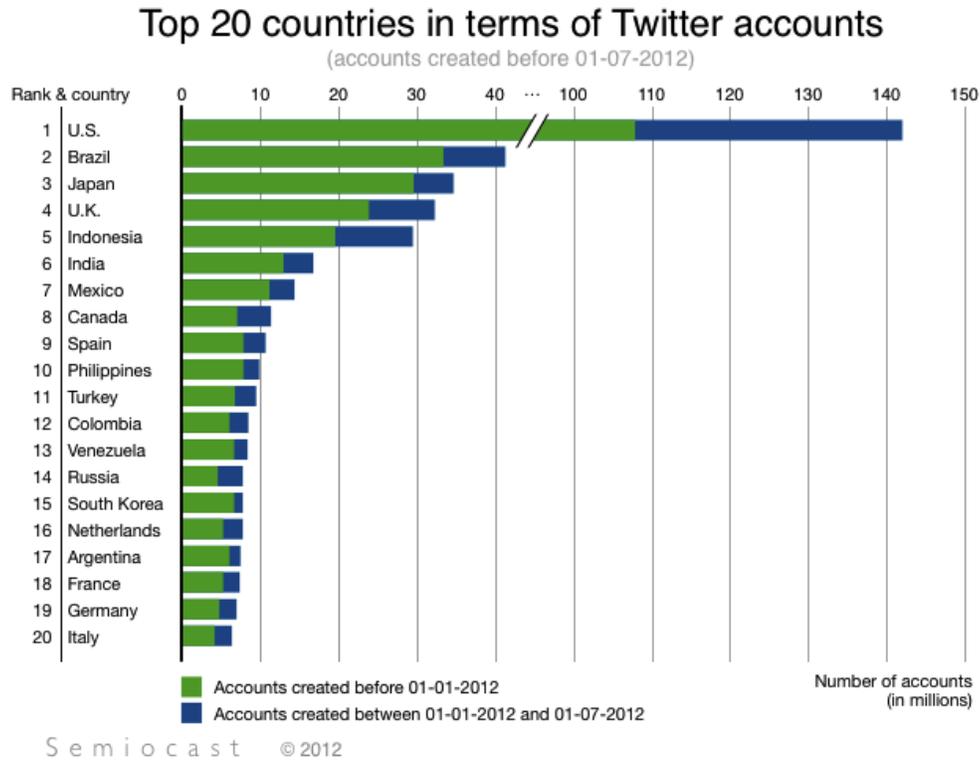


Figure 1. Statistics on Twitter Users in Indonesia (Semiocast, 2012).

Like many other postcolonial countries in the world (Coiro, Knobel, Lankshear, & Leu, 2008; Ito et al., 2010), the vast majority (65%) of Indonesian SNS users are young people of high social economic status who reside in metropolitan areas, and whose ages range from 15 – 29 (Yahoo! & TNS, 2011). The digital divide along economic line notwithstanding, these data suggest that the affordances of SNSs in promoting young people’s engagement with English might be far-reaching. This study seeks to systematically investigate the ways in which one segment of

Indonesian young people (i.e. college students) produce and interpret English texts through the practice of intertextuality in one popular SNS called Twitter, and how this textual practice affords the development of their English literacy.

Statement of the Problem

In identifying the main issues in this study, I focus on both theory and practice. On a theoretical level, there is a noticeable gap in the literature on the development of digitally mediated L2 literacy among ELLs who are in a foreign language context, where English is not the native language. Most of the works on this topic to date have focused on ELLs who live in English-speaking countries and are thus more exposed to the language in their daily lives –Internet-mediated or otherwise (Hornberger, 2003; Hornberger, 2007; Lam, 2004; Lam, 2009; Leander, 2008; McGinnis, et al., 2007). Relatively little is known about the textual practices of those ELLs who live the majority of their lives using languages other than English, and yet are increasingly exposed and connected to English mainly through the Internet. Therefore, the potential affordances of the new technologies for this group of ELLs are underexplored. More importantly, among the research that has looked at ELL’s literacy practice on the digital media, little attention has been paid to *how* that practice affords changes for those who are involved in the process of producing and interpreting texts (Ivanic, 1998). There are only a few empirical studies to date that have attempted to look at how literacy practice as a way of ‘*doing*’ a second language also transform the experience of those who are practicing it in ways that lead them to use the second language not just as a way of conveying meaning to the world, but also as a way of ‘*being*’ in the world. This study then serves to explore the link that

connects the concept of literacy as a way of ‘doing’ and ‘being’ for the individuals who engage in the act of producing and interpreting English texts online (see more detailed discussion can be found on Chapter 2).

On a practical level, as an Indonesian educator my attention is drawn particularly to the perennial problem of English language curricula in Indonesia. The global demand for proficient English users has drawn many schools and colleges to include English as part of their curriculum. The Indonesian Ministry of Education and Directorate General of Higher Education specify, for instance, that the standards of competencies for Indonesian higher education students include the ability to “participate and compete in the global arena” (2012). Yet, many English programs and curricula that exist today fail to keep up with the dynamic and authentic literacy experiences that are happening in the digital world. In the majority of English classes across Indonesia, heavy emphasis on the technical aspects of the language and minimal use of methods that pertains to real-life communicative contexts often times divorce the students from the authentic experience with English (Alwasilah, 2009). Beyond classroom walls, Indonesian students continue to be exposed to English-mediated discourses on a daily basis –academic or otherwise-, as shown in their level of engagement with numerous digital media outlets (See Table 1 and Figure 1).

As mentioned in the previous section, a number of researchers have made recommendations regarding the use of participatory framework for developing young people’s L2 literacy (Lam, 2000; Street & Leung, 2010; Thorne, 2008). Together, these studies have shed light on how informal participation in digitally mediated communities such as SNSs afford opportunities for ELLs to develop their English

literacy. However, for Indonesian context, empirical studies that focus on how such literacy develops on the ground are nonexistent.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is, then, to explore how one segment of Indonesian young people (i.e. college students) develops English literacy as they produce and interpret English texts in one popular SNS called Twitter. Specifically, this study investigates (1) the ways in which they produce and interpret English texts through the practice of intertextuality, and (2) How this intertextual practice affords the development of their English literacy.

Research Questions

Focusing on two Indonesian college students, Cassie and Fe², the study focuses on answering two main research questions:

1. How did the two Indonesian college students read and write English texts in the context of their participation in Twitter?
 - a. What kinds of literacy practices did they engage in?
 - b. What did these practices mean to them?
2. How did the literacy practices afford or constrain the development of the students' English literacy?
 - a. How were the practices of their online communities shaping or shaped by the participants' literacy practices?

² Both names are pseudonyms.

- b. How were the identities that the participants constructed online shaping or shaped by their literacy practices?

Significance of the Study

The theoretical significance of this study is threefold. First, the study expands the scope of the literature by drawing attention to the role of digital technologies in L2 learning in contexts where the primary access to the L2 is online (Coiro et al., 2008; Ito et al., 2010). Second, this study contributes to the knowledge base of SLA studies by explicitly exploring *how* literacy as a social practice affords changes for those who are involved in the process of producing and interpreting L2 texts (Ivanic, 1998). To date, there are only a few empirical studies that have looked at how literacy practice transforms the experience of those who are engaged in practice. This study then serves to explore the link that connects the concept of literacy as a way of ‘doing’ language and a way of ‘being’ in the world for the individuals who engage in the act of producing and interpreting English texts online. Third, the study contributes to the literature by arguing for a paradigm shift in what counts as literacy and literacy education for EFL students (Gutierrez, 2008; Hornberger, 2007; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003).

Most importantly, the practical significance of this study is related to its implications for Indonesian English education. By virtue of Indonesia’s geographical location and native language, Indonesian ELLs are not exposed to English in their everyday lives and education. Yet, through the proliferation of the Internet these students continue to immerse themselves in multiple –often transnational- affinitive communities outside of schools. It is my hope that this study will introduce a new

perspective to English language teaching in Indonesia by connecting students' literacy practices in out-of-school contexts to the contexts of schooling. Finally, I hope that this study will impact Indonesian educational policy by pushing policy makers to continue to build the school infrastructure and promote Internet access for many Indonesian students who are yet to benefit from learning through digital media.

Definition of Key Terms

Throughout this paper, key terms are explained in the context of their usage. However important terminologies and theoretical constructs are defined upfront because of their central role in framing the arguments and perspectives expressed in this study. The definitions of these terms are organized according to the order of their appearance in the title of this dissertation: (1) intertextuality, (2) identity works, (3) literacy, literacy practice, and second language literacy development, (4) Indonesian college students, and (5) Twitter.

Intertextuality

Intertextuality refers to all the ways in which a text relates to another text (Bazerman, 2010; Emerson & Holquist, 1986; Kristeva, 1986). Rooted in the Bakhtinian theory of language (Bakhtin 1981; 1986), human utterance –as the smallest unit of language- is assumed to carry the historical fabric of other linguistic expressions. It is imbued with other people's intent and expression. Thus as Bakhtin argues, “language, in any areas of its use... is permeated with dialogic relationships” (1984, p. 183).

In this study, I focus on two ways that my participants relate their texts to another text in their online communities: '*manifest intertextuality*' and '*interdiscursivity*'. According to Fairclough (1992), '*manifest intertextuality*' refers to parts of text which can be traced to an actual source in another text. This form of intertextuality is explicitly signalled in the forms of direct quotation or hypertexts. '*Interdiscursivity*', on the other hand, is an intertextual relationship that is not directly marked to specific texts, but to abstract types of text. Some examples of these abstract texts are social conventions (i.e. patterns or template of language use), genres, discourses, and styles.

The reason for focusing on the intertextual aspect of literacy in this study is my belief that English language learners' literacy practice and development cannot be investigated separately from the particular contexts of their English use, as well as the social activities that they participate in. The focus on intertextuality –how my participants' texts are related to other texts in their online communities- foregrounds this assumption because, as Bakhtin (1986) and others (Bazerman, 2010; Fairclough, 1992; Lam, 2000) point out, and as the data on the findings chapters show, ELLs' literacy experiences (including what they read or write, and how they say it and to whom) are inextricable to the particularity of their social interactions and contexts.

Identity works

Identity works refers to all the discursive processes of construction and negotiation of individual's sense of self and ways of understanding his/her relation in the world (Block, 2007; Norton, 1995; Weedon, 1997). In this study, I use Ivancic's (1998) four dimensions of writer's identity to look at how my participants construct

and negotiate their sense of self as they are reading and writing English text on Twitter. These four dimensions of writer's identity are:

1. *Autobiographical self* - the identity that a person brings with him/her in the act of writing.
2. *Discoursal self* - the identity that the writer constructs –both consciously and unconsciously- through the act of writing.
3. *Self as author* - the sense of “authoritativeness” of the writer in writing a particular text.
4. *Possibility for selfhood* - the more abstract ways of how these three previous ‘selves’ are socially constructed by, and socially constructing, the context of writing.

As I explain in detail in Chapter 2, identity becomes central to the discussion of literacy practice and development because there is a growing recognition in the literature that when learners engage in literacy practice, both the production and interpretation of texts are mediated by the learner's identities (Barton, 2007; Blommaert, 2008; Hornberger, 2003; Norton, 2010). This study then investigates *how* the identities of the two Indonesian college students mediate their literacy experiences, especially in the context of developing their second language.

Literacy, literacy practice, and second language literacy development

Literacy is defined in the context of this study simply as the act of reading and writing. Yet, rooted in social semiotic theory, this study assumes that any act associated with reading and writing is intricately bound up with the prevailing practices and social relationships in a particular sociocultural group (Barton,

Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Baynham, 1995; Gee, 1996; Lam, 2000; Luke, 1996; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Street, 1995). In essence, this is what is referred to in this study as '*literacy practice*.' Literacy as an act of reading and writing is a social practice in the sense of being repeatedly practiced by a specific sociocultural group and becoming a part of everyday, implicit life routines both for the individuals and the social groups. Moreover, it is considered a social practice since it is tightly embedded in the social structures in which they are shaped and help to shape (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, Lillis, 2001).

In terms of second language literacy development, this study defines second language literacy development as the interpersonal and intrapersonal processes by which second language learners participate in social activities associated with reading and writing, and by which they transform their participation (i.e. within their minds) by handling later situation in ways prepared by their own participation in a previous situation (Rogoff, 1995; Wertsch, 1991). From the sociocultural theoretical point of view –the theoretical perspective that I adopt in this study– the question of 'development' is not focused on the product of accumulation of knowledge *over time* on the individual level. Rather, sociocultural approach focuses its analysis of development by looking at “the actual processes by which individuals participate with other people and how they transform their participation” (Rogoff, 1995, p. 153).

Indonesian college students

Indonesian college students are defined in this study as college students between the age of 18 – 24, who specifically reside and study in Indonesia. This geographical setting is important to highlight because of the void in the literature,

which has not addressed those ELLs who develop their English literacy mainly through the interaction with the L2 on the Internet.

Twitter

According to the Twitter website, Twitter is defined as a real-time information network that connects its members to the latest stories, ideas, opinions, and news about who or what they find interesting. At the heart of Twitter activity is the small bursts of information called Tweets. Each Tweet is 140 characters long and conveys texts that can be linked to photos, videos, and conversations from other Twitter users that the individuals follow (www.twitter.com/about).

Though at the heart of Twitter is the vast arrays of information conveyed in real-time, Twitter by definition is also a social network site (SNS). In the literature, the term ‘social network site’ (SNS) has been used interchangeably with other popular terms like ‘social networking websites’, ‘social media’, or ‘online social network’. In this study, I adopt boyd’s and Ellison’s (2007) definition of SNS and operationalize it as: web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.

As boyd and Ellison (2007) note, while these three technological features are fairly consistent across SNSs, the cultures that emerge around them are varied. Most sites support the maintenance of pre-existing social networks, but others help strangers connect based on shared interests, political views, or activities. Sites also vary in the extent to which they incorporate new information and communication

tools, such as mobile connectivity, microblogging, and photo/video-sharing. Using this definition, Twitter is considered an SNS since it has all of these features explained by boyd and Ellison above.

List of Abbreviation

In alphabetical order, the list of abbreviated words that are used throughout the study are presented below:

EFL : English as a Foreign Language.

ELL : English Language Learner.

ESL : English as a Second Language.

L2 : Second Language.

NLS : New Literacy Studies.

SLA : Second Language Acquisition.

SNS : Social Network Site.

Overview of Conceptual Framework

To introduce the conceptual framework that I use in this study, I analyze one kind of literacy practice that I see as prevalent in the two Indonesian college students' Twitter pages, that is the practice of intertextuality. In talking about intertextuality, I use two major lines of theory: social semiotic theory and sociocultural theory. The overarching ontological assumption that connects these two theories together is the belief that *human activity of meaning making, which is mediated by language, is inextricably connected to social interactions and occurs in a particular sociocultural context*. As a delivery system of language, the act of reading and writing (or literacy)

–and by logical extension the practice of intertextuality- is bound up with the particularity of social interactions and social contexts.

In whole process of text production and interpretation, language users inevitably construct and negotiate their sense of self *in* and *through* the discourse that they participate in. Besides shaping and being shaped by the practice of which they are apart, this process also affords (or constrains) opportunities for the individual language users to develop new capacities with the language. The focus –and contribution- of this study is to explore the link between the process of production and interpretation of texts *and* the development of second language literacy for the individual users who are involved in the practice.

Brief Statement of Methodology

This study was conducted in Indonesia, and the focal participants of the study were two Indonesian college students between the ages of 18 – 24. The study was conducted between June 2012 and February 2013. However using a retrospective capture of Twitter posts by a data analysis software, NVivo 10, the study recorded all the texts that the two focal participants read and wrote on their Twitter pages between January 2012 and November 2012. The main data sources of the study are: (1) the total of 4,504 Twitter posts captured from the two participants’ Twitter pages over a period of 11 months, (2) the four in-depth interviews conducted between June 2012 and February 2013, and (3) my online observation memos of the participants’ daily Tweets and other online activities written between June 2013 and February 2013.

The study uses ethnographic case study as its methodology, and its design is informed by two methodological traditions: ethnography and qualitative case study.

As ethnography, this study concerns “with the behavioral regularities in everyday situations: language use, artifacts, rituals, and relationships. These regularities are often expressed as ‘patterns’ or ‘language’ or ‘rules’ and they are meant to provide the inferential keys to the culture or society under study” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 8). The case study methodology is chosen to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon and the meaning associated with it, from the perspective of the two students –or cases. It is “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single stance, phenomenon, or social unit” (Merriam, 1998, p. 19), which is bounded as a case or cases (Creswell, 2007). The ethnographic approach that I use in this study provides an opportunity to look at second language literacy and its development from the context of the learners who were participating in it. On the other hand, the case study method is chosen to give readers a 360-degree view of each of my participants’ literacy practice, thus providing a richer description of their experiences. The zooming in and out of specific texts and their contextual background is especially significant in the study because it highlights the ‘embeddedness’ of literacy practice (and its development) in the learners’ interactional and sociocultural contexts. See detailed description of each of the methodologies in Chapter 3.

Delimitations (Scope of the Study)

To delimit the scope of this study, two strands of literature that are often associated with this line of research will not be foregrounded: power and multimodality. First, because of the theoretical assumptions that this study brings, discussions around larger sociocultural contexts often involve discussion of power (see Fairclough’s *Language and Power* (1989)). However, in the context of this study

the discussion of macrosocial contexts will be limited to how the students' online literacy practices and identities may conflict with school-based academic literacy practices; and how the students make meanings of these two seemingly conflicting literacy practices. All of this discussion is framed *without* an explicit agenda on my part as a researcher to raise my participants' awareness of the power struggle in participating in the dominant literacy practice taught in school, or to transform the existing social structures or conventions in academic writing (see further discussion on chapter 3).

Secondly, with the shifting landscape of the new technologies, the term 'text' is often expanded to include other modes of representation such as images, sounds, gestures, color, and animation. In the literature, this kind of text is called 'multimodal text', and it refers to text that integrates writing, speech, images, color, sound, or animation, to convey meanings (Kress, 2003). Although multimodal texts are pervasive in young people's online textual practices, this study does not include multimodal texts as part of its analysis. However, in cases where print-based texts are combined with textual equivalents of paralinguistic features such as emoticons and capitalization of texts, this study analyzes how these visual, non-alphabet representations afford extra layers of meaning, which otherwise cannot be fully conveyed by the print-based texts alone.

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. In this introductory chapter, I have laid out the rationale for and the significance of conducting a study on the affordances of digital media –particularly social network sites- in developing English

literacy among Indonesian college students. In light of recent interest in how different technologies have influenced the way we learn a second language, I have conceptualized English L2 literacy development as embedded, embodied, and situated within the larger textual practices of the learner's authentic communities. In chapter 2, I take up a detailed discussion on these arguments through a review of the literature. Chapter 3 focuses on discussing the methodology for the study. Chapter 4 and 5 center on describing each of the two participants' biography, language learning experiences, as well as specific literacy practices related to their online identities. Chapter 6 highlights the developmental aspects of their sustained participation in the multiple literacy activities that they engaged in on Twitter. Finally in Chapter 7, I revisit my research questions in light of the findings from Chapter 4, 5, and 6. In this chapter I also outline some pedagogical implications of the development of English literacy in out-of-school, digitally mediated contexts on the teaching and learning of school-based, academic literacy. These implications also suggest how schools, teachers, and English as a foreign language (EFL) programs can benefit from this study. I conclude the dissertation by discussing the contributions that this study has made to the field of second language acquisition and education, and by discussing the study's limitations and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

There are three main purposes of this chapter. First, this chapter introduces the theoretical concepts relevant to the discussion of literacy practice and literacy development in the digital media. Drawing from social semiotic and sociocultural theories, this study is guided by the overarching ontological assumption that views human activity of meaning making as inextricably connected to social and cultural contexts. Thus, in examining ELLs' engagement with English texts in the digital media, this study highlights the importance of exploring the various intersecting sociocultural contexts that discursively shape their literacy practices. Second, following the theoretical discussion, this chapter examines empirical studies that have investigated the complex relationships among literacy, language development, and technology. In reviewing these studies, I pay particular attention to their theoretical orientations, research methodologies, and main research findings. Finally, in revisiting the main findings of these studies, this chapter serves to identify the gaps in the literature and discuss how my research is designed to contribute to the knowledge base of the field of second language acquisition and education.

Scope and Delimitations of Literature Review

The theoretical conceptualization of literacy practice and literacy development in the new media are drawn from a wide range of research in different content areas and disciplines, such as applied linguistics, sociology, anthropology, communication, as well as education (Coiro et al., 2008). In the theoretical section that follows, I draw

on insights from these areas of research. However, in analyzing empirical studies, I focus particularly on studies that are related to various literacy practices among English language learners (ELLs).

Methodology for selecting articles for the review entailed searches of various electronic databases such as ERIC, EBSCO and JSTOR. TESOL Quarterly, The Modern Language Journal, Journal of Applied Linguistics, Linguistics and Education, Language in Society, as well as Reading Research Quarterly were also useful sources. Especially central in this chapter are reviewed articles selected from Coiro, Knobel, Lankshear, and Leu's *Handbook of Research on New Literacies* (2008), as well as recent research studies edited by Ito and colleagues' on young people living and learning with digital media (Ito et al., 2010). In order that the literature review address the focused questions, articles selected go as far back as the 1990s, with a few foundational/theoretical readings from the 1970s.

A Conceptual Framework

To reiterate my 2 overarching research questions, my investigation of the two Indonesian College students focuses on:

1. How did the two Indonesian college students read and write English texts in the context of their participation in Twitter?
 - a. What kinds of literacy practices did they engage in?
 - b. What did these practices mean to them?
2. How did the literacy practices afford or constrain the development of their English literacy?

- a. How were the practices of their online communities shaping or shaped by my participants' literacy practices?
- b. How were the identities that my participants constructed online shaping or shaped by their literacy practices?

In attempting to explore the complex relationships among literacy practices (RQ 1A), literacy development (RQ2A), and identity works (RQ 1B & 2B), I construct a conceptual framework based on my readings of different theories and research studies. Miles and Huberman (1994) define a conceptual framework as a visual or written product that “explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them. Framework can be rudimentary or elaborate, theoretically-driven or commonsensical, descriptive or causal (p.18)”. Accordingly, it is something that is built and constructed by borrowing from the pieces of literatures and/or theories that have been critically reviewed (Maxwell, 2006).

In this study, I particularly use a theoretically-driven conceptual framework. That is, I use several interconnected theoretical concepts to explore the relationships between a specific literacy practice called intertextuality, literacy development, and identity works. Despite rooted in different disciplinary traditions –namely linguistics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and even literature– all of the theoretical concepts that I outline in this study share one core ontological assumption about the human cognition, language, and the world. That is, *human activity of meaning making, which is mediated by language, is inextricably connected to social interactions and occurs in a particular sociocultural context.* In an attempt to make a

coherent and holistic interpretation of the online literacy experiences of the two Indonesian students in this study, I build the conceptual framework below based on my reading of two major lines of theory: *social semiotic theory* and *sociocultural theory*.

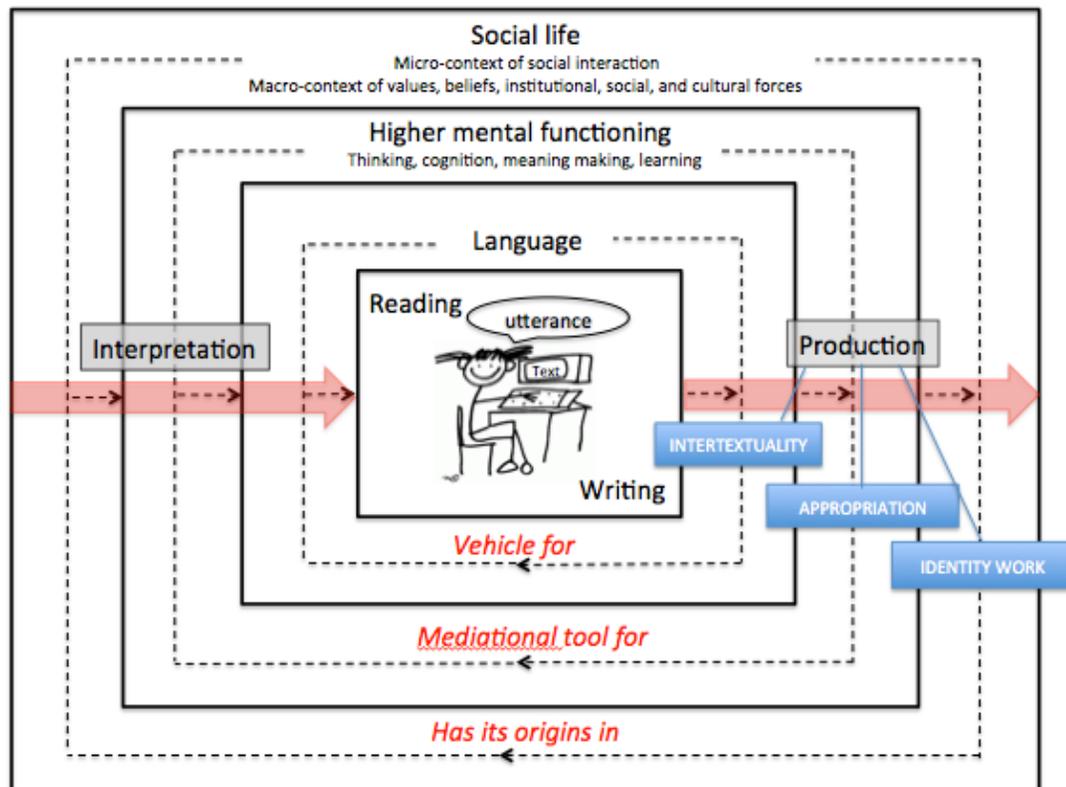


Figure 2. Overarching Conceptual Framework of the Study.

In the following section, I piece apart each of the core phenomena of this study: (1) *intertextuality*, (2) *literacy practice*, (3) *literacy development*, and (4) *identity works*. I discuss them in relation to the theoretical frameworks of social semiotic and sociocultural theory. I start my discussion from the middle rectangle (i.e. *language*), and zoom into one of its delivery system (i.e. reading and writing or commonly termed as *literacy*), and then explain how they are conceived in relation to the two outer rectangles representing *development* and *social contexts*.

Social semiotic theory of language

Language as material, cognitive, and social phenomenon all at once

My departure point in talking about intertextuality, literacy practice/development, and identity works is language. Until recently, scholarship in second language acquisition (SLA) has focused on the study of ‘language’ and ‘acquisition’ mainly from the traditional linguistic and psychological points of view. One main assumption in these traditions is that language in its essence is a set of formal, abstract, self-contained ‘*material*’ system with a fixed set of structural components and rules for combination (Gee, 1996; Hall, Vitanova, Marchenkova, 2005). Drawing from this materialistic view of language, SLA studies have largely focused on identifying structural patterns of different language systems and how these patterns are processed ‘*cognitively*’ in language users’ head; mainly for the purpose of predicting the possible difficulty among language learners in identifying these patterns (for example in the studies of interlanguage or in the interactionist studies of negotiation). Others have also focused on different pedagogical strategies that can facilitate learners’ assimilation of new systemic knowledge into their current language systems (for example in the studies of language learning strategies) (Hall, Vitanova, Marchenkova, 2005; Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

Concerns over this stable, formal, autonomous view of language have been raised in the linguistic circles since the 1960s with the emerging field of what is now considered ‘traditional’ sociolinguistics (Hymes, 1966; Gumperz, 1971; Labov, 1966; in Spolsky, 2010), and later in the ‘modern’ sociolinguistics (Halliday, 1994; Fairclough, 1989; in Ivanic, 1998). This changing tide was gradually picked up in the

field of SLA in the early 1990s with the debates on conceptualizing the disciplinary territories of the field (Firth & Wagner, 1997). As Firth and Wagner lamented, an emphasis on the individual cognition in second language acquisition has failed to account for a large number of sociolinguistic and communicative dimensions of language that is central to the process of acquisition itself. Since then, SLA scholars have begun to look outside of the field of formal linguistics and cognitive psychology to examine the complex ‘*social*’ process of learning a second language. As such, research studies now have included a wide range of theoretical perspectives including social semiotic theories, literary theories, as well as sociocultural theories (e.g., Block, 2007; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Lantolf, 2000). In this study, I adopt this emerging perspective of language, which essentially views language as material, cognitive, and social phenomenon all at once; and therefore should be studied in its complexities as it is situated within a particular social and cultural context.

One established theoretical framework within the field of linguistics that holds this assumption is *social semiotic theory*. In this study, I draw mainly from the work of Fairclough (1989; 1992) and Halliday (1994). In essence, social semiotic theory highlights the importance of viewing language as dependent on social context. As Ivanic (1998) sums up, there are two main premises of this theory. First, as it relates to the notion of ‘semiotic’, language is bound up with meaning, and all linguistic choices –even down to the lexico-syntactic forms- can be linked to the meaning they convey. In other words, it is not possible to discuss the meaning(s) of what one conveys without delving into the linguistic forms in which he/she conveys it. Secondly, as it relates to the notion of ‘social’, this theory assumes that meaning is

dependent on the social contexts in which it is being conveyed. In Fairclough's term (1989), the process of meaning making through the symbolic system of language –as represented in spoken or written texts- is embedded in the interactional as well as social forces that produce it. This intricate social process of textual production and interpretation can be visually represented in Fairclough's diagram below:

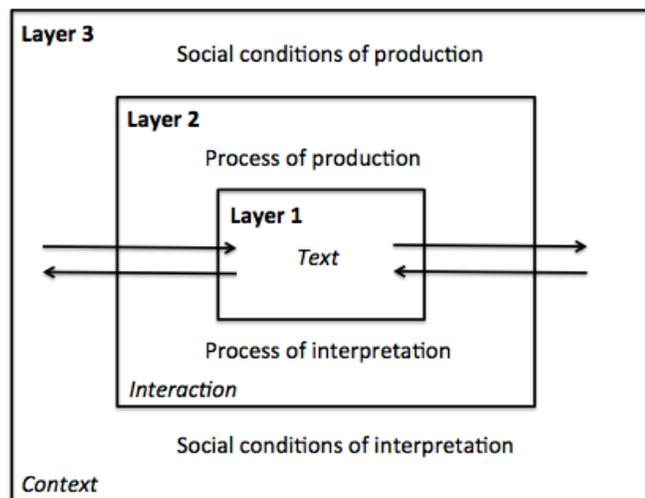


Figure 3. Text Production and Interpretation (From Fairclough, 1989, p. 25).

Fairclough (1989) points out in this diagram that in analyzing any language used in any particular context, there are three core dimensions of its analysis. First, which corresponds to the inner rectangle of the diagram, is the process of ‘*description.*’ This dimension is concerned with describing the formal properties of the text itself. Second, which corresponds to the middle layer of the diagram, is the process of ‘*interpretation.*’ The process is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction –with seeing the text as a “‘product’ of a process of production, ... and as a ‘resource’ in the process of interpretation” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Third, which corresponds to the outer layer of the diagram –and also the core of

Fairclough's argument-, is the process of '*explanation.*' This domain is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context.

For the purpose of this study, I focus on the middle layer of Fairclough's diagram (1989), which emphasizes the process of production and interpretation of texts on interactional level. According to Fairclough, this middle layer represents "the mental, social, and physical processes, practices, and procedures involved in creating [a] text. People are located in this layer, thinking, and doing things in the process of producing and interpreting texts" (as cited in Ivanic, 1998, p. 42). Although Fairclough's major work is focused on the outer layer of this diagram, which is on how the social contexts such as values, beliefs, practices, and especially how relations of power influence the production and interpretation of text, I do not foreground this aspect in my analysis. Instead, I limit my exploration to the relationship between the inner and middle layer of this diagram, with specific emphasis on the connection between the mental and interactional forces of language production. Thus, although my conceptual framework acknowledges the importance of the macro-social forces such as values, beliefs, and institutional forces, my analysis is focused more on the micro-interactional aspects of textual production and interpretation.

Language from the Bakhtinian perspective

Bakhtin is generally known in the literary circle for his analysis of the interconnectedness of speech in the works of literature (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986). His broad interest in the philosophy of language has brought many of his ideas closer to the fields of sociology, anthropology, as well as linguistics. At the very core of Bakhtin's theory of language is the assumption that language –in its smallest unit of

'utterance' - is imbued with other people's intent and expression. "The entire life of language," Bakhtin says, "in any area of its use.... is permeated with dialogic relationships" (1984, p. 183). 'Utterance', or 'speech', or what I equate here as 'text' (in Fairclough's (1989) and Halliday's (1978) sense), is not simply the linguistic output of free individual instantiations commonly known in Saussurerian linguistics. Instead, 'utterance' captures the dialogic relationship between the past, the present, and the future. According to Cheyne and Tarulli (2005), there are two related aspects that mark the dialogic relationships in 'utterance' for Bakhtin: (a) the relation of each utterance to preceding utterances, and (b) the addressivity of the utterance, that is its orientation to the 'other', and in particular to the other's responsive understanding.

From this perspective, Bakhtin's view of language is in line with Fairclough's (1989; 1992) conceptualization of language production and interpretation, especially when Fairclough notes that 'text' represents two types of content: (a) 'social reality' (i.e. the referential content/meaning of what the text is trying to convey), and (b) 'social relations' and 'identities' (i.e. the relationship between the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader when the former expresses the self and at the same time addresses the latter). In a way, this second aspect of 'text' captures similar insight argued by Bakhtin on the addressivity of 'utterance'. In this study, I use Bakhtin's notion of 'utterance' and Fairclough's 'text' interchangeably to highlight my overarching theoretical assumption about my participants' textual experiences. That is, their texts are being inextricably connected to other texts in their online communities.

Another major theoretical concept that I use in this study is the concept of *'intertextuality'*. The term 'intertextuality' itself was not coined by Bakhtin, but was

later used by Bakhtin's followers within the literary circles (see Kristeva, 1986). Alluding to the same theoretical assumption of the interconnectedness of language, ideas, and utterances, 'intertextuality' is often defined as all the ways in which a specific text relates to other texts (Bazerman, 2010; Emerson & Holquist, 1986; Kristeva, 1986). The fact that linguistic expressions carry the historical fabric of other texts –in its genre, as well as in its lexico-grammatical forms- has long been recognized in literary and cultural studies. Yet, as Gasparov (2010) notes, the notion of 'intertextuality' has not been well received in the studies of the everyday language until recently because of the general confine of the domain of linguistic studies that I have discussed earlier.

Not surprisingly, among the few linguists and semioticians who have adapted Bakhtin's 'intertextuality' was Fairclough (1992). Fairclough extended the Bakhtinian concept of 'intertextuality' by further dividing it into two categories: '*manifest intertextuality*' and '*interdiscursivity*'. According to Fairclough, 'manifest intertextuality' refers to parts of text which can be traced to an actual source in another text. This form of intertextuality is explicitly signalled in the forms of direct quotation. 'Interdiscursivity', on the other hand, is an intertextual relationship that is not directly marked to specific texts, but to abstract types of text. Some examples of these abstract texts are social conventions (i.e. patterns or template of language use), genres, discourses, and styles. In this study, I use this distinction to further explore the developmental function of these two forms of intertextuality for my two participants. Though the distinction between 'manifest intertextuality' and 'interdiscursivity' was made at the outset of the design process of the study, it was only later in the process

of data analysis that I discovered further insights into these different intertextual practices, as I discuss in detail in Chapter 4, 5, and 6.

As Ivanic (1998) aptly points out, Bakhtin's ways of conceptualizing intertextuality is very unique in that he provided a "rich vocabulary...that ... makes all parts of speech available: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs" (p. 50). Some of these words include 'multivoiced(ness)', 'othervoice(d)(ness)', 'reinvoice(d)', 'heteroglossia(c)', 'ventriloquate(d)', and 'dialogic(al)'. In this study, although I mainly use the term 'intertextuality' to describe the interconnectedness of my participants' texts to other texts, I also refer to Bakhtin's other terminologies like 'reinvoice', 'multivoiced', and 'heteroglossic' when I express the term in its verb or adjective forms.

Literacy as social practice

So far we have discussed four theoretical concepts that are relevant to the discussion of literacy practices in relation to the social semiotic view of language. These concepts are highlighted in yellow in the conceptual framework diagram below:

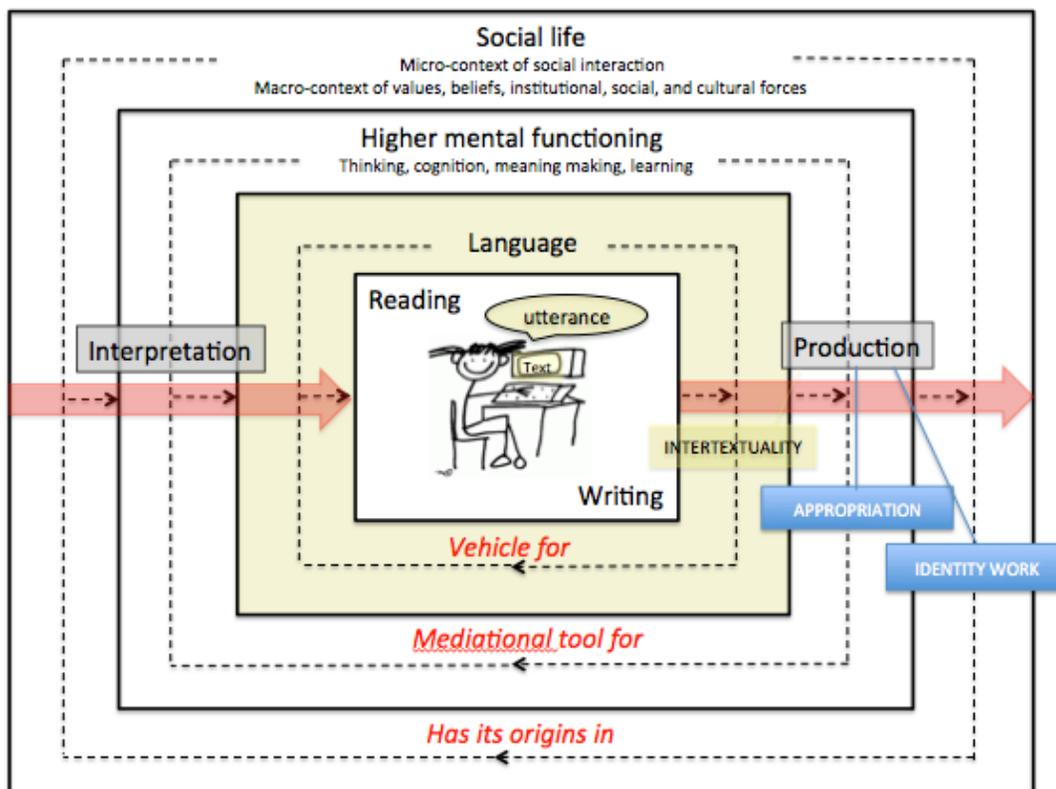


Figure 4. Literacy as a Delivery System of Language.

The four theoretical concepts that I have introduced so far are language, utterance, text, and intertextuality. Amalgamated from all the readings that I have introduced in this section, I define these concepts as follows:

TERM	DEFINITION	SOURCE
Language	A symbolic meaning-making system, which has a context-dependent set of rules, and which is cognitively processed in a context-dependent situations, and is therefore inseparable from its social process.	Bakhtin (1986); Gee (1995); Fairclough, (1989)
Utterance	A unit of speech that is characterized by its dialogic nature. As opposed to 'word' or 'sentence' that has a finality of meaning or grammatical form and which can be considered complete in its free standing form, utterance as a unit of speech carries its meaning in relation to past utterance and to its orientation to the understanding of the hearer/reader.	Emerson & Holquist (1986); Cheyne & Tarulli (2005)
Text	A product of the process of production and interpretation of meanings via language, whose formal (linguistic) properties can be traced from its productive processes but also give	Fairclough (1992)

	cues to its interpretive processes.	
Intertextuality	All the ways in which a text is related to other texts in any ways	Bazerman (2010) Gasparov (2010) Ivanic (1998)

Table 1. Definition of Key Terms: Language, Text, and Intertextuality.

In the following sections, I zoom into the inner rectangle of the conceptual framework and explain the relationship between language, literacy (i.e. reading and writing), and literacy practice.

The connection between language and literacy

Within the social semiotic and sociolinguistic traditions, perhaps one of simplest descriptions about language and literacy can be found in Gee’s and Hayes’ *Language and Learning in the Digital Age* (2011). In this book, Gee and Hayes first mention literacy in the context of how it is commonly defined, which is reading and writing. Literacy, as they further argue, is a ‘delivery system’ of language. Other scholars have also called it the ‘technology’ or ‘vehicle for’ language (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Kress, 2006). Like oral speech, or thinking, or signing, literacy is one of the tools that people use to deliver language. They are not themselves language. Yet, continuing my argument on language in the previous sections, literacy as an act of reading and writing cannot be viewed independently from its social context. That is to say, the cognitive processes that are involved in any act of reading and writing cannot be conceived independently from the context in which they occur. In essence, this is what is meant by literacy as *‘social practice.’*

Literacy as social practice

Rooted in social semiotic theory, particularly New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; New London Group, 1996). I define literacy as a socially situated practice that is intimately bound up with particular sociocultural contexts, institutions, and social relationships, and appears in multiple forms (Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Baynham, 1995; Gee, 1996; Luke, 1996; Street, 1995). From this perspective, the cognitive skills, rhetorical styles, and interpretive strategies involved in any act of reading or writing are largely influenced by the prevailing practices and social relationships in a particular sociocultural group (Ivanic, 1998; Lam, 2000; Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

The word ‘practice’ itself has three different connotations that alludes to Fairclough’s (1992) ecological conceptualization of ‘text.’ As Lillis (2001) argues, on the most concrete level, the term ‘practice’ signals that texts –spoken or written, digital or non-digital- do not exist in isolation but are bound up with what people do in the material, social world. Secondly, what people do with the texts tend to be repeated so that particular practices –ways of doing things with texts- become part of everyday, implicit life routines both of the individuals and the social groups. At the third and most abstract level, the notion of practice connotes a link between the activities surrounding a text and the social structures in which they are embedded and which they help to shape (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). As mentioned previously, in the context of this study my analysis is focused on the second-tier of the ‘practice,’ which mainly examines literacy from the interactional point of view. The bulk of my analysis focuses on my interpretation of the interactional forces that translate into my

participants' textual production and interpretation (Chapter 4 and 5). Where social structures are mentioned, it is mentioned in the context of my participants' identities, and their values, and beliefs about English, which is touched upon in Chapter 6 of this study.

Literacy in the new media

As a tool, literacy has a transformative power in the lives of people. According to Gee and Hayes (2011), this transformation is perhaps analogous to the invention of cars or planes as a delivery system. As a delivery system, a car has transported the physical human beings into places that they otherwise cannot reach. In many ways, literacy has also transformed the capacity of human beings in such a way that is not possible to do without it. Historically, As Gee and Hayes demonstrate, human memories are 'powered up' by literacy due to our ability to record, transmit, and check the accuracy of written information. The oral skills of reporting from memory are thus enhanced by our ability to read and write. On the other hand, language also gains new capabilities with literacy. Because of our ability to record content into writing, branches of knowledge that are too "memory-intensive" can expand in terms of its depth and breadth (Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 19). People are no longer relying on memories to carry information or ideas. With this, now language has an important property: language is now specialized into different varieties of language associated with different spheres of human communication (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee & Hayes, 2011). As I discuss later in the context of literacy learning and teaching, this property of language becomes very central in the context of this study. If language has this core social property, teaching language now

becomes more than just decoding what is being read or written. It is also about providing access to different varieties of specialized language, and about negotiating identities in relation to the specific kinds of literacy practice (see discussion of identity in this chapter and Chapter 6 for more details).

Now in the 21st century, we stand in another transition between print-based literacy and digital literacy, much the same way that the Ancient Greek stood between the oral and literate culture, or the early 15th century Europe transitioned between writing and the printing press (Warschauer & Ware, 2008). Just like any transformation, as Gee and Hayes (2011) argue, there are losses and gains. Yet, as scholars in the field have enumerated, these gains and losses need to be viewed in relation to the very contexts in which these technologies have transformed (Hull & Nelson, 2005; Jenkins, 2006; Johnson, 2006). For instance, some have argued that the millennial generations who are raised in the midst of digital technologies have lost the capabilities to engage with texts in deep ways (Brockman, 2010). This fear of the ‘death’ of ‘real’ reading and writing –which is commonly believed in school- leads one to view technology as a loss and is therefore less relevant to school-based literacy.

The fact is, reading and writing is not dying in the digital age. They are increasing –but they are also changing. It is true that some ways with language are attenuated or weakened; such as in the ways people interact with ‘classic’ literary texts or the way people construct arguments through writing. However, there are also gains (Coiro et al., 2008; Gee & Hayes, 2011; Ito et al., 2010). Because of the complex ways people interact with language in the digital media, the problem of

literacy or technology needs to be understood ecologically. Literacy and technology have different ‘effects’ on different contexts. Their effects depend on what people *do* with them (hence the terms ‘practice’). Therefore, in attempting to systematically look at how young people interact with reading and writing in the digital media, it is important to look at literacy in the larger framework of ‘social practice’, and to look at its ‘*affordances*’ (i.e. “what it tends to lead to” in relation to other factors in the context), rather than its ‘*effect*’ per se (Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 22). Thus, in exploring the complex relationships between my participants’ literacy practice and their English development on Twitter, I look at the ‘gains’ and ‘losses’ that they experienced from the perspective of ‘affordances’ (and constraints). Further discussion on this concept of ‘affordance’ can be found in the next few sections.

