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"It was kind of a given that we were all multilingual": Transnational youth identity work in digital translanguaging

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from the framework of translanguaging, this case study counters the notion of separatism in one's multilingual competency as developing separate monolingual capacities in different languages. Building from definitions and integration of theories from translanguaging and digital literacies in the context of transnational connectivity, and using the methodological tools of discourse analysis, this ethnographic case study examined how the case youth drew upon her entire semiotic repertoire in digital spaces to materialize relationships and identities across her local and transnational social fields. Specifically, analyses of the three translanguaging examples demonstrate how the youth progressively expanded her translanguaging scope across contexts of classroom, transnational family, and multilingual youth community, endorsing how the translanguaging approach affords a more comprehensive look into the transnational youth's literacy development and identity work.

1. Introduction

Jenna, a Korean migrant[1] youth living in the U.S, was sitting with her sister, video-recording a new year's greeting message for their extended family in Korea. Occasionally she giggled, unable to find appropriate Korean words, but soon managed to say that she and her sister would show a few short comic videos for the family to enjoy. These videos featured the two girls' comic performances in both Korean and English, and across written, oral, and gestural modes such as practiced honorific Korean diction, New Year's bow, *Gangnam Style* dance moves, and English caption as translation. On another occasion, Jenna was creating videos as her school assignment, this time using mostly English and various photo images for her local audience: classmates and teacher. Topics varied from her daily exercises (e.g., Taekwondo and ballet) and mini medical research about cracking joints to the issue of identity change over time. During the same period, she was also engaged in a social media site, *Google+* where she had many conversations with her online "friends," sharing similar interests, challenges, and using her multilingual capacity to command Korean language, English, and creative emoticons for communication.

This snapshot of Jenna's digital literacy practices between 2013 and 2014 reflects many migrant youths' transnational communication, which I call *translanguaging* in this paper. These youths' life fields are not confined to the immediate physical locale of living but span multiple places across local, transnational, and global affiliations. They use varying communication technologies to develop and sustain daily relationships, like Jenna did through video messaging and social media conversation. As digital literacies of youth have drawn growing attention from scholars with new discussions for 21st century literacy education, they have contributed to setting a broader definition of literacy as sociocultural practices of identity work (Kress, 2003; Luke, 2003; New London Group, 1996). However, the impact of the transnational connectivity on identity construction of youth especially from transnational families is still an area that calls for more empirical research (Lam, 2009; Li and Zhu, 2013). Korean migrant youth group is one such population for whom very little research exists (Gwak, 2008) and yet Korean migrants and their children have increasingly settled in locations like California or cities like Chicago (Min, 2011) and beyond such typical immigrant destinations (Terrazas, 2009). Given that these youths and/or their parents came from Korea, a country where over 63% of the whole population and 95% of youth of age six to 29 engage with World Wide Web on a daily basis (Lee,

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[1] In this article, I use the term "migrant" instead of "immigrant" to recognize the increasing bi-directional movement of the contemporary migrant people whose settlement pattern does not match with the previous generation immigrants who, once settled in the host countries, did not have substantial opportunities to visit or communicate with people and cultural events in their home country. Specifically, I recognize that new communication technologies have facilitated migrant people's bidirectional mobility across their host and home countries beyond geographical limitation.

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2006) and potentially communicate transnationally, research on how transnational digital engagement has mediated their identity work is of particular urgency and importance.

As part of a larger ethnographic project on a group of Korean youth in a U.S. Midwestern city (Kim and Dorner, 2014; Kim, in press), this case study examines one transnational youth's digital translanguaging practices, with a focus on how the youth drew from a complex semiotic system to communicate with local and transnational audiences. By translanguaging, I refer to the multilingual's flexible use of his/her full semiotic system for communication (García and Seltzer, 2016; Li, 2011a). This paper integrates theories of translanguaging with the literature on digital literacies to explore the following research questions: How do transnational youth draw upon their entire linguistic repertoires or "translanguage" in digital spaces? In turn, what does translanguaging afford? How does translanguaging differ across different contexts and audiences? Adopting theories of translanguaging provides a framework, which helps to explore exactly how youth/individuals move flexibly among many modes, which exist as a total semiotic repertoire rather than as compartmentalized language abilities as shown in the separatist view of one's multilingual competency as moving between separate linguistic systems.

After a review of research on translanguaging, this study presents an analysis of three digital translanguaging practices by Jenna (pseudonym), a bilingual Korean migrant student in the U.S. Jenna was selected from the larger project for this report because her data set demonstrated the most extensive corpus of literacy events and items among all participants. In addition, focusing on one youth allows a deeper look into such translanguaging practices. Most significant, the three samples chosen for analysis illustrate the spectrum of the youth's translanguaging repertoires, which include a combination of vocabularies both in English and Korean and across multimodal channels of speaking, writing, visual images, sounds, and gestures. In conclusion, this analysis argues that translanguaging frameworks provide a more comprehensive look into transnational youth's literacy development and identity work, as we can see how youth purposefully choose particular communication modes across their linguistic and digital repertoires within particular audience relationships. Implications for the study of literacy education will be discussed.

2. Framing the study

The overarching framework of this study is translanguaging, an emerging concept to understand multilinguals' language use in its holistic sense, departing from the separatist view which conceives multilingualism as shuttling between two or more separate linguistic systems (Li, 2011a). Instead, multilinguals draw from one integrated semiotic repertoire of sign systems including language. Translanguaging practices are more salient among people from transnational backgrounds and in the digital space which provides them with access to, and resources to draw from, their multiple cultural and linguistic communities of affiliation (Lam and Warriner, 2012; Warriner, 2007). Such perspectives highlight the dialogic nature of digital translanguaging in terms of building relationships with diverse audience groups. That is, how to connect and communicate with the immediate or presumed audience in digital writing is a crucial component in the writer's modulation of topics, mediums, and identities.

In turn, building from these definitions and integration of theories from translanguaging and digital literacies, this review argues that discourse analysis allows for a close examination of such dialogism in youth's translanguaging practices. Indeed, using Norman Fairclough's (2010) approach, we can show how youth enact particular ways of *interacting*, *representing*, and *being* in relation to their audience(s) through fine-grained analyses across lexical, grammatical, and multimodal levels (Rogers, 2011). The following sections define and relate the key framing concept, *translanguaging*, to the situated context of the study: transnational literacies through communication technologies, dialogic intertextuality, and discourse analysis of multimodal ways of being, interacting, and representing.

2.1. Translanguaging: from separation to integration

The term *translanguaging* in this article draws from Li Wei's (2011a) definition to encompass its evolving and expansive notion and practices:

> translanguaging is both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships (p. 1223).

