

## THE THREE FACTORS BEHIND THE ONLINE MULTILINGUAL IDENTITIES OF INDONESIAN EFL LEARNERS ON INSTAGRAM

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### Abstract

Social Networking Sites (SNS) are big part of the life of Indonesians because it provides diverse virtual communities for Indonesians to consume and exchange information. The presence of Indonesian communities and global audiences in the virtual networks creates the need for Indonesians to employ various linguistic repertoires in order to join the conversations in the SNS. The present study aims at discovering the components that shaped the multilingual identities that six Indonesian urban university students project on Instagram using their multilingual repertoires. Using a combination of multimodal analysis of the students' posts on SNS and a semi-structured interview, this qualitative study reveals that academic background, online activities, and audience's expectations are the factors that contributed to the construction of the students' online identities. Hence, this paper calls for more similar studies about the multilingual identity construction of Indonesian EFL learners on SNS in the future.

**Keywords:** multilingualism, identity, translanguaging, social networking site, instagram

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### Introduction

Language and identity are inseparable because identity creates and is created by language (Norton, 1997; Byram, 2006; Tabouret-Keller, 2017). Moreover, individual and social identities are moderated by a language through the repertoire—vocabularies, grammar, personal names—available in a language. Additionally, through diverse forms of interaction and communication with the people in one's social circle, a person's identity is constructed and reconstructed continuously (Thorne and Black, 2011; Chen, 2013; Fang, Soleimanzadeh, Zhang, and Shirvan, 2023). In the context of second language learning, a learner's identity will change as the result of learning a new language system that has different orthography, syntax, phonology, semantic, and even gestures from the learner's mother tongue. Besides interacting with a different set of language repertoire, the learners have to use that second language in their interactions with the class teacher, their classmates, and even the native language

speakers. Due to its dynamic and fluid nature, identity evolves over time because it is intersubjectively constructed in interaction (Norton, 1997; Byram, 2006; Ibrahim, 2013; McEntee-Atalianis, Ateek, and Gardner-Chloros, 2022). Then, as the language learners builds their language competence, their identities will transform gradually from second language learners into second language speakers (Thorne and Black, 2011; Zhang, 2021; Chen, Tan, and Lei, 2022). However, the second language learners are prone to experience identity crisis if they encounter difficulty in the process of language learning and that crisis is going to affect their learning motivation and engagement (Reiman, 2011; Cekaite, 2012; Veum, Siljan, and Maagerø, 2020). Therefore, studying the language learner's identity construction is important to gain insights into how the success and the failure of second language learning is influenced by the way the learners' perceive the second language, the learning process of the

second language, and the communities who use the second language.

In the field of multilingual language learners, a growing body of studies has made discoveries of the factors behind the choice of language and the projection of multilingual identities in the physical and the online world. In an attempt to predict the language choice of four Indonesian multilingual speakers on an internet forum and a social networking site (SNS), it was found that the choice of using a language depended on the norms in the forum and the SNS (Bernie-Smith, 2015). On the internet forum, the four multilingual speakers used the Indonesian language for general conversation but they conversed in *Teochew*, a kind of Chinese dialect, when some forum's members texted in that heritage language. In contrast, the Indonesian multilingual speakers projected their Indonesian identity on SNS by putting their status updates in the Indonesian language. Although, two multilingual speakers occasionally project their personal identity by making status updates in the English language. In the study of immigrant students in Norway (Veum, Siljan, and Maagerø, 2020), analysis on 97 multimodal texts suggested that the students projected three identities—spatial, relational, functional—which reflected their resistance toward the stereotypical view of passive immigrants in a progressive country. A study on four multilingual university students from suburbs in Indonesia revealed that the students have adopted global identities which resulted from the influence of their schools' curriculum that orient toward American or British standard English and the exposure to English language learning materials that come from the US or Britain's sources (Nabilla and Wahyudi, 2021). For multilingual speakers, identity management is like playing chess because a multilingual person must use “quick thinking analytical skills” to move

between different communities, “making decisions about who he/she is, who he/she wants to be or who he/she have to be, and what you want others to see” (Ibrahim, 2013).

So far, there have been a few studies about the factors behind the construction of multilingual identities on SNS by Indonesian learners of English and this study is expected to provide insights about identity construction and multilingual practices of Indonesian multilingual English language learners on SNS. Two research questions would guide this study:

1. How do the urban EFL learners present their multilingual identities on SNS?
2. What factors contribute to the construction of the online multilingual identities among the multilingual EFL learners from Indonesia?

## Literature Review

### 2.1 Language and identity

The link between language and identity can be traced back to human psychology and law (Tobouret-Keller, 2017). A newborn child will learn to imitate the language of her/his caretaker in order to establish relationship by way of mimicking the caretaker's facial expression, trying to produce words that the caretaker often says, and adopting behaviors that the caretakers will appreciate. In addition, the law provides links for language and identity (Extramiana and Van Avermaet, 2011; Watss and Hodgson, 2020). This reality is exemplified by the standard language practice mandated by the major countries in the world, such as US, UK, Canada, Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden (Mijatović, 2019). The law in those countries require anybody who wants to apply for citizenship to show a proof of language proficiency in the country's national language. In a similar vein, the

countries that have their own official language create regulations about standard language practice that their citizens must abide in order to construct national identity through language. For example, the government of Indonesia, through the ministry of education and culture, supports the publication and continuous updates of *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, *Tata Bahasa Baku Indonesia*, and *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* in both printed and online formats (Hutapea, 2021; Ernis, 2022).