To sum up, in the previous three sections, I have introduced two additional terms: ‘literacy’ and ‘literacy practice’. The definitions of each of these terms are:

TERM	DEFINITION	SOURCE
Literacy	An act associated with reading and writing.	Gee (1996) Gee & Hayes (2011)
Literacy Practice	Literacy as an act associated with reading and writing is intimately bound up with particular sociocultural context, institution, and social relationships. Thus, any cognitive skills, rhetorical styles, and interpretive strategies involved in the act of reading and writing is influenced by the prevailing practices in a particular social and cultural setting.	Barton & Hamilton (1998); Baynham (1995); Ivanic (1998); Lam (2000); Lilis (2001)

Table 2. Definition of Key Terms: Literacy and Literacy Practice.

In the following sections, I review another important aspect of literacy practice that is less extensively explored in the literature; and that is the notion of literacy development.

Sociocultural theory of development

So far I have outlined the theoretical concepts that are used to explore the relationships between intertextuality, literacy, and language. The main premise that connects these concepts together is the assumption that texts or utterances –be they spoken or written- are deeply embedded in the social contexts in which they are conveyed. What I have not foregrounded is *how* the social relationships and contexts that are said to shape the process of production and interpretation of texts actually *lead to change for the individuals involved in the practice*. This is in fact one of the major gaps in the literature that have not been addressed by scholars in the field of SLA except by few (Ivanic, 1998; Bazerman, 2010; Gee, 2004; Gee & Hayes, 2011).

My study is situated within this growing interest in linking literacy as a social practice with the (trans)formation of human cognition (Hall, Vitanova, Marchenkova, 2005; Van Lier, 2000). To contribute to the knowledge base of SLA, I specifically direct my investigation to how the literacy practices that my participants engaged in on Twitter, as part of their everyday activity, afford their development of English. To uncover this process on the individual and developmental level, I turn to sociocultural theory. As I outline the ontological and epistemological assumptions of this theory, I highlight its deep connection with social semiotic theory discussed in the previous sections.

Vygotsky and the socially mediated mind

One of the established theoretical frameworks in the field of SLA that explains how people develop the mental capacity in a second language is sociocultural theory. Sociocultural theory is rooted in the tradition of another Soviet

scholar, a contemporary of Bakhtin, Lev Vygotsky (1896 – 1934). Like Bakhtin (1981; 1986) and Fairclough (1989), Vygotsky's work is largely influenced by Marxist philosophy. Marxist philosophy generally claims that in order to understand the individual it is necessary to understand the social relations in which the individual exists. Thus, in examining the development of human cognition, the most fundamental concept of sociocultural theory is that the mind is '*mediated*' by symbolic tools (Lantolf, 2000; Rogoff, 1995; Wertsch, 1991). According to Lantolf (2000):

In opposition to the orthodox view of mind, Vygotsky argued that just as humans do not act directly on the physical world but rely, instead, on tools and labor activity, which allows us to change the world, and with it, the circumstances under which we live in the world, we also use symbolic tools, or signs, to *mediate* [*emphasis added*] and regulate our relationships with others and with ourselves and thus change the nature of these relationships (p. 1).

Thus for Vygotsky, the connection between the mind and language (as one of the symbolic tools) is brought to the forefront by arguing that our mental capacities are mediated by the symbolic tools that we use to live in the world. These mental capacities –or what Vygotsky calls '*higher mental functioning*'- include thinking, planning, voluntary attention, logical thought, problem solving, as well as learning (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1985; 1991). In this study, I focus on one aspect of these mental capacities, which is learning a second language, as shown in my conceptual framework below (highlighted in green).

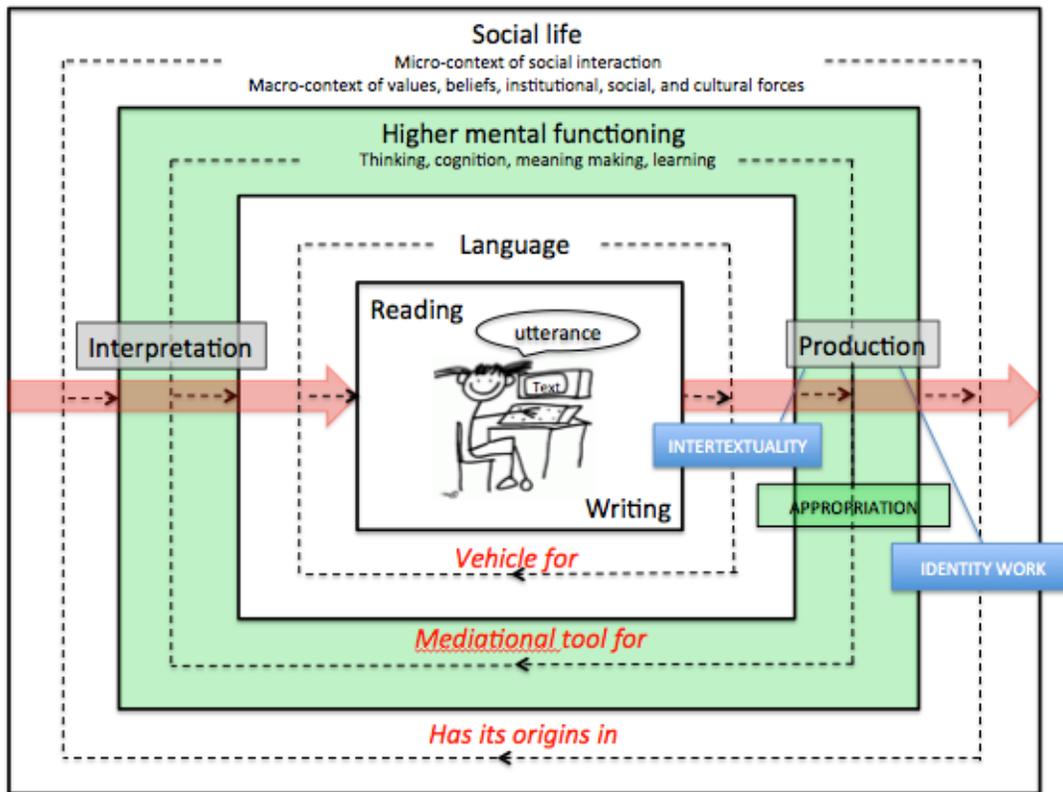


Figure 5. Language as the Mediation Tool for Learning.

Vygotsky (in Wertsch, 1991) made the distinction between lower and higher mental functioning to foreground the role of social mediation in transforming human cognition. In critiquing the separation between the individual cognition and social processes commonly found in cognitive psychology, Vygotsky argued that the development of ‘*higher*’ mental capacities in human beings originated in the sociocultural milieu in which humans live. As Wertsch noted, people are equipped with ‘*elementary*’ mental functions that are natural to human beings and animals alike (such as memory, attention, and perception). What separate humans from other species, however, is our capacity to interact with our world in such a way that allows us to perform a qualitatively new level of psychological functioning.

One of the core characteristics of this higher mental functioning is what Vygotsky called the process of '*internalization*' of mental functions from the social plane to the individual plane (in Wertsch, 1985; 1991). According to Lantolf (2000), this process includes learning a second language. The assumption is that mental capacities associated with learning a second language appear twice for the individual. First, it appears on a social plane between people '*intermentally*'. Second, it appears on a psychological plane within the individual's mind '*intramentally*'. What's crucial here, and what becomes central to the argument of this study, is that in the process of internalizing this mental capacity on an individual plane (i.e. intramentally), the structure and the functions of the capacity is transformed. This is what Rogoff (1995) later called '*appropriation*.' In the following section, I discuss in more detail the concept and the process of 'appropriation' from the perspective of sociocultural theory, and how it relates to this study.

Appropriation as an index of development

One of the influential works in developmental psychology that expands Vygotsky's concept of 'internalization' and 'intramental functioning' is the work of Barbara Rogoff (1995). Following Vygotsky's work, Rogoff argues against the separation between the individual and the environment. Any analysis of development, according to Rogoff, needs to look at the "dynamic contributions from individuals, their social partners, and historical traditions and materials and their transformations" (p. 140). The concept of '*appropriation*', which Rogoff argues preserves the mutuality between the individuals and the environment, serves to capture this

dynamic change in the individuals through their involvement in social activity. According to Rogoff, the concept of ‘appropriation’ refers to:

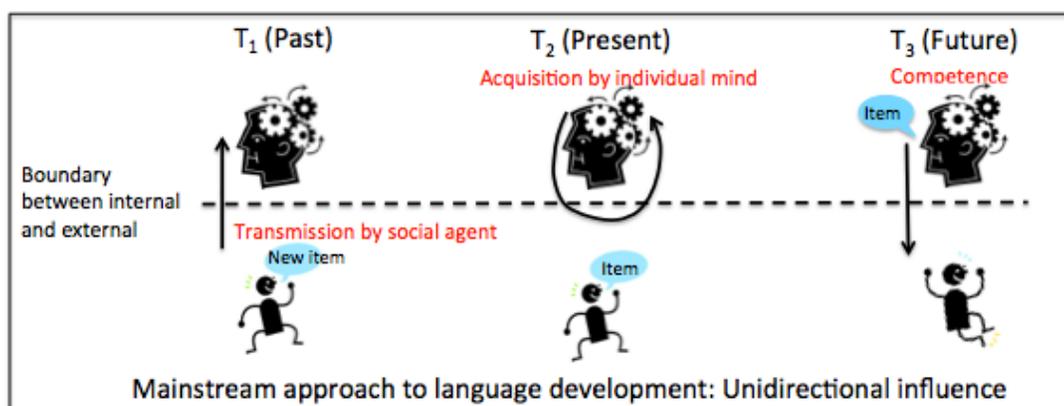
[H]ow –individuals change through their involvement in one or another activity, in the process becoming prepared for subsequent involvement in related activities. With *guided participation* as the *interpersonal process* through which people are involved in sociocultural activity, ... *appropriation* is the *personal process* by which, through engagement in an activity, individuals change and handle a later situation in ways prepared by their own participation in the previous situation [emphases added] (1995, p. 142).

Though many of Rogoff’s works were not centered on language development per se (see Rogoff, 1995; Rogoff, 1996; Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003), it is worth noting that Rogoff first encountered the term ‘appropriation’ from Bakhtin’s work (1981) on the philosophy of language. As she noted, Bakhtin’s use of the word conceptually blurs the boundaries between the internal and the external plane of human cognition. Following Bakhtin’s concept of ‘utterance’ that I have discussed earlier, Rogoff (1995) also views cognition as belonging partially to others, since people appropriate it from others and adapt it to their own purposes.

Another important note about appropriation is the epistemological assumption about how to index development. In mainstream cognitive psychology, development in the individual cognition is often measured by its change over time. In other words, the progression of mental capacities is often separated linearly into temporal units of ‘past’, ‘present’, and ‘future.’ From the perspective of sociocultural theory, development is not defined as the accumulation of new knowledge stored in the

individual's mind resulting from the interaction with external stimuli *over time*. Rather, development is defined as transformation of activity that results from *sustained participation* in social interaction. Thus, any 'present' event in the process of transforming mental capacity is considered an extension of 'past' events and is directed toward 'future' goals that are yet to be accomplished (Rogoff, 1995).

This conceptualization of development '*in participation*' rather than '*over time*' becomes consequential in my interpretation of my participants' literacy development. As I explain further in the methodological chapter of this study, I do not index my participants' literacy development by their accumulated knowledge of the discursal and linguistic features of English over time. Rather, I look at how my participants transformed their literacy practices, with the mediational tool of English, in the 11-month period of participating in different social activities via Twitter. To explain this graphically, I adapt Rogoff's visual that contrasts the traditional conception of development and the sociocultural approach to development:



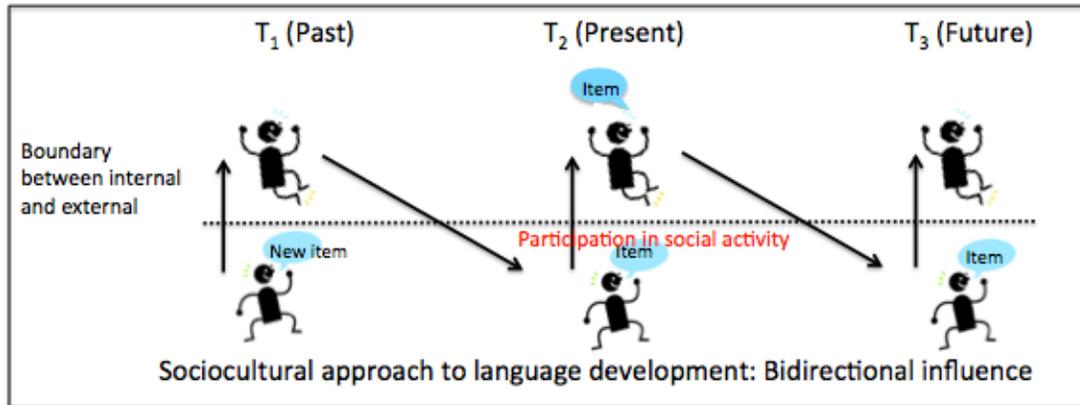


Figure 6. Approaches to Language Development.

As the second figure shows, Rogoff's (1995) 'appropriation' is conceptually related to Bakhtin's (1981) historical approach mentioned earlier. For Bakhtin, utterance (as the mediational tool that gives cues to one's meaning-making system) carries with it the reader's/speaker's past experiences, and alludes to future responsive understanding of the addressee (Bazerman, 2010). Thus from the sociocultural theoretical point of view, the question of the product of accumulation of knowledge *over time* on the individual level becomes less relevant. Instead, sociocultural approach focuses its analysis of development by looking at "the actual processes by which individuals participate with other people and how they transform their participation" (Rogoff, 1995, p. 153).

Rogoff's (1995) conceptualization of 'appropriation' departs slightly from this study's in its emphasis on the mutual involvement of individuals and their social partners. In her study of the Girl's Scout cookie sales, for example, Rogoff highlights the importance of the communication and coordination among the children and the adult members of the learning community, as well as of the structured and collective nature of the cookie-selling activity. In this study, as I discuss further in Chapter 6, the

structures and the nature of the social activities in which my participants were involved were less bounded than the social activities commonly found in many non-digital learning communities. When participating in the social activity of tweeting and retweeting, for instance, the addressees or the ‘social partners’ might not engage in sustained involvement with my participants. Yet, the fact that my participants continued to ‘one-sidedly’ engaged in such social activity and still managed to intramentally transform the activity by appropriating some of the language that they read or hear from their various social partners via Twitter is also insightful. To come back to Gee’s and Hayes’ argument (2011), this qualitative difference in how the individuals and their social partners interact in online contexts demonstrates the transformative nature of technology in redefining human interactions.

The concept of affordance: Locating development in social relationships

One final theoretical concept within the tradition of sociocultural theory that is gaining currency in recent SLA literature is the concept of ‘*affordance*’. (Van Lier, 2000). The term ‘affordance’ is originally used in the field of psychology and coined by a psychologist James Gibson (1979, in Van Lier, 2000). In his critique of the traditional behaviorist and cognitive psychology, Gibson argued for an ecological way of looking at mental processes. In his early experimental work on visual perception of animals, he asserted that animals’ ability to recognize the movement of objects was determined not only by the animal’s perception of the stimulus, but also by the distance and the movement of the object in the world. This ‘*affordance perception*’, according to Gibson, influences animal’s ability to discern possibilities for action due to the reciprocal relationship between its perception and the property of

the environment. Simply put, affordance is the relational characteristic of an organism and its environment that creates possibilities or constraints for further action by the organism (Gibson, 1979; 1986; Van Lier, 2000). Since its inception, Gibson's concept of affordance has been influential in other fields and disciplines, including SLA.

In this study, I use the term affordance to highlight the relational nature of literacy development. As mentioned briefly in Gee's and Hayes' (2011) commentary about the affordances of digital technology in enhancing literacy, the term 'affordance' here refers to the properties in the social environment that tends to lead to or constrains further action by those who are involved in it. As many have pointed out, digital technologies like social network sites do not in and of themselves make learning effective or successful (Warschauer, 1999; Kern, 2006). Rather, digital technologies are seen as an integral part of the learning ecology that is organically related to the development of the learner. It is the totality of relationship between learners, the technology, and other mediating contexts that make technologies work for learning (Kern, 2006; Van Lier, 2000; Warschauer, 1999).

In this study, I adopt Van Lier's (2000) view of affordance, wherein he defines the term as: "a particular property of the environment that is relevant to an active, perceiving organism in that environment. An affordance affords further action. What becomes an affordance depends on what an organism does, what it wants, and what is useful for it." (p. 252). Thus, in studying the development of English literacy, I do not focus on how effective or successful Twitter is in promoting my participants'

learning of English per se, but rather on how learning emerges in the context of this digital mediation (Kern, 2006; Van Lier, 2000; Gee & Hayes, 2011).

To sum up my introduction to sociocultural theory and how it relates to this study, I define the four main theoretical concepts that I use to interpret my participants’ second language literacy development in the table below:

TERM	DEFINITION	SOURCE
Intermental functioning	The interpersonal dimension of cognition from which higher mental capacities develop. This dimension includes interaction between people and their social partners, and between people and the mediational tool that they use in the social interactions.	Vygotsky (in Wertsch, 1985; 1991)
Intramental functioning	The intrapersonal (i.e. within one’s mind) dimension of cognition that is developed/transformed through sustained participation in a social activity.	Vygotsky (in Wertsch, 1985; 1991)
Appropriation	The intramental process by which, through engagement in an activity, individuals change and handle a later situation in ways prepared by their own participation in a previous situation.	Rogoff (1995)
Affordance	The relationship among the members of the social activity, and between them and the mediational tools, that promotes development. What becomes an affordance depends on that the members of the social activity do, what they want, and what is useful for them.	Gee & Hayes (2011); Van Lier (2000)

Table 3. Higher Mental Functioning, Appropriation, and Affordance.

Identity works and second language development

An important corollary to the assumption of the inseparable nature of language and social life, and of text and context, is the notion that literacy practice is not just a way of *doing* reading and writing. It is a way of being in the world –of valuing, believing, and relating to the world (Coiro et al., 2008; Gee, 1995; Hornberger & MacKay, 2010; Ivanic, 1998; Lam, 2000). Consequently as Rogoff (1995) and others have argued (Kramsch, 2000; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000), second language development, too, becomes “a process of becoming, rather than acquisition”

(Rogoff, 1995, p. 142). In the context of the discussion of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’, I bring another theoretical concept that has helped weave in my interpretation of how English language learners develop second language literacy through their participation in Twitter –that is the concept of identity works. This is shown in the outer rectangle in my conceptual framework below (highlighted in orange).

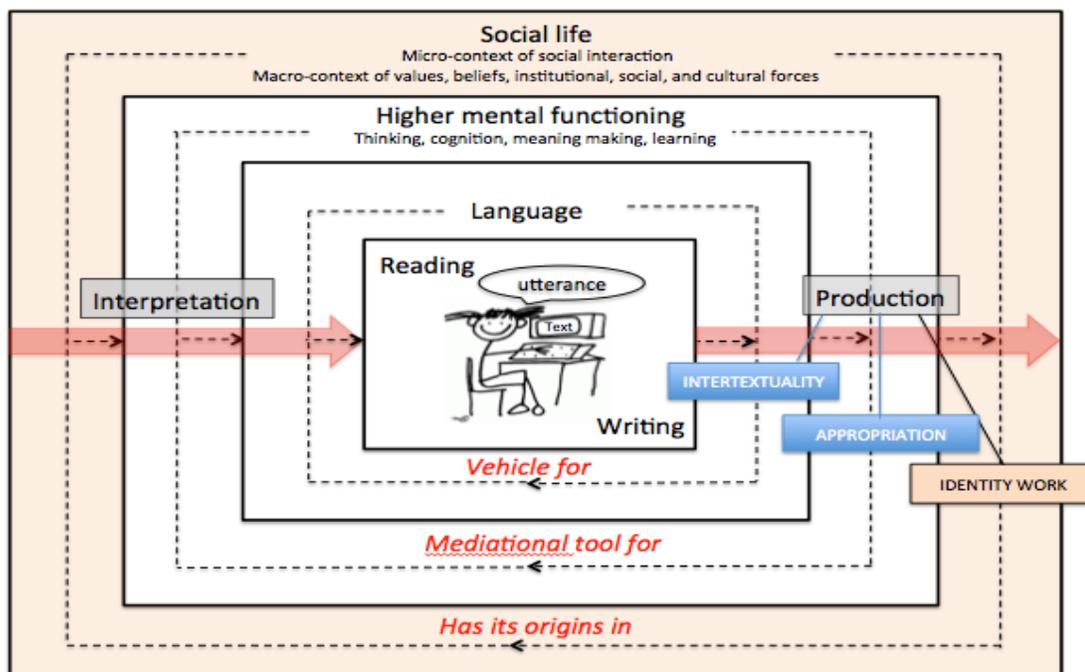


Figure 7. Social Life as The Origins of Higher Mental Functioning.

As the figure shows, the process of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ occurs in a social plane –both in the micro-context of interaction and the macro-context of institutional, social, and cultural conditions. Yet, it is part and parcel a process of ‘doing’ language. Thus, as English language learners engage in the practice of textual borrowing during their sustained participation in social activities, they transform the activities by means of the intertextual practices, which later prepares them to engage in future activities in a similar or non-similar context. In the process of ‘doing’ this, English language

learners continually reconstruct and negotiate their positions relative to the ‘others’ who are involved in the activities –sometimes with considerable tensions within themselves and with others (Block, 2007; Norton, 1995; 2010). This dynamic process of doing, participating, and transforming social activities is what is referred to in the literature as ‘*identity works*’ (Block, 2007).

Poststructuralist view of identity

Recent studies on second language learning and identities have often adopted a poststructuralist conceptualization of identity, which in essence views identity as being discursively shaped. As I explain in the next paragraph, this theoretical assumption about the relationship between identity and discourse goes back to the overarching ontological assumption of this study about the nature of language, meaning making, and the world. ‘*Identity*’, or what Christine Weedon (1997) terms ‘*subject position*’ or ‘*subjectivity*’, refers to the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of an individual, relating to the individual’s sense of self and ways of understanding his/her relation in the world. This identity is “constantly reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak” (Weedon, 1997, p. 32).

In defining the meaning of identity as being “discursively constructed” or “reconstituted in discourse”, Block (2007) provides a nice linking between identity and the definition of ‘Discourse’ provided by Gee (1996). As Gee argues:

Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. A discourse is a sort of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instruction on how to act,

talk, and often write so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize (Gee, 1996, p. 127).

In this sense, especially in the context of this study, discourse serves as the resource for ‘identity works.’ Furthermore in connecting Block’s conceptualization of identity works to Rogoff’s (1995) argument on ‘participation’ and ‘appropriation’, this study views that the process of identity construction, participation, and linguistic appropriation is mutually constitutive. In other words, it is through the participation in discursive social activity that individuals express their identities. Yet, as they participate in this social activity and later appropriate the language of their communities, they transform/develop their understanding of the language and of the world, and thus negotiate and reconstruct their identities in the process of engaging in the discourse.

Four dimensions of writer’s identity

Using the same ecological framework for looking at language production and interpretation (Fairclough, 1989) that I outlined earlier, identity works can be visualized as occurring in three interrelated planes. As Block (2007) following Goffman (1959) notes, identity works always have (1) individual, (2) interactional, and (3) sociohistorical elements. The *individual* element refers to the socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narratives that people perform. These narratives are interpreted and projected in an *interactional* plane in the company of others, with whom to varying degrees people shared beliefs, motives, values, activities, and practices. At the same time identity works also have a *sociohistorical* dimension since

they occur in the process of people negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of their past, present, and future.

In connecting Block's (2007) broad conceptualization of identity to the topic of literacy practice and development, I find Ivanic's (1998) four dimensions of writer's identity to be conceptually relevant to this study, since it particularly deals with the act of reading and writing. According to Ivanic, when people talk about identity in relation to writing, they are referring to four things: (1) the identity that a person brings with him/her in the act of writing (i.e. the *autobiographical self*), (2) the identity that the writer constructs –both consciously and unconsciously- through the act of writing (i.e. the *discoursal self*), (3) the sense of “authoritativeness” of the writer in writing a particular text (i.e. the *self as author*), and (4) the more abstract ways of how these three previous ‘selves’ are socially constructed by, and socially constructing, the context of writing (i.e. the *possibility for selfhood*).

In regards to the first dimension of identity, Ivanic (1998) argues that the term ‘autobiographical self’ concerns with the writer's sense of their roots, of where they are coming from. As writers engage in multiple discourses and are involved in different social activities throughout their lives, their autobiographical identities are constantly changing as a consequence of their developing life-history. Ivanic also makes connection to Goffman's performative theory of identity (1959; 1981, in Ivanic, 1998 and Block, 2007), which regards autobiographical self as the identity that the writers ‘give’ as they engage in social activities, rather than the identity that they ‘give off’. In other words, this aspect of identity concerns with the writer projecting “the ‘self’ that produces the self-portrait, rather than the ‘self’ which is

portrayed” (Ivanic, 1998, p. 24). In this study, I focus on how my participants’ autobiographical self is projected in writing through the practice of textual borrowing. Furthermore, I also look at how this practice positions my participants in ways that gives them an “authoritative” voice in the second language (Chapter 4 and 5).

A ‘discoursal self’, on the other hand, is the impression that writers consciously and unconsciously convey of themselves in the act of writing through the discourse characteristics of the text. Connecting this back to Fairclough’s (1989) and Halliday’s (1994) social semiotics, this is when the meanings of a written text is projected in language through its lexico-grammatical as well as discoursal features. What Ivanic is highlighting in her conception of ‘discoursal self’ is that, as a text conveys its referential and interpersonal meanings, it also conveys the identity of the one who conveys it. Though discoursal identity is restrictive to a particular linguistic property of the text, Ivanic (1998) argues that it can leave a relatively broad/general impression of the writer, since the discourse characteristics of the text is related to the writers’ values, beliefs, and social realities. As I discuss in detail in Chapter 4 and 5 of this study, the discoursal identities become instrumental in my participants’ ‘experimentation’ with English. In appropriating different linguistic features of their online communities my participants are positioned and position themselves as competent language users in the different discourses and social activities they engage in. Furthermore, their appropriation of particular linguistic features of English is tightly related to who they are as a person (i.e. *autobiographical self*) and how they sound, act, and write in their social activity (i.e. *discoursal self*). Discussion on the

connection between literacy development and this aspect of writer's identity can be found in Chapter 6 of this study.

The third dimension of writer's identity is the 'self as author'. It is the extent to which writers establish an authorial presence in their writing. In her study of adult learners writing academic papers, for example, Ivanic (1998) made a comment about how the students in her study claimed authority as the source of the content of their papers. Some students attributed all the ideas in their writing to other authorities by chopping texts onto their papers without adding much of their own voice to it. In the process of doing this, they effaced themselves completely in the writing. Some on the other hand took a strong authorial presence either by presenting content as "truth" or by marking where their ideas cohere with or depart from other 'authorities' in the text. Ivanic makes an important note on the connection between writer's 'autobiographical self' and writer's 'self as author', which becomes central in my analysis of my participants' textual production on Twitter in Chapter 4 and 5. As she argues:

The self as author is likely to be to a considerable extent a product of a writer's autobiographical self: the writer's life-history may or may not have generated ideas to express, and may or may not have engendered in the writer enough of a sense of self-worth to write with authority, to establish an authorial presence (Ivanic, 1998, p. 26).

Finally the fourth dimension of writer's identity is the 'possibility for selfhood'. While the three previous aspects of writer's identity are directly connected to the actual people writing actual texts, this dimension of identity is related to the

social, cultural and institutional constraints which make a particular identity position possible or less possible. This is perhaps the closest identity description to Weedon's (1997) 'subject position' or Fairclough's (1992) 'social identities'. Going back to the graphical representation of my conceptual framework, this identity dimension is located in the outer rectangle of my conceptual framework, constructed and negotiated –often with tensions- in social and institutional contexts. In explaining the connection between this dimension of identity and the previous three dimensions, Ivanic (1998) notes that, first, a writer's 'autobiographical self' developed in the context of socially constrained access to a particular group membership. Secondly, a writer's 'discoursal self' is also socially constrained by the particular occasions for writing that are socially available to them. Finally, and perhaps what is most relevant to the implications of this study, possibilities for selfhood also construct the 'self as author'. As Ivanic notes,

There are conventions for whether and how to establish authorial presence which is different from one type of writing to another, and from one social context to another. These conventions influence whether and how actual writers establish themselves as authors in their writing (1998, p. 28).

What is worth noting from Ivanic's (1998) description of the 'possibility for selfhood' is that she frames the social forces that are influencing writer's identities as constraints. Given her interest in the 'critical discourse analysis' (hence her drawing from Fairclough (1989)), and her research context of adult writers writing academic papers, it makes sense to frame social forces mainly as constraints. However, in the context of this study, instead of focusing on the constraints that the social context

exerts on my participants, I focus on its enabling forces. In chapter 5, for instance, I look at how my participant's desire to go abroad enables her to use English as part of her online literacy practice. In her case, the kinds of English that she uses in her particular communicative spheres are enabling, rather than constraining. Nevertheless, as I mention in Chapter 6, in linking her experience with English on Twitter and her experience with English in school, she, too acknowledges the social forces that position her less desirably in academic discourses, despite her authorial presence in other (online) discourses.

Writer's identity and literacy development

So far I have established the link between identity works and literacy. The main theoretical assumption of language studies that use poststructuralist notion of identity is that the discursive construction of 'self' is a crucial mechanism in the process of text production and interpretation (Block, 2007; Ivanic, 1998; Norton, 2010). Connecting this with the sociocultural theory of development, it is important to highlight, as Ivanic (1998) –and by extension Rogoff (1995)– argues, that identity works on the interactional level (i.e. middle rectangle on Fairclough's diagram) also has a developmental function. Participation in social activity and intermental encounters with other social partners contains the seeds of linguistic growth for the language learners. As learners construct and negotiate their identities in various social activities, new aspects of language are borrowed. In future performance, they draw from these past encounters, having taken to themselves –or having appropriated– the language intramentally. In the process, these intermental/intertextual encounters have provided the learners the 'scaffolding' for expanding their linguistic repertoire (i.e.

the ‘doing’ aspect of language), and for constructing more authorial presence in the language (i.e. the ‘being’ aspect of language) (Ivanic, 1998; Rogoff, 1995).

To conclude this section on identity works and second language development, I list the definitions of the theoretical concepts that I adopt from the literature in the table below:

TERM	DEFINITION	SOURCE
Identity work	The discursive process of construction and negotiation of individual’s sense of self and ways of understanding his/her relation in the world.	Block (2007); Norton (1995); Weedon (1997)
Autobiographical self	The identity that people bring with them in the act of writing. This identity concerns with the writers’ sense of their roots, and where they are coming from.	Ivanic, 1998
Discoursal self	The identity that people construct –both consciously and unconsciously- through the act of writing. This identity is constructed mainly through the discourse characteristics of a text that people read or write.	Ivanic, 1998
Self as author	The sense of ‘authoritativeness’ of people when they are writing a particular text.	Ivanic, 1998
Possibility for selfhood	The possibilities of self that are available to writers in the social context of writing.	Ivanic, 1998

Table 4. Identity Work and Four Dimensions of Writer's Identity.

Linking the theoretical frameworks and the conceptual framework

To sum up the conceptual framework that I use in this study, I analyze one kind of literacy practice that I see as prevalent in my two participants, that is the practice of intertextuality. In talking about intertextuality, I use two major lines of theory: social semiotic theory and sociocultural theory. The overarching ontological assumption that connects these two theories together is the belief that human activity of meaning making, which is mediated by language, is inextricably connected to social interactions and occurs in a particular sociocultural context. As a delivery

system of language, the act of reading and writing (or literacy) –and by logical extension the act of textual borrowing (intertextuality)- is bound up with the particularity of social interactions and social contexts.

In whole process of text production and interpretation, language users inevitably construct and negotiate their sense of self *in* and *through* the discourse that they participate in. Besides shaping and being shaped by the practice of which they are apart, this process also affords (or constrains) opportunities for the individual language users to develop new capacities in the second language. The focus –and contribution- of this study is to explore the link between the process of production and interpretation in the practice of textual borrowing (intertextuality) *and* the development of second language literacy for the individual users who are involved in the practice.

In summary, the usage of all of these theoretical frameworks and concepts can be mapped out graphically as follows:

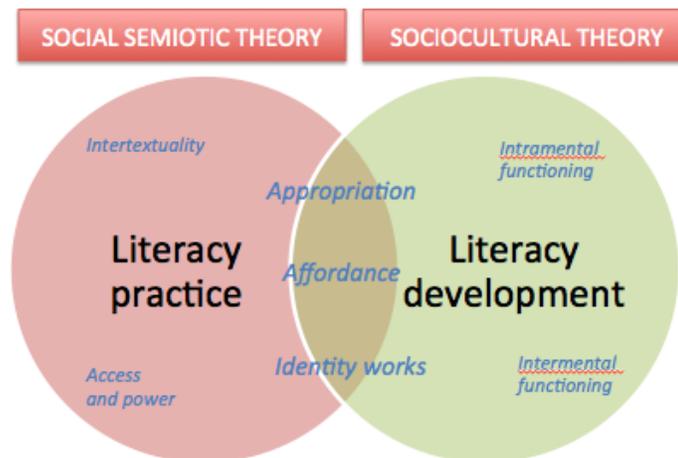


Figure 8. Mapping Out Theoretical Frameworks and Concepts.

Review of Research

In this section, I focus on synthesizing and critiquing empirical studies that have investigated L2 literacy practice from social semiotic and sociocultural theories, as well as those that have specifically looked at practices that are mediated by digital technologies. In discussing and critiquing these studies, I highlight the questions they seek to answer, the methodology they adopt and their major findings.

Studies on intertextuality as a literacy practice

The social semiotics approach to literacy is now a well-established strand of literacy research, with some two decades of empirical work to draw on (Baynham, 2004). Two of the often-cited contributions of this line of research are: (1) the empirical evidences for the situatedness of literacy and the (2) a new theorizing of and challenge to the relationships between the local, transnational, out-of-school literacies *and* the school-based literacies. In the following two empirical studies, I address how these works on literacy as a social practice contributes to our understanding of literacy and literacy learning. Particularly, I look at the specific practice of intertextuality that makes the process of text production and interpretation inextricable from the sociocultural contexts of the text, as well as the autobiographical self of the text producer.

In her study, Lilis (2001) explored the experience of adult bilingual students with academic writing in a university in London. In this study, Lilis –who acted as the researcher and the academic writing tutor of these students at the same time– documented the students’ struggles to adopt the academic language and convention as part of their literacy practice, despite having professional literacy experience in

different fields. In the following excerpt, Lilis (L) was having a one-on-one tutoring session with her student (S) on her academic essay on journalism. Their conversation is recorded as followed:

Extract from texts	Extracts from taped discussions on students' texts
<p>The media reflects what society thinks as a whole, or just reflects the hierarchy ideas. Women are portrayed in the media as being total airheads.</p>	<p>Lilis reads, emphasizing 'airheads'.</p> <p>S: [laughs] Can you not use that? L: Well, what do you think? S: No you can't. L: Why not? S: Because it's slang. L: It was good to see it in a way, but in terms of an academic essay, it probably wouldn't be looked on too well. S: I know. T: So, can you think of another word, or words instead of that?</p>

Table 5. Text in Relation to Sociocultural contexts (Lilis, 2001, p. 84).

In this tutoring session, Lilis (2001) and her students were looking at the student's text and trying to revise it to meet the standard of academic essay. In discussing the meaning of a word "airheads", they engaged in a semiotic talk about appropriateness of the word in the context of academic culture. As the student acknowledged in the excerpt above, the word 'airheads' as a unit of meaning was considered inappropriate. In this sense, the meanings of the word were negotiated in the context of social interactions and practices, as reflected in the middle and outer layer of Fairclough's diagram (see figure 3). Moreover, the lexico-semantic choice of the word 'airheads' that the student made in this paper is by no means incidental in the sense of being reckless with her diction. Using Bakhtin's (1986) argument on the

heteroglossic nature of text, it can be argued that the lexical item is a historical product of the student's autobiographical self (Ivanic, 1998).

One contribution of Lilis study (2001) that is relevant for the design of this study is its methodology in engaging the students with explicit semiotic talk around texts. This talk served to “construct an agenda aimed at opening up discussion and at foregrounding the student writer's interests and concerns” (p. 10). In turn, this process made explicit the ‘clash’ between student's literacy background and the literacy of schooling. In this study, I adopt Lilis' “talk around text” method to unpack the meaning making processes behind my participant's text productions (see my comments on member checking in Chapter 2). However, I use this semiotic talk not to explicitly discuss the 'power clash' between student's practice and the practice of schooling. One example of this talk in Lilis' was when she and her student were talking about the expectation of academic language not to use contracted forms of language, such as “there's” or “can't”. During this talk, the student commented: “It makes me sick... I don't think it's important at all [laughs].... What am I saying? I know what I'm saying. But it's like, what for? Everybody knows what 'I'm not' [the contracted form] means. It's like trying to segregate, you know.... [to] set you apart from other people” (p. 85). As can be seen from this small excerpt, Lilis methodological choice in engaging her students in semiotic talk about text had helped her student to become aware of the situated nature of literacy. However, because of Lilis' position as an academic writing tutor, the semiotic talk became somewhat normalizing –that is reestablishing the ‘power’ of academic, school-based literacy practices. As Lilis put, “[With] all the student-writers, I have always been the

‘knowledgeable insider,’ that is, viewed by the student-writer as someone who knows more about the conventions that they are expected to write within than they do.” (p. 9).

Unlike Lillis (2001), Lam (2000) provided yet another angle for looking at intertextual practices from the perspective of an ELL youth, which resists the normalizing, universalizing practice of school-based literacy. As numerous research on digitally mediated literacy practice have documented, ELLs’ L2 literacy practices are inextricably related to the various global and local spaces that they inhabit. For instance, research shows that (1) there is an increasing salience of cultural and linguistic diversity when it comes to ELLs’ use of English across localities and national borders, (2) there is growing variety of hybrid text forms associated with English, and more importantly (3) the technologically-savvy ELLs are particularly apt at developing the abilities to navigate and negotiate across diverse social practices and text forms, which is integral to their ever-changing societal contexts (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Lam, 2000; 2006; 2009; New London Group, 1996, McGinnis et al., 2007).

In her study of a high school ESL student in the U.S., Lam (2000) recorded how her participant, Almon, was able to use his knowledge of English to navigate across local and national borders when he created an English website on a famous Japanese pop (J-Pop) singer and was interacting with his transnational³ ‘friends’ who

³ Transnationalism is a term that refers to the bodily movement across national borders, where individuals maintain affinity ties and social networks in more than one country, in most cases their home and host countries. Transnationalism is differentiated from immigration, in that the latter involves a more permanent affiliation with the host country and separation from the home country while the former may imply no long-term intention to stay beyond what is economically necessary (Hornberger, 2007).

shared same interests in the artist. On his homepage, Almon wrote, "No problem! ^_^ you'll find out anythings about her [the Japanese pop singer] in my site." As Lam argued, Almon's use of English in this sentence signaled the larger community in which this text is situated (i.e. Fairclough's middle rectangle in figure 3): First, Almon's linguistic choice of the deictic pronouns "you" and "me" signaled his attempt to create informal and personal affiliation with other fans of the Japanese pop singer. More importantly, in this sentence Almon also used the Japanese smiley ^_^ emoticons (as opposed to the Western version :-)) of it), which reflected the practice of his Japanese pop fan community. Although Lam showed that her participant's forms of English would not be highly valued in school, Lam argued that it was this hybridity of English that had provided him with the linguistic tools to enter into an authentic community of practice, which in turns helped him developed his L2 literacy.

Lam's (2000) study was very informative in framing this study because it highlights ELLs' abilities to negotiate across diverse textual practices. However, this study was situated in a context where the ELL was naturally exposed to the target language on a regular basis (i.e. Almon was going to an American school where he would be exposed to and educated in the target language). In this study, my investigation is focused on how the two Indonesian college students stylistically used English texts in their particular sociocultural groups –where these groups might or might not be as transnational as Lam's study above. Interestingly, despite being situated in a different context -that is, some of the interactions in my study were not transnational, and English is a foreign language which was not commonly spoken- the

findings of this study suggest similar textual practices with English⁴. As I discuss in chapter 6, the results of this study suggest the potential affordances of technologies like SNSs in creating multiple opportunities for ELL students who are normally not exposed to the target language on a regular basis to access the language from different channels.

Additionally in regards to the specific practice of intertextuality, Lam (2000) also documented instances where the same ELL student, Almon, engaged in interdiscursive practices when he developed the content for the J-Pop website. In writing the content of the website, Almon used materials and sources from magazines and other websites to identify himself with the English-speaking J-Pop community. Following these sources, Almon wrote English texts such as "Let join there . . .", "Go check it now . . .", "*Must Visit*", "You can try to hear the brand-new songs . . .", "Here you can download a tons of mp3 files of song," or "You can find all TK family official homepage here". Two points are worth noting from the examples that Lam (2000) provided in this article. First, in producing these English texts, Almon used his knowledge of the textual conventions of writing a personal website to appropriate his own sentences.

The second point worth extrapolating from Almon's textual practices, although Lam (2000) did not directly address this in the study itself, is the affordances of the digital technologies in creating entirely new relations among text, in that text users and text producers can connect to each other in an almost direct/immediate fashion. Kress (2003) termed this as 'hypertextuality'. In

⁴ See Chapter 4 and 5.

hypertexting a text in the new media, one can create a direct link to another text and explicitly signal the readers of the actual source of the other text (an instance of Fairclough's manifest intertextuality). In Twitter, this hypertextuality can be marked by the direct Retweet (See Chapter 3 for further explanation on Twitter's key terms). In cases like Almon's, however, the boundary of manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity becomes blurred since readers cannot really tell whether phrases like "Go check it now ...", "*Must Visit*", "You can try to hear the brand-new songs" are Almon's own text or someone else's text or both Almon's and someone else's at the same time. Regardless of its textual origin, it was evident from the study that Almon could use these phrases at ease by browsing through other electronic magazines and websites before appropriating these phrases in his own unique contexts.

Studies on literacy practice and identity works

Another strand of research within the literacy as social practice framework that also has gained prominence in the field of SLA and L2 education over the last 15 years is the research on online identity works. Besides Lam (2000) study above, in 2007, McGinnis and colleagues investigated the role of identity construction on the online biliteracy practices among transnational ELLs. They found consistent trends of hybridization of English. One Colombian student in this study stylistically inserted Spanish words into her MySpace blog in ways that maintained the grammaticality of English and thereby expresses dual identities. In one post she wrote, "eventho' la mayoria in thisz timez son todos fake" (Even though the majority in these times are all fake.) McGinnis and colleagues argued that she purposefully meshed the two language systems because she knew her audience would understand her language use,

and because her social network reflects her Colombian identity, which is also displayed through her use of Spanish. McGinnis and colleagues' description of the transformation of the literacy practice through the hybridization of English texts highlights the situatedness of her literacy experience, and the awareness of the understanding of the 'others' in the social interaction (Bakhtin, 1986; Cheyne & Tarulli (2005).

Another insightful finding from the study (McGinnis et al., 2007) is that the three ELLs who interacted on their social network sites, MySpace, use English with relative ease and a degree of confidence when talking about topics that are personally relevant to them. One student, Julia, for instance wrote at length about her opinions on the current immigration law in the U.S., which she claimed to have been marginalized her identities as a Colombian immigrant. Another student, Subosh, on the other hand focused his textual activities on the things that mattered to him the most –music, Japanese anime, and Indian culture. As Norton (1995) and others (Block, 2007; Ivanic, 1998) would argue, this study demonstrates how ELLs' sense of self influences the kind of literacy practice and social activities that they engage in.

Furthermore, what is more significant from this study is that these online spaces have provided them the alternative space to resist their marginalized positions in the institutional context of schools, such as the identity positions as “immigrants” or “ELLs”. In these spaces, the three ELL students were able to construct a more desirable identity position that in turn afford more opportunities to develop their L2 literacy. However, in this study McGinnis and colleagues did not demonstrate *how* the students appropriate and transform their literacy experiences online in ways that

help develop their linguistic repertoire in the second language. We only know that they did.

A more recent study by Sharma (2012) also highlights the role of identity works in mediating the online literacy experience of ELL students residing in Nepal. In his study of three Nepali youth's on Facebook, Sharma found that the use of Facebook as a social network site had influenced their use of the English (as an L2) language to index both their local and cosmopolitan identities. In observing the consistent use of English among the three students –even when they are talking to their local circle of friends residing in Nepal- Sharma argues that these youth are using English as a way to redefine their positions in the global space set by online social network such as Facebook. In one instance, one of the participants, Nero, was posting a Facebook status in English about his recent activity reading the latest Harry Potter series. This post received several comments from his friends and extended the initial status into a few lines of conversation. Most of these exchanges were surprisingly done in English.

What is interesting is that despite their fluent and confident use of English in the online space, these students rarely use the language in school setting. As Sharma (2012) argues, the students' discursive practices on Facebook have transcended the participants' identities beyond their locale and thus offer opportunities for constructing translocal or cosmopolitan identities. Their ability to communicate in English has provided them with access to much wider and diverse social and cultural spaces than would be possible if they were communicating about global phenomenon (such as Harry Potter) only in their native language. Going back to Norton's (1995;

2010) arguments earlier, Sharma's study corroborates the findings in the literature on the deep connection between literacy practice and identity works. Yet, similar to McGinnis and colleagues (2007), Sharma's (2012) study did not focus its analysis on the kinds of literacy development that occurs on the individual plane as these ELLs engage in the production and interpretation of English texts.

Another recent study by Seargeant, Tagg, and Ngampramuan (2012) also provides another interesting insight into the role of identity works on the use of English texts in SNSs among L2 users of English. In their analysis of Thai students' status updates on Facebook, the author highlights the complex addressivity issues that underscored the students' choice of English –even when conversing with their Thai friends who were in some cases geographically located in Thailand. As Seargeant and colleagues argue, due to the 'semi public' nature of Facebook, users are increasingly cognizant of their 'imagined' readerships, which include their actual friends or direct addressees and the broader networks of 'friends' in their 'friends' list. Though in some cases English are used for pragmatic reasons (e.g., using a common language that can be understood across different networks of friends), many times its strategic use also highlights the users' transnational, cosmopolitan identities (to use Sharma's (2012) term), where in they position themselves in relation to their 'imagined', indirect readers.