Originally, the term *translanguaging* came from the Welsh-English classroom bilingual practices in which students drew on different languages to learn and produce outcomes (Hornberger and Link, 2012); later, it was expanded to generally refer to multilingual practices in and outside of the classroom context. However, it does not simply mean shuttling between or mixture of different languages, connoted in the term *code-switching* as parallel monolingulisms, that is, building and operating in two separate first and second language systems in one person (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Grosjean, 1989). García and Seltzer (2016) explained the concept through a simpler analogy of using a smartphone keyboard to differentiate between code-switching and translanguaging:

> When typing or texting, your smartphone allows you to change or switch languages simply by pressing a key and switching your keyboard, following the concept that there are named languages. But when bilingual speakers use their phones to text with other bilinguals, they use their entire language repertoire of features, their own language, with some words and phrases associated with one named language and other words and phrases associated with the other. Translanguaging is the ability to precisely ignore this kind of language function on the smartphone, and to use all language features fluidly because they are part of the bilingual speaker's repertoire. (p. 22)

Likewise, Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012) view translanguaging as "essentially sociolinguistic, ecological, and situated" (p. 659), focusing on the process of one's flexible and integrated language use across contexts. The bilingual's practices are then "acts of feature selection" from a "unitary collection of features" in one's full linguistic system rather than a multilingual switch between two separated grammar systems (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 281).

Therefore, the newly constructed meaning through translanguaging cannot be simply assigned to one language or another, and goes beyond the limited view of one language for one identity (Canagarajah, 2013; García and Li, 2014; García, 2009). For example, Canagarajah's (2011) study illustrates how a college student *meshed* or mixed multiple language resources (Arabic, English, and French) and modalities across the visual, lexical, and textual levels to communicate messages for multiple possible audiences. According to Li Wei (2011a), such translanguaging enables the multilingual to bring multiple dimensions of "personal history, experience, and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience"

(p. 1223). Li Wei argues that it is not that different languages and identities exist side-by-side waiting to be called upon for separate monolingual events, but that they merge together and inform each other to form new – and more complex – literacy practices and identities of the person. In other words, translanguaging competencies allow individuals to express interests and identities in more contextualized and comprehensive ways (Pacheco and Smith, 2015), thus "illuminat[ing] what bilingual and multilingual speakers actually do with language within and across specific instances" of social interaction (Smith and Murillo, 2015, p. 61).

2.2. Digital translanguaging for transnational identity work

Relatedly, but not always integrated into studies of translanguaging, a growing body of studies have examined youth's digital literacy practices. These studies have expanded the notion of literacy as sociocultural practices for relationships, identity construction and positioning, and include various formats, specifically mediated by digital media technology (e.g., Chen, 2013; Flewitt, 2011; Kress, 2003; Luke, 2003). They also highlight people's agentive media use to produce new writing tools, content, and culture beyond the role of passive spectators (e.g., Gee, 2010; Jenkins, 2008). Another important focus in these studies is *hybridity*, the creative practice of combining and reconfiguring existing literacy resources and modes, and therefore the construction of new, hybrid identities of youth (e.g., Lam, 2004, 2009; New London Group, 1996).Critical to discussions of digital literacies (and similar to translanguaging) is the idea that language norms and practices are not fixed, but multiple, fluid and under constant negotiation, especially as individuals move across contexts. Such fluidity of literacy practices across sociocultural and linguistic boundaries has been amplified due to the increasing global connectivity through digital technologies; they have routinized contacts among people with diverse cultural traditions, especially among transnationals (Li and García, 2016). In this article, the term *transnational* refers to individuals whose daily experiences and identity construction are significantly affected by the relationships and institutions both in their country of living and country of origin. This group includes migrants and their children in the U.S., for example, youth from Korea, often called 1.5 generation, and first- and second-generation U.S.-born Korean youth. For transnational youth, communication technologies mediate extensive trans-bordering interactions (Author and Other, 2014; Elias and Lemish, 2009; Ensor and Gozdziak, 2010; Lam, 2009), one of which is transnational literacies, that is, practices "whose referents and meanings extend across national borders" (Hornberger and Link, 2012, p. 264). Transnational literacies, although commonly visible among other users of World Wide Web, afford even greater pathways of identity negotiation for transnational migrants (Lam and Warriner, 2012; Warriner, 2007); traversing the local, global, and their natal country's contexts, they integrate multiple historical, cultural, and political events into their daily digital practices (McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007).

In other words, translanguaging cannot be properly discussed without understanding the trend of globalization (Canagarajah, 2015; García and Seltzer, 2016; Li and García, 2016). In turn, such practices index the complexity – and richness – of youth identities beyond those in their English-only, rule-based language classrooms (Honeyford, 2014; Li, 2011b; Pacheco and Smith, 2015; Zapata, 2014) or even in the bilingual education classrooms where languages are strictly separated with little room to understand how different languages interact and influence students' learning (Velasco and García, 2014).

Various digital platforms such as social media, Internet-based communities, email, texting, and video messaging allow transnational youth a regular passage to the rich semiotic and cultural repertoires built from both their country of origin and current settlement. These platforms serve as what Li Wei (2011a) terms 'translanguaging space' where youth do not need to dichotomously confine their identity to one language, mode or cultural frame. Instead, they can make flexible use of those capacities and identities that make sense to them and their audience, as shown in: hypertexts embedding text images in a web-like design of links (Luke, 2003), creative screen names mixing one's native language, English, number and image (Yi, 2009), flexible use across mixed languages (e.g., vernacular English, standard English, African American English, Chinese and Chinese dialect) in Instant Messaging (Lam, 2004), and texts integrated with words, sound, photos, streamed video, and paralinguistic symbols (McGinnes et al., 2007). As Li Wei (2011a) argues, transnational youth often feel empowered in these translanguaging spaces to be able to act upon their full identity representation through connecting with multiple audiences.

2.3. Multimodal translanguaging: dialogic intertextuality

Besides allowing for transnational connections to be maintained more easily than in times past, digital and especially mobile media increases the potential for people to instantly respond to what others say, write, and do. The immediacy of responsive audiences in digital space has reshaped our perspective of literacy from a mostly linguistic, cognitive activity to a *semiotic, participatory* social practice that has more significant opportunities to respond to multiple audiences. By semiotic, I refer to the availability of various communicative means that are not limited to language alone, but include diverse sign systems associated with other modes such as sight, sound, and gesture (Hull and Nelson, 2005; Ivanič, 2004; Kress, 2003). The semiotic, participatory digital composition amplifies the dialogic, intertextual nature of literacy through co-construction of texts between the writer (speaker) and the reader (audience), and transfer of contexts and voices across texts. The Bakhtinian notion of *dialogism* (1986) explains how a communicative act is established through the speaker addressing a certain audience and exchanging a chain of dialogic responses. Whether face-to-face or distant, real or imagined, synchronous or asynchronous, textual communication takes place with a sense of an audience and is situated in an ongoing communication with others (Bakhtin, 1986). Thus, an interpretation of utterances occurs in an intersubjective space where the speaker and the audience share and negotiate layers of meanings (Gillen, 2014). In the digital writing environment, this opportunity for the author and audience to construct and negotiate meanings increases dramatically compared to the print only literacy context.

Dialogic interplay also takes place between texts and across contexts. Meaning-making is both intertextual process and product in that texts echo each other across and through time, space, and culture, continually adding additional layers of meaning (Bakhtin, 1981; Kristeva, 1986). Further developing the notion, Ivanič (2004) argues that intertextuality works not only as the "appropriation of actual source texts," but also as the interaction among different semiotic means which she calls "text-types" (p. 283). This dimension specifically looks at how the writer deploys diverse semiotic tools – linguistic, material, and visual – to produce what s/he wants to express. Through the particular semiotic choice, the writer concomitantly participates in context-specific discourses that are associated with certain social allegiances and subject positioning of what Gee calls an "affinity group" (2000). In other words, one's semiotic choice for social communication is closely tied to the membership in a group of people sharing certain ways of living including speaking and writing (Ivanič, 2004).