### 2.1 Identity and Multilingualism

Multilingual people are said to have multiple identities and their identities are dependent on their proficiency in each language that they acquire. A person with high competence in one language will project an identity of a strong and confident person. However, if the same person has low competence in another language, they will display the identity of an inferior person.

Ibrahim (2013) recounted her experience as a multilingual person vividly. As a South African with Portuguese background, Ibrahim lives in France, and works for a British organization. She is married to an Egyptian. Ibrahim's identity as a wife who met her Arabic husband is not the same as when she meets her mother in Portugal or when she listens to her son who studies in a French school. The testimony from Ibrahim enhances the fact that language learners have complex history and various aspirations which constantly changes when they shuttle between several places or communities in their lifetime (Hampel, 2020). This means identity is not always dependent on language but it also depends on a person's experience, his/her life journey, and his/her feelings.

### 2.2 The projection of multilingual identities on online world

The progress of internet and SNS enable people to build and maintain ongoing interaction with close networks and expanded social networks of anonymous (Thorne and Black, 2011). Blogging, instant messaging, and SNS allow language learners to develop their language skills by participating in conversations. In addition, SNS also becomes a medium for language learners to showcase their learning progress, such as, posting a video of themselves doing a report in English (Saswati and Sibuea, 2012; Zaitun and Salsabila, 2022)

SNS also provides multimodal tools for its individuals to express themselves through verbal and non-verbal means. The choice of languages in SNS posts, replies, also images, links, hashtags, and abbreviations contribute to the building of certain identities and the agency of its users (Greenhow and Robelia, 2009; Jonsson and Muhonen, 2014; Solmaz, 2018). Discursive practices on SNS was found to assist the learners in altering their old identity into a new and dynamic identity through language choice (Mills, 2011 in Olmaz, 2018). The SNS was also a ground for learners to expand their multilingual repertoire while presenting themselves to various audience in their network (DePew, 2011). Based on their observation of Russian learners, Klimanova and Dembovskaya (2013) concluded that L2 speaker identity is dynamic because the Russian learners in their study redefine their identities by throughout their conversation with project partners. Sharma (2012) found that young Nepali learners used English as their L2 to construct cosmopolitan persona.

Though originally designed to support online interaction, social medias evolve into the mediums for multilingual

people to can express their multilingualism and even seize opportunities to learn another language. As a micro-blogging platform, IG was not created to facilitate language learning but its interactive nature, instantaneous feature, and technology features give language learners the agency to learn on-the-spot and share their learning without having to go through their teacher's supervision process (Lee, 2022). Through multi modal construction in the form of photos and or videos accompanied with a limited amount of written text, L2 learners can make and negotiate meaning with their own linguistic and semiotic repertoires with other IG users. Furthermore, the nature of multimodalities on IG becomes valuable sources of authentic content that language learners can use to develop multimodal literacy and knowledge processing (Chun, Kern, and Smith, 2016; Wagner, 2021). Using Instagram's Story feature, a study revealed that the instanarratives produced by an online community on IG had the features of a learning network due to the presence of the four principles of learning: autonomy, openness, interaction, and diversity (Gomes Junior, 2020). Moreover, IG's algorithm enabled the online community of language learners to grow exponentially. A great body of studies about IG and L2 learning showed that students have positive perception about the affordances of language learning on IG (Wahyudin and Sari, 2018; Berti, 2020; Lailiyah and Setiyaningsih, 2020). In addition, the studies found that IG facilitated L2 learners when learning new vocabularies and post their L2 practice to speak the voice (Erarslan, 2019).

## Methodology

### 3.1 Participants

The current study focused on six first-year undergraduate students who enrolled in the English Literature

department of private university situated in the suburb area of Jakarta, Indonesia. The participants were recruited based on their willingness to volunteer for this research. At the time of the research, five students were in their 20s while one student was 31 years old. All students began their graduate studies in mid 2020. The participants were multilinguals who speak Indonesian, English, ethnic language, and other foreign language. For the reason of confidentiality, the participants were given pseudonyms.

**Table 1.** Basic profile of participants

Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	First Language	Second Language	Third Language
Vejenri	F	20	Indonesian	English	
Uyrin	F	21	Indonesian	English	Spanish
Arytira	F	31	Javanese	Indonesian	English
Eifeen	F	19	Indonesian	English	Japanese
Afibo	M	20	Indonesian	English	
Alaaze	F	18	Indonesian	English	Korean

Among the participants of this study, four students were trilinguals. One participant is a Javanese and she could speak the Javanese language because of her upbringing at home. She described herself to be competent enough to speak Javanese for common purposes. Three other participants knew their third language at the phrase or word level by picking up words that they often heard from songs or videos and looked up for their definitions from online dictionary. In separate interview, they claimed be incompetent to use their third language in both conversation or written form. For instance, Uyrin learned Spanish casually because she was fascinated by popular songs in Spanish language and she wanted to learn about the content of the songs. Eifeen was a fan of Japanese pop culture and she learned Japanese as part of her affinity to J-pop culture. Alaaze enjoyed watching Korean TV dramas and listening to Korean pop singers and those hobbies influenced her to learn the

Korean language a little bit. At home and outside classes, the participants use Indonesian language for communicating with their family members, friends, and peers in campus.

