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Identities and Interactions in a Transcultural Online Collaboration Project

Zsuzsanna Bacsa Palmer
Old Dominion University, zpalm001@odu.edu

IDENTITIES AND INTERACTIONS IN A TRANSCULTURAL ONLINE CLASSROOM

COLLABORATION PROJECT

by

Zsuzsanna Bacsa Palmer
B.A. May 1997, Grand Valley State University
M.A. June 1998, Eötvös Lóránd University, Hungary
M.A. May 2005, Central Michigan University

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Approved by

Julia Romberger (Director)

Bridget Anderson (Member)

Kevin DePew (Member)

Christine Tardy (Member)

ABSTRACT

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Zsuzsanna Bacsa Palmer
Old Dominion University, 2015
Director: Dr. Julia Romberger

The traditional theoretical frameworks and assumptions about intercultural technical communication are no longer adequate to describe and teach intercultural communication now frequently happening through digital networks. My dissertation proposes to use the theory of cosmopolitanism as it has been recently applied in several social science fields as a framework for pedagogical project design in order to teach intercultural communication skills applicable in the global age.

The dissertation describes a transcultural online pedagogical project between Hungarian and U.S. students that I designed according to the principles of cosmopolitan theory. In this project, students were introduced to the basic tenets of cosmopolitanism and were asked to create blogs about themselves and their varied identities and languages. Students were also asked to comment on the blogs written by students in the other country.

For this dissertation, I analyzed the blogs and comments created during the project to find out how students represented their identities and interacted with each other in this online learning environment. Students' identity representations are discussed within the framework of Burke and Stets' identity theory. The categories of student identity, sports identity, and national identity are examined in detail by applying discourse analysis with the purpose of identifying structures of expectations as delineated by Tannen. In addition,

students' rhetorical strategies in the comment section that follow the principles of cosmopolitan communication are also described. Based on the findings of this research, I conclude the dissertation by proposing a model for the cosmopolitan communication process in this globally networked learning space that is not only applicable to similar projects but can also inform the process of transforming the teaching of transcultural technical communication making it more applicable to the increasingly global and digital workplace.

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, Ralph, and my sons, Zsolt, Andras, Roland, and Junie

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It is also in order to thank some people and organizations that allowed me to use images created by them. I would like to thank Pazmany Peter University for letting me insert a picture of their campus into my dissertation from their website as seen in Figure 1. I would also like to thank the American Hungarian Federation for letting me use the map of Greater Hungary (Figure 5). In addition, I would like to thank Suresh Canagarajah for allowing me to insert his table about the implications of Dialogic Cosmopolitanism into my dissertation (Table 1).

Also I would like to thank my parents to setting me on the right path and being there for me along the way, and my four sons for their patience with their mother when she needed to study. And last but not least, a huge thank you goes to my husband and intellectual companion, Ralph, who helped me in so many ways from hatching the idea of doctorate studies to finishing my dissertation. Köszönöm. Danke.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

UNDERSTANDING AND TEACHING INTER/TRANSCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN PROFESSIONAL WRITING IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

Professional communication practices have changed in many ways in the last few decades as audiences have become more diverse due to globalization, and digital communication channels have removed spatial and temporal constraints to interaction. Where intercultural communication used to be an interesting side topic in the field of professional communication, it now happens on an everyday basis. The effects of globalization on the profession have prompted an increased interest in the research and teaching of intercultural communication and have resulted in an on-going search for alternative theories that can function as more adequate frameworks to describe this new reality.

My dissertation explains how one of these alternative frameworks, cosmopolitan theory, was used for designing an online transcultural collaborative project and describes the identities that were created and the interactions that took place in this digitally networked learning environment. For the pedagogical project analyzed in this dissertation, students in the U.S and Hungary created blogs entitled “My Identities and Languages.” On these blogs they discussed their different identities and language varieties that connected to the various identities. In addition, students interacted with each other through the comment feature of the blogs. For my dissertation, I analyzed the blogs posted during this project with regards to the type of identities students created for this globally networked learning environment. Also, I studied how online interaction evolved between students from the two different countries. The aim behind arranging this online pedagogical project was to create a learning space that reflects the realities of today's globalized and networked professional communication practices so that students can learn communication skills applicable to actual workplace intercultural communication encounters.

In this dissertation, I argue that if we extend the theoretical framework used to describe intercultural communication in professional writing to include the theory of cosmopolitanism as it has been recently applied in several social science fields, we will be better able to describe global, transnational, and transcultural social phenomena that affect the process and products of transcultural professional communication. This necessary extension of the traditional theoretical framework does not imply that cultural differences and their expression in the ways we communicate no longer exist; instead, it asserts the need to take new phenomena such as hybrid identities and linguistic and cultural mixture accelerated by globalization into consideration that cannot be described within traditional frameworks focused on the strong separation of cultures and languages.

Through a review of changes in the work of professional writers as a result of globalization, this first chapter will demonstrate why there is a need of extending the theoretical framework used to describe intercultural communication in the field. This chapter will also identify a gap in different theoretical approaches scholars in the field of professional writing have thus far applied to describing global intercultural communication. In addition, the chapter will demonstrate the wide array of pedagogical practices that have been used in the field to teach intercultural communication and will highlight important issues that effective pedagogical practices need to address.

Furthermore, this chapter will incorporate lessons from teaching writing in other fields that can improve the teaching of intercultural communication within professional writing pedagogy especially with respect to linguistic diversity.

The effects of globalization on professional writing

As evidenced by a survey of technical communication practitioners by Giammona (2004), globalization is one of the key concerns affecting not only the everyday practice of technical communicators but also how the profession sees itself in the future. The first fifty years of research in technical communication was set in a context where technical communication professionals worked with coworkers of similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds and produced documentation for people of similar backgrounds. However, St. Amant (2011) points out that this context has changed as a result of the concurrent emergence of global business practices and an explosion of the frequency with which professional writers are now required to work cooperatively over digital networks with people from around the world. In addition, the products professional communicators create have had to change to accommodate a more diverse audience.

The transformation in professional communicators' work process cannot be attributed to a single source, but rather must be seen as a development due to both the emergence of the widespread use of digital technologies and globalization (Hayhoe, 2006). In a study of technical communication managers' work process, Amidon and Blythe (2008) also emphasize that widespread globalization in fact has been enabled by the rapid development of information and communication technologies; for this reason the effects on work process of these two developments should be discussed in conjunction with each other. While globalization on the one hand can increase international collaboration, Amidon and Blythe find in their interviews with managers that it also affects organizational structure and the type of work that remains (or does not remain) in technical communication departments as a result of global outsourcing. Thus, globalization and the emergence of digital networks truly affects not only how professional communication happens but also who is involved in it.

As technical communicators participate in distributed work enabled by digital technologies, their environment, the tools they use and the people they work with are becoming more complex and diverse (Slattery, 2006). Work distribution over long distances results in global virtual teams that not only benefit from being located in different time zones in order to ensure around-the-clock work progress but also have significant knowledge-sharing advantage. Findings from studying such global virtual teams highlight these advantages, but also point to areas where diversity can create challenges. For example, Grosse (2002) finds in a study of virtual intercultural teams that participants can make the most of these virtual connections only if they possess a general intercultural sensitivity that helps them to recognize how diversity can strengthen a team. Another study by Munkvold (2005) which looks at two large international companies that adopted two different e-collaboration systems for knowledge sharing finds that the difficulties in adopting such systems globally can be connected not only to technical and organizational issues but also to cultural differences and linguistic challenges between countries.

While Munkvold (2005) suggests that language barriers can inhibit effective collaboration, he does not discuss further how members of international work groups try to overcome these language barriers. However, research findings from the field of business communication point to the trend of using English as the shared medium of communication in cross cultural settings such as multinational corporations. Kankaanranta and Planken (2010) describe the use of English as a *lingua franca* (a linguistic term used to describe a contact language) in business settings as a way to bridge linguistic barriers. They call this specific variety of English "business English as a lingua franca" (BELF) and explain that is used as a simplified, highly hybrid code of communication that is used dynamically to achieve a shared understanding. In using BELF, linguistic correctness and adherence to the grammar of a national variety is less important than achieving "communicative effectiveness" (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 408). Thus, in order to successfully work on global professional communication teams, new norms of language use need to be acquired not only by second language speakers but also by those who speak English as their first language

The highly digitized and global technical communication environment not only creates a linguistically more complex work process for technical communicators, but also leads to the need to consider technical communication products in a new light. In this new context, technical communication products have to be developed using new composing and publication processes such as single sourcing and Web 2.0 (Carliner, 2010) while keeping in mind the various cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the end-users of documentation or other types of technical information. On the most basic level, technical writers have learned to simplify vocabulary and intentionally include "that" or "which" in relative clauses in order to be more explicit for readers who are non-native English speakers and to create texts that are easily translatable (Dicks, 2010). Efforts to systematize English usage include style guides, such as *The Global English Style Guide* by Kohl (2008), that provide guidelines on how to eliminate ambiguities in language use in order the increase comprehension by non-native speakers, enable accurate translation by human translators, and facilitate machine translation.