In the digital literacy context, intertextuality is manifested in the form of "quotation, remixing, and repurposing" of existing representational resources and content (Potter, 2012, p. 27). Scholars

in New Literacy Studies (Kress, 2000; New London Group, 1996) named this coordinating ability *designing*, that is, multimodal crafting of meaning through every layer and mode of available textual designs such as word, font, film, music, discourse, and image. By "deploying available resources in a complex ensemble," Kress (2000) argues, young people remake and transform various semiotic resources; youth are not just consumers of existing literacy modes, but are designers of meanings (p. 158). Potter (2012) terms this reconfiguring ability of youth as the *curatorship of self*, that is, the agentic ability to coordinate and exhibit one's identities through semiotic intertextuality across cultural texts and multiple modes.

Likewise, this article examined dialogic intertextuality in one transnational migrant youth's digital translanguaging. Through discourse analysis of the youth's textual and multimodal representation in the digital space, the examination captured how the youth interacted with audiences and semiotic tools, appropriating and responding to various cultural texts, voices, and discourses, while simultaneously establishing flexible ways of interacting, representing, and being, that is, relationships, cultural values, and social identities in such translanguaging space.

2.4. Discourse analysis of translanguaging

As described earlier, translanguaging is "symbolic of the intersection of multilingualism, transnationalism, and identity" (Duff, 2015). As such, translanguaging has been studied mostly through ethnographic methods (Duff, 2015). While ethnographic approaches are useful in capturing situated language practices, discourse theories and analyses can provide highly detailed micro-examinations of new literacy phenomena, for example, the multimodal digital literacies in the globalized, transnational world (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001; Kress, 2003). Above all, discourse analysis of the new literacies allows for an examination of the intertwined discursive forces and tensions between the global and local contexts (Rex et al., 2010).

In turn, this project drew from theories and methodologies of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010; Kress, 2000; Rogers, 2011) for a less examined area: the complex relationship between digital translanguaging and identity work of transnational youth in the globalized context. In examining the case youth's practices, Fairclough's approach is particularly helpful to investigate the youth's digital literacy practices, reflected in the particular genres, discourses, and styles; in other words, "ways of interacting" with audiences in digital social interactions (genres), "ways of representing" particular perspectives (discourses), and "ways of being," that is, one's identities tied to the particular language use (styles). For example, the study of Dorner and Layton (2014) analyzed emergent bilingual students' classroom interaction in a language immersion school, which appropriated different genres, discourses, and styles in teacher-driven whole group discussion versus students' small group dialogs. Whereas the whole group discussion, led by the teacher, was composed of scripted features for students to engage in the target language as well as school-oriented discourses (e.g., good behaviors), the small group discussion among students occurred in a creative space, which I would call a translanguaging space, where students drew agentively from diverse language options and identities. Similarly, the present study adopted the tools of discourse analysis for ethnographic data to investigate how the transnational youth agentively coordinated digital semiotic means both for communication and identity work.

A multimodal discourse analysis (Kress, 2000, 2003) further informs the analysis by examining how dialogic intertextuality works in multimodal, often hyperlinked, designs where multiple texts, voices and identities work collaboratively to represent the self on the screen. Multimodal translanguaging increases one's potential to engage multiple audiences and draw from many semiotic repertoires to deliver nuanced meanings (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Pacheco and Smith, 2015; Schreiber, 2015). Following the tenet that "the interpersonal enacts experiences of reality" (Rogers and Wetzel, 2014, p. 71), the analysis uncovers not only *what* is being said and represented, but also *how* it is said or shown to *whom*. In turn, this helps us understand how transnational youth materialize complex social relationships and identities in a variety of spaces: from school to home, online and face-to-face, with peers and family.

3. Research design, participant, and methods

As part of a larger ethnographic project which explored the relationship between literacy, youth identity, and transnational digital media (Author and Other, 2014; Author, in press), this qualitative case study (Stake, 1995) reports data analysis from one case youth. The following provides details of the research design, participant, data collection and analysis before sharing the findings and implications.

3.1. Research context, participant and data collection

The location for the project, a small Midwestern city in the U.S., was purposefully chosen to examine how digital media has shaped Korean migrant youth identities in a place which has not been a traditional immigrant destination city and had only limited ethnic and cultural resources for migrant youth identity construction. To examine this unique context in which one's ethnic and cultural resources are replenished primarily through digital connection, the project adopted the "connective ethnography" design, proposed by Leander and McKim (2003) to meet the new needs of research in the globalized world. It is an expanded ethnographic approach which reconceptualized "space" from a physical location as in the traditional ethnography to a field of relationships that includes both the physical and virtual space. Connective ethnography conceives space-time as a dynamic process and inclusive of wherever human interactions and cultural practices occur rather than as a static background of human activity. Thus, the approach allows the researcher to follow and document participants' sociocultural practices across their physical world, for example, home, school, community settings for this project, and the virtual social field such as online communities, social networks, and other mobile communications.

Participants for the original study were recruited in the local Korean churches and through the community networks. Ethnographic data came from extensive sources including a survey, identity maps, field notes from participant observation, transcripts of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations, daily literacy checklist, and literacy documents from school work and digital media that were screen captured and archived. Interviews were conducted in the language of the participant's choice: English, Korean, or both. All youths voluntarily joined the research with their and parents' signed assent and consent forms. Mainly focusing on the intersection between literacy practices and identity construction, the research broadly aimed to understand the role of digital media in youth's sense-making and articulation of their identities in the transnational social field (Author and Other, 2014).

The project also followed the ethnographic case study method used in the study of Orellana, Reyolds, Dorner, and Meza (2003). In this study of translating ("para-phrasing") among children of immigrants, researchers identified several youths from their initial participants to closely follow and understand how the youths negotiated family relations and cultural identities in and around translating. Through these in-depth case studies, researchers engaged in extended relationships with the focal youths and

families, accessing diverse situations of children's translation. Following this ethnographic case study model, I developed four cases in which I observed and hung out with four core participants to look closely into their literacy practices and identity work across online and offline.

The present article features data analysis of one case youth, Jenna (pseudonym). At the time of this research (2013–2014), Jenna was a thirteen-year-old middle school student, living with parents and a younger sister in the U.S. for nine years and actively engaged in diverse media activities. She came to the U.S. with her family for her parents' graduate study, and was living with an unsettling migrant status in which she was not certain about whether the family would settle in the U.S. or return to their home country. The various data sets from Jenna include field notes, three transcribed interviews, 11 recorded informal conversations, 16 videos, and various artifacts including one power point, identity map, a daily literacy checklist, and social media activities from August 2013 to June 2014.