### 3.2 Data collection and analysis

To answer the research questions, the current study uses multimodal analysis method because it has been used by previous studies to about multilingual identity in SNS (Bernie-Smith, 2015; Veum, Siljan, and Maagerø, 2020; Nabilla and Wahyudi, 2021). Data for this study was supplied by the posts made by the students on their personal Instagram (IG) account. This study chose to analyze the posts that were made public by the participants in their SNS. The approach was selected in order to analyze of the participants' multilingual practice on SNS and examine the construction of their multilingual identity (reference) in order to find the factors behind the participants' identity construction. IG was chosen because of its popularity among young people in Indonesia. The data for this research was collected through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and observation of the posts created by each participant in his/her account. Participants were invited to fill in a digital questionnaire consisting of 51 questions. The questions were meant to get information about the participants' background, language learning history, SNS literacy, composing process, and perceptions of rhetorical situations. This questionnaire was a modified version of the one used by Schreiber (2015) and the questions were in English. The questionnaires were sent to the participants' messengers apps, and they returned them upon completion. The questionnaire responses would be followed up with interviews via a messenger app or face-to-face meeting. Interview on messenger app was done because some participants could not have

face-to-face interviews due to their campus activities or working schedule. In the interviews, the participants would be asked to clarify selected responses taken from the questionnaires. Regarding IG data, the participants' posts on IG were collected manually by means of screenshot with the participants' permission. First, I asked the participants' permission to follow their account on IG and I waited for the participants to share the links to their IG profile. Next, I followed the participants' accounts on IG and I selected posts made by the participants based on the criteria that the photo or the video posts must be followed with English and Indonesian caption. The participants were not persuaded to post on regular basis nor to use particular language in the caption of their posts, so the participants updated their IG timeline on their free will and the data in this study were natural data.

The data of participants' social media were analyzed quantitatively using the categories of language choice and multimodal resource. As the participants were multilinguals, the captions that accompanied their photos or the language choice in their videos were coded into L1 (the Indonesian language), L2 (the English language), and L3 (for languages other than L1 and L2). The analysis of the multimodal resource was based on photo and video on the participants' IG. This study did not include participants' post in IG's Story format because it was not practical. Story is a posting feature by IG that disappears after 24 hours since its publication by IG users and Story usually has no caption. Six of the seven participants in the current study were more active in posting updates in the form of Instastory but they photos or short videos were rarely accompanied by captions. Based on that fact alone, it was decided to focus on the posts that appeared in the participants' IG timeline.

**4. Findings**

In the questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews, the students described the history of their SNS literacy and their multilingual practice. The participants in the study had their own smartphones and computers, though on daily basis they were more active on smartphones especially when using SNS. Computers were used mostly for doing college or work-related activities and the participants did not always bring laptops to campus. The data and the interviews revealed information about how the multilingual students construct their identities on SNS and how their practice of multilingualism contributed to the construction of their identities.

**4.1 History of participants experience with SNS**

In the questionnaires, all participants stated that they were familiar with SNS they have used it since high school. The students chose IG as their SNS because it was simple to learn and use. Also, they followed their peers and relatives who also used it for socializing. For participants, SNS was a place for socializing, having fun, educating, and exhibiting their creativities. On daily basis, the participants were active on IG whenever they have a spare time but each participant had different frequency of using SNS.

**Table 2.** Information about participants' activity on SNS

Pseudonyms	Purpose of using SNS	Frequency of using SNS
Vejenri	Socializing Looking for memes	3 hours/day
Uyrin	Searching for information	1 hour/day

	Uploading photo/video	
Arytira	Learning English	3 hours/day
	Looking for funny videos	
Eifeen	Showing video editing hobby	2 hours/day
	Exhibiting cosplay hobby	
Afibo	Socializing	3-5 hours/day
	Displaying creative works	
Alaaze	Life update	2 hours/day
	Browsing for funny videos	

**Table 3.** The participants type of posts and language choice on SNS

Pseudonyms	Type of post on SNS	Langu age of choice	Type of post on SNS	Langu age of choice	Type of post on SNS
	Photo	Video	Photo	Video	Photo
Vejenri	✓		✓		✓
Uyrin	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓
Arytira	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓
Eifeen	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓
Afibo	✓✓		✓✓		✓✓
	✓		✓		✓
Alaaze	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓

Note. ✓: Seldom; ✓✓: sometimes; ✓✓✓: Often

Though the participants have used IG for more than two years, their public posts were very few. To get explanation about this phenomenon, participants were presented with the following question, “You have used IG for more than 2 years. However, there are few posts that appear on your IG. Why is that so?” and they responded in various answers.

