Moments of sharing: Entextualization and linguistic repertoires in social networking

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In memory of Jens Normann Jørgensen (1951–2013).

Abstract

This paper reports findings of a case study of the networked language practices of two young users of the social networking site Facebook. Theoretically informed by sociolinguistics and computer-mediated discourse analysis, this paper contributes to the study of language and participation in social media by developing an empirical approach to sharing and by focusing on the relation between sharing practices and linguistic repertoires. The paper proposes an understanding of sharing as an interactional practice of entextualizing significant moments for a networked audience. Data collection and analysis follow a mixed-methods approach. The primary data consists of the participants' public Facebook timelines during a period of one year. It is complemented by qualitative interviews and systematic observation of the their digital literacy practices on Facebook. The analysis distinguishes three stages of sharing – selecting, styling, and negotiating – and then moves on to individual case studies, which illustrate how the two participants mobilise linguistic resources in order to share moments of transnational mobility with their audience. The findings show how subtle shifts in the selection, combination and negotiation of linguistic resources index participants' transnational trajectories and their orientation to particular subsets of their audience, and how the audience takes an active role in negotiating the modes and meanings of sharing in social networking.
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1. Introduction

This paper is a case study of the networked language practices of two individuals, 'Dema' and 'Zach' (pseudonyms are used throughout), during one calendar year. It examines how two young people of Greek background mobilise resources from their linguistic repertoires on their Facebook timelines in order to entextualize moments from their lives in a period of transnational mobility between Germany and Greece. The female participant, 'Dema', migrates from Greece to Germany and gradually adapts to her new social and linguistic environment. The male participant, 'Zach', relocates temporarily from his German hometown to Greece, thereby orienting to Greek language and everyday culture. Theoretically informed by sociolinguistics and computer-mediated discourse analysis, this case study aims to contribute to the analysis of language and participation in social media in two ways: by developing an empirical approach to practices of sharing in social media and by examining the relation of such practices to individual linguistic repertoires.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 develops a working definition of sharing as a semiotic practice by which significant moments are entextualized for a networked audience. The concept of sharing itself and the three key components of its proposed understanding – entextualization, moments, and networked audience – are discussed in turn. Against this backdrop, the concept of linguistic repertoire is introduced and its relation to practices of sharing is outlined. Section 3 introduces the two participants, the data and methods of analysis. Section 4 develops an analysis of sharing practices in social media in terms of three stages: selecting, styling and negotiating. Section 5 then zooms in on the sharing practices of Dema and Zach. The analysis examines how their transnational trajectories both shape and are indexed by their selection and combination of linguistic resources, and how their networked audience takes an active role in negotiating the modes and meanings of sharing in the social media space.

2. Theoretical framework

In a paper that traces the emergence of 'sharing' as a keyword of Internet culture, John (2013:178) argues, "sharing has become the word of choice to describe the way in which we participate in Web 2.0". John suggests that *sharing* has two basic meanings in the context of social media: distribution and communication:

> 'Sharing on SNSs [social network sites] involves the distribution of digital content in the form of links, photos, video clips and more. In this sense, I share something by letting someone else have it as well. Yet sharing on SNSs is also, and importantly, about communication, particularly through the practice of updating one's status on Facebook or Twitter. Here, sharing is telling. Part of what we are encouraged to share on SNSs is our feelings (...) However, letting people know your opinion of current events, your location or any of the minutiae of your everyday life is, in Web 2.0, also called sharing. (John, 2013:175–176)

On Facebook, in particular, the first meaning of sharing – distribution – is closely associated to a command by the same name, which enables users to forward a contribution to their own timeline or that of a 'friend'[1] from their social network. Judging from my archive, a 'Share' command has been in use on Facebook at least since 2009, though it was first restricted to the distribution of embedded videos and only later extended to any status update. A study of sharing in this narrow sense would examine how users deploy the 'Share' command as a means of circulating semiotic resources though their network. In this paper, I follow John (2013) in orienting to a broader understanding of sharing as a concept that covers a wider set of language practices in social networking. However, sharing in this second sense is fuzzy and in need of specification, paraphrased by John (2013) as 'updating one's status', 'telling', or 'letting people know'.

Bauman and Briggs (1990:73) define entextualization as the process of "making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a text – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting". Unlike static definitions of text, which focus on the discourse structure and communicative function of text as completed artefact, the perspective of entextualization emphasizes the detachment of discourse from its original situational context and the recontextualization of the resulting text in new sites of discourse (Sung-Yul and Bucholtz, 2009; Giaxoglou, 2009). An analysis of entextualization involves "exploring the means available to participants in performance situations to render stretches of discourse (...) into coherent, effective, and memorable texts" (Bauman and Briggs, 1990:73–74).

Applied to an analysis of sharing in social networking sites, this understanding of entextualization must be adapted in two ways. First, practices of sharing include, but are not limited to the transformation of spoken discourse to written text. Sharing refers not only to things said, but also things represented by means of the semiotic resources social networking sites afford their participants. An analysis of social networking practices in terms of entextualization must therefore take into account the affordances of contemporary "technologies of entextualization" (Jones, 2009) and their situated appropriation by specific (groups of) participants. In his ethnographic research, Jones (2009) describes how young people entextualize social activities by means of keyboards, cameras, audio and video recorders, for example by making snapshots at a night club, which are then edited and eventually published as new units of text in social media. This approach extends the scope of entextualization from transcription (i.e. transformation of spoken into written linguistic signs) to semiotic representations of social activity that are produced by means of digital technologies, then recontextualized and interactively negotiated with an audience. A second aspect of rethinking entextualization in social networking sites and social media generally is its participatory character. Unlike traditional institutional discourse, in which agents of an institution use their power to represent by means of entextualization subjects and their discourse in highly controlled and regimented ways (cf. Sung-Yul and Bucholtz, 2009:486), social media offer a dispositive of participatory entextualization. They enable people to 'entextualize themselves into being' (to paraphrase Boyd, 2008) and allow them

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[1] The quotation marks indicate that the descriptor 'friend' refers to people who share a connection on Facebook. They do not imply a value judgement on the quality of this relationship.

to maintain a certain degree of agency over their representations of self within the constraints of the media environment and against the risk of unpredictable responses by the networked audience.[2]

The analysis of sharing developed in this paper is grounded in a sociolinguistic approach to networked language practices (Androutsopoulos, 2013), which foregrounds three aspects of linguistic practice: semiotic materiality, access to networked resources, and orientation to a networked audience. To take these briefly in turn, language online is materialised by means of keyboards, and variability in written linguistic form assumes a range of pragmatic functions in doing contextualization work and indexing social identities and relationships. Second, network language practices draw heavily on semiotic resources from the web, e.g. online translation or YouTube videos, which are recontextualized to local purposes and intermingle with participants' own linguistic resources (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Sharma, 2012). Third, social networking sites enable users to assemble a semi-public audience, which often consists of individuals with different social traits and role relationships to a profile page owner. This co-existence of diverse people within an online social network has been termed 'context collapse' (Marwick and Boyd, 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2014).