Globalization has placed new demands not only on the language, but also on the content and layout of technical communication products because technical communicators have to take into account the diverse linguistic and cultural background of their audience, and at the same time the larger context of where and how these products will be used. Localization, the practice of revising texts, interfaces and other digital information spaces in order to match local cultural characteristics and rhetorical strategies has become a widely used practice as a way for multinational companies to make their information relevant for different local contexts. Localization is most often discussed in the literature in terms of websites (Cyr & Trevor-Smith, 2004; Sapienza, 2008) as these have to be designed according to local user expectations and recently developed navigation conventions.

Creating websites that are usable by audiences of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds is a great example of the challenges professional and technical writers face in the global age. Thus it is crucial that the teaching of intercultural communication to professional writing students incorporates aspects of diversity in audience awareness. This was one of the objectives of the pedagogical project that my dissertation is based on. Another criterion that I found was necessary for the pedagogical project to be applicable to contemporary communication environment was compatibility between its theoretical framework and global communication practices. Through the review of research about such practices in the field of professional writing, the next section will illustrate that the theoretical frameworks traditionally applied in intercultural communication research don't always account for the hybrid cultural reality of the globalized world.

Researching inter-/transcultural professional communication in the global age

The traditional line of research about intercultural aspects of professional and technical writing has been based on the assumption that cultures are something tangible, static, and monolithic; a view that was common in the social sciences of the last century. According to the contemporary philosopher Seyla Benhabib (2002) this widespread view originates in the social anthropology work of Malinowski, Mead, and Levi-Strauss and can be described as holding the assumptions that "each human group "has" some kind of "culture" and that the boundaries between these groups and the contours of their cultures are specifiable and relatively easy to depict" (p. 4). However, as Benhabib explains, this assumption is based on faulty epistemic premises including that cultures are homogeneous, clearly identifiable entities, that they correspond to groups of people, and that their description can be done without any controversy. Benhabib calls such an approach the "reductionist sociology of culture" (p.4) and claims that viewing culture this way denies the historical complexity of human interaction and the resulting hybridity in culture.

The "reductionist sociology of culture" originally served as a framework for professional communication research especially through the work of two scholars: Edward Hall and Geert Hofstede whose scholarship has greatly influenced the field. Other theories developed by Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (2000) and Gudykunst (1991) and used in professional communication research can also be described as examples of the reductionist sociology of culture. Of these scholars, Edward Hall has had the most widespread and most criticized influence on the field (Cardon, 2008). Hall, a widely published anthropologist of the 70s and 80s, has developed his taxonomy of grouping cultures according to their similarities based on criteria such as what is the accepted personal space around individuals in certain cultures (proxemics) or how much information needs to be specified explicitly in a communication encounter (context). The most influential in technical communication research is the differentiation between high context and low context cultures which Hall introduced in his book *Beyond Culture* (1976).

Hall explains that low context cultures such as the U.S. and Germany rely on explicitly stating information with much detail during oral and especially written communication encounters as there are few expectations that the interlocutor knows all the circumstances or what the speaker intends to say. In high context cultures such as China and Japan, however, “the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message” (p. 76). Further, according to Hall, communication in high context cultures is economical and efficient, in contrast to low context cultures where it takes time to include all the information. However, low context communications can change rapidly as opposed to high context communications that rely so heavily on tradition.

The influence of Hall’s high context/low context categorization of cultures on professional and technical communication research can be seen in the high number (224) of articles in the field published in the last 20 years (Cardon, 2008) using Hall’s theory. One example of the application of Hall’s theory to intercultural technical communication research is Ding’s (2004) comparison of medicine labels in China and the USA , where Ding explains the more detailed medicine labels used in the USA with the fact that it is a low context culture in Hall's taxonomy. Cardon, however, questions not only the value of explaining differences through the contexting model but also in general the wide recognition of this model based on the fact that Hall did not develop this theory empirically but mostly from personal anecdotes. In addition, subsequent quantitative research (i.e. Gudykunst et al., 1996) failed to support Hall's theory. Cardon criticizes the blind acceptance of Halls' theory as illustrated by most researchers who don't point out the limitations of the context model in their studies. Furthermore, Cardon suggests that before this theory is further advocated through textbooks and courses, not only is there a need for more research into cultural variables and their validity, but there needs to be a growing awareness of the spread of low context communication practices through international business aided by globalization and the digital technologies that support it. According to Cardon, these digital technologies together with the common language used (English) make clear distinctions such as high context/low context communication between cultures increasingly more problematic. Cardon points to other intercultural communication theories, such the one developed by Geert Hofstede that are more empirically based and thus better account for phenomena observed in today's professional communication environment.

Hofstede (1980) claims differences in national culture greatly influence the intercultural communication process. He has conducted a large scale study about how national culture influences workplace behavior and values within organizations and has developed his theory based on the outcomes of this study. His initial database consisted of IBM employees from over seventy countries who answered surveys regarding their values. When comparing the survey results, Hofstede found that these values are connected to national culture and can be grouped into four categories: power distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, and uncertainty avoidance. Later, Hofstede et al, (2010) added the categories of long term orientation and indulgence vs. restraint. Hofstede argues that people's values on these scales are highly influenced by their national culture, which in turn has an impact on how people behave at work and how they communicate with people that are from different national cultures.

Although Hofstede's theory is generally about values and behaviors that affect the communication process, it has been applied in the field of professional communication to describe communication products such as letters by Tebeaux and Driskill (1999) and websites by Thatcher (2010). Tebeaux and Driskill (1999) use Hofstede's power distance to describe document design features and make recommendations in regards to the tone and style of documents. They suggest that using proper titles and a more formal tone in cultures with high power distance is important for acknowledging the appropriate distance between communication partners. In addition, they stress the importance of graphic hierarchies within letters that mirror the importance of hierarchy within these cultures. While Tebeaux and Driskill use concrete examples of letters from different cultures to support their suggestions, these suggestions seem to be oversimplified and might be difficult to follow without enough background knowledge about the interlocutor and the organization. Thatcher (2010) applies a research framework he developed on the basis of Hofstede's cultural dimensions to the analysis of a collaborative project between U.S. and Mexican technical writers. Using the example of an email that was originally written in English for U.S. readers and was later repurposed to match Mexican communicative traditions, Thatcher shows that within the same medium, in this case email, rhetorical strategies need to be tailored to fit the cultural requirements of readers in other countries. In addition, Thatcher argues that culture-specific rhetorical traditions also influence what kind of medium the members of different cultural groups prefer in order to achieve certain outcomes. So, according to Thatcher, if you want to establish a good working relationship with colleagues in the Latin-American context at the beginning of a project, you should strive to establish face-to-face connections and not rely solely on email, a practice that would be completely acceptable in the U.S. context.

To explain the differences in preference of media by different cultures, Thatcher initially introduces three thresholds of cross-cultural communication (I/Other, Rules, and Public/Private) that significantly influence the choice of media and are based on the classification of cultures by Hofstede and also include insights by international business experts, Trompenaars and Hampden Turner (1997). These three thresholds categorize cultures into groups based on where they can be located on the continuums between orientations from individual to collective, from universal to particular, and from specific to diffuse. In addition, the three thresholds influence communication practices not only in what medium to choose to get a certain message across but also how the information is organized and what content is foregrounded when a medium has been chosen. Thatcher demonstrates the application of these thresholds by providing suggestions for redesigning the website of Texas Tech University for Mexican audiences, thus he uses cultural characteristics to provide advice for the localization of this website.

Inspired by Hofstede's theory, Thatcher (2012) later develops a more complete theoretical framework for analyzing intercultural professional communication by deriving eight common thresholds from Hofstede and Trompenaars that influence the process and products of intercultural professional communication. The five additional thresholds Thatcher added to the three mentioned above in the US/Mexican study (Thatcher, 2010) are: sources of virtue and guidance, status, context, time, and power distance. He claims that these thresholds are valid indicators of the influence of culture on communication, as these are etic measures of communication practices observable across cultures. He also argues that these characteristics reflect an average tendency within cultures where the distribution of these characteristics could be depicted by a bell curve. This type of explanation is aimed at averting criticism that categorizations like these are too simplistic and essentializing. In addition, Thatcher provides ample examples from real-life business communication encounters that support the validity of using these thresholds for research purposes. Although Thatcher acknowledges the influence that globalization and digital communication has on the field's practices, he does not believe that the current technical communication environment necessitates a break with traditional theoretical approaches to intercultural communication. Therefore, researchers continuing to apply these thresholds in their studies further reinforce that an individual's communication practices are first and foremost influenced by what kind of cultural category her nation state belongs to while disregard the effects of transcultural flows in the globalized age. This creates a problem when the individuals analyzed have lived in different countries and have been influenced by different communication practices. In addition, the multiple cultural influences that people are subjected to through the internet, can also affect their communication preferences and language use. Thus, approaches to intercultural communication that rely solely on the national culture of the participants in communication encounters miss a rich level of interaction that appears as a result of our hybrid global cultural environment.

A website localization study by Cyr and Trevor-Smith (2004), provides another example of how cultural variables and dimensions have been used in intercultural communication research and how this approach privileges national culture. Cyr and Trevor-Smith judge successfully localized webpages based on the criteria whether they give the user the impression that they have been developed within the local context. This can be done by not only providing native-like sounding translations that includes idioms, but by also incorporating local product names, time zones, currency, and geographical examples. In addition such website should pay attention to local gender roles, color sensitivities and other culturally specific characteristics. By using these guidelines, Cyr and Trevor-Smith compare U.S., German, and Japanese websites for their level of localization and test seven hypotheses connected to for example language, layout, symbol use, and navigation using these websites. Cyr and Trevor-Smith find that cultural preferences exist for layout and navigation and they found some connection to cultural dimensions such masculinity as defined by Hofstede (1980), or high-context and low-context cultures as defined by Hall (1976) but they did not find direct connections between other elements of the websites and cultural categories. Color use on the websites, for example, did not match the expected connection between the symbolic meaning of certain colors in different cultures and their application in the website design. Instead, the findings indicate that there seems to be a culturally neutral color scheme typical to many websites, such as a white background and the color of links in blue or black. This is an indication for the emergence of global phenomena in professional communication that cannot be explained by theoretical frameworks privileging cultural differences. To analyze such global features, alternative theories are needed such as cosmopolitanism proposed in this dissertation that have the ability to encompass global phenomena.

One alternative theoretical approach was introduced by Hunsinger (2011) who argues for extending the criteria for localizing websites beyond what the cultural dimensions approach would suggest. In this argument, Hunsinger relies on his earlier article where he points to a prevalent problem in professional communication research, the problem of equating culture with cultural. Drawing on Appadurai's (1996) critical cultural theory, Hunsinger (2006) suggests that the cultural needs to be understood within the context of many other forces of globalization and proposes an intertextual approach to intercultural communication. Thus in Hunsinger (2011) the use of Appadurai's (1996) concept of locality is proposed for localization of websites. Locality in this sense is not only culture but is constituted by the following five scapes: ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finascapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes. For this reason when preparing to localize a website, technical writers should ask questions about the intended users such as: how do members of the target community identify themselves in terms of ethnicity (ethnoscapes), what patterns of infrastructure and software usage are characteristic of the target location (technoscapes), how involved is the local community in globalization and what economical segments of the population will the website reach (finanscapes), what are the global and local images that are well known within the local context (mediascapes), and what legal and political structures are relevant within the target community (ideoscapes). Using this type of comprehensive approach, Hunsinger argues, will result in websites that will have a more local feel than the websites that have been localized using only cultural variables.

Usability and localization on a global scale thus are increasingly more interconnected and the way these concepts are conceived affect how technical communication products are shaped. Sun (2006) while discussing how user localization occurs in text messaging based on his study of American and Chinese users proposes that new theories need to be applied in the context of globalized telecommunication and new media so that we can account for such processes as user localization. Sun explains that the concept of *cultural usability* which includes activity theory, genre theory, and British cultural theory can help us to better understand the ways in which groups of users interact with new technologies, interfaces or digital information spaces and use them to achieve their social goals. Sun argues that "the framework of cultural usability regards technological artifacts as genres that are situated at the intersection of the immediate context and the broader sociocultural context" (p. 265), thus cultural usability and the theories it is built on go beyond the narrow application of cultural variables that are too often the only criteria technical writers take into account in the process of localization.

Other attempts to overcome the dominance of cultural variables in the discussion of usability focus more on global strategies to be used rather than on how to localize design and content. Sapienza (2008) for example notes that because studies show users from multiple cultures preferring a global set of features and language (English), it may be a more cost effective in some cases to set up websites that use the elements which constitute a globally shared interface. In his study, Sapienza examined the interface preferences of American vs. international students at a U.S. university and found that while users prefer websites being translated into their native language, they do share a common vocabulary of interface elements and a set of iconographic features that enables them to find information on websites that are in English. When students had to define words that describe a specific function such as a word used when trying to retrieve information, there was a high degree of agreement in what word ("search") students wrote in for this question. The results were similar between the two groups of students in most of the word definition activities. Sapienza suggests that this information may be used for creating a list of words that constitute the shared context of web interfaces as it is emerging on the internet globally. Based on his findings, Sapienza argues for a more widespread application of an "emergent trans-national shared usability (p.216). This study is one example of a line of studies that support a more global approach to technical communication and advocate research that moves away from cultural variables defining intercultural technical communication for most of its past.

In addition to the above mentioned theories, examples of alternative theories used in recent inter/transcultural professional communication research include Media Richness Theory (Lee and Lee, 2009), Complexity Theory (Ding, 2007), and the revised theoretical framework of intercultural rhetoric (Wang, 2010). The application of all of these theories in professional writing research indicates a relatively recent trend that acknowledges the importance and magnitude of changes in intercultural communication brought about by globalization and seeks to de-emphasize theories that are based on a monolithic and static view of culture. As exemplified by Ding and Savage's (2013) introduction to the *Technical Communication Quarterly* special issue on new directions in intercultural professional communication, the field is moving away from what Dervin (2011, p.38) calls "solid" interculturality, the unexamined acceptance of cultures as tangible, distinct entities or what Benhabib (2001, p.4) calls the "reductions sociology of culture." Ding and Savage proposes that intercultural communication should focus less on the "culture" part of this expression (even while thinking of culture in a postmodern, critical way) and should emphasize more the prefix of the word "the ''inter'' as in interaction and interconnectedness" (p.2).

However, according to the German philosopher, Wolfgang Welsch (1999), the level of cultural hybridity that resulted from to globalization cannot be described when using the term "intercultural" since its prefix: inter- implies two separate, clearly distinct, easily identifiable entities among which the distance must be bridged. "Transcultural," however, not only encompasses all entities involved, but also covers areas of overlap among these entities and thus successfully describes hybridity on the individual and societal level resulting from the constant contact and interaction of norms and values. Thus the word "transcultural," as Welsch points out, is not only a conceptual but also an operational term to describe our global communication encounters. In its operational sense, when we use this term in addition or instead of the term intercultural, it implies a step towards reducing the gap that is implied when we approach communication with an individual across the globe or just across town as an *inter*cultural communication encounter. Treating global communication events only as *inter*cultural makes us overemphasize the gap between cultures, a gap that can quickly turn into an abyss deepened by our reliance on cultural differences as our main communication strategy. As Welsch puts it "It is a matter of readjusting our inner compass: away from the concentration on the polarity of the own and the foreign to an attentiveness for what might be common and connective wherever we encounter things foreign" (p 201). Thinking about global interactions as transcultural communication does not only help when researching individual encounters or communication products, but can also help by designing new pedagogical approaches that are more appropriate in the global age. This dissertation often refers to the blog comment interaction between students as transcultural rather than intercultural communication encounters in order to reinforce the importance of going beyond the national paradigm in the field of professional writing. Approaching the teaching of inter/transcultural communication this way, as illustrated by my dissertation, creates space for pedagogical invention.

Inter/Transcultural professional writing pedagogy

The need for new approaches and theories has become evident in recent years not only in researching but also in teaching inter/transcultural professional communication. As a result of globalization, professional writing practitioners create more deliverables to be used by people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds and these deliverables are often collaboratively composed with people from other countries over digital networks. In this environment, most general professional and technical writing courses have to incorporate the teaching of inter/transcultural communication as a necessary component in order to prepare students for the increasingly international writing contexts in the workplace. Some professional writing programs have even created separate courses dedicated to addressing the effects of globalization and the role of culture in communication (Allen & Benninghof 2004).

As the amount of attention paid to inter/transcultural communication in the field has increased, different approaches to the way it should be taught have emerged. The changing focus of these approaches is accurately represented by the way popular textbooks from the 80's to recent years present the topic of cross cultural communication. The trajectory of change is the subject of three different textbook review studies that look at specific periods and isolate common pedagogical trends identifiable in these periods. DeVoss, Jasken, and Hayden (2002) examine 15 general technical communication textbooks published between 1960 and 1975 and compare these with 15 popular textbooks published in the 1990s. They find that the first group of textbooks barely mentions intercultural communication as a topic, and, if the subject is raised, it is restricted to warnings about how using idiomatic expression in writing can cause a problem in communicating with people from other countries. The definition of culture, cultural differences and their effect on reading and writing strategies are also not discussed in the older textbooks. According to DeVoss et al., the newer textbooks pay much more attention to defining culture and to explaining how it influences communication. Some of the 1990s books in the study not only discuss culture in general but also include documents written in different cultures to illustrate the specific influence of these cultures on rhetorical strategies.

A similar study by Matveeva (2007) also analyzes 15 introductory technical communication textbooks but of a later period (between 1993 and 2006). In this study Matveeva focuses on identifying trends in the presentation of intercultural material in the textbooks and finds that while the number of pages dedicated to intercultural issues has increased fourfold over the years, most of this material concentrates on presenting cultural dimensions/ variables and provides very few actual examples of texts.

Another study by Barker and Matveeva (2006) analyzes two popular technical writing textbooks published in the early 2000's in regards to three different criteria: how much of their content is devoted to increasing students' self-awareness of cultural differences, how much information they provide on cultural characteristics, and how many exercises they include where students can practice what they learned about intercultural communication. They found much more background information and examples about intercultural communication in one of the textbooks, but suggest that a decision about textbook choice should be based on the actual context of use to determine the suitability for specific classroom contexts. In addition, instructors' background knowledge about intercultural communication and their teaching style need to be taken into account when making this decision. This is especially important as in a survey of 30 technical writing instructors Matveeva (2008) finds that the goals and objectives of these instructors in teaching intercultural communication are wide-ranging and are for this reason seldom aligned with the goals and objectives of the textbooks.

A more recent study by Matsuda and Matsuda (2011) also finds a variety of approaches in technical communication textbooks when it comes to teaching global and international aspects of communication, but points out that all eight textbooks analyzed in their study fail to address linguistic variety in English and assume their readers to be monolingual Standard English speakers. In addition, these textbooks' discussion of globalization relies heavily on a static view of culture and views information about different homogeneous national cultures pivotal in discussing intercultural communication.

All of the above studies indicate that technical communication textbooks and the instructors using them still rely heavily on cultural variables (Hall, 1976) and cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980) when teaching intercultural communication and thus subscribe to the reductionist sociology of culture. As the cultural variables and dimensions approach provide an easy to understand taxonomy of different cultures, and their values and ways of behavior, these models have indeed been the major pillars of teaching intercultural communication in professional writing for most of the past two decades. Not only have textbooks relied heavily on cultural variables and dimension by Hall and Hofstede in teaching intercultural communication, but many journal articles also recommend these models to be used for pedagogical purposes. A good example of this is an article by Tebeaux and Driskill (1999) that proposes the teaching of six different cultural dimensions for the purpose of creating culturally appropriate document designs; three of these dimensions are based on Hofstede's categorization and one of them is based on Hall's contexting model. Although the authors admit that cultural dimensions are not always constant and can be influenced by corporate culture, they still advocate that the teaching of cross cultural communication be based on these dimensions. More recently, Thatcher (2012) also supports the use of cultural variables and dimensions in intercultural technical communication research and pedagogy while constantly searching for the right balance between individualistic features and overgeneralization in discussing these cultural characteristics.

As these examples of textbooks and articles show, the cultural variables and dimensions approach has been a widely used and accepted method for teaching intercultural communication to professional writing students and is still used by some academics/teachers. However, a new trend in intercultural communication pedagogy has also surfaced in the last decade as additional research and the increasing spread of globalization through digital networks highlight the need for classroom methodologies more applicable in this context. These newer methods represent a move away from cultural typological differentiations and, thus, are better able to avoid stereotyping, a disadvantage often ascribed to the reductionist sociology of culture framework.

One of the first discussions towards this different line of pedagogical approaches can be found in an article by DeVoss et al. (2002) that in addition to textbook analysis also proposes the use of discussion based teaching modules. These modules not only increase students' awareness of their own cultures but attempt to move away from cultural stereotypes that are often categorized in either positive or negative terms through introducing a more fluid understanding of culture and by encouraging students to engage in intercultural communication beyond the classroom.

The move away from concentrating solely on cultural variables and toward teaching transcultural communication necessitates a deeper examination of technical communication pedagogy with special attention to the type of literacies it aims to foster. A proposal by Cargile Cook (2002) to incorporate a layered literacy approach to the teaching of technical communication mentions that globalization requires students to develop "multicultural awareness and skills for communicating with diverse audiences" (p.8), but does not include a separate literacy category for this purpose. Cargile Cook also highlights the importance of discussing visuals in technical communication courses, but as pointed out by Portewig (2004), she does not include a separate category for visual literacy.

As visual literacy takes on new dimensions when considered in the context of transcultural communication, different proposals exist on how to teach it. Within the traditional, intercultural framework Bosley (1999) for example, emphasizes the importance of uncovering student's cultural assumptions, and making them aware that religious symbol, colors, gestures, and punctuation marks are used differently in different countries often depending on whether these are high context or low context cultures. Kostelnick (2011) argues for approaching transcultural communication through visuals because when students compare visuals from different cultures to the visuals of their own culture, they become aware of the differences in design features, layout, and color, the type of nuances that would only be possible to see in texts when speaking another language. Thus, while Kostelnick does not deny the existence of cultural variables, he does emphasize that communication takes place at the micro level so "the broad brush strokes of culture must be sharpened with a more local and in-depth understanding of cultural context" (p. 33).

In an attempt to move away from the culture specific (or particularistic) approach, some pedagogical approaches to teach transcultural communication emphasize universal skills which are much more applicable in the global communication environment. Starke-Meyerring (2005), for example, proposes that the global context actually necessitates a new type of literacy which she calls global literacies. She argues that we need to coordinate professional writing pedagogy with the corporate environment which has emerged in the global context characterized by the following four traits: "the facilitation of globalization through digital networks, the resultant pluralized identities and blurred boundaries, the increased interactions between diverse local and global discourses, and the ideological contestation surrounding globalization" (p.469).

Thus, communicating through digital networks affects professional writers, because the boundary between readers and writers is not as distinct as it used to be (see, for example, Wikis), so professional writers may not be the sole authors of a closed document anymore. In addition, the importance of corporate collaborative writing increases as writers within transnational corporations can easily be linked together through digital networks. Through these networks people with international experience are connected who can no longer be put into neatly divided categories such as coming from a low-context or high-context culture. Starke-Meyerring provides several examples where it is difficult to define a person's national identity due to the variety of experiences of having lived for long periods of time in different countries. Also, she illustrates how this gets further complicated in the case of global work teams where people from different countries each with experiences in different areas of the world collaborate on projects. Starke-Meyerring highlights that in these ever more frequent and complex situations the traditional view of culture not only is difficult to apply, but also makes little sense to even attempt to use it for interpretative purposes.

Starke-Meyerring's argument illustrates the need for a better understanding of the complex identities that are involved in transcultural communication interactions. Jameson (2007) expanding the same argument, also calls for the necessity to better understand not only others' but also one's own cultural identity. She defines the concept of cultural identity as "an individual's sense of self, derived from formal or informal membership in groups that transmit and inculcate knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes, traditions, and ways of life" (p. 199). Further, she argues that using cultural identity with this definition will help intercultural communication research overcome the traditionally overwhelming concentration on national identity alone and will help in developing an understanding of how other layers of identity play a role in intercultural communication.

As we now recognize the drawbacks of categorizing individuals according to national cultures, a more systematic understanding of what kind of identities people bring to communication encounters becomes necessary. Thus far, the description of these identities has mostly been based on anecdotes and personal observations (Pan et al., 2002, Williams 2003), but has not been analyzed systematically. For this reason, a study that looks at the identities people present that are involved in international communication can provide the field with new insights about the many factors that influence transcultural communication.

Gaining more knowledge about the many identities people bring to transcultural communication encounters can also ensure the success of the teaching of Starke-Meyerring's global literacies through a concentration on teaching negotiation skills between individuals with diverse identities rather than stressing culture specific skills. Since "globalization extends beyond internationalization because it involves a different set of relationships" (p 470), global literacies should be developed on the boundaries where people of diverse backgrounds meet in a communication encounter. Students can be successful on these boundaries when they approach all communication events with a critical stance, equipped with a metalanguage to interpret their own and others' strategies as ways to make meaning in a specific context. To include such an approach into a professional writing course design, Starke-Meyerring asserts, the traditional distinction between national and international professional communication needs to be questioned.

Therefore the teaching of transcultural communication needs to involve more general communication skills that can be applied in any transcultural communication encounter where people with complex identities interact. Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2011) label such skills as Global Communicative Competence. According to Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, Global Communicative Competence is comprised of grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence. In their article, the authors describe a study that sought to find the importance of each of these elements through a survey of 947 business professionals. The results of this survey study show that listening skills, always checking and rechecking understanding, and writing down what has been agreed upon orally seem to be part of Global Communicative Competence. Based on these findings, Louihala-Salminen and Kankaanranta suggest that explicit teaching of these interactional skills could lead to better preparing students for successfully engaging in communication with people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Although the above studies provide different terminology for the general skills that are needed in transcultural communication, they all agree that it is very important to provide students with meaningful transcultural communication encounters. Cleary (2011), for example, advocates for an integrated framework to teach international communication in which intercultural issues are part of the regular technical writing curriculum, are discussed throughout the semester, and are integrated into students' international internship requirements. The publication containing Cleary's article, *Teaching Intercultural Rhetoric and Technical Communication* (Thatcher & St.Amant, 2011), includes several more articles on curricular considerations as well as on the applications of pedagogical approaches not only in the U.S. but also in Israel, New Zealand, and India. Such a publication illustrates the importance of reconsidering transcultural communication pedagogy issues in the age of globalization within specific national educational contexts.

While the above collection highlights many ways in which students can engage in meaningful cross border interactions (such as international internships and study abroad programs), it does not contain any articles about Globally Networked Learning

Environments, or GNLEs -a term coined by Doreen Starke-Meyerring (Starke-Meyerring & Wilson, 2008) - the most recent and most widely accessible way students can engage in transcultural communication. As the internet provides an easy way to connect students for collaborative classroom projects, there has been an increase in facilitating such projects in the field of professional and technical writing (St. Amant, 2002; Herrington & Tretyakov, 2005, Herrington, 2010; Anderson et al., 2010; Starke-Meyerring & Andrews, 2006; Maylath et.al., 2008). One of these projects, the Global Classroom Project (Herrington, 2010) is an ongoing partnership between a university in Russia and a university in the United States with the aims of developing effective cross-cultural and digital communication skills through participation in collaborative assignments. One of its main coordinators, Herrington, explains that the experiential learning students participate in through this project not only improves their cross-cultural communication skills, but also fosters innovation and problem solving skills. In addition, Starke-Meyerring and Wilson (2008) in their edited collection on Globally Networked Learning Environments also emphasize that these environments provide a new, innovative vision for pedagogy through the teaching of transcultural communication skills. GNLEs also prepare students for becoming global citizens.

Although GNLEs provide opportunities for interaction across multiple boundaries and serve as new ways of knowledge creation, they do not come without challenges. In addition to the technological issues and practical complications of coordinating such projects there are other challenges connected to larger issues stemming from the complexities of the global context. One of these issues, according to Starke-Meyerring (2010) is assessment in these classes where notions of Standard English are challenged by the diverse linguistic backgrounds and goals of students. This is especially the case as students and practitioners with actual international business experience realize that grammatical correctness does not always guarantee success in transcultural business communication encounters. Thus issues of language use not only need to be discussed in regards to GNLEs, but should generally be taken into account when teaching how to interact in inter/transcultural encounters as it is the very medium of communication.

Although several scholars discuss the role of language and how to take into account different Englishes and other languages used in cross-border interactions and in the teaching of intercultural communication, (Thrush & Thevenot, 2011; Melton, 2008, 2011; Bokor, 2011) the number of such articles in professional writing journals is much smaller than studies using culture as the basis for investigation. In addition, professional writing pedagogy articles that do focus on language such as the ones mentioned above do not account for the complex interaction of identities and languages involved in transcultural communication happening in writing often over digital networks. In this respect, professional writing pedagogy would benefit from incorporating some findings and pedagogical practices from other fields. For this reason when designing the transcultural blog project for this dissertation, I incorporated recent advances in the fields of second language writing, World Englishes, and translingual approaches to the teaching of composition.

Incorporating issues of language into professional writing pedagogy: lessons from other fields

A study conducted in a GNLE context by Anderson et al. (2010) illustrates some of the linguistic concerns mentioned above that need to be considered when teaching transcultural communication. The study is based on a peer-review commenting assignment on workplace writing documents between English native speakers (L1) and English as a second language speakers (L2). Anderson et al. find that L2 students comment less often and concentrate more on local grammar issues in their comments than L1 students. This study shows that second language speakers may have different concerns when writing in English than first language speakers which should be taken into account when teaching professional writing.

This is especially important not only in globally networked classes but also in the U.S. context as even the students enrolled in college level writing classes within the United States are increasingly more diversified (Matsuda, 2010). Therefore applying findings from the field of second language writing is essential for technical communication instructors not only as these findings provide information about the writing practices of international communication partners but also because they help to increase the effectiveness of technical communication instruction for L2 students within the United States.

Studying second language writing (SLW) has developed alongside applied linguistics (AL)and the teaching of English as a second language (TESOL) and has been influenced by research in contrastive rhetoric, rhetoric and composition studies, and foreign language writing studies (Matsuda, 2006). The main focus of SLW is on pedagogical issues of teaching writing to second language students in the U. S. and around the world while considering instruction, assessment, the composing process, and writer characteristics. Research reviewed in Silva's (1993) article has established areas such as the composing process and textual features where L2 writing substantially differs from L1 writing and suggests that texts written by L2 writers can contain different argument and narrative structures, display a smaller lexical repertoire, and have more surface level errors. While these differences have traditionally been viewed as deficiencies when L2 students entered mainstream writing courses, more recent positions on this issue highlight the multilingualism of L2 writers as a resource that can be used creatively in writing (Canagarajah, 2006; Horner et.al, 2011). This approach together with assessment and instructional strategies tailored to the needs of L2 writers can benefit professional writing instructors in better aligning their instructional and assessment practices with the needs of second language students in their classrooms, because it not only provides agency to student writers but also closely mimics actual writing practices in the globalized workplace.

The field of second language writing also incorporates investigation of different contexts such as research on scholarly writing, community literacy, and workplace writing (Leki et al., 2010). Workplace second language writing studies initially included needs analysis (Cameron, 1998) or studies about the importance of the socialization process for L2 students in learning new work place writing genres upon entering the work force (Parks and Maguire, 1999). More recent workplace writing studies such as one by Cox (2010) explore how the identity of an L2 speech-language pathology student was constructed during her clinical writing practicum. In this case study, Cox shows that the identities assigned to L2 writers and those identities they assume can greatly influence their genre learning process which impacts their initial workplace writing performance. This highlights that it is important for professional writing pedagogy to take into account the identity formation of both L1 and L2 writers when they are the students in professional writing classes, because language development is closely connected to identity formation. An understanding of multilingual identity is also important for the field of professional writing because many of the international interlocutors that professional writing practitioners engage with in communication encounters will also have multilingual identities. Thus insights into second language identities that comprise a growing area of second language research (Kramsch, 2009, Cox et al., 2010) and especially the ones that concern multilingual identities in the digital context (Kang, 2010; Depew, 2011) could better inform transcultural professional communication pedagogy.

Professional writing articles that illustrate an awareness of the importance of incorporating research results from SLW include a study by Davis et al. (2011) that discusses how professional writing introductory emails written by L2 writers can often have ways to indicate self- and other references in the text that are significantly different from the ones used by L1 writers. Another professional writing scholar, Melton (2008), discusses L2 writers' ability to move between languages and cultures as an advantage in professional writing as they are able to become "translator-mediators" (p.189) in collaborative projects. In addition, Melton also problematizes the language used in online cross-cultural projects in professional writing classrooms and claims that Standard English may not be the best linguistic standard according to which interactions in these environments should be evaluated. Since on the global scale many Englishes are used in interaction, Melton suggests to adopting an approach that would acknowledge World Englishes as equally valid linguistic codes of interaction in professional writing classrooms.

The push for the equal status of World Englishes has been recognized in linguistic circles increasingly more often as a result of the work of Braj Kachru (1985) who provided a model of concentric circles to explain how English has spread around the world. This model shows less privileged English varieties such as Nigerian English or the English variety used in India as authentic language varieties with their own codification and usage rules often incorporating elements from their unique cultural and linguistic contexts. When we accept these varieties as languages in their own rights, we inevitably see that privileging a certain variety of English in professional communication is purely ideological. Thus accepting World English varieties as valid communication codes in professional communication because of their widespread usage in the private and the public sphere is a must. As a pedagogical project aimed at refining students' language attitudes towards World Englishes by Bokor (2011) shows, World Englishes can successfully be incorporated into professional writing classroom projects. These types of projects will result in increasing students' acceptance of the many English varieties used worldwide. An approach to professional writing pedagogy that incorporates awareness of World Englishes and second language writing can foster a learning environment where both monolingual English speakers and multilingual students learn to appreciate linguistic diversity that is increasingly more common in transcultural communication transactions of the globalized world. Thus paying attention to advances in fields that focus on language issues in teaching is vital for effectively teaching transcultural communication to professional writing students.

Understanding that it is crucial how we conceptualize the English language when we teach writing has also emerged in college composition pedagogy. For the majority of the history of college composition -up until the 1974 NCTE/CCCC statement on "Student's Right to their Own Language (Conference on College Composition and Communication, 1974) - Standard English has been the idealistic target at which students were supposed to arrive with the help of composition instruction. (Horner and Trimbur, 2002; Brereton, 1995). However, both of the terms describing the desirable outcome of writing classes, *Standard* and *English* are problematic given the historically multicultural society of the United States, the historical and contemporary influence of other languages on English, and the complex role English as a contact language has come to play in the global world. This new role of English and its consequences for the language itself was effectively described by Charles Bazerman (2011) at the conference on Rhetoric and Writing across Language Boundaries in the following statement: "English is the big enchilada." To clearly understand the implications of this statement, we need to first establish why "Standard" and "English" are problematic terms, and learn from how the field of Composition studies is changing as it is faced with a more nuanced understanding of these concepts.

Although instructors of college composition display a clear understanding of Standard English in their teaching practices, the notion of a standard variety of English, or any other language, is highly contested and is often discussed under the label "Standard English ideology" (Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy, 2001; Seidlhofer, 2011). Most of these discussions take place between the proponents and opponents of the English-Only movement in the United States and are centered on the social status and idealized form of Standard English as opposed to other regional dialects, sociolects, or languages (Horner and Trimbur, 2002; Wiley and Lukes, 1996; Smitherman, 1992). Even though these debates are as lively as ever before in political circles, an increased understanding of language as a dynamically changing, socially constructed and constitutive medium of interaction has been gaining ground in the academy. This understanding entails that a language variety can only be understood in respect to its users and functions of usage, and that the fixing of linguistic norms is more in the interest of maintaining existing power structure than a reflection of reality.

Based on this understanding, approaches to teaching writing at the college level have changed significantly in recent years especially in regards to according rights to minority language varieties in the U.S. The 1974 NCTE/CCCC statement on "Students' Right to Their Own Language" (Conference on College Composition and Communication, 1974) was one of the first indications that the teaching of writing cannot be based only on Standard English norms, as this would deprive students of their authentic voice and a rich resource of creativity that is connected with the knowledge of other language varieties. These first efforts were closely connected with acknowledging dialects, especially African American Vernacular English as valid forms of expressions in society in general and in education in particular (a well-known example is the 1979 Ann Arbor case on Black English Vernacular – see i.e. Labov, 1982, Smitherman, 2004). While the efforts ensuring students' right who speak dialects such as African American Vernacular English in the U.S. are very important, these efforts only cover a small segment of the diversity of English varieties, thus need to be extended to include other varieties such as World Englishes (WEs) and English as a lingua franca (ELF).

According to Y. Kachru and Smith (2008) perhaps 25 percent of the world's population speaks English (p 1.) Another estimate by Crystal (2003) also adds up to over a billion people speaking English. B. Kachru (1985) puts the estimate approaching 2 billion, although he notes that one of the difficulties to get a good estimate lies in accounting for the different proficiency levels of speakers. All of these estimates are showing a large number of ESL speakers in the world, a number that has only increased since the time that the above estimates were published. The countries where English is spoken incorporate former colonies but also countries like Russia, China, and Germany where a large number of citizens acquire English as a foreign language in order to communicate with people outside of their country. Often, in these situations none of the participants involved speak English as native speakers, thus English serves the purpose of a shared linguistic code (a lingua franca) that all participants know well enough to achieve their communicative goals.

Because English as a lingua franca (ELF) is often used in transcultural business transactions and technical writing situations, it is very important to understand how using such a language influences the outcomes of communication encounters.

Studies about ELF look at the functional aspects of ELF that are predominant in contact situations and aim to provide a description of the most prevalent formal characteristics (phonetics, morphology, syntax, pragmatics) that characterize English in ELF interactions (Jenkins, 2002; Meierkord, 2004; Planken, 2005). As these types of studies reaffirm that contextual adaptation, negotiated meanings, and mutual understanding through hybrid forms take precedence over the imitation of native-like forms in ELF interactions, original notions of ownership of the English language are challenged (Seidlhofer, 2011). This in turn necessitates the question of how important it is to set as a goal of language teaching a near-native speaker competence (i.e. U.K. or U.S monolingual speaker) for learners of English as a foreign language when in most ELF interactions so called "native speakers" are not even present.

While World Englishes and ELF usage creates the impression that these varieties need to be paid attention to in foreign language teaching somewhere "out there" in the world, in reality the plurality of English usage is already present in U.S. composition classrooms even though mainstream composition scholarship and instruction has avoided considering its significance until the last decade. Paul Kei Matsuda (2006) calls this avoidance the "myth of linguistic homogeneity," which is based on the assumption about a prototypical composition student: that she is a monolingual English speaker. He discusses the history of US college composition and shows that from its inception, it has always held this belief that was enabled by first keeping students with diverse backgrounds out of college and later by the policy of linguistic containment. With the help of entrance essays and other tests, students are grouped into (contained in) basic writing and ESL classes based on the surface level errors they exhibit in their writing and kept out of First Year Composition courses. However, an increasing number of international students and Generation 1.5 students entering college make us confront the reality and admit that the myth of linguistic homogeneity created in pedagogical practice and in the dominant disciplinary discourse must be revised (Schwartz, 2004; Ortmeier-Hooper, 2008)

How should the teaching of writing at the college level including composition and professional writing be readjusted to reflect both the diverse Englishes used in writing classrooms and in the world? Several approaches have been suggested to internationalizing composition research and implementing translingual strategies in writing pedagogy.

Christiane Donahue (2009), for example, suggests that composition research should abolish its ethnocentric views and should move beyond the export/import model of whole education systems towards a more equal exchange of knowledge. By reviewing international and U.S. writing research, journals, and conferences that are outside of the traditional boundaries of rhetoric and composition but are still concerned with issues of writing, Donahue suggests that new insights and new research methods could be adapted from these sources that would truly internationalize the field of teaching writing in the U.S. Horner, NeCamp and Donahue (2011), also highlight that the arguments made within current composition scholarship are of limited reach since both the language of the journals and the language of the scholarship cited in these journals are restricted to English, thus they exemplify the effect of English monolingual ideology in yet another way. In order to overcome the limitations of monolingual ideology in scholarship, the authors urge U.S. writing scholars to engage in research in other languages which will also necessitate a cross-disciplinary approach to composition. While this undertaking may require great effort, it will lead to greater understanding of how students use their multilingual resources.

Along with publications, conferences such as Writing Research across Borders (2011) have also played an important role in internationalizing writing research in the United States. To augment internationalizing efforts of composition research, there are also calls to implement programmatic changes at the institutional level to reflect linguistic diversity (Kells, 2010; Tardy, 2011; Horner, 2012). Christine Tardy (2011), for example, stresses the importance of creating language policy at the institutional level that enable teachers to envision their writing classroom as a multilingual space. Horner (2012) highlights the role of WPAs as brokers within the organization, who could argue for the importance of first-year writing requirement not on the basis of teaching a generalizable writing skill, but by highlighting that students could gain an understanding of the complex role of writing and its medium, English(es) in the global context through our writing courses. This much more critical approach, according to Horner, matches the realities of the role writing and English(es) play in the globalized, networked world.

In addition to efforts of expanding writing research and writing program design to reflect global diversity, proponents of acknowledging linguistic diversity have created different pedagogical approaches directly applicable to classroom instruction that incorporate important differences in students' language varieties and reflect the ever-changing nature of English(es). In fact, an opinion paper published in *College English* (Horner et al., 2011) and signed by fifty teacher-scholars argues for adopting the translingual approach to writing across rhetoric and composition that would no longer view linguistic variation in writing "as a barrier to overcome or as a problem to manage, but as a resource for producing meaning in writing, speaking, reading, and listening" (p.303).

One example of this pedagogy is what Min-Zhan Lu (2006) calls living-English work that sees English as a living construct and adopts a stance to it that acknowledges the need for each individual user to appropriate English(es) in order to fit not only local historical and social contexts but also rhetorical exigencies. Lu accentuates the difference between users and imitators of English, where imitators attempt to measure up to an imagined standard promoted by proponents of English Only efforts. Users, on the other hand, go beyond mechanically reproducing standardized usages and use their resources including their other languages to authentically express themselves in English. Lu outlines four major ways in which "Living-English work" differs from English Only approaches. First, in living-English work users look at the context of how English became a world language not forgetting the historical and economical oppression that has been orchestrated through English. Second, living-English work means taking account of the experiences and contexts that Standard English is not capable of describing. Third, owning a language goes beyond imitating it; it necessitates transforming its rules and usage conventions. Fourth, the tongue-tied tendencies of English only that is perpetuating fast capitalism need to be engaged critically as a way to truly perform living English work. An illustration of what this might look like in teaching practice can be found in another article by Lu (1994) where she provides the description of an exercise focused on the use of "can able to." Discussing this linguistic variant as a resource that one can choose to apply "in the contact zone" (Pratt, 1991) depending on her or his conditions of life and critical interpretations of rhetorical exigencies.

Another renowned proponent of increasing the visibility of linguistic diversity in composition classrooms, A. Suresh Canagarajah, argues for the acceptance of World English forms in student writing (2006a). By analyzing the writing strategies of Geneva Smitherman and her ways of weaving AAVE into standard academic texts, Canagarajah proposes that we accept in our students' texts WE variant expressions that have been the critically embedded in academic writing. Canagarajah calls this critical integration "code meshing," and explains that it requires a complex maneuvering of rhetorical resources, contexts, and strategies that aid the writers in decisions about when to switch between the standard and WE varieties. Because code meshing when done strategically enhances the overall meaning of texts, Canagarajah advocates teaching students how they can critically integrate elements from different semiotic resources into their writing.

Canagarajah not only promotes inclusions of variation in standard texts, but also wants us to learn from multilingual writers and teach the strategies these writers employ in our writing classrooms to our monolingual and multilingual students. In another article, (2006b) he illustrates the complex and hybrid writing outcome that multilingual writers produce through an investigation of three texts in the same genre but in two languages written by a multilingual scholar from Sri Lanka. Canagarajah's observations show that multilingual writers and their practices should be understood in a much more complex way than the sum of two separate literacies in two languages. Because multilingual writers draw on both (or more than two) resources in their writing process and create constructs and rhetorical strategies that are not approximating either language but are signs of linguistic and rhetoric creativity, we need a more nuanced approach when we investigate their writing and when we teach writing to multilingual students. Specifically, we need to avoid treating each variation in their writing as error, and conceive of these variations as creative choices. Our pedagogical principles of teaching such students should be of a multilingual orientation, which means focusing on rhetorical context rather than language or culture as separate entities and giving more agency to these students while helping them to differentiate between creative language use with the purpose of mutual understanding and incorrect language use that obscures understanding. Also, we need to think of their texts as fluid and need to focus on negotiation strategies of these writers rather than on how much their writing differs from any perceived standard. The same approach should also apply to teaching monolingual students, who can similarly incorporate different semiotic resources (some of which are multimodal elements) into their academic writing pieces. In the case of monolingual students then a multilingual orientation to teaching would focus on helping student strategically deplore different semiotic resources that come from either different varieties of the same language or from other modalities.

But if we abandon judging the writing of students by a traditional monolingual textually-oriented standard, then what criteria should we use to help our students become effective writers? Canagarajah (2011) suggests that in helping students to become better writers instructors need to engage with these students in a dialogical process, where students will explain the rhetorical choices they made to their peers and instructors. During the process of explaining these choices, students will become more aware of how the choices between different semiotic resources relate to rhetorical exigencies and whether these rhetorical elements result in successful uptake by their readers. Thus letting go of standards traditionally used in composition instruction does not mean letting go of all standards, rather it means developing students' critical skills so that they will better be able to match the rhetorical exigencies with the rhetorical (and often multilingual) resources they have access to.

Lu (2009) calls this ability to work across language boundaries in composition "transcultural literacy" and explains that using this metaphor instead of code switching better reflects the complex processes involved in writing that relies on multilingual resources. Viewing writers not as code switchers who have to switch from their non-standard codes to Standard English but as active participants in the composition process who can build on their literacy skills containing different resources affords a sense of agency to the writers that is completely missing from the Standard English approach.

Transcultural literacy then means the careful negotiation of "heterogeneous and often conflicting contexts (global/local, individual/collective scenes of writing and learning), commitments (allegiances and interactions with groups shaping and shaped by acts of learning and writing), and consequences (on individual and collective identities and well-being, on the world we build through our words and actions)" (Lu, 2009, p. 288). Further, Lu argues that students who, through the training of our educational system came to think of themselves as monolingual, also have access to different sociolects and registers that they could use as a resource within the transcultural literacy framework. As the Englishes and communication partners that these students will have to communicate with become increasingly diversified, transcultural literacy skills would also help "monolingual" students to better navigate in these increasingly heterogeneous contexts. Thus incorporating knowledge from translingual literacy research and other fields that are concerned with language use in transcultural communication can benefit a wide array of professional writing students.

Reiterating the need for new directions in transcultural professional communication pedagogy

The translingual literacy skills composition scholars (Lu, 2009; Horner et al., 2011; Canagarajah, 2011) advocate in their classrooms are very similar to the skills Starke-Meyerring (2005) proposes as "global literacies" and also to the competencies Louihala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2011) describe under the label: "Global Communicative Competence." Detecting translingual and global literacy skills and competencies students already use and teaching these skills has the potential of enriching the instruction of transcultural professional communication. Further, placing major emphasis on language and translingual linguistic strategies in transcultural professional writing research and teaching is in agreement with the findings of studies showing dynamic language use as a key to transcultural communication success (Louihala-Salminen and Kankaanranta, 2011; Ehrenreich, 2010; Kankaanranta and Planken, 2010).

But focusing on the language alone when researching and teaching transcultural communication is not sufficient as the complexities of communication in the globalized and networked work environment go beyond the different languages and linguistic strategies participants use in transcultural communication encounters. In order to understand other factors that play a role in transcultural communication, the field has relied heavily on cultural variables (Hall, 1976), cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980) and other theories that were not only based on a "reductionist sociology of culture" (Benhabib, 2002, p.4), but also privileged nationality as the main determining factor of people's identities (Jameson, 2007). As the identities of people involved in cross-border interactions become ever more complex (Starke-Meyerring, 2005), understanding the varied, hybrid identities that people bring to these encounters becomes increasingly more important.

This picture is further complicated by the fact that many of these transcultural interactions now take place over the internet. As noted by several scholars (Barnett and Sung, 2005; Ess and Sudweeks, 2005), the communication channel of the internet influences interaction, identity representation and communication patterns in ways that are not easily describable in traditional theoretical frameworks and are best understood through personal experiences. Thus in order to effectively teach transcultural communication skills to professional writing students, we need first to find a theoretical framework that is more applicable to describe the hybrid nature of identities and communication codes used by participants in transcultural communication. In addition, we need to provide students with the opportunity of meaningful transcultural interactions over the internet that will increase their understanding of the varied identities and the dynamic language use involved in transcultural communication.

The pedagogical project that serves as the basis for my dissertation was designed with this focus on providing students with the opportunity to engage in actual transcultural encounters where they experience firsthand the complexities that affect identity representation and communication practices in an online transcultural space. My subsequent analysis of both the blog pages created during the project and the interactions that took place in the comment section of the blogs aimed to recognize patterns in identity representation and language use to create new knowledge about transcultural communication in online environments. Further, findings from this analysis can serve as a feedback about the pedagogical project design and can be directly applied to improve learning outcomes in subsequent reiterations of the same project.

Introducing the project, theoretical framework, and research questions

For the pedagogical project analyzed in my dissertation, students in a Professional Writing class in the USA where I was the instructor were connected through blog sites to students in an advanced Business English class in Hungary. In creating their "Identities and Languages" blogs, students explored the varied identities and language varieties they have. This allowed students to understand that people have many identities and that national identity is not always the prevalent one. In addition, this project provided perceived monolingual students with the opportunity to develop an understanding for the many varieties each student uses, and enabled them to make a comparison to multilingual students and see the variation in the English(es) both monolingual and multilingual students use when discussing different domains. In this aspect of the project, an appreciation towards emphasizing mutual understanding rather than a standard language form was developed. Further, by commenting on each other's blogs with the aim of creating a shared meaning, students developed important negation strategies that can be used in other classroom projects and in the increasingly heterogeneous contexts of the globally networked workplace.

My dissertation project was designed in the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006; Beck, 2006, Canagarajah, 2010). As described in detail in the next chapter, cosmopolitan theory not only provides an overarching theoretical framework that promotes an open attitude towards hybridity and diversity, but it can also serve as a basis for developing pedagogical projects aimed at teaching students successful communication practices in actual transcultural encounters. In addition to the pedagogical applications of the cosmopolitan framework, the theory of cosmopolitanism also provides a methodological stance that enables us to see hybridity in identity representation and is more adequate for analyzing international data in the context of globalization.

By studying the student blog sites and comments created in both countries during this pedagogical project, I attempted to find out how students constructed an online identity using multimodal communication within the context of a globally networked learning environment. In addition, I explored to what extent the identities and interactions of these students represent traditional notions of national and cultural identities and / or display characteristics of cosmopolitan identities and communication in connection with the cosmopolitan framework that was used to design this pedagogical project. My research questions are: (1) what kind of identities did students create for the purposes of the blog exchange project and to what extent can these identities be associated with traditional cultural categories and hybrid, cosmopolitan identities, (2) what kind of linguistic and multimodal rhetorical strategies did students use to represent different identities and to interact with each other, and (3) which characteristics of the blog creation process as identified by students are relevant for the cosmopolitan framework of this pedagogical project.

As this online environment with its multimodal means of communication represents one of the common ways in which communication takes place in 21st century, the results of my investigation reveals how the identities of students participating in this study are influenced by cultural mixture, and also provides examples of how these identities get represented in the digital sphere, the "place" where many international communication encounters happen.

Chapter overview

As mentioned above, the second chapter of my dissertation argues that cosmopolitan theory can serve as a framework for reconceptualizing the teaching of transcultural communication in professional writing since this theory addresses hybridity in communication practices and language use commonly observed in the globalized workplace. The literature review in the second chapter not only provides a background on the origins of cosmopolitan theory, but also cites sources from different social science disciplines that argue why this theory is effective when discussing the increased pace of social change brought about by globalization. This chapter also describes the details of the pedagogical project I have developed in accordance with the principles of a cosmopolitan theory. The second chapter concludes with the description of the relevant contexts at the national, institutional, and classroom levels that had to be taken into account during data analysis and interpretation.

Chapter 3 introduces my research methods. First, it describes the research framework that has traditionally been used to interpret international data sets in writing studies. Then, it contrasts this framework with the cosmopolitan theoretical foundations of my pedagogical project and explains the implications of this theory for research methods. In addition, the chapter also covers the main tenets of identity theory as described in social psychology and explains how I used these precepts in arriving at a data-based definition of identity. Chapter 3 concludes with an explanation about how I identified the units of analysis in the blogs and blog comments, and how these units were categorized using discourse analysis.

The next two chapters present the research results. Chapter 4 demonstrates patterns of identity representation on the blog sites. It lists the most common identity categories chosen by project participants and discusses the identity labels chosen for these categories. Chapter 4 then proceeds with the detailed description of discourse analysis results of three specific identity categories that were not only highly representative in the data, but also carried high potential for incorporating cosmopolitan principles. The second chapter discussing results, Chapter 5, focuses on interactional patterns identified during the analysis of blog comments. It highlights rhetorical strategies in these comment interactions that proved to represent principles of cosmopolitan communication. In addition, this chapter also addresses the language ideologies that were recognizable on student blogs and in their interactions. This chapter concludes with instances of translingual practice observed in the database.

Chapter 6, the final chapter of my dissertation, explains the relevance of my research findings and the implications of these findings for future projects. Further, this chapter demonstrates the implications of my study for the field of professional writing and specifically for teaching intercultural communication to professional writing students. Finally, Chapter 6 identifies directions for future research that could illuminate the findings of this research and thus increase our knowledge about transcultural encounters in online educational environments and improve teaching practices in the field of professional writing.

CHAPTER II

TEACHING TRANSCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE COSMOPOLITAN FRAMEWORK: DESCRIPTION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, PEDAGOGICAL PROJECT, AND RELEVANT CONTEXTS

As described in the previous chapter, many professional writing scholars have recognized that the old theoretical frameworks and assumptions are no longer adequate by themselves to describe and to teach transcultural communication in the global workplace. While this is the first step towards an extended theoretical foundation for research and teaching, to date no comprehensive theoretical framework has been suggested that is capable of encompassing hybrid characteristics of transcultural technical communication that emerge as a result of increased contact and connectivity. In this chapter, through a detailed description of cosmopolitan theory, I suggest that this theory can lead to a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of identities and cross-border interactions in our globally networked world and thus can serve as an effective framework for teaching transcultural professional communication.

Proposing cosmopolitanism as a framework for teaching transcultural professional communication

Cosmopolitanism with its attention to the hybrid cultural environment created by material and virtual globalization could provide a more contextualized framework for the research and teaching of transcultural professional communication while at the same time acknowledging the importance of using many Englishes creatively. Through applying a cosmopolitan framework, documents that exhibit hybrid linguistic and rhetorical features will be connected to negotiations of language use and multiple cultural influences happening face-to-face or with increased frequency over digital networks. It is especially in the complex technological and linguistic environment of today's global workplace where the cosmopolitan framework can provide ways for researchers to systematically describe technical writing practitioners' experience and can serve as the basis for teaching successful transcultural communication strategies.

Through an interdisciplinary overview of the theory of cosmopolitanism, in the next section, I further my explanation as to why it is an extremely valuable, practice-oriented approach. I also explain how this theoretical framework enables us to account for phenomena connected to globalization such as the varied and cosmopolitan identities people bring to transcultural communication encounters. In addition, I outline the foundations of cosmopolitan pedagogy and explain the basic tenets of the pedagogical project that provided the data for this dissertation. My intention in this chapter is not only to provide a historical and interdisciplinary overview of this theory, but also to illustrate how teaching and conducting research within the extended framework that includes cosmopolitanism can address important aspects of transcultural professional communication undistinguishable by other theories.

Cosmopolitanism: An interdisciplinary overview

Cosmopolitan principles of respecting the diversity of cultures based on the sense of us all belonging to the same world have been practiced all over the globe throughout history (Kwok-Bun 2002; Zubaida, 2002). However, to trace the etymology of the word "cosmopolitan" we need to start with classical Western philosophy. The first person calling himself a *cosmopolitan* (a Greek word that literally means "citizen of the world") was Diogenes of Sinope. He was a founder of Cynicism in Ancient Greece and rejected declaring local loyalties by defining himself in universal terms as a member of humanity. Having emphasized the basic characteristics of his humanity in rather exuberant ways such as performing his bodily functions in public and sleeping in a tub, his goal was to point out that one should above all identify morally with rational humanity first, while local and other group affiliations should be of secondary importance. Although it has been argued that Diogenes' cosmopolitanism is more of an apolitical privileging of nature above culture than a commitment to all other humans (Shea, 2010), it is in this latter meaning that the word "cosmopolitanism" has been carried over into subsequent philosophical interpretations and has gained a strong ethical emphasis. From the Stoics of Ancient Rome to Kant, cosmopolitan philosophers emphasized that we should regard our moral obligations to our fellow human beings as supreme to our local political obligations and that we should act in accordance with this principal (Nussbaum, 1997).

Based on this line of moral philosophical thinking, cosmopolitanism has started to gain traction in international political circles after World War II, specifically in alternative visions of a political order. This envisioned cosmopolitan world order is one that includes the transformation of citizens' rights from a close association with a person's place of birth to the acknowledgment and prioritization of human rights. The influence of cosmopolitan moral philosophy on the political sphere can also be seen in a more concrete form in the establishment of transnational organizations such as the United Nations and the International Court of Justice and is often called upon when advocating a top-down approach to developing a global order. Moreover, cosmopolitan philosophy influenced contemporary political scientists such as David Held (1995), to advance notions of cosmopolitan democracy, a type of decentralized global governance that would accord people more of a say in the political process on all levels from local to global. As the political ideas and organizations centered on cosmopolitanism exemplify, globalization and cosmopolitanism are closely connected, but cannot be equated.

To further clarify the meaning of cosmopolitanism, it is important to differentiate between globalization and cosmopolitanism. The word *globalization* is generally used in economic terms to describe the movement of goods and labor with the main objective of maximizing profits. When it is used in the sense of cultural globalization (i.e. Appadurai, 1996), it refers to the homogenizing effects globalization has on the world's cultural traditions, and often it has a unidirectional character associated with it because it implies the distinction between the West (global) and the Rest (local). In contrast, cosmopolitanism in the social-scientific sense involves the "multiple ways the local and the national is redefined as a result of interaction with the global "(Delanty, 2006, p. 36) where the type of interaction can be on a wide spectrum from completely embracing the global to actively resisting it. Cosmopolitanism moves away from the dichotomy of the West and the Rest implied by the term "globalization" and is able to encompass cultural and social transformation resulting in social situations and cultural products that can be located anywhere on the continuums between the center(s) and the periphery(s).

Therefore we can see that the words *cosmopolitanism* and *cosmopolitan* have additional meanings in the social-scientific language where they are closely connected with the processes of dealing with diversity in the context of modernity and are also associated with the multiple or hybrid identities and ways of life resulting from this process that in turn transforms society. Anthropologist, Ulf Hannerz (2010), refers to the "protean quality" (p. 449) of this concept due to the variety of concrete and abstract referents it is associated with. In order to discern those meanings of cosmopolitanism that are most applicable to extending the framework for transcultural technical communication, we will first clarify who is a *cosmopolitan* with the help of the latest studies in anthropology and sociology. For this reason, we will highlight the attitudes and practices that characterize an ever increasing number of people who can be called cosmopolitans. Thus, in understanding cosmopolitanism, we will start from how it is manifested in the identity of individuals and will focus on cosmopolitans as the object of study. From this level, we will then widen our scope to the level of society and describe *cosmopolitanism* as a social process.

Cosmopolitans as the objects of study: Identity, outlook, practices, and communication

In an every-day sense when we think of cosmopolitans, the well-traveled businessman comes to mind or the wealthy connoisseur who has the means to combine the most exotic tastes in food and clothing coming from the farthest corners of the world. On a second thought perhaps, we might think of the refugee or migrant worker whose political or economic circumstances necessitate contact with different cultures and whose livelihood depends on how well they are able to integrate elements of different cultures into their identity. Based on these common assumptions, Hannerz (1990) in his seminal essay defines a cosmopolitan as someone who has "a stance toward diversity itself, toward the coexistence of cultures in the individual experience (…) an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other (p.239). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) also suggest that cosmopolitans have a "capacity to engage cultural multiplicity" (p.1.), and indicate this open attitude or disposition towards cultural difference (also called *cosmopolitan outlook*) as the major characteristic of the cosmopolitan identity.

According to Delanty (2012), in the presence of a cosmopolitan outlook a relativization of identity happens when a “reinterpretation of culture occurs as a result of the encounter of one culture with another” (p.340). This in turn influences how people see themselves and the identities they develop. Beck (2006) describes this process of identity-relativization in terms of territorial allegiance by explaining that under the current social changes caused by globalization being associated with a single country in all aspects of one’s life is hardly possible. Thus it is necessary to go beyond the “territorial prison theory of identity” (p. 7) in order to understand transnational loyalties and forms of life. As Beck argues, cosmopolitan identity is not the only identity a person has but is rather ascribable to someone whose loyalties reach beyond national borders. It necessarily involves the willingness to engage with the Other, and this engagement often results in developing a mixture of different national and cultural identities such as hybrid and transnational identities. Based on this argument, then, I propose a definition of *cosmopolitan identity* as one of an individual’s varied identities which is developed through *loyalties, group memberships, or significant interests that reach beyond national borders* and stems from a *cosmopolitan outlook* or genuine willingness to engage with the Other physically or virtually. It is important to qualify that this engagement can happen over digital networks since cosmopolitanism has traditionally been associated with individuals’ mobility (Hannerz, 1990). Skey (2013), however, points out that in the era of global media and widespread availability of digital information even relatively place-bound individuals are able to participate in transcultural interactions with people from different cultures and develop cosmopolitan identities.

Studies that seek to examine the social processes through which cosmopolitans exposed to different cultures in their interactions through travel, migration, education, and even the media have access to their *cosmopolitan outlook* to develop hybrid or transnational identities. An article by Gruner-Domic (2011), for example, describes how women from different Latin American countries are able to function in German urban environment through the transnational identity they create for themselves. The women interviewed by Gruner-Domic describe that through resisting certain stereotypical categorizations based on socioeconomic status as immigrants from the Third World, they now assert a transnational identity as Latin American woman. This identity supported by the Spanish language media and adopted by each woman to different degrees became evident in their lifestyles that represent a general openness towards diverse cultural influence, the kind of openness that is the basic building block of cosmopolitan outlook. To further illustrate the role of media in the formation of cosmopolitans with hybrid identities, Kim (2011) explains the importance of imagined cosmopolitanism created by the global media. Her study participants, South Asian women, embraced the cosmopolitan outlook and articulated this stance by the transformation of their local cultural practices. Assuming a hybrid identity, these women were able to transcend the narrow social roles assigned to them in their local settings.

While the above qualitative studies suggest that cosmopolitan practices such as travel or migration often result in developing a cosmopolitan outlook, quantitative studies demonstrate what other factors play a role in the formation of cosmopolitan outlook. Mau et al. (2008), for example, found statistical correlation between the transnational practices of people and their cosmopolitan attitudes of openness towards other cultures by analyzing the results of a representative survey of German citizens. Similarly, Phillips and Smith (2008) looked at the connection between cosmopolitan outlook and the frequency of certain cosmopolitan practices with the help of the responses to the Australian National Identity survey. They found that 58% of the respondents could be categorized as someone with a strong cosmopolitan outlook and that cosmopolitan practices (i.e. frequent contact with people abroad) correlate with a person's cosmopolitan outlook (i.e. acceptance of cultural difference). Further, Phillips and Smith were able to connect this cosmopolitan outlