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Heritage and social media in superdiverse cities: personalised, networked and multimodal

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1. Introduction

1.1. *Heritage and superdiversity*

Creating heritage is a process of selection, whereby people may actively choose the meanings and values from their past which they wish to preserve for the future (Deumert forthcoming). Processes of heritage creation can be particularly interesting in superdiverse cities where 'official' cultural heritages (such as those represented in museums and art galleries) are less likely to be shared by all inhabitants and where people are exposed to a diverse range of inherited resources and so can to some extent 'adopt and identify with cultural traditions that are not theirs by birth' (Baynham et al 2016, p.9). In their report on interactions within the parochial space of a city library, for example, Blackledge et al (2016) explore how heritage is negotiated and performed in everyday encounters between people from diverse backgrounds as they share, contest and appropriate different traditions, practices, values and beliefs. They describe how Winnie, a Customer Experience Assistant in the Library of Birmingham, draws on her own background as a migrant from Hong Kong and on her encounters in Birmingham (that is, on both 'inherited values and lived experience', p. 179), as she selects and promotes what she feels is important in life. Heritage, as their report shows, not only emerges from the group expression of social and cultural values but also from everyday performances of individual identity.

1.2 *Social media and heritage: personalised, networked and multimodal*

Social media have had an impact on processes of heritage-making, not least because digital interactions enable geographically-dispersed groups to come together to build up and disseminate a shared cultural heritage (Androutsopoulos 2006; Caulfield, 2011; McClure, 2001). Much has been written about the role of social media in promoting minority languages (Cunliffe 2007; Lenihan 2011, Mac Uidhilin 2013; Warschauer 1998) by providing a space in which the language can be used as a platform for its dissemination, as well as enabling the creation of language-related tools such as dictionaries and translating software. Digital technology can also provide multimodal tools and resources which enable groups to creatively express and perform their heritage, as documented for example by researchers of migrant hip-hop artists (Domingo 2014; Westinen 2014). In short, social media can be seen as bringing people together and assisting in their co-creation of a shared heritage from the 'bottom up', in ways that might challenge otherwise dominant official heritages. In an era of migration, mobility and superdiversity, social media enable the expression of group identity and values which may draw on, but is not defined by, members' geographical locations.

The focus in this report, however, is on heritage through social media as an individual, personalised experience. Whereas once the internet was best known for bringing together communities of practice (Baym 2015), it is now argued that many internet-enabled connections should be seen not in terms of community or shared space but with reference to personal networks. These personal networks often form not because of affiliation around shared interests but because of mutual relationships with a 'node' user. This pattern of social connection has been described in terms of 'networked publics' (boyd 2011), 'networked individualism' (Baym 2015), the 'networked self' (Papacharissi 2011), and 'node-oriented

communities' (Tagg and Seargeant 2014; Tagg and Seargeant 2016). Importantly, because online personal networks are built up through contacts made throughout an individual's life trajectory, and given increasing mobility and the various communities to which an individual may belong, these networks are characterised by 'intradiversity' – that is, a particular kind of diversity constrained by the node user's life trajectory, friendships and interests (Tagg and Seargeant forthcoming; Tagg et al forthcoming). The significance of intradiverse digitally-enabled personal networks is twofold: people are able to strengthen their weak ties (Granovetter 1973) with acquaintances who can become invaluable sources of support and information (Chen and Choi 2011); and they increasingly filter information about the world – including inherited values and other potential heritage resources – through personal networks (Bakshy et al 2015). All of this has implications for the expression and dissemination of heritage as an individualised process which is also networked.

A final characteristic of heritage online is the particular set of multimodal resources which digital technology makes newly available to users of 'interactive multimodal platforms' (Herring 2016) such as YouTube or WhatsApp. Reconceptualising online texts as 'multimodal ensembles' – 'representations or interactions that consist of more than one mode' (Jewitt 2016) – moves attention away from the focus on written language to explore how meaning is created through the choice of, and interplay between, different modes. For example, Bourlai and Herring's (2014) preliminary study of Tumblr found that emotions expressed through writing were both more negative and sarcastic than those expressed through animated GIFs (Graphics Interchange Format), which they put down to the lack of paralinguistic cues and the potential ambiguity of digital writing; while a number of researchers have explored the communicative effects of remixing commercial media with localised content, including the grassroots subtitling of mainstream movies or songs (Androutsopoulos 2009; Leppänen and Häkkinen 2012). Online multimodal ensembles can be particularly complex and multi-layered, because they involve the embedding of multimedia such as video and audio into one platform (an act of *convergence*), with each media comprising semiotic resources from distinct modes (Androutsopoulos and Tereick 2016, p. 356). As well as providing users with an extended set of resources for the expression of identity and heritage, these complex multimodal ensembles enable users to exploit the distinct affordances of different modes; for example, as we shall see, images can be exploited for their direct representation of cultural activities (as evident in Monika's Facebook NewsFeed below); or for what they appear to index about a person (as we shall see with the images on M's Facebook profile).

In contrast to social network and media-sharing platforms, much less has been written about the use of multiple modes – emoji, typography, photos, audio files – in synchronous interactions on interactive multimodal platforms like WhatsApp (though see, for example, initial work on emoji by the 'What's up, Switzerland?' project (e.g. Siever 2016; Siebenhaar 2016). However, our research suggests that, in such contexts, multiple modes can be a resource for creative acts of 'intersemiotic translanguaging' (Lyons 2015) which enable people to extend and transform traditional practices and values. One limitation of existing multimodality research is that, in focusing attention on the distinct meaning-making

potentials of different modes, researchers impose a separation between modes much in the same way as 'code-switching' presupposes a distinction between languages in interaction. One way of addressing this limitation is to look at multimodal text production as a form of translanguaging (Creese and Blackledge 2010) – intersemiotic translanguaging – which involves fluid movements between different modes and media.

One final point regarding multimodality research into digital practices relates to its strong social orientation and its focus on the ability of users to appropriate and exploit resources for their own ends, one limitation of which is a relative neglect of the extent to which online communicative spaces and practices are organised by design decisions made by social media companies (Androutsopoulos 2010). Lankshear and Knobel (2011) explain how the apparent adoption by commercial companies such as Facebook, Google and Amazon of principles such as collaboration, participation and reciprocity masks a new business model designed to exploit data generated by its users (see also Jones 2015). The relevance of this commercial proprietorship to the current report is that bottom-up heritage practices online must to some extent take place within, and be shaped by, the constraints imposed by financially-motivated site designers.

In the rest of this report, we explore different instantiations of online heritage-making through investigation of the digitally-mediated heritage practices of three individuals. Despite similarities in their backgrounds – all three are women who have migrated to, and now live in, UK cities and who in different ways work to preserve and protect cultural heritage – the three select and express their heritage in different ways as they perform identities online. In these and a multitude of other ways, heritage emerges through multimodal and networked performances of individual identity as people negotiate cultural resources and hold on to personally-important values in rapidly-changing, often superdiverse contexts.

2.   Methods, context and data

The data on which this report is based were collected as part of the large AHRC-funded project 'Translation and Translanguaging: investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities' (2014-2018; PI: Angela Creese). The project is divided into four phases: business, heritage, sports and law; and into four city case studies: Birmingham, Cardiff, Leeds and London. This report draws on data collected from the heritage phase in three of the four case studies: Birmingham, Leeds and London. In each case study, the local team of researchers selected a key participant (KP) who worked with cultural heritage. The KPs were observed and recorded at work, as well as being interviewed. They also took audio recorders home to capture domestic interactions and they collected and submitted examples of their social media use. Here, and elsewhere (Tagg and Lyons et al forthcoming), we describe our methodology as 'blended ethnography', that is, 'a blend of online and offline ethnography' (Androutsopoulos 2008). While this report, and many other blended ethnographies (e.g. Domingo 2014; Miller and Sinanan 2012), focus on understanding how digital technologies are embedded into everyday lives, the ultimate aim of the inclusion of social media data in our project is to understand how and why individuals make meaning in ways that encompass both offline and online contexts. The aim is an

approach which prioritises neither the digital (as tends to be the case in other blended ethnographies) nor the physical (as in our case study reports so far), but which instead challenges any distinction between offline and online to explore how individuals communicate through all or any of the means available to them. As part of that longer-term aim, this report functions to foreground the social media data so that it can be better understood as part of the wider whole.

The social media data collected for the heritage phase in these cities is laid out in Table 1 below. As the table shows, the data collection involved taking phone screenshots, forwarding emails and, in the case of some WhatsApp threads, the automatic forwarding of transcripts.

City case study	Key participant (KP)[1]	Social media data
Birmingham	Winnie, Customer Experience Assistant in the Library of Birmingham	500 WhatsApp messages (automatically forwarded as .txt file) and SMS text messages 50 emails (forwarded)
Leeds	Monika, Roma Voice worker for Migration Council	Facebook posts (screenshots) Emails
London	M, actor and artist	116 WhatsApp screenshots 21 SMS text message screenshots 101 email exchanges

Table 1: Social media data collected for the heritage phase

Each case study completed a report on the social media data collected in their city. This present report is based on these city case study reports, as well as on the general reports written by each case study and available on our website (Blackledge et al 2016; Baynham et al 2016; Zhu et al 2016). The remainder of the report discusses the social media use of the three KPs in turn, with particular reference to its significance for processes of heritage, before drawing out common themes in the conclusion. These common themes are the personalised, networked and multimodal nature of heritage online.

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[1] Each case study negotiated a different approach to the representation of their key participants; Winnie agreed that her data would not be anonymised, while the data from the other two case studies is anonymous: Monika is a pseudonym, and M an initial. All references to people other than our KPs have been anonymised.

3. Winnie: learning ways of writing, connecting and being through social media

3.1 Introducing Winnie

Winnie, who was born in Hong Kong and migrated to the UK in 1995, speaks fluent Cantonese and English. She began working at the Library of Birmingham (LoB) in 2000 as a Customer Experience Assistant. It was evident throughout the data collection that she was proud of her job and saw it as an important element of being an independent woman who did not need to rely on her husband. She took particular pride in her encounters with library customers, who she always treated with frankness, politeness and respect, an approach which was important to her and which she considered 'the British way of doing things' (Blackledge et al 2016, p. 29). Her service encounters also revealed her love of learning, particularly of other languages: she would nearly always exploit any opportunity to find out what languages her interlocutors spoke in order to try out some phrases (Blackledge et al 2016, p. 35). The researchers were particularly struck by the extent to which Winnie talked about wanting to improve her English. On almost each observation day Winnie would ask Rachel, the bilingual researcher, to check some of her English writing, either a work email to colleagues or a job application draft. Her desire to improve her English may have been due in part to the fact that the library was at the time undergoing a process of restructuring and she was conscious that her English might not be good enough for her to compete with other colleagues when they re-applied for their jobs. Job security was a worry for Winnie throughout the field work period, and she appeared to seize every opportunity to improve her English.

Winnie would probably not be described as an expert or prolific user of social media. As a working mother, we noted that Winnie did not spend much time on social media communication. Her use of WhatsApp is largely that of micro-ordination, a use that Ling and Yttri (2002) identify as usually preceding a more emotional, interpersonal use. She has a circle of friends who she meets regularly, and she is in active communication with her family members, arranging family events such as getting together and dining out, much of which she organises through WhatsApp. As was evident in the data, social media usage had become an important tool for her to learn, practise and extend her English, as well as to consolidate and maintain a variety of personal roles and relationships, and to enact the values that she holds dear. These values, as documented in Blackledge et al (2016), include politeness, a strong work ethic, a social conscience, the importance of learning (especially English), particular parenting values, a love of languages and cultures, and an enthusiasm for translanguaging and translation as crucial communicative practices in a superdiverse context. She also saw social media as providing a new space in which to learn new ways of being and communicating. In the rest of this section, we explore these instances of heritage-making through three sets of examples of her social media practices.

3.2   Learning ways of writing and being: proper English and text-speak

Winnie regularly interacts through text messages with her circle of female friends in order to coordinate their weekly coffee mornings and keep each other updated on their lives (see, for example, an exchange with her friend Julie in Figure 1 below)[2].
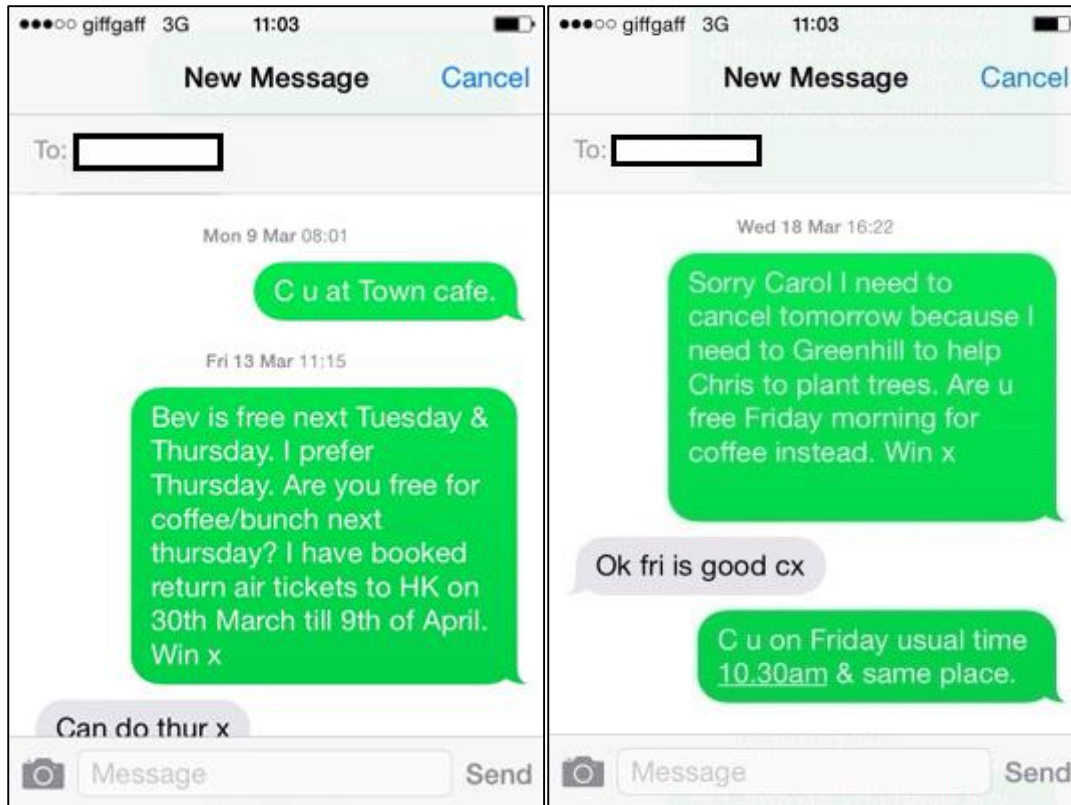

Figure 1: SMS between Winnie and Julie, a female friend

Although Winnie's text messages are in many ways unremarkable, her style can be seen as reflecting values we noted in the workplace. For example, her messages are polite but to the point ('I prefer Thursday') and largely written in full standard English, with few of the abbreviations or niceties often used in text messaging (Tagg 2012). The communicative purposes of many of her messages – the micro-coordination of activities such as conveying information and organising events – may motivate her somewhat formal written style; while her relatively novice status as a social media user may explain why Winnie appears to adhere to conventions more usually associated with email or letters, rather than text messaging, such as the sign off 'Win x'. It is also interesting to speculate whether Winnie is extending values she enacts offline – such as politeness and care in her written English – to her online interactions.