In the case of the Thai students in this study, Seargant and colleagues (2012) reported that their choice of using English, in combination with the local Thai language, are shaped by the site's affordance in creating status updates that encourage users to develop interactions with their online networks. This particular quality of the

Facebook environment was used by the Thai students to display their translocal identity, which is indexed by their sensitivity to the multiple addressee/readerships in their network. What's intriguing about this study is that the authors also mentioned that the strategic code-mixing of English and the local language was used in some exchanges as a means of excluding or including a particular group of addressee. This particular set of language practices underscores the shared semiotic repertoires of the participants who actively engaged in the exchanges, while at the same time creating a sense of community identity, which was produced and reproduced despite the possibility of wider readerships in the network.

Though this study is not directly talking about L2 users of English as learners (i.e. they are not learning English and the purpose of this study is not to look at English language learners), it is worth noting the L2 users of English in SNSs use the second language –both consciously and unconsciously- to mark their online complex identities. Often in these studies, L2 users of English discursively display their translocal, transnational identities because of their geographical positions and historical background. In this sense, this study corroborates the findings in the literature on the deep connection between literacy practice and identity works. Yet, similar to the two previous studies, Seargeant et al. study (2012) did not focus its analysis on the kinds of literacy development that occurs on the individual plane, as these L2 users of English engage in the production and interpretation of English texts. In the next section, I review three studies that have investigated the connection between literacy practice and literacy development in the digital media in a more explicit way.

Studies on literacy practice and literacy development

In her more recent research, Lam (2009) studied online literacy practices of immigrant youth of Chinese descent who resided in the U.S. but maintained transnational relationships with friends and families through the Internet. This study focused on how one focal student by the name of Kaiyee used the Internet to use and produce information and media content across countries, and developed cross-cultural orientations in his language learning. One of important findings from this study was that Kaiyee deliberately participated in an online gaming community to learn English. As she reported, "When I decided to play the game Maple Story, it got Chinese version and English version, I decided to play English version because I want to improve my English.... This is the purpose that I use English to chat" (Lam, 2009, p. 385).

Although Lam did not specifically frame Kaiyee's English literacy development in terms of social mediation and intermental functioning, such textual practices mediated by online gaming constitute a process by which the ELL accessed and drew upon diverse linguistic resources with the assistance of other participants in her community (i.e. on an intermental plane), and finally adopted these practices as part of her later textual identities (i.e. on an intramental plane). However, as I have iterated before, since the learner in this study was situated in the English-majority communities, there was an implicit assumption that she was more pressured and motivated to learn English and thus sought opportunities to do it online. In this dissertation, my focus is on the Indonesian college students' use of English as part of their textual practices, despite its possible lack of use in their day-to-day lives offline.

In another study, Gee (2004) studied one young boy's experience in learning to read by participating in the Pokemon fan community. Gee argued that this child's desire to participate in the community spurred his literacy development, as successful participation required him to decode and encode complex game and character guides. In a different line of literacy research, Gee and Hayes (2011) illustrated how two women who participated in 'Second Life'⁵ gained valuable literacy skills and became respected experts in creating game content. The affinity space and participatory learning that Second Life afforded allowed the women to explore practical, personally relevant content. Though this expertise is not traditionally valued in schools, these women gained valuable real world skills relating to business, design, global communication, and computational skills. In fact, one woman who struggled and received poor grades in school geometry was able to apply geometry in complex ways by building objects in Second Life (Rama, 2012).

Similarly in her study on fan fiction reviewed above, Black (2009) noted that through their online textual practices, fan fiction ELL writers were able to practice and improve their English and composition skills. For example, each of the three focal participants in her study was able to find and work with a peer reviewer called a beta reader, with the purpose of improving grammar, spelling, characterization, and general style of a story prior to its release to the general public. Furthermore, their larger online readers also actively supported their textual practices by giving positive comments, initiating interaction, and building their confidence in writing. This

⁵ Second Life is a 3D virtual world where users can socialize, customize an avatar, connect and create using free voice and text chat (Secondlife.com).

participation and interaction in turns provided the ELLs more opportunities to engage in “additional and more complex writer and communicative endeavors” (p. 692).

One important note that needs to be stated when reviewing these four different studies is that they were all mediated by different technological tools –online games, Second Life, and fan-fiction communities. Additionally, two of these studies were not directly related to second language learning (i.e. Gee 2004; Gee & Hayes, 2011). Yet, in the context of literacy development in sustained participation of social activities, these different lines of study demonstrate how literacy skills develop as part of the situated, embodied experience in a meaningful social activity. Furthermore, the different technological mediations sampled in this section highlight the ‘relational potentials’ of the technological tools for the users. This goes back To Van Lier’s (2000) and Gee’s and Hayes’ (2011) concept of affordance mentioned in the conceptual framework section earlier. In other words, it is not so much about the ‘effect’ of the technological tool per se that lead to language and cognitive development. Rather, it’s how the learners interact with their social partners in the technologically mediated contexts that makes the learning successful for them (Kern, 2006). Thus, in making an analytic inference from these studies to the context of Twitter, it is reasonable to assume that SNS such as Twitter has the potential to be used as an affinity space –like Second Life, online gaming, or fan-fiction community- given that the learners, and their social partners engage in ways that allow the learners to transform their literacy experiences in future encounters. Therefore, this study explores how my participants navigate across their online communities via Twitter, and how this process acts as a context for their English literacy development.

Gaps in the literature

In the table below, I provide summary of findings from the main empirical research that I have reviewed so far, as well as their implications for this study, in order to foreground the gaps in the literature that will be addressed this study.

STUDY	FINDINGS	IMPLICATIONS AND GAPS
Lilis (2001)	Literacy as a social practice is negotiated in the context of social interactions, relationships, and structures.	One contribution of this study that is relevant for the design of this study is its methodology in engaging the students with explicit semiotic talk around texts.
Lam (2000)	Participation in online social network site allows ELLs to develop their repertoire of the textual conventions and use this knowledge to appropriate their own sentences. Furthermore, this study shows affordances of the digital technologies in creating an entirely new kinds of intertextuality –called hypertextuality.	This study informs my analysis of online literacy practices among Indonesian college students, particularly on the connection between ELL student’s text production on a micro-sentential level and the larger macrosocial influences.
McGinnis et al. (2007)	The use of hybrid textual practices among ELLs in a social network site called MySpace serves to establish particular identity.	
Sharma (2012)	The predominant use of English in local online social network through Facebook by EFL students has afforded them the opportunity to establish their cosmopolitan identities. The use of English was strategic in the sense of gaining readership from other people across the globe on a shared interest. In this case English serves as a social capital for the students to participate in a translocal network.	Together these three studies inform my understanding of ELL’s knowledge of and ability to use diverse language systems. Furthermore, these studies demonstrate how the process of production and interpretation of English texts is influenced by the interactional and sociocultural contexts of the interlocutors.
Seargeant et al. (2012)	In complex addressivity in Facebook’ status update has afforded opportunities for L2 users of English to use the second language in combination with their native language. This use of English discursively	However, it also demonstrates the gap in the literature on literacy practice as a way of ‘doing’ language and a way of ‘being’ in the world afford changes for the individuals who are involved in the production and interpretation of English texts.

	shapes and is shaped by the users' translocal identities. Users' awareness of the wider readerships of their posts mediates their decision to use English in combination with their native language.	
Black (2009)	ELL fan fiction writers stylistically and purposefully incorporate languages other than English into their prose to add semiotic effect to their texts. Furthermore, notwithstanding their grammatical errors, the students' texts were highly praised in the context of their online communities.	<p>This study informs my understanding of the role of semantic language play in developing ELL students' English literacy. Furthermore, it highlights how L2 literacy develops as a situated and embodied process.</p> <p>However, the design of this study fails to show how ELL students' textual production evolves overtime as a result of participation in the community of practice.</p>
Lam (2009)	Textual practices mediated by digital media constitute a process by which an ELL accesses and draws upon diverse linguistic resources with the assistance of other participants in her community, and later processes these practices intramentally. This social mediation in turns facilitates her L2 literacy development.	<p>The study informs my understanding of how digital technologies mediate ELL student's learning of English. The kinds of relationships and activities that digital technologies provide create more affordances for learners to develop L2 literacy.</p> <p>However, since the learner in this study is situated in the English-majority communities, there is an implicit assumption that she is more pressured and motivated to learn English and thus sought opportunities to do it online.</p>
Gee & Hayes (2011)	Adult learners gains valuable literacy skills and became respected experts through <i>Second Life</i> . The affinity space and participatory learning that Second Life afforded allowed the women to explore practical, personally relevant skills.	This study informs my conceptualization of learning and development, as it shows that learning occurs as a "site effect" of meaningful participation.

Table 6. Summary of Findings and Implications to Study.

As many of these studies suggest, literacy as a social practice is intricately bound up with the social relations, cultures, and practices in a particular sociocultural

group. Although some of their literacy practices might not be considered relevant to school, these research show that access to relevant communities and technologies has the potential to create opportunities for learning. However, there are two noticeable gaps in the literature. First, most of the studies that have looked at the affordances of digital technologies in the construction of identity (McGinnis et al., 2007; Seargeant et al. 2012, Sharma, 2012) and the affordances of digital technologies in the use of English among L2 users (Lam, 2000; 2009; Gee, 2004; Gee and Hayes, 2011) focus on students who are situated in ESL contexts (despite the fact that they are documenting trends of transnational interactions among these L2 users). In these studies, there is an implicit assumption that students are more pressured and motivated to speak English when they are in the context of the English-majority communities. The study then hopes to expand the scope of the literature by drawing attention to the role of digital technologies on L2 learning in contexts where primary access to the L2 is online (Coiro et al., 2008; Ito et al., 2010).

Secondly, most of these studies have only recorded the process of text production and interpretation either from the perspective of ‘social practice’ (i.e. about ‘doing’ reading and writing in a particular social context) or from the perspective of ‘identity works’ (i.e. about reading and writing as a way of ‘being’ in the world –with language users constructing and negotiating their sense of self in the discourse that they participate in). What has not been explored in the literature is the connecting link between these two lines of studies. In other words, how literacy practice as a way of ‘doing’ language and of ‘being’ in the world also serves as a mechanism for ‘developing’ the linguistic repertoire of the individuals who are

involved in the practice. What this study is arguing is that besides shaping the practice of ELLs, sustained participation in online social activities through SNS such as Twitter also affords opportunities for the individual language users to develop new capacities with the language. The focus –and contribution- of this study is to explore the link between the process of production and interpretation in the practice of intertextuality *and* the development of second language literacy for the individual users who are involved in the practice.

Finally, contributing to the current discussion on the sociocultural turn of second language acquisition (Kern, 2006), this study hopes to add to an emerging body of literature that argues for a paradigm shift in what counts as literacy and literacy education for ELLs (Gutierrez, 2008; Hornberger, 2007; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003), particularly those who are situated in EFL contexts.

Summary

In summary, this study seeks to explore the complex relationships among intertextual literacy practices, literacy development, and identity works. This study is based on the theoretical assumption that views literacy as being intimately bound up by the social practices of a particular group, institution, or culture. This study hopes to expand the scope of the literature by drawing attention to the affordances of online social network sites in providing opportunities to ELLs to develop their English literacy as they engage in multiple online social activities, and as they construct and negotiate more desirable identity positions. Following an existing body of literature,

this study also argues for a paradigm shift in looking at literacy and literacy education in the digital era.

This alternative conceptualization of literacy learning and development especially has practical implications for Indonesian English education. By virtue of Indonesia's geographical location and native language, Indonesian ELLs are not exposed to English in their everyday lives and education. Yet, through proliferation of the Internet these students continue to immerse themselves in multiple –often transnational- affinitive communities outside of schools. It is my hope that this study will introduce a new perspective to English language teaching in Indonesia by: (1) bridging students' literacy practices in out-of-school contexts and in in-school contexts (2) helping them to use different technologies to develop English literacy. Finally, I hope that this study will impact Indonesian educational policy by pushing policy makers to continue to build the infrastructure and promote Internet access for many Indonesian students who are yet to benefit from learning through digital media. In the following chapter, I specifically discuss the specific methods and procedures that I use to conduct this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how two Indonesian college students developed English literacy as they produced and interpreted English texts in Twitter. Specifically, this study investigated (1) the intertextual practices involved in producing and interpreting English texts, and (2) how these textual practices afforded opportunities for the two participants to develop English literacy.

In this chapter I discuss the methods and procedures used in this study. I first provide a rationale for adopting ethnographic case study methodology as the design for this study. In discussing the design I particularly focus on the philosophical assumptions that guide the formulation of the research questions (Creswell, 2007). Following this, I describe the research context and the two participants, sampling techniques, data collection, data management, data analysis, and the issue of quality and verification.

Research Design

The study used ethnographic case study as its methodology, and its design was informed by two methodological traditions: ethnography and qualitative case study. In the following two sections, I discuss how each of these methodological traditions guided the design of this study.

Ethnography

As a methodology, ethnography is rooted in anthropology and can be defined as a study of people in everyday settings, with particular attention to culture

(Anderson-Levitt, 2006). As an abstract concept, anthropologists infer culture from people's talk, behavior and tools (Wolcott, 1987). Although the meaning of the word 'culture' as a technical term has been debated by social scientists, it is generally agreed upon that culture is learning that people do as members of human groups. What people learn from and through other people is to "interpret experience and generate behavior" (Spradley, 1980, p. 6). It is "an active process of meaning making" (Street, 1993, p. 25).

Culture as meaning making

According to Anderson-Levitt (2006), culture as meaning making has several aspects: First, it involves interpretation of experience, and this can manifest itself explicitly or tacitly. In the literate practice of ELLs, explicit meaning making includes assertion of facts and beliefs about English such as "grammar sucks" or "I'm never good with proper English." On the other hand, tacit meaning making includes 'common sense' beliefs about 'what everybody knows' as a 'naturally' or 'obviously' true. It also includes values, attitudes, and feelings. Secondly, culture as meaning making generates meaningful behaviors that include knowing how to act, such as knowing what kinds of things can (or cannot) be shared, or what kinds of English to write social media like Twitter.

Thirdly, because people usually learn to make meaning as a member of human groups, anthropologists often refer to culture as shared. Contrary to popular conception –and earlier scholastic conception- we cannot expect to find one distinct culture per group or per community. In the case of the Indonesian college students that I studied, for instance, I cannot make the assumption that these students shared

similar beliefs about English or interpret the same literacy experiences/practices the same way. As Rosaldo (1993) rightly points out, “All ethnographers begin –and end– their work with a focus on ... patterns and traits that lumped together, constitute a people’s culture” (p. 21), yet “reference to a people’s culture in the singular makes it difficult to study zones of difference within and between cultures” (p. 28). In that sense, this it is important to bring forth the fourth assumption about culture as *meaning making*, which is the view that individuals bring together their own constellation of cultural meaning making. For this reason, many ethnographic works on literacy practices today focus on this fourth element of culture –that is, the discursive construction identity in relation to cultural groups (Ivanic, 1998; Lam, 2000; Lilis, 2001; McGinnis et al., 2007; Norton, 2010). Similarly, in this study, I systematically looked at how my participants make meaning of their literacy practices by connecting their specific practices to their unique language learning histories, attitudes, and beliefs as learners (Block, 2007).

Another important aspect to the study of culture is the study of power. As Anderson-Levitt (2006) argues, culture cannot be studied separately from power. Cultural scenes are the “definitions of the situations held by the actors” (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972, as cited in Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 282), and yet it is also a contestation over prevailing definitions (Street, 1993). Whose definition will ultimately prevail is a question of power (again, going back to Fairclough’s diagram in figure 3). In the context of literacy studies, we can see how culture and power interplay in the day-to-day literate experiences of English language learners. In her ethnographic study of one such case, Lam (2000) documented the struggle over

defining L2 literacy from the perspective of Standard English vs. hybrid English. Similarly, Lillis' (2001) discussion with her bilingual adult students also uncovered their ambivalence toward the culture and practice of academic English. In all of these ethnographic studies, there are clear connections between culture and power.

In the context of this study, however, I do not foreground the connection between culture and power as much as I focus on the other four aspects of meaning making that I discussed in the previous section (i.e. explicit and tacit beliefs about English, textual practices as meaningful behaviors, textual practices as shared culture, as well as the learners' unique identities and histories in relation to their larger communities). In exploring these issues, I restrict my framing of power to: (a) a brief discussion on how language, literacy practice, and stereotyped power differences among different literacy practices were connected explicitly and tacitly in my participants' beliefs about conversational English vs. academic English; and (b) the kind of repercussion such beliefs have on the teaching and learning of English as a second language.

Philosophical worldview in ethnographic research

Although philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research (Slife & Williams, 1995), they fundamentally influence its framing. In an attempt to make my philosophical worldview explicit, this section outlined the ontological and epistemological beliefs that I adopted in designing this study as an ethnographic study. Following Guba (1990) and Creswell (2009), I use the term 'worldview' to mean "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). Others have called

them ‘paradigm’ (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Merten, 1998) or ‘epistemology’ and ‘ontology’ (Crotty, 1998).

A philosophical worldview that I adopt in this study, which reflects the common epistemological assumptions in many ethnographic studies, is that of social constructivism (often combined with interpretivism). Social constructivism assumes that individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences. These meanings are varied and multiple (as noted in the four aspect of culture as meaning making above). In capturing these meanings, researchers will look for the complexity of their participants’ view rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participant’s view of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2009).

In addition, two other important assumptions about meaning from social constructivist worldview are important to highlight. First, meanings are negotiated socially and historically. They are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives (Creswell, 2009). As I explained earlier in the theoretical section of chapter 2, my assumptions about literacy is based on this philosophical worldview. That is, literacy as a cultural practice is inextricably bound up with the histories, values, and beliefs of cultural groups. Second, as it relates to methodology, social constructivism assumes that researchers’ own backgrounds shape their interpretation of the participants’ meaning making. Researchers who adopt social constructivist worldview position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences

(Creswell, 2009). In this sense, ethnography takes a dualistic approach to studying cultural meaning making. It requires the eliciting of the participant's –or insider's– view (emic) and thus requires the researcher to participate to some degree in the situation studied. However, because insiders may not articulate some of the tacit levels of culture, the researcher must also bring in their outsider's perspective (etic) to make these invisible meanings explicit (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Street, 2010). As I discuss later in the methods for data collection section, I adopt this dualistic approach when answering the research question of how my participants make meanings of their online literacy practices in English.

Adopting an ethnographic perspective

Because scholars across many disciplines have taken up ethnography in different ways (Anderson-Levitt, 2006), it is important to outline how this study is situated within the different types of ethnographic research. In developing a typology of ethnographic research, Green & Bloome (1997) listed three possible ways the term 'ethnography' is being used in any research study: (1) doing ethnography, (2) adopting an ethnographic perspective, and (3) using ethnographic tools:

Doing ethnography involves the framing, conceptualizing, interpreting, writing, and reporting associated with a broad, in-depth, and long-term study of a social or cultural group, meeting the criteria for doing ethnography as framed within a discipline or field... By adopting *ethnographic perspective*, we mean that it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e. do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnographic perspective is

the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology or sociology to guide the research. The final distinction, *using ethnographic tools*, refers to the use of methods and techniques usually associated with fieldwork. These methods may or may not be guided by cultural theories or questions about social life or group members. (Green & Bloome, 1997, p. 183).

In light of Green and Bloom's (1997) description, I classify this study in the middle of the typology. As I will elaborate later in the methods for data collection section, because of the length of engagement in fieldwork, as well as other approaches to data analysis, I did not conduct what anthropologists consider full-fledged ethnography. However, I adopt an ethnographic perspective that is based on the use of social semiotic theories (which emphasize the connection between individual meaning making and the wider societal and cultural context) derived from socio and anthropological linguistics.

Ethnography moves online: virtual ethnography

Earlier I have established that ethnography is a study of people in everyday settings, with particular attention to culture – that is the ways people make meaning of their everyday lives. One of the methodological challenges in studying people's everyday use of digital technologies with the traditional ethnographic method is doing “fieldwork” or “participant observation”. Over the past decade, researchers have asked the question: How do online settings challenge the researcher in the role of participant observer? What do the characteristics of online settings imply for the researcher attempting to engage in the emic-etic approach to observation, where they

are simultaneously expected to “do what others do, but also watch [his or her] own actions, behavior of others, and everything [he or] she could see in [a particular] social situation”? (Spradley, 1980, p. 54). In contrast to offline settings, researchers of online environments are able to go to some online venues and not have their existence known to the participants. In this case, the researchers then participate as lurkers, which may challenge the validity and trustworthiness of the research (Leander, 2008).

To overcome this challenge, many ethnographers have proposed the idea of using virtual/connective ethnography in researching online experiences (Hine, 2000; Jones, 2005). This methodology assumes that people routinely build connections between online practices and offline practices. As Leander (2008) argues, “practice travels, so must ethnography.” (p. 36). In this sense, the online/offline, virtual/real, cyberspace/physical space binaries are disrupted because people are engaged with both all at the same time. The problematization of these binaries is especially important in my study, because although I mainly focus my analysis on the online textual practices of Indonesian graduate students, I do not isolate their online experiences from their offline literacy experiences and histories.

For the purpose of this study, I selectively adopt the methodology used by Lam (2000), which sought to understand the connections among activities and spaces which are online and activities and spaces that are offline, in order to establish the importance of not isolating students’ online textual experiences from their offline experiences. In her study of immigrant youth in the U.S., Lam was interested in investigating the youth’s use of online technologies, and its relationships to their English learning, social networks, and identities. She discovered that students’

literacy practices in school contexts were challenged by the unique social spaces and practices of the Internet. For example, whereas code switching was often indexed as inability to use English in school, it indexed social alignments and cultural capital in the online context. Lam further argued that it was the affordances of the online literacy practices that provided these ELLs with the linguistic tools to participate in meaningful interactions in English.

In arriving at this interpretation, Lam (2004) used a number of common means of naturalistic data collection including participatory research, participant observation in school settings, textual documentation, and extensive field noting and documentation of her participants' offline activities. Additionally, she regularly browsed and recorded the web page that her participants participated in. Home visits in the research were somewhat limited and were directed primarily toward understanding the daily lives of the students and their family cultures. However, as Leander (2008) recorded in an email interview with Lam, Lam acknowledged that as the research proceeded, home and classroom visits became redundant –not providing much new information. She began to interview the students to understand the general ideas and patterns that cut across online and offline engagements. Adopting Lam's approach to investigating online literacy practices, I used similar data collection techniques with my participants⁶.

In summary, informed by the various ethnographic works mentioned above, I adopt an ethnographic perspective as part of my methodology, which seeks to understand how Indonesian college students make meaning of their online textual

⁶ See "Methods for Data Collection" section.

practices and how these meaning-making processes relate to their wider societal and cultural contexts. In capturing the meaning-making processes, I adopt Lam's (2000) participatory framework, wherein I 'go native' by immersing myself in my participants' online world, while at the same time also continually exploring their past and current language learning experiences. With this methodological choice, I hope to have addressed my positionality as both an insider and an outsider in the research setting.

Case Study

Unlike ethnography which is rooted in anthropological sciences, qualitative case study as a methodology is rooted in interdisciplinary fields ranging from history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, as well as education (Merriam, 1998). Yin (2003) defines case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life contexts, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 12). In other words, case study methodology is chosen when researchers deliberately want to cover contextual conditions, believing that they are pertinent to the phenomenon under study. Additionally, unlike many ethnographic works, case study benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Leander, 2008; Yin, 2003). In terms of approach to data collection and analysis, Creswell (2007) provides another insight into case study methodology when he defines it as "a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a *case*) or multiple bounded systems (*cases*) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information

..., and reports a case *description* and case-based themes” (p. 73). In this sense, case study relies on multiple sources of evidences for data analysis and interpretation.

In the context of this study, my research design is closely aligned with case study methodology because: (1) my phenomenon of interest was contextually bounded (i.e. Indonesian college students interacting in their multiple communities), (2) my study was guided by theoretical propositions and frameworks (i.e. social semiotics and sociocultural theory of learning), and (3) my data collection relied on multiple data sources, and (4) my analysis was reported in cased-based themes.

Exploratory case study

Following Marshall and Rossman’s (2006) typology of case study, this study falls under exploratory case study because it explores/investigates little understood phenomenon, namely the online textual practices among Indonesian young people. Yin (2003) further argues that exploratory case study is justifiable when the goal of the study is to develop “pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry” (p. 6). As in the case of this study, it asks the basic questions of “how” Indonesian college students produce and interpret English texts when interacting in Twitter, particularly “what” kinds of textual practices they engage in. Furthermore, this study also asks the question of “how” English literacy develops in the context of these online practices and participation. The intent, then, is to explore the proposition that the development of English literacy among Indonesian college students are particularly afforded by the exposure to and engagement with the target language through digital technologies.

Defining the case(s)

The first step in designing a case study is to define the case that is going to be studied. The case needs to be bounded (most likely by settings, time, or theoretical propositions) to narrow the covering of relevant data (Yin, 2003). A case can be single individuals, groups of people, or organization. In any of these situations, these cases represent the primary unit of analysis for the study. Yin (2003) especially focuses on the theoretical bounding of a case, since theoretical propositions help narrow down the focus of the study. The more a study contains specific propositions, he argues, the more it stays within a feasible design plan.

In this study, my cases consisted of two Indonesian college students who – through the screening of a recruitment survey⁷- were categorized as “actively producing and interpreting English texts” in their online activities on Twitter. The boundaries of the case included: (1) physical location of the students, which was restricted to students who studied at one public university in one provincial region in Indonesia; (2) research time frame, which was from January 2012 to November 2012; and (3) theoretical propositions, which identified the textual practices that I was investigating (namely *manifest intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity*, and *original texts*). Particularly on the third boundary, the textual practices also served as the umbrella unit of analysis of this study. In line with Yin’s (2003) argument, the selection of these practices was based on the specific research questions and theoretical frameworks that guided this study.

⁷ See “Methods for Data Collection” section and Appendix A for more details on survey questions.

Holistic multiple case studies

Because this study considers each of the two Indonesian students as a single case, this study can be classified as a multiple case study. Multiple case designs are called for when the researcher seeks a more robust analytic generalization of the theoretical propositions that he or she is advancing (Yin, 2003). As Yin argues, the rationale for conducting a multiple case study follows replication logic analogous to quantitative studies. In multiple case studies, each case must be carefully selected so that it either “(a) predicts similar results (*a literal replication*) or (b) predicts contrasting results but for predictable reasons (*a theoretical replication*)” (p. 47). If all cases turn out as predicted, in the aggregate, these cases would have provided compelling support for the initial set of propositions that the researcher is advancing. On the other hand, if the cases are in some way contradictory, the initial propositions must be revised and ‘retested’ with another set of cases.

An important step in replication procedures in multiple case study design is the development of a rich theoretical framework (Yin, 2003). The framework needs to state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found (a literal replication) as well as the conditions when it is not likely to be found (theoretical replication). The results of the multiple case studies then later provide the basis for generalizing the theoretical propositions or challenge them. Yin calls this logic of replication in qualitative studies as ‘analytic generalization’. Unlike statistical generalization, which represents the generalization of samples to a population, analytic generalization represents generalization of theoretical propositions to similar or different contexts.

In this study, my rationale for conducting a multiple case study is to make a compelling case for the expansion of the New Literacy Studies (NLS) framework in contexts where exposure to and engagement with English are mainly facilitated through the online technologies (i.e. literal replication in Yi's term). As I have iterated in Chapter 2, most of the empirical works on second language learning that use NLS as the theoretical framework have focused on ELLs who live in English-speaking countries. In assessing the technological affordances for learning, there is an implicit assumption that learners sought opportunities to engage in English-related textual practices because they are motivated to do it online. This proposed study then hopes to expand the theoretical proposition (namely that digital technologies such as social media afford L2 learning) to EFL contexts, where there is less bodily movement across national borders, less pressure to affiliate oneself with the community of English speakers, and more contact with people who share similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

In addition to being a multiple case study, this study can also be classified as a holistic case study. A holistic case study, according to Yin (2003) examines the global nature of a phenomenon. It is commonly used when the relevant theory underlying the case study is itself holistic in nature (i.e. involving one, or few interrelated units of analysis). Because this study is concerned mainly with the phenomenon of online textual practice in a global sense, and its unit of analysis is closely related to that overarching phenomenon, this study is then considered a holistic case study.

My Role as Researcher

Seeking the insider's perspective

“Going native”

To seek the insider's perspective on my participants' textual practices as well as their English learning histories and experiences, I used two specific strategies. First, I spent approximately three and a half months in the 'field' by interacting with my participants in through texting, phone calls, informal hangouts and dining out. This rather informal interaction allowed me to earn their trusts. Although this engagement in the field is considered relatively sporadic and shallow compared to most ethnographic studies (Anderson-Levitt, 2006), I also gained an insider's perspective by “lurking in” my participants' past interactions on their social network sites beyond Twitter pages. This has helped me to see another layer of their personalities, and how they went about their online activities even before agreeing to participate in this study (Leander, 2008). Observation of these other online interactions gave me the advantage of collecting naturalistic data, since these data were produced prior to my engagement in the field but are nevertheless retrievable after the fact, as well as complementing the lack of physical fieldwork during the 3,5 month period interacting with my participants.

Seeking the outsider's perspective

Theoretically-based interpretation

In approaching this study from an outsider's perspective, the primary strategy that I used was a theoretically-informed interpretation of my participants' textual

productions during my data analysis. This kind of interpretation helped to make visible my participants’ meaning making processes that they might not otherwise had been aware of. As Anderson-Levitt (2006) argues, my knowledge and awareness of the situated nature of language use were an advantage for me, because I noticed things that my participants might not. On the other hand, theoretically-based analysis also helped me gain a deeper understanding of how my participants constructed the meanings of their everyday literacy practices.

Research Setting

The main research sites of this study were the two Twitter pages owned by two college students from a public university located in West Java, Indonesia. The two online pages, commonly known by Twitter users as ‘timeline’ consisted of either Tweets or Retweets posted by the participants, which were presented in reverse chronological order (i.e. the most recent posts were at the top of the timeline). In the following section, I provide a few relevant terms that were central to the discussion of this study retrieved from the social network site ‘about’ page (<https://twitter.com/about>).

Twitter: Relevant terms

TERM	DEFINITION
Timeline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A long stream showing all the Tweets from those one have chosen to follow. • The newest updates are at the top of the timeline. • One can interact with Tweets from within the timeline by hovering the mouse over a Tweet to reply, Retweet, or favorite.
Tweet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small burst of information which is 140 characters long. • A Tweet can also be found in the form of interactional conversation which is captured in one’s timeline. • A Tweet can also include links to photos or videos.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In timeline, a Tweet is unmarked –that is, it is whatever character, word, or sentence that a user starts with.
Retweet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A reposting of someone else’s Tweet. • A Retweet also helps users to quickly share the Tweet with all of their followers. • In a timeline, a Retweet is marked by an abbreviation ‘RT’. Any character, word, or sentence that comes after the RT symbol is the one being quoted from some one else’s Tweet.
Follower	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Followers are people who receive a Twitter user’s Tweet. • If someone follows you, he or she will see your Tweets in his or her timeline whenever he or she logs into Twitter.
Following	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following someone means users are subscribing to his/her Tweets as a follower. • That person’s update will appear in the users’ timeline.
#hashtag	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hashtag symbol # is placed before a relevant keyword or phrase (with no space) to categorize the keywords and help them show more easily in Twitter search. • Clicking on a hashtagged word in any message shows users all other Tweets marked with that keyword.
#NP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stands for ‘Now Playing’ and is usually hashtagged in Twitter as #NP followed by an artist and/or a song title. • #NP is used to alert one’s followers of what the users are currently playing while tweeting.

Table 7. Twitter: Relevant Terms.

Research Participants

The focal participants of this study were two Indonesian college students from the university whose ages ranged from 18 to 23.

Sampling techniques

Following Lam (2009), selection of the two focal participants was carried out through a screening survey. The survey was administered on June 5, 2012 to approximately 64 sophomore students in the university. The survey had the following basic components:

- First and second language background
- General Twitter use

- Social networks and communities on Twitter
- Production and interpretation of English texts on Twitter.

Based on the survey responses, I grouped potential focal participants based on the two following criteria: (1) students who are actively producing, browsing, and sharing English-related texts on their Facebook and/or Twitter pages⁸, and (2) students who self-rate their proficiency level as “low intermediate” and “high intermediate”. To safeguard from participant attrition and withdrawal, I randomly selected (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990; Yin, 2006) four potential students who met these two criteria. Using the email addresses that they provided on the survey form, I contacted these four prospective participants (2 male students and 2 female students). Within a span of a week, only the two female students responded positively to my invitation and were selected to be the focal participants of this study.

Data Collection

Methods

Data collection methods were divided into two phases: survey and ethnographic phases. The first phase of the data collection method involved an initial recruitment survey of 64 sophomore students from a large public university in one of the metropolitan cities in Indonesia. This survey focused on their English literacy background and online writing and social networking activities (see the four components of the survey in the previous section).

⁸ See “Instruments and Procedures of Data Collection” section for the scoring of the survey.

The second ethnographic phase of the data collection method lasted 6 months (between June – November 2012) and consisted of four main data collection techniques:

1. Selection of two focal students who self-rated their proficiency levels as “low intermediate” or “high intermediate” and met the criteria of actively reading, writing, and sharing English-related texts on their Twitter pages.
2. Retrospective written records of the participants’ texts from their Twitter pages between January and May 2013; and ongoing record of their texts between June and November 2012.
3. Online observations of the participants’ daily Tweets in particular and online activities in general, including their use of English in other websites, between June and November 2012.
4. Four semi-structured interviews of each participant about their English learning background in general, as well as about specific texts that they produced or interpreted online. These interviews were conducted in June 2012, August 2012, December 2012, and February 2013.

The use of multiple sources of data was to help establish convergence lines of evidence (or to triangulate) and make my findings more robust (McKay, 2006; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2006). The details of the instruments and procedures of the data collection are discussed below.

Instruments and procedures

Screening survey

The first procedure in the data collection involved a screening survey. Participants of this survey included 64 Indonesian sophomore college students who were enrolled in a public university in a metropolitan city in Indonesia. I recruited the participants in person by visiting a university classroom that I had access to. The survey comprised 67 open-ended and close-ended items, which was divided into four major parts: language learning background, general use of Twitter, online social networks and communities, and production and interpretation of English texts (See Appendix A). The purpose of the survey was to create a general profile of the students' English learning background as well as use of Twitter so that I could purposefully sample from this pool of the students those who Yin (2006) described as representing an instance/evidence of the phenomenon being studied. The survey items were revised twice for clarity and readability.

In scoring the survey to select the three prospective participants, I first measured the central tendency of the 17 items on the fourth part of the survey (see Appendix A). All the items on this part of the survey basically gauged the frequency of production and interpretation of English texts on Twitter. The fourth part of the survey asked questions like "How often do you write your wall post or tweet in English?", "How often do you browse other people's posts that are written in English?", and "How often do you share links or posts that are written in English?". The answers to these questions were framed in a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "Never" to "Always". Due to the ordinal nature of the scale, the measure of the central tendency that I used to score the survey was the 'mode'. In descriptive statistics, mode is defined as the most frequently observed value (Hinkle, Wiersma, &

Jurs, 2003). Therefore, in creating a selection category of students who are “actively producing and interpreting English texts in their participation on Twitter”, I screened for those who most frequently chose “often times” or “always” in the 17 survey items. This selection can visually depicted as follows:

Student (S)	S1	S2	S3	S4	S...	S...	S...	S...	S59	S64
Mode (17-items on part 4)	Never	Sometimes	Rarely	Often times	Rarely	Often times	Often times	Often times	Sometimes	Never

Table 8. Sampling Technique.

In-depth interviews

The second procedure in the ethnographic phase of the study involved the four rounds of semi-structured in-depth interviews with each of the participants. The first in-depth interview was conducted as a focus group in June 2012, during the early stage of the data analysis. This interview specifically explored the participants’ language learning background, online literacy practices, and social networking behaviors in general (see Appendix B for interview questions). The other three interviews were conducted respectively in August 2012, December 2012, and February 2013. The time gap between these interviews were used to fine-tune my ongoing insights on the participants’ literacy practices, while taking notes on questions that had for them as I was making sense of the data. These questions were later discussed with each of the participants via Skype text-chat and/or phone interviews. These three interviews also served as an informal member-checking procedure to co-construct our understanding of the participants’ literacy practices.

All of the interview sessions were conducted in the participants' native language, Indonesian, with some code switching to English. I later translated the interview transcripts fully into English part of the write-up of the findings sections. To ease the reading of the interview excerpts, I provide only the translated version of interviews in the findings sections, but include the original excerpts in the Appendix (see Appendix C).

Online observation and archive of online texts

The 11-month long online observations of the two participants' Twitter timeline were the central data collection technique of this ethnographic case study. During the 11-month period, 6 months were spent in the actual data collection. Between June and November 2012, I began capturing my participants' tweets using a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis software (CAQDA) called NVivo 10. NVivo 10 has a unique feature of capturing social media data like Twitter and import it into its platform to allow researchers to code natively from the software. Thus, all the Twitter posts made by my two participants were automatically captured in an Excel-like structure native to NVivo. In total, NVivo was able to retrospectively capture 4,504 individual posts made by the two participants between January and November 2012. Though my observations were mostly done in NVivo, I regularly went back to the actual Twitter websites to get a broader context of some posts that were either cut off, needed more explanation, or ambiguous. During these observations, I also surfed other websites that were linked to my participants' Twitter timeline, or browsed the YouTube clips of the songs that they were listening. Many

times as well, this simple browsing led me to discovering more about their favorite bands and their online/offline lives as young adults.

Data Analysis

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis of this study is the events surrounding any particular text. Operationally they are called *literacy events* and are defined as “activities where literacy has a role. Usually there is a written text, or texts, central to the activity and there may be talk around the text. Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them.” (Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic, 2000). Furthermore, from a developmental standpoint, as Rogoff (1995) argues, “the use of ‘activity’ or ‘event’ as the unit of analysis –with active dynamic contributions from individuals, their social partners, and historical traditions and materials.... allows a reformulation of the relation between the individual and the social and the cultural environments in which each is inherently involved in the others’ definition.” (p. 140). However, this unit of analysis could not be generated natively through NVivo. Instead, NVivo’s generation of Twitter data automatically coded my participants’ individual posts as its unit of analysis. Due to NVivo’s limitation in categorizing my participants’ individual posts into actual literacy events, I had to move back and forth during my qualitative data analysis between NVivo-based unit of analysis and the actual unit of analysis of this study.

Nevertheless, I still used NVivo’s automatic coding of the individual posts for the purpose of generating the descriptive statistics presented in Chapter 4 and 5. The interpretation derived from Nvivo’s automatic coding was restricted to comparing the

general patterns of the types of literacy practices that my two participants engaged in over the period of 11 months of data collection (e.g., more Tweets than Retweets; More ‘manifest intertextuality’ than ‘interdiscursivity’, etc.). However, Rogoff (1995) cautions that such look at the individual parts of social activity –in this case literacy event- should be considered only as foreground to data analysis and without losing track of their inherent interdependence in the whole literacy events.

To illustrate the difference between the actual coding of ‘literacy event’ vs. NVivo’s coding of Twitter posts, consider the three literacy events in the following table:

EVENT#	CODING BASED ON LITERACY EVENT	POST #	NVIVO CODING BASED ON INDIVIDUAL POST
1	why did you make me like this? give it back to me, my heart that you took without knowing. why did you come inside without permission? ----- #NP : TTS - Love Sick	1	why did you make me like this? give it back to me, my heart that you took without knowing. why did you come inside without permission?
		2	#NP : TTS - Love Sick
2	RT @TheLifeDiaries: You don't have to be skinny to be pretty. ----- RT @TheseDamnQuote: I think they should create an over-weight barbie. To prove all shapes & sizes are Beautiful. ♥	1	RT @TheLifeDiaries: You don't have to be skinny to be pretty.
		2	RT @TheseDamnQuote: I think they should create an over-weight barbie. To prove all shapes & sizes are Beautiful. ♥
3	RT @Jungyyu: At hi5 I said OPPA FIGHTING and he nods and smile at me!! Smiled at meeeeeee!!!! His hand sooooo smoothhhhh!! Agsdjakalabsb .. ----- RT @serabimovic: Jejung you indeed the proffesional man. Survive from ur diseases to make fans happy. Im proud of u so much :')	1	RT @Jungyyu: At hi5 I said OPPA FIGHTING and he nods and smile at me!! Smiled at meeeeeee!!!! His hand sooooo smoothhhhh!! Agsdjakalabsb ...
		2	RT @serabimovic: Jejung you indeed the proffesional man. Survive from ur diseases to make fans happy. Im proud of u so much :')
	huweeee envy~~ TT _____ TT		huweeee envy~~ TT _____ TT RT @mrsdamy its time for high five and photo season with jaejoong :D

	RT @mrsdamy its time for high five and photo season with jaejoong :D	3	
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Table 9. Coding as Literacy Event vs. as Individual Post.

As this table shows, in the first event on September 14, 2012, Cassie first posted a Tweet which read “#NP: TTS – Love Sick.” On the same date, almost concurrently, she also tweeted a separate post which read “why did you make me like this? give it back to me, my heart that you took without knowing. why did you come inside without permission?” Using Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic’s (2000) conceptualization of ‘literacy event’, these two separate posts would be grouped as one literacy event because the second post was simply a part of the lyrics of the first post and they both constituted one central activity. However, NVivo’s automatic capturing the Twitter posts treated each of these Tweets as individual posts, thus counting them into two distinct events.

When I did my descriptive analysis of my participants’ textual practices (i.e. in generating the descriptive statistic tables in Chapter 4 and 5), it was easier for me to start from the data generated by NVivo’s automatic captures since I did not have to manually classify the total of 4,504 posts into their thematic literacy events. However, when I qualitatively analyzed the ‘embeddedness’ of my participants’ texts to the texts of their surrounding online communities, I had to manually parse out or combine NVivo’s generated data as ‘events’. In general, the procedural rule that I employed to include or parse out individual posts as ‘event’ was to determine the central activity that surrounded a particular text or group of texts (Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000). Hence, when I interpreted the connection between other people’s utterances and my

participants' utterances, the two separate posts in event #1 and #2 were grouped into 2 separate topical events as opposed to 4 separate events, whereas the three separate posts in event #3 were group into 1 topical event as opposed to 3 separate events.

However, in the context of investigating my participants' literacy development that was indexed by their appropriation process⁹, readers might notice that I seemed to be using individual posts –as opposed to individual literacy events– as the 'meaning unit' of my analysis. An example of this can be seen in one of the appropriation tables that I present in Chapter 4 and 5:

CASSIE'S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY'S TEXT WITH SIMILAR SYNTAX
if you're "over it" then please <u>shut the fuck up</u> . kthxbye	RT @DiaryOfHumor: "Who's that?" "What are they doing?" "What's happening?" ..." <u>Shut the fuck up</u> and watch the movie!
Why give a fuck about something that never gave a <u>fuck</u> about you? They're just a waste of your time	RT @FactsOfSchool: Don't text me back? I understand. Don't hang out with me? I understand. But, when I start not <u>giving a fuck</u> anymore, you better understand
AIRR!! BERAPA LAMA LAGI NYALANYA??!! I FUCKING NEED <u>THIS FUCKING WATER TO TAKE A FUCKING BATH!!!</u> DX	RT @GirlSpeaking: If a girl chooses to text you over sleep, then you're <u>fucking special</u> .
mmm.. now i want a blueberry muffin. <u>i am one hungry girl!</u>	#NP : Justin Bieber – <u>One less lonely girl</u> .

When I presented my participants' texts as individual posts such as this one, I did this purposely to highlight the internalization that I assumed to have taken place (i.e. my participants were able to transform their previous encounters with English texts in *unrelated* situations). In this sense, looking at the 'activities' or 'events' surrounding my participants' individual posts became less of a concern in the context

⁹ See my detailed description of literacy development and appropriation in Chapter 2 and my discussion of discourse analysis method in the next following subtitles.

of ‘patterns of appropriation’ of a specific linguistic feature, because my focus was on the transformation of my participants’ use of the linguistic feature in *unrelated* events. In other words, even if I provided the textual contexts for each of the posts that I presented in the table, my focus was still to compare between the underlined features of the texts in the left column with the similar features in the right column. For this reason, it was sufficient to focus on the individual posts that carried the specific linguistic features in question rather than including the whole literacy events surrounding each post. Nevertheless, as shown throughout the findings sections, my overall interpretive lens was still influenced by how I saw my participants’ texts connected to other texts, and was thus focused on how their texts were shaped in the specific literacy events in which they participate.

To summarize this procedure of going-back-and-forth between individual posts and literacy events, I provide the visual below:

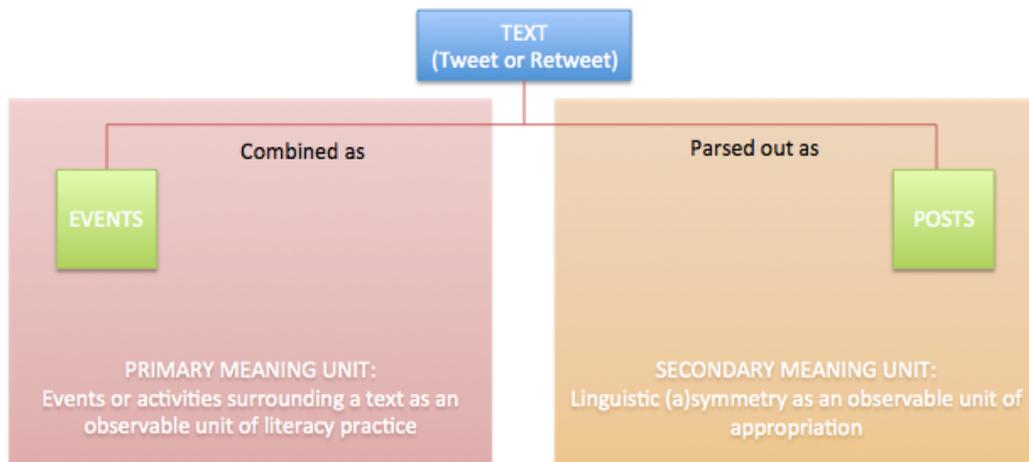


Figure 9. Event vs. Post as a Unit of Analysis.

Coding procedures

The coding procedures were divided into four major theoretically-based categories: (1) textual practices, (2) discourse functions, (3) identity works/writer identity, and (4) online communities. Within each of these categories, and with the assistance of NVivo's query features, I created both theoretical and open (i.e. data-grounded) subcategories as follows:

Operational definition of codes.

Textual practices

Operational definition: The practices associated with the production and interpretation of English texts, or texts that consisted of a mix of English and Indonesian or English with some other languages.

1. Manifest intertextuality (MI): Parts of my participants' text which could be traced to an actual source in another text, which was explicitly signalled in the forms of quotation, paraphrase, or copying (Fairclough, 1992).
2. Interdiscursivity (IN): Parts of my participants' text that came or originated from another text, which were not explicitly signaled in the forms of quotation, paraphrase or copying but was related in a more abstract way to social conventions (i.e. patterns or template of language use), genres, discourses, and styles (Fairclough, 1992).
3. #NowPlaying (#NP): Tweets that marked the songs or videos that my participants were playing at the time of writing their posts. The presence of the #hashtag symbols allowed them to track the #hashtagged word in their followings' and followers' timeline, and vice versa.

4. Original text (OT): Tweets that were genuinely produced by my participants, but were different from the previous two subcategories because of their distinct syntactic and semantic features.
5. Language use: The various languages that my participants used in their Tweets or Retweet, and this was further classified into four different sub-categories:
 - a. English – Tweet/Retweet that contained English language only.
 - b. Indonesian – Tweet/Retweet that contained Indonesian language only.
 - c. Hybrid – Tweet/Retweet that contained a combination of English and Indonesian or English and some other language, which ranged from a simple word substitute of an Indonesian vocabulary to English to a more complex grammatical combining of the two languages.
 - d. Other languages – Tweet/Retweet that contained languages other than Indonesian or English.

Discourse function

Operational definition: the goals that my participants were trying to achieve through their written utterances. These goals were sometimes shaped consciously in the discourse through the linguistic structuring of the utterances, and yet at other times were shaped rather subconsciously (Barton, Hamilton, Ivanic, 2000; Ivanic, 1998).

1. Ritual: When texts were used discursively as a means of performing a ritual event (Barton, Hamilton, Ivanic, 2000).
2. Display of emotions: When texts were used discursively to display the participants' emotions (Barton, Hamilton, Ivanic, 2000).

3. Display of identity: When texts were used discursively to display the participants' identity (Barton, Hamilton, Ivanic, 2000).

Identity works

Adopting Ivanic's (1998) four aspects of writer's identity, I used four different coding categories as follows:

1. Autobiographical self: The identity that my participants brought with them to the act of writing, shaped as by their prior social and discursal history.
2. Self as author: The extent to which my participants saw themselves as having an authorial 'voice' in the second language.
3. Discursal self: the impressions that my participants consciously or unconsciously conveyed of themselves in a particular written text. This code was particularly label as 'discursal' because the identity that my participants projected was constructed through the discourse characteristics of a text, which related to their values, beliefs, and relations with the social context in which the text was written.
4. Possibility for selfhood: the possibility (or constraint) that were opened up for my participants by writing in their second language. This aspect of writer's identity shaped and was shaped by all the other three aspects of identity.

Online communities

Operational definition: All users who were captured from my participants' Twitter timeline by NVivo 10's, other than the two participants themselves.

1. Followings: Those users whom my participants followed in order to get regular updates on their Twitter timeline.

- a. Idols – public figures, artists, or celebrities that my participants liked.
 - b. Quotebots – self-generated quotes, words of wisdom, quirky, or informational words posted by anonymous users.
 - c. Fan-based profiles – profiles of artists or celebrities created by fans.
2. Followers: Those users who followed my participants in order to get regular updates my participants’ Tweets and Retweets posted on their timeline.
- a. Online/offline friends – childhood or current friends who owned Twitter accounts, who were either following or followed by my participants.
 - b. Interest-based friends – acquaintance known through shared interest in a particular topic.

In summary, my categorical coding schemes can be outlined in the following table:

Coding categories and examples table

MAIN CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY 1	SUBCATEGORY 2	EXAMPLE
Textual practices	Manifest intertextuality (MI)	MI-English	RT @FactsOfSchool: Teachers love to ruin Fridays by giving tests and quizzes.
		MI-Indonesian	RT @chieaci: Gak suka sama co yang merokok - _____ -
		MI-Hybrid	RT @yeahmahasiswa: Evolusi bahasa : Soempah Pemoeda – Sumpah Pemuda – Cumpah, ciyus, sungguh. *well, we are screwed*
	Interdiscursivity (IN)	IN-English	🎵 You could be my unintended 🎵
		IN-Hybrid	🎵 내 사랑 이제는 안녕 you're the only one~
	#NowPlaying	#NP-English	#NP : Demi Lovato - Don't Forget

	(#NP)	#NP-Indonesian	#NP : Jikustik - Puisi
		#NP-Hybrid	#NP : Tohoshinki - Why Did I Fall In Love With You
	Original text (OT)	OT-English	okay mister, you still lead the game
		OT-Indonesian	Sekilas dari samping kaya papi.. jadi kangen papi
		OT-Hybrid	suaranya sangat.. <u>err how to describe it?</u> hahaha
OT-Other lang.	kitai shite baka mitai		
Discourse function	Ritual	N/A	#NP : Demi Lovato - Don't Forget
	Display of emotions	N/A	Mood: happy :D
	Display of identity	Self	RT @VirgoTerms: When it comes to love, #Virgo analyses every single Goddamn thing.
		Solidarity	RT @SMTOWN_WORLD: <u>RT if you love</u> DBSK !
Identity works	Autobiographical self	Thematic querying	RT @PiscesTerms: #Pisces are creative and intuitive thinkers who need space, solitude and genuine love.
	Self as author	Thematic querying	some inspiration in my life. Life gives u choices. You decide ur choice. You can change ur world. It means, Up To You!
	Discoursal self	Thematic querying	#anotherDAY --> when I write it, it's like someone out of my monitor #wow. I hope i can find new inspiration. Remember my deadline!
	Possibility for selfhood	Thematic querying	I WANNA GO AROUND THE WORLD!!! http://t.co/2tizyute
Online communities	Followings	Idols	“don’t ever call a girl fat, even if you’re joking” by @ddlovato :)
		Quotebots	RT @SoDamnTrue: When I text you, That means I miss you. When I don't text you, That means I'm waiting for you to miss me.
		Fan-based profiles	RT @Cassiopeia_INA: #KJFMinINA OMG Jaejoong is sitting in the middle with 40 people on a group to take a photo now o.O

	Followers	Online/offline friends	@ladypyonn aah nothing, just forget it~ :D
		Interest-based friends	RT @mrsdamy: RT: @swarnapuspa: Red ocean pics juseyoooo~ oh, also homin super duper hd picsss

Table 10. Coding Categories and Examples.

Analytic strategies

This section is divided into two analytic strategies: specific and general. The specific strategies were mainly used to analyze the linguistic features of my participants' texts that resembled –or not– the practice of their online communities. The specific strategies were an integral part of the general strategy of discourse analysis referred to in the next following sections. In the few paragraphs below, I provide the theoretical reasoning for using the specific strategies as part of my overall discourse analysis method.

Specific analytic strategies

Three domains of linguistic analysis of literacy practice and development.

The analytic focus of this study is on the micro-interactional dimensions of texts. For the purpose of analyzing the interactional data coming from my participants' texts on Twitter, this study specifically examined three interrelated linguistic features of texts: (1) discourse features, (2) syntactic features, and (3) lexico-semantic features. The rationale for focusing on these three interrelated domains was derived from the reading of Fairclough (1989), Gee (2008), and Bakhtin (1986) (see conceptual framework in Chapter 2 for details on this rationale).

Going back to the main assumption of social semiotic theory, it is important to restate that any examination of the meanings of ‘utterance’ or ‘text’ requires one to look at relations among that text to other surrounding texts. Since texts always carry “an array of recognizable features, drawn from and alluding to various facets of the writer's and reader's previous literary experience” (Gasparov, p. 15), it is necessary to look at these features systematically in order to derive meaning from the language users’ textual experiences. In approaching these texts, different theorists have different methodological emphases on the ‘what’, the ‘how’, and the ‘why’ of text analysis. Regardless of these differences, one common methodological principle that has been employed across the board is what is called the ‘ecological’ way of examining a text (Ivanic, 1998). As Fairclough (1989), quoting Halliday (1978), comments: any analysis of the formal properties of texts [i.e. its lexico-grammatical forms] should be regarded in relation to (1) the interactional context, and (2) social conditions from which people draw upon their knowledge of the language and of the world they inhabit. These include values, beliefs, and assumptions about the world. Fairclough calls this process of production and interpretation of text broadly as ‘*discourse*’. According to Fairclough, discourse refers to:

[T]he whole process of social interaction of which text is a part. This process includes in addition to the text the *process of production*, of which a text is a product, and the *process of interpretation*, for which a text is a resource. (p. 24).

Similar definition of discourse that alludes to this broader way of looking at texts can also be found in Gee’s later definition of the capital ‘D’ Discourse:

A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language

and other symbolic expression, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting, as well as using various tools, technologies, or props that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or “social network,” to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful “role,” or to signal that one is filling a social niche in a distinctively recognizable fashion (2008, p. 161).

This intricate relationship between utterances, their linguistic forms and sociohistorical context is perhaps closely connected to Bakhtin’s concept of ‘*speech genre*’ (1986). Similar to Fairclough (1989), Bakhtin argues that any utterance reflects the specific conditions and areas of human activity in which it is conveyed. These conditions and areas of human activity are conveyed through the three aspects of utterance: (1) its thematic content (i.e. the subject of what’s being conveyed), (2) its linguistic styles, including the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources, and (3) its compositional structure (i.e. how it is put together in a particular sphere of communication). When individual utterances are used in a specific sphere of communication in “*a relatively stable*” way, they become ‘*speech genre*’ (p. 81). As Emerson and Holquist (1986) note in their analysis of Bakhtin, in everyday communication, these spheres can include genres in the workplace, or the sewing circle, or business documents, or commentary, or military. Yet, the wealth and diversity of speech genres are boundless. Because of the inexhaustible possibilities of spheres of human activity, each sphere of activity can grow into an entire repertoire of speech genre as the sphere develops and becomes more complex.

To me this particular point about utterance and speech genre conceptually coheres with the previous two notions of discourse. Both concepts –discourse and speech genres- highlight the relatively stable ways of using language. This reflects what Gee (2008) calls earlier as the “socially accepted association among ways of

using language... that can be used [in].... a specifically recognizable fashion” (p. 161). Moreover, connecting it back to Fairclough’s (1989) notion of discourse, these socially accepted ways tell us about how people draw upon their knowledge of the language, including their values, beliefs, and assumptions about the world. Where the concept of ‘speech genre’ differs from ‘discourse’ –at least in Fairclough’s sense- is perhaps in the ideological overtone that the word ‘discourse’ carries. In other words, the relatively stable ways of using language –or what he calls ‘convention’ or ‘standardization’ is not unitary and homogenous. They are created by power struggle. Therefore, there is a specific agenda for those who are doing research on this area to problematize some commonly accepted assumptions about the world, and to problematize the power inherent in discourse.

Although I do not take Fairclough’s (1989) route when analyzing the various discourses that my participants engaged in, I adopt Fairclough’s (1989; 1992), Gee’s (1996; 2008), and Bakhtin’s (1981; 1984; 1986) assumption about the inseparable nature of text and context. Secondly, I adopt their ecological methodology of examining texts. That is, by simultaneously investigating the formal (i.e. the lexicosemantic and syntactic) and the discorsal (i.e. the speech genre) aspects of text, and their relation to the surrounding interactional contexts.

In summary, the three specific strategies that I used in looking at my participants’ literacy practice and development are presented in the table below:

TERM	DEFINITION	SOURCE
Discourse	A socially accepted association among ways of using language and other symbolic expression, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting, as well as using various tools, technologies, or props that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group	Gee (2008)

	or “social network,” to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful “role,” or to signal that one is filling a social niche in a distinctively recognizable fashion	
Syntax	A structural component of language that has a specific set of rules for combining words or phrases to make meaning.	-
Lexico-semantic	Vocabulary or word items that carry meaning	-

Table 11. Specific Analytic Strategies: Three Linguistic Domains of Analysis.

General analytic strategies

Discourse analysis.

In keeping with the discussion of ‘Discourse’ in the previous section, I used discourse analysis as my overarching analytic strategy. Discourse analysis is the study of language-in-use (Gee, 2011). From a social semiotic perspective (as previously discussed in Chapter 2), language as a social practice is a way of saying, seeing, doing, and being¹⁰. That is to say, whenever people write or talk, they always –often simultaneously- construct realities that are inextricable with their social, historical, and cultural contexts. Gee calls these “seven areas of reality” (2011, p. 17). Discourse analysis as an analytic tool then seeks to answer seven basic questions about any piece of language-in-use.

SEVEN AREAS OF REALITY REALIZED IN LANGUAGE USE	DISCOURSE ANALYSIS QUESTION
1. Significance	How is language being used by the participant to make certain things significant or not and in what ways?
2. Practices (Activities)	What practice(s) is the piece of language being used to enact?
3. Identities	How is the piece of language help the participant to enact his or her own identity(ies)?
4. Relationships	What sort of relationship(s) is the piece of language

¹⁰ See discussion on discourse with small ‘d’ and capital ‘D’ on p. 30.

	seeking to enact with others (present or not)?
5. Politics	What perspective on social goods is the piece of language communicating? What is taken to be normal, right, good, correct, proper, appropriate, valuable, the way things are, the way things ought to be, high status or low status, and so forth?
6. Connections	How does the piece of language connect or disconnect things. How does it make one thing relevant or irrelevant to another?
7. Sign systems and knowledge	How does the piece of language privilege or disprivilege specific sign systems (e.g. Spanish vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language, words vs. images, words vs. equations, etc.)?

Table 12. Seven Areas of Realities in Discourse Analysis (Gee, 2011).

As Gee (2011) argues, all of these seven realities are linked to one another and often simultaneously supported by the same words, phrases, or sentences. In doing discourse analysis, then, I looked for patterns of how these realities manifested themselves in the language that my participants used. Some of these patterns were directly derived from my analysis of the three linguistic domains that I discussed previously. Others were derived in relation to my participants' identity works and reflection of their English literacy development. I later generated theoretical propositions from my interpretations of the Twitter posts that they produced, as well as of their interview reflections. If these propositions were confirmed in the different sets of my data points/sources, then I derived analytical insights based on the theoretical grounding of the data. Also, consistent with the social semiotic perspective of language, in this analysis I emphasized the connection between language and contexts. In other words, I focused my analysis on "the questions of what can be learned about the context in which the language is being used and how that context is construed (interpreted) by the speaker/writer and the listener/reader." (Gee, 2011, p. 19).

Analytic coding using NVivo 10

To facilitate the generation of data that meets the theoretical propositions for this study, I mainly used NVivo’s text search, frequency search, and coding query features. These querying strategies helped me gather evidence for each of the research questions from across different data points and sources. Some (non-exhaustive) examples of how my research questions and theoretical propositions were translated into NVivo queries are presented in the table below:

#	RESEARCH QUESTION	THEORETICAL ASSUMPTION	NVIVO QUERY
1.	How did my participants read and write English texts in the context of their participation in Twitter?	All rhetorical styles, interpretive strategies, and semiotic systems that were involved in my participants’ literacy experience were predicated on and gave meaning to the beliefs, practices, and social relationships that they had with multiple sociocultural groups.	See 1a and 1b.
1a.	What kinds of textual practices did my participants engage in on Twitter?	Same as above.	NVivo’s autocoding query of Tweet and Retweet, which I manually recategorized into the four categorical themes (see coding procedure section).
1b.	What did the intertextual practices mean to my participants?	The texts that my participants consciously/unconsciously borrowed were related to the way they constructed themselves as English users.	Coding query of all contents coded at ‘Manifest Intertextuality-English’ AND ‘Identity’
		The unmarked texts that my participants consciously/unconsciously borrowed were related to the way they constructed themselves as English users.	Coding query of all contents coded at ‘Interdiscursivity-English’ AND ‘Identity’
2.	How did the intertextual practices afford the development of their English literacy?	My participants’ original and interdiscursive texts had an intermental origin that could be traced onto an external source from her online communities.	See 2a and 2b
2a.	How were the	Same as above.	Text search query of words

	textual practices of my participants' online communities shaping or shaped by their textual practices?		<p>or phrases that contained specific linguistic features of interest</p> <p>Frequency query of those keywords</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Manual constant comparison of the keywords coded at 'Original text-English' AND ('Manifest Intertextuality-English' OR 'Interdiscursivity-English')</p>
2b.	How were the identities that my participants constructed online shaping or shaped by their textual practices?	The four aspects of their writer's identity outlined in the coding procedures mediated my participants' use of English and their literacy development.	<p>Text search of specific words or phrases that contained specific identity descriptors</p> <p>Frequency query of those keywords</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Manual constant comparison of the keywords coded at 'Original text-English' AND ('Manifest Intertextuality-English' OR 'Interdiscursivity-English')</p>

Table 13. Coding Procedures and Nvivo Queries.

As mentioned in the previous section, the NVivo-generated unit of analysis was based on the individual posts captured between January – November 2012 (totaling up to 4,504 posts in number). However, querying my data using NVivo's unit of analysis was proven to be difficult when it came to answering research questions that required me to treat my participants' literacy events in their broader contexts. For these kinds of questions (i.e. RQ 2a and 2b), I had to creatively use the text search function and broadened my analysis of a particular post to look for the actual literacy events surrounding that individual post. If I suspected that my participants used a particular linguistic feature in a consistent manner, I would then

run another text search to determine the frequency of its occurrence. Finally, I compared my participants' use of the specific linguistic feature to the texts written by their online communities. In a way this rigorous going back and forth between data points helped me to find disconfirming evidence as mentioned by Gee (2011) and others (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; in Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Establishing validity and reliability

The concept of validity and reliability in qualitative research mainly concerns with the demonstration of “careful consideration of systematic, thorough, conscious choice of method and overall design strategy” (Lincoln, 1997, p. 55). Though different qualitative researchers define these terms in different ways (see for example Maxwell, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2001), most generally agree that some measure of quality check is equally needed in qualitative research as it is in quantitative research (Guba, 1990). In the following sections I outline how my study meets the quality standards of qualitative research.

Validity or trustworthiness.

In qualitative studies, the concept of validity is described by a wide range of terms. In this study, I adopt the term '*rigor*' or '*trustworthiness*'. These terms are used interchangeably and often associated with the concept of validity in many qualitative studies (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Maxwell, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The quality of rigor or trustworthiness concerns with establishing confidence in the findings and “exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 281).

In this study, I established this standard by doing ‘*member checking*.’ Member checking was an important part of this study because of its epistemological stance in the co-construction of knowledge between the research and the researched (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Brenner, 2006). According to Brenner, there are two levels of member checking: (1) sharing interview transcripts with participants, and (2) sharing outcome analysis with participants. I particularly engaged in the second level of member checking by informally asking my participants about the extent to which they believed my preliminary insights were in line with what they actually felt/thought of during the follow-up interviews.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 4, 5, and 6, I unobtrusively did member checking by sharing my preliminary analysis on textual borrowing with my participants, to which they extended my arguments by providing more detailed explanation on the cognitive processes behind the phenomenon. I consciously shied away from sharing any formal analysis draft with my participants because of its technicality, which I feared would negatively interfere with the natural co-construction of meanings that we had established. Also, restating Anderson-Levitt’s argument (2006), sharing technical research report with my participants might not yield significant result since they might not have been aware of the many tacit meaning-making processes that I discovered. In this light, my technical knowledge and awareness of such processes served as an advantage for me, because I might notice things that they did not notice.

Reliability or dependability.

The concept of reliability in qualitative research is often used interchangeably with ‘*dependability*’, which means the quality of a study where the steps of the

research are verified through the cross-examination of the raw data, data reduction process, and data reduction products (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In this study, I established ‘dependability’ by carefully outlining how I moved from the data collection to coding to analytic interpretation by aligning each of these steps with my overarching theoretical frameworks. As I elaborated in the previous sections, the overall design, analytic plan, and products of this study were executed after a thorough consideration of its epistemological and methodological appropriateness.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a detailed description of the study’s design, data collection methods, research settings, and data analysis methods. The ethnographic approach that I outline in this chapter provides an opportunity to look at second language literacy and its development from the context of the learners who were participating in it. The case study method is chosen to give readers a 360-degree view of each of my participants’ literacy practice, thus providing a richer description of their experiences. The zooming in and out between specific texts and their contextual background is especially significant in the study because it highlights the ‘embeddedness’ of literacy practices and development in the learners’ interactional and sociocultural contexts. In Chapter 4, I introduce my first participant, Cassie, and share her literacy experiences through vignettes from her Twitter posts, as well her interview responses.

Chapter 4: Cassie the Musical Romantic

About Cassie

In this chapter, we meet the gleeful Cassie. When I met Cassie for the first time in June 2012, Cassie enthusiastically shared with me her passion for Korean Pop music (KPop), comics, and fan-fiction. Born and raised in Bengkalis Island, Riau, she grew up loving English. In fact, when she finished high school, she planned on majoring in English Literature only to find that her college entrance exam only allowed her to choose Social Welfare as a major.¹¹ In 2010, Cassie self-taught herself Korean because of her love for Korean drama and music. Prior to this, she had also formally learned Arabic and French in middle school and high school, but later stopped as she went to college.

I quickly gained entrance to Cassie's life and earned her trust as we spoke over the phone, texted, and skyped over the Internet informally throughout the summer. Her easy-going nature and our similar struggles to write papers and other school assignments were the points of departure for our many conversations. As I immersed myself in her Twitterverse, I realized that there was so much more to her than just her love for K-Pop, comics, and fan-fiction. Through both her carefully crafted and spontaneous identity works, I discovered the musical, romantic Cassie. In the following sections, I elaborate further on Cassie's identities by zooming in on her

¹¹ Indonesian higher education system requires prospective students to decide on 3 possible majors in their college entrance exam, and will be placed in one of these choices according to their passing grade.

daily updates on Twitter, as well as her interaction with friends and K-Pop fan-based communities.

Cassie's Twitterverse

As I browsed through Cassie's Twitter timeline (see figure 8 below) the first impression that I had confirmed what she told me about herself: a number one DBSK¹² aficionado. Her Twitter timeline also states that she is "daddy's little girl, mommy's little princess, lil bro's guardian angel." For someone who chooses to foreground her identity in relation to her family, one might immediately assume that she was very close to them. As I discovered later through her interactions with her dad, mom, and little brother on Twitter, as well as through our interview sessions, it was in fact the case.

The second descriptor from the top of her timeline reads, "Red Ocean, Under DBSK's Skin." At a first glance, this sentence struck me as odd because I assumed that no one would describe herself as being someone 'who's got under someone else's skin.' But as I learned much later, descriptors like 'Red Ocean' and 'Under DBSK's Skin' were rightfully placed to alert others who are familiar with these terms and to allow her to be part of the global DBSK communities. Scattered around the pages were texts and images that described Cassie's romantic side such as "Someday I'll be in Paris with you" or Tweets from an anime and a movie translated as "When I begin to love you, that is when I begin to learn to love myself" and "I haved loved, do love, and will always love you. There is no end to how I feel for you."

¹² DBSK, which stands for Dong Bang Shin Ki (also known as TVQX or Tohosinki), is Cassie's favorite K-Pop band. See more stories on Cassie and DBSK in the next section.

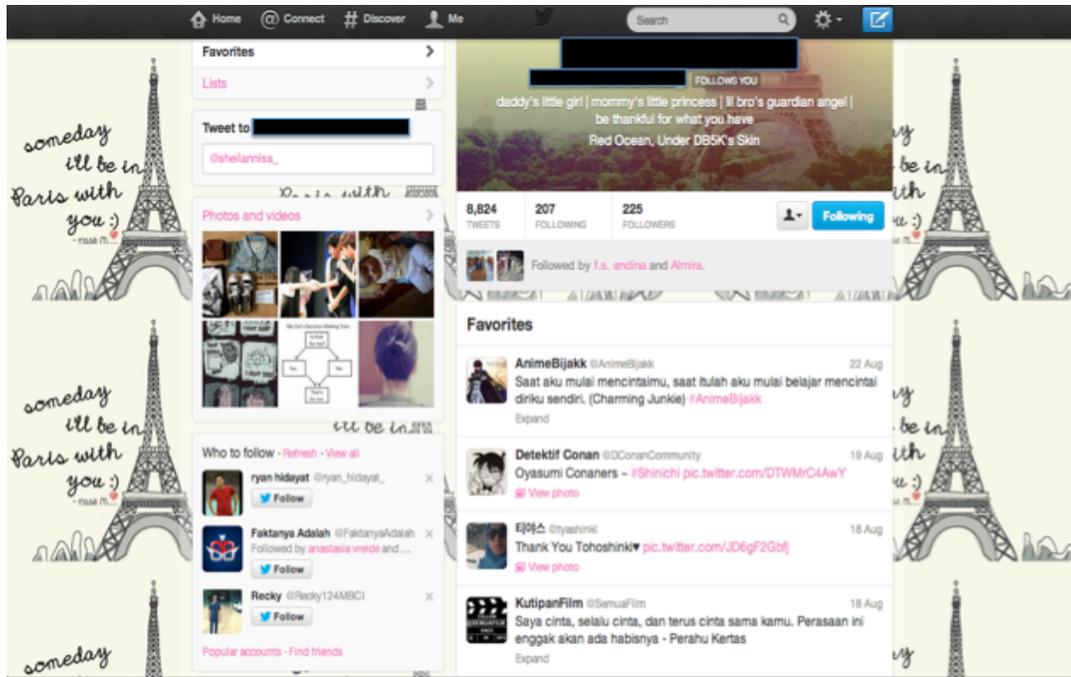


Figure 10. Cassie's Twitter Homepage.

Cassie's online communities

Using NVivo's autocoding and frequency queries, users who frequented Cassie's timeline can be grouped into two main categories: (1) *followings* and (2) *followers*. The 'followings' were those users whom Cassie followed in order to get a regular updates on what they tweet or retweet online. Under this category Cassie's 'followings' can be grouped into three: (a) idols –public figures, artists, or celebrities that she liked, (b) quotebots –self-generated quotes, words of wisdom, or quirky words posted by anonymous users, and (c) fan-based profiles – profiles of artists or celebrities created by fans. Under 'followers', Cassie's online communities can be further divided into two groups: (a) online/offline friends – childhood and current friends who own Twitter accounts, and (b) interest-based friends –acquaintances known because of shared interests in K-Pop band.

CATEGORY	MEMBER CLASSIFICATION	MOST FREQUENT USERS (TOP 3)	LANGUAGE USE BY USERS
Followings	Idols	@MileyCyrus	English
		@ddlovato	English
		@mjjeje	Hybrid
	Quotebots	@damnitstrue	English
		@virgoterms	English
		@XSTROLOGY	English
	Fan-based profiles	@onetruefive	Hybrid
		@TVXQsalahgaul	Hybrid
		@TVXQfacts	Hybrid
Followers	Online/Offline friends	@mrsdamy	Hybrid
		@miraa_f	Hybrid
		@032nn	Hybrid
	Interest-based friends	@DEWASHINKI	Hybrid
		@shin9095	Hybrid
		@SHIMMAXCHANGMIN	Hybrid

Table 14. Cassie's Online Communities.

Though most of the texts circulating around Cassie's timeline were written in Indonesian, it is worth noting that the top 3 users in each of these community categories used either only English or English in combination with Indonesian or Korean. Even in cases where Cassie was conversing with her Indonesian friends who lived in Indonesia, some forms of English were used as an organic part of the conversation (see more details on this in the next few sections).

Cassie's online identities

As I dived into Cassie's online universe, I began to see the nuances of her personality, which I could have not possibly discovered by meeting her in formal interviews. To use Goffman's term (1959), Cassie's presentation of herself can be

looked at from two different angles: (1) how she self-consciously presented herself in different social contexts (i.e. the impression that she ‘gives’), and (2) how I –as a researcher and her audience- viewed her through the multiple discourses that she engaged in (i.e. the impression that she ‘gives off’). From this perspective, the Cassie that I discovered online was the romantic number one DBSK fan. In each of the following sections, I show in detail how Cassie’s writer’s identity was constructed in the multiple discourses that she participated in.

Cassie the Cassiopeia

Cassiopeia is an insider’s jargon used by the global fans of DBSK, which simply means DBSK’s fan. Originally, the word Cassiopeia is often associated with the constellation of stars in the northern sky, named after the vain queen Cassiopeia in Greek mythology, who boasted about her unrivalled beauty (Oxford Online Dictionaries, 2012). The fans strategically choose this name to represent their communities to figuratively show how they are related to their idol Dong Bang Shin Ki (DBSK), which literally mean ‘The rising Gods of the East’. Because of their rising popularity of as a K-Pop star, the fans through the word Cassiopeia are described as being part of this beautiful constellation of the rising stars of the East (Interview, August, 2012). Not so incidentally, Cassiopeia is also used interchangeably with ‘Cassie’, a name Cassie chose for herself when I asked her about a pseudonym that best described her.

My analysis of Cassie’s interaction with the Cassiopeia communities in Indonesia and around the world revealed a very important insight into Cassie’s identity as a confident and knowledgeable English user. To start with, the discourse

about DBSK dominated Cassie's Twitter timeline. 465 out of the 2252 individual posts that were captured by NVivo were related to this topic, in which 182 of those (39%) were written in English. In these multiple discourses, many times Cassie exchanged words with her interest-based friends in English. For instance, in this one literacy event on September 22, Cassie retweeted a stream of live update of DBSK's concert in Jakarta made by different Cassiopeia across Indonesia:

RT¹³ @shin9095: and that time, I'll be there. RT @teaforfive_: Changmin¹⁴ asked for another chance to held a concert in Indonesia? Yes! omg ...

RT @itaeminho Tvqx talk! Oh gosh can i sweep changmin sweat ;; cassie project so cool!

RT @TVXQ_ngakak: During MIROTIC , changmin scream "APA KALIAN SIAP?" XD #SMTOWNJKT *siap kapanpun bang.wkwk

RT @ca5siefohlife: "@ninanutter: NON-FANS SAID #CASSIES DID GOOD JOB BY GATHERING IN 1 AREA & DOING GOOD FANCHANT. QUALITY OVER QUANTITY.

To which Cassie replied:

THIS IS RETURN OF THE KING!

while people watching smtown¹⁵, i just replay 'i swear' by tvqx all over again. seriously changmin, this is a great song, thanks for wrote it.

God, please let me go to the next TVXQ's concert. Can't stand it anymore. I must be a part of red ocean.¹⁶

my boys do their best tonight~ proud of you guys :)

AND NOW KEEP YOUR HEAD DOWN~~

What is most revealing about this particular literacy event is that although the concert was held in Indonesia and most of the Tweet/Retweet traffic came from Cassie's Indonesian friends who were located in Indonesia, the majority of the texts written in this event were either in English or in a combination of English and

¹³ RT stands for Retweet. The content of what's being retweeted comes after the @user ID.

¹⁴ Changmin is one of the members of DBSK

¹⁵ SMTown is a recoding company that produces K-Pop recording artists like DBSK.

¹⁶ Red ocean is a term used by Cassiopeia to describe the scene of the Cassiopeia in any DBSK concert, during which they wear dominantly red clothing and light red light stick.

Indonesian. To me this highlights two things: First, the strategic use of English among Indonesian audience demonstrates the Indonesian Cassiopeia's positioning in relation to other Twitter readers around the globe. The fact that they chose to speak in English shows their awareness –or in Cassie's term respect for- other DBSK fans beyond their local community. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, this discursive use of English shows that Cassie's identity as an English language user is both consciously and unconsciously crafted *in discourse* (i.e. *Discoursal self*), in relation to her affinity with the global Cassiopeia community. It is as if whenever she was talking to DBSK members or about DBSK itself, English –and Korean- almost always became second nature. Moreover, going back to Ivanič's (1998) conceptualization of writer's identity, this literacy event shows the extent to which Cassie establishes an authorial presence as a legitimate user of English (i.e. *self as author*). A more thorough discussion on how identity systematically relates to literacy practice and literacy development can be found in Chapter 6 (Cross-case analysis).

Cassie, music, and romance

The second most revealing insight about Cassie's online identities is how Cassie's *authorial self* as the hopeful romantic is tightly related to her use of English. My journey to the analytic category of 'hopeful romantic' began from my initial observation of the many retweeted quotes relating to love, heartbreak, and romance. As I investigated this further, it was apparent to me that it was a big part of who Cassie was. Through the text search querying process, I looked up words that were related to 'love', 'heart', 'miss', 'kiss', 'hug', and their derivatives. The result yielded in 213 of the total 2252 posts containing one of these phrases, and this was the second

biggest identity category after ‘Cassie the Cassiopeia’ –topping other categories like ‘Casie the Virgo’ and ‘Cassie the comic fan’. Of these 213 love-themed posts, 90 posts (42%) were written in English –either by Cassie or by others from whom Cassie borrowed their words.

The ‘musical’ category, on the other hand, came from the frequent #hash tagging of the music that she was playing while tweeting or retweeting. The grammar of #hashtag on Twitter made it even more profound in the context of identity construction since any word that is #hashtaged would help other users search for the word on her Twitter timeline. By clicking on a #hashtaged word, for example, her ‘followers’ would be able to see all of Cassie’s tweets that were marked with that keyword. Conversely, Cassie would also be able to see the tweets of her ‘followings’ that were marked with that keyword. Thus, when Cassie wrote “#NowPlaying:” her ‘followings’ and ‘followers’ would be able to see what she was playing while at the same time marking her musical identity to her audience. In a way, this #hashtagging practice created a sense of communal bond as she identified her musical tastes in relation to others who might share the same musical preference.

What intrigued me about Cassie’s display of musical identity is that although the #NowPlaying discourse only counted for 3% of her total posts (that is 60 out of the total 2252 posts), 90% of the songs that she listened to contained English in their lyrics. Furthermore, it also served as one of the most important springboards for her writing in English. In other words, her listening to a song in a particular literacy event was often surrounded by her tweeting the song lyrics on Twitter. At other times, the

listening to the song also generated texts of similar nature in the same literacy event or a separate literacy event, as can be seen in this following example:

On September 14 Cassie wrote:

#NP : TTS - Love Sick

In a separate tweet but same literacy event on the same day, she wrote:

why did you make me like this? give it back to me,
my heart that you took without knowing.
why did you come inside without permission?

At first glance, the second text might be viewed by her unknowing audience as one that she could have possibly come up with on her own. Upon further investigation, though, the second text was in fact not an original text, but rather the text that she borrowed from the artist TTS (*interdiscursive text*), whose song title she tweeted earlier. In this literacy event, both the title of the song and the lyric that she borrowed functioned in the discourse as a display of her emotion at the time of writing. To use Bakhtin's term (1985), in this literacy event her intent was imbued in/through someone else's utterance, making her text *populated* and *multivoiced*.

Yet on another occasion, the interdiscursive texts showed up in a separate literacy event:

On October 8 Cassie wrote:

#NP : Demi Lovato - Catch Me

Two days later in a separate occasion she wrote two different Tweets:

you're so hypnotizing. you got me laughing while i sing. you got me smiling in my sleep.
i love looking at him when he smiles :)

In this literacy event, absorbed in her thoughts of her love interest, she borrowed the lyric from Demi Lovato's song to describe how hypnotized she was at

the sight of him. Then adding her own words to it, she said, “I love looking at him when he smiles”. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6, this moment-by-moment, microgenesis unfolding of text composition highlights an important issue on situatedness of literacy development and language learning.

Descriptive statistics of Cassie’s textual practices

To descriptively answer the first research question on the kinds of textual practices that Cassie engaged in, I devised the following table to categorize the kinds of texts that she *interpreted* (i.e. read, viewed, or listened to) and the texts that she *produced* (i.e. originally wrote or borrowed from others).

LITERACY ACT	TEXT TYPE	NUMBER OF POSTS	PERCENTAGE
Interpreting (Reading, viewing, listening)	Manifest Intertextuality – English	582	26%
	Manifest Intertextuality – Indonesian	108	4%
	Manifest Intertextuality – Hybrid	34	2%
	#NowPlaying (songs)	60	3%
Producing (Writing or borrowing)	Interdiscursivity	64	3%
	Original text – English	286	12%
	Original text – Indonesian	915	41%
	Original text – Hybrid	174	8%
	Original text – Other language	29	1%
Total		2252	100%

Table 15. Cassie's Literacy Practices.

As seen from this table, Cassie’s dominant practice with English text is her direct Retweet of the many Twitter users that she followed. 26% of the total texts that were captured from her Twitter timeline consisted of this ‘manifest intertextual’ practice. Secondly, though Cassie’s original English text only made up 12% of the

total texts circulating in her timeline, it is insightful to see how these texts were related to other surrounding English texts made by her online communities. In the next following section, I discuss the importance of considering her original English texts in relation to the other three English texts categories -‘manifest intertextual’, the ‘#NowPlaying’, and the ‘interdiscursivity’.

Another way of looking at Cassie’s texts is by comparing her text production and interpretation based on the languages that she used. As the two tables show, Cassie’s textual practices can be classified as follows:

LITERACY ACT/ TEXT TYPE	LANGUAGE				TOTAL
	ENGLISH	INDONESIAN	HYBRID	OTHER LANG.	
Interpreting/Reading					
Manifest Intertextuality	26%	4%	2%	0%	32%
#NowPlaying	2%	0%	1%	0%	3%
Total	28%	4%	3%	0%	35%

TEXT TYPE	LANGUAGE				TOTAL
	ENGLISH	INDONESIAN	HYBRID	OTHER LANG.	
Producing/writing					
Interdiscursivity	3%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Original text	12%	41%	8%	1%	62%
Total	15%	41%	8%	1%	65%

Table 16. Cassie's Literacy Practices: Distribution by Languages.

Visualizing the same information presented in Table 16 into a graph, Cassie's literacy practices based on the distribution of different language use can be depicted as:

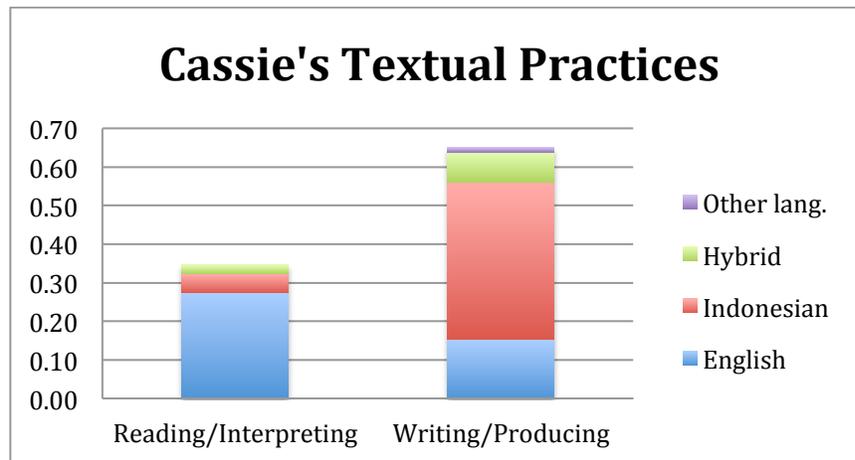


Figure 11. Cassie's Textual Practices: Distribution by Languages.

As the above table and figure show, the majority (65%) of Cassie's textual experience captured by NVivo centered around writing/producing texts. This is expected given the context of Twitter as a site for writing, and given that NVivo could only really record posts that were being retweeted –and not browsed. 41% of the texts that Cassie wrote were written in Indonesian, compared to a modest 15% in English. One caveat on reading this result needs to be restated here: The unit of analysis of the above frequency tables is the individual posts recorded on Cassie's timeline, and not the individual literacy events (i.e. the actual unit of analysis of this study). In other words, Indonesian and hybrid sentences like the examples below were treated as three separate literacy events, instead of a single literacy event around a given conversational topic. Consequently, the frequency of literacy activity represented in the three tables above might have inflected the actual frequency of the literacy events in question.

ORIGINAL POST	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
@miraa_f foto itu sudah saya simpan di folder yang paling dalam :p	@miraa_f I have saved that picture in the deepest folder ;p
@miraa_f iyah terima kasih udah ngebully saya. Saya merasa hari-hari saya jadi lebih menyenangkan. Terima kasih mira tong fang	@miraa_f yes thank you for bullying me. I feel that my days are getting better. Thank you Mira tong fang.
@miraa_f astaghfirullah sadar mbak mira, itu bukan orang yg terkasih	@miraa_f God forgive me. Wake up Mbak Mira, that's not a loved one

Nevertheless, when the English texts are compared to the Indonesian texts, one notices that: First, Cassie retweeted/read and listened to more English texts (28%) as compared to Indonesian texts (4%); and secondly, Cassie's Retweet-Tweet ratio was more balanced in English than in Indonesian (i.e. 25-15% in English vs. 4-41% in Indonesian). In other words, she encountered –or chose to receive- more English texts in the context of Twitter compared to Indonesian texts. This especially yields important theoretical insight since it goes to show, as Cassie described in detail in the following sections, the embeddedness of second language practices in both the immediate context of Twitter and larger values/beliefs about English and English literacy (see more discussion on this in Chapter 6).

Intertextuality: The Practice of Textual Borrowing

Early on during my data collection, I realized that Cassie's English texts were deeply embedded in and intertwined with other English texts populating her timeline. She often expressed her sentiments through the words of others. When I asked her about this, she noted:

It so happened that the quotes [i.e. from the quotebots] were really good. So I just followed them so I can read them.... The words express how you feel at the moment (Interview, August, 2012).

As I investigated this textual practice further, I noticed that she had two distinct ways of borrowing other texts into her words: (a) direct Retweet of quotes from her idols, movie scripts, song lyrics, or her favorite quotebots (*manifest intertextuality*), and (b) indirect/unmarked borrowings of quotes, song lyrics, or movie scripts (*interdiscursivity*). In the following section, I outline the different functions of these two textual borrowings in her literacy practices and analyze their significance.

Manifest intertextuality

Tool for communal bond

The first discursual function of the act of directly retweeting someone else's post in Cassie's literacy practice is a communal bond –and this mostly came from her direct Retweet of her DBSK community members. As mentioned earlier, Cassie's affinity with the global Cassiopeia community was evident in her posts of and about the K-Pop band. Whenever she was talking to DBSK members or about DBSK itself, English –and Korean- almost always became second nature. Through the many interactions that she had with the Cassiopeia community, she had established an authorial presence as a legitimate user of English by her frequent use of the language on this topic. Yet, despite this authorial presence, she also discursively constructed her identity as a member of Cassiopeia by retweeting her friends' texts to reaffirm their communal bond. For instance, in three separate literacy events she retweeted:

RT @SMTOWN_WORLD: RT if you love DBSK !

RT @6002theRapper: i think Jaejoong is Prettier in Beautiful Life MV than the model Yuri..
RT if u agree!! *sorry yuri* ^^

RT! @TVXQ_ngakak RT if u wait for TVXQ turn ! #SMTOWNJKT

In these three examples, she showed her strong affinity with the community by agreeing to retweet what was being circulated around (i.e. by answering the call to “RT if you...”). At other times, aside from showing solidarity, she also used direct Retweet to keep her in the loop with what was going on in real-time events like live concerts or radio talks, such as in the following examples:

RT @DEWASHINKI: close-up to JJ taking pics with fans (c.SunnyYYJ)
<http://t.co/mH5IyEsz>

RT @serabimovic: Jejung you indeed the professional man. Survive from ur diseases to make fans happy. Im proud of u so much :')

RT @TVXQsalahgaul: #KJJFMinINA JJ at Indo FM (c. Hoojikk) <http://t.co/Bp7hjGqn>

RT @Cassiopeia_INA: #KJJFMinINA OMG Jaejoong is sitting in the middle with 40 people on a group to take a photo now o.O

In instances like these, Twitter as a social network site has a unique affordance of making affinity spaces stronger by collapsing the boundary of time and space and strengthening the bond of *intimate strangers* (Gee & Hayes, 2011) in real time. Unlike live Youtube channels or Facebook fanpage, for example, users in Twitter – sometimes including the very idols that connect these strangers together- can engage in a sustained interaction in real time.

Tool for identity construction

Using direct Retweet, Cassie has different ways of projecting her multiple – and sometimes- conflicting identities. The first way is to inform her audience of her *autobiographical self* as a romantic Virgo:

RT @ZodiacBelievers: A #Virgo is not blind in love so don't expect for them to hang on to your every word, or agree with your opinions.

RT @XSTROLOGY: I am a #Virgo because I will make you the happiest person in the world.

RT @VirgoTerms: The #Virgo heart breaks easily.

This kind of identity construction is different from her identity as a Cassiopeia or as a romantic in that it was often constructed as stand-alone texts and not in relation to other texts. In Goffman's (1981) term, this kind of identity that she 'gives' has a conscious motive of trying to control the impression she was trying to convey to her audience –in this case especially to her love interest. In other words, instead of projecting her feelings in a subjective first-person account like "I'm not blind in love so don't expect me to hang on to your every word" or "my heart breaks easily", she used third-person subject position (perhaps rather unconsciously) to engage her audience in what Bakhtin (1994) calls an 'authoritative discourse', which provides hierarchically superior voice for who she was and why she was acting/feeling the way she was.