1. Vejenri: I don’t like keeping digital footprints
2. Uyrin: Yes, I archive some posts. Those posts that I archive are the photos when I haven’t used *niqab*
3. Afibo: I mostly post on a different account, and the first account is usually for real life stuff or testing
4. Aleeza: yes, it’s because i’m embarrassed with my old pictures
5. Eifeen: It’s a new Instagram account, old account just for some of my videos.
6. Arytira: Yea I’ve been using IG quite a long time, but I’d already delete some of my old posts. I don’t hide any post from public, I just delete old posts

From the above excerpt, it was concluded the participants have curated their posts for the public on SNS. Many participants have hidden many of their posts using IG’s Archive feature or deleted old posts so the public cannot see them. As a high school student, Uyrin did not wear *niqab*, only wearing *jilbab*. She described that her SNS used to display her photos and videos before she decided to wear *niqab*. Now, public cannot see her old photos anymore because Uyrin has hidden or deleted those photos. Knowledge of digital literacy also drove Vejenri to be selective with what she put on SNS. In another case, Arytira had been using SNS for long but she too had deleted old posts from her account for reasons that she refused to disclose. The last reason behind the small number of posts in the participants’ account was due

to the fact that the majority of them had and maintained another SNS account for private purposes.

Because their answers about low number of posts on IG implied the existence of a second account, participants were presented with another question, “*Do you happen to have and manage more than 1 account?*”. Their responses were as followed.

1. Uyrin: Yes. I have more than 1 IG account. I have 2 IG account. The other one just followed by my close friends and family. I like to share my daily activities there because it’s more personal and private. I also use my second account to follow online shop.
2. Arytira: Actually I have 2 accounts, but the other account is for my personal account.

Having more than one SNS’ profile was another way of separating the participants’ public self from their private self. Vejenri had an account that she shared with her friends on college and she kept another account that she used for interacting with her close friends. The explanation by the three students clarifies why their IG profiles in this study had so few followers. On the other side, Afibo has three public accounts on SNS and he let anybody followed his profiles. He has no problem making connection with strangers and people that he knew. Alaaze is the only participant who claimed to have just one account on IG. For this study, participants only gave access to their public accounts for data sharing. In Afibo case, data was taken from his first IG account because it has rich data whereas his other two accounts contained random posts and they did not have any caption.

**Table 3.** Information of participants’ account on Instagram and how they use them.

Pseudonyms	Number of IG account	Purposes	Followers
Vejenri	Account 1	Sharing updates of her personal life	Close friends, family members, relatives
	Account 2	Networking with college friends and public in general.	Friends from campus Public in general
Uyrin	Account 1	Sharing updates of personal lives	Close friends, family members, relatives
	Account 2	Interacting with the public	Classmates from campus Public in general
Arytira	Account 1	Sharing updates of her personal life	Close friends, family members, relatives
	Account 2	Networking with public in general. Sharing information about English learning	Classmates from campus Public in general
Eifeen	Account 1	Interacting with friends and public in general	Classmates, friends, public in general

Account 2	Displaying creative works in video editing	School mates	
Afibo	Account 1	Sharing updates of his personal life	Friends, family members, public in general
	Account 2	Sharing his hobby of playing video games	Friends, family members, public in general
	Account 3	Random posts	Public in general
Alaaze	Account 1	Sharing selected updates of her life	Family members, friends, and relatives

After observing each participant's posts, two interesting trends emerge. The first trend is the practice of posting a photo or video without caption. When there is a post with caption, it sometimes takes the form of hashtag or emoji. In the interviews, participants explained their decision of not putting caption in their post.

1. Alaaze: I don't have any idea about the caption so I just post it with emoji.
2. Arytira: There are some posts that don't have caption since the information of the posts already written on the photo itself.
3. Eifeen: I don't have a special reason. I'm confused about the caption, then I thought it would be great if there was no caption.



4. Uyrin: Because I didn't find any suitable words for the caption.
5. Afibo: Sometimes, I'm not sure what to write for the captions.

As this study is about multilingual practice and the construction of identity, the data with emoji and hashtag captions were excluded.

The following trend was participant's habit of sharing updates about their life using Story. Story is a feature provided by IG that allows its users to publish a post—photo or short video—which disappears after 24 hours. Because of this shared habit among participants, the author could only get few public posts that appear in their SNS's accounts. In the interviews, it was discovered that participants lately used IG's Story feature for privacy concern and practicality. The participants were selective about what information that public could see permanently and which information that public or selected audience could view. IG's Story gave the means for participants to exercise their digital right for privacy matter. Posting photo or video using Story was considered efficient as the participants did not have to spend time to compose the right caption that accompanies their story. In 24 hour, their story would be gone so they deemed crafting a caption for a story was time consuming and not practical. Additionally, the motive for posting updates through Instastory was driven by the participants' desire to satisfy their psychological need to build affiliation with their followers on IG (Hidayah and Nuqul, 2018). From my observation, participants posted at least five stories in one day and some of the participants could create more than five stories depending on their mood or activities in one day. Since the nature of the learners' Stories was not stable, it was impossible to monitor the participant's post in Story format for the sake of data collection. I

then decided that the learners' IG Stories were excluded too from data collection and data analysis.

#### 4.2 Multilingual practices of participants

This section presents more detailed picture of participants' multilingualism practices in SNS by providing samples of data taken from participants' SNS account and excerpts from interviews with the students.

Table 4. Participants' language of choice and multimodal post on Instagram

Name	Types of post	Language for caption/content			Total
		Indonesian (L1)	English (L2)	Other languages (L3)	
Vejenri	Photo	0	6	0	Photo
Uyrin	Photo	10	6	1 (in Spanish)	Photo
Arytira	Photo	4	56	0	60
	Video	0	45	0	
Eifen	Photo	3	4	1 (translanguaging of Indonesian dan Japanese)	8
Afibo	Photo	2	16	0	18
Alaze	Photo	1	4	0	5
	Total	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>
	Average	<b>2.85</b>	<b>20.14</b>	<b>0.28</b>	<b>23.27</b>

##### 4.2.1 The practice of multilingualism of participants.

The participants in this study were multilingual; Four were trilingual and three were bilinguals. Generally, all

participants can speak and write in the Indonesian language as it is the national language of the country. Then, as the result of making English as a mandatory school subject, all participants can use the English language for receptive and productive purposes. In the next section, more detailed would be elaborated about the participants' language practice in SNS through SNS data samples and interview excerpts.

#### 4.2.2 The practice of first language in SNS

The Indonesian language was the most common language practice shared among the participants. Looking at the posts and the participants responses in the questionnaires and interviews, L1 was used because participants thought it was easy communicate their post with their followers and non-followers, who were mostly Indonesian, on SNS. Using Indonesian was considered easy as it was the participants mother tongue. It was concluded that the choice of L1 projected the participants' Indonesian identity in the SNS.

Beyond describing the content of their posts, L1 practice in the participants' SNS was driven by the fact that their followers were mostly Indonesians—school friends, campus friends, and relatives. Looking at the participants' posts in L1, Indonesian language was used to describe the content of a photo/video or to voice messages that participants and their followers understand. Moreover, L1 was frequently used in the posts that show participants and their friends. Uyrin commented that she used Indonesian language as photo caption if there are photos of her friends and herself. Similarly, Alaaze used Indonesian language when there are her friends in her photos. Through Indonesian language, participants voiced or revoiced their thoughts and ideas about something and the caption would generate replies

from their network in the SNS. Therefore, the content of the post and the presence of participants' local audience influenced the choice of L1 in the captions because it would stimulate conversation.

#### 4.2.3 The practice of L2 in SNS

As the participants were enrolling in English Literature department, they used English (L2) quite often in their SNS. Though the number of posts in English varied from one participant to another, they put English caption to at least four posts in their SNS account. From the questionnaires and interviews, all participants reported that the choice of English in their posts was based on their awareness of the presence of the global audience in SNS. They probably used L2 for the sake of practicing their skills in L2 and expect to engage in a conversation with other IG users who see their posts. This assumption is in agreement with the benefit of utilizing the SNS as a space to use L2 for authentic purposes, e.g. having a conversation about something (Hampel, 2020). From interviews, participants exhibited shared opinion that not everyone in their network on SNS was from Indonesia and using L2 in the caption would make their posts understandable to non-Indonesian users of IG. On the other pole, the participants also knew that their Indonesian followers may not understand English but all participants pointed the fact that IG had translation feature that could assist the Indonesian viewers to comprehend their caption in L2. Observation on the posts in L2 showed that participants also used L2 to describe the content of their posts to their followers.

For participants who had interest in creative work such as video editing or cosplay, they employed L2 in their posts because they targeted particular communities. For instance, Afibo who loved doing graphic design, photo editing, and videography exploited IG to

show his creative works to the global audience. He often posted short video clips, screenshot of his favorite video games, and photos of his daily life in his SNS. He put hashtags or captions in English to describe his posts with expectations that non-Indonesian audience would see his creative works and showed appreciation. Fans of Japanese pop culture like Vejerin and Eifeen utilized IG as the medium to publish their creative works as cosplayers. These two participants often put hashtags (e.g.: #cosplay) in their J-pop related posts in order to get their photos indexed in topics related to cosplay and they wanted the global audience on SNS see their photos. Afibo, Vejerin, and Eifeen understood that there were specific groups on SNS that paid attention to their unique interests and using L2 as caption or hashtag in their posts served their needs to communicate their works.

Arytira loved learning English because she believed it could improve her career and life through networking. Besides working in a trading company and studying in college, Arytira played the role of a moderator in an English forum that specialized in public speaking, similar to the Toastmaster club, and this forum resided in an another SNS called Club House. Arytira confessed that she enjoyed her role as a moderator in that speaking club because it made her feel confident about herself and her English skill. As a result, she promoted the Forum's events or posts in her own SNS based on her belief that people on IG would reap benefits from her posts. Many of her posts contained simple educational lessons about learning English language. She often reposted photos that she took from an IG profile about English language learning (ELL). Yet, Arytira also produced her own content about ELL and she posted them in her SNS account. Besides sharing educational content,

Arytira considered her IG account as an extension of the forum's activities and she utilized SNS to attract more people to be a member of the online forum. She added that her action was not under obligation to promote the Forum's activities in her SNS. In this context, Arytira performs her identity as an expert in the English language and she used her knowledge about it to promote language accuracy in IG to people who are learning English from IG.