This paper focuses on two main media of Jenna's digital data, video messaging and social media writing to answer the research questions: How did a transnational youth translanguage in digital space? How did translanguaging differ across contexts and audiences? First, Jenna's video work started for a school project called *Vlog*, short for video blog. Within a semester period in the fall of 2013, students in Jenna's 8th grade enrichment class were asked to create several video presentations on the topics of their own choice and one assigned by the teacher. Teachers who taught this class, according to an informal conversation, had more freedom and resources in their choice of curriculum and instructional delivery methods than in students' regular classes. The title of this instructional unit was "identity and design" to fit the developmental stage of middle school students. Topics chosen by students included personal hobbies, study habits, scientific research, and social relationships, to name a few. Initially, Jenna created videos that featured her daily activities, for example, one titled "*flexibility*" demonstrating various poses of Korean martial arts. Later, she selected the issue of youth identity representation specifically in social media space, one of the main artifacts analyzed below. Gradually, Jenna also started creating video messages outside of school assignment for personal enjoyment and to communicate with family and friends, among which the four videos for the family in Korean were chosen for analysis. Second, Jenna engaged in a social media community called *Google+*, in which she associated with friends across the U.S. and in Korea, immediate friends as well as friends' friends who she only met virtually. Data captured from *Google+* mainly included Jenna's status updates and friends' comments on her writings from 2012 May to 2013 November. Analysis examined Jenna's and her friends' communication across languages and modalities, which included drawing, photo images, sound/music, gestures, videos, and hyperlinks.

3.2. Data analysis procedure

This report highlights the analysis of multimodal data created by Jenna – one school video, four videos for family, and social media status updates. This process integrated Fairclough's (2010) approach to discourse analysis and the concept of "design" from Kress (2000) attending to the youth's choice in crafting each communicative event. First, the initial analysis of transcribed interview and observational data demonstrated that Jenna coordinated her digital work mostly according to the audience context. Broadly, the audience groups were composed of (1) English monolinguals – or users of English as the language of communication in local communities (school), (2) Korean monolinguals who were youths' extended families and friends living in Korea and communicating via digital media, and (3) bilinguals of English and Korean or other languages mainly in online affinity communities.

After identifying the three audience groups in different translanguaging cases, the next round of analysis developed multimodal transcripts of Jenna's videos and social media writing. The video transcription followed the Roger and Wetzel's (2014) transcription method, which detailed the time frame, transcript of verbal element, video freeze frame, and descriptions of non-verbal elements in each cut (see Excerpts in the Finding section). The analysis of multimodal video and social media transcripts attended to Jenna's ways of interacting, representing, and being with each respective audience (Fairclough, 2010; Kress, 2000, 2011). In terms of genre (ways of interacting), I looked at how Jenna drew upon different modes such as language, gestures, music, drawings, images, and hyperlinks to make entry points into the conversation with each envisioned or immediate audience. In terms of discourse (ways of representing), I analyzed how multiple modes constructed or cemented the main themes that Jenna wanted to deliver. Finally, in terms of style (ways of being), the analysis focused on the ways in which multimodality supported Jenna's presentation of self as a particular kind of person in each messaging, for example, as a fluent bilingual student and caring transnational family member through use of Korean-English dictions and cultural gestures in the New Year Gift video.

Through this discourse analysis step, I compared the diverse choices made by the youth in each translanguaging case in terms of how she aligned diverse modes, contexts, and identities for different audiences. Table 4 (in Section 5) explains what kinds of textual and multimodal designs Jenna engaged with, while progressively expanding her choice of modes across the three cases: (1) school vlog, (2) family vlog, (3) multilingual youth community in social media. Then, I created discourse analysis summaries of each translanguaging as seen in the next section (see Tables 1–3) to investigate the main research questions of how the youth drew upon her entire semiotic system in digital space across contexts and audiences, and how each translanguaging was connected to her relationship building and identity work.

4. Findings

In this section, I will analyze the discourse of three instances/examples of Jenna's translanguaging through digital literacy. The first section examines a video message for the local, English-speaking monolingual audience in school where English was the language of instruction and communication. In comparison to this classroom context, the second section describes another video messaging in which Jenna addressed a transnational audience of Korean monolingual family. The final section illustrates translanguaging in an online social media where, unlike the two previous cases of monolingual audiences, Jenna worked with multilingual audience of transnational youth like herself. The discussion section afterwards will then unpack how Korean migrant youth have progressively expansive opportunities for translanguaging, which demonstrates youths' spectrum of semiotic repertoire and identities.

4.1. Translanguaging for English-monolingual audience in school context

The first translanguaging examined is a video called *identity and design* from Jenna's class project. As the culminating assignment of a class unit that addressed adolescent identity development, Jenna's final vlog (video blog) had a specific audience: her teacher and classmates. Excerpt 1 depicts the beginning four scenes with transcripts of the aural narration, video freeze frame, and multimodal screen description. In these opening scenes, Jenna established the tone of

Table 1
Discourse analysis summary of "Identity and Design" video.

Translanguaging across:	Genres: Ways of interacting	Discourses: Ways of representing	Styles: Ways of being
English as Main Language for English-Speaking Local Audience	personal **narrative** & communal dialog for the local audience (teacher and classmates) **Genre transition** through use of pronouns "we" and "you"	Major **themes**: 1) It is hard to locate what contributes to identity changes 2) External factors and others' view matter in identity formation and change 3) Ultimately however, it's ourselves who design and change our identities	Curious, agentive youth seeking answers for identity questions Member of a learning community of inquiry
Multimodal Support	**Topic cohesiveness** through aural narration, inquisitive images and written questions on the screen	**Thematic support** through changing photos to signal personal change over time; images of question marks; written texts on the screen; emphatic intonation to highlight the thematic focus	**Active Voice** aurally and visually invites the audience into the communal space to inquire and reflect on the identity issue

Table 2
Discourse analysis summary of new year gift videos.

Translanguaging across:	Genres: Ways of interacting	Discourses: Ways of representation	Styles: Ways of being
Alternating **Korean & English**	**Greetings** for the transnational audience, extended family in Korea to retain and refresh otherwise neglected long distant relationship **Comedy** for family members going through a difficult time	We care about family in Korea; We appreciate and practice Korean language and culture; We are competent in English as well as ethnic and global culture	Caring family member; Korean ethnic who values the heritage language, culture, and tradition; Fluent bilingual of Korean and English; Humorous, creative youth
Multimodal Support	**Direct Addressivity** to the audience and aural introduction of the message and following comic videos **Intertextuality**: appropriation of the comedy genre and cultural content from the transnational and global orientation, with aural and gestural performance of scripted plays; Gangnam style music & dance performance	Comic performance through gestures, dance moves; Korean song; Korean speech with honorific dictions; bilingual texts on the white board in English and Korean; cultural gestures of deference and Korean ceremony of new year's	**Active Invitation to Comic Performance** through multimodal speech, writing, and gesture (cultural, bilingual, and global)

Table 3
Discourse analysis summary of social media interaction.