Another example of identity construction through the use of direct Retweet is Cassie's construction of her romantic identity. Unlike the Virgo Retweet, Cassie's skillful use of manifest intertextuality to project her romantic identity was not *autobiographical* (Ivanic, 1998) in the sense of trying to inform her audience of who she was as a person; nor was it *conscious* (Goffman, 1981) in the sense of controlling the impression of others so they could see her as a romantic. Rather, this identity work was constructed *in discourse* as part of her regular display of emotions, which sometimes got interjected by her online/offline friends or diverted to another literacy event through unrelated conversations. For example:

On November 6, she wrote:

mood : happy :D

In the same literacy event, she accompanied this text with a direct Retweet:

RT @ohteenquotes: It's amazing how you can be having the worst day but you see him and all of the sudden, all of your problems are gone.

At another time on October 11 she first retweeted:

RT @SoDamnTrue: When I text you, That means I miss you. When I don't text you, That means I'm waiting for you to miss me.

To which she added:

Just a simple convo¹⁷ can made my day ♥(ノ`▽`)

One important note about the use of manifest intertextuality as a tool for identity construction that needs restating here is that the majority of the Retweets posted on this topic were written in English. That is, 55 of the 81 total posts (67%) that were written on the topic of astrology and 89 of the 200 total posts (45%) written on the topic of love were written in English. To me, this affirms her close identification with English as she confessed during one of our interviews:

Dian : Hmm... What do you find interesting about these quotes, as opposed to Indonesian quotes? What makes you want to use English quotes to express your feelings or thoughts?

Cassie : Hoo... sometimes I feel like Indonesian quotes sounds corny and tacky. I don't know why everything looks good in English hahah.. (Interview, August 2012).

A site for intermental encounters

From the previous two sections, we can systematically observe Bakhtin's earlier argument on the interconnectedness of utterances. In many ways, one's utterance is always responsive to other utterances before it. As Bazerman (2010) argues, quoting Volosinov, every utterances draw on a history of language use, is responsive to prior utterances, and carries forward that history –sometimes through the linguistic systems of direct (and indirect) quotation. Using this historical lens to

¹⁷ 'Convo' is a slang word for conversation.

look at utterances, one can observe that Cassie's utterances were responsive to prior utterances, and this was apparent in her use of manifest intertextuality through the direct Retweets.

In fact, to take the argument a step further, such borrowing practices serve as a rich site for learning/being socialized into a particular type of language and ways of thinking, and thus shaping who she is as a language user. As Vygotsky argues (in Wertsch, 1991), higher mental functioning of the individuals derives from social life. Therefore, acquisition and development of cognitive skills –including language- is a result of social experiences with other humans –that is, the interaction between their own minds and the minds of other (*intermentally*). Some examples of these intermental encounters have already been observed in Cassie's use of direct Retweet and #NowPlaying hashtags that I mentioned earlier, as one can observe how the borrowed texts serve to scaffold future utterances. In the following section, I present a few more extended examples of this nature in the context of *interdiscursivity*.

Interdiscursivity

The springboard for production of original texts

The phenomenon of interdiscursivity in Cassie's textual practices has long captured my attention. Though statistically (traceable) interdiscursivity only occupied 3% of Cassie's total posts, a closer look on this textual practice hinted at a fundamental process of textual interpretation and production. I asked Cassie early on in our conversations about what makes her choose to directly quote in some occasions but not at other times.

Dian : So, I noticed that you sometimes post things in English that you write yourself, sometimes you link your posts directly from another source, but at other times, you

don't mention where the posts come from. For this last kind of post, what's the process behind posting such texts?

Cassie : Woow. That sounds so technical. LOL. Well, mostly I think they come from song lyrics. Sometimes it comes from my heart, these songs just pop up in my head and I want to write them down.... I mean, these songs express how I feel.

Dian : Right... I noticed that. You know, I know nothing about music these days, you know. So when I saw your posts, I googled it and found out that it was a song.

Cassie : Yes, it's part of a song.

Dian : I always felt like they were your words.... So yeah, when you feel something, you just think of these lyrics because you think they describe what you feel. So you just type them?

Cassie : Sort of. You know like, my iTunes is on all the time, so when a song plays and it captures how I feel at the moment, I just write the lyrics down.

Dian : I see. Interesting! (Interview, August 2012)

From Cassie's rather general response, at least two distinct processes can be captured from the underlined parts of the excerpt: (1) the writing of interdiscursive texts was directly accompanied by textual or aural input (i.e. the song was playing when she tweeted parts of the lyrics), and (2) the writing of interdiscursive texts was not directly accompanied by any textual or aural input (i.e. the song just 'popped up' in her head as she was trying to express her thoughts/feelings without any actual song playing at the moment of tweeting). This concept is theoretically relevant to the discussion of literacy development as it is inextricably related to Vygotskian intermental-intramental functioning and identity positioning that I discuss in the next few paragraphs. But for now, in the context of interdiscursivity, let us look at some of these examples in the actual texts that Cassie produced.

To use Bakhtin's (1985) terms, the first type of interdiscursive texts that were circulating in Cassie's Twitter timeline is the one that looks similar in its '*speech genre*' to that of direct Retweet, and through which a simple Google search can be traced to a particular source. An example of this is the tweet that she posted:

i wasn't a tomboy but i wasn't a girly girl either, i was just kind of, a kid..

Which was similar to @ohteenquotes's text below:

RT @ohteenquotes: I'm shy. Most people don't take the time to explore the real me. So I'd like to thank everyone who has.

In these two particular texts, both the interdiscursive text and the direct Retweet functioned in the discourse as a display of Cassie's identity. Furthermore, they also looked similar in terms of their style and genre (i.e. the genre of teen talk).

The second type of interdiscursive texts is song-based tweets, which were sometimes marked with a musical symbol like ♪ or ♫ or ♪ but other times left unmarked such as:

♪♪You could be my unintended ♪♪

Or

it's like you're pouring salt on my cuts

In the two examples above, Cassie was typing these texts either because these song “just popped up” in her head and expressed how she felt at the moment, or because she was playing it and felt the same way as the lyric described at the time of hearing it (see her comments in the previous interview excerpt).

The third type of interdiscursive texts is the formulaic expressions that are not necessarily traceable to a particular source on Twitter, but are almost often collocated as a general phrase that she might have frequently encountered in the past. Some examples of this are (see underlines):

you said to me "if it's meant to be, it will be"

Or in the case of hybrid texts that she produced in a conversation with her friend:

@Idraqify happy bday idoq~ :D akhirnya kau tua hohoho~ hope all your dreams and wishes come true~

In these examples, phrases like “if it’s meant to be, it will be” and “Happy bday.. Hope all your dreams and wishes come true” could hardly be classified as ‘original’ in a sense of her coming up with these terms on her own (Bazerman, 2010), but were rather interdiscursive in a sense of her borrowing commonly used phrases.

The fourth type of interdiscursivity, which to me are the most profound examples of learning-in-action, are the interdiscursive texts that are imbued with what Gasparov (2010) calls “an array of recognizable features, drawn from and alluding to various facets of the writer's and reader's previous literary experience” (p. 15). In the following section, I provide detailed examples of such texts, while also pointing to the nuanced appropriation processes.

Social semiotics: Language symmetry around interdiscursive texts

Going back to my core theoretical framing of literacy as a situated practice, it is important, as social semioticians like Halliday (1994) and Fairclough (1992) argue, to look at language use in relation to its social contexts. That is because language –as a semiotic sign- is dependent on the social contexts that define it and that is defined by it. In the specific context of Cassie’s use of interdiscursive texts, this theoretical framing serves as a crucial analytic apparatus for me to derive insights on the meaning of this practice in Cassie’s literacy experience.

Discourse appropriation

Throughout the 6 months period of data collection and the subsequent 5 months spent on fine-tuning my data analysis, one of the most easily recognizable features of Cassie’s appropriation of her online communities’ utterances have to do with her numerous romantic posts such as:

INTERDISCURSIVE TEXT	GOOGLE TRACING
Dying to know but afraid to find out	Traceable in full quotes
I can't control my feelings, but I hate how my feelings control me.	Traceable in full quotes
i had million things to say, but none of them came out	Traceable in parts
So kiss away the pain I can't seem to erase*	Untraceable
as someone who can see, I think you're so blind*	Untraceable

Table 17. Cassie's Discourse Appropriation.

Upon close examination, Cassie's appropriation of this romantic genre is reflected on her distinct choice of rhetorical device, which mimicked the rhetorical device used by her online communities.

RT @ohteenquotes MY BRAIN → Forgets what I want to remember... Remembers what I want to forget.

RT @damnitstrue Everything is beautiful, but beautiful isn't everything.

In this example, Cassie's online communities such as @ohteenquotes and @damnitstrue used the antithetic pairing of independent clauses in the format of [independent clause X] (,) [antithetic meaning of independent clause X]. As the above table shows, the parallels between Cassie's own texts and the texts of her community are unmistakable. Such use of antithetic statements was also found in Cassie's interdiscursive texts (i.e. the first three sentences in table 17) and original texts (i.e. the last two sentences marked in *). More importantly, these last two sentences demonstrate the heteroglossic nature of her original English texts (Bakhtin, 1985), traced back to her frequent readings of the quotebots that she followed.

Another more comical example of Cassie's appropriation of her community's discourse is her one-liner thought of skipping class:

2 and half hours before PSI class. should i ditch? i wish.

Compare this to the many posts on negative attitude on schooling that she often retweeted:

RT @SoDamnTrue Me in class: Wait... What happened? What do we do? What do we write? When's the test? What is this? How do you do this? What?

RT @damnitstrue: Happy 14th Birthday Google! Thanks for help me doing homework, you are smarter than my teacher!

RT @firstworldfacts: You are more likely to learn more in 4 hours via Google than a whole month in school.

RT @ItsFunnyLife: School vs. life = In school, you're taught a lesson and then given a test. In life, you're given a test that teaches you a lesson.

RT @austinkeller: 6 THINGS WE SAY IN CLASS: 1. I'm tired. 2. I'm cold. 3. I don't get it. 4. I'm hungry. 5. What time is it? 6. I want to go home.

As these texts show, Cassie's rather mundane utterance about her plan on skipping class reflects the general tone of the 'unbearable' classroom experiences circulating around her Twitter timeline, which closely resonated with what she felt at the time of writing the post. Unlike the previous appropriation of the specific rhetorical device of antithesis, the resemblance between Cassie's text in this example and the texts of her community cannot be easily parsed out into its specific linguistic features. Nevertheless their parallel still reflects Gee's (1996; 2008) definition of Discourse as a way of valuing, acting, and writing, and being in the world, which is reflected through the characteristics of the texts that one produces. Furthermore, this similarity in valuing school experiences also reflects Bakhtin's idea of the heteroglossic nature of texts when he said, "Each word has tastes of the contexts and cotexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions... It is populated, overpopulated –with the intentions of others (1981, p. 273-274).

Syntactic appropriation

On a finer linguistic grain, Cassie’s textual appropriation can also be observed on a syntactic level. Some examples of this are:

CASSIE’S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT WITH SIMILAR SYNTAX
if you're "over it" then please <u>shut the fuck up</u> . kthxbye	RT @DiaryOfHumor: "Who's that?" "What are they doing?" "What's happening?"" <u>Shut the fuck up</u> and watch the movie!
Why give a fuck about something that never gave a <u>fuck</u> about you? They're just a waste of your time	RT @FactsOfSchool: Don't text me back? I understand. Don't hang out with me? I understand. But, when I start not <u>giving a fuck</u> anymore, you better understand
AIRR!! BERAPA LAMA LAGI NYALANYA??!! I FUCKING NEED <u>THIS FUCKING WATER TO TAKE A FUCKING BATH!!!</u> DX	RT @GirlSpeaking: If a girl chooses to text you over sleep, then you're <u>fucking special</u> .
mmm.. now i want a blueberry muffin. <u>i am one hungry girl!</u>	#NP : Justin Bieber – <u>One less lonely girl</u> .

Table 18. Cassie's Syntactic Appropriation.

In this set of examples, Cassie comfortably appropriated the many syntactic forms of the word ‘fuck’. In the first and second sentence, she was able to use the correct idiomatic use of the word. In the third sentence, she was correctly using the word as expletive filler, as the word ‘fuck’ in both ‘this fucking water’/‘take a fucking bath’ and ‘you’re fucking special’ serves to fill a vacancy in a sentence without adding to the sense. All these expressions were successfully appropriated owing to the frequent reading and retweeting of profanity-related expressions from the quotebots that she followed, which counted about 15% of total 582 direct Retweets that she read.

The last example on the list is especially profound in the context of appropriation of syntactic structure, since Cassie successfully transformed –perhaps

rather unconsciously- the original use of the syntactic ordering of [one] [adj.] [noun] in the phrase “there’s gonna be [one] less [lonely] [girl]” in an unrelated literacy event when she said “I am [one] [hungry] [girl]”. Cassie’s appropriation of this song was notable because not only was she able to carry this syntactic structure to a future unrelated situation, but also tweak it by not using the word ‘less’ originally included in phrase “one less lonely girl.” As someone familiar with the Justin Bieber’s song, I interpreted that Cassie’s tweaking of this phrase still retained the original rhythmic unit of the song (i.e. sung as one rhythmic chunk). In other words, when reading Cassie’s phrase “I am one hungry girl”, it can be read almost the same way as the phrase “One less lonely girl” is sung. Interestingly enough, Cassie only tweeted the song once in the entire 11-month period of data collection. One can argue that one intermental encounter does not provide a sufficient evidence for appropriation. Yet, knowing Cassie’s musical identity, and also knowing her constantly having her “iTunes on all the time”¹⁸, it is reasonable to assume that she encountered Justin Bieber’s song more than once. Therefore, in including this as one of the examples of syntactic appropriation, it is reasonable to interpret Cassie’s sentence on the basis of her encounter with the song.

Lexico-semantic appropriation

Similar to the previous example, Cassie’s appropriation of her online community’s texts was also observed on a lexical level such as:

¹⁸ See previous interview excerpt.

CASSIE'S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY'S TEXT WITH SIMILAR LEXIS
take a hint <u>dumbass</u>	RT @TheFunnyTeens: 8 planets, 1 universe, 204 countries, 809 islands, 7 seas and I just HAD to find you <u>dumbass</u> .
And I'm like "cmon, would you mind to stop talking bout those <u>shit</u> ? It makes me wanna puke, yuck!"	RT @funnyortruth: <u>Shit</u> happens. Every day. To everyone. The difference is in how people deal with it.

Table 19. Cassie's Lexico-Semantic Appropriation.

In the first sentence, Cassie intuitively appropriated the referential use of the word ‘dumbass’, which connotatively hinted at her almost sarcastic/humorous attitude toward her addressee. Interestingly, when one compares Cassie’s use of this word to that of her online community, one aptly notices that the word ‘dumbass’ in both sentences did not have a condescending feel to it, as it would in some other contexts. Rather, use of the word ‘dumbass’ in both sentences here meant to sarcastically poke fun at the frustration of the speaker in finding the love of her life (in the case of @TheFunnyTeens’ sentence) and the frustration of the speaker in making her love interest notice her subtle move (in the case of Cassie’s sentence). The same is true for Cassie’s expletive use of the word ‘shit’. In this example, Cassie has also successfully appropriated the word as a substitute for an unpleasant object or experience. Again, Cassie’s appropriation of these different utterances –from the global level of speech genre down to their smaller syntactic and lexical components- owes its origin to the frequent encounters and interactions with her online communities.

The Question of Learning and Development

As shown in the detailed analysis on linguistic symmetry above, Cassie’s appropriation of many different aspects of the language of her communities depicts

Fairclough's (1992) diagrammatic expression of the embeddedness of meanings and linguistic forms in the immediate interactions between the text producer and his/her interlocutors.

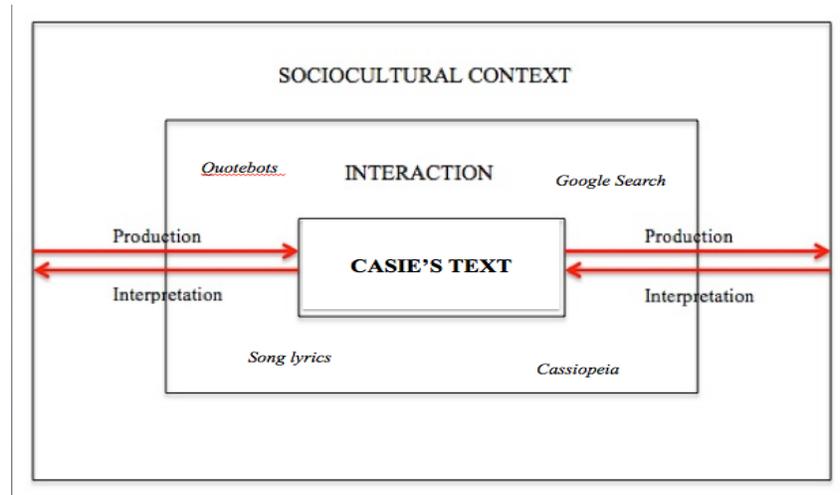


Figure 12. Interactional Forces behind Cassie's Textual Practices.

Through the frequent encounters and interaction with the quotebots, song lyrics, Cassiopeia community, as well as through Google search, Cassie has skillfully appropriated the language of her multiple communities.

One possible question that needs to be addressed briefly here is: How does intertextuality in the previous section index literacy development? Though the answer to this question is fully explored in Chapter 6, it suffices to say at this point that intertextuality in Cassie's literacy experience provides a rich site for exploration of and experimentation with English. Some of this experimentation was successful, as the extended examples in the previous section show. Yet, in other instances, such appropriation has not yet reached the kind of symmetry with the target language that is observed in this chapter. In Chapter 6, I analyze some of this 'not-so-successful'

appropriation of texts, which further highlights my two participants' developing competence in using English as a second language.

Summary

In this chapter, I introduced my first participant, Cassie, and shared her textual practices and what they meant to her as an English language user. Through the multiple vignettes from her Twitter posts, as well as using insights gathered from her interview responses, I discovered the centrality of the practice of textual borrowing – or intertextuality- in her literacy experiences. For Cassie, this practice marks the communal bond that she has developed with her K-Pop fan communities around the world. It also provides a ‘voice’ for her to construct her online identities as a musical romantic. What is more important is this intertextual practice –along with her strong identification with the language that she borrows- is inextricably linked to her English development. Using numerous examples of Cassie’s appropriation of her communities’ utterances, I have demonstrated how intertextuality has afforded her the opportunities to experiment and use new forms of English, and how it expands her linguistic repertoire.

In the next chapter, I introduce my second participant, Fe, and share her literacy practices through vignettes from her Twitter posts as well as interview responses. Using the same analytic lens that I use to interpret Cassie’s literacy experiences, I explore how Fe’s intertextual practice shapes who she is as a language user. Similarly, I also demonstrate how this practice scaffolds her English literacy development.

Chapter 5: Fe the Contemplative, Spirited Writer

About Fe

In this chapter, we move to the talented Fe. When I met Fe for the first time in June 2012, she appeared to be a bit reserved but nevertheless showed a great interest in sharing her online experiences with me. As our relationship developed, her exuberant personality began to shine. Fe continued to blow me away as she shared her many dreams, including her dreams of studying abroad and publishing a novel (see detailed explanation under Fe's online identities). Born and raised in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, Fe's first encounter with English was in her elementary years when her older brother taught her all the 'cool' things about English that he learned in school. Since then, Fe was captivated by the language and insisted that her parents enroll her in a private English course. She continued to learn English in numerous private courses up until high school, in addition to the formal English classes that she took in school. In college, she stopped taking extra courses beyond the college requirements. At this time, she felt that her ability to speak and write in English dropped. She confessed that she only got a B on English, which she found quite surprising. Interestingly, at this point in her life she also self-taught herself English in her spare time, mostly for pleasure and to help her with reading English novels that she downloaded from the Internet.

Online, Fe's portrayal of herself as an English language user exerts the kind of confidence that I did not find in her identification with English in college. 11 months of reading Fe's Twitter timeline, blogs, and her two unpublished novels have made

me appreciate another side of Fe that I could have not discovered without delving into these online sites. Through both her carefully crafted and spontaneous identity works, I discovered the contemplative, spirited Fe. In the following sections, I elaborate more on Fe’s identities by zooming in on her daily updates on Twitter, as well as her interaction with her online communities.

Fe’s Twitterverse

Using NVivo’s text search and frequency queries, Fe’s Twitter posts can be categorized into four main themes: (1) wise words of contemplative/spiritual nature, (2) posts related to Fe’s love for reading and writing, (3) informational posts on study abroad programs and scholarships, and (4) updates on Fe’s two favorite rock bands – The Rasmus and Avenged Sevenfold. As Fe’s homepage shows below, the last three thematic categories can readily be observed in Fe’s autobiographical description of her self. In her ‘About Me’ page, she described herself as a “Reader, Author, Blogger, Listener, Simple, Football lover, Rasmuseros, Sevenfoldism, Digimon Adventure Lover, Yu-Gi-Oh! Forever...”



Figure 13. Fe's Twitter Homepage.

Although her contemplative side is not immediately apparent in the screen capture of her Twitter homepage, one can get a flavor of Fe's reflective self from reading her blog. For instance in one of her blog posts, she took it to a great extent to explain the meaning of her online name 'Fe' in response to a simple question by her online community:

MOI EVERYBODY..

When I was still active on *Black Roses Community of The Rasmus*, my friends from Mexico and other country in Europe who has spanish, asked me "Fe, that's your real name?" and I answered, "Yes, that's my real nick name."

Well, last night, I remembered to open that again and see my dashboard on Black Roses Community and forgot my password, but I know, the user name is true and valid. ^^

Now, I searched why they asked me like that, about my nick name.

THE HISTORY

My close family and friends call me By or Fe. If you combine it, you will know that my first name is Febby. I was born in February and that's why I have this name. When I was on Elementary School, I got the short nick name, that's FE. I'm using it to my email and when I requested song on radio. And, when I was Junior High School, I introduced my self with my name 'FE', because it's easy to remember.

THE FACT

Do you know the Iron chemical name? Yes, that's Fe, hahaha... Maybe, sometimes I feel so strong to broke something, and too stubborn about something. Well, That's me. Sometimes you need that ^^

FE is also the short name of FAKULTAS EKONOMI (Economics Faculty). In our life, we must saving our money to our future. No, I just tell you about that.

Ok, I confused about that last night. I tried to searching the answer about "why they are confused about my name??"

Finally, when I watched Angela Telenovela, I found one sentence. That's "DE LA FE". Wait! Fe?? Hm! that's like one word. And finally, I searched the word in Translation on Google. I searched on category Spanish to English and... surprised!!

That's the result :

Spanish : FE

English : (1) faith, (2) belief, (3) confidence, (4) hope, (5) creed, (6) credence, (7) conviction

Well, done. I know the answer now ^^

This particular post speaks volumes about Fe's contemplative side. Even in the most mundane life's experiences like someone asking her about her name, or her experiencing the pouring rain, Fe managed to find the deeper meaning of these experiences and shared it on Twitter. Among her 288 posts of this contemplative nature, the majority of them (65%) were written in English. As I discuss further in the next few sections, Fe's confidence in using her second language –and her authorial presence in this language– offers a significant insight into her English literacy practice and development. Before that, however, I first analyze another significant element of Fe's online universe that discursively shape who she is as a person and what she reads and writes online, and that is her online communities.

Fe's online communities

Using NVivo autocoding and frequency queries, users who frequented Fe's timeline can be grouped into two main categories: (1) *followings* and (2) *followers*. 'Followings' are those users whom Fe followed in order to get regular updates on what they tweet online. Under this category Fe's 'followings' can be grouped into three: (a) idols –public figures, artists, or celebrities that she liked, (b) quotebots – self-generated quotes, words of wisdom, or quirky words posted by anonymous users, and (c) fan-based profiles – profiles of artists or celebrities created by fans. Under 'followers,' Fe's online communities is comprised of: (a) her online/offline friends, including childhood and current friends who owned Twitter accounts, and (b) interest-based friends – people who shared interest in writing and who identified themselves as writer, author, or blogger.

CATEGORY	MEMBER CLASSIFICATION	MOST FREQUENT USERS (TOP 3)	LANGUAGE USE BY USERS
Followings	Idols	@aagym	Indonesian
		@rasmusofficial	English
		@TheOfficialA7X	English
	Quotebots	@beasiswaINDO	Hybrid
		@TweetRAMALAN	Indonesian
		@PiscesTerms	English
	Fan-based profiles	@therasmushoas	Hybrid
		@TheRasmuslyrics	Hybrid
		@UnRealRasmus	Hybrid
Followers	Online/Offline friends	@annisa13ch	Hybrid
		@chelliciousss	Hybrid
		@tikaarahma	Indonesian
	Interest-based friends	@ianhuckabee	English
		@MiltonMattox	English
		@brookxavier1	English

Table 20. Fe's Online Communities.

Unlike Cassie, the use of Indonesian by Fe's most active community members was more prevalent. For instance, the number one public figure whose texts Fe often retweeted was an Indonesian spiritual figure, @aagym. Likewise one of the most frequently retweeted quotebots, @TweetRAMALAN, was also written in Indonesian. Nevertheless, the rest of the top users who frequented Fe's timeline still used some forms of English in their texts. These frequent encounters with English texts highlights the embeddedness of Fe's second language literacy experience in her interaction with her 'followings' and 'followers'. In the next section, I describe the identities that Fe constructed online –both spontaneously and consciously- as she interacted with these different community members.

Fe's Online Identities

Going back to Goffman's theory of self presentation (1959), Fe's online identities can be looked at from two different angles: (1) how she self-consciously presented herself in different social contexts (i.e. the impression that she 'gives'), and (2) how I –as the researcher as well as her audience- viewed her through the multiple discourses that she engaged in (i.e. the impression that she 'gives off'). From this perspective, I present Fe: the contemplative, spirited, writer. As hard as it is to lump Fe's complex identities into these three categories –contemplative, spirited, and writer- in the next sections I zoom into how each of these identities was constructed through her numerous Tweets and Retweets.

The contemplative Fe

When I first browsed Fe's Twitter timeline, Fe's contemplative side was among the first identity descriptors that easily jumped on me. By contemplative I mean her disposition to reflect, contemplate, and make meaning of her seemingly mundane life's experiences. Using this preliminary insight, I queried for English words and phrases that she frequently used to project this identity. These words included 'hope', 'God', 'bless', 'heart', 'problems', 'solution', 'give up', 'fail', 'positive', 'life', and 'pray'. I then broadened my observation to look for the contextual cues and histories behind all the texts containing these keywords. What is surprising is that 42% of the 153 English posts of contemplative nature was Fe's own genuine, original texts. Compare this to the Indonesian posts on the same topical category, Fe's original Indonesian texts only comprised 15% of the total 99 posts coded as 'contemplative'. This confirmed my initial suspicion that Fe's contemplative

side was stronger in English than in Indonesian in that she was more likely to write in English on this topic compared to Indonesian. As she confessed:

I feel more comfortable writing in English. I don't know why, sometimes it sounds really weird if you say certain things in Indonesian. Like, for example, if you read an English translation of a Korean song, it sounds so poetic, and romantic, and deep, and all. But then try and translate it into Indonesian. Oh my God! It just sounds literally awful (Interview, December 2012)

As this interview excerpt alludes to, Fe's contemplative English utterances were 'charged with' the expressions or ideas that she had been reading –be it in Twitter or outside of Twitter like her favorite TV shows or Quranic verses. (Bakhtin, 1985). For instance in one literacy event on February 21, she posted three separate Tweets as follows:

I wanna say thanks to God, who can make me strong in every moment in my life (worst and happy)

#and once again resolve this problem -,- nanananana... nay to say I give up! let's try to do something better ^^

He don't give us a problem that we can't solve that.

Which were accompanied by an interdiscursive text taken from a verse from the Holy Quran, which Fe loosely paraphrased as:

and He said that in every problems has big solution beside that, and meaning inside that.¹⁹

At another time on April 13, when Fe was listening to a song by her favorite band, The Rasmus, she tweeted two separate posts in a row:

#Playlist - The Rasmus - Sky --> give me one more night...

#playlist - The Rasmus - Sky --> I wanna cry because of this song... how deeper!

Which she then added with a stand-alone text a few Tweets apart:

give me a chance to see the sky once more... and wash away my pain.

¹⁹ This was taken from a famous verse from the Chapter 94 of the Quran titled "Solace/Comfort." The translation of the verse reads, "Verily, along with every hardship is relief. Verily, along with hardship is relief (i.e. there is one hardship with two reliefs, so one hardship cannot overcome two reliefs)".

Upon further investigation, I realized that Fe appropriated parts of the lyric of the song “Sky” to express her emotion at that time. The original lyrics read:

Give me one more night
I just wanted to see the sky
Open the one last time
I just wanted to feel the rain
Washing away the pain

And it was similar to Fe’s expression “give me a chance to see the sky once more... and wash away my pain.” Thus, although Fe’s text was not a word-per-word copying of the lyric, Fe’s identification with the lyric somehow gave her the platform to express similar emotion “in her own words” and in her own context. When I asked Fe about this particular practice with English texts, she responded:

For song lyrics, yes.... It really depends on the lyrics, if I think it sounds good then I just tweet it right then. If the lyrics are sort of mellow, then it means my heart is sort of in the same mood (Interview, December 2012).

On a lighter note, Fe’s contemplative side was also transparent in other mundane, everyday texts that were scattered around her Twitter timeline such as in the following examples:

#RainOnNangor -->the bless day come and i sing lalalala ... that's why i don't need umbrella ~^^

Blessed day at 7:30 am ... ^^ I love rain

thanks to the rain and what happen today...

To me these three texts, despite trivial in nature, beautifully capture Fe’s general disposition/character and attitude toward life. More importantly, this attitude is partly shaped by the texts that she encountered or chose to follow on Twitter, such as the one written by a famous spiritual figure in Indonesia, @aagym, below:

INDONESIAN TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
RT @aagym: Bila melihat hujan.. Kenanglah bagaimana Allah mendatangkan air dari mataair yg jauh setiap hari tak ada seharipun yg luput	RT @aagym: When you see the rain.. ponder upon how God sends it down from faraway springs. Not a single day that passes by without His blessings.

All in all, the numerous contemplative posts that Fe wrote in English demonstrate Fe’s identity position as a competent English language user. Or as Ivanic (1998) puts it, Fe’s contemplative side shows the extent to which she establishes an authorial presence as a legitimate user of English (i.e. *self as author*). This identity is both consciously and unconsciously crafted *in discourse* (i.e. *Discoursal self*), in relation to the texts that she frequently retweeted from others, as well as from songs or public figures that she liked. A more thorough discussion on how identity systematically relates to literacy practice and literacy development can be found in Chapter 6 (Cross-case analysis).

The spirited Fe and her imagined community

The next identity category that Fe consistently projected online, which also highlights the sociocultural nature of literacy and literacy development, is her high-spirited nature. When I met Fe in June, she briefly mentioned her dreams to pursue a professional career in the field of social welfare. She also mentioned that she wanted to get a masters’ degree in the same field. At that time, however, although I had jotted this comment down my interview memo, I did not see this as something that was theoretically significant about her literacy experience. Only later in October when I discovered the many posts on her desire to go abroad, I realized the deeper connection between her textual practice and her *imagined identity* (Norton, 2010) or

possibility for selfhood (Ivanic, 1998).

In one literacy event on March 30, for example, Fe posted a picture of a world map accompanied by a text caption:

I WANNA GO AROUND THE WORLD!!! <http://t.co/2tizyute>

A few posts before this Tweet, she posted a quote from @Tweets2Motivate, which read:

RT @Tweets2Motivate: Go after your dream, no matter how unattainable others think it is. - Linda Mastandrea #quotes

This literacy event highlights Fe's desire to explore the world. In Fe's other posts of similar nature, her strategic use of English, Japanese, and Korean also helped me pinpoint the specific language communities of which she saw her self as being a part. As Kanno and Norton (2003) have argued, the imagined identity that she projected through her many tweets mediated her positioning as a competent multilingual writer, which in turn also shaped her future production of multilingual texts, including English texts.

From another angle, Fe's *possibility for selfhood* (Ivanic, 1998) was also constructed through her many Retweets on scholarship programs around the world. As was captured by NVivo, Fe often retweeted posts by a user named @beasiswaIndo²⁰, who regularly relayed information on various scholarship programs across the globe. In total Fe retweeted around 140 of these posts, which were mostly written in a combination of Indonesian and English. A few times these posts got interjected by Fe's own Tweets, such as in the following example:

On April 6, in a long literacy event that depicted Fe's desire to go abroad, Fe

²⁰ The English translation of the username is @scholarshipIndo(nesia).

retweeted a post by @beasiswaIndo:

INDONESIAN TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
RT @BeasiswaIndo: RT @ScholarshipsUK: http://t.co/RZMTvebx beasiswa utk tamatan SMA di Bangor University INGGRIS ~0407	RT @BeasiswaIndo: RT @ScholarshipsUK: http://t.co/RZMTvebx scholarship for high school graduate in Bangor University, UK ~0407

Which was soon followed by her two separate comments:

INDONESIAN TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
@BeasiswaIndo --> makasih ya karena selalu update info tentang beasiswa :D	@BeasiswaIndo --> thanks for the regular updates on the scholarships
bosan di indo, ke luar negeri aja... caranya? cari student exchange!	Bored in Indo[nesia], just go abroad... How? Find student exchange [programs]

To which one of her online friends responded:

INDONESIAN TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Wuihh,keren, gue juga mau, hoho :D	How cool, I want to...

And she replied:

INDONESIAN TEXT	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Mau? siapin modal wkwkwk... RT @tikaarahma Wuihh,keren, gue juga mau, hoho :D	Want to? Work hard for the money.... RT@tikaarahma How cool, I want to...
jurusan yang cuma bisa di cari di AS dan Inggris -,-	Program which can only be found in US or UK -,-

In this particular literacy event, after sharing the latest scholarship update from @beasiswaIndo, Fe made the comment to the administrator of the page, thanking him/her for regularly updating different scholarship information. Seemingly still engaged in her thoughts about going abroad, she tweeted another text that marked her *imagined identity* when she suggested her Twitter audience to find a study exchange program if they were not content with their education in Indonesia. One of her friends soon commented on this idea, which further probed her to express her

desire to study in the U.S or in the U.K. When I asked her about this particular incident, she noted:

Dian : I noticed that you retweeted a lot of information on scholarships and student exchange programs. Tell me about this.

Fe : Well, it's like my biggest dream, really, to go and study abroad. I want to get a master's degree in social welfare someday, I don't know when... Of course when I'm done with this [i.e. undergraduate education] hahah.... At this point I don't know what concentration [i.e. area of study] I want to choose yet. It's all still gray, you know?! Heheh.

Dian : So why did you say this master's degree in social welfare is only available in U.S. and in U.K.? [Referring to her last post in the excerpt]

Fe : Umm... Of course we also have a masters' program here on campus, but it's nothing like the one that they have in those countries. I think they're really training their students to be professional in the field, and they [i.e. the graduates] get to be placed in institutions which already have good infrastructure. They are useful there. Not like here in Indonesia. We don't know where exactly we can work once we graduate.

Dian : So in these two countries, which universities have a good social welfare program?

Fe : Well, that I don't know yet, to be honest with you... hahah.

Dian : I see... But why still stick to social welfare if you know your skills are going to be wasted eventually if you choose to have a career in Indonesia? Do you eventually want to be a lecturer in a university or something?

Fe : Umm.... Yes, sort of. But I realized I'm not so good with lecturing in front of a large crowd, you know, like in university settings. So I figured if I could be a certified social worker or something, that would be cool too. Then I can apply to the Department of Social Welfare through the federal government recruitment. I get to do more practical stuff, hopefully.

Dian : Ah, I see....

Fe : And plus when you go abroad, you get to learn more of the history of the places you go to, you know, which I love a lot. I think reading history, especially ancient history, is so much fun. So it's like killing two birds with one stone. I get to study social welfare, and maybe also explore different histories of different places like England. England especially.... Their history is so rich (Interview, February 2013).

What is unique about this dimension of Fe's identity –as it relates to her use of English– is that her self-presentation as a competent English user was not as immediately apparent as her contemplative identity. In other words, she did not produce as many original English Tweets that spoke about her desire to go abroad other than the few examples I presented above. Yet, in the context of her imagined

future, she knew well that English would be a linguistic capital that could help her to access her new communities abroad. However, as I demonstrate further in Chapter 6, Fe's valuation of English –and the kind of English that can advance her dreams to access this imagined community- is much more nuanced than the excerpt that I just presented here. Nevertheless, it suffices to say at this point that her dreams of pursuing higher education has helped her identify with her imagined English-speaking communities, thus prompting her present herself as a competent English language user.

Fe the writer

Unlike the previous identity category, spotting Fe's identity as a writer was much easier. It did not take me that long to discover this side of Fe. When it comes to expressing her love for reading and writing, her *authorial presence* was so strong that this topic was among the earliest that I asked during our interview process. In total Fe tweeted and retweeted 153 English texts that were related to her love for reading and writing. Among these texts, 42% of them were Fe's own original English texts. As Fe herself summed up in a Tweet, which is one of the clearest expressions of her identity as a writer:

#quotes: I'm a writer because writing is my soul, and also my reason to give a happiness for other people with my way.²¹

To give a little background to Fe's love for writing, Fe has been writing her own fiction novels and manga²²-inspired short stories over the last six years. In total,

²¹ Note here that although she used the “#quotes” in this post, this sentence was in fact not a quote (at least it could not be traced in verbatim through Google search). In a way, she was using the “#quotes” to give an authoritative voice to her words (Bakhtin, 1985).

she had written one novel with romantic genre and six different series of Manga. At the time of this study, she was currently working on another project on fiction/mystery novel. Though none of her works have been published, she had put up one of her manuscripts for publication. I had the privilege of reading two of her unpublished manuscripts: (a) the romantic novel titled “When”, which chronicled a romantic relationship between a man and a woman which was set in the present day London; and (b) the first series of her manga-inspired stories titled “FIN: The Sacred Book and The Forbidden Knights”, which narrated a battle between the human race and its half-evil-half-human relatives, set in the 18th century England. In her Twitter posts, Fe made several references on this second book, such as the following:

#FIN --> Digimon²³ adventure 01
and how are you my next chapter??? #comp²⁴ is not with me
new chapter!! >< uwooo.. and new book too!!
let's done your project, f.s.andina²⁵!!! just a little bit closser!!!

When I found out about her many interesting projects, I was blown away when she invited me to review her two books. I was especially intrigued by the fact that although her stories were mainly written in Indonesian, she chose to title both of these books in English. Moreover, the settings of these stories were fictionally situated in England. When I asked her about this, and about her writing background, she pointed out:

Dian : So what's the story behind this love for writing? When did it all start?

²² Manga (pronounced as man-ga) is the Japanese word for comic. Manga typically varies in terms of its genre, but is mostly dominated by science fiction and fantasy.

²³ Digimon is shorthand of “Digital Monster”, which is one of the genres in Japanese comic (Manga).

²⁴ Comp is shorthand of computer.

²⁵ F.S. Andina is Fe's pen name.

- Fe : Well, it all started from Manga. I think it was 2007 when I started reading Manga. Every time I read it I was so inspired to write. I had a lot of loose stories, ... more like drafts, you know, here and there. Maybe like 4 or 5 of them. But the one I like the most is FIN....
- Dian : Aah, interesting.... So anyone on Twitter inspires you to write this kind of story? What's the genre again? Your story?
- Fe : FIN? FIN is more like historical, mystery, fantasy-fiction?
- Dian : I see...
- Fe : So yes, if you look at my 'followings' list on Twitter, there's this one author, @AlexandraIvy, I think she's also a best seller author in the States. She wrote this book called 'The Guardian of Eternity'. It's a vampire story, you know...
- Dian : Vampire eh? I see that a lot in your Twitter posts. You seem to enjoy reading vampire stories, am I right?
- Fe : Oh yes definitely! So yes, a friend of mine actually introduced her [novel] to me in 2010, then I bought the actual book, and then I began to follow her on Twitter in 2011.
- Dian : I see... So have you ever, like, talked to her via Twitter?
- Fe : No, not really no... But her story is sort of an inspiration for FIN.
- Dian : But why England? Did you have to do research before your write?
- Fe : Yes, in general I just love history. It's more like a hobby for me, really. I think history is fun, and plus it will be a good inspiration for your novel anyway.
- Dian : Like Dan Brown... I noticed that you tweeted once about him. It's like half fiction half-historical. I agree.
- Fe : Yessss... And it's like... It makes your story more believable, right?! (Interview, August 2012).

Aside from her love for history, particularly the history of England, Fe pointed out that her writing genre was mainly inspired by the books that she had read. The clearest example is her reading of an author that she followed on Twitter, @AlexandraIvy. As she mentioned, her reading of Ivy's book (in Indonesian) had inspired her to write similar stories with a similar 'historical' background. Yet as some of her Tweets attest, Fe's writing genres ranged from historical romance, mystery, science fiction, Digimon manga, as well as fantasy. Interestingly, this wide

range of genre was parallel to the genres of the books/novels she read online. In different literacy events on Twitter, for instance, Fe wrote:

#iRead novel historical romance... again...

da vinci code --> <http://t.co/MG0WqrLJ> I think the novel is so great!

#iUpdate --> who's loving Jane Austen with her Pride and Prejudice?? Lets call back ur memory with the movie --> <http://t.co/0jgrwwVp>

#reading --> pride and prejudice --> running reading

and i hear the poem of love by her... again!

how I can make my own digimon??

In summary, the examples that I presented in this section highlight the intricate relationship between Fe's textual practices and her identity positions in relation to the multiple communities that she shared interests with. Furthermore, as Gee & Hayes (2011) allude to, digital social media like Twitter provide second language users with alternative venues to connect with others who shared knowledge and expertise in a particular area of interests. In turn, these frequent encounters provide them the opportunity not only to develop expertise in that area of interest, but also to expand their linguistic repertoire in the second language. As I discuss in chapter 6 and 7, this seems to be the case with Cassie and Fe. In the next section, I turn my analysis to the specific practice of textual borrowing that was prevalent in Fe's Twitter timeline.

Descriptive Statistics of Fe's Textual Practices

To descriptively answer the first research question on the kinds of textual practices that Fe engaged in, I devised the following table to categorize the texts that

she *interpreted* (i.e. read, viewed, or listened to) and the texts that she *produced* (i.e. originally wrote or borrowed from others):

LITERACY ACT	TEXT TYPE	NUMBER OF POSTS	PERCENTAGE
Interpreting (Reading, viewing, listening)	Manifest Intertextuality - English	298	13%
	Manifest Intertextuality – Indonesian	312	14%
	Manifest Intertextuality - Hybrid	46	2%
	#NowPlaying (songs)	64	3%
Producing (Writing or borrowing)	Interdiscursivity	48	2%
	Original text - English	550	24%
	Original text – Indonesian	687	31%
	Original text - Hybrid	232	10%
	Original text – Other language	15	1%
Total		2252	68%

Table 21. Fe's Literacy Practices.

Unlike Cassie, whose English texts were mostly comprised of her direct Retweets of other Twitter users, Fe's dominant practice with English was her own original English Tweets. In total these Tweets were comprised of 24% of the 2,252 texts that were captured from her Twitter timeline. Secondly, and similar to Cassie, although only 24% of the total texts were comprised of her original English texts, it is insightful to see how these texts were related to other surrounding English texts made by her online communities. In the next following section, I discuss the importance of considering her original English texts in relation to the other three English texts categories - 'manifest intertextual', the '#NowPlaying', and the 'interdiscursivity'.

Another way of looking at Fe's texts is by comparing her text production and interpretation based on the languages that she used. As the two tables show, Fe's textual practices can be classified as follows:

LITERACY ACT/ TEXT TYPE	LANGUAGE				TOTAL
	ENGLISH	INDONESIAN	HYBRID	OTHER LANG.	
Interpreting/Reading					
Manifest Intertextuality	13%	14%	2%	0%	29%
#NowPlaying	3%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Total	16%	14%	2%	0%	32%

TEXT TYPE	LANGUAGE				TOTAL
	ENGLISH	INDONESIAN	HYBRID	OTHER LANG.	
Producing/writing					
Interdiscursivity	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Original text	24%	31%	10%	1%	66%
Total	26%	31%	10%	1%	68%

Table 22. Fe's Literacy Practices: Distribution by Languages.

Visualizing the same information from Table 22 in a graphic form, Fe's literacy practices, based on the distribution of the four languages, can be represented as follows:

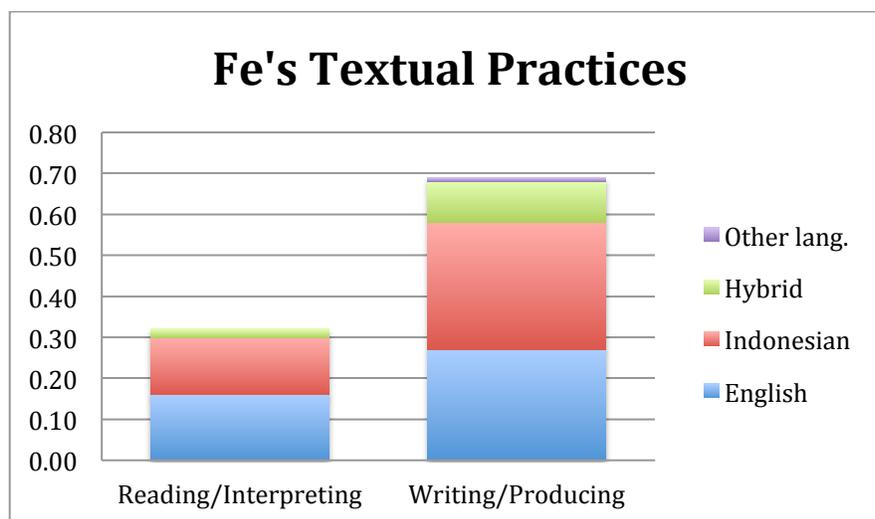


Figure 14. Fe's Literacy Practices: Distribution by Languages.

Similar to Cassie, the majority (68%) of Fe's textual experience on Twitter was centered around writing. This is expected given the context of Twitter as a site for writing, and that NVivo could only really record posts that were being retweeted – and not browsed. Yet, compared to Cassie, Fe's textual practices were qualitatively different in three ways. First, even with the possibility of inflection of the frequency of Indonesian texts,²⁶ the proportion of English and Indonesian texts circulating in Fe's Twitter timeline was relatively more balanced than Cassie—with 42% of the texts circulating written in English vs. 45% written in Indonesian. Secondly, Fe encountered –or chose to read/listened to- about the same amount of English texts as Indonesian texts (i.e. 16% of English texts vs. 14% of Indonesian texts). Thirdly, despite her consistent encounters with and use of English, Fe still produced more Indonesian texts (i.e. 26% of English texts vs. 31% of Indonesian texts). This reflects the general trend found among Indonesian youth, who naturally tend to use their native language more than any other language in their online interaction (Saling Silang, 2012). Nevertheless, at least from the previous discussion on Fe's online identity works, her consistent use of English –almost along side of Indonesian– still provides rich theoretical insights into her second language literacy practices. In the next section, I zoom in my analysis on the specific textual practice that was just as prevalent in Cassie as it was in Fe; that is the practice of intertextuality.

²⁶ See discussion on NVivo's unit of analysis vs. theoretical unit of analysis in Chapter 3. Assuming that the numbers of Indonesian texts might have been slightly inflected, we can safely argue that the difference between English Indonesian texts might be lower.

Intertextuality: The Practice of Textual Borrowing

Like Cassie, Fe had two distinct ways of borrowing other texts into her words: (a) direct Retweet of quotes from her idols, movie scripts, song lyrics, or her favorite quotebots (*manifest intertextuality*), and (b) indirect/unmarked borrowings of quotes, song lyrics, or words or wisdom (*interdiscursivity*). Below is a detailed analysis on the different functions of these two textual borrowings in her literacy practices.

Manifest intertextuality

Hub of information

The first discursual function of directly retweeting someone else's post in Fe's literacy practice is to quickly share information with her multiple Twitter audience. As mentioned previously, the majority of such 'informational' direct Retweet was about study abroad and scholarship programs around the world. Some examples of this are:

RT @BeasiswaIndo: RT @GermanyEdu: <http://t.co/k9YfYZj0> Albert Einstein Fellowships for Outstanding Young Thinkers, Germany ~0417

RT @BeasiswaIndo: RT @ScholarshipsUK: <http://t.co/EBBQTkko> beasiswa OXFORD bidang studi Chemical, Biological / Life & Medical Sciences ~0213

RT @BeasiswaIndo: RT @USA_Scholarship: <http://t.co/HwEuqq6B> beasiswa S3 AMERIKA dari Fulbright min TOEFL 550 IPK 3, anyone? :) ~0114

Among the many functions of Retweet discussed in this study, this is perhaps the closest function of Retweet to what Twitter envisions. As Twitter states on its website, "Twitter is a real-time *information network* (emphasis added) that connects you to the latest stories, ideas, opinions and news about what you find interesting" (Twitter.com/about). In Fe's case, though she only made a few comments on the

information presented by @beasiswaIndo, she consistently retweeted updates from this user to share this information with her online communities.

Tool for identity construction

The second most frequently retweeted posts that served to inform her online community members was her Retweet of her favorite band, The Rasmus. As mentioned briefly in the previous section (most notably in her Twitter ‘About Me’ page and in her blog), Fe’s identification with the band was evident from her posts. Unlike her postings of the scholarship information, which was often posted as a freestanding text without much additional text written by Fe, the informational Retweet about The Rasmus was often accompanied by Fe’s commentary of or reaction to the information that she just shared. As such, in the process of retweeting different updates of the band, Fe also constructed her identity through the discourses that she engaged in (i.e. *discoursal self*). For example, on April 18, Fe updated other fans of The Rasmus about the latest album of The Rasmus by tweeting:

#freeToSHARE --> the rasmus new album download on --> <http://t.co/0jgrwwVp>

Few days later, she retweeted three other updates of the band:

RT @UnRealRasmus: The Rasmus give out a small thanks to those who attended the launch party! <http://t.co/U9G3FYEn>

RT @UnRealRasmus: News and photos of The Rasmus album launch party from last night! <http://t.co/ITmOj4N6>

RT @UnRealRasmus: The Rasmus, Lauri and Eero playing I'm a Mess acoustically on German TV!v <http://t.co/ssolH4kU>

To which she responded by tweeting:

#playlist -> me with the first the rasmus song that I download --> the rasmus – days

I Heart You THE RASMUS >w<

In another literacy event four months before the album was launched, Fe posted an ‘announcement’ of a single from the band’s upcoming album through a direct Retweet:

RT @therasmushoas: “I’m a Mess”, #TheRasmus' new single! <http://t.co/96estG7g>

These posts were accompanied by a series of Tweets by Fe, expressing her excitement about the news:

finally, the rasmus will relies their new album "I'm a Mess - The Rasmus". n/b: finally~ ^0^

#update : The Rasmus new single will be held on Helsinki, Finlandia this year!! so don't miss it, all! ^^ (waiting february 25th)

well, many fans dissappointed with #TheRasmus new single --> I'm A Mess --> <http://t.co/05g6w0q3> but I hope, the next song is better than it

In these two separate literacy events, Cassie both consciously and unconsciously projected her identity as a big fan of The Rasmus. To put it in Goffman’s term (1981), Fe’s projected this identity in both a controlled way, to ‘give’ the impression to her audience of her strong connection with the band (e.g., in the statement “I heart you The Rasmus”), and in subconscious way, through the impression that she ‘gave off’ when she defended her favorite band (e.g. in the statement “But I hope, the next song is better than it”). Furthermore, this identity work was constructed *in discourse* as part of her habits of retweeting updates, which sometimes got interjected by her thoughts or conscious display of her identity.

A site for intermental encounters

Another important feature of intertextuality that is central to this study is its function as a site for developing English literacy. As I demonstrate in the previous section, Fe’s frequent engagement with The Rasmus community –through reading updates of the band or listening to their songs– also scaffolds her future use of

English. To put it in a Vygotskian term (1974), Fe's *intramental* capacity to appropriate some features of the language that she has encountered in the past results from of her social experiences with the multiple communities that use these linguistic features –that is, the interaction between her mind and the minds of her 'followings' (*intermentally*). More detailed examples of Fe's appropriation of the language of her communities can be found in Chapter 6. In the following section, we look at how intramental-intermental process unfolds through another distinct practice of textual borrowing called *interdiscursivity*.

Interdiscursivity

The springboard for production of original texts

Similar to Cassie, the phenomenon of interdiscursivity in Fe's textual practices has long captured my attention. Though statistically (traceable) interdiscursivity only occupied 2% of Fe's total posts, a closer look on this textual practice hints at a fundamental process of textual interpretation and production. The first type of interdiscursive texts circulating in Fe's Twitter timeline is the one that looks similar in its '*Discourse*' or '*speech genre*' to that of the direct Retweets, and which can be traced to a particular source through a simple Google search. Two examples of this is the Tweets from two separate literacy events below:

A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step
you can't fail if you don't give up!

Which were similar to the two direct Retweets by @Tweets2Motivate:

RT @Tweets2Motivate: Whatever you do, don't do it halfway. -Bob Beamon #quotes

RT @Tweets2Motivate: Never talk defeat. Use words like hope, belief, faith, victory. — Norman Vincent Peale #quotes

In these examples, both the interdiscursive texts and the direct Retweets functioned in the discourse as a display of Cassie's identity as a contemplative person. Furthermore, they were also similar in their 'motivational' genre.

The second type of interdiscursive texts is song-based tweets, which were often unmarked but could be traced to specific artists or singers. Some examples of this are:

just give me a reason to keep my heart beating. don't worry it save right here in my arms

Can't stop me

Google tracing of these two texts revealed that they came from songs by One Ok Rock and Afrojack, respectively. Similar to Cassie, Fe usually tweeted parts of a song lyrics when she felt that the songs expressed how she felt at the moment, as she noted in one of our conversations:

Dian : I saw you tweeted parts of song lyrics a lot. Can you tell me about this habit?

Fe : Hmm.... Usually something happened then I wanted to share it on Twitter, and when I think there's a song that can express what I wanted to say, I just type it up

Dian : That without listening to the song? I mean, does the song have to play when you type in your Tweets?

Fe : Hmm.... Not really, no. Okay, ... Sometimes that's the case, but other times no. (Interview, August 2012).

The third type of interdiscursive texts is the formulaic expressions that are not necessarily traceable to a particular source on Twitter, but are almost often collocated as a general phrase that she might have frequently encountered in the past. Some examples of this are:

@nonatieka HAPPY BIRTHDAY NAAAAKKKK~ Semoga panjang umur, sehat selalu, dan cita2nya tercapai ^^ wish u all the best!

long time no see... <http://t.co/0jgmYWMf>

I'm tired. You know what I mean...

In these examples, recognizable expressions like “wish you all the best” or “long time no see” or “You know what I mean” were interweaved into Fe’s utterances. This interweaving can be thought of as an ‘*intertextual mosaic*’ (Kristeva, 1986). In the context of Fe’s literacy practices, although these texts were used in the distinct context of Fe’s interaction with her friends or Fe’s displaying her emotions, they were embedded in and charged with the expressions of others whom she had encountered before (Bakhtin, 1986).

The fourth type of interdiscursivity, which to me are the most profound examples of learning-in-action, are the interdiscursive texts that are imbued with a finer array of recognizable linguistic features (Gasparov, 2010). In the following section, I provide detailed examples of such texts, while also pointing to the nuanced appropriation processes.

Social semiotics: Language symmetry around interdiscursive texts

In this section, we zoom in and out of a number of texts that Fe produced over 11 months to trace the possible origin of the texts that she had appropriated. Going back to my core theoretical framing of literacy as a situated practice (Fairclough, 1992; Halliday, 1994; Vygotsky, 1974) it is important to examine Fe’s texts in this way because it helps us appreciate the complex processes –and contexts- that help shape Fe’s production and interpretation of English texts.

Discourse appropriation

One of the most easily recognizable features of Fe’s appropriation of her online communities’ utterances have to do with her numerous contemplative posts such as:

FE’S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT WITH SIMILAR DISCOURSE
<p>my day is like april... but my heart's like october, and my mind is like september #playlist LAURI ft. ANNETE O. october and april*</p>	<p>... #playlist LAURI ft. ANNETE O. october and april*</p> <p>*(This post is the same post as the one in the left column. Parts of the lyrics are as follows:) She was like April sky Sunrise in her eyes Bright as day Melting snow Breaking to the chill</p> <p>He was like frozen sky In October night Darkest cloud Coldest snow Tearing down the spring</p>
<p>Stop living in the past.</p>	<p>RT @Tweets2Motivate: Every saint has a past. Every sinner has a future. — Warren Buffet #quotes</p>
<p>because the past is always behind us, not in front of us, right -</p>	<p>"you can't change the past" #lionKing</p>
<p>Do not let your regrets become bigger than the dreams of your future</p>	<p>RT @Tweets2Motivate: Go after your dream, no matter how unattainable others think it is. — Linda Mastandrea #quotes</p>
<p>What you do today will determine the quality of your future.</p>	<p>RT @Tweets2Motivate: Never talk defeat. Use words like hope, belief, faith, victory. — Norman Vincent Peale #quotes</p>
<p>Your past cannot hurt your future if you do not use it to weaken your today.</p>	<p>I have had dreams and I have had nightmares, but I have conquered my nightmares because of my dreams. - Jonas Salk</p>

Table 23. Fe's Discourse Appropriation.

In the first sentence, Fe wrote an original text which read “my day is like april... but my heart's like october, and my mind is like September”, as she was listening to the song titled “October and April” by Lauri and Annete O. A Google

tracing of the song revealed that the metaphoric expressions that Fe used to describe her emotions were actually originated from the song. As seen from the lyric in the right column, the original “October and April” song used the metaphoric device to compare feelings/emotions to the seasons (i.e. April Sky = warmth and beauty; October/Snow = coldness and misery). Fe experimented with this rhetorical strategy when she transformed the meaning that she derived from the song into her unique situation. When she said, “my day is like april... but my heart's like october, and my mind is like September”, it was as if she was saying that though her day may seem cheery and bright, her heart is feeling cold. The insertion of the word ‘September’ in Fe’s original text is unique because the word was not found in the actual lyric. Fe seemed to me to be extending the season metaphor by creatively adding that her mind was like September (i.e. not as cold as her heart and was managing to gain control of her mood).

Unlike the first example, however, the second and third sentences demonstrate a more abstract type of appropriation. In these two cases, Fe used the ideas she had read from the different quotebots (i.e. about how to deal with the past and how to work for your dreams respectively) and genuinely worded them into her words to fit her own specific context and for her own specific goal. Nevertheless their parallel still reflects Gee’s (1996; 2008) definition of Discourse as a way of valuing, acting, and writing, and being in the world, which was reflected through the characteristics of the lexical items that she produced. Furthermore, the similarity of Fe’s texts to that of her online communities also reflects Bakhtin’s idea of the heteroglossic nature of utterances. As Bakhtin puts it, “Each word has tastes of the contexts and cotexts in

which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions... It is populated, overpopulated –with the intentions of others (1981, p. 273-274).

Syntactic appropriation

On a finer linguistic grain, Fe’s textual appropriation can also be observed on a syntactic level. Some examples of this are:

FE’S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT WITH SIMILAR SYNTAX
<p>i don't have anything to make u proud. but u didn't know where i am today. so please stop saying <u>like that</u>.</p> <p>why ur mouth is so easy saying <u>like that</u>?</p>	<p>#THERASMUS - friend's don't do <u>like that</u> - new song</p>
<p>#anotherDAY --> when I write it, <u>it's like</u> someone out of my monitor #wow. I hope i can find new inspiration. Remember my deadline!</p> <p>aaaahhh... <u>it's like</u> love triangel. what should i choose? who's the best</p>	<p>RT @TheRasmusLyrics: <u>It's like</u> i want to break my bones to get over you. #TheRasmus</p>
<p>#download Angel Heart up to 50 eps...??? oh, <u>forget it!</u> let's reading comics !</p>	<p>ur the part of me that i don't wanna see. I can live forever here #breakingBenjamin --> <u>#forgetIt*</u></p> <p>#LunchTime --> buffer di blogger? well, <u>forget it, forget it</u> (#Playlist: Breaking Benjamin - Forget it)*</p> <p>*(Lyrics contained the phrasing “<u>forget it</u>”) It’s a crime you let it happen to me Out of mind, I love it, easy to please Nevermind, <u>forget it</u>, just memories On a page inside a spiral notebook</p>

Table 24. Fe's Syntactic Appropriation.

In the first example, the song lyric by the Rasmus in the right column used the comparative conjunction ‘like’ to liken the object of the sentence to the unspecified deixis ‘that’. Also, the song seems to be using elliptical structure when it omitted the

very object of the speech from the sentence “friends don’t do [something] like that”. When we look at both of Fe’s sentences in the left column, she used exactly the same syntactic structure when she said “... so please stop saying [something] like that” and “why ur mouth is so easy saying [something] like that?” More importantly, the kind of emotion that was conveyed in Fe’s texts and in the Rasmus’ lyrics was strikingly similar. In the song, the phrase “don’t do like that” contained a sense of anger and betrayal, such as in the lyric below:

Like a shark in the cold bloody water
Patiently you swam by my side
And the day I collapsed in the corner
You attacked like a thief in the night.....
Friends don’t do like that

The similar display of anger was also apparent in Fe’s texts when she expressed her anger and disbelief at her addressee when she said, “so please stop saying like that” or “why ur mouth is so easy saying like that?” To me, it is as if the song has given her the platform to transform the expression in such a way that gives her the ability to express her emotion in a completely different context (Rogoff, 1995).

Another distinct use of comparative conjunction ‘like’ is when both Fe and The Rasmus used the word to make a metaphorical connection between the pronoun subject ‘it’ to an independent clause it described. At first glance, the phrase “it’s like” in these sentences can be mistaken for its use as colloquial filler, such as in the sentence, “It’s like, really cool” or “It’s like, whatever.” But upon a closer look, I realized that all the “like” in these sentences served a specific syntactic function in the utterance. The song lyrics, for example, made a metaphorical statement with the phrase ‘it’s like’ by likening the difficulty and the pain of getting over somebody to breaking one’s bones. Similarly, Fe also used this strategy quite a few times such as

when she metaphorically compared her creative writing process to someone being out of her computer monitor (i.e. in the sentence “It’s like someone is out of my monitor”) or when she compared her difficulty in choosing an unspecified object of interest to a love triangle (i.e. in the sentence “It’s like a love triangle”).

In the third example, Fe comfortably used the expression ‘forget it’ in a relatively similar fashion to the expression used in the lyric in the right column. In the lyric, the phrase ‘forget it’ in the sentence “Nevermind, forget it, just memories” functioned as a way to express the frustration of the speaker. Quite aptly, Fe appropriated this phrase into her own context when she expressed her frustration of not being able to download 50 episodes of an animated Japanese television series called ‘Angel Heart.’ As I explain later in the next few sections, although I cannot make the conclusion that the texts in the right column were the actual sources of Fe’s texts, the argument that Fe’s textual production is influenced by her frequent encounters with similar utterances still holds true in this study.

Lexico-semantic appropriation

Similar to the previous three examples, Fe’s appropriation of other people’s utterances was also observed on a lexical level such as:

FE’S ORIGINAL TEXT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT WITH SIMILAR LEXIS
RT @Metro_TV: Gempa 6,4 SR guncang Aceh http://t.co/hmUIb88r ²⁷ it’s okay, it’s okay.... <u>hush hush</u> ..	#playlist --> someone's gonna light you up - THE RASMUS --> it's gonna b ok, <u>hush hush</u> http://t.co/7QdTGkI7 * #my #motivationSONG --> THE RASMUS - SOMEONE'S GONNA LIGHT YOU UP *Lyrics contained the phrase “It’s gonna be

²⁷ Translated as RT@Metro_TV: Earthquake of 6.4 Richter Scale hits Aceh <http://t.co/hmUIb88r>

	okay, <u>hush hush</u> ”).
--	----------------------------

Table 25. Fe's Lexico-Semantic Appropriation.

In this example, Fe appropriated parts of the lyric from the song “Someone’s Gonna Light You Up” by The Rasmus. As seen in the right column, the lyrics contained phrase “it’s gonna be okay, hush hush”. In a separate literacy event, Fe appropriated the phrase when she consoled herself from the fear of an earthquake by saying “ it’s okay, it’s okay... hush hush.” Her use of the word “hush hush” in the sentence here is significant because she was able to use the expression as a means of consolation, much the same way it had been used in the song lyrics.

In all of these examples, we observe how Fe’s language –down to its specific syntactic and lexical structures- was traceable to the many texts that she has encountered in the past. Though methodologically I could not ‘prove’ that the texts in the right columns were the actual origin of Fe’s sentences, the theoretical lens that I use in this study still provides a strong argument for the social origins of her many utterances (Vygotsky, 1974; Wetsch, 1991), which come about through her frequent interactions with other utterances in the past (Bakhtin, 1985).

Summary

In this chapter, I introduced my second participant, Fe, and shared her textual practices and what they meant to her as an English language user. Fe’s textual practices can be summed up using my adaptation of Fairclough’s (1992) diagram below:

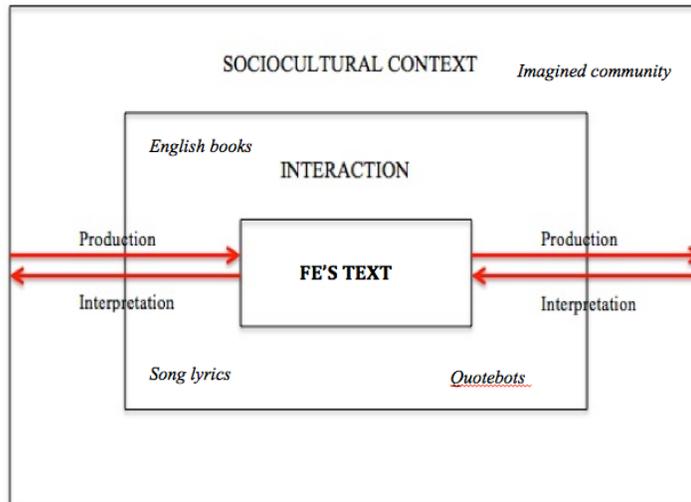


Figure 15. Interactional and Social Forces Behind Fe's Literacy Practices.

As seen in this diagram, Fe's textual production is intricately embedded in her micro- and macro-social contexts. Fe's interaction with English books, song lyrics, and quotebots has allowed her to experiment with and borrow some of the language that she encountered in the past. In turn, these intertextual practices provide a 'voice' for her to construct her online identities as a contemplative, spirited writer. Moreover, this practice also serves as a rich site for expanding her linguistic repertoire in the second language. Some of this experimentation was successful, as the extended examples in the previous section show. Yet, in other instances, such appropriation has not yet reached the kind of symmetry with the target language that is observed in this chapter. In the next chapter, I analyze some of this 'not-so-successful' appropriation of texts, which further highlights my two participants' developing competence in using English as a second language.

Chapter 6: Cross-Case Analysis

Introduction

Having introduced my participants and shared my interpretations of their intertextual practices, I devote this chapter to analyze how these practices afford or constrain the development of their English literacy. I approach my analysis of literacy development from two main angles: (a) language appropriation and (b) identity works. These angles correspond directly to the research questions 2a and 2b of this study:

Research Question 2: How did the literacy practices afford or constrain the development of the students' English literacy?

- a. How were the practices of their online communities shaping or shaped by the participants' literacy practices?
- b. How were the identities that the participants constructed online shaping or shaped by their literacy practices?

From the point of view of language appropriation, I interpret my participants' literacy development based on three sets of evidence. First, I present the moment-by-moment *intermental process* of text production, specifically how Cassie and Fe interacted in real-time with the texts that they encountered. These sets of data emphasize the importance of intermental encounters in scaffolding future text production and interpretation. Secondly, I present the *appropriation process* where the appropriated texts are separated in time from its intermental source, but are still influenced by it. These examples demonstrate how my participants transformed their

social activities using the knowledge that they gained from their past intermental encounters. Finally, I present examples of *linguistic asymmetry* between my participants' texts and the texts of their communities. These sets of example are presented in contrast to the examples of linguistic symmetry that I presented in Chapter 4 and 5, mainly to highlight the complexities of the intramental/appropriation process.

From the point of view of identity works, my analyses are focused on three sets of evidence: First, I present examples of the unique affordances of group identity in shaping my two participants' understanding of specific linguistic features of English, which may depart from the understanding of many native English speakers. In interpreting the appropriation process of my participants, I emphasize the mutually constitutive nature of literacy practice and identities in shaping their text production and interpretation. Secondly, I revisit my analyses of my participants' writer's identity and compare and contrast how they are similar or different from each other in terms of the kinds of texts that they read and write online. Finally, in making a 'surface-level' analysis of the connection between the micro-context of identity works and the larger institutional contexts of English use, I also touch upon the influence of my participants' values, beliefs, and imagined communities in shaping their use of English. In the following section, I turn to the discussion of language appropriation process and its relationship with my participants' developing literacy.

Language Appropriation and Literacy Development

Before I begin my analysis of Cassie's and Fe's language appropriation, I revisit three theoretical concepts from sociocultural theory which offer me the

insights into my participants' literacy development: *intermental functioning*, *intramental functioning*, and *appropriation*. To reiterate my rationale for including sociocultural theory in this study, I use sociocultural theory as an analytic lens to address the gap in the literature –to look at *how* the social relationships and contexts that are said to shape the process of production and interpretation of texts actually lead to change for the individuals involved in the practice. The most fundamental concept of sociocultural theory is that our mental capacities are *mediated* by the symbolic tools that we use. In our interactions with the world, Vygotsky (1974) argues that we transform our mental capacities in such a way that allows us to perform a qualitatively new level of psychological functioning. These mental capacities –or what Vygotsky calls '*higher mental functioning*'- include thinking, meaning making, and learning (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1985; 1991). In this study, I focus on the aspects of learning and meaning making in a second language.

One of the core characteristics of higher mental functioning, according to Vygotsky, is the process of '*internalization*' of mental functions from the social plane to the individual plane (in Wertsch, 1985; 1991). The assumption is that mental capacities associated with learning a second language appear twice for the individual. First, it appears on a social plane between people '*intermentally*'. Second, it appears on a psychological plane within the individual's mind '*intramentally*'. What is crucial here, and what becomes central to the argument of this study, is that in the process of internalizing this mental capacity on an individual plane (i.e. intramentally), the structure and the functions of the capacity is transformed. This is what Rogoff (1995) calls '*appropriation*.' In the next four sets of example from my participants' Twitter

posts, I elaborate on how the intermental encounters shed light into my participants' intertextual practices.

Microgenetic snippets of intermental process

In sociocultural theory, microgenesis refers to the moment-by-moment snippets of a social activity that capture social mediation and its subsequent development over a relatively short span of time (Lantolf, 2000; Wertsch, 1991). In the first four sets of example below, I present the snippets of intermental processes that have the potential to scaffold the development of my participants' English literacy. These examples do not in and of themselves provide a direct evidence for their ability to intramentally appropriate the texts that they have encountered in a new social situation. Yet they are insightful in documenting the intersecting boundaries between the individual's mind/intent *and* the external influence talked about by Bakhtin (1981) and Rogoff (1995) in Chapter 2.

In the first example, in one literacy event on September 14, Cassie posted two separate Tweets almost concurrently:

#NP : TTS - Love Sick

why did you make me like this? give it back to me,
my heart that you took without knowing.
why did you come inside without permission?

As mentioned in chapter 4, Cassie's second Tweet was simply an unmarked verbatim copy of the lyrics from the song "Love Sick" by TTS (*interdiscursive text*). The same practice also occurred in another literacy event on October 28 when Cassie wrote two separate Tweets three minutes apart:

#NP : BoA - Only One

♫ 내 사랑 이제는 안녕 you're the only one~

In this literacy event, Cassie's second Tweet was also the unmarked verbatim copy of the lyrics from the song "Only One" by a Korean artist Kwon Boa. In both examples, Cassie used the lyrics to describe her feelings. In other words, the lyrics that she borrowed functioned as a display of her emotion at the time of writing. To use Bakhtin's term (1985), in these literacy events her intent was imbued in/through someone else's utterance, making her text *multivoiced*.

The same practice was also prevalent in Fe's Twitter timeline. In one literacy event on April 12, Fe wrote two separate Tweets almost concurrently:

#playlist --> the rasmus - sky <http://t.co/mHrP102H>

I just wanted to see the sky. open the one last time. I just wanted to feel the wind. welcome the virgin snow. before it's my time to go

In this literacy event, Fe was playing the song "Sky" by her favorite band, The Rasmus. While listening to the song, she tweeted parts of the song lyrics. The lyrics were unmarked (i.e. *interdiscursive*) but were easily traced by connecting it to the previous Tweet.

In another literacy event on April 20, Fe played the same song but tweeted a different part of the lyrics as follows:

#playlist --> sky - #theRASMUS --> give me one more night, i will make things right

In this particular Tweet, Fe typed the lyric ("Give me one more night, I will make things right") as part of her #playlist Tweet. Though Fe had a different way of marking her song lists (i.e. by using the '#playlist' as opposed to the common '#NP' hashtag that Cassie used), both Fe and Cassie used the same intertextual practice in displaying their emotions through song lyrics –that is by quoting them in verbatim

(sometimes with explicit quotation marks and at other times without). From Bakhtin's (1986) perspective, these tweets were *dialogic* in that they were uttered in interaction with the lyrics as they were occurring in real-time (i.e. at the moment of listening to the songs). They were also *historical* in that they were traced back to my participants' avid love for music (which is recorded in Cassie's many posts of K-Pop artists including TTS and BoA, and Fe's many posts of The Rasmus). When I asked each of them separately about this particular practice, both Cassie and Fe noted:

Cassie: ... [W]hen a song plays and it captures how I feel at the moment, I just write the lyrics down (Interview, August 2012)

Fe : ...[W]hen I think there's a song that can express what I wanted to say, I just type it up. (Interview, August 2012)

In these four sets of examples, we are able to see in real-time how Cassie and Fe interacted with their favorite songs. As this interdiscursive practice became routinized, the intermental encounters with their favorite songs gave Cassie and Fe the 'voice' to express their feelings or ideas. As mentioned before, these encounters are not a direct evidence for their ability to intramentally appropriate the lyrics in a new social situation. Yet, as we see in the next three sets of examples, the intermental encounters did indeed 'plant the seed' for such internalization.

Intramental/appropriation process

In this section, I explore three sets of example that document how my participants' transformed their past experiences with texts –in this case song lyrics– and appropriated the meanings and the linguistic features that they derived from these encounters in a different social situation. In the first example, Cassie wrote three different Tweets in two days. First on October 8 Cassie wrote:

#NP : Demi Lovato - Catch Me

Two days later in another literacy event on October 10, she wrote the two following Tweets:

you're so hypnotizing. you got me laughing while i sing. you got me smiling in my sleep.

i love looking at him when he smiles :)

In the second literacy event on October 10, absorbed in her thoughts about her love interest, Cassie borrowed a part of the lyrics from Demi Lovato's song "Catch Me" to describe how hypnotized she was at the sight of him (first Tweet). Then adding her own words to it, she said, "I love looking at him when he smiles" (second Tweet). In this event, Cassie appropriated Demi Lovato's lyric into her own unique situation when catching a glimpse of her love interest. The lexical item "hypnotizing" is especially central in the appropriation process because it was what gave meaning to Cassie's experience in looking at her crush, and it was the central word that got transformed in Cassie's unique context. In this sense, Cassie's past encounter with the song had scaffolded the development of her lexical repertoire when she appropriated the word "hypnotizing." Note that the lyric itself was unmarked (i.e. *interdiscursive*). It was not directly accompanied by the '#NP' marker such as in the previous section, thus making it harder at first glance to determine the originality of this text. Yet with a simple Google tracing, it was apparent that the interdiscursive text was intricately tied to Cassie's previous listening to the song, which was recorded in the "#NP" Tweet that she posted on October 8.

At other times, the interweaving of song lyrics into my participants' texts was less obvious than the previous examples. In one literacy event on October 25, for example, Cassie posted three different Tweets as follows:

open facebook, stalk scroll scroll pffft HAHAHAAAAAAAAHA XD

and suddenly found a cute picture and i smile~

♪♪You could be my unintended ♪♪

In this event, Cassie first posted two original English texts to describe her activity in stalking her love interest (first Tweet) and suddenly finding a cute picture of him on Facebook (second Tweet). Interestingly, Cassie added an ‘interdiscursive text’ from a song by Muse (third Tweet), to describe her excitement about the unintended consequence of stalking her love interest on Facebook –that is, finding a cute picture of him. In this example, not only did the lyric serve to ‘revoice’ her excitement (Bakhtin, 1986), but according to Rogoff (1995), it also ‘planted the seed’ for appropriation. Cassie’s previous encounters with the song had afforded her the opportunity to use parts of the song lyrics in an entirely new situation. She had appropriated the meanings of lyrics. Furthermore, this encounter also had scaffolded the development of her lexical repertoire when she appropriated the word “unintended.”

The same is true for Fe. In one literacy event on April 11, Fe posted three concurrent Tweets as follows:

if tomorrow never comes...

OH. MY. GOD!!! --> earthquakes from sumatera land!!

I WANNA CALL MY FAMILY NOW ><

In this literacy event, Fe displayed her emotion (second Tweet) by first borrowing a song lyric by Ronan Keating (first Tweet). Realizing that tomorrow might never come for the people who were hit by the earthquake, which included her family members in Sumatra, Fe expressed her concern for her family (third Tweet).

Similar to Cassie, Fe’s use of the song lyric has provided her the ‘voice’ to reflect on the tragedy. More importantly, this example also demonstrates how Fe transformed her past experience with the song and appropriated parts of its lyric to fit her current context. Fe’s encounter with the lyrics had scaffolded the development of her discursual repertoire when she appropriated the contemplative phrase “if tomorrow never comes.”

What is revealing to me about the last two examples is that it is unknown –at least to the readers- whether the actual songs were playing at the time of the Tweets. The absence of the song in these contexts is theoretically significant because it shows that my participants were able to intramentally carry the task on their own (i.e. they have appropriated the texts into their linguistic repertoire), without the need to have the intermental resources present at the moment of writing. To rule out the possibility of my participants listening to the songs while tweeting, I retrospectively asked them about their practice in interweaving song lyrics into their words. In my interview with Cassie, she responded:

Dian : So, I noticed that you sometimes post things in English that you write yourself, sometimes you link your posts directly from another source, but at other times, you don’t mention where the posts come from. For this last kind of post, what’s the process behind posting such texts?

Cassie : Woow. That sounds so technical. LOL. Well, mostly I think they come from song lyrics. Sometimes it comes from my heart, these songs just pop up in my head and I want to write them down.... I mean, these songs express how I feel.

.....

Dian : So yeah, when you feel something, you just think of these lyrics because you think they describe what you feel. So you just type them?

Cassie : Sort of. You know like, my iTunes is on all the time, so when a song plays and it captures how I feel at the moment, I just write the lyrics down (Interview, August 2012).

As mentioned in Chapter 4, to me Cassie was describing two distinct cognitive processes in her borrowing practice: (1) the writing of interdiscursive texts was directly accompanied by an aural input (i.e. the song was playing when she tweeted parts of the lyrics), and (2) the writing of interdiscursive texts was not directly accompanied by any aural input (i.e. the song just ‘popped up’ in her head as she was trying to express her thoughts/feelings without any actual song playing at the moment of tweeting). Similar comments were also made by Fe when she noted:

Dian : I saw you tweeted parts of song lyrics a lot. Can you tell me about this habit?

Fe : Hmm.... Usually something happened then I wanted to share it on Twitter, and when I think there's a song that can express what I wanted to say, I just type it up

Dian : That without listening to the song? I mean, does the song have to play when you type in your Tweets?

Fe : Hmm.... Not really, no. Okay, ... Sometimes that's the case, but other times no. (Interview, August 2012).

Based on Cassie's and Fe' comments, we can suppose that if and when the songs were intramentally triggered (i.e. the song just popped up in their head or something happened and they thought that there was a song that could express what they wanted to say), that means my participants have internally appropriated their past encounters with the songs and have transformed the meanings that they derived from the song to fit their current social encounters²⁸. In this sense, their ability to use the language –and the development of their English literacy- was mediated by their participation in past social activities (Rogoff, 1995), and by their appropriation of what Fairclough (1989) calls the ‘member resources.’ (See my review of Fairclough's social semiotic theory in Chapter 2).

²⁸ This evolving understanding has to be investigated in future studies. See limitation section on Chapter 7.

Linguistic asymmetry: ‘Error’ as an index of developing competence

So far we have explored the intermental, intramental, and appropriation processes involved in my participants’ intertextuality. In Chapter 4 and 5, I have also outlined the ‘successful’ product of that appropriation in my discussion on the language symmetry. In this section, I turn my discussion to my participants’ ‘not-so-successful’ appropriation to demonstrate the complexities of second language learner’s literacy development. As Mitchell and Myles (2006) point out, often when second language learners use English, their utterances are seen as full or errors or mistakes. Especially from the educational point of view, there is an implicit belief that if learners are taught often enough, their language production could accurately reflect the target language rules that they had been taught. Yet, SLA research have shown that L2 learners’ ‘errors’ and ‘mistakes’ are indicative of their developing competence in the target language. Though there is a degree of systematicity to learner’s errors (see Ellis, 1996; Towell & Hawkins, 1994), there are also high degrees of variability. L2 learners’ utterances seem to vary from moment to moment and in the types of errors that are made. L2 learners also “seem liable to switch between a range of correct and incorrect forms over lengthy periods of time” (Mitchell & Myles, 2006, p. 16).

In this study, I use my participants’ ‘error’ as another index of their developing literacy. Although Cassie and Fe have successfully appropriated some language of their online communities, and more importantly to position themselves in multiple discourses as competent users of English, their English are nevertheless still considered “unstable and in course of change” (Mitchell & Myles, 2006, p. 16). In a

positive light, these ‘errors’ are necessary to fine-tune their knowledge of English in the process of engaging in multiple social activities. In the next following sections, I look at some of these ‘errors’ and highlight how they are related to the development of my participants’ English literacy.

Discourse appropriation

In Chapter 5, I listed one example of Fe’s successful appropriation when she used metaphoric expressions to compare the different seasons to her emotions. After reviewing Fe’s Twitter timeline several times, I noticed that she used this rhetorical device twice in two different occasions:

COMMUNITY’S TEXT	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SIMILAR DISCOURSE (DEVELOPING)	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SIMILAR DISCOURSE (SUCCESSFUL)
<p>.... #playlist LAURI ft. ANNETE O. october and april*</p> <p>*(This post is the same post as the one in the left column. Parts of the lyrics are as follows:) She was like <u>April</u> sky Sunrise in her eyes Bright as <u>day</u> Melting <u>snow</u> Breaking to the chill</p> <p>He was like frozen sky In <u>October</u> night Darkest cloud Coldest snow Tearing down the <u>spring</u></p>	<p>random walk... #go to summer in my life, autumn in my heart, <u>snow</u> in my head, <u>spring</u> in my <u>day</u>...</p>	<p>my day is like <u>april</u>... but my heart's like <u>october</u>, and my mind is like september #playlist LAURI ft. ANNETE O. october and april*</p>

Table 26. Discourse Asymmetry (Fe).

As seen from the lyrics in the left column, the original “October and April” song used metaphor to compare feelings/emotions to the seasons. April sky was compared to the warmth and beauty that shatter cold winter night, whereas October

was compared to coldness and misery that suck out the warm sunny day. As Fe was listening to the song, she wrote an original text which read “my day is like april... but my heart's like october, and my mind is like september” (right column). As mentioned in chapter 5, Fe’s experimentation with this rhetorical device was successful in that she was able to transform the meaning that she derived from the song into her unique situation. Using the season metaphor, it was as if Fe was saying that although her day may seem cheery and bright, her heart is feeling cold. The insertion of the word ‘September’ in Fe’s original text is unique because the word was not found in the actual lyrics. In this case, Fe seems to me to be extending the metaphor by creatively adding that her mind was like September (i.e. not as cold as her heart and was managing to gain control of her mood).

In the sentence in the middle column, Fe used the same metaphor. She made a similar comparison between the seasons to her feelings. Yet, unlike the text in the right column, the use of the metaphor in this sentence seems to be incomplete in terms of its meaning –at least from my point of view as her reader. When Fe wrote, “random walk... #go to summer in my life, autumn in my heart, snow in my head, spring in my day...,” it was unclear to me what the phrase “go to summer in my life” or “[go to] autumn in my heart” meant, and how they connected to the phrase “random walk”. From a Bakhtinian perspective, the problem with this sentence might not lie in the inherent incompleteness of the meaning of the utterance itself, but rather in my failure as the reader to reach intersubjectivity with her (Cheyne & Tarulli, 2005; Seargeant et al., 2012). Nevertheless, Fe’s decision to use the metaphoric expression –despite its ‘error’- still demonstrates her developing competence. In fact

in this sentence not only was she able to transform the meanings that she derived from the song into a different situation, but also to extend the metaphor by adding two new words –summer and autumn- that were not used in the original song.

Syntactic appropriation

In many SLA studies, the term ‘errors’ are traditionally associated with errors on the syntactical level. In this study, syntactic ‘errors’ were also dominant in Cassie’s and Fe’s literacy practice. Yet, in interpreting what these ‘errors’ mean to my participants’ literacy development, I approach my analysis from the sociocultural theory.

The first example of syntactic asymmetry comes from Cassie’s Twitter timeline. In the example below, Cassie used an irregular verb “hurt” in the present tense both in its correct form and its incorrect form:

COMMUNITY’S TEXT	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SYNTACTICAL ‘ERROR’ (DEVELOPING)	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH CORRECT SYNTAX (SUCCESSFUL)
<p>RT @XSTROLOGY: The slightest things can butcher a #Virgo's feelings, <u>it'll hurt</u> them forever, but they'll never tell you., so be careful.</p> <p>RT @disneywords: Just walk away and don't look back ‘cause if my heart breaks, <u>it's gonna hurt</u> so bad. –Gabriella (High School Musical 3)</p> <p>RT @Notebook: I'm not mad, <u>I'm hurt</u>. There's a difference.</p> <p>RT @GirlBooklet: I’m the type of girl that <u>can be so hurt</u>, but can still look at you and smile.</p> <p>I'm not mean, I'm brutally honest. It's not my fault truth <u>hurts</u>.*</p>	<p>Ouch, <u>its kinda hurt</u> you know :)</p>	<p><u>it hurts</u> to be that strong, doesn't it?</p> <p>The thing that <u>hurts</u> me the most is that you don't even realize you hurt me.</p>

(*this is an ‘interdiscursive text’
that can be traced in full quotes
through Google search)

Table 27. Syntactic Asymmetry (Cassie).

As seen in the left column, Cassie encountered the irregular verb “hurt” in its different syntactical forms:

- Active form – future tense: “It’ll hurt”, “It’s gonna hurt”
- Active form – present tense: “Truth hurts”
- Passive form – present tense; “I’m hurt”, “I’m the type of girl that can be so hurt”

In her dialogic interactions with these texts, and in keeping with her romantic side, Cassie wrote several original texts about being hurt as well. In some instances, such as in the examples in the right column, Cassie used the correct subject-verb agreement rule for present tense by using the third-person singular verb “hurt + s” for the third person singular subject “It” and “The thing”. Yet this rule was not applied in the utterance in the middle column when she said, “It’s kinda hurt.” In the context of this study, instead of viewing this ‘error’ as a deficiency in her grammatical knowledge, it is interpreted as her attempt to make sense of her multiple intermental encounters with English. One possible reason for such error is that she was producing the text from two competing ‘mental resources’: (1) from the intermental encounters with the action verb “hurt”, and (3) from the intermental encounters with the phrase “kinda” or “kind of”. In this case, Cassie frequently saw the phrase “kinda” or “kind of” as an unanalyzed whole, or ‘chunk’ (Mitchell & Myles, 2006; Myles et al., 1998;

1999), formulating an implicit grammatical rule that an unmodified word should be put after the phrase “kinda” or “kind of”, such as in the following sentences:

i wasn't a tomboy but i wasn't a girly girl either, i was just kind of, a kid.²⁹ (kind of + unmodified noun)

RT @ItsLifeNotes: I miss you. Not the, "I haven't seen you in a while" kind of miss you, but the, "I wish you were here at right now" kind of miss you. (kind of + unmodified verb)

RT @SoDamnTrue: You like me out of all these people? And you're actually kind of cute? There must be something wrong with you... (kind of + unmodified adjective)

Thus when Cassie tweeted “It’s kinda hurt”, she seemed to be overlaying this implicit rule on top of the action verb rule for “hurt”.

The same is true with Fe. In my analysis of Fe’s Twitter timeline, some of Fe’s grammatical error can be seen as her attempt to make sense of her multiple intermental encounters with English. In the example below, I contrast Fe’s correct vs. incorrect use of the first person plural command “let’s”.

COMMUNITY’S TEXT	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SYNTACTIC ERROR (DEVELOPING)	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH CORRECT SYNTAX (SUCCESSFUL)
RT @GoToZor: “When you change one thing, you change everything.”-Zor. http://t.co/okcrk717 . <u>Let’s change</u> the world together. #Spirituality		<u>let's drink</u> together ^^
RT @brookexavier1: <u>Let's v-v-vote</u> for THE RASMUS here by clicking"Himoitse" http://t.co/XmZoAcre and here http://t.co/InLL9yC0 and RT ...	thanks bagi mereka yang kesar dan mereka yang membuka blog saya untuk membacanya.... <u>let's free to share all</u> ^0^*	#OHAYOOOOOUUUUU~ #morning spirit all, <u>let's make it</u> better than before for the better days in our life #SEMANGAT !!!
RT @brookexavier1: <u>let's get this</u> to 1000000000000000 viewers http://t.co/H5FHgfxz via @youtube	(*Translation: Thanks to those who accidentally clicked my blog and read it... <u>let’s free to share all</u>)	#and once again resolve this problem -,- nanananana... nay to say I give up! <u>let's try</u> to do something better ^^
RT @damnittrue: When my		

²⁹ This is an interdiscursive text that is traceable in full quotes in Google search, and not an original text written by Cassie.

parents are asleep: Shh, they're asleep When I'm asleep: <u>Let's vacuum the house for 3 hours</u> - ___ -		
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Table 28. Syntactic Asymmetry (Fe).

As seen in the left column, Fe encountered the phrase several times in her interactions with her online communities (and most likely outside of Twitter as well):

- “Let’s change the world together”
- “Let’s v-v-v-vote for the Rasmus”
- “Let’s get this to 100000000000 viewers”
- “Let’s vacuum the house for 3 hours”

Each of these posts used the first-person plural command “let us” in its contracted form (i.e. “let’s”). In the right column, she correctly used the phrase in its imperative form when she said, “let’s drink”, “let’s make”, and “let’s try”. In these three instances, she seemed to have an implicit understanding that the command “let’s” is accompanied by an unmodified action verb.