At the same time, there is also evidence in the text messages that Winnie is trying out respelt forms typically associated with text messaging and which she may well be learning from her

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[2] Note that Winnie's messages are those to the right, in green. Our KPs' messages are to the right throughout this report, because we obtained the messages from their phones, rather than from their interlocutors.

seemingly more confident texting interlocutors; Julie, for example, appears to write in a much more consistently casual non-standard style than Winnie. As Shortis (2007) points out, text abbreviations are typically learnt through interaction. In Figure 1, Winnie repeats the respelt phrase, 'C u' ('see you'), homophones that she uses elsewhere in her messages. In Figure 2 below, we can see an example of Winnie apparently learning a new abbreviation, driven in this case by the need for understanding.

Figure 2: SMS between Winnie and Julie, a female friend

When Julie suggests 'Coffee 2mos' [meaning 'coffee tomorrow'], Winnie politely responds with 'Nice to hear from you', before asking for clarification of 'mos', which she understands indicates when they will meet: 'What is mos mean? When?' The message also illustrates Julie's use of 'C u' and her more informal, enthusiastic and less careful style ('welcolm home!!'). Winnie does not copy Julie's style, but selectively accommodates to it. Winnie's messages to Julie and other female friends across our data set show how she uses the space both to enact important values of politeness and frankness in a careful, formal English; and to selectively learn new ways of writing in English.

3.3   Performing the mother-in-law: embracing a new role and maintaining friendly relations

The following examples illustrate how Winnie performed the role of future mother-in-law to Aoife, her son's girlfriend. They also reveal how Winnie's values – related to parenting and learning – are enacted in her text messages. Constructing herself as a laid-back and open-minded parent (Blackledge et al 2016, p. 27), Winnie does not adopt the stereotyped image of a mother-in-law as bossy and picky. On the contrary she tends to come across as very friendly towards Aoife. In the following messages, she thanks Aoife for her comforting message

(Winnie was about to visit her ill mother) and wishes the couple a happy time in their holiday abroad.

> 29/03/2015 23:15:24: Aoife: Sorry I couldn't be at the meal Winnie. I wish you a safe flight to Hong Kong. I know this is going to be a difficult trip for you, I hope it is as peaceful as possible for you. Look after yourself. Thinking of you, see you when you get back. Lots of love, Aoife xxx

> 30/03/2015 11:47:28: Winnie: Thank you Aoife for your kind message and I hope you & Tom have a good time in Stockholm. Have a happy Easter love winnie

> 30/03/2015 11:51:24: Winnie: C u in 2 weeks time. ♥☐winnie

In China, it is generally a taboo to address one's older relatives directly by their names or for older relatives to self-refer in that way, and it is likely that Winnie, with her awareness of Chinese traditions and customs, would appreciate this. This potentially invests the choice to use her first name in messages to her younger relative Aoife ('love winnie') with greater pragmatic meaning than might otherwise be the case, signalling her attempt to reach out to Aoife. We had seen from our observations and interviews that Winnie was happy to be selective when adopting Chinese traditions, of which she was often suspicious (Blackledge et al 2016, p. 29). Her attempt to show her affection to Aoife is also suggested in her follow-up message, which she sends four minutes after her first. This second message appears to reinforce the interpersonal work being carried out in the previous message by adopting a style more usually associated with text messaging: her preferred phrase 'C u' and the heart emoji. It appears as though Winnie is marshalling all her resources in order to show her affection for her future daughter-in-law.

Two months later, Aoife and Tom sent a bunch of flowers as a gift to Winnie and her husband for their wedding anniversary. Winnie sent them a photo of the flowers she had received along with a quite formal message to the young couple to express her gratitude: a multimodal ensemble in which the image serves both to capture the aesthetics of the flowers (their loveliness) and evidence their arrival. This time, her usual polite and formulaic expressions ('Thank you both very much') are accompanied by two kisses at the end of her message (rather than her usual one) as well as the sign off 'Much love', which appear to emphasise her gratitude. Photo-sharing is a frequent practice by Winnie which serves as a way of reaching out to her interlocutors.

> 16/05/2015 16:07:52: Winnie:
>
>

16/05/2015 16:08:10: Winnie: Hi Aoife & Tom What a nice surprise. Thank you both very much for the lovely flowers you sent. Hope you both have a good weekend. Much love winnie xx

17/05/2015 23:44:02: Aoife: Happy wedding anniversary! Glad you enjoyed the flowers :)

In the above examples Winnie presents herself as a friendly and easy-going parent to her son's girlfriend through the use of multimodal WhatsApp messages which include images and a writing style balancing careful, polite phrases with kisses and emoji. She is both passing on her values and willing to try out new writing practices and social roles.

3.4   *Parenting by distance: enacting values and extending social roles*

The final example involves a series of WhatsApp conversations which took place in a WhatsApp chat group set up by Tom, Winnie's son. The group comprises Winnie and her children, as well as her husband's sister, and the group's name is the family surname. In this space, Winnie enacts parenting values which we had noted in our fieldnotes, whereby she expressed concerned for her children's safety and happiness, but accepted that they now led independent lives and wholeheartedly supported their desire to travel, an activity which she valued (Blackledge et al 2016, pp. 26-27). We also see her extending her existing roles and relationships with her children to include digitally-mediated parenting by distance, and exploiting particular multimodal resources to do so. It is in this space that Winnie and her interlocutors most fully exploit digital communications as an interactive multimodal platform (Herring 2016), chiefly through the exchange of photos.

After graduating from university, Winnie's daughter Annie took up an internship role in South Africa. Very shortly after her arrival, her brother set up the WhatsApp group as a way to maintain transnational contact with Annie and expressed his eagerness to hear from her.

03/03/2015 17:28:55: Tom: How was your first internship day? What's the hostel like? More photos!

Half an hour later Annie sent back the following response, 'chunked' into three consecutive messages (Baron 2009). This was a common practice for Annie, along with the omission of full stops at the end of her messages. Sentence-final full stops appear to be optional in digital messaging (Ling and Baron 2007) and their use fulfils various pragmatic functions, often indexing negative orientations such as anger or insincerity (Crair 2013; Gunraj et al 2016) and serving to signal the end of an ongoing conversation (Androutsopoulos and Busch 2017). We can speculate here that their omission by Annie may have been intended to communicate a positive stance and to keep the conversation open. Although we as researchers do not have access to the photos, it seems reasonable to suggest that this unfolding multimodal ensemble was dominated to some extent by the images (given that Annie is responding to Tom's demand), elaborated on through the written messages.

03/03/2015 18:06:25: annie: First day was good
03/03/2015 18:06:34: annie: We are going to karaoke tonight
03/03/2015 18:06:37: annie: <image omitted>

Winnie appears to wait patiently for her turn to 'talk' to her daughter, after 'watching' her son and daughter talking to each other.

03/03/2015 18:08:06: Winnie: Have fun. Take a taxi back to hostel if it is late. Mum x

In contrast to Annie's casual chunking and punctuation use, Winnie adopts her usual formal, polite style. Her concern for her daughter's safety is evident in her suggestion to 'Take a taxi back to the hotel if it is late'. She then appears to finish the conversation, without asking her daughter any questions herself, with her customary sign-off, 'Mum x'. This seeming abruptness reflects Winnie's aforementioned attitude towards, and practice regarding, the upbringing and education of her children. She once said to Rachel that she had told her children, 'I don't want an essay from you, just a few words to tell me that you are safe and sound that's enough'. In this sense, the chat group appears to suit Winnie's parenting style well; it provides a space in which her children can keep her assured of their safety, without necessarily requiring deeper commitment in the form of extended conversation.

3.5 Summary

This brief analysis of Winnie's social media messages suggests that, for Winnie, the values that hold true in her working, social and personal lives are no less relevant in a digital space. This is evident in her polite and straightforward writing style, which she maintains despite the often more casual and informal practices of her interlocutors. It is also evident in her use of a full, often formal and standard written English, replete with formulaic phrases such as 'Thank you for your kind message' which she has apparently learnt as part of her language learning trajectory (much as she learnt the 'script' of service encounters in the library, Blackledge et al 2016). We also see Winnie's values reflected in the social roles she enacts in her social media messages; with Aoife, she performs the role of a laid-back, open-minded mother-in-law willing to lay aside Chinese traditions to show her affection; with her own children, she extends her concerned but somewhat uninvolved parenting role to the digital sphere. In fact, we might argue that across her online messages, Winnie adopts what Miller (2016) calls the 'Goldilocks strategy' for social media use: she wants to keep people close, but not too close. Interestingly, this is a strategy that Miller associates with a typically 'English' way of connecting with others online. In keeping her relationships 'just right', Winnie's openness to learning is very evident – she is willing to try out new parenting roles and to selectively adopt new digital language practices from her interlocutors, the latter involving her in co-constructing multimodal ensembles with emoji, punctuation and other typographical features, along with images. Thus, through her social media usage, Winnie passes on her most cherished values – her heritage – whilst she navigates and learns about what is to her a new communicative space.

4.   Monika: creating a networked repository through documenting personal experiences

4.1 Introducing Monika

As documented in Baynham et al (2016), Monika grew up in the south of Slovakia, near the border with Hungary, and spent a good part of her childhood in a children's home. At the time of data collection, she was living with her partner and their two children and working as the Roma Voice Worker at Migration Counsel, an advocacy centre in Harehills, Leeds (see also Baynham et al 2015). Her work included organising cultural activities for Roma people in Leeds. Her two siblings, with whom she was close, were also pursuing activities to benefit the Roma community. Despite her role, Monika has a 'somewhat liminal position with regard to the Roma in Leeds' (Baynham et al 2016, p. 4), self-identifying as Roma 'most of the time' but also drawing on other aspects of her identity and history, such as her (positive) experiences in the Slovak-speaking children's home. The Leeds-based research team found that the Roma diaspora in Leeds were largely relegated to transitory, borrowed spaces, and that they lacked the resources or power to engage in formal acts of heritage-making. In the rest of this section, we explore how Monika performs a personalised and networked heritage as she uses Facebook to share various aspects of her personal and social life.

4.2 Facebook and the sharing of significant moments

Much of Monika's online activity takes place on Facebook, which she accesses through her smartphone, usually after lunch or in the evenings. Her use of Facebook must be understood alongside her use of other media in order to appreciate how she exploits the site in her wider identity project (Madianou and Miller 2012). Monika has separate email accounts for work and for social contacts, while texting is for private interactions with family and friends, and voice calls index a deeper intimacy or immediacy. In contrast, Facebook is for Monika a space in which work, social and family concerns interact. It is also a semi-public space where Monika performs what may be an aspirational or exaggerated identity (Vanek et al forthcoming) for others to legitimise through affirmation in the form of Likes and comments. Importantly, as discussed in the introduction to this report, Facebook does not represent an existing community, but rather a set of overlapping personal networks centred around mutual affiliations based on family ties, work, friendships, or social interests (Tagg and Seargeant, forthcoming; Tagg et al forthcoming). Affiliations and affirmations can be performed by exploiting a range of site affordances, including Liking, commenting and sharing practices: that is, who Likes her posts and whose posts she Likes; whose posts she comments on and who comments on her posts; and whose posts she shares and who shares her posts. It is also important to recognise that Facebook is not one thing for Monika – as well as maintaining her own Newsfeed, Monika also belongs to Facebook groups where members affiliate more strongly around particular interests. The Facebook Newsfeed is generally used for asynchronous communication and posts that are shared will, in boyd's (2011) terms, persist: that is, they are potentially permanent and can continue to be viewed, shared, remixed and recontextualised.

Androutsopoulos (2014, p. 4) describes sharing as an 'interactional practice of entextualizing significant moments for a networked audience'. Entextualization – the act of detaching a text from its situational context and embedding it into a new discourse (Bauman and Briggs 1990, p. 73) – is central to social media practices, where it is facilitated by the potential 'detachability' of online content from a multimedia site – an embedded video, for example, can be detached from its caption and any user comments (Tereick 2012) – and by digital affordances which enable the replication of content (boyd 2011). Extextualization occurs when offline social activities are captured through video or audio footing, edited and posted online (Jones 2009), as well as when people actively share and interactively negotiate other people's postings, photos and videos (Leppänen et al 2014). Sharing these posts is an act of entextualisation charged with social or ideological meaning, imbuing the original post with social or personal significance, even as its meaning is transformed through recontextualization. Drawing on Li's (2011) framework of 'moment analysis', Androutsopoulos (2014) suggests that these acts of entextualization constitute the creation of 'significant moments'. As Androutsopoulos (2014) points out, how these posts are *selected* (what is chosen), *styled* (how sharing is carried out) and *negotiated* with others indexes users' orientations to each other and their perceptions of the audience's background knowledge: in Androutsopoulos's (2014, p. 6) words, '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'. Looking at online sharing as a process of heritage-making, we can see that it involves the dynamic and collaborative selection, styling and negotiation of significant moments – practices, traditions, resources and values – which networked individuals wish to endorse and make visible.

4.3 Indexing a Roma heritage through personal tastes, lifestyle and affiliations

Like Winnie, Monika does not overtly perform an ethnic, national or migrant identity on Facebook. Instead, these aspects of her identity are indirectly indexed through her expression of personal tastes and social connections; that is, through the sharing of posts related to her family, food and music, as well as language (while English is the dominant language of Monika's Facebook, posts in Slovak, Czech and Hungarian are also common). In other words, Monika's posts reference her personal life and interests, but they both index and help to construct her sense of heritage. For example, Monika is a member of a somewhat inactive Facebook group *Jen pre bizsich* – 'Just for close [friends]'. This is a group of 13 members, all Slovak, and nearly all women. Topics include asking for advice about teething toddlers, and the sharing of pictures of rappers and other musicians. Her membership of this group relates to her personal history and to the contacts she made in the care home where she grew up, and only very indirectly indexes her connection with Slovakia.

To take another example, Monika's Roma identity in Leeds is indexed in posts about food and drink, as well as music. Most of the photos Monika posts are of herself, her family and family gatherings, the latter of which invariably involves food and drink. As in Figure 3, these are often foregrounded in the photos posted – see, for example, the central position of the birthday cake – suggesting their significance to the event. Although most of the food at

this event, Monika's sister's birthday party, could be described as British or international (including the birthday cake), the open sandwiches (*obložené chlebíčky*) are typically Central and Eastern European, and the presentation and consumption of the food can be linked to convivial group eating traditions associated with Roma, as well as concerns about health among Roma people (as seen in the visible display of cigarettes and beer). While referencing an event in her life, these images more indirectly index a wider cultural identity. As in this example, much of the indexical work on Monika's Newsfeed is carried out through multimodal ensembles dominated by images and shaped by the digital affordances of Facebook.

Figure 3: Monika's sister's birthday party

In terms of music, Monika's tastes are broad, and range from Slovak rap to international pop. However, two of the three Facebook groups to which Monika belongs relate to the music that is developing as part of a new Roma heritage in Leeds (Figure 4). Interestingly, the list of groups is designed by Facebook (the company) to foreground the members of the group (rather than its topic or content) through figures (e.g. #EkoO has 5,136 members) and thumbnail profile pictures.
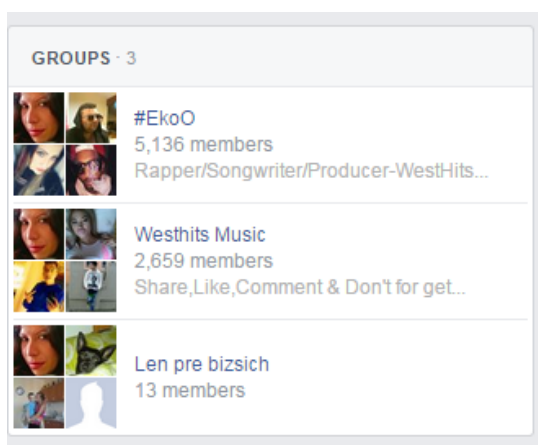

Figure 4: Monika's Facebook groups and Roma heritage in Leeds

Nonetheless, the user-generated content indexes a particular identity and heritage. #EkoO is a Facebook page run by a Czech/Slovak rapper residing in Leeds. He describes himself as 'Rapper/Songwriter/Producer-WestHits. Westhits Music is likely to have been created by the

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user West Hits, who is probably the same person as #EkoO: the majority of West Hits' posts are shared with #EkoO as well as Best Funky & RNB, which Monika also Likes. To the extent that rap is developing as part of Harehills' heritage, West Hits / #EkoO can be seen a member of a globalised, transnational community of rap artistes who is involved in the local creation of heritage. Monika's membership of #EkoO's and West Hits' Facebook groups indexes her identity as a consumer of Roma and other rap (a transnational art form locally interpreted) whose practitioners are physically located in Harehills.

Around half of Monika's Likes are strongly linked to Slovak Roma identity; all the Likes in Figure 5 for example relate to Roma identity and cultural heritage in some way, indexed through the words *Gipsy, Cigani, Romske, Rom,* and *Romane,* and through the picture of the Roma flag superimposed on a fist with a raised thumb. Vychodnarsky Cigane is a group for Eastern Slovak Roma. Liking these and other Roma-related Facebook pages and groups creates, on Monika's profile, a multimodal ensemble generated through digital affordances which both references her personal tastes and more indirectly indexes aspects of her identity. These Likes are public acts of sharing which put what Monika values on display.

Figure 5: Monika's Likes

4.4 Affiliating with a migrant identity

Monika also shares articles from Slovak news as well as from British media (Figure 6).

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Figure 6: Online news articles shared by Monika

The posting of articles from the Slovak news indexes her identity as someone who has a Slovak history; in her case, as someone who was born and grew up in Slovakia. The links she shares from British news media resources tend to relate to the hardships of being a new arrival in the UK, and having to deal with the difficulties of day-to-day life. Similarly, the one article she shares from a Czech media site reports on Czech unwillingness to accept migrants because of their feeling of superiority. Her sharing of articles across national media on the subject of migration suggest an affiliation with other migrants and thus the performance of a migrant identity, related to her own status as a migrant to the UK. Again, Monika is signalling what she considers to be significant moments – events in the news – that are worth sharing.

4.6 Summary

In her work on Facebook memorial sites, Giaxoglou (2015) explains how a public archive of memories can be built up through the online sharing of individual moments of mourning. Similarly, through the online practices of individuals such as Monika, Facebook serves as a repository for heritage resources and values created through individual acts of identity-making – a 'storage of traces', in Diminescu and Loveluck's (2014, p. 28) words. As evident in the above examples, this kind of heritage-making is both multimodal and networked, in the sense that Monika can share photos and stories posted by people in her network, which are then disseminated further through her personal network (as the Likes and comments attest). It is also individualised. In Monika's case, a national, ethnic or migrant identity is not overtly expressed, but instead it is indexed through posts and shares related to her own tastes, interests, events in her personal life, and her social and family connections. As the examples above illustrate, having an identity is not a fixed or essential state and, for Monika, Facebook enables a fluid and dynamic self-positioning as she moves between and emphasises different aspects of her identity as a Slovak-Roma migrant living in the UK. This perception of heritage as a process by which values and 'significant moments' are co-constructed through fragmented, dynamic and fluid acts of individual identity performance challenges an overly

simplistic conception of cultural heritage as homogenous and arising from shared experience. As Hall (1990), writing about the Caribbean diaspora, explains:

> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.

(Hall 1990, p. 225)

A final note is needed on the role of the technology, and the site designers, in shaping this apparent performance of identity. Not only is user-generated content on Facebook produced within a template designed by the company, but what emerges as an individual's cultural repository is in part automatically generated by the site; Monika's actions in Liking a post or a page, for example, are embedded into her profile because of site design decisions over which users have limited control (see Spilioti forthcoming, for further discussion). Thus, social media users' heritage practices are in part selected and styled not by the users themselves but by the affordances of the site.

5.   M: a creative, multimodal, multifaceted heritage for the future

5.1 Introducing M

As detailed in Zhu et al (2016), M, who was born in north-eastern Poland, came to the UK in 2003 for a short visit and decided to stay. At the time of data collection, she was in her early 30s, living in East London, and working as a self-employed artist. Her working life was 'very hectic' (Zhu et al 2016, p. 9): she had co-founded and was director of a non-profit organisation offering support to Polish-heritage artists; she was constantly involved in applying for funding for her art projects with her collaborator, N; she also had experience as voice coach, theatre director and curator, as well as various other jobs in local arts centres and as translator/interpreter. According to Zhu et al (2016), M rose to challenges, tolerated uncertainty, and was active in promoting herself and her work.

M owns an iPhone and an 11-inch Macbook Air, which she carries with her wherever she goes and connects to available wifi in cafes and other locations. She is an experienced and confident user of technology, including tethering (i.e., using her smartphone to connect her computer to the internet), recording and editing audio and video clips, taking screenshots, synchronising her calendar between her laptop and her phone, and using a range of mobile apps, including social media.

Heritage in M's case is explicitly and sometimes problematically multi-faceted. In some ways she contests Polishness (or at least being labelled as Polish), as seen for example in her reluctance to speak Polish on stage and her parodying of Polish stereotypes in her work (Zhu et al 2016). At the same time, M talks about having a Polish identity and is involved in

helping Polish artists. She is also a Londoner. The complexities of her persona extend across the offline and online spaces which she inhabits; this is true of her subversive nature and her creativity, her interest in language, and her use of multimodality as well as her orientations to different cultural and national identities. Her use of social media is always embedded in, or entangled with, her everyday life and she moves fluidly between online and offline contexts (Zhu et al 2016, p. 41).

M engages in heritage-making online in a number of ways and in various spaces. In this report, we focus, firstly, on the 'significant moments' which she chooses to share in public spaces online; and, secondly, on the ways in which she and her friends of Polish heritage engage in collaborative, creative language and identity play privately through WhatsApp. Unlike Monika and Winnie, M actively exploits the potential of the multiple affordances, modes and media available online to craft an identity. Furthermore, for M, online performances themselves constitute a heritage resource which she seeks to value and take forward, and which involve the innovative combination of modes and media, language play, and cultural subversion.

5.2 Social media profile: professional, Polish, networked

M is aware of the potential of social media for self-promotion and is active on a number of platforms, including Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr. Unlike Monika, M's social media profile is primarily professional, in the sense that she uses internet spaces to promote herself as an artist and actor, and so there is to some extent more of a divide between her public self (as presented on social media) and her private life (as carried out digitally through WhatsApp), with email somewhere in the middle as a tool for directly approaching potential funders and collaborators.

On Facebook, for example, her professional identity is evident in the way she chooses to populate the profile template afforded by Facebook, including her choice of a cover photo (two striking sculptures) and her profile picture, which is in the form of a cartoon, rather than a photo of herself. The most salient pieces of written information displayed under her profile picture contain information about her work (she describes herself as working as a voice and accent coach, as well as working at two arts centres; gives her current activity (the most recent event/place she visited – in this case a Polish campaign to preserve a rainbow on one of the Polish squares); current city (London); and place of study (where she was studying translation). There is no personal information concerning, for example, her relationship status although this information is also provided for in the Facebook template. What is foregrounded in this multimodal ensemble is M's professional identity. M's Twitter profile and Tumblr account reveal similar patterns. The persona that M presents across these sites is that of a performer and artist, and the moments she foregrounds and shares are those related to her work: art, theatre, and local events.

Figure 7: Front page of M's Facebook account as of 27th August 2015.

As the above shows, M works to ensure that her social media presence, and thus her artistic achievements and activities, are networked and therefore visible. She achieves this, in part, by her use of multiple platforms, meaning she can exploit different affordances and reach different audiences. She posts very frequently from each of her profiles, and creates connections between the three sites: she usually posts simultaneously from her Twitter and her Facebook accounts; and her Twitter account also provides a link to her Tumblr account, as well as to the Twitter handle of one of the arts centres where she works. Furthermore, she is connected to a large number of people on each site (928 on Facebook; and over a thousand on Twitter). She is comfortable to add people she is not very close to as friends on Facebook. For example, M added TLANG researcher AL to her Facebook friends list when they first met in October 2014, before the heritage phase of the project started. The information she posts across the three sites is focused on promoting her artistic activity, performances she attends or produces, and other achievements (for example, she posted on Tumblr about the publication of her translation in the Polish theatre magazine Teatr), as well as those events that she would recommend for others to see. Posts are amply illustrated with images and contain links to her work (e.g., M posted a self-produced video on her Tumblr page). Both her Twitter and her Facebook posts also often contain links to other content online: articles, videos, etc. Finally, to promote her work, she also confidently exploits digital affordances such as Likes, hashtags and mentions, which allow her to become more visible, to connect

with others, and to participate in wider conversations. Her use of hashtags and mentions is illustrated in the following post from 26th August 2015.
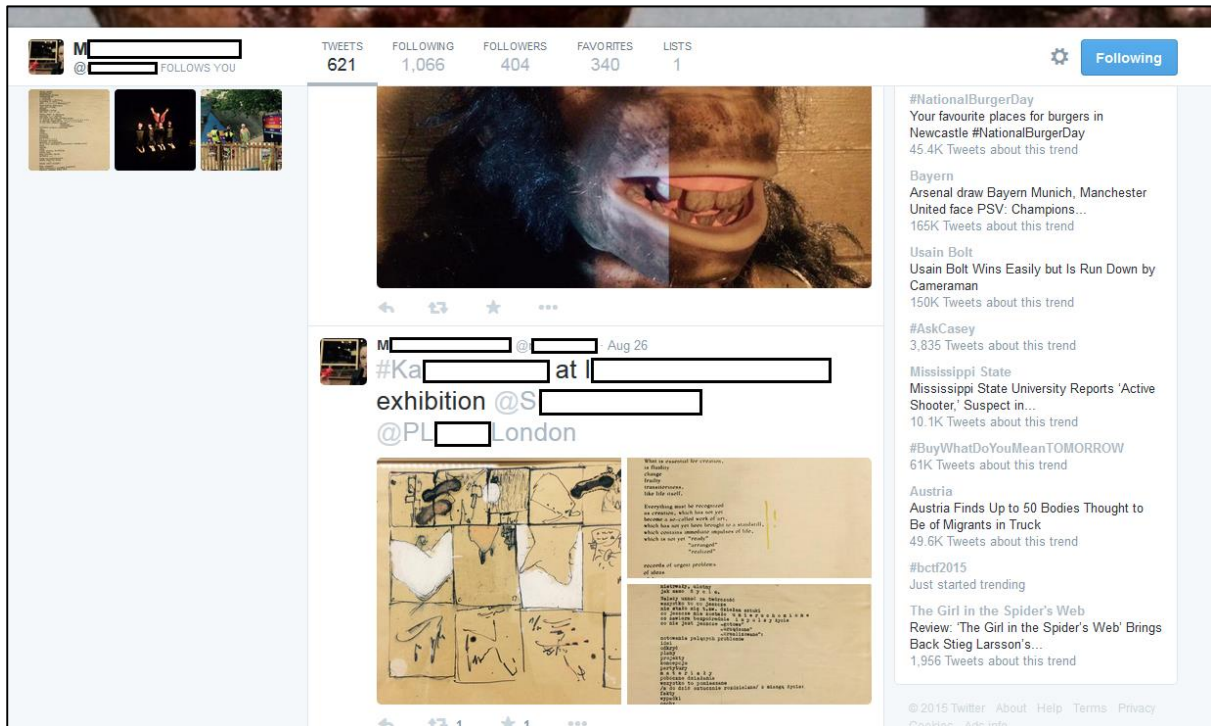

Figure 8: M's Twitter profile

M is aware that using mentions and hashtags will allow people to find her posts and participate in a conversation related to the same themes (when an account is 'mentioned' in a Twitter post, the owner of the account gets a notification and can refer to the post and respond to the message). This was evident also in an audio recording where M was explaining to one of her friends that the way to use Twitter is to create these connections. Thanks to this practice, M is able to be present in the online world and be part of arts-related discourse in London (and other contexts). She maintains connections also with the Polish arts scene, for example by posting information about a film festival in Gdansk. In general, it can be concluded from the data that M aims to be a hub for artists, including those in Poland and with a Polish connection (which was one aim of the organisation she founded to help Polish artists based in London).

M achieves her roles as professional artist and hub for other artists not only through her creation and maintenance of her online profiles – ever-shifting multimodal ensembles shaped by site affordances and design decisions – but also though her networking practices. These practices involve both networked resources – linked through Likes, hashtags, embedded images, and links – and the connections made with other social media users through mentioning, following and connecting. As she exploits these affordances and networks, M is foregrounding and sharing that which she values and which she explicitly seeks to promote; in other words, she is engaged in networked processes of heritage-making.

5.3   WhatsApp: metalinguistic commentary

In the next sections of the report, we focus on M's private use of messaging apps, chiefly WhatsApp, a significant part of which involves interactions with two Polish-speaking friends, MC and K. The three had recently studied together for a diploma in translation at a London university. We focus on their metalinguistic commentary, their intersemiotic translanguaging, their co-construction of the semiotic space, and their exploitation of technological constraints. Their practices show how they use the interactive multimodal platform as an opportunity to share elements of their culture and language which they value and wish to take forward, whilst also playfully subverting these same elements in creative practices which they also value and which draw on new digital affordances and resources.

Metalinguistic commentary or 'metacommentary' is of interest to our project because it signals what is salient to participants and therefore which of the many signs, modes and meanings in play are 'communicatively relevant' at any one time (Rymes 2014, p.307). In relation to processes of heritage-making, metacommentary can indicate what people value and are selecting to preserve for the future. M and her friends' very explicit metacommentary illustrates the value they place on language not simply as a means of communication but as an object of interest in its own right. M demonstrated a high linguistic awareness throughout the observation period as well as an interest in language (which she explicitly comments on in Twitter profile, describing herself as an 'obsessive') and her communication is filled with language play and metalinguistic commentary. Her metacommentary on language includes discussions about the meaning of words, new items of vocabulary being coined in the Polish language, language categories, and correctness. In this example, M initiates a WhatsApp exchange in order to share an 'apdejt' ('update', spelt phonetically in Polish) of Polish vocabulary.

Hah
No one poured water over me
How sizzling today!

(Tue 14 Apr)

I have the latest *apdejty* of the Polish dictionary for you:

Go on

1. I'm watching Fakty TVN and the presenter says : "all hands on deck"

Wellll

Figure 9: WhatsApp and metacommentary

As well as having a self-professed interest in language, it is evident from the above that M keeps up to date with the news from Poland and the Polish media. She followed the details of the Polish presidential elections in May 2015 and discussed the details with her Polish friends in London and, in this case, she picked up on new usage of an idiomatic expression in the news. The phrase 'wszystkie ręce na pokład' ('all hands on deck') comes from sailing discourse, and just like its English equivalent, is used in situations when everybody's input is required to achieve a certain goal. The Polish phrase has long been used to discuss crisis situations, projects requiring the involvement of a number of people, and so on. In late spring 2015, the phrase started being used in the context of politics as well as a slogan by politicians and journalists.

Following the lexical development of a language, and language change more generally, can be seen as a requirement for translators and interpreters, and as such this is a news item worth sharing in this context. Thinking about this in terms of their heritage as Polish-speaking translators, linguistic developments in the Polish language clearly constitute an important resource for this group and Poland remains an important reference point, all of which they can potentially draw on, evaluate and exploit as Polish speakers and translators in London.

5.4   WhatsApp: intersemiotic translanguaging

M and her friends use WhatsApp in a playful and creative manner, drawing expertly on a range of modes and media, including emoticons and emojis and location information, as well as audio files. Their use of these modes and media can be seen in terms of the dynamic co-construction of a multimodal ensemble, or as the collaborative process of what Lyons (2015) calls 'intersemiotic translanguaging'. Their creative translanguaging constitutes one way in which M and her friends exploit the affordances of WhatsApp in performances of identity that index their cultural histories and future orientations.

In the following exchange, for example, M and MC are on their way to K's house (in Eastcote) to celebrate Easter together. M and MC regularly update K, who is waiting for them, with their present whereabouts. Throughout the exchange, M and MC play with the place name 'Eastcote' by comparing the sound of the second part of the word 'cote' to the Polish word 'kot' ('cat'). Early on in the conversation (Figure 10a), MC asks K about the name of the station where they are supposed to get off and, when K gives the name Eastcote, MC responds 'I knew it was something to do with a cat'. Further in the exchange (Figure 10b), M appropriates the place name to include language play. She blends the beginning of the name 'east' with the Polish word 'kot', which sounds very similar to the pronunciation of the second part of the name Eastcote, a reference that had already been made by MC earlier in this group conversation. In two subsequent messages (Figures 10c and 10d), M further appropriates her version of the station name by replacing the Polish word 'kot' with emoji representing cats. In the latter of the two, she also uses a Polish phonetic spelling of the first part of the place name, bringing the language play even more to the Polish context and marking the interaction as designed by and for Polish speakers who are familiar with London and the English language. See also Zhu et al (2016) for a discussion of this example.
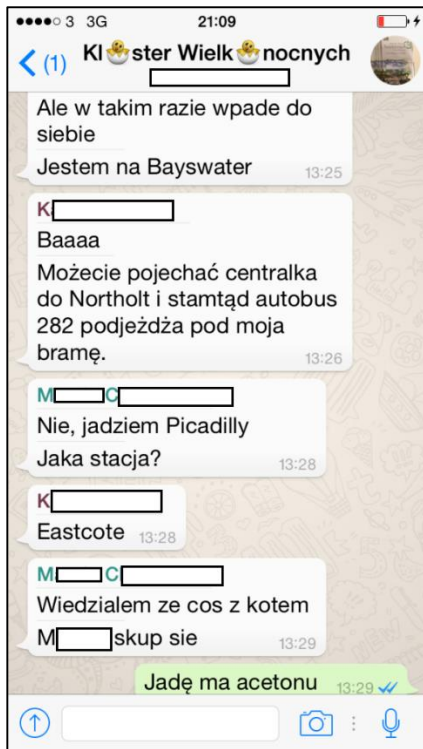
Figure 10a: WhatsApp and intersemiotic translanguaging

But in that case I'll pop round to mine

I'm in Bayswater

Baaaa

You can take the Central Line[3] to Northolt and from there bus 282 stops just outside my gate

No, we're taking Picadilly
What station?

Eastcote

I knew that had something to do with a cat
M concentrate

I'm going to Acton[4]

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[3] Slang version in Polish.
[4] Misspelt to mean exactly 'I'm going has acetone'.

Figure 10b: WhatsApp and intersemiotic translanguaging

Who stopped (you)? *Model scouts?*

At picadilly

But we'll see each other at **eastkot**

I'm the only model here
Yes

[image, caption reads: Enough?]

Figure 10c: WhatsApp and intersemiotic translanguaging

It's 20 minutes from Acton

[location sent]

[muscle]

282 now M__

I'll be at **east[cat]** in 15min

MC only just read your scathing comment

About Białystok

A bison must have never dragged you through the backwoods/wilderness, boy

WhatsApp screenshot	Translation
Wyjezdzam z sadbury hill	I'm leaving sadbury hill
Idę na picce- zglodnial	I'm going for a picca[5] – got hungry
Gdzie to?	Where is it?
Ja na ist🐱	Me at **ist[cat]**
Już idę	I'm coming
Hahaha :-)	Hahaha :-)
Jedziesz tu ałtem Kasiu?	Are you driving here by car[6] Kasia-VOC?
Idę kurna / Musiałam poprawic dywanik	I'm walking for god's sake / I had to re-arrange the rug
Aha	I see

Figure 10d: WhatsApp and intersemiotic translanguaging

This use of social media is consistent with that in numerous studies which find that mobile messaging is often used to micro-coordinate the day's events (as we saw in Winnie's use) and establish exact locations for meetings and get-togethers (Ling and Yttri 2002). However, few if any studies have discussed the way in which sending one's 'current location' (on a map) is used in this context (see Figure 10c). There is often no pre-existing context of establishing location which would help participants recognise the meaning of the location being used in a message. Location being sent in such a way is received and processed as part of a conversation; it does not have to be specifically introduced or explained but is treated as equally valid to stating one's location verbally. That is, sending location information is a valid part of this multimodal ensemble on par with verbal content.

In their playful acts of translanguaging – across both languages and modes – M and her friends carve out an identity for themselves as people of Polish heritage living in London, bringing both elements of their Polish heritage and their familiarity with their current home into their communication (see Seargeant et al 2012 for a similar discussion of how Thai students in London use Facebook). We also see their construction and overt display of a confident and creative 'technical identity', familiar and comfortable with digital media. Also evident is their love of language play and creative subversion, values which we saw in M's offline interaction and activities, and which were also developed online by exploiting online

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[5] Spelt in Polish reflecting pronunciation, pizza is normally spelt the same in Polish as in English.
[6] Spelt phonetically, with 'ł' instead of 'u' in Polish.

affordances and digitally-enabled modes. These practices reveal people who are drawing on their cultural identities and histories in order to transform them and who are actively working to resist being positioned, instead positioning themselves 'within the narratives of the past' (Hall 1990: 225), and to reshape the future.

5.5   *WhatsApp: responses to, and co-construction of, online interactional space*

Although constrained in their interactions by the design decisions that shape WhatsApp as a communicative space, M and her friends interact confidently with the app's affordances and often exploit what might be seen as constraints or pre-determined design features for their own communicative purposes. In this section, we explore their role in co-constructing the communicative space and in exploiting the AutoCorrect function.

K, M and MC usually interact in a specially created WhatsApp group. The following example shows that this (private) communicative space is co-defined and prepared for interactions in a way somewhat similar to a website or blog: participants choose and update the group icon and the subject of conversation. In this way, they create a space that is not only functional in that it allows for a three-way conversation, but also aesthetically modified to reflect its 'inhabitants'. The process of decision-making regarding this is included in the conversation itself, as evidenced in the example below.

In this example (Figures 11a and 11b), MC created a WhatsApp group under the name 'Wi[pig's head]elkanoc' (Wielkanoc=Easter), to which he invited M and K. The purpose of the group is to coordinate the upcoming Easter celebrations that the friends are planning at K's place for Sunday. This purpose is evident from the beginning when M opens the conversation asking what they are supposed to bring with them to K's place (Figure 11a). K temporarily ignores his question and shows disapproval of the inclusion of the emoji of a pig's head in the name. In the Easter spirit, she demands that it is changed to an image of a chick, rabbit or ram. MC responds saying that K should change it herself. He comes across as slightly annoyed or hurt. In the meantime, K responds to MC's comment about bringing vodka in a negative way and he makes other suggestions. In Figure 11b, M makes a playful suggestion that the emoji be changed to that of a banana (due to the linguistic similarity between the Polish word 'baran' [meaning 'ram'] and 'banan' [referring to the English word 'banana']), but the comment remains unanswered. Shortly after, K changes the subject of the conversation to 'Wielk[chick]noc' and WhatsApp displays this information on the screen. This time, MC reacts with a critical comment about the positioning of the emoji within the word 'Wielkanoc' and K deflects the criticism by directly contradicting what MC has just said. This metacommentary about the intersemiotic use of resources in the subject of the conversation runs alongside the conversation concerned with plans for Sunday.
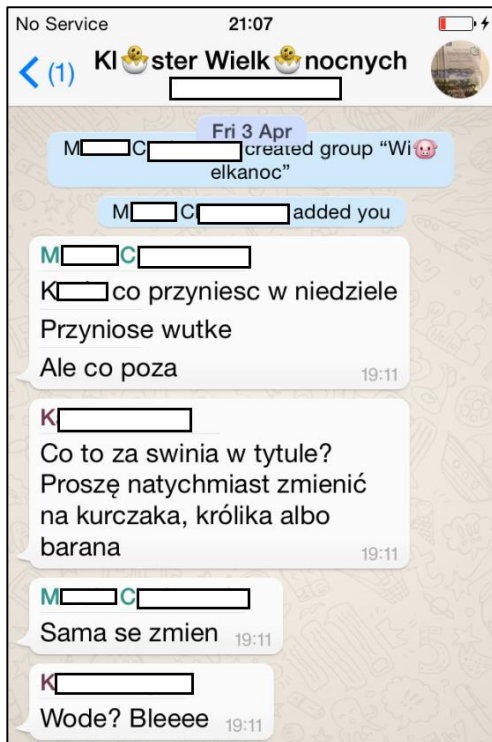
(M__ C__ created group "Wi[pig's head]elkanoc")