Translanguaging across:	Genres: Ways of interacting	Discourses: Ways of representing	Styles: Ways of being
English and other native languages among transnational, bilingual youth	Dialog among transnational youth; co-constructing, piggybacking or chaining **Comics** to share personal experiences; humor/laughter	Major **topics & themes**: Troublesome adolescence in and outside school Transnational relationships across geographical locations and cultural places Learning about ethnic history and culture	Communicative youth seeking relationship building in an affinity group Members of affinity groupas fluent bilinguals,sharing transnational backgrounds
Multimodal Support	**Intertextuality:** appropriation of popular genre (comics) and reference to cultural texts highlighted through emoticons, images, and hyperlinks	**Representing ideas** with words, images, hyperlinked information	**Affinity** through visual story sharing, using emoticons to express smile, laughter, surprise; connecting to cultural identities with multimodal cultural texts

this video as a personal reflection on the issue of identity change, multimodally through narration, caption and images.

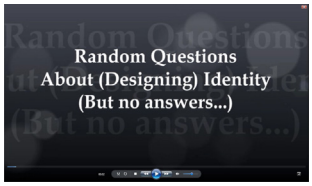
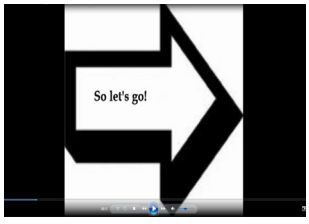
In scene 1, Jenna introduced the main purpose of the video as a personal inquiry. Likewise, her use of language and images appropriated a personal narrative genre to sound and look informal as demonstrated in her vocabulary choice such as "rambling" and "random" and also shown in the informal title caption ("But no answers. . .") and the image of an arrow with "So let's go" in it. However, the topic, explained in scene 3 and 4, was contrastive to this casual tone with a serious identity inquiry to which no simple answers were available for middle-school aged youth. Then subtly, through alternating the first person "I" and "we," Jenna made a connection between her personal story and a general inquiry of youth identity as an entry point into a dialog with the audience.

The next two scenes (5–6) illustrated Jenna's personal changes over time in the combined modes of pictorial representation (childhood photos and other images), verbal texts on the screen, and Jenna's aural narration. Her language and selection of images cemented her argument that she "has changed" from the past "girly girl" toward a point that she made in the next scene, by stating:

> Anyway, so my point is I have obviously changed how I'm viewed by certain people and certain groups of people in general outside home.

Given that Jenna said in one interview how others' views and (mis)interpretations, for example, of her Asian skin and unsettling migrant status posed a significant identity crisis for her, the point made here was not a simple statement. Instead, it likely involved

Excerpt 1. Scene 1–4 in identity and design.

Scene/time frame	Aural narration	Video freeze frame	Multimodal description
Scene 1 00:00 – 00:04	[no narration]		The title caption appears, flipping and zooming in to the center of the screen
Scene 2 00-04-00:16	"this is not really an informative video. It is mostly a video of me just rambling about random questions that I have"		Jenna narrates, sitting static and facing the audience with several tonal and facial changes; set in casual and inquisitive tones; the arrow image with a caption "So let's go" inserted between scene 2 and 4 as a transition
			
Scene 3–4 00:16 – 00:28	"Many people wonder why and how I have become the person I am today. And I have no idea what the factors that contributed to the making of current outer and/or inner personalities are. I've asked myself the same questions before as well. However, after thinking about it, I thought, although we often say we don't know what caused changes within ourselves and why, aren't we the ones that are actually creating those changes?"		

* Underlined is author's emphasis

inner conflicts and tensions, even though they may not have been visible on the screen, which only featured delightful childhood photo images accompanied by a lively tone of speech. This additional context from other data sources may indicate that although Jenna chose the personal narrative as the genre for this video and used personal images and casual language, the extent to which Jenna chose to share her personal contexts was still limited to, and more congruent with, the general genre of classroom literacy which was exploration and presentation of a curricular topic.

Jenna continued her quest for the reasons of identity change in the next three scenes, still without answers ready (Scene 8–10), using images of inquisitive modes such as piles of papers with a question mark symbol, a person's sillouette with a caption of "I don't know," and a screen with additional questions along with the aural repetition. Excerpt 2 describes how Jenna ended the video, adding her last question and explicitly inviting the classroom audience into a collaborative inquiry using the second person "you" and the imperative mode as in "think about and ask others. . ." By replacing the personal narrative with a dialog, Jenna's purpose became evident, that is, to engage the audience in a search of a class-assigned topic.

As the discourse analysis shows below (Table 1), Jenna appropriated English as the main linguistic tool of communication, both spoken and written modes, for her English-speaking audience. She chose genres of personal narrative and dialogic conversation as her ways of interacting with the audience in an enlivened tone. The multimodal support from the childhood photos and images of inquiry reinforced key discourses or ways of representing Jenna's messages about identity change and search, adding the thematic coherence. Accordingly, Jenna coordinated her positions, ways of being, as a member of a local learning community, an adolescent dealing with developmental tasks, and as a young, exploratory inquirer. Translanguaging across multiple modes was mainly to engage the local audience in the curricular context, reflecting school discourses of learning and sharing.

4.2. Translanguaging for transnational family audience: connecting with transnational, bilingual identities

The analysis of the next video set, "New Year Gift," presents different semiotic choices and identity representations. The four short video clips included in this set were created for Jenna's personal communication with her transnational family in Korea. Each video clip of the "New Year Gift" ran from half a minute to four minutes: (1) New Year's Greeting, (2) Happy Birthday Grandpa (3) New Year's Resolution, and (4) Sister Feud. In an informal conversation, Jenna said that she wanted to brighten up the family in Korea who were going through a difficult time due to a family member's illness. So she created a few other comic videos along with the usual new year's greeting message. In contrast to her static posture in the

Excerpt 2. Scene 11–14 in identity and design.

Scene/time frame	Aural narration	Video freeze frame	Multimodal description
Scene 11–12: 01:57 – 02:07	"And my last question is if you were to create a blue print showing and explaining how you designed your current identity, how large and complicated would it be?"	  	Three images appears back to back while Jenna is narrating
Scene 13–14: 02:09 – 02:26	"So I have just finished telling you guys about some of my questions. Think about and ask others some of your own questions about the design of an identity. You will probably end up with more questions without answers in the end. But that's the fun of being curious!"		Jenna on the screen, then changes into an image; in a bright, lively tone for the final sentence

school vlog assignments, Jenna's bodily motion was rich with various facial expressions and performative gestures. Her voice also featured varying tones including high-pitched excitement, reflecting the intimate familial relationship with the audience.

Excerpt 3 below is the opening comment of Jenna from the New Year's Greeting video, directly addressing her extended family members – grandparents, uncle, aunts, and cousin – exclusively in the Korean language. Although less accustomed in her daily life, Korean honorific dictions, whose nuance cannot be directly translated into English, were skillfully used by Jenna as a sign of deference for the elderly family members. Beginning with an elated "happy new year" greeting for every family member, she continued that her sister and she would like to present fun moments of good laugh through a few comic videos of their own. Unlike the school vlog that mainly utilized the narrative genre through both the spoken and written English and to fit with the school discourses that focused on learning and growth, this transnational video set appropriated genres of dialog and comedy with an expanded set of multimodality across different languages and their modalities (English and Korean/ spoken and written), music/sound, and gestures of dance and bowing in order to engage her Korean-monolingual and transnationally connected audience.