However, in the middle column, she used the phrase in combination with an adjective instead of an unmodified action verb when she said, “Let’s free to share to all.” In my investigation of the possible intermental sources of this error, I look at two different possible ‘chunks’ that may have influenced Fe’s production of this utterance. One source is the common hashtagging practice of the phrase “free to share” on Twitter, such as in the two examples below:

RT @jaspatrickmusic I #laughed so much at this #blog that I figured I’d give you #morning people a heads up as well <http://bit.ly/hH726N> #freetoshare

RT @Crowdfunded photojournalism! I’d <3 this more if projects went into the #publicdomain or, at least #freetoshare <http://bit.ly/cGAXqm>

Fe successfully appropriated this phrase in ‘chunk’ in one of her posts:

#freeToSHARE --> the rasmus new album download on --> <http://t.co/0jgrwwVp>

Another possible intermental source is the phrasal ‘chunk’ “please share” or “share to all” which were also posted several times in Fe’s timeline:

RT @fiaryputri: Please help Share to all Cassiopeia to vote this. We should win,AKTF!^^ <http://t.co/xVJSOykT> @TVXQfacts @TVXQ_ngakak @TV ...

RT @fiaryputri: We're LOSE from RAIN. Please SHARE & VOTE YUNHO bcoz the vote will be END Today! <http://t.co/1PXL0pHe> @U_KNOWJJ @yiingx3 ...

Thus when Fe wrote, “Let’s free to share to all”, it seems that these different intermental encounters have become the ‘resources’ for combining the utterance, which she creatively combined in formulaic ‘chunks’.

As Mitchell and Myles (2006) report, SLA studies have provided ample evidence on the use of ‘chunking’ in informal learning settings, such as in Cassie’s and Fe’s examples above (Weinert, 1995; Wray & Perkins, 2000). From the traditional cognitive view of SLA, the process of reproducing prefabricated chunks among L2 learners are often associated with the limits or the constraints in the learner’s processing capacity (Mitchell & Myles, 2006). This, as mentioned previously in Chapter 2, has raised some concerns about the deficit view of learners and about the overemphasis on what is going on inside the learners’ minds in processing language input, as captured in the small red area in the diagram below:

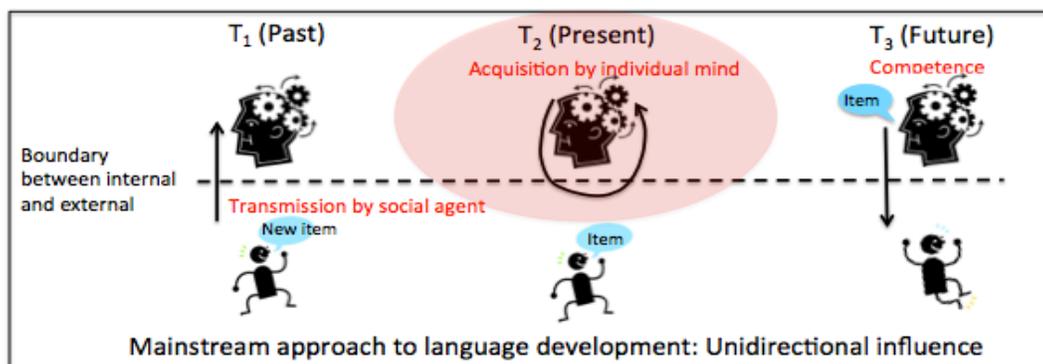


Figure 16. Error as Constraint for Language Development.

Yet, as we see in Cassie’s and Fe’s ‘errors’ above, their ‘errors’ reflect a rich history of sustained participation in social activities, which in turn gave them the opportunity to develop and test their evolving theories of language, as depicted in large red area in the diagram below:

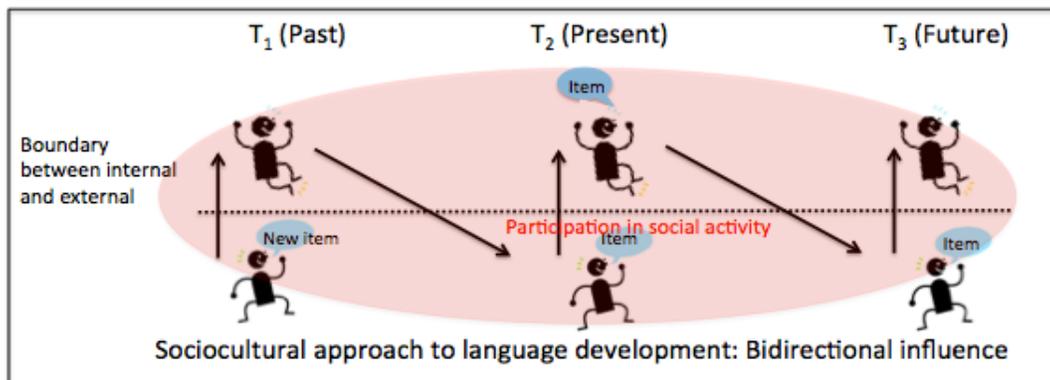


Figure 17. Error in Relation to Guided Participation.

In this sense, learner’s ‘error’ is by no means a constraint for learning or limitation in their processing capacity. In fact, sociocultural theory would argue that this is an asset to their evolving understanding of the second language. In other words, ‘errors’ –or what Rogoff calls ‘varying degrees of asymmetry’- afford rather than constrain development. As Rogoff puts it:

Communication.... always involve[s] adjustment between participants (with varying degree of asymmetry) to stretch their understanding to fit with new perspectives in the shared endeavor. Such stretching to fit several views and to accomplish something ... *is* development and occurs in the process of participation. Participant’s individual changes in role and understanding extend to their efforts and involvement on similar occasions in the future (1995, p.153).

Identity Works and Literacy Development

As reviewed in Chapter 2, one important corollary to the assumption of literacy as a social practice is that literacy is not just seen a way of *doing* reading and writing. It is a way of *being* in the world –of valuing, believing, and relating to the world (Coiro et al., 2008; Gee, 1995; Hornberger & MacKay, 2010; Ivanic, 1998; Lam, 2000). Consequently from a developmental point of view, literacy development, too, is seen as “a process of becoming, rather than acquisition” (Rogoff, 1995, p. 142; see also Kramsch, 2000; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Combining poststructuralist framework for identity and sociocultural framework for development, I approach my analysis of my participants’ intertextual practice in relation to their process of ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ competent users of English in their respective online communities. In the following sections, I look at three sets of evidence that speak to these processes of ‘becoming’ and ‘being.’ First, I present two examples of how my participants’ linguistic repertoire expanded in the process of acculturation to a particular group. Secondly, I present descriptive statistics that contrast Cassie’s and Fe’s textual production and interpretation as it relates to their different identities. Finally, I present their reflections and opinions about English use and English learning in relation to their ‘imagined self’ and ‘imagined community.’ I now turn my discussion to the relationship between identity works and the widening of my participants’ linguistic repertoire.

Group Identity: The ‘birth’ of new words

One of the major consequences of globalization –whose pace is accelerated even more by digital technologies– is the recognition that English has become the

lingua franca around the world. Recent studies have documented the ever-widening varieties of English that are used across the globe, (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Hornberger, 2007; Lam, 2000; 2004; 2009; Sharma, 2012; Seargeant et al., 2012), which lead to the growing discussion of the ownership and the “nativization/hybridization/glocalization” of English (Canagarajah, 1999; 2006; Hornberger, 2007; Pennycook, 1994; 2007). What I have discovered through the 11-month journey of lurking into my participants’ Twitter is that their “hybrid” English was intricately related to their affinity groups and to the kinds of English that these groups used. In the process of participating in multiple affinitive spaces, their understanding of the second language evolved –some of this understanding being inconsistent with the kind of English produced in English-speaking countries. Using two examples below, I analyze the process of appropriation of lexico-semantic and syntactic features of English in relation to my participants’ group affinities and identities.

The first instance of the worldliness of English is Cassie’s and Fe’s use of the word “bias” as a substitute for “favorite” as listed in the table below:

PARTICIPANT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SIMILAR LEXIS
Cassie	RT @AmiciPerpetuum @y3sung @woonxian I agree ^^ I just have a soft spot for Yunsung as they are two biases. Yunho is my DBSK <u>bias</u> as well...lol RT @HusnaCassie The word “bias” doesn’t exist when it comes to DBSK. You can never get to choose a <u>bias</u> among those 5 perfect people RT @MermaidClari Remembering when he was my DBSK <u>bias</u> –shich also changed lol RT@naniwinemouse: @MermaidClari...	Shim Max Choikang Voldamin, and yes he's still my <u>bias</u> :D @Luthfiaaa_ sheila 19 y.o, bdg. cassiopeia, bias changmin :) kmu? (*translation: @Luthfiaa. Sheila 19 y.o, bdg. cassiopeia. changmin <u>bias</u> :) you?)
Fe	RT @shinfiveki same. “@HushedxAngel: I wish certain	#TwitterAda the new update status of my lovely <u>bias</u> !!!

	<p>nameless fans would shut up and realize their <u>bias group</u> isn't even close to being on DBSK's level."</p> <p>RT @TOHOJYJ Someone enlighten me, why is DBSK is my <u>bias group</u> .21stapril.tumblr.com/post/503358757...</p> <p>RT @cheersuknow @TV5XQLikeABoss Hi Say ^^ you're Changmin <u>bias</u> right? I'm Yunho oppa <u>bias</u> :D I love Minnie though xD</p>	
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Table 29. Lexico-semantic Appropriation: "Bias."

As seen in the community's texts in the middle column, the meaning of the word "bias" as it was used and understood by the Cassiopeia community has shifted from its common meaning in English-speaking countries. Cassiopeia uses the word almost synonymously as "favorite". Just like "favorite" is used as a noun and an adjective, the word "bias" in my participants' Twitter timeline seemed to have been used in this way too:

- "Yunho is my DBSK bias as well." (Noun)
- "You can never get to choose a bias among those 5 perfect people." (Noun)
- "I wish certain nameless fans would shut up and realize their bias group isn't even close to being on DBSK's level." (Attributive Adjective)
- "You're Changmin bias right? (Predicative Adjective)

When I looked at other websites, to see how similar or different the word has been used outside of Twitter, I discovered some traces of its use that was still consistent with the traditional use of the word. In these instances, there was a distinction between its use as a noun (i.e. "bias") and its use as an adjective (i.e. "biased"):

- What's wrong with people to accept that you have bias or favourite member in a group? (Noun) (<http://reallaerreal.wordpress.com/2010/07/19/im-done-with->

[this-so-called-dbsk-biased-fan/](#))

- Now, I'm Yunho biased, but Changmin..... (Predicative Adjective)
(<http://trappedincheckmate.tumblr.com/post/28382105719/now-im-yunho-biased-but-changmin>)
- Here's a supposed yunho biased OT5³⁰ (Attributive Adjective)
(<http://black-tortoise.tumblr.com/post/62036202857/hi-m-here-is-a-supposed-yunho-biased-ot5-talking>)

Overtime, the noun modifier “ed” in the word “bias + ed” (adj.) was ultimately dropped, so we often see K-Pop fans used the dropped version to say “I’m Yunho bias” or “DBSK is my bias group”. Interestingly, word “bias” as “favorite” –only in its noun form– has been documented as one of the legitimate words of colloquial English. According to Urban Dictionary (2012), a definitive online source for English slangs, the word “bias” in K-Pop culture is derived from having a bias toward a particular person. In K-pop, a person may have one ultimate bias, and many other biases from other idol groups. From this description, it seems that only the noun function of the word is acknowledged. Yet, as we see from its actual use by K-Pop communities, the word is used arbitrarily as an adjective as well, such as in the sentence “I’m Changmin bias” (predicative adjective) or “I wish certain nameless fans would shut up and realize their bias group isn’t even close to being on DBSK’s level” (attributive adjective).

Another interesting shift in the use of English words among Cassiopeia communities is the use of the idiom “to get under someone’s skin.” As I mentioned in

³⁰ OT5 is DBSK fan group who believes that all the five original members of the band should be back together after their split in 2009.

Chapter 4, Cassie used this phrase in her Twitter bio when she said, “[I’m] under DBSK’s skin.” In English, the idiomatic expression “to get under someone’s skin” can mean three things:

- To annoy or irritate someone intensely.
- To fill someone’s mind in a compelling and persistent way.
- To reach or display a deep understanding of someone.

(Oxford Online Dictionary, 2012)

In English speaking communities –at least as I have encountered the phrase firsthand– the meaning that usually comes up to mind when someone is using this figurative expression is the meaning “to annoy” or “to irritate”. In Cassiopeia community, however, this phrase is commonly used to mean, “to fill someone’s mind”. This phrase is originally found in one of DBSK’s hit song “Mirotic”. Parts of the lyrics contain the expression “I got you under my skin” as shown in the following table:

PARTICIPANT	COMMUNITY’S TEXT (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)	ORIGINAL TEXT WITH SIMILAR SYNTAX
Cassie	You want me, You’ve fallen for me You’re crazy over me, You can’t escape <u>I got you under my skin</u> You want me, You’ve fallen for me You’re crazy over me, You’re my slave <u>I got you under my skin</u>	<u>“Under DBSK’s Skin.”</u>

Table 30. Syntactic Appropriation: "To Get Under Someone's Skin."

As this song expresses, the phrase “I got you under my skin” means “I have made your mind filled with me in a compelling and persistent way.” In constructing her online identities on Twitter, Cassie creatively appropriated the phrase when she said, “[I’m] under DBSK’s skin.” To me, the use of the phrase in Cassie’s online

profile serves a dual function: (1) to mark her identity as a knowledgeable Cassiopeia member (i.e. to use the word as an insider's term (Sergeant et al., 2012), and (2) to express her feelings about being voluntarily preoccupied with the band (i.e. to be figuratively under the band's skin).

What is revealing about my participants' experience with the word "bias" and the phrase "to get under someone's skin" is that they might not be aware of the shift in the uses of the words. Yet, their successful appropriation of the words –at least in the context of K-Pop communities- reflects their developing awareness of these specific linguistic features of English. Moreover, their appropriation of these words is also a form of their constructing a new 'autobiographical self.' As Ivanic (1998) noted, autobiographical self –or the identities that writers bring with them to the writing activity– is socially constructed and constantly changing as a consequence of their developing life history. Thus, as Gee (1996; 2008) would argue, Cassie's and Fe's use of these specific linguistic features of English serves as a tool kit to express their online identities –as a way of becoming part of the social group with which they identify themselves, and as a way of being a true Cassiopeia. Finally, connecting this developmental view of language back to social semiotic theory, this 'birth' of new words demonstrates that meanings are located in the experience with the words (*interpersonal meaning*), and not (just) the definitional concept of the words (*ideational meaning*) (Fairclough, 1989; Halliday, 1994).

Identity works as mediating textual production and interpretation

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 4 and 5, Cassie's and Fe's English literacy practice was qualitatively different in terms of the kinds of text that they read or

wrote online. Despite the fact that they both read and wrote a significant amount of English on Twitter, what they read or wrote, and how they read or wrote it were distinctively different. In this section, I look closely at these differences, and explore the connection between these differences and their overall identity works.

To investigate the differences between Cassie’s and Fe’s overall literacy practice, I devise the following figure:

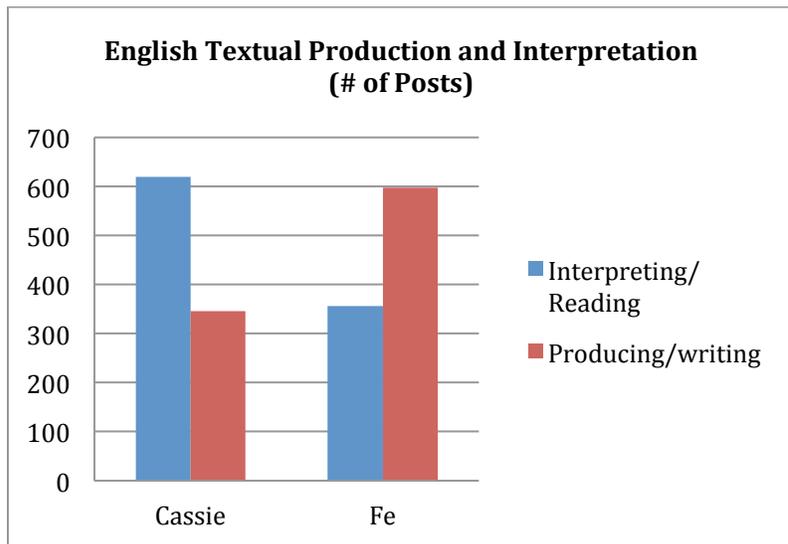


Figure 18. Cassie's vs. Fe's English Textual Production and Interpretation.

As seen in this figure, Cassie seemed to read/listened to more English texts on Twitter than Fe. In total, Cassie read/listened to 619 English texts of the total 2,252 posts captured in her timeline (28%); and wrote 346 English texts of the total 2,252 posts captured (15%). Conversely, Fe wrote more English text than Cassie. In total, Fe wrote 598 English texts of the total 2, 252 post captured in her timeline (27%); and read/listened to 356 English texts of the total 2, 252 posts captured (16%).

Plotted against the five biggest identity categories across the two of them, Cassie’s and Fe’s English textual production and interpretation can be visualized as follows:

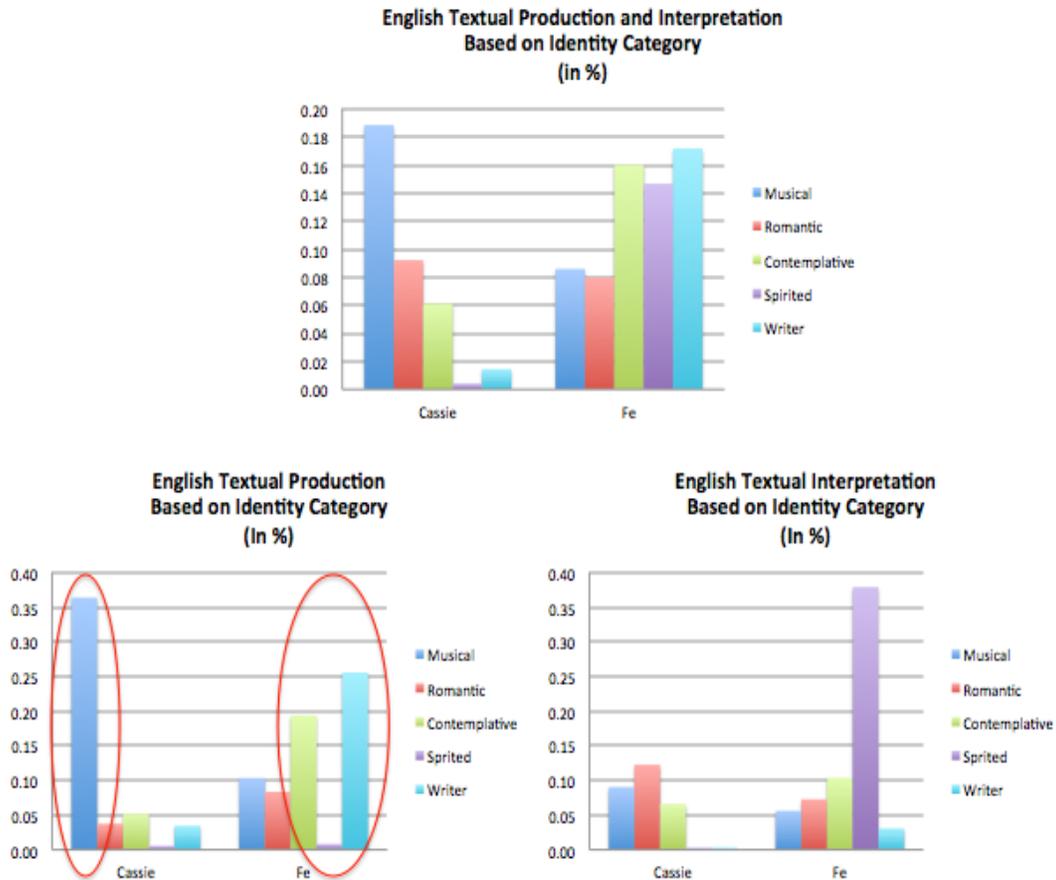


Figure 19. Cassie's and Fe's L2 Literacy Practice Based on Identity Category.

The top figure highlights the contrast between the kinds of English texts circulating around (i.e. both Tweets and Retweets) Cassie's and Fe's texts. For Cassie, the dominant English texts that she read and wrote online were the ones related to Cassiopeia (Cassie's *musical identity*), which made up 18% of the total 965 English texts captured in her timeline. The next biggest category of English texts circulating around Cassie's timeline was *romantic* Tweets and Retweets, which made up 9% of the total English texts captured in her timeline. Surprisingly, when plotted against one of Fe's dominant identity categories, Cassie also read and wrote English texts of *contemplative* nature, which made up 6% of her total English posts. Reasonably, posts that were not directly related to her sense of self (i.e. posts about

study abroad programs and posts about love for reading and writing) only consisted of 1% of her total English posts.

Fe's timeline, on the other hand, was dominated by English texts that were related to her love for reading and writing. 17% of the total 954 English posts circulating around Fe's timeline was related to her *writer identity*. The next biggest category of English posts for Fe was that of *contemplative* posts (16%), followed by posts about her dream of studying abroad (i.e. *spirited identity*), which made up 15% of her total English posts. Surprisingly, plotting Fe's literacy practices against Cassie's dominant identities, Fe turned out to be *musical* and *romantic* as well. Her English Tweets and Retweets related to her favorite band, the Rasmus and Avenged Sevenfold, made up 9% of her total English post; and her Tweets and Retweets related to romantic themes made up 8% of the posts.

Breaking down the data based on the act of reading/listening (figure on the bottom right corner), Cassie's textual interpretation was mostly centered around reading or listening to romantic posts (12% of the total 619 English texts that she read or listened to). Interestingly for Fe, the majority of the English posts that she read online were the scholarship information on study abroad programs around the world (38% of the total 356 English texts that she read or listened to). Relating this part of Fe's data back to the discussion on her imagined identity (or 'possibility for selfhood'), it seemed to me that she used these posts mainly for informational purposes –and not necessarily for conscious identity works (see discussion on this in Chapter 5).

Finally based on the act of writing (figure on the bottom left corner), we can observe that Cassie mainly wrote English texts that were related to her favorite K-Pop band Cassiopeia (36% of the total 346 English texts that she wrote); as compared to Fe, who only wrote about music 10% of the total 598 English texts that she wrote. Yet when it comes to producing posts that were related to contemplation or to reading and writing, Fe showed stronger authorial presence because she wrote about them 19% and 26% of the time respectively; compared to Cassie who only wrote these posts 5% and 3% of the total 346 English posts that she wrote.

The comparison between Cassie's and Fe's textual production reveals a very important insight about their distinct identities. As seen in the two red circles on the figure on the left hand corner (Figure 17), we can deduce that they wrote more about things that were personally meaningful to them –things that they identified themselves with. For Cassie, this meant topics that were related to her favorite K-Pop band. For Fe, this meant topics that were related to her blog, her many writing projects, and her favorite books. Though this is certainly not a new insight, as this has consistently been recorded in the literature (see Barton, 2007; Blommaert, 2008; Street & Hornberger, 2008), it is important to underscore that learners' identities structure their engagement with texts. As Norton (2010) argues, when L2 learners engage in textual practices, both their production and interpretation of the texts are mediated by their identities, and how they value their engagement in the activity.

What is more, developmentally, L2 learners' identities are not solely determined by their autobiographical self. As Ivanič (1998) points out, learners' autobiographical self is constantly changing as they are developing their life history.

The crucial point here, especially in regards to the development of their English literacy, is that their participation with others in a social activity is *also* mediating the construction of learners' potential identities as they engage in discourse (i.e. their *discoursal self*). Yet the contribution of social participation to the development of identity is not unidirectional, as Weedon (1997) would argue. They are mutually constitutive and help transform each other.

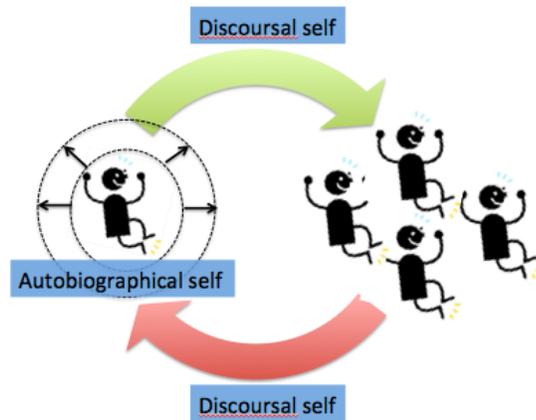


Figure 20. Identity Works and Social Participation as Mutually Constitutive.

As in Cassie's and Fe's textual experiences, each of them entered the online social activities with a general sense of who they were as a music lover and a writer (*autobiographical self*). They sought activities that were in line with their sense of self as a point of entry to fully immerse *in* the discourse (*discoursal self*). As they continued to participate and appropriate the language of their communities, they gained stronger authorial presence in the discourse that they participated in (*self as author*). In this case, their participation on Twitter has afforded –rather than constrained- opportunities for them to construct more desirable identities (i.e. as competent users of English). This can be seen, for example, in Cassie's strong authorial presence in Cassiopeia-related discourses, and Fe's strong authorial

presence in writing-related discourses. More importantly, as they participated in this way, they also expanded their linguistic repertoire (see previous section on language appropriation. In turn this knowledge afforded their future participation in similar and other new contexts.

Possibility for selfhood: Values, beliefs, and contexts of English use

So far I have sketched a rosy picture of my participants' online literacy practices. From my description of their identities, their online communities, as well as their participation in multiple English-mediated discourses, it was as though their 11-month journey in using English on Twitter was smooth sailing. Indeed, if we look at it from the perspective of a '*third space*' (Babha, 2004), to a certain extent they did see their online activities as liberating. As numerous studies have demonstrated (Coiro et al., 2009; Ito et al., 2010; Skerrett, 2010), digital spaces are one of the potential '*third space*' for learners who are socially constrained in their physical space to explore, challenge, and transform their engagement with the world. Originally the concept of '*third space*' is rooted in the tradition of Marxist critical theory, which focuses its analysis on the dialectics –tensions between the oppressors and the oppressed (Pennycook, 2001; 2007). In the context of literacy, the concept of '*third space*' highlights the importance of an alternative site where the oppressed (i.e. the ones whose access to literacies were constrained by the institutional, cultural, and social forces) were able to challenge this practice.

In major seminal works on critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989; 1992) and critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2007; Phillipson, 1992), analyses of literacy as a social practice are often associated with the constraints that learners

face in their participation in social life –including the constraints in speaking or writing in English. This includes the works that I have reviewed in Chapter 2 (see Ivanic, 1998; Lilis, 2001; Hornberger, 2007). In the context of this study, however, my initial focus was not to uncover these constraints. The reason not to focus on these macro-contexts was partly theoretical and partly practical. Theoretically, I wanted to limit my analysis to the exploration of the interactional –as opposed to macrosocial- forces that discursively shaped my participants’ literacy. Additionally, in my statement of the problem which led to the execution of this study, I highlighted the constraints that Indonesian college students faced in participating in their English classrooms. In this case, constraints were my departing point. Thus, from a practical standpoint, I was more interested in exploring the affordances of SNS like Twitter as an alternative site –a third space- for developing my participants’ English literacy. Yet, as Pennycook (2001) rightly argues, researcher’s self-reflexivity needs to be in place when approaching and interpreting their data:

[O]ne of the problems with emancipatory-modernism is its assurity about its own rightness, its belief that an adequate critique of social and political inequality can lead to an alternative reality. A postmodern-problematizing stance, however, needs to maintain a greater sense of humility and difference and to raise questions about the limits of its own knowing. This self-reflexive position also suggests that critical applied linguistics is not concerned with producing itself as a new orthodoxy, with prescribing new models and procedures for doing applied linguistics. Rather, it is concerned with raising a

host of new and difficult questions about knowledge, politics, and ethics (Pennycook, 2001, p. 8).

In the year that I spent making sense of the data, the gravitational pull of the macro-social and institutional contexts of English use were readily felt in my participants' beliefs about the language and about themselves, especially in relation to their positioning in academic discourse. Their reflection about these issues has raised serious questions on my end about the kinds of English that Indonesian students desire vs. are required to learn, and the extent to which digital technologies like Twitter can afford –or even constrain- their development. Thus, in this section I devote the next few paragraphs to address some of these issues.

My first realization of the gravitational forces of schools in defining the legitimate form of English was when I interviewed Cassie and Fe separately for the second time in August 2012. To my surprise, they both projected a bleak image of themselves when it came to their English performance in school. Cassie, for instance, confessed:

Dian : So you know you're pretty good with English, right?! Are you taking any English course right now?

Cassie : I'm taking a TOEFL course right now. My English isn't so good as it turns out. I have to learn a lot.

Dian : I see... but that's a totally different kind of English right? So why do you take this course?

Cassie : My dad asked me to. He told me it's good for my resume, or if I want to look for a scholarship abroad

Dian : Umm... Yes, your dad's right.

Cassie : Oh btw, if you have any info on study abroad program please let me know! (Interview, August 2012).

Like Cassie, Fe also portrayed a similar image when she positioned herself in her academic community in college:

- Dian : Tell me more about your English learning experience.
- Fe : Well, ummm... I guess it all started when I was in elementary school, my brother would come home and get fancy with his English. He would show me cool stuffs about English. Since then I got so hooked up I was telling my mom and telling her to enroll me in a private course. And so she did. All the way to high school, I think.
- Dian : Cooool. Then?
- Fe : Then when I moved here [to college] I just stopped taking English course. We had English 1 and English 2 in our first year, and that was it for me.
- Dian : How were these courses working for you?
- Fe : I couldn't believe I only got a B! I guess my English was rusty... I don't know. It was just such a surprise.
- Dian : Really? That must have sucked.
- Fe : But right now, although I'm not taking any formal courses, I just teach myself English. More of an autodidact, you know?
- Dian : Hmm... Interesting... How exactly?
- Fe : Hahah... I would just download novels from the Internet and read them (Interview, August 2012).

As the interview excerpts suggest, both Cassie and Fe expressed some degree of self-doubt and frustration when reflecting on their participation in academic community. Suddenly, the confidence and competence that they exerted online were gone. The sense of self that they then brought with them to the literacy practice in college was “My English is not so good” or “My English is rusty.” Interestingly, both of them seemed to resist these voices that told them that they couldn't or weren't good enough. For Cassie, her persistence in taking a TOEFL course was driven by her imagined self to go and study in English speaking countries. For Fe, she continued to teach herself English for her own enjoyment despite feeling a sense of defeat in school.

In her analysis of academic literacy, Ivanic (1998) made a relevant point about the socially constrained access to discourse that could shape learners' possibility for selfhood. In many cases, learners' history (*autobiographical self*) influences the kinds of access that they have to the discourse that they participate in. That means that different individuals will feel able to identify with different social activities/discourses according to their group memberships. In my participants' case, they somewhat felt incapacitated in school because they were constrained by their ability to access and participate in the academic discourse. They didn't have the discorsal repertoire that was expected of them to engage in the academic practice (*discorsal self*). At the same time, institutions like schools and colleges also have conventions for how to carry oneself in academic discourse (*self as author*). The intertextual practice that my participants have cultivated in Twitter and the kinds of social activities/discourses that have made them confident of their ability in the first place might not be privileged in schools. All of these social constraints, as Ivanic argues, "have the potential to contribute to changing the possibility for selfhood available for learners in the future" (p. 28). Every time learners construct a discorsal self which draws on less privileged practice, they are redefining the sense of self that will be available for them in the future (*possibility for selfhood*).

Fortunately for both Cassie and Fe, it seems to me that they consciously made the effort to get passed these constraints and continued to *invest* their energies in learning academic English (Norton, 1995). In this sense, the social and cultural capital that they could gain from this practice overshadowed their struggles. Learning academic English was necessary to help them access their imagined community (i.e.

English-speaking countries). Thus, despite their awareness of their limitations, they saw their formal learning experience in school/English courses as opening up –rather than constraining– their possibility for selfhood. As Cassie noted:

Dian : So... How is it [the TOEFL course]? Any good?

Cassie : Very good. The instructor is awesome. Far from boring eheh.

Dian : Is it different from learning English through Twitter or Facebook?

Cassie : It is, because here you really pay attention to grammar. So sometimes I like blank out because I don't remember a thing.... Usually mine is English whatever XD

Dian : Aaaahh.... So how is this instructor making grammar lessons not so boring?

Cassie : He switches from being so serious to being funny. Lot's of intermezzo in between. If he catches us zoning out, he would pull off this joke or games... (Interview, August 2012)

For Cassie, she made her weakness in grammar worked for her by attempting to master this aspect of English. Knowing that grammar ‘correctness’ is one of the instrumental tools in participating in academic discourse, Cassie made the conscious effort to “really pay attention to grammar.”

Fe, on the other hand, reconciled her struggle with school-based practice by resisting the top-down approach (of people telling her what do to) altogether. Instead of taking formal courses like Cassie, Fe preferred to teach herself English. In her reflection, she noted:

Fe : Well, if you ask me [about the English class in our department], I would say I prefer to teach myself English, because there's no obligation to do this or that, and no time commitment.... I'm not saying that the classes that they offer in school are bad. I mean, they're good. But you know, they're too traditional. It's not fun.

.....

Dian : So you think they're boring because of the genre? I mean, because they're too academic? Or because of the instructor? In his/her ability to deliver the material?

Fe : I guess it's a little bit of both. For me personally, the academic language is like the language of the gods. Hahah... But what are you going do, right? It's your risk. You got to stick with it (Interview, February 2013).

It was apparent from this excerpt that Fe had an ambivalent position toward English. She saw school-based literacy as both relevant (i.e. “You got to stick with it”) and irrelevant (i.e. “Academic language is like the language of the gods.”). When I offered my opinions about why academic language might seem unreachable to some people, Fe responded further by foregrounding her personal needs and desires:

Dian : I think one of the most difficult tasks for instructors is to build some kind of relevance to the lives of their students, who often times don’t even need to read or write or speak in that kind of language [i.e. the academic language]. The trick question is: How do you do it?

Fe : Exactly.... I think if students need to learn it they will. But for me it’s not so much about throwing out these big words to make you sound “smart” or “academic”, it’s more about how you communicate even the most complex ideas in ways that are understandable. I’m seeking for that kind of experience. To communicate, you know... (Interview, February 2013).

Thus from Fe’s perspective, her investment in the academic language was not motivated by her desire to master the linguistic conventions required by the academic community (e.g., grammar correctness, or discipline-specific vocabularies), but to continue to establish intersubjectivity with her interlocutors, and to make the language palatable. Here Fe’s authorial self as a writer really influenced her critical perspective about academic English. In other words, she subjected the dominant practice of school to her individual needs and desires, rather than being subjected to it.

Interestingly, and what is more important in the context of this study is that, both Cassie and Fe skillfully transferred –or in Rogoff’s (1995) term ‘transform’– the literacy practice that they so effortlessly engaged in in the digital world to their classrooms. In Cassie’s case, she made the effort to go online and do more research on some of the things that she learned in school –which sometimes were so

unpalatable that the most natural thing for her to do was to make sense of it with the help of Google search. As she commented:

Cassie : You know, our textbooks are mostly in English. Lot's of difficult vocabulary, Sometimes it's a drag. They always put me in a bad mood hahah.

Dian : LOL.... Is that so? But have you ever googled things online as you were reading these books? Just like you do when you stumble upon lyrics or quotes that you don't know? [Referring to previous interview comments]

Cassie : I have, especially if there's an assignment related to it. I think I do online research more than I read textbooks LOL....

Dian : Hmm.... very interesting. You like doing your research online more than reading your textbook then? LOL....

Cassie : Yes, absolutely, because the language of the textbook is complicated. Better google these things online. It's way cooler (Interview, December 2012).

All in all, I believe that this 'surface-level' attempt to take into account the larger macrosocial and institutional forces that may constrain my participants' possibility for selfhood has helped me approach my interpretation of their successful engagement on Twitter with some level of humility. Taking Pennycook's (2001) advice, the ultimate goal of my exploration is not to prescribe new models or procedures for including Twitter or other SNSs to the classrooms. Rather, it is concerned with raising questions about how the educational communities address certain patterns of privileging associated with academic literacy, and provide an alternative space for learners to engage with English in ways that are enabling rather than disabling (Skerrett, 2010). As we learn from Cassie's and Fe's struggle to negotiate their positions in different spheres of social activities, it takes more than just subsuming/subjecting oneself to the dominant practice of school to be successful in it. Learners need to continue to negotiate their sense of self in relation to their multiple domains of life, and to continue to be driven by personal goals, intents, and desires to make the experience with academic language works for them.

Summary

In this chapter, I focused my analysis on the connection between literacy practice and development. I approached my discussion of literacy development from two main angles: (a) language appropriation and (b) identity works. From the point of view of language appropriation, I presented different examples of moment-by-moment intermental process, appropriation process, as well as linguistic asymmetry to highlight the complexities of developing second language literacy in social participation and activities. From the point of view of identity works, my analyses were focused on the unique affordances of group identity in shaping my participants' understanding of specific linguistic features of English, and the mutually constitutive nature of identity works in mediating second language literacy development. Finally, in my attempt to address the macrosocial and institutional contexts that might constrain my participants' literacy, I looked at how their beliefs about themselves and about English influenced their (re)actions toward the patterns of privileging academic literacy in school.

In the next chapter, I revisit and address the primary research questions that drove this study. Next, I discuss the contributions that this study makes to the field of SLA and the implications that my findings hold for teachers and English instructors in Indonesia. Primarily I take a closer look at how educators and curriculum designers can use the insights learned from this study, by exploring some ways to bridge students' informal, out-of-school literacy practices to the practice of schooling. Finally, I consider future directions for research that may further the understandings constructed through this study.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Introduction

Research shows us that those immersed in digital media are engaged in an unprecedented exploration of language, social interaction, and self-directed activity that leads to diverse forms of learning (Buckingham & Willet, 2006). In the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in particular, numerous studies have been devoted to investigate the diverse ways in which English language learners (ELLs) engage with English texts in the digital media and their relationships with English language learning (Hornberger, 2007). However, these studies have often focused on ELLs who live in English-speaking countries and are more exposed to the target language in their daily lives (Lam, 2000; Lam, 2009; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolezenberg, and Saliani, 2007). There is not enough empirical research that have investigated the literacy practices of those ELLs who live the majority of their lives using another language, and yet are increasingly exposed and connected to English mainly through the Internet. Furthermore, among those that have looked at ELL's literacy practices in the digital media, little attention has been paid to how these practices lead to the linguistic development of those who are involved in the processes (Ivanic, 1998).

This study addressed some of these gaps in the literature by investigating the different ways in which two Indonesian college students who were located in Indonesia engaged in producing and interpreting English texts in the digital media. Particularly, this study explored the relationship between their online literacy

practices and the development of their English literacy. Qualitative analyses conducted in this study focused on English texts that the students produced and interpreted in a social network site (SNS) called Twitter. This study examined a particular practice that is gaining popularity among young people today, that is the practice of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992; Ivanic, 1998). In the following sections, I revisit and address the primary research questions that drove this study. I then discuss the contributions that this study makes to the field of SLA and the implications that my findings hold for teachers and English instructors in Indonesia. Primarily I take a closer look at how educators and curriculum designers can use the insights learned from this study, by exploring some ways to bridge students' informal, out-of-school literacy practices to the practice of schooling. Finally, I consider future directions for research that may further the understandings constructed through this study.

A Return to the Research Questions

In this section, I revisit each research question to summarize the insights and findings to which it has led me. Because Research Questions 2a and 2b were developed to expand Research Questions 1a and 1b from the developmental angles, some of my answers to Research Question 1 are repeated and expanded in the discussion around Research Question 2.

Research Question 1

1. How did the two Indonesian college students read and write English texts in the context of their participation in Twitter?

a. What kinds of literacy practices did they engage in?

Using a bottom-up approach to answer this research question, I identified two basic functions in Twitter that defined the way my participants read and wrote English texts: Tweet and Retweet. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I broke down these two basic practices further using a top-down approach and by looking at them from social semiotic theory. According to semiotic theory (Bakhtin, 1981; 1984; 1986; Fairclough, 1989; 1992; Halliday, 1994), written utterances or texts are intricately embedded in the particularity and history of interactions among members of a sociocultural group. In the literature this is called *intertextuality*. Guided by this overarching theoretical assumption, I found two distinct ways in which my participants' texts were embedded in the texts of their online communities. First, they did so by directly borrowing their texts from another source, which was explicitly marked using direct quotations, direct Retweets, or direct hyperlinks. This specific practice is called *manifest intertextuality*. The second way that my participants' texts were related to other texts was through the non-explicit borrowing practice, in which my participants adopted or appropriated the texts without marking their original sources. This practice is known in the literature as *interdiscursivity*.

Classifying my participants' textual production and interpretation by the two basic functions on Twitter, their literacy practices can be visualized as follows:

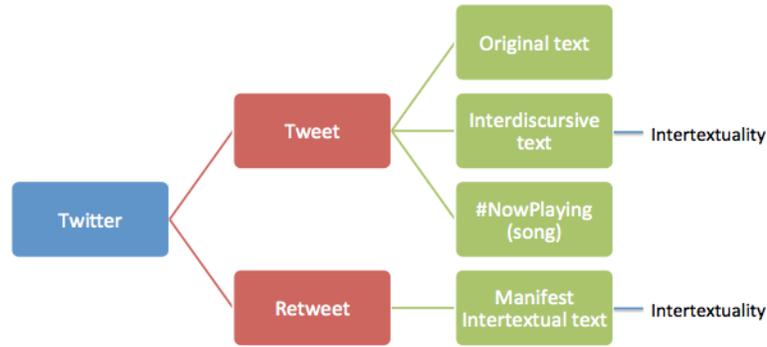


Figure 21. Kinds of Literacy Practices Based on Twitter Functions.

Another way of looking at my participants' practices according to the literacy act of reading and writing, their texts can be broken down as follows:

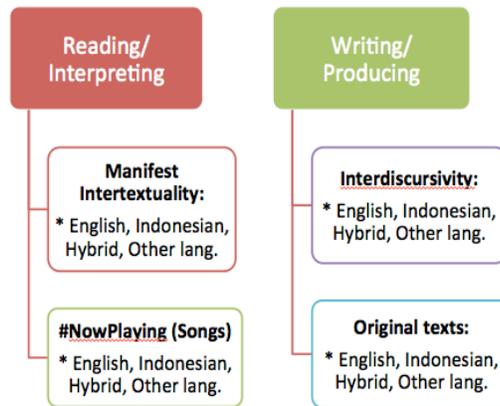


Figure 22. Kinds of Literacy Practices Based on Literacy Acts.

b. What did these practices mean to them?

To understand the meanings that my participants derived from these intertextual practices, I used two different methods. First, I determined the meaning of the texts based on how the texts functioned in the literacy events. That is by understanding the goals that my participants were trying to achieve by tweeting or retweeting their posts. Based on my observations, my participants' texts functioned in their social activities as: (1) a ritual, (2) a display of their emotions, and (3) a display

of their identities. An example of texts that functioned as a ritual is the routine hashtagging of songs that were played at the time of tweeting. Aside from being ritualistic, these songs also meant to display their emotions or identities. Second, I directly asked them specific questions about the meanings of some of the texts that they wrote and I found revealing.

From my exploration of the discoursal functions of their texts came the realization that my participants' literacy practices were deeply connected to how they constructed themselves in relation to the multiple communities that they engaged in. Their identities mediated the way they made meanings of their literacy experiences. This identity includes (1) the identity that they brought with them to the act of reading and writing (*autobiographical self*), (2) the identity that they constructed through the characteristics of their texts (*discoursal self*), (3) the extent to which they projected an authorial presence in producing their texts (*self as author*), as well as (4) the sociocultural contexts that opened up or constrained opportunities for them to project themselves in their current and future participation (*possibility for selfhood*). For my first participant, Cassie, the majority of the texts that she produced and interpreted on Twitter centered around her love for a K-Pop band called DBSK and around her love stories. For my second participant, Fe, much of the texts that she produced and interpreted on Twitter was texts of contemplative nature that reflected her natural disposition to reflect on her life. Additionally, her texts were also centered around her dreams of going abroad and on her many writing projects. As I explored further in Chapter 6, in comparing Cassie's and Fe's textual practices, it was apparent to me

that they both projected a strong authorial presence when they engaged in topics that were personally relevant or meaningful to them.

Research Question 2

2. How did the literacy practices afford or constrain the development of the students' English literacy?

a. How were the practices of their online communities shaping or shaped by the participants' literacy practices?

With the lack of research that have explicitly explored the connection between literacy practice and literacy development, my answer to Research Question 2a was a response to this gap in the literature. The main theoretical framework that I used to answer this question was the Vygotskian sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1987; Wertsch, 1991; Rogoff, 1995). Three main concepts that were particularly relevant to this study were *intermental functioning*, *intramental functioning* and *appropriation*. Specifically, I used the concept of *appropriation* to index the transformation in my participants' literacy practices and to highlight the affordances of sustained participation in developing my participant's English literacy.

What I found in my participants' data was that the intermental encounters were central to the development of my participants' literacy. As my participants' intertextual practices became routinized, they appropriated and transformed the meanings that they derived from the texts to fit their unique new contexts. In this sense, their ability to use the language in a future situation was mediated by their participation in past social activities (Rogoff, 1995), and by their appropriation of

what Fairclough (1989) calls the ‘member resources.’ (See my review of Fairclough’s social semiotic theory in Chapter 2).

On the other hand, my participants’ textual productions were also full of ‘errors.’ SLA research have shown that L2 learners’ ‘errors’ and ‘mistakes’ are indicative of their developing competence in the target language. Though there is a degree of systematicity to learner’s errors (see Ellis, 1994; Towell & Hawkins, 1994), there are also high degrees of variability. L2 learners’ utterances seem to vary from moment to moment and in the types of errors that are made. L2 learners also “seem liable to switch between a range of correct and incorrect forms over lengthy periods of time” (Mitchell & Myles, 2006, p. 16). In this study, I used my participants’ ‘error’ as another index of their developing literacy. Although Cassie and Fe successfully appropriated some language of their online communities, their English were nevertheless still considered “unstable and in course of change” (Mitchell & Myles, 2006, p. 16). In a positive light, I demonstrated that these ‘errors’ were necessary to fine-tune their knowledge of English, as they continued to engage in their multiple social activities.

b. How were the identities that the participants constructed online shaping or shaped by their literacy practices?