A particular finding from interviews about L2 practice with all participant revealed their stance of not expecting any reply from followers or non-followers. All participants stated that using L2 as captions of their photo/video had nothing to do with any desire to get replies from their followers or non-followers. They would respond to anyone who commented on their post using English or Indonesian language as long as those comments were polite and respectful.

1. Q: When you put English caption to accompany your post, do you expect your followers to comment?
2. Afibo: i do, I haven't seen my followers commenting on them (the posts). I'm assume they don't know what to comment
3. Uyrin: No. I don't expect my followers to comment on my post.
4. Arytira: No. I never expect my followers to comment, like is enough for me
5. Aleeza: actually no, but sometimes if I'm in the mood for people to comment on my post I will make an interesting caption so people will comment on it

#### **4.2.4 The practice of L3 and Translanguaging in SNS**

There were very few data of students' doing translanguaging and L3

in their SNS. Eifeen, was found to do translanguaging in her SNS' posts and she did that only once. She mixed English words and Japanese vocabulary in one of her posts and that caption was read, "*Life is daijobou.*" This caption accompanied a photo of Eifeen and her friends in the typical Indonesian female muslim dress and jilbab. The caption was meant as Eifeen's opinion about her friends and their friendship. The use of the word *daijobou* was based on Eifeen's knowledge about the meaning of that word and she chose to mix that word in an English sentence the means to create a catchy caption. Eifeen's attraction to Japanese's manga and animation raised her interest to learn Japanese language from Japanese animation and songs. Then, Eifeen said that there was a Japanese guy who followed Eifeen's profile on SNS and, in a private chat on SNS, he encouraged Eifeen to practice her Japanese by using it on her posts. That was also her motive to create a post that code mixed English and Japanese vocabularies. However, Eifeen refused to translanguaging actively in her SNS because she admitted that she has not learned the language seriously.

For L3 practice, Uyrin once wrote the caption of her post in Spanish. She described that practice as an effort to apply an expression that she took from a Spanish language song and put it as a caption for one of her posts on IG. The Spanish caption accompanied a photo that showed Uyrin and her friends who dressed in the typical Indonesian female muslim clothes. In the interview, Uyrin explained that using Spanish in the caption was not an effort to get any reply from a Spanish speaker and she did not expect that her post would get reply from her followers.

As shown in the table 4, students who participated in this study showed a trend of using either L1, L2, or L3 as the

caption in their post. Inspection on participants' post in their SNS could only get one evidence of translanguaging. So, a question was presented to participants in the interviews, "*Did you ever think or try to mix vocabularies from English and Indonesian language in the caption of your post?*" For Arytira, code-mixing in her posts was not an option because she was a promoter of standard English language and all of her posts were about using acceptable English in terms of grammar and spelling. Vejenri also had never thought about creating a caption that mix her L1 and L2 because she wanted to be consistent in her language choice in SNS. The other participants gave these replies.

1. Afibo: Using both languages isn't necessary since most posts are for certain audiences.
2. Eifeen: I avoid doing code-mixing because my followers will mock me. Mixing vocabularies from two different languages is a big no-no. My friends called that practice as *bahasa kentut* (ugly language).
3. Alaaze: Yes, in the future. For now, I only mix two languages when talking with my friends.

## Discussion

This study examined the way six urban students of an urban university projected their multilingual identities on SNS and the factors that contributed to the construction of their multilingual identities. Based on semi-structured interviews and multi-modal analysis on the participants' posts on IG, the findings in the current study indicated that they projected their multilingual identities through the use of standard language forms in their captions and code-switch when replying to their followers on SNS. There was a case of translanguaging which appeared to be a matter of language play but many participants in this study

chose to display their multilingualism that adheres to language normativity. Analysis of the participants' post on SNS suggests that the participants display their multilingualism without changing their identities as Indonesians. Except for two participants who used L2 when making posts related to Japanese cosplay, other participants used L2 and L3 that accompanied photos or videos in which they as Indonesians in the typical Indonesian fashion choice and code-switch when replying to their followers.

The language choices among participants were the means that they deployed to show specific affiliations to various types of audience in the SNS. At the time of this study, all participants lived and studied in Indonesia. With the Indonesian audience, participants project their Indonesian identity by using L1 in the post' captions for showing membership, maintaining fellowship, and starting a discourse. On the other side, L2 practice on SNS was the avenue that participants took to project their local and global identities and joining particular topics of discourse that were present. Though participants were enrolling in an English program, their L2 practice was less about displaying the progress of their language learning but it is more about showing their identities as the speakers of English. This finding is in line with Solmaz (2018) study with a group of international students.