(M__ C__ added you)

K___ what shall I bring on Sunday
I'll bring vodka
But what else

What is this pig in the title?
Please change immediately into a chick, rabbit or a ram
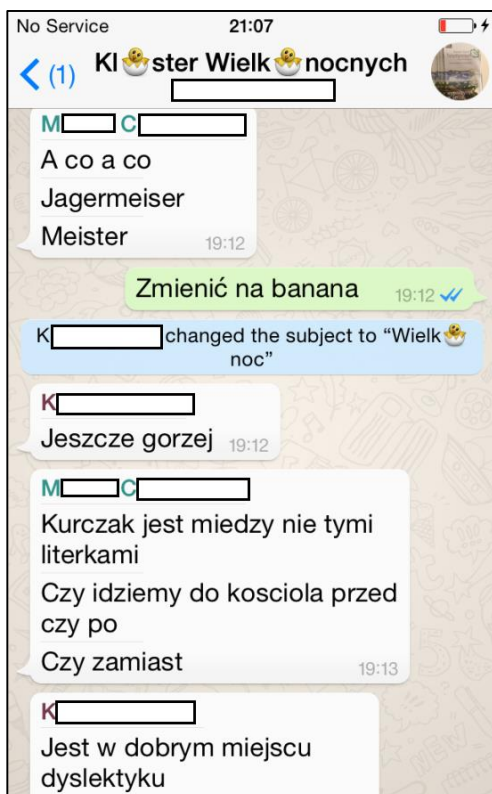
Change it yourself

Vodka? Bleeee

Figure 11a: WhatsApp and the co-construction of the online space

What then what then
Jagermeiser
Meister

Change [it] into a banana

(K__ changed the subject to "Wielk[chick]noc")

Even worse

The chick is between the wrong letters
Are we going to church before or after
Or instead

It's in the correct place you dyslexic

Figure 11b: WhatsApp and the co-construction of the online space

The virtual space is constructed through the use of tools provided by the technology, such as the option to upload an image as a representation of the group and to assign a name to the group and a subject to the ongoing conversation. Information about these changes appears on the screen in the flow of messages, although presented using different font size and background colour. As such, it is clearly marked as referring to space modifications, but at the same time, as with the sending of locations, it forms part of the ongoing conversation flow and is referred to in the interaction itself.

The smooth switching between languages and modes that M and her friends perform in electronic media is sometimes impeded by the characteristics of the media. In particular the feature of predictive text based on dictionaries uploaded to mobile devices means that typed text can be altered based on its similarity to a word in the installed dictionary. This is particularly significant when the language use is creative, as very often in the case of M. The dictionaries would not, for example, recognise phonetic spelling or abbreviations, and would attempt to suggest alternatives from, in this case, standard English or Polish. In the example below, M and MC are talking in Polish about carrying out face-to-face interpreting and the rate they should charge for this service.

oczywiście zwrot kosztów teav	oh course covering of the cost of <u>teav</u>
Trąbek	<u>Trąbek</u>
Travel	*Travel*
Trąbek	<u>Trąbek</u>
Ahahahahhahahahahaha	Ahahahahhahahahahaha
Ahahahahahahahahaha	Ahahahahahahahahaha
Ahahahahahahahahahaha	Ahahahahhahahahahahaha
Wiem	I know
Ha ja	Ha ja
Hahahahahah	Hahahahahah
Dalej rże	I'm still neighing

Figure 12: WhatsApp and technological affordances

In this exchange, M is writing in Polish but chooses to switch to English in a number of places, including the word 'travel'. In the last case, M misspells the word 'travel' as 'teav', and attempts to correct herself immediately after spotting the misspelt word, but the system corrects her 'travel' to a Polish word with a similar letter combination, 'trąbek' ['trumpets'], since the general language of the conversation is Polish. MC picks up on the humoristic value of the outcome. What is interesting here is the way in which the mistake, caused by the

technology, is exploited as a communicative resource for interpersonal bonding. The examples in this section highlight the confident sense of ownership that the friends exhibit in their handling of this mobile app, and their ability to exploit it for their own purposes – including, in these cases, the subversive and playful manipulation of language.

5.6   Summary

In comparison with Winnie and Monika, M is a prolific and confident social media user, who actively exploits the affordances of digital technology both for public self-promotion – and the promotion of the arts and artists she supports – and for private acts of group identity and bonding. As such, we can view her use of social media in relation to heritage in two ways. On the one hand, like Winnie and Monika, she uses digitally-mediated spaces as a way to share significant moments and to enact and display the values she holds dear – her Polish cultural heritage, her professional identity, art and theatre, language and language play, creativity and subversion. These are processes of heritage-making emerging from individual acts of identity. On the other hand, however, we can also see M's confident and subversive use of social media as a heritage resource in itself; that her creative appropriation and extension of digital affordances and resources are themselves practices that she values as elements of her heritage. In her online practices, then, we see not only how she selects the meanings from her past that she wishes to preserve for the future, but also how she is involved in creating and disseminating new heritage resources for future, digitally-savvy generations.

6.   Conclusion

This report brings together the online practices of three women living and working in the UK in order to explore the ways in which processes of heritage-making are extended and transformed in digital spaces. In doing this, we draw heavily on the other datasets collected by the project in order to understand the women's online practices in the context of their wider lives and identity projects, as captured in the interview data and in our fieldnotes and observations. The report thus highlights the strengths of a blended ethnography in understanding how digital technologies are situated into people's everyday lives and how online practices reflect, extend and sometimes subvert offline identity performances and social roles. In particular, the report suggests that the three women's practices are shaped by their different levels of digital literacy awareness, by the purposes for which they use digital technologies, and by the values they hold and other aspects of their biographies. For Winnie, the digital spaces created by SMS and WhatsApp communications offer opportunities for consolidating family and friendship ties in polite and conventional ways, for displaying her interest in language, and for learning new linguistic practices and social roles; for Monika, Facebook enables her to share significant moments of her life which indirectly express her identity and leave traces of her cultural history; while M's social media practices can themselves be seen as heritage resources which intersect with her cultural history and values. In each case, however, we see how digital technologies afford a space where individual identities can be performed, where personal, social and professional connections can be established and maintained, and where that which is valued by these three women can be expressed and shared.

These instances of grassroots heritage-making are *personalised* in the sense that they emerge from individual acts of identity, and *networked* both in the sense that they draw on practices of sharing – that is, on selecting, styling and negotiating content for a networked audience in a way that imbues a practice, tradition or activity with significance; and in the sense that each individual performs and disseminates heritage through their own personal networks of friends, relations and acquaintances. Heritage-making in these online contexts also draws on a reconfigured set of *multimodal* resources which transform and extend the ways in which identity and heritage can be performed and negotiated. Whilst social media provide a space for the personalised, networked and multimodal expression and dissemination of heritage, it is important to remember the role that site designers and social media company decisions play in shaping users' performances; these top-down constraints can be appropriated and exploited (as M does), but they nonetheless exert a silent and often unnoticed influence on grassroots negotiations of heritage online. The detailed understanding of online heritage-making provided in this report will, we hope, contribute to our aim of understanding how people communicate – and how they make sense of their lives, their past and their future – across contexts, media and modes.

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