As reviewed in Chapter 2, one important corollary to the assumption of literacy as a social practice is that literacy is not just seen a way of *doing* reading and writing. It is a way of *being* in the world –of valuing, believing, and relating to the world (Coiro et al., 2008; Gee, 1995; Hornberger & MacKay, 2010; Ivanic, 1998; Lam, 2000). Consequently from a developmental point of view, literacy

development, too, is seen as “a process of becoming, rather than acquisition” (Rogoff, 1995, p. 142; c. f. Kramsch, 2000; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Combining poststructuralist framework for identity and sociocultural framework for development, I approached my analysis of my participants’ intertextual practice in relation to their process of ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ competent users of English in their respective online communities.

As this study found, identity works were another central mediating factor in the development of my participants’ English literacy. On Twitter, my participants mostly wrote about things that were personally meaningful to them –things that they identified themselves with. What is more, developmentally, my participants’ identities were not solely determined by their autobiographical self. As Ivanič (1998) points out, learners’ autobiographical self is constantly changing as they are developing their life history. The crucial point here, especially in regards to the development of my participants’ English literacy, is that their participation in a social activity was *also* mediating the construction of their potential identities as they engaged in discourse (i.e. their *discoursal self*).

Yet, according to Weedon (1997) and others (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 1995; 2010), the contribution of social participation to the development of my participants’ identity was not unidirectional. They were mutually constitutive and helped transform each other. My participants’ textual practices demonstrated that each of them entered the online social activities with a general sense of who they were as a person (*autobiographical self*). They sought activities that were in line with their sense of self as a point of entry to fully immerse *in* the discourse (*discoursal*

self). As they continued to participate and appropriate the language of their communities, they gained stronger authorial presence in the discourse that they participated in (*self as author*). In this case, their participation on Twitter has afforded –rather than constrained- opportunities for them to construct more desirable identities (i.e. as competent users of English).

Finally, taking into account the larger macrosocial and institutional forces that might have constrained my participants' possibility for selfhood, I approached my interpretation of their successful engagements on Twitter with a degree of caution and humility (Pennycook's, 2001). The ultimate goal of my exploration was not to prescribe new models or procedures for including Twitter or other SNSs to the classrooms. Rather, it was concerned with raising questions about how the educational communities address certain patterns of privileging associated with academic literacy, and provide an alternative space for learners to engage with English in ways that are enabling rather than disabling (Skerrett, 2010). As we learned from Cassie's and Fe's struggle to negotiate their positions in different spheres of social activities, we know that it takes more than just subsuming/subjecting oneself to the dominant practice of school to be successful in it. Learners need to continue to negotiate their sense of self in relation to their multiple domains of life, and to continue to be driven by personal goals, intents, and desires to make the experience with English works for them. In the next few sections, I address some practical implications that can be derived from these insights, particularly by exploring some ways to bridge students' informal, out-of-school literacy practices to the practice of schooling.

Contributions to the Field

This study adds to the body of research that has investigated digitally mediated literacy practices among English language learners. This study expands the scope of the literature by drawing attention to the role of digital technologies in second language literacy development in contexts where the primary access to the second language is online (Coiro et al., 2008; Ito et al., 2010). Numerous studies have documented how English language learners engaged in online social activities, with different social partners around the globe (see Lam, 2009; McGinnis et al., 2008; Seargeant et al., 2012). Yet, many of these studies were situated in a context where the ELLs (or the bilingual students) were naturally exposed to the target language on a regular basis – both in their physical and digital environments. In this study, my investigation was situated in an EFL context, where English was not the native language. Furthermore, the majority of the social activities or the social groups of which my participants were a part were not as transnational as what has been recorded in the literature. Interestingly, despite the fact that English was a foreign language which was not commonly spoken even in online environments, this study shows that ELLs who use English as part of their online literacy practices are just as skillful as their counterparts who live in English-majority communities. These findings suggest an affordance of SNSs like Twitter in bridging EFL students –who normally do not have a direct physical access to the target language communities– to interact meaningfully with other users of English around the world.

Secondly, this study contributes to the knowledge base of SLA by explicitly exploring the connection between literacy practice and literacy development. That is, how literacy as a social practice affords changes for the users who are involved in the

process of producing and interpreting L2 texts. To date, there are only a few empirical studies that have looked at how literacy transforms the experience of those who are engaged in practice. This study is situated within this growing interest in linking literacy practice with the (trans)formation of human cognition (Hall, Vitanova, Marchenkova, 2005; Lankshear & Knobel, 2000; Van Lier, 2000;). This study then serves to explore the link that connects the concept of literacy as a social practice (i.e. as a way of ‘doing’ language and of ‘being’ in the world) *and* literacy activities as transforming human cognition (i.e. as a way of ‘developing’ linguistic repertoire for the individuals who are involved in the process).

One of the most important insights derived from this study, especially in relation to the theorizing of language appropriation (Rogoff, 1995; Wertsch, 1991) is the changing landscape of social participation in the context of the digital media. Traditionally, sociocultural theory frames participation as a shared endeavor among partners who are engaged in a social activity. According to Rogoff (1995), the key concept in social participation is that it is *guided*. As she argues:

The concept of *guided participation* refers to the processes and systems of involvement between people as they communicate and coordinate efforts while participating in culturally valued activity. This includes not only the face-to-face interaction, which has been the subject of much research, but also the side-by-side joint participation that is frequent in everyday life and the more distal arrangements of people's activities that do not require copresence (e.g., choices of where and with whom and with what materials and activities a person is involved). The "guidance" referred to in guided participation involves the direction offered by cultural and social values, as well as social partners; the "participation" in guided participation refers to observation, as

well as hands-on involvement in an activity.

As Rogoff (1995) aptly points out in this excerpt, much of the theorizing about appropriation has focused on the coordination of efforts in the face-to-face, side-by-side joint participation. In the digital media environment, a lot of research efforts have been devoted to the same kind of side-by-side joint participation among social partners (see studies on gaming (Gee, 2004; Gee & Hayes, 2011), or studies on ELL's participation in an online fan-based community (Lam, 2000), or ELL's participation in different SNSs (McGinnis et al, 2007; Seargeant et al., 2012; Sharma, 2012)). One major assumption in many of these studies is that participation requires the co-presence of and coordination of efforts by the social partners. Yet, as this study highlights, appropriation can also occur in more distal arrangements of people, which do not require 'co-presence' or 'coordinated efforts.' This was especially observed in my participants' activities with their idols, the quotebots, or even with the songs that they listened to. In many of these instances, my participants only one-sidedly and distally 'participated'. But their observation of the language was so instrumental in the process that even without 'guidance' or 'direction' offered by their social partners (in this case the idols, quotebots, and the songs), they were still able to transform the activities. In this case, this study has contributed to the literature by providing an empirical evidence for appropriation in the context of a more distal, observational participation that is so prevalent in digitally mediated environments.

Finally, the study contributes to the literature by arguing for a paradigm shift in what counts as literacy and literacy education for EFL students. As has been well established in the literature, literacy as an act of reading and writing is a complex process that requires L2 learners to engage with texts on a cognitive, interactional, and social level at the same time (Gutierrez, 2008; Hornberger, 2007; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Matsuda, Canagarajah, Harklau, Hyland, & Warschauer, 2003). This

study has demonstrated that literacy is not just a problem of mentally decoding and processing texts, as it was traditionally understood in the field of SLA. For ELLs, literacy and literacy learning involve ‘doing’ meaningful social activities and occupying specific subject positions in the world (i.e. as a way of ‘being’ in the world). As Gee (1996) argues, our words, acts, values, and beliefs are so intertwined in everything that we do. Thus, when we engage in an act of reading and writing, we are projecting these values and belief –that is our identities. This especially has important repercussions for teachers and educators who are trying to engage ELLs in literacy activities in a language that is foreign to them. As mentioned in Chapter 6, this study raises questions about how educational communities address students’ multiple identities, which are instrumental to their ability to interact meaningfully in the target language. More importantly, this study also invites educators to engage in critical reflexive practice in designing an alternative space for learners to interact with English in ways that are enabling rather than disabling.

Educational Implications

In this study I have established the importance of understanding ELLs’ intertextual practices as they relate to their identities and their second language literacy development. The study focuses on ELLs’ engagement on Twitter, which has the technological/mediational restriction for producing no more than 140 characters. Being so restrictive, a natural question that comes to an educator’s mind is: What does it have to do with the kinds of English that I teach in schools? To answer this question, I outline two ways in which teachers can engage in critical reflexivity before deciding to design classroom activities that utilize Twitter as part of their

pedagogical tools. I call these ways *'the bridging practices.'* In the following sections, I discuss how teachers can bridge their students' informal, out-of-school practice to the literacy practice of schools.

Bridging the technology

One important aspect of students' use of SNS is that they use it as a hub for many of their online activities. It is not uncommon to find students log into their Facebook or Twitter page to then click on news or videos or pictures that are linked to other websites, or for them to google information to follow up on what they encounter on their SNSs. It is also uncommon to find that they are playing games or chatting with their friends using the platform provided by the SNS (Seargeant et al, 2012). The landscape of the new media has changed so drastically that people are now able to integrate, embed, and work with multiple media systems simultaneously. Such that, the media contents that people produce or consume flow across these different outlets seamlessly. Jenkins (2006) calls this phenomenon a *'convergent culture.'* With this in mind, teachers need to be cognizant about their students' use of Twitter, so that they do not isolate this practice from their students' larger online activities. Thus, first and foremost teachers need to be aware that students use this technology as an organic part of the resources/tools that they use to participate in their multiple social activities.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, teachers also need to interpret the use of Twitter in this study as an *'affordance for'* rather than an *'effect on'* literacy development. As mentioned in chapter 2, affordance is a relational concept, and not necessarily inherent in the particular features of Twitter (Gibson, 1979; Van Lier,

2000; Gee & Hayes, 2011). In other words, it is useful to think of Twitter in this study in terms of its relationship to its users. It does not in and of itself cause the development of my participants' literacy. It does, however, afford further action for my participants to engage with English texts in ways that are relevant to them. As Van Lier (2000) advises, the affordances of a particular mediational tool depend largely on how learners interact with the tools and other social agents in a particular activity. What becomes an affordance also depends on what the learners want to do, what they like to do, and what they find important to them. Thus, when making recommendations for its use as a pedagogical tool, I am careful to frame its usefulness in terms of what teachers and students actually do with it. What is more important, as I discuss next, is how to integrate the technological tool as an organic part of the students' literacy practice with English.

Bridging the practice

When it comes to school-based literacy, particularly academic literacy, teachers need to be especially mindful of the purpose and the relevance of promoting this kind of literacy practice to their students. The term *academic literacy* is often referred to in the literature as the ability to read and write for academic purposes in school as well as the ability to engage in high-level academic discussion (Gertsen et al., 2007; Hickey, 2011). Traditionally, the term also connotes the standard form of English that is the language of schools and colleges (Scarcella, 2003). It is the language of the academic disciplines, and of textbooks and literature. Unfortunately, at least as it connects to the findings of this study, there are three areas of disconnect between the practice of academic literacy that is heavily promoted in school and the

practice of literacy that are part of the students' natural social activities. These areas of disconnect include: (1) the semiotic disconnect, (2) the identity disconnect, and (3) the life's skill disconnect. As I touch upon each of these areas of disconnect, I hope to engage teachers in serious questioning about how they can bridge these disconnections. Rather than prescribing new models or procedures for including Twitter, the implications of this study are framed in terms of raising new questions about 'how' or 'why' to include technological tools like Twitter in their classrooms (see Pennycook, 2001; see discussion about critical theory in Chapter 6).

Bridging the semiotic disconnect

As the students in this study have acknowledged, one of the biggest challenges in teaching academic literacy to college students is to make it meaningful to them. As many of the studies that I have reviewed in Chapter 2 have shown (Lam, 2000; 2009; McGinnis et al., 2007), literacy activity is purposeful because what people do with texts is purposeful. First and foremost, people read or write to make or convey meanings. From this perspective, literacy is a meaning-oriented activity. Unfortunately, formal institution like schools often frame literacy as an end in itself (Gee & Hayes, 2011). This is what the students are finding hard to connect with. They do not see the point of reading or writing an assignment that is being assigned to them. They do it not to convey meaning, but to finish an assignment.

What we learn from the two participants in this study is that, although they only wrote 140 characters at a time –and this is in no way similar to the kind of texts that teachers expect them to produce– they engaged in it with purpose. As part of their activities on Twitter, they searched more information (outside of the Twitter

platform) about the things that they found relevant. Cassie, for example, would do the following complex processes to make meanings of the funny, romantic quotes that she loved to read on Twitter:

Sometimes when I stumble upon a word that I don't know, I become curious and look it up. Also sometimes these lyrics or quotes use slang words, so it helps me a lot to understand how the slang words or expressions are used there.... And sometimes, when I listen to a song, I translate it... (Interview, August 2012).

Fe on the other hand, would take the extra steps to download novels from the Internet, and self-taught herself English using these novels. She also followed some of her favorite writers on Twitter to be updated with their latest news. They did all these because the literacy activities were meaningful to them.

To make academic literacy relevant, teachers first have to ask the difficult question: *What are the broader interactional or social goals that students can achieve by engaging in this kind of language?* For instance:

- What are the goals that can be achieved by constructing a coherent argument? Did the students already engage in this practice using other kinds of English? How can teachers make it relevant to writing an argumentative paper?
- What are the goals that can be achieved by reading, writing, or speaking with a higher lexical density that is a core of academic genre? With the common practice of writing 140 characters, what kinds of meaning that can be –or cannot be- conveyed? What kinds of meaning that can be conveyed by structuring utterances with a higher lexical density? What kinds of meanings are lost?

More importantly, *with whom are our students trying to engage through the academic texts that they write –that is, beyond their teachers or their classmates?* Teachers can readily observe that today’s generations are producers of many meaningful digital media contents. Implicitly they know how to orient their work/content to reach intersubjectivity with their imagined addresses or audiences. This is the skill that many of them bring to school but are stalled by the lack of purpose in academic reading, writing, or speaking. Thus, before engaging the students in activities that require them to interpret or produce academic texts, the issue of purpose and addressivity needs to be carefully thought of.

Another crucial point to highlight from the two participants’ practice on Twitter is that they borrowed texts a lot. In the context of their literacy development, the practice of textual borrowing –often times with the verbatim copy-pasting of English texts- serves an important role in their meaning making process. It is the vehicle for their thoughts. It is a means by which they express their feelings or ideas. When it comes to academic literacy, *how can teachers make use of this practice as a tool to expand the students’ repertoire, and to access new activities or communities? How do teachers engage the students in an explicit discussion about intertextuality, without delivering a message that this is a less privileged or -even worse- an unacceptable practice? How can teachers teach the students the skills to differentiate between intertextuality and plagiarism?* Again, before engaging the students in activities that require them to produce academic texts, the issue of textual borrowing also needs to be considered.

Bridging the identity disconnect

The role of identities in mediating the production and interpretation of texts is a big theme in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 6, identities are what drive my participants' literacy practices. Each of them entered their online social activities with a general sense of who they were as a person (*autobiographical self*). They sought activities that were in line with their sense of self as a point of entry to fully immerse in the discourse (*discoursal self*). As they continued to participate and appropriate the language of their communities, they gained stronger authorial presence in the discourse that they participated in (*self as author*). In this case, their participation on Twitter has afforded –rather than constrained- opportunities for them to construct more desirable identities. For many ELLs, online space serves as a safe ‘third space’ that gives them the opportunity to *try on* different identity positions and in the process of doing so *become* that person that they are inspired to be –that is, competent English users (Babha, 2004; Skerrett, 2010). Not only that, online spaces also provide them with new possibilities for selfhood. By bridging new connections/networks with other ‘strangers’ that share the same interests, SNSs become an affinitive space through which learners develop more expertise in the specific language of their communities (Gee & Hayes, 2011).

When it comes to academic literacy, teaching students to interpret and produce academic language is like teaching them to try on this new academic outfit, or self. For many of them, this is not the kind of identity that they necessarily see as relevant or ‘cool.’ In fact, the marginalizing ‘side-effect’ of academic language might have already distanced them away the moment they attempt to produce or interpret

academic texts (see Lam, 2000; McGinnis et al., 2007). Yet, what many of the students –or even the teachers– may not be aware of, academic language can be used without stripping them away from their identities. In fact, as Kramsch (2000), Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) argue, the production or interpretation of academic texts needs to be framed in terms of how the texts *allow* or *restrict* students’ choices to present themselves. Thus, when engaging students in the discussion about a particular academic text, teachers need to ask the questions: *How does the text position the students? What kinds of semiotic resources does the text have that allow the students to access the language? What kinds of resources does the text have that restrict their access? And why?*

Bridging the life’s skill connect

For many students, academic literacy is seen as just another thing that burdens them –things that sucks out all the fun in their lives. Yet, the ability to engage with texts in deeper ways –including the ability to analyze, pick apart, refute, or disconfirm information- is a life’s skill that extends beyond the walls of the classrooms. This is an integral part of academic literacy, and this is an integral part of living in an era where people are flooded with information. What teachers and students need to realize is that their practicing this skill in the classroom is part of equipping them with this important life’s skill. Reflecting on this problem, I am reminded by a boat building metaphor used by a historian of science George Dyson (quoted in Gee & Hayes, 2011) to describe the kinds of skills the people need to live in the information era. He points out:

[I]n the North Pacific Ocean there were two different approaches to building a boat. The Aleuts, who lived on treeless islands, built kayaks by piecing together skeletal frameworks for their boats from fragments of wood found washed up on the beach. The Tlingit built dugout canoes by selecting entire trees out of the rainforest and removing the wood until there was nothing left but a canoe.... [T]he flood of information from the Internet has produced a similar split. When information was rare and hard to come by, produced mainly by experts and their institutions, we operated like kayak builders, collecting all available relevant fragments of information we could get our hands on to assemble the framework for our knowledge production. Now, when information is pervasive, cheap, and easy to obtain—and produced by a wide array of people—we have to learn to become dugout canoe builders, discarding unnecessary information to reveal the shape of knowledge hidden within.... Who is to say that assembling rare and hard to obtain fragments into a beautiful whole is better or worse than chipping away from a surplus until we uncover a beautiful whole? (Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 133-134)

In trying to connect this metaphor to the practice of academic literacy in schools, teachers need to ask the questions: *What kinds of skills that students can learn from engaging in academic literacy? How do they build the capacity and expertise to select and critique information using the skills that they learn from producing and interpreting academic texts?*

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Given the limited scope of this study, especially in regards to the context and to the number of participants, it is not my intentions nor it is possible to make sweeping generalizations about the affordances of SNSs like Twitter in mediating ELLs' literacy practice, identity construction, and second language development. However, by engaging in a closer consideration of two ELLs who were marginalized in schools because of their lack of connection with academic literacy, but who skillfully used English on Twitter to position themselves as competent users of English, it has been my hope that this study sheds a light on some important issues that will help us better serve the needs of our students in a ways that would open up their access to the academic literacy practice, and to the opportunities for academic and social success that may come with that access.

The site of my research was in a college in a metropolitan area in Indonesia, where many if not most of the student population had access to the Internet, either at home or in many Internet cafes that were accessible around campus at a relatively low cost. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Indonesian students' demographics are divided in terms of their access to technologies. Students of high social economic status who reside in metropolitan areas are more likely to have such access to technologies, making the implications of this research less transferable to students who are not familiar with digital technologies like SNSs.

In terms of recommendations for future research, I hope that future studies can investigate more systematically the process of appropriation of different linguistic features of English among English language learners who engage in digitally mediated activities. Specifically when the digital technological tools are integrated

into the curriculum, it will be important to investigate (1) how the teachers design the process of social participation in ways that bridge new, meaningful connections to the outside world that the students find relevant to their lives, and in ways that enable the student's access to the academic world, and (2) how the students appropriate academic literacy practice through this engagement.

Appendices

Appendix A: Screening Survey

Name: _____

Email address: _____

Facebook username/email address: _____ (if applicable)

Twitter username: @_____ (if applicable)

PART 1: ENGLISH LEARNING BACKGROUND

1. Have you ever studied English in the past? In school or in private English course? (Circle one)

Yes No

2. Are you still studying English at the time of this survey? In mandatory college course(s) or in a private English course? (Circle one)

Yes No

3. What would you rate your proficiency level as an English language learner? (Circle one)

Beginner Low intermediate High intermediate Advanced

4. Which English skills do you think you are good at? (Circle all the apply)

Reading Writing Speaking Listening

5. Which English skills do you want to improve the most? (Circle all that apply)

Reading Writing Speaking Listening

6. Why do you want to improve this/these skill(s)?

7. What do you like the most about English? About learning it?

8. What do you like the least about English? About learning it?

5. What do you usually write on your Facebook wall? (Check all that apply)

• Short status	
• Comments on my friends' status	
• Comments on my friends' pictures	
• Comments on my friends' videos	
• Comments on other links that my friends post on their Facebook wall	
• Quotes/phrases/lyrics/poetry that I copy-pasted from some source	
• Quotes/phrases/lyrics/poetry that I heard/read somewhere but then adapt or add with my own words	
• A piece of writing/journal/poetry/blog that I created	
• Other: please list below	

6. What is the nature of these writings? (Check all that apply)

• Spontaneous	
• Well thought-out	
• Informal	
• Formal	
• Academic	
• Nonacademic	
• Related to school	
• Unrelated to school	
• Related to hobbies or personal interests	
• Related to business or services that I do	
• Other: please list below	

7. When you post a picture (either of yourself or someone else), do you accompany it with a written caption?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

8. When you post a video (either of yourself or someone else), do you accompany it with a written caption?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

9. When you copy-paste a link from a website (either your own or someone else's) do you accompany it with a written caption?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

10. What do you usually browse on Facebook? (Check all that apply)

• My friends' status	
• My friends' original writing/blog that is linked to their homepage	
• My friends' (latest) original pictures or videos	
• Link of pictures that my friends post, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Link of videos that my friends post, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Link of websites that my friends post, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Other: please list below	

PART 2.2.: GENERAL TWITTER USE

1. Do you have a Twitter account? (Circle one)

Yes No

2. How often do you check your Twitter? (Circle one)

Never Rarely Once in a while Every few days
 Every day Few times a day

3. How often do you Tweet? (Circle one)

Never Rarely Once in a while Every few days
 Every day Few times a day

4. What do you usually post on your Twitter timeline? (Check all that apply)

• Original tweet written by me	
• Retweet posted by someone else	
• Original piece of writing that I created	
• Retweet of someone else's writings	

• Original picture that I took	
• Retweet of picture (of me or of others) that someone else took	
• Original video that I created	
• Retweet of video that someone else created	
• Websites are I find worth sharing	
• Other: please list below	

5. What do you usually write on your Twitter timeline? (Check all that apply)

• Short tweet	
• Comments on my followers' or following's tweet	
• Comments on my followers' or following's pictures	
• Comments on my followers' or following's videos	
• Comments on other links that my followers or followings post on their homepage	
• Quotes/phrases/lyrics/poetry that I copy-pasted from some source	
• Quotes/phrases/lyrics/poetry that I heard/read somewhere but then adapt or add with my own words	
• A piece of writing/journal/poetry/blog that I created	
• Other: please list below	

6. What is the nature of these writings? (Check all that apply)

• Spontaneous	
• Well thought-out	
• Informal	
• Formal	
• Academic	
• Nonacademic	
• Related to school	
• Unrelated to school	
• Related to hobbies or personal interests	
• Related to business or services that I do	
• Other: please list below	

7. **When you tweet a picture (either of yourself or someone else), do you accompany it with a written caption?**

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

8. **When you tweet a video (either of yourself or someone else), do you accompany it with a written caption?**

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

9. **When you tweet/retweet a link from a website (either your own or someone else's) do you accompany it with a written caption?**

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

10. **What do you usually browse on Twitter? (Check all that apply)**

• My followers' or followings' tweet	
• My followers' or followings' original writing/blog that is linked to their timeline	
• My followers' or followings' (latest) original pictures or videos	
• Link of pictures that my followers or followings tweet, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Link of videos that my followers or followings tweet, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Link of websites that my followers or following tweet, which they did NOT create themselves	
• Other: please list below	

PART 3.1.: FRIENDS ON FACEBOOK

1. **Who do you hope will browse what you post on Facebook? (Check all that apply)**

• All of my friends	
• Only some of my friends, depending on what I want to say and who I want to say it to	
• I never write a post with someone in mind	
• Other: please list below	

--	--

2. Whose Facebook pages do you browse on a regular basis? (Check all that apply)

• My current friends	
• My childhood friends or acquaintances	
• App-generated quotes or posts	
• Online businesses that are of interest to me	
• Public figures that I find inspiring or entertaining	
• Not anything regular, I tend to browse based on my moods	
• Other: please list below	

3. Why do you browse these pages?

4. Do any of your friends live abroad? (Circle one)

Yes No

5. Are any of your friends native speakers of English? (Circle one)

Yes No

6. Do you have Indonesian friends who post in English?

Yes No

7. Do you have friends on Facebook or Twitter that you don't know/are not so close with in your offline life?

Yes No

If yes, continue to the rest of the questions in part 3 and 4.
If no, continue to part 4.

8. Who are these 'friends'?

• Friends of friends	
• Those who are in the same school, courses, and academic institution	

• Those who share the same religious or political views	
• Those who have the same hobbies and personal interests	
• Those who are from the same city/town/province	
• Those who are subscribed to the same “groups” or “fanpage” or follow public figure’s account	
• Public figures and personalities	
• Other: please list below	

9. Do you check their Facebook wall or link their postings to your wall?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
 Always

10. Have you become offline friends with any of these not-so-close online friends?

Yes No Only with some

PART 3.2.: FOLLOWERS AND FOLLOWINGS ON TWITTER

1. Who do you hope will browse what you post on Twitter? (Check all that apply)

• All of my followers or followings	
• Only some of my followers and followings, depending on what I want to say and who I want to say it to	
• I never tweet with someone in mind	
• Other: please list below	

2. Whose Twitter pages do you browse on a regular basis? (Check all that apply)

• My current friends	
• My childhood friends or acquaintances	
• App-generated quotes or tweets	
• Online businesses that are of interest to me	
• Public figures that I find inspiring or entertaining	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not anything regular, I tend to browse based on my moods 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other: please list below 	

3. Why do you browse these pages?

4. Do any of your followers or following live abroad? (Circle one)

Yes No

5. Are any of your followers or following native speakers of English? (Circle one)

Yes No

6. Do you have Indonesian friends who tweet in English?

Yes No

7. Do you have followers or followings on Twitter that you don't know/are not so close with in your offline life?

Yes No

If yes, continue to the rest of the questions in part 3 and 4.
If no, continue to part 4.

8. Who are these followers or followings?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends of friends 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who are in the same school, courses, and academic institution 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who share the same religious or political views 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who have the same hobbies and personal interests 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who are from the same city/town/province 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who are subscribed to the same Twitter account that I found interesting or follow public figure's account 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public figures and personalities 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other: please list below 	

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9. Do you retweet their postings?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

10. Have you become offline friends with any of these not-so-close online followers or following?

Yes No Only with some

PART 4: ENGLISH-RELATED MATERIALS ON FACEBOOK OR TWITTER (CIRCLE ONE THE BEST DESCRIBES YOU)

1. How often do you write your post/tweet in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

2. How often do you reply a post/tweet in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

3. How often do you mix Indonesian and English when you write or reply a post/tweet?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

4. How often do you write English captions on the pictures that you post/tweet/link?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

5. How often do you write English captions on the videos that you post/tweet/link?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

6. How often do you browse your friends'/followers'/followings' posts/tweets that are written in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

7. How often do you browse pictures with English captions written by your friends/ followers/followings?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

8. How often do you browse videos in English posted/tweeted by your friends/ followers/followings?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

9. How often do you browse English websites posted/tweeted by your friends/ followers/followings?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

10. How often do you browse English groups, fanpages, or public figures' profile that are written in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

11. How often do you share/link/retweet your friends'/followers'/followings' posts that are written in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

12. How often do you share/link/retweet pictures that have English caption on it?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

13. How often do you share/link/retweet videos that are in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

14. How often do you share/link/retweet websites that are written in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

15. How often do you interact with people who live abroad and where you have to write in English?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

16. List some of the “groups”, “fanpages” or “followings” that you join that heavily use English as a medium for communication?

17. How often do you view these groups, fanpages, or followings?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often times
Always

Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions

1. Tell me a little bit about your English learning history.
2. How would you rate your proficiency level as an English language learner?
3. How often do you post on Facebook or Twitter? What do you usually post on your Facebook or Twitter homepage?
4. How often do you login to Facebook or Twitter? What do you usually view when you are on Facebook or Twitter?
5. You mentioned in the survey that you write quite a bit in English when you post. Tell me a little bit more about this.
6. What about browsing other people's Facebook or Twitter? Do you have any friends who also like to write in English? What do you think about it?
7. Do you think that you identify yourself with any English speaking groups, or fanpages, or followings on Facebook or Twitter? Give some examples.
8. Do you think that you are learning something about English when you read or even interact with other people who are in the same groups as you? Any instances from the past that you can recall?
9. Do you read anything English beyond Facebook or Twitter when you are surfing the web? What are your favorite websites?
10. I notice a lot in my own circle of friends that people choose to write their picture captions or comments in English, even though they know that these captions are going to be read by their Indonesian friends. Even I do it sometimes too. Why do you think people do this? Why do you do this?
11. Do you care a lot about your grammar when you are writing something in English? Why or why not?
12. Do you consider yourself to be overly conscious about grammar when you are reading your friends' posts/tweet? Why?
13. Does anybody that you know write particularly cool stuffs on his or her posts/tweets? What do you like about this person's writing?
14. Do you link English-texts/pictures/videos on Facebook or Twitter? Do you usually add something to these texts/pictures/videos that is in your own words? What do you like about adding your own words to them?
15. Do you copy-paste English texts/pictures/videos straight onto your Facebook wall? Do you retweet a lot of English texts/pictures/videos (i.e. without adding anything to them)? What do these materials mean to you? How do you relate to them?

Appendix C: Original Interview Excerpts (in Indonesian)

From Chapter 4

Interdiscursivity

Dian : *So*³¹, Uni³² perhatiin kadang2 Cassie itu nulis *something* pake bahasa Inggris yang bisa di-*link* dari sumber lain. Tapi kadang2 Cassie ngga nyebutin dari mana sumber postingan itu. Nah, untuk postingan semacam ini, gimana tuh prosesnya?

Cassie : Woow. Pertanyaannya teknis sekalee. LOL. *Well, mostly* kyknya postingan2 [yang ngga ada sumbernya itu] dari lirik lagu deh, Uni. Kadang2 juga datang dari hati Cassie sendiri. Kayak lirik2 itu muncul aja di kepala Cassie, trus Cassie tulis deh. Soalnya lagu2 ini ngena banget, mengekspresikan kata hati gitu deh Uni.

Dian : *Right... I noticed that. You know, I know nothing about music these days, you know. So when I saw your posts, I googled it and found out that it was a song.*

Cassie : *Yes, it's part of a song.*

Dian : Tapi Uni ngerasa postingan2 itu kata2 Cassie sendiri loh. *So*, intinya kalo Cassie sedang ngerasa *something*, tiba2 aja Cassie kepikiran dan nulis lirik2 ini krn sesuai dengan kata hati gitu ya?

Cassie : *Sort of.* Soalnya kan iTunes Cassie on terus, Uni. Jadi kalo pas ada lagu yg Cassie denger cocok dengan suasana hati pada saat itu, ya Cassie tulis aja.

Dian : *I see. Interesting!* (Interview, August 2012)

From Chapter 5

The contemplative Fe

Yahh nyaman aja gituh Uni nulis pake bahasa Inggris. Ngga tahu kenapa ya, kayaknya kalo nulis beberapa hal pake bahasa Indonesia itu koq malah jadi lebay. Misalnya Fe baca terjemahan lagu Korea yg bahasa Inggris gitu, wah koq jadi oke banget, puitis, romantic, dalem gitu. Tapi coba aja diterjemahin ke bahasa Indonesia. *Oh my God!* Ngga oke banget ampun deh (Interview, December 2012)

Untuk lirik lagu sih iya... Tergantung liriknya juga sih, kalo kedengerannya bagus, langsung ditweet aja. Kalo liriknya *mellow*, tandanya mood Fe yg lagi *mellow* (Interview, December 2012).

³¹ All the *italicized words* are the words that are written in English during the Skype text-chat interviews.

³² 'Uni' is the local Minang dialect used as an honorific referent for an older female person.

The spirited Fe and her imagined community

Dian : Uni perhatiin Fe sering ngetweet info2 ttg *scholarship* dan *student exchange* dari luar negeri ya? Gimana tuh ceritanya koq bisa rajin ngetweet ini?

Fe : *Well*, judulnya sih pengen sekolah ke luar negri gitu, Uni. Fe tuh pengen ngambil master kesos sebenarnya *someday*, ngga tahu kapan. Pastinya setelah kelar [S1] dulu lah ya hahah. Skrg sih serba masih belum jelas mau ngambil konsentrasi apa. Masih abu2 gitu deh Uni! Heheh.

Dian : Trus kenapa dong pengen ngambil master di US atau di UK aja?

Fe : Umm... Sebenarnya sih UNWJ³³ punya juga program master untuk kesos, tapi yah beda lah Uni. Menurut Fe mereka di sana itu bener2 dilatih untuk jadi profesional setelah lulus S2. Terus bisa langsung diserap di lapangan, karena infrastruktur kerjanya jelas. Intinya mereka berguna lah di negara2 itu. Ngga kayak di Indo, serba ngga jelas mau kerja dmn setelah lulus yg sesuai bidang, ya kan?

Dian : *So* kalo di negara2 ini, universitas apa yg Fe tahu punya program kesos yg bagus?

Fe : *Well, that I don't know yet, to be honest with you...* hahah.

Dian : *I see...* Loh terus kenapa masih pengen master kesos kalo tahu ntar *skill*-nya ngga kepake di Indo? Apa Fe ada rencana mau jadi dosen gitu sepulangnya dari studi?

Fe : Umm.... Ya kurang lebih begitu sih Uni. Tapi Fe nyadar juga kyknya Fe ngga bakal jadi dosen yg baik deh, krn emang ngga suka ngomong depan umum gitu, Uni. Pikir2 kalo misalnya bisa dapetin sertifikasi pekerja sosial gitu dari LN kan oke juga ya? Mungkin ntar bisa ngelamar pns ke Dinas Sosial atau sejenisnya. Yg lebih praktis lah, daripada ngajar. Mudah2an....

Dian : Ah, I see....

Fe : Lagian untungnya kalo belajar ke LN, kita bisa belajar lebih banyak tentang sejarah tempat2 yg kita kunjungin kan Uni? Soalnya Fe suka banget sih sama sejarah, terutama sejarah kuno2 gitu ya. *Fun* bgt! Yah, itung2 sambil menyelam minum air lah. Bisa sambil belajar kesos trus bisa sambil belajar sejarah juga. Kayak sejarah Inggris... Inggris sih menarik bgt sejarahnya Uni (Interview, February 2013).

Fe the writer

Dian : So apa nih cerita dibalik kecintaan Fe menulis? *When did it all start?*

Fe : *Well, it all started from Manga*. Sekitar tahun 2007 kali ya. Ngga tahu kenapa kyknya tiap habis baca Manga gitu rasanya koq terinspirasi banget. Fe tuh sebenarnya banyak juga cerita2 pendek gitu, Uni. Lebih kyk *draft* sih sebenarnya. Di sana sini. Ada kayak 4 atau 5 draft mungkin ya. Tapi yah yg paling Fe suka itu yah yg FIN itu...

Dian : *Aah, interesting...* Ada ngga sumber inspirasi ini yg Fe follow di Twitter? Genre tulis Fe apa ya? Novel dan Manga yg Fe buat?

³³ UNWJ is a pseudonym for the university that she attended.

- Fe : FIN? Kalo FIN sih lebih *historical, mystery, fantasy-fiction*?
- Dian : *I see...*
- Fe : Kalo soal following di Twitter sih ada satu penulis ya, nama Twitternya @AlexandraIvy. Kayaknya dia *best seller* juga deh di *States*. Bukunya judulnya 'The Guardian of Eternity'. Semacam *Vampire story* gitu lah Uni.
- Dian : Oh iya *Vampire* ya? *I see that a lot in your Twitter posts*. Kayaknya Fe emang suka sama *Vampire story* ya?
- Fe : Banget, Uni! Awalnya sih Fe dikenalin sama [buku ini] tahun 2010, terus Fe beli deh bukunya, terus kyknya Fe mulai follow dia sekitaran tahun 2011an.
- Dian : *I see...* Tapi pernah ngetweet atau ngobrol sama dia langsung ngga lewat Twitter?
- Fe : Oh ngga pernah sih... Cuma ya emang bukunya dia itu kyk inspirasi gitu deh, Uni, buat FIN.
- Dian : Terus kenapa Inggris? Fe apa harus riset2 dulu tentang Inggris gitu?
- Fe : Sebenarnya sih pada dasarnya karena suka sama sejarah juga sih Uni. Lebih kyk hobby sih. Menurut Fe sejarahnya itu fun banget, dan plusnya bisa jadi inspirasi buat novel.
- Dian : Kayak Dan Brown gitu kali ya?... Uni kayaknya pernah lihat Fe nge-tweet something tentang Dan Brown deh. Jadi novelnya bisa setengah fiksi setengah historical gitu lah ya. Setuju, setuju...
- Fe : Yessss... Dah gitu membuat cerita kita jadi lebih gimana gitu kan ya? Lebih faktual (Interview, August 2012).

From Chapter 6

Microgenetic snippets of intermental processes

- Cassie: ... [J]adi kalo pas ada lagu yg Cassie denger cocok dengan suasana hati pada saat itu, ya Cassie tulis aja (Interview, August 2012)
- Fe : [K]alo liriknya kedengerannya bagus, langsung ditweet aja. (Interview, August 2012)

Fe's responses:

- Dian : Uni perhatiin Fe sering ngetweet lirik2 gitu ya. Ceritain dikit dong....
- Fe : Hmm.... Biasanya sih kalo ada sesuatu yg terjadi, terus Fe pengen share di Twitter. Kalo misalnya ada lagu yg menurut Fe cocok untuk mengungkapkannya, ya Fe tulis aja.
- Dian : Maksudnya tanpa harus mendengarkan lagunya pada saat itu? *I mean, does the song have to play when you type in your Tweets?*

Fe : Hmm.... Ngga mesti sih Uni. *Okay*, ... mungkin ada juga yang iya, tapi ya ngga mesti. (Interview, August 2012).

Possibility for selfhood: Values, beliefs, and contexts of English use

Dian : Kan ceritanya bahasa Inggris Cassie dah oke nih, apa masih ngambil kursus bahasa Inggris skrg?

Cassie : Skrg sih Cassie ada ngambil kelas TOEFL sih Uni. *My English isn't so good as it turns out*. Masih harus belajar banyak.

Dian : *I see... but that's a totally different kind of English right?* Kenapa ngambil kursus TOEFL?

Cassie : Papa yg nyuruh sih, Uni. Biar bagus buat CV Cassie. Terus kalo mau sekolah ke luar negri.

Dian : Umm... *Yes, your dad's right*.

Cassie : *Oh btw, if you have any info on study abroad program please let me know!* (Interview, August 2012).

Like Cassie, Fe also portrayed a similar image when she positioned herself in her academic community in college:

Dian : Bisa ceritain dikit ngga nih tentang pengalaman belajar bahasa Inggris Fe.

Fe : *Well*, ummm... awalnya sih kyknya waktu SD, waktu itu kakak Fe suka pulang2 terus ngomong bahasa Inggris gitu deh. Kayaknya koq keren bgt. Terus sejak itu jadi tertarik belajar bahasa Inggris, terus ngedesak mama untuk ngelesin Fe kursus Inggris. Sampe SMA keterusan.

Dian : *Coooooool. Then?*

Fe : Terus ya udah sejak [sekolah di sini] sih jadi berenti les-nya, Uni. Paling ya itu, Bahasa Inggris 1 dan 2 yg wajib kita ambil pas awal2 semester dulu. Itu aja sih Uni.

Dian : Menurut Fe kelas2 yg di kampus itu gmn?

Fe : Ahh, Fe aja ngga percaya bisa dapet B, coba Uni! Dah karatan kali ya bahasa Inggris Fe. Kaget juga.

Dian : Oh ya? Pasti kaget ya.

Fe : Tapi sekarang sih meskipun ngga ada ngambil kursus bahasa Inggris Fe terus aja belajar bahasa Inggris sendiri. Otodidak gitu lah Uni.

Dian : Hmm... *Interesting...* Tepatnya gimana tuh?

Fe : Hahah... yah download aja novel2 Inggris dari Internet terus baca deh (Interview, August 2012).

[D]espite their awareness of their limitations, they saw their formal learning experience in school/English courses as opening up –rather than constraining– their possibility for selfhood. As Cassie noted:

Dian : Terus gmn kelas TOEFLnya sejauh ini? *Any good?*

Cassie : *Very good*. Instrukturnya ok bgt, Uni. Pokoknya ngga boring lah.

Dian : Tapi tetep beda dong dari belajar bahasa Inggris lewat Twitter atau Facebook?

Cassie : Pastinya! Karena kan di sini memang difokusin ke grammar, Uni. Jadi ya kadang2 Cassie kyk *blank* gitu deh, karena ngga bisa inget apa2... Biasanya kan bahasa Inggris Cassie *English whatever* gitu XD

Dian : Aaaahh.... Terus gmn caranya tuh si instruktur ini membuat pelajaran grammar ngga boring?

Cassie : Yah dia bisa kadang2 serius terus kadang2 lucu gitu, Uni. Banyak *intermezzo*-nya lah. Kalo misalnya kedapatan kitanya ngga fokus, dia tiba2 ngejoke atau gmn... (Interview, August 2012)

Fe, on the other hand, reconciled her struggle with school-based practice by resisting the top-down approach (of people telling her what do to) altogether. Instead of taking formal courses like Cassie, Fe preferred to teach herself English. In her reflection, she noted:

Fe : Kalo Uni tanya Fe [soal bahasa Inggris di jurusan kami] sih, kaya'nya Fe lebih milih belajar sendiri deh, krn ngga ada kewajiban untuk ngerjain tugas ini itu, dan ngga dibatasi waktu gitu deh. Bukannya Fe bilang kelas2 ini jelek ya Uni. Bagus sih mereka, cuma ya, gimana ya... Terlalu tradisional gitu. *It's not fun*.

.....

Dian : Menurut Fe kelas2 ini boring karena genre yg diajarkan, karena terlalu akademis? Atau karena instrukturnya? Yang boring, misalnya?

Fe : Dua2nya kali ya?! Menurut Fe sih bahasa akademik itu bahasa dewa hahah... Yah tapi mau gimana lagi ya? Resiko jadi mahasiswa, harus belajar bahasa beginian. (Interview, February 2013).

It was apparent from this excerpt that Fe had an ambivalent position toward English. She saw school-based literacy as both relevant (i.e. “You got to stick with it”) and irrelevant (i.e. “Academic language is like the language of the gods.”). When I

offered my opinions about why academic language might seem unreachable to some people, Fe responded further by foregrounding her personal needs and desires:

- Dian : Menurut Uni sih pekerjaan tersulit instruktur bahasa Inggris di kampus itu adalah membuat bahasa spt ini relevan buat mahasiswa. Kebanyakan kan mahasiswa menganggap bahasa2 semacam ini kan ngga penting banget, karena ngga akan kepake untuk ngomong atau nulis sehari2. *The trick question is: How do you do it?*
- Fe : *Exactly....* Kalo menurut Fe sih kalo si mahasiswa itu perlu belajar bahasa beginian ya dia akan belajar sendiri. Tapi menurut Fe sih ya ngga perlu lah pake kata2 hebat atau besar yg bisa membuat kita terkesan 'smart' atau 'akademis'. Sebenarnya lebih kepada gimana kita bisa mengkomunikasikan ide2 yg rumit menjadi sederhana dan bisa dimengerti. Fe nyari yg begini sebenarnya, Uni. Lebih kepada kemampuan komunikasi... (Interview, February 2013).

In Cassie's case, she made the effort to go online and do more research on some of the things that she learned in school –which sometimes were so unpalatable that the most natural thing for her to do was to make sense of it with the help of Google search. As she commented:

- Cassie : Textbook kita itu sebenarnya mayoritas berbahasa Inggris koq Uni. Cuma ya itu, kata2nya susah banget dicerna. Menyebalkan. Suka bikin *bad mood* hahah.
- Dian : LOL.... *Is that so?* Tapi terus pernah ngga Cassie nge-google informasi sambil ngebaca textbook itu? Kayak waktu nge-google informasi kalo ngga ngerti lirik2 lagu, misalnya? [Referring to previous interview comments]
- Cassie : Pernah, Uni, terutama kalo lagi ngerjain tugas. Kayaknya malah sering nge-google dari pad abaca textbook LOL....
- Dian : Hmm.... *very interesting. You like doing your research online more than reading your textbook then?* LOL....
- Cassie : Pastinya, Uni. Abis bahasa textbook bribet bgt. Mendingan juga googling, iya kan? Lebih *cool* (Interview, December 2012).

From Chapter 7

Kadang juga kalo misalnya ada kata2 yg ngga Cassie ngerti, jadi penasaran dan nyari online aja. Misalnya ada *slang* gitu di lirik lagu, ya Cassie jadi belajar gmn kata2 itu digunakan di lagu itu. Atau misalnya pas lagi dengerin lagu, Cassie terjemahin ke bahasa Indonesia di pikiran Cassie sendiri... (Interview, August 2012).

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