In the present study, Dema and Zach's Facebook audiences are transnational in their structure, comprising 'Facebook friends' from Greece, Germany and other parts of the world, some of whom neither know each other nor share the same linguistic repertoires. The analysis below aims to show how this heterogeneity impacts on participants' linguistic choices as they share particular events from particular places. From the viewpoint of a profile owner, this networked audience is at least in part a 'knowing audience', in the sense that some of its members bring on to their reading of contributions background knowledge by which to appreciate the meaning and importance of what is being shared. As the analysis below suggests, addressing a knowing audience is an important precondition of sharing and has an impact on the selection and styling of what participants decide to share.

Adopting a broad understanding of sharing as a semiotic practice raises the question of how to draw its boundaries. One approach, as John (2013) suggests, could be to conceptualise sharing as co-extensive to 'communicating on Facebook'. This is a valid approach to the extent that to many social media users, sharing news and experiences with others is what participating in social media is all about. In the interest of a more focused analytical understanding, however, this paper proposes an analysis of sharing practices that focuses on 'significant moments'. The notion of moments is adopted from the framework of 'Moment analysis' proposed by Wei (2011) for the study of translanguaging practices across modes and media. Moment analysis is a method "which aims to capture what appears to be spur-of- the-moment actions that are semiotically highly significant to the actors and their subsequent actions, what prompted such actions and the consequences of such moments including the reactions by other people" (Wei, 2011:1222). Its focus is on "spontaneous, impromptu and momentary actions and performances of the individual" (Wei, 2011:1224). However, the interest of this paper is not in moment analysis as the method of choice, but in the notion of 'moments' itself as a theoretical and analytical tool by which to delimit the boundaries of sharing practices. The focus of moment analysis on the individual is useful to an analysis of sharing as it ties in with the individuation that characterises social networking generally (cf. Papacharissi, 2011), and its attention to the full range of semiotic resources that are available for communicative action is also highly suited to a study of digital language practices. My aim in this paper is a focus on significant moments that are entextualized and interactively negotiated in a semi-public space that is socially construed by individuals in a social networking site. Applied to social networking, then, 'moments' are understood as single communicative acts which entextualize an event that is of importance to a participant and their network of 'friends'. Understanding such moments and participating in their interactive negotiation is contingent on the background knowledge and the linguistic resources that members of the networked audience have in common with the sharer.

The concept of linguistic repertoire has recently undergone a theoretical rediscovery as sociolinguistics turns to societal multilingualism in the context of globalization and superdiversity. In its original sense, repertoire refers to the totality of distinct languages, dialects or styles employed in a speech community, thereby emphasising the shared nature of linguistic resources available to a community in a more or less stable manner (Pütz, 2004:227). Recently linguistic repertoires are reconceptualized as individualised, increasingly detached from the norms of particular speech communities, and linked to technologies of communication. Blommaert and Backus (2012) argue that linguistic repertoires are closely related to various paths of learning, which range from formal instruction to fleeting encounters with speakers of other languages in urban or virtual space. Repertoires can grow as speakers acquire minimal forms of linguistic knowledge that is sometimes limited to single words or even to recognition skills with regard to a particular language (see also Redder, 2013). Blommaert and Backus (2012:29) suggest that

> 'Repertoires enable us to document in great detail the trajectories followed by people throughout their lives: the opportunities, constraints and inequalities they were facing, the learning environments they had access to (and

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[2] How corporate appropriation and governmental surveillance of personal digital data undermine this participatory agency is an important question, which however goes beyond the aims of this paper.

those they did not have access to), their movement across physical and social space, their potential for voice in particular social arenas.'

Taking the analysis of linguistic repertoires to digital language practices requires taking into account how technologies of entextualization reconfigure the communicative spaces in which resources from a repertoire can be deployed. The descriptive grid used by Blommaert and Backus (2012) to chart an individual repertoire distinguishes between modalities of language use (speaking and writing, production and reception) and situation types (formal and informal situations). However, a study of repertoires in digital language practice requires additional distinctions, for example with respect to various modes of computer-mediated communication associated with different degrees of synchronicity and publicness. This study does not attempt to reconstruct a 'complete' individual repertoire across modes and media. Rather, it reconstructs repertoires-in-use, based on an extensive archive of digital discourse, and zooms in on the communicative practices in which particular repertoire segments come into play in social networking. The analysis that follows also delves into the idea that repertoires are shaped by speakers' trajectories and the flow of their communicative exchanges across time and space.

3. Research context, data and analysis

The research reported in this paper was carried out in a project on digital language practices by young people in Hamburg, Germany. Following an online-ethnography approach (Androutsopoulos, 2008), the project documents the Facebook activities of a group of seven students of Greek background, aged 18–20 years, who consented to providing access to their personal profiles on Facebook. The collection of digital data covers a total of three years of their Facebook profiles and is complemented by informal interviews and regular observation of their public Facebook activities. The data for this paper is limited to the Facebook profiles of two participants, Dema and Zach, who were selected for two reasons: they were among the group's most active Facebook users, and their life trajectories in 2011 were shaped by transnational mobility between Greece and Germany, which they regularly shared on their Facebook timelines.[3]

Zach was 20 years old at the time of fieldwork. A third-generation Greek in terms of ethnic background and holder of Greek citizenship, Zach was born and bred in Hamburg and grew up bilingual in German and Greek. In 2011, he completed his secondary education at a Greek community high school and then temporarily moved to Greece in order to serve a three-month military service, which is compulsory for Greek nationals. This is the period in focus here. Zach was eager to share with us his views on multilingualism and transnational communication in two interviews we carried out with him in December 2010 and November 2012. He loves Greece, but thinks of Hamburg as home and does not consider a permanent move to Greece. Zach's Facebook network included 416 'friends' during data collection (February 2011), of which roughly one-third (*N* = 134 or 32%) have Greek surnames, indexing Greek ancestry and a likely knowledge of the Greek language.

Dema was aged 18 during fieldwork. She was born in Greece, grew up in a monolingual, Greek-speaking environment and moved to Hamburg, Germany with her parents in 2009, joining the same Greek community high school as Zach. She had hardly any knowledge of German at that time and viewed her stay in Germany as temporary.[4] After graduation, Dema relocated to Greece in the summer of 2011 to participate in the Greek university admission exams, then returned to Hamburg to start vocational training. The analysis focuses on Dema's Facebook activity in this period of transnational movement, during which she gradually orients to her new social and linguistic environment in Germany. The available data for Dema includes her public Facebook timeline from 2010 to 2012 and her participation in a group discussion conducted in December 2010. Dema's 'friends' network was smaller than Zach's (*N* = 177) and consisted exclusively of people with Greek name (*N* = 175 or 99%) indicating that her Facebook network was largely built in Greece and her first new contacts in Hamburg's come from the city's Greek community.