In answering the question about the factors that contributed to the construction of participants' multilingual identities, the current study found that the audience in the SNS, the participants' activities, and their academic backgrounds were the three elements that construct their multilingual identities. To create a discourse and maintain relationship with their Indonesian followers, participants often used L1 as the caption of their post. Although participants stated that they did not expect

their post would generate responses, analysis of the content of posts and their captions showed the participants' wish to have a dialog with their audience, followers or non-followers, on SNS. Chen (2013) made the same finding in his study about the language practices on SNS of two multilingual students from China. L2 practice on SNS were common among the participants of this study but the low frequency of L2 usage in the many of the participants' post and interaction with their followers was strongly related to the fact that the students were living in Indonesia and they had limited reasons to build or maintain social network with audience from outside Indonesia.

Though previous studies about multilingualism on SNS showed evidence of translanguaging practice by multilingual learners, this study yielded different finding which probably due to the participants' academic background. The six urban participants made very small attempt to mix vocabularies from two different languages in the captions of their posts. In other words, the participants were not interested in doing code-switching or even code mixing in their captions. The lack of translanguaging or code mixing in IG posts maybe due to their background as students in the English Literature department in a university. In addition, there was social pressure from the Indonesian audience in the participants network about linguistic normativity and that pressure discourage the participants' from attempting to code-mix or to translanguaging. This reality is inline with the previous study about two university students from different background of studies showed that the student who enrolled in the English program did not use code mixing in his IG posts, but the student from business department used a lot of code mixing in his IG posts (Lestarina, 2022). Probably, the student

from the business program did not have pressure related to language accuracy as happened to his counterpart from the English program. Therefore, the student from the business program felt free to mix English and Indonesian words in his IG posts. On the contrary, Olmaz (2018) discovered the lack of code mixing by the participants on SNS happen only in their public profiles. In his analysis, Olmaz argued that translanguaging practice will likely take place in a small network whose members are people that participants are intimate with. Although the participants in this current study used pseudonyms and avatars in their SNS, they were still reluctant to attempt translanguaging or code-mixing because of their suspicion that such practices will make them prone to cyber-bullying as what has happened to Indonesian celebrities in the past (DetikHOT, 2010; Martin, 2016; Sihite and Putri, 2023).

From interview, translanguaging practice among the participants in my study usually occurred in a small group, in which many of the participants used their first IG account that was closed to public, and it took form in conversation between participants and their friends. Eifeen's caption which mix English and Japanese words in a sentence may looked like an example of translanguaging but she did not direct that caption to particular audience in her network. Eifeen's translanguaging was more like a language play than an attempt to communicate a message nor to start a discussion. It is important to note that language play was another form of translanguaging that was found among Bosnian young adult learners of English (Dubravak and Skopljak, 2020). In addition, code mixing or code switching in SNS could be the medium for making clarification, showing a group's identity, or revealing certain topics that an SNS user want to discuss in her or his post (Perdana, 2015; Haryanto and Mahendra, 2021).

The next finding that this study came up with was the proof of how language choice was governed the online activities that the multilingual students perform on their SNS. Arytira liked to fill her SNS with educational content on ELL that she targeted the English learner audience in and beyond her network on IG. When responding to comments in different languages on her posts, she shuttled between English and Indonesian which managed her identity when responding to Indonesian and non-Indonesian followers. Uyrin voiced her thoughts to global audience by using English language in the caption that went along with her posts. Though her followers replied in Indonesian, Uyrin adjusted the language choice in her responses as an act of maintaining her membership with the local audience. The L2 practice that the participants perform in their online activities is affected by their previous and current participation with their online audience (Thorne and Black, 2011).

In summary, multilingual students deployed diverse semiotic resources when they engaged in linguistic and multimodal practices with the audience in their networks. Concordantly, the result of the current study affirms the notion that the construction multilingual identities among Indonesian EFL learners is complex as it is influenced by tangible and intangible factors (Abdusyukur, 2022; Wahyuni, Isam, Alber, Asnawi, and Eftita, 2023). The nature of IG makes the participants accustomed to multimodal practices that are shaped with many types of linguistic resources that consisted of L1, L2, and a mixture of their L1 and L2. Being multilingual, these participants could manage their interaction with audience from different backgrounds and language resources using their language repertoires and that in turn contributed to the construction of

the participants' multiple membership performance.

### Conclusion

This paper addressed the issue of the projection of multilingual learners' identities on SNS and the building blocks of their multilingual identities. Being multilingual, learners have the freedom to express their opinions through a variety of multimodal repertoires and language choices. The same set of repertoires allow learners to negotiate their thoughts and intentions with the audience in their networks on SNS. However, audiences' pressure of linguistic normativity, the demands of cultural alignment, and the academic background of the participants have shaped the multilingual practice among the six multilingual learners in the SNS. This current study should be viewed as another attempt of uncovering the factors that contributed to the construction of multilingual identities of six urban language learners and this is not a final study. Additionally, such studies in the future should involve students who come from non-language department because it is predicted that they will make more posts that contain code-mixing in their captions and those posts will be a rich site for data analysis about the construction of multilingual identities of language learners in SNS.