The Korean language served as the main communicative tool here, like English did in the school vlog, for another monolingual audience. However, Jenna also used English (see Excerpt 4) across its spoken and written mode in two videos. For example, in the New Year's Resolution video, she first started speaking in English, "my new year's resolutions" then immediately added the Korean translation "새해결심." While Jenna was orally alternating English and Korean, the same alternating caption in English and Korean translation was being displayed on the screen. This particular linguistic choice of bilingualism continued in this video and in the Sister Feud video, whereas Jenna directly addressed family members only in Korean in the New Year's Greeting and Happy Birthday, Grandpa videos.

Multimodally, the gestural mode was prominent in all four videos. The traditional new year's bow performance in Excerpt 3 was to demonstrate a culturally-appropriate way of celebrating the New Year's Day in Korea. Other performances were featured with humorous speech and exaggerated body gestures. For example, the New Year's Resolution video had four episodes of failed resolutions: (1) Exercise, (2) Focus on studies and school, (3) Eat healthy, and (4) Have fun and relax, were scripted performances between the sisters as shown in the video freeze frames in Excerpt 4 below. Swinging a threaded ball and dancing to the loud *Gangnam Style* song to bother the sleeping sister in the Sister Feud video was a climactic comic touch.

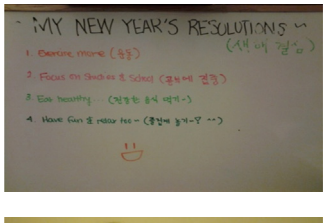
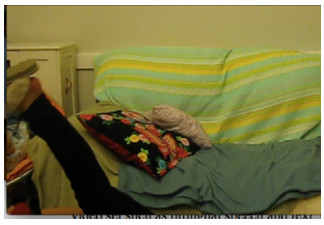
A unique aspect of this transnational video was Jenna's use of English, which was unnecessary for her monolingual, elderly family members if the communication was the sole purpose. Such a demonstrative bilingual translanguaging was beyond message delivery and not present in her school vlog. According to Jenna in an interview, this bilingual performance in oral and written English and Korean was both a natural expression of her daily language practice and a purposeful representation of her bilingual identity for the family as she said,

> For us [Jenna and her sister], it was a video about the New year's resolution. . . Even though they [family] all speak Korean and I'm Korean, but they know I'm in America, I didn't think it [use of English] would matter (Jenna, Interview).

She also added that the use of honorifics was "just part of the culture" to show respect to the elders that she learned and was able to practice.

In summary, Jenna flexibly appropriated expansive linguistic and cultural repertoires in this video set such as bilingual speech

Excerpt 3–4.

Excerpt	Aural narration	Video freeze frame	Multimodal description
Excerpt 3 from "New Year's Greetins" video	"안녕하세요! 제나랑 주니입니다! 할아버지, 할머니, 큰아빠, 큰엄마, 고모랑 사촌오빠 새해 복 많이 받으세요! 우리가, 그…[*웃으며*] 우리가 많이 웃으시라고, 그, 재미있는 비디오, 짧은 거 몇개를 찍었는데, 그걸 보면서 많이 웃으시길, 많이 즐거워하길 바래요. 어, 이제 세배 받으세요!" [English translation: Greetings from Jenna and Junie! Grandfather, grandmother, Uncle, Aunts, and Cousin, Happy new year to you all! We, uh, [*giggling*], we made, uh, a few short, comic videos for you, we hope you will be happy and laughing a lot while watching them! Uh, now it's time for us to give you a new year's bow!	 	Jenna and her sister sitting facing the audience (family) in her living room to make the video, using honorific Korean dictions in a light, high-pitched tone; frequently giggle with hand gestures; at the end of the video, both stand up and perform the traditional Korean new year's bow
Excerpt 4 from "New Year's Resolution" video	"My new year's resolutions! 새해결심, Number one, exercise more 운동!" 하지만! 아 너무 무거워, 사람들은 이런 것을 어떻게 하지? 아악!" [English Translation: "But, ah, so heavy, how could people do this! Ahrrrr!"] [*then she exaggeratingly falls down to the ground with the leg lited in the air*]	  	During Jenna's narration, the English and Korean translation caption written on the whiteboard being displayed on the screen; Jenna performing the comic scene of falling down

and text, globally popular music, and culturally proper Korean dictions and gestures through which she worked from, and enacted, transnational ways of interacting, representing, and being. As the discourse analysis in Table 2 shows, Jenna sought to reach a transnational audience using the genre of greeting and comedy for which the video format worked effectively as it allowed a space for direct dialogic interactions through its audiovisual representation. Jenna communicated the discursive message that she cared about

the family and their cultural tradition by demonstrating the dexterous use of Korean language and traditional gestures, but at the same time, showing that she was a competent bilingual and intercultural person who willingly adapted across diverse contexts. Accordingly, she shared her transnational ways of being that were not tied to one place, language, or cultural world, positioning herself in multiple ways as a *caring granddaughter/niece* to her transnational family, *fluent bilingual* of Korean and English, culturally *authentic Korean*, and *humorous and creative youth* enjoying the global popular culture.

4.3. Translanguaging with transnational multilingual audience in online affinity community

In this section, I now turn to a different translanguaging space, an online social media affinity community where Jenna interacted with other transnational audience who came from diverse migratory and multilingual backgrounds. *Google+* was different from the video messaging in that Jenna and her audience engaged in collective translanguaging. The example analyzed here shows a typical "conversation" that occurred in Jenna's *Google+* status wall, which demonstrated participants' mutual translanguaging practice through direct dialogism that went beyond the author's coordination of messages per the audience as in the video. The following analysis captures how social media conversations featured youths' participatory, interactive translanguaging which extensively drew from diverse multilingual youths' semiotic spectrums.

For Jenna, social media was a socializing space. *Google+* extended her social radius by bringing people in different time-space zones from other states and countries into a mutual space where so-called "friends" or "followers" could interact with one another. Jenna conceptualized writing in *Google+* as a speech act of "conversation":

> People keep commenting, but then in the end, it's like a conversation, because you should comment on what the person says for them. So it's a conversation, like a lot of people reply-ish to mine or something. When you do *Google+*, everybody can kind of join the conversation (Interview)

Excerpt 5 describes one such interactive conversation in *Google+* where all the participants happened to be transnational bilinguals of English and other languages. Transnational connections in this space often entailed information exchange about different sociocultural places, for example, diverse educational systems related to testing, peer relationships, and learning subjects across Korea and different states in the U.S. In this example, Jenna was specifically greeting a long-time friend who she had not seen for years after the friend went back to Korea to resettle. Other friends joined the dialog, expanding the topic to become a cross-cultural issue and using multiple languages and semiotic signs to express ideas and emotions on the screen.

Four youths (Jenna, Soo, Kevin, Ben – all names are pseudonyms) participated in this conversation under Jenna's photo update of a snow day. The particular excerpt above started when Soo, a friend who used to go to the same elementary school with Jenna and now was living in Korea, commented on the photo. Excitedly as expressed in multiple exclamation marks (!!!!!!!!), Jenna greeted Soo with a question about life in Korea. Soo responded to Jenna also excitedly as seen in her multiplied vowels in "soooooo" in line 4, updating on her transitioning into middle school. As if Jenna needed some clarification, Soo put the Korean translation in the parenthesis (여자중학교ㅠ) for the girls' middle school, and added a Korean emoticon "ㅠ" signaling a feeling of sadness or dislike (line 2–3). Although Soo knew that Jenna was biliterate both in Korean and English, Soo might have

Excerpt 5. *Google+* Conversation.