I approach Facebook as a site of 'networked language practices' that are constrained both by the mediated discourse environment in which they are carried out and by participants' orientation to and interaction with a networked audience. As proposed in Androutsopoulos (2013), the basic unit of analysis for Facebook data is not a single post (status update or comment), but a communicative event (or 'wall event', the term used in Androutsopoulos, 2013), which is defined as a spatially and temporally delimited, multi-authored sequence of contributions on a Facebook timeline. Communicative events on Facebook start with an initiating contribution, usually a so-called status update, which can feature typed text,

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[3] Original fieldwork was carried out by Joanna Kouzina, postgraduate researcher at the University of Hamburg; the interview with Zach quoted below was jointly conducted by Joanna and myself. For details on fieldwork and ethics, see Androutsopoulos (2013), Androutsopoulos et al. (2013) and Kouzina (2011).

[4] Kouzina (2011) notes on Dema: ''After obtaining her degree she wants to return to Greece and pursue her studies there. For the time being a permanent stay in Germany is out of the question for her'' (translated here from German).

embedded images, videos, links to web content or a combination thereof. This initiating post can be followed by 'likes' and one or more responding contributions by members of the audience. A descriptive analysis of a Facebook wall event considers its extension in time, number of contributions and contributors, topical development, sequential relation between contributions, patterns of addressivity, and so on.[5]

The analysis carried out for this paper includes three parts. First, a quantitative analysis of linguistic repertoires was carried out on the two users' Facebook timelines for the year 2011. Each individual contribution (totalling N = 399 for Zach and N = 362 for Dema) was coded for language choice and participation role. Coding for language choice distinguishes between the three main languages in the users' repertoires (German, Greek and English), combinations of features from two or more languages, and semiotic features that cannot be assigned to any particular language (emoticons and other iconic signs). Coding for participation role distinguishes between initiating and responding contributions (the procedure is described in detail in Androutsopoulos et al., 2013:168–173). In a second step, relevant 'moments' were identified and selected for qualitative analysis. Three criteria were particularly useful in identifying these moments: repetition, responsiveness, and reflexivity. Significant moments are sometimes identified through their iterated entextualization, which indexes them as part of the representation of a longer process or event. For example, Dema entextualizes the countdown to her university admission exams in a series of similarly-styled status updates (see section 4.1), and Zach devises several series of status updates to share his time in the Greek army (see section 5.1). Significant moments can also be identified by the fact that they receive responses by the networked audience. Sharing the news of a significant biographical event like a wedding, christening, graduation or death regularly attracts lengthy lists of responses by which members of the networked audience express for instance praise or compassion. As the following discussion suggests, shared moments are made significant not only by their styling but also by their interactive negotiation. Finally, participants themselves often reflect upon their significant moments of sharing on Facebook. To the extent these reflections are elicited in secondary data sources such as interviews, they can offer important pointers back to acts of sharing in the digital data.

In a third step, a qualitative analysis of selected communicative events examines how participants' repertoire choices for the entextualization of shared moments unfold and shift during the period of observation. Facebook exchanges are analysed sequentially in order to identify structures of interactional coherence and interpersonal alignment or disalignment (Bou-Franch et al., 2012; Georgakopoulou, 1997). The micro-analysis of multilingual contributions and exchanges takes its cues from a conversational approach to bilingual interaction which is adapted to computer-mediated discourse (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2006) as well as from the framework of polylingual languaging (Jørgensen et al., 2011). The latter offers two advantages to the analysis of the data at hand. A languaging analysis conceives of utterances (in our case, contributions to communicative exchanges on timelines) not as being cast 'in' a particular language but as drawing on resources ('features') that are associated with one or more languages, registers, genres, etc. While a quantitative repertoire analysis can only operate by assigning an utterance to one or more languages, the languaging approach moves the analysis to a much finer level of segmentation. Second, a languaging analysis is not primarily oriented to spoken-language interaction but views the written materiality of digital language as an additional semiotic resource that participants can draw on to evoke indexical associations and multiple readings of their contributions, for example by means of spelling variation and expressive use of punctuation. Examples of such practice are discussed in the remainder of this paper.

4. Practices of sharing: selecting, styling, negotiating

Sharing can be thought of as a practice that unfolds in three stages: 'selecting', 'styling' and 'negotiating'. Selecting refers to the choice of moments to share; styling concerns how to entextualize what is being shared; and negotiating refers to the audience engagement that follows up on acts of sharing. By this sequential order, sharing is modelled as a discursive process that is initiated by a writer's entextualization and eventually unfolds together with responses by their audience.[6]

4.1. Selecting

Despite Facebook's corporate rhetoric that invites users to "Share what's new in your life", as the suggestion on the site's start page goes, there is no expectation among users that what is shared in social networking neatly correspond to everything that happens in a sharer's 'life'. My data rather suggest that participants select what to share on their Facebook timelines, and that the resulting representations differ from other accounts of everyday life, especially those construed in face-to-face social interaction. Understanding these selections can be analytically challenging as it depends both on

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[5] For other linguistic research on Facebook see Bolander and Locher (2010), Lee (2011), Seargeant et al. (2012), Sharma (2012), Trester and West (2013).

[6] For a similar tripartite scheme, see Giaxoglou's (2009) study of entextualization practices in folklore, which distinguishes three aspects of the selection and organisation of folklore materials: extraction, resetting (i.e., transfer to a new context), and editing.

ethnographic knowledge on the part of the analyst who may attempt to reconstruct sharing preferences from empirically observable entextualization practices, and on participants' own reflexive reconstructions of their sharing activities as elicited in a research interview.

We asked Zach whether an observer of his Facebook timeline would be able to come up with an accurate picture of the important events in his life. His response (Example 1) suggests neither a thorough correspondence nor a complete divergence. Zach views Facebook as a public space that is opposed to his private sphere. He thinks there is variation in his sharing practices, in the sense that similar events are not always represented the same way. He also suggests that sharing is not by necessity emotional (or about 'feelings', as he puts it). This fits well his own language practices, in which emotional lexis, emoticons and expressive punctuation are scarce.

(1) Excerpt from interview with Zach (translated from German)
With me it depends, I sometimes like to share important things with my friends on Facebook, for example how I am, and with other things I prefer to keep things private and do not post anything. The need [to post] is not always there. Sometimes there are posts about where I am and what I'm currently doing. Then for a period of time I do not do this and don't write about where I am. When it comes to feelings, I'm thriftier on Facebook. I prefer to discuss them with my friends outside of Facebook and not publicly, where the whole world can see them.