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## Appendix

Photo 1. Arytira's IG profile

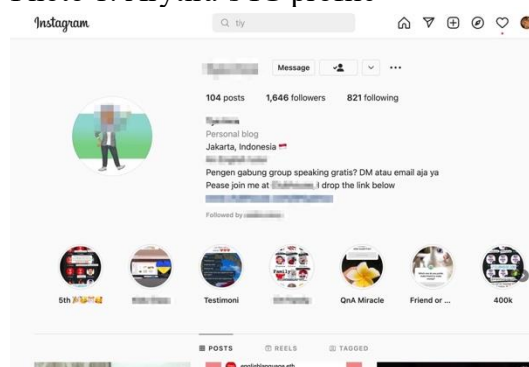


Photo 2. Vejenri IG profile

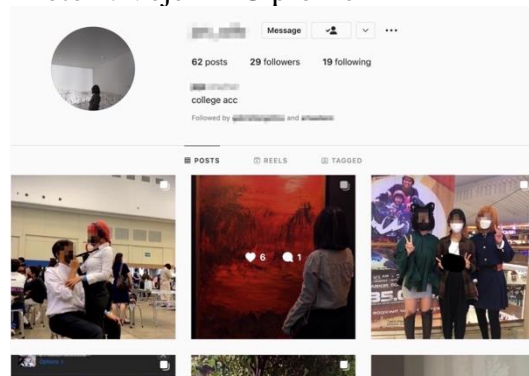


Photo 3. Alaaze used L1 in her post that shows herself and her friends.



Photo 4. Uyrin voiced her opinion of herself in L1 to the audience in her network.

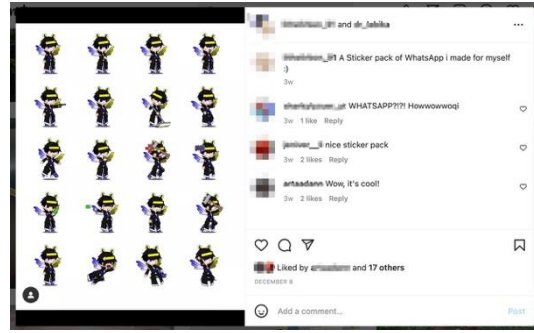


Photo 7. Screenshot of Arytira's educational posts in her Instagram.



Photo 5. Vejenri used L2 in describing her photo post.

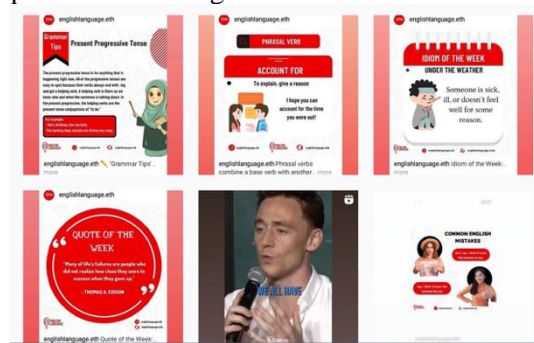


Photo 8. Screenshot of Arytira's video and her interaction with her audience.

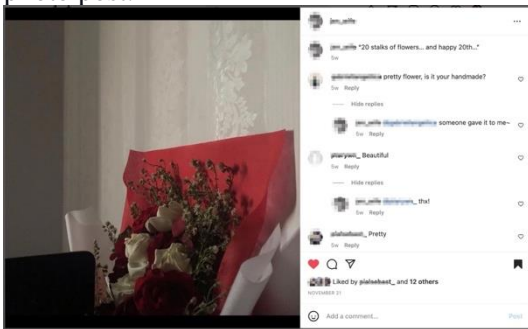


Photo 5. Eifeen posted her favorite manga character used L2 in the caption.



Photo 9. Alaaze responded to her audience using her multiple linguistic repertoire.

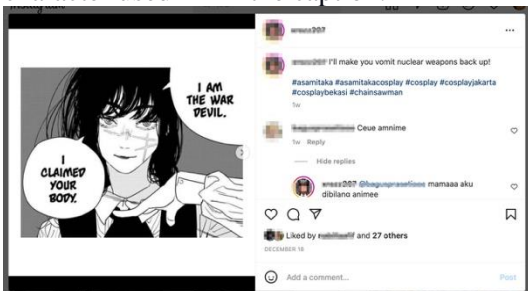


Photo 6. Afibo announced his digital stickers for a messenger using L2.



Photo 10. Eifeen code-mixed English and Japanese in her posts.

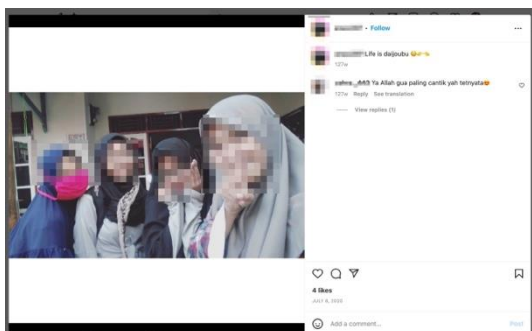


Photo 11. Uyrin using Spanish in the caption of her photo