1. Jenna: Soo!!!!!!!!! Its been so long! How's life?
2. Soo: good. . .. . i guess i go to a girl middle school (여자중학교ㅠ) [a girl's middle
3. school]수련회도 갔다 오공...[I also went to a camp. . .]
4. ㅋㅋㅋㅋ. i miss u soooooo much when r u coming back? and how's life ㅎ
5. Jenna: im not sure when we're coming back. . . it's all kinda iffy. do u like going to a girl's
6. middle school? why'd u change schools?
7. Soo:나 이제 중학생임 ㅋㅋㅋ[I am now a middle schooler] its kind of different. . .. the system..
8. Kevin: (tagging Ben) SCREW THE SYSTEM! I THREW IT ON THE GROUND!
9. get the reference?
10. Ben::P
11. Let's make our own Chinese system:D
12. **我要**喝珍珠奶茶 [I would like to drink bubble tea]

* English in [ ] is translation from the original Korean or Chinese

rationalized that a girl-only middle school perhaps was not within Jenna's conception based on their shared schooling experience in Jenna's U.S. city. Thus, Soo reiterated her explanation in both languages, when related to a Korean-specific context, particularly using Korean language as in line 7. She then switched into English to inform Jenna that in Korea they had a different grade transitioning system.

Two other friends, Kevin and Ben, entered the dialog. Kevin picked up Soo's last wording "system" for his comment, while engaging another friend Ben by tagging to expand into a group conversation. Using bold capital letters as a paralinguistic loud emphatic voice, Kevin shouted out on the screen "SCREW THE SYSTEM! I THREW IT ON THE GROUND!" then added a toned-down voice of lower case letters "get the reference?" like whispering (line 8–9). According to Jenna, Kevin used the reference of a popular song "*I threw it on the ground*" by an American comedy trio *The Lonely Island*, the lyrics of which expressed resistance to the dominant system as in their lyrics of "I ain't gonna be part of your system." Presumably, Kevin resonated with Soo's dislike of transition into a middle school or with the general youth's defiance toward schooling system. At the same time, this paralinguistic shout-out might indicate their shared challenge of having to adjust in different social, educational systems as transnational migrants, a challenge which all these youths had encountered or might encounter later as Jenna felt "iffy" about her unsettling migrant status and unknown future. As such, the referenced text from the popular song can be interpreted as having multi-layered meanings which might be easily accessible to the members of this transnational affinity group but not others who did not share similar transnational backgrounds and knowledge of the specific cultural text of youth. To this conversation, Ben added a bilingual comment, first in English "Let's make our own Chinese system" then in Chinese, "**我要**喝珍珠奶茶" meaning "I would like to drink bubble tea" (line 10–13). Instead of a logical flow, Ben chose to insert his Chinese-English bilingual identity as Jenna and Soo demonstrated theirs with Korean-English bilingual conversation. It was also a verbal expression of Ben's profile image, a turtle drinking bubble tea, which later recurrently appeared in Jenna's subsequent posts of turtle drawings.

The conversational flow in this excerpt may not seem coherent. As such, however, it is an example of a free-flowing translanguaging space in which transnational youths were not confined by prescriptive language rules and cultural norms like in the school space or in the family space with elders. Instead, it shows how these multilinguals accessed and conveyed diverse semiotic and cultural meanings spontaneously and creatively. Paralinguistic devices of coordinated symbols and letters were expressive of varying

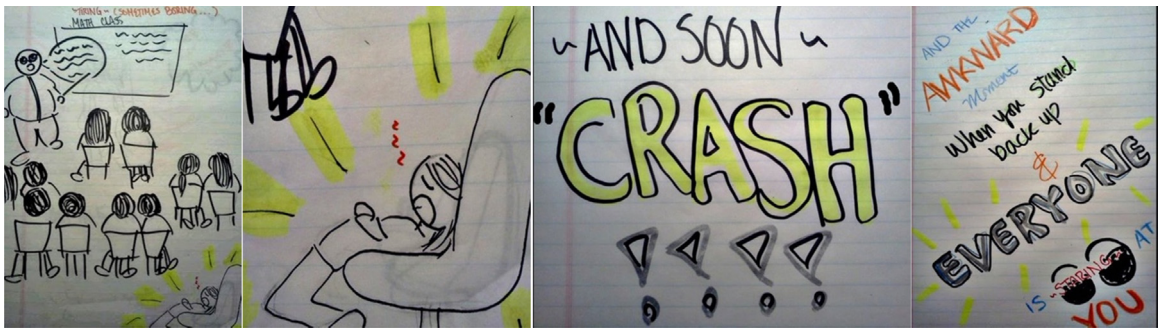


Fig. 1. Thumbnail images of classroom scene.

Fig. 2. Jenna's *Google Plus* Post on Gwangju Massacre.

emotions as Jenna shared that emoticons were "what set us apart from earlier generations of media" since they enabled youths to "express truly how you are feeling when you are not actually seeing people in person and hearing their tone and inflection." Some youths used two languages but prioritized a certain language to contextualize and highlight a specific notion like Soo did to explain the different Korean schooling system, or when Ben chose to present his bilingual identity by writing in Chinese. Others drew from the text of popular culture like Kevin or popular genre, for example, Jenna did through comics to illustrate what happened in her math classroom where she dosed and fell off from the chair (Fig. 1). Oftentimes, these storied drawings elicited more comments with similar stories from participants than the written narratives. Written texts were frequently paired with multimodal representation for quick attention and emphasis; for example, Jenna wrote a reflection on how Korea's democracy was built on people's sacrifice, like the massacre in Kwangju in 1980, with a hyperlink to the Wikipedia and two photo images (Fig. 2).

These youths' collective multimodal translanguaging across their ethnic languages, English, images, emoticons, references to popular cultural texts, and hyperlinks was not merely representing their multilingual capacity that engaged multiple audiences simultaneously on one screen, but more importantly reflects their lives embedded at the intersection of different institutional, cultural, and semiotic worlds whose contexts can best be expressed only through translanguaging. Soo who had stayed in the U.S. for four years and was a fluent English and Korean bilingual, for example, drew on her bilingual ability to share her shifting experiences. At times, Jenna's drawings elicited personal stories from *Google+* friends many of whom were migrant students themselves, through which they shared similar experiences and unique challenges across their transnational adolescent lives such as school work, personal relationships, and multilingual learning (e.g., inquiring the meaning of emoticons made up of the Korean alphabet). Jenna said how their multilingual capacities in *Google+* were closely connected to their shared identity as (Asian) migrants with their unique culture,

> I think all of us kind of were connected because we were Asian, we all were, like multilinguals, at least bilinguals. And the different languages, I feel like we shared that we had a culture different than White culture, White American culture, that's what made us really tightened, like we talked about Asian snacks, people brought up different games, more Asian culture and stuff. Being multilingual was something that brought us together. It was kind of a given that we were all multilingual and use a variety of languages. (Jenna, Interview)

5. Discussion: identity construction through multimodal digital translanguaging

The three digital literacy samples in this paper give us insights into a spectrum of translanguaging repertoires and practices by transnational migrant youth. Translanguaging occurred in all three situations, whether it was for a monolingual or multilingual audience, and within the school or out-of-school context. It was the extent to which Jenna (and her audience) drew from the available semiotic repertoire that varied among the three translanguaging cases.