Judging from Dema and Zach's digital language practices, it is easy to reconstruct what they do not share. Their timelines feature no political discourse, but a lot of everyday routine activities such as people they meet, places they hang out, activities at school or over the weekend. A recurrent pattern involves notifications of being on the move, for example travelling between Greece and Germany, though without necessarily stating where exactly to, or to what purpose. The moments they share often belong to longer event sequences, and their practices of sharing structure the representation of these events in terms of intervals, countdowns, or termination points. Example 2 shows a countdown shared by Dema over four consecutive Facebook exchanges, which communicate her anxiety before her admission exams to Greek higher education.[7]

(2)   Dema's status updates
(2.1) 29 Aug   *6 meres k shmera. . .:/   angxos sto foulll:/*
                     '6 days to go . . .:/   stress to the limit:/'
(2.2) 31 Aug   *4 meres k shmera. . .dn mporw allo..:/ ante n grapsoume n teleiwnoume. . .*
                     '4 days to go . . . I can't study any more..:/ let's get it over with. . .'
(2.3) 4 Sep   *aurio arxizoun ta basana mou. . .axxxxx kai baxxxx!!!!!*
                     'tomorrow my torture begins. . . oi oi oi!'
(2.4) 10 Sep   *Epitelous Teleiwsan ta vasana. . .;)*
                     'Finally the torture's over'

Dema does not explicitly state in these posts what she is preparing for nor does she eventually disclose her exam results later on. Her updates focus on the endpoint of the preparation and her anxiety during that time. Here, as elsewhere in the data, the expectation of a knowing audience has an impact on the selection and styling of shared moments. Entextualizations tend to be implicit rather than explicit, e.g. by communicating movement but not purpose, countdown but not the nature of the task ahead.[8]

4.2. Styling

In a framework of sociolinguistic style (Coupland, 2007), 'styling' refers to the way participants mobilise semiotic resources for entextualization. The styling of entextualized moments can index various aspects of communicative context. Consider the series of Dema's status updates in Example (2). In terms of styling, these posts share a common pattern of sameness and difference. Each post is divided in two parts, which are separated by dots and/or an emoticon. The first part does the countdown, the second expresses Dema's emotional condition propositionally as well as through emoticons. The joint styling of these posts can be seen as indexing their belonging to a series, which entextualizes consecutive

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[7] My English translations primarily convey propositional content. They do not attempt to replicate all idiomatic usage and semiotic details of the original.

[8] For example, Zach repeatedly refers to ''those who know'' in his posts. On 28 August, a couple of days before his enrolment into military service, Zach posts this status update (original in Greek): ''is from tomorrow and for some time not available. Important people know all about it!''. Interestingly, none of his 'friends' asks about his destination in the comments.

moments of the same process. It also indexes Dema's affective stance to the forthcoming exams. In addition, Dema's language choice for these posts indexes her orientation to the Greek-speaking part of her audience. Such orientation to certain subsets of the audience by means of language choice is an important practice for both participants (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2014). In the next section, we discuss how Zach coins a particular bilingual style in order to share his posts from military service with his networked audience.

As the focus of this paper is on the relation between sharing and linguistic repertoire, it is useful to summarise here the findings of a comparative analysis of Dema and Zach's linguistic repertoires on Facebook (cf. Androutsopoulos et al., 2013). This analysis found that both speakers make regular use of three languages on their timelines, Greek, German and English. However, most contributions draw on just one language, which is predominantly German for Zach, Greek for Dema. English is regularly used by both, though largely restricted to formulaic phrases and intertextual chunks. This study also found that some contributions cannot be assigned to any particular language as they consist exclusively of emoticons, graphic icons and laughter expressions; these are more frequent in Dema's usage. Code-switching across posts and polylingual languaging within posts are common, a pattern also attested in other recent studies on social networking (cf. Sharma, 2012; Seargeant et al., 2012). However, a distributional account of this kind does not in itself reveal anything about linguistic choices for sharing. It only becomes useful as a backdrop to an analysis of sharing practices in a particular period of time. Moreover, resources for styling are not limited to distinct 'languages' but include multimodal means and the materiality of written linguistic signs. The following example (3) illustrates how spelling is mobilised as a resource in a moment of sharing by Zach during his military service.

(3) Zach on 21 October
    Next stop: 1η Στρατιά L.A. rissa!
    'Next stop: 1st Division L.A. rissa!' [i.e. Larisa]

Zach posts this to announce his relocation to a camp in the city of Larisa. He sets the topic with a formulaic phrase in English, then adds his new location by using a Greek term ('1st division'). His spelling of the city name, *<L.A. rissa>*, is a pun with the abbreviation for Los Angeles, *L.A*. From the perspective of his knowledgeable audience, this indexes Zach's fondness for US hip-hop, a preference that is unrelated to the important event itself, but nonetheless evoked by Zach in this particular moment. It is also worth observing that the official Latinised spelling of this Greek city name is <Larisa>, with one <s>, pronounced as voiceless [s]. Zach's double <ss> spelling is presumably influenced by German orthography where <ss> is used to represent voiceless [s], whereas intervocalic <s> corresponds to a voiced [z]. This particular spelling thus adds on two layers of indexical meaning to Zach's contribution, one obviously intended and culturally salient, the other presumably unintentional.

The focus of this analysis on language should not disguise the fact that entextualization practices draw heavily on the various semiotic modes and media available in the social networking site. Photographic images and videos from YouTube are common resources for sharing, usually framed by some kind of 'anchoring' caption and/or location tagging. Participants often post a photo that 'says it all', as it were, thereby expecting their knowledgeable audience to fill in the gaps or negotiate the meaning of the shared pictures in their comments. For example, Zach shares the news of his release from service on 29 November by posting a picture of himself holding the release certificate. Here, sharing becomes reminiscent of a basic principle of composition–'show, don't tell'. The next day (30 November) Zach posts a US hip-hop video and adds on this caption: *I'm coming home, im coming home, tell the World Im coming home...^^*. Sharing can thus draw on recontextualization (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) of existing text into new contexts of discourse.[9]

4.3. Negotiating

While the stages of selection and styling concern the process and product of entextualization from the viewpoint of an individual user, the third stage of analysis turns to the negotiation of an entextualized moment with members of the networked audience. Audience responses come in various degrees of complexity and engagement with the shared moment and the sharer. In the simplest case, audience engagement is limited to a 'like', i.e. a click-induced index of awareness of a contribution, or a short, ritualised response such as a birthday wish or cry of support. However, audience responses can contextualise whatever is being shared in more substantial ways, for example by requesting more information or offering interpretive cues which may help other, non-responding members of the audience to assess the

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[9] Not all events lend themselves equally well to such pictorial or multimedia entextualization. The regular posting of music videos is a practice that is distinct from sharing important personal news in this data, even though the latter can sometimes be communicated by means of photos or videos too. More data is needed to understand such differences.

importance of what is being shared. Similar to the interplay between *YouTube* videos and their comments, the initial act of sharing and the audience responses to it can evolve into a multi-authored 'vernacular spectacle' (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2010; Sharma, 2012) in which the responses eventually become part of the sharing for subsequent viewers. Audience responses can shape the negotiation of shared moments in unpredictable ways. For example, Dema's timeline features repeated requests by 'friends' from Greece to share more information about her future plans, which Dema seems reluctant to do. Consider Example (4):

(4) Dema and female 'friends' from Greece (8 April)
1. 12:05 Dema *Ich bin in der schule:D*
               "I am at school"
2. 12:05 FA   *ema8a oti erxesai ellada. . .pote me to kalo?*
               "I heard you're coming to Greece. . . when will this be?"
3. 12:07 Dema *Xaderfoula Mou....tonne iounio s erxomai anteee n vgoumeee epitelous:D*
               "My dear cousin. . . coming in june, let's then finally meet up"
4. 12:07 FA   *den 8a katevete pasxa??*
               "You're not coming for easter?"
5. 12:10 Dema *Oxi GMT:(*
               "No dammit"
6. 12:49 MO   *makari n imoun k gwww !!!! Hamburg for ever ! ti kaneis dimitroulitsaaa??????*
               "I wish I could be there too! Hamburg for ever! How are you my dear dema?"
7. 16:10 Dema *kala eimai esu agapoula mou??*
               "I'm fine how about you my dearest one?"
8. 16:51 MO   *tn kanw tn prospatheia m k gw..ti n kanw? filiaa mwra mouuuuu*
               "I'm also doing my best, what can I do? Kisses my dear ones"

Dema initiates this event by sharing, in German, an everyday, routine activity of her life in Hamburg. The immediate response from a 'friend' from Greece changes the topic and language of interaction for the subsequent question- and-answer pairs (line 2–5). Later on another 'friend' reopens the event with a bit of phatic talk, to which Dema again responds (lines 6–8). The example shows that active participation is unpredictable, and so are linguistic choices in the course of a communicative event. Dema starts in German but is happy to converge to Greek, and some formulaic English comes up later on as well (line 6). Some audience responses can have an immediate effect on a sharer's content and style, as is the case in this exchange, whereas other responses can shape a sharer's long-term selection or styling of shared moments. An example to this effect from Zach's timeline is discussed in the next section (cf. Example 7). This example also shows that interactions with the networked audience rely on a shared repertoire of expressive resources, such as iterated vowel signs and punctuation marks as well as turn-final emoticons, all of which are included in this exchange.

5. Sharing and linguistic repertoire in two individual cases

In the remainder of this paper, the relation between sharing and linguistic repertoire is examined separately from the perspective of each user. Drawing on quantitative and qualitative evidence, the two case studies aim to demonstrate how sharing practices entextualize significant moments during longer periods of time, and how sociolinguistic choices for entextualization index the participants' transnational trajectories and audiences. I examine in particular how Dema and Zach 'move towards' one particular language from their repertoire, which is Greek for Zach, German for Dema. The discussion brings together quantitative findings on their repertoire choices for the entire year 2011 and a close analysis of selected Facebook timeline events in order to explore how Dema and Zach performatively manage and interactively negotiate their linguistic resources in entextualization.

5.1. Zach's case: moving towards Greek

Table 1 charts Zach's Facebook linguistic repertoire choices in 2011. We see that his responding posts outnumber the initiating ones and that his choices differ by participation role. German is Zach's most frequent choice for his initiating posts (i.e. status updates), followed by Greek and English. His responding contributions are much more frequently in German, suggesting that Zach's small talk in the communicative events of his timeline is carried out predominantly with his 'friends' from Germany. His amount of responding contributions in Greek and English is lower. Contributions that draw on two or more languages have similar frequency in both participation roles, whereas contributions that consist exclusively of emoticons, punctuation signs or icons are rather rare.

Table 1
Zach's linguistic repertoire on Facebook in 2011 by participation role.

Linguistic choices of posts	Initiating		Responding	
	N	%	*N*	%
German	56	*34*	145	*61*
Greek	39	*24*	30	*13*
English	38	*23*	15	*6*
Features from two or more languages	28	*17*	35	*15*
Features not assigned to any language	2	*1*	11	*5*
Total (posts)	163		236	

Source: Androutsopoulos et al. (2013), abridged.

Table 2
Zach's language-only status updates from September–November 2011.

Linguistic choices of posts	Sep	Oct	Nov	*N*
German	1	2	3	6
Greek	4	6	1	11
English	0	9	4	13
Features from two or more languages	2	4	5	11
Features not assigned to any language	0	0	24	24
Total (posts)	7	21	37	65

Table 2 zooms in on Zach's status updates during the three months of his Greek military service from September to November 2011. The grand total of *N* = 65 posts yields an average of just over 20 posts per month, which suggests that Zach uses Facebook regularly to share news from his military service. However, his Facebook activity is unevenly distributed across these three months. Zach posts very few language-only status updates in his first few weeks in service (September), even though he does post several photos of himself in military uniform during this time (e.g. on 18, 19 and 24 September). Note that this count considers only typed-in status updates. Zach's overall Facebook activity is quite higher if initiating posts with photos (with or without a caption), videos and location tags are taken into account.

Zach's stay in Greece clearly had an impact on the role of Greek in his linguistic repertoire, as he himself reflects on in the interview we conducted a year after his discharge (example 5). During this time, he started writing on Facebook with the Greek script, unlike his previous practice of writing Greek with Latin characters. In addition to posting video clips of Greek popular music, which he already did before the army, his Facebook timeline now features weblinks to Greek media content (e.g. on 9 October), slogans for Greek football teams (e.g. 7 November) and military-related rhymes (e.g. on 17, 27, 29 September). I read these as indicators of Zach's engagement with Greek popular culture, an engagement that coincides with his increased use of the Greek language.

(5) Excerpt from interview with Zach (translated from German)
'My comments and status updates were at that time directed to my friends in Greece and I also write them in Greek for myself. This was a good opportunity, while I was there anyway. Being there in Greece, I could improve my knowledge of the Greek language, which did help. When I came back to Germany my Greek was much better and more fluent. I often heard Greek words I didn't know, so I had to ask about their meaning on the spot. I learnt a lot this way.'

In entextualizing moments from his military service, Zach tries out a number of styling strategies in order to cope with the linguistic heterogeneity of his networked audience and to maximise the reach of what he has to share. Example (6) gives a selection of his status updates in chronological order.

(6)   Status updates by Zach
(6.1) 5 Oct   WE RUN THE NIGHT BABY!
(6.2) 28 Oct   Ο σκοπευτής έτοιμος, ακουστικά, μουσικούλα κ πάμε.. / Der
                 scharfschütze ist fertig, kopfhörer auf, musik an & los gehts.. !!
                 'The gunman is ready, earphones, music on and let's go'
(6.3) 2 Nov   27 & σημερα! Η ημερες περνανε και μενουν η στιγμες.. / 27 &
                 heute! Die tage vergehen & es bleiben die erinnerungen..
                 '27 to go! Days go by, memories remain'

(6.4)   4 Nov   26 [x]
                 '26 [x]'
(6.5)   29 Nov   Τέλος!/Ende!
                 'The end!'

Zach's first styling strategy is the choice of English, its proportion being highest in October. While varying in propositional content, his English-language posts are typically short and formulaic (Example 6.1) and often draw on popular culture. Two days before discharge from service, Zach writes in a responsive comment: *I'm cooommiiiiiing hooommmmeee* (27 November), a song line that he takes up a couple of days later when he posts a video by the same title to celebrate his return to Hamburg (see section 4.2). Zach's second strategy is to repeat the same propositional content in two languages, Greek and German. Examples (6.2) and (6.3) are among the first instances of this pattern in Zach's timeline. This kind of 'double monolingual' contribution was limited in Zach's earlier usage to seasonal rituals such as Christmas wishes and is now rescaled in order to devise a daily diary that is consciously tailored to his heterogeneous audience. Reflecting on his language use during the interview, Zach associates these double monolingual posts with a particular subset of his audience, i.e. the ''Greeks from Greece'', whom he describes as ''my family or friends who do not speak any German and do not understand German status updates''. He distinguishes this style from other patterns of languaging in his repertoire, in particular what he calls ''mixing'', by which he refers to instances of code-switching or language mixing within a post (not represented in the examples here, but see ex. 8 below). He describes this as ''a habit, it's normal among bilinguals.'' A third strategy, which is deployed throughout November, is to post only numbers, which index the days left until the end of service. As shown in Table 2, these posts were not assigned to any particular language in coding. Example (6.4) is part of this series, and (6.5) shows Zach's last 'double monolingual' contribution.[10]

The analysis suggests that Zach consciously differentiates the styling of his posts by intended audience. At the same time, his posts index his skills in the languages of his repertoire. While the parts in German are written in colloquial standard German, the Greek parts are conspicuous (at least from the analyst's perspective) for their spelling errors. Zach has difficulties with the various heterographs for the /i/ sound in Modern Greek, whose orthographic representation varies by morphological function. He spells <η> instead of correctly <οι>, <ι> or <υ>, all these graphemes representing /i/ in Modern Greek. Zach's lack of metalinguistic reflection and the lack of corrective discourse on these errors on the part of his audience suggest that these features are first-order indexicals, that is, not pragmatically relevant to the speaker and his active audience. By contract, Zach's use of the Greek language and script clearly is a second-order indexical, i.e. a choice that is conscious and meaningful to Zach himself (see Johnstone, 2010 on indexical orders).

Zach's sharing is oriented to an active audience that regularly engages in reading, watching and discussing his shared moments, exploring to this purpose the affordances of the social networking site. The three examples that follow are initiating comments by 'friends' on Zach's timeline, followed by his responses.

(7)   Male 'friend' posts on Zach's wall (21 October)
1.   CS   *Zach deutsch Schreiben will auch was verstehen*
              ''Zach write German I also want to understand this''
2.   Zach *Alles klar, ab jetzt übersetze ich auch alles;-)*
              ''All right, from now on I'll translate everything''
3.   CS   *Sehr nett:)*
              ''Very nice''

(8)   Female 'friend' from Hamburg posts on Zachs wall (13 November)
MS   [Zach's full name] <- only 17 days, dann haben wir noch ein Gentleman *mehr in Hamburg. !*
          ''[Zach's full name] <- only 17 days, then we'll have one more gentleman in Hamburg''

(9)   Zach posts photo from Greek patisserie, a 'friend' comments (14 November)
MS   *Αμάν ρε Μήτσο!!!! Μας έχεις ξελιγώσει λέμε με τους κορνέδες,τα προφιτερόλ και τις σεράνο!!!! Δεν θα έρθεις ξανά εδώ..Θα βαρεθείς να τρως franzbrötchen κι εσύ..:-P*
          ''Come on Zach! You're making our mouths water with these cornet sweets, profiteroles and chocolate cakes. But you'll come back here... You'll get sick of Franzbrötchen too...''

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[10] After his return to Hamburg, Zach also returns to his previous practice of double monolingual postings for seasonal greetings, e.g. on Christmas of the same year.

Example (7), a request to Zach to translate his status updates into German, indeed had an impact on his subsequent styling strategies, in particular his shift to 'double monolingual' contributions. Examples (8) and (9) come from the same female 'friend'. Example (8) celebrates Zach's return to Hamburg. In terms of style, the code-switching between the English phrase and the German main clause is common in the Facebook language practices of Zach's Greek-German network of 'friends' in Hamburg (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2013), and in sharp contrast to Zach's double monolingual style for his diary reports (ex. 6 above). Example (9) is cast almost entirely in Greek, perhaps motivated from the photograph in this post, which shows Zach eating a Greek pastry. The writer refers to Zach's hypothetical consumption of *Franzbrötchen*[11] after his return and uses this German term to index a metonymic contrast between Zach's current location and his hometown, also indexed by 'here'.

5.2. Dema's case: moving towards German

Dema arrived in Germany in 2009 with hardly any knowledge of German and started taking German language classes while in Hamburg. Her Facebook timeline for 2010 includes only very few posts that draw on German. Her increasing orientation to the German language in 2011 is presumably linked to her improving command of the language, her romantic relationship with a partner from Hamburg's Greek community, and not least to a certain degree of peer pressure from her new social network in Hamburg, which largely consists of Greek-German youth. Consider example (10), a timeline event initiated by Dema who cheerfully announces her return to Hamburg.

(10) Dema and female 'friends' (22 September)
1.   16:08 Dema *sas erxomaiiii seee 3 meroulesss agapouless mouuu* ♥ ♥
                   'I'm coming to you in 3 days my dearest ones!'
2.   16:10 KE   *Se perimenooooo kouklaa mm!!!!!!!!*
                   'I'm waiting for you my beauty!'
3.   16:22 VU   *Uch epitelous kardia m* ♥
                   'Oh at last love'
4.   20:57 CS   *Ich hol schon mal den Sekt*
                   'I'll fetch the sparkling'
5.   21:06 VU   *Also ich bin eher für vodka aber sekt geht auch:D*
                   'Well I'd rather have vodka but sparkling is still okay'

Tagged for location ("near Athens") and addressee (her female 'friends' KE, VU and CS who all contribute to this exchange), Dema's initiating post comes in Greek, and the responses come first in Greek (lines 2–3), then in German (lines 4–5). VU switches to German in her second contribution (line 5), thereby accommodating the language choice of the previous speaker. Remarkably, the switch to German contextualises a change of interactional stance. While the first couple of responses are dialogically oriented to Dema and address her with terms of endearment, the subsequent responses in German are cast from the speaker's perspective and draw somewhat less on visual markers of affect. Exchanges like this indicate the usualness of a multilingual style of interaction in Dema's new social network and the likely expectation that participation in her new community would require a place for German in her linguistic repertoire.

Table 3, which charts Dema's repertoire choices on her public Facebook timeline, shows that Greek remains her predominant linguistic choice in 2011. The proportion of Greek is higher for responding posts, suggesting that Dema's Facebook conversations involve mostly her Greek-speaking friends. Conversely, Dema is more likely than Zach to use German for status updates (initiating posts) than conversation (responding posts). My suggestion is that status updates afford Dema opportunities to display her improving German to her transnational and linguistically heterogeneous audience; the remainder of this section focuses on Dema's use of German. The table also shows that Dema's responding posts draw more frequently on English and multiple linguistic resources (see Example 14), whereas her repertoire of emoticons, icons and expressive punctuation is more frequently used in initiating posts.

Similar to Zach's Greek, Dema's increasing use of German on Facebook coincides with a range of digital literacy practices, which index her orientation to her new social space. During 2011, Dema starts subscribing to Facebook apps in the German language (example 12); she puts together a Facebook photo album by the title of *Germania* ('Germany' in Latin-alphabeted Greek); her posts and photo captions feature local references to Hamburg. Example (11) features a selection of Dema's status updates from early 2011 in chronological order. Dema's language choice by topic is not consistent. References to her new relationship are entextualized in either German (ex. 11.2) or Greek and German

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[11] A kind of pastry commonly found in Hamburg (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franzbrötchen).

Table 3
Dema's linguistic repertoire on Facebook in 2011 by participation role.

Linguistic choices of posts	Initiating		Responding	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
German	25	*16*	8	*4*
Greek	63	*40*	107	*53*
English	2	*1*	19	*9*
Features from two or more languages	12	*7*	57	*36*
Features not assigned to any language	41	*20*	29	*14*
Total (posts)	159		203	

Source: Androutsopoulos et al. (2013), abridged.

(ex. 11.1), those to school come either in German (ex. 11.3) or Greek (ex. 11.4).[12] Dema's German shows deviations from native-speaker vernacular norms in syntax, spelling and pragmatics. For example, on 22 April Dema writes: *gestern ich war mit mein schatz* ('yesterday I was with my darling'), thereby violating the verb-second word order of native German vernaculars and omitting the dative case marker in the possessive pronoun (i.e. *mein* for *meinem*). On 18 June, she writes: *ich bin jetzs athen endlich* ('I am now Athens finally') omitting the locative preposition. These features can be described as part of a learner register, but they are also attested in the multi-ethnic urban vernaculars that emerge in German cities in the last decades (Wiese, 2013). Dema's spelling inconsistencies are illustrated by variants such as *schatz* and *schatzz* (ex. 11.1 and 11.2) or *chilln* and *chellen* for *chillen* ('to chill'). However, features of this sort do not raise any metalinguistic remarks by her audience.

(11)   Dema's status updates
(11.1) 23 Jan   *se 8 meres kleinoume 3 mhnes mazi agapoula mou... ♥ ich liebe dich mein schatz....:**
                 'In 8 days we'll celebrate 3 months together my darling... I love you my sweetheart'
(11.2) 31 Jan   *Ich bin bei Mir zu Hause mit meinem schatzz (♥)*
                 'I'm at home with my sweetheart'
(11.3) 11 Feb   *Ich bin mit L & D im nebenraum & chilln & A macht Physik Unterricht:D*
                 'I'm with L and D in the side room chilling and A is in physics class'
(11.4) 17 Feb   *Eimaste Sto sxoleio Kai kathomaste gt oi kathigites Kanon sineleush....hihi teleia:D*
                 'We're at school sitting around because the teachers are having a meeting... hihi perfect'

The use of German-language apps is one of the most obvious innovations on Dema's timeline in early 2011. Example (12) is initiated by her Greek-German 'friend' VU who posts a quiz on her timeline (line 1) and responds on her behalf (line 2) with an international brand name, which leaves language choice ambiguous. Dema's own response (line 3) comes in German, aligned to the language of the app content ('jim block' is the name of a fast food chain in Hamburg). Example (13) is initiated by a quiz to which Dema herself responds in German (line 2), followed by a comment from another female 'friend' who is not of Greek heritage. While these app responses do not constitute memorable moments of sharing by the working definition proposed in this paper, the motivation to discuss them here is that they contribute to Dema's growing preference of German and create opportunities for digitally-mediated exchanges with people beyond the local Greek-speaking community.

(12) Dema's response to app content (2 January)
1.   APP   *Was ist [Dema's full name] Lieblings-Restaurant?*
             'What is Dema's favourite restaurant?'
2.   VU   Mcdonalds
3.   Dema   *ja normal hahhah...:P oder jim block..hahah*
             'yeah of course haha... or Jim Block... haha'

(13) Dema's response to app content (27 April)
1.   APP   *Welcher Handy passt zu dir? iPhone 3g*
             'Which mobile phone suits you? iPhone 3g'

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[12] In ex. (11.1), Dema's direct address to her boyfriend is motivated by the fact that she has tagged him in her contribution, thereby making sure he will be alerted to her status update.

2.   Dema   *:D ich habe das handy....*
           'I've got this mobile. . .'
3.   MA   *ich auch:D*
           'me too'

By the end of 2011, Dema's language choices for sharing become more fluid and open to negotiation of language choice. This gradual change comprises an increased use of German, as suggested by the analysis so far, but its outcome is not a new monolingual norm that would replace Greek by German. The move towards German rather increases the complexity and diversity of Dema's networked language practices. Dema now presumably expects, and is interactively able, to share in Greek and receive responses in German (as in example 10) or to share in German and receive responses in Greek (as in example 4), with the directionality of these switches indexing the subset of her transnational audience that actively participates in the respective event on her timeline. Dema also adopts the multilingual posting style of her peers. Consider example (14), part of a series of name-day wishes posted on Dema's timeline. This wish is cast in Greek but uses a German term of endearment, *Schatz* ('darling'). Dema's response takes up this term in a diminutive variant (*schatzi*) and integrates it syntactically into the Greek clause, as indicated by the postposed possessive pronoun, *Mou* ('mine'). To this she adds an English lexical item for 'thanks', spelled in a nonstandard way.

(14) On Dema's name day (26 October)
1.   IR   *Xronia polla schaatz na xerese to onomaa s !!:**
           ''All the best love enjoy your name day!''
2.   Dema   *Thnxs schatzii Mou. . .Flkk;)*
           ''Thnxs my love. . .Kisses''

Unlike Zach who is welcomed back to Hamburg by his 'friends' (see ex. 8 and 9), Dema's social network on Facebook constantly brings up the transnational tension she finds herself in during 2011. The Greek subset of her network, in particular, claims several opportunities to remind her where her 'homeland' is. Recall how in example (4), a Greek 'friend' reclaims Greek as language of interaction to ask about Dema's next journey to Greece. After her return to Hamburg in September 2011, Dema's Facebook timeline hosts some discussions on her future residence. One of them starts with the expressive request: *gurna pisw sthn patrida dema!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!* ('Come back to the fatherland, Dema!'). Dema's increased use of German on Facebook does not pass unnoticed either. Consider examples (15) and (16).

(15)   Dema and 'friends' AT and EL (31 January)
1. Dema   *Ich bin bei Mir zu Hause mit meinem schatzz (♥)*
           'I'm at home with my sweetheart'
2. AT   *ey parte me tilefono sto kinito*
           'hey call me on the mobile'
3. EL   *???? Από όλο αυτό μόνο την καρδιά κατάλαβα!*
           '? From all this I just got the heart!'

(16)   Dema and 'friend' KE (16 January)
1. Dema   *Was ist das??? Ein arschloch haha xD*
           'What's this? An asshole haha'
2. KE   *eipame na mathei germanika.. alla paidia oxi etsei haha*
           'It's fine she's learning German but hey guys not like this haha'

In (15), Dema's status update in German is followed up by two responses in Greek. The first comes from a Hamburg male 'friend' and is cast in Latinised Greek, whereas the second comes from a 'friend' from Greece, is in the Greek script, and alludes to the linguistic boundary created by Dema's initiating post. In example (16), Dema's female 'friend' KE from Hamburg critiques the wording of her status update as stylistically inappropriate. The Greek expression *oxi etsi* ('not like this') indexes that some kind of boundary in social behaviour has been crossed. It is not entirely clear what Dema tries to communicate in this status update. Its dialogic format seems to allude to a language learning interaction that consists of a request to name a displayed object (*What's this?*) and the answer to it. On this account, Dema could be seen as drawing here on obscenity to playfully subvert the learning drills she is familiar with from her German language classes. KE's reference to Dema's on-going language learning (line 2) supports this reading. In both contributions, turn-final laughter particles contextualise the utterance as playful or jocular. However, while Zach explicitly complies to a 'friend's' request for more German (see example 7 above), it is unclear whether the metapragmatic remarks by EL in example (15) and KE in (16) has had any effect on Dema's subsequent use of German.

14   *J. Androutsopoulos / Journal of Pragmatics xxx (2014) xxx–xxx*

6. Conclusion

This paper explores sharing in social networking as a set of practices by which individuals entextualize significant moments for, and with, their networked audience. In conclusion, its findings are summarised in three points. First (though last in the sequential order of exposition), this paper offers two case studies that examine how two individuals mobilise resources from their linguistic repertoires to entextualize moments of sharing for a heterogeneous networked audience. Theoretically, shared moments do not have to represent important offline events; they can be construed in digital discourse in their entirety, nonetheless being important to the sharer. In this paper, however, a specific period of transnational mobility creates the backdrop to the two youngsters' sharing activities (see also Lee, 2011). The analysis suggests that sharing practices by Dema and Zach are closely related to their transnational trajectories during the observation period, and their sociolinguistic choices for sharing are best understood against their individual points of departure. Their language practices jointly revolve around German and Greek, with English as a further choice. Each of them orients to these languages in different ways, shaped by their respective socio-demographic background and their transnational trajectory. Dema and Zach's 'movement' into German and Greek, respectively, does not exclude or contradict multilingual practice but constitutes a change in the importance of the respective language, a change which is both outcome and index of more temporary or long-ranging movement in physical and social space. While Zach's stay in Greece is a temporary sojourn away from home, Dema's transnational and translingual relation between her two relevant languages and spaces is more tense, and her shifts in entextualization practice are more closely linked to a decisive biographical turn.

Based on data from these two individuals, this paper offers an descriptive framework for an tripartite analysis of sharing as a process of selecting, styling, and negotiating. I suggest that this approach makes sharing practices accessible to linguistic scrutiny, as it emphasizes issues of style, interaction, metalinguistic reflexivity and orientation to an audience (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2014). This tripartite analysis underpins an understanding of sharing as a performative and interactional practice. Sharing in social networking constitutes a type of performance (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Bell and Gibson, 2011) in the sense that sharers orient their contributions to a networked audience, paying attention to not just what is being shared (selecting) but also to how this is done (styling) and expecting feedback by this audience (negotiating). Like other types of performance, sharing on Facebook implies an audience that is not just capable of reading or watching what is being shared but also has the background knowledge that is needed in order to fill gaps in the shared representations and interpret the meaning of the sharer's communicative acts. Sharing is conceptualised here not as something accomplished by a 'sender' but as an interactive accomplishment that involves both the sharer and responding members from their audience, whose feedback encourages and at times shapes future sharing activities. This paper also approaches sharing as a transformative practice. By making particular representations of themselves available to their networked audience and by selecting particular modes and media for their entextualization, participants construct the shared moment as part of their social reality.

The analysis of the relation between sharing and linguistic repertoire brought to the fore the relevance of social space as a mediating link between the two. Sharing practices are locally situated, tied to social spaces reported about, to activities taking place in spaces, and to transition and mobility across spaces. Spaces, in turn, entail normative orientations to linguistic choices (cf. Blommaert et al., 2005). The case studies show that Dema and Zach orient to local norms of the spaces they find themselves in, though without fully converging to these norms, at least in the space of social networking with its heterogeneous audience. The findings lend support to a theorising of social media as a space of discourse that is not just delimited by technological means but construed by speakers and audiences. They also suggest an understanding of social media as a space that is distinct from other spaces of social activity but at the same time intermingled, or 'blended', with everyday offline practices. The findings further suggest a dialectic relationship between linguistic repertoires and entextualization practices. Shifts in transnational trajectories are indexed by shifts in linguistic repertoire choices, and the repetition and stabilisation of these preferences can be read as index of a sharer's orientation to new social contexts. However, sharers do not just 'use' resources from their repertoire to entextualize their stories and experiences, but rather develop and reshape their repertoires in the process of entextualization. The findings confirm the suggestion that periods of transnational movement are among those phases of life in which repertoires can ''develop explosively'' (Blommaert and Backus, 2012:8). The public space of social networking provides participants with opportunities to display a language they are moving into, either a new one (in Dema's case) or one of less importance in their repertoire (in Zach's case). For these two participants, practices of sharing are inseparable from practices of language learning. Practices of sharing could therefore be an interesting object of study for researchers of informal language learning in computer-mediated interaction.

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