First, Jenna's video messaging for the mostly (or presumed) monolingual classroom audience utilized a range of multimodal resources to complement the verbal message conveyed in English. Multimodal intertextuality between text-types across verbal, aural, and visual modes worked toward the thematic coherence on a class assignment of adolescent identity. In contrast, the video messaging for her transnational family drew from a more expanded system that allowed Jenna to express her bilingual and transnational identities through what might be called 'identity emblems' (Creese and Blackledge, 2015). In other words, Jenna's identities were not just

Table 4
Modes used in Jenna's data.

	school vlog "identity & design"		Family vlog "new year gift"		Social media "Google+"	
Linguistic mode	English	Spoken	Korean	Spoken(honorific)	Korean	Written
		Written		Written	English	Written
			English	Spoken	Chinese	Written
				Written	Emoticons of: Special symbols, Korean consonants & vowels, English upper case & lower case letters	
Linguistic spectrum	*Monolingual* ⇒		*Bilingual* ⇒		*Multilingual*	
Audiovisual, gestural, hyperlink mode	Childhood photos and picture images		Bilingual caption on white board		Screen profile image of drawing, picture, photo	
			Music (Gangnam style)		Drawings (personal and others)	
			Dance		Photo images	
			Korean new year's bow		Hyperlinks to other websites	
			Other hand/body gestures			
Multimodal spectrum	*Partial multimodality (aural, written, visual)* ⇒		*Fuller multimodality (linguistic, audiovisual, gestural, bi/multicultural)*			

verbally and visually represented but gesturally performed through her daily linguistic and cultural practices. Intertextuality came from appropriating particular ethnic gestures and dictions shared with the audience, and through multimodal meaning-making. Jenna made an intentional choice of using bilingual translanguaging which was not necessarily for communication. Instead, it denotes that Jenna conceived this communicative space as having greater identity options than in the school space, which included her bilingualism and transnational, (inter)cultural competencies.

Finally, the interactive practice in an online affinity group featured the most extensive translanguaging among youths as the discourse analysis indicated (Table 3). Their communication was facilitated and co-constructed through a dialogic interplay of comments, each drawing from his/her multilingual repertoire, cultural meanings, and multimodal sign systems of drawing, images, emoticons of linguistic letters and symbols, videos, music, and hyperlinked resources. In turn, such practices allowed transnational youths a fuller expression of their linguistic and cultural identities than in their rule-based classrooms or when they were with monolingual audiences. Overall, Jenna progressively expanded her translanguaging scope across contexts of classroom, transnational family, and multilingual youth community, from monolingual to multilingual coordination. She also progressively expanded her communicative modes from a partial to a fuller multimodality, while enacting expanded ways of interacting, representing and being (see Table 4). It should be noted, however, that this progression from monolingual to bilingual to multilingual engagement as well as from a partial to a fuller multimodality is not resulting from each originally separated compartment of Jenna's semiotic repertoire, but denotes how a transnational multilingual youth flexibly contextualized each communication, leveraging from her entire semiotic spectrum to fit with the audience's linguistic and cultural meaning-making system.

Jenna's dialogic approach to each digital message increased the intertextuality of her translanguaging, demonstrating that one may have plural identity narratives across social relationships. As an intertextual project in which one works with the audience and networks of texts and contexts to build meaning, digital curatorship of identities is a self-reflexive process where the audience relationship plays the key role for the author's choice of topic, semiotic delivery, and identities to share (Potter, 2012). The translanguaging lens facilitates our access to such complex decision-making processes in which multiple choices are modulated as we saw Jenna flexibly shifting her ways of interacting (genres), representing (discourses), and being (identities) across situated communications. In this highly intertextual space, texts are viewed as having many voices that are linked to previously established texts and genres of other people in the form of quotations and appropriations whose interpretation is contingent upon layers of shared meanings for the referenced texts (Ivanič, 2004; Lemke, 2002; Potter, 2012). Similar to Gee's (2000) view of using particular semiotic tools as participating in a specific "affinity group" of discourse by associating with people who share ways of enacting and recognize their related identities, such intertextual practice reflects the "subjective positioning and social allegiances" between the writer and readers (Ivanič, 2004, p. 284). Digital communication fosters even greater interactive opportunities for the writer to link diverse voices, cultural resources, and semiotic modes (Kramsch, 2009), which I argue is more prominent among transnational youth due to their multiple affiliations and routinized transbordering practices.

Up to date, however, such creative, border-crossing translanguaging practices are captured mostly in out-of-school and digital environments. It is telling that Jenna's translanguaging experiences documented throughout this project came either from her out-of-school contexts or an "enrichment class" that allowed some digital translanguaging. None of the data collected from interactions, activities, and assignments developed in her regular classroom context demonstrated translanguaging (or were developed as in a translanguaging space). Presently, English-only, print-based curriculum dominates most U.S. literacy classrooms. Even bilingual classrooms are not much different as they often focus on the development of separate literacies in each language (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). In contrast, the translingual approach endorses that students should be allowed to work in the multilingual contact zone, where they can bridge diverse linguistic and cultural resources, relationships, modalities, histories, and personhoods (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li, 2011a).

Akin to this point, Kress (2003) noted that multimodal design can invert the semiotic power as students are more empowered to bring their out-of-school contexts into their digital representations Literacy classrooms can expand such multimodal potentials when teachers explore a wide range of instructional repertoires that would activate fuller spectrums of students' literacies and identity resources through translanguaging. Incorporating various digital writing tools, such as vlogs in Jenna's enrichment class, can support this creative and empowering integration. They afford translanguaging opportunities for students to adopt diverse literacy options with their shifting, blurry boundaries, thus disrupting the frame of "standard and nonstandard, and discreteness versus fluidity" (Lee, 2014, p. 321). Invigorating interactive literacy practices that include students' significant others as the main audience is another important component to include multiple languages, cultural voices and identities. It teaches the core concept of literacy as social practices of communication, relationship building, and identity work; it also helps students' learning occur within a larger linguistic, social and cultural network, thereby acknowledging diverse students' experiences.

6. Conclusion

Translanguaging is not a new phenomenon; it is our approach to understand diverse students' daily practices that is new. Although limited, the discourse analysis of situated language or semiotic practices of a case youth in this paper across three translanguaging events provided a more comprehensive look into one such complex translanguaging process, and how the youth – and potentially her audience – engaged with the broader semiotic options, and social and cultural discourses during translanguaging. While I suggest that future research further refine the concept of translanguaging and methodological tools to access its practices, it should also develop and promote classroom spaces that do not separate or exclude but integrate and build on the spectrum of students' practices. Such research would benefit educators not only to understand but also to utilize the translanguaging framework for classroom instruction and interactions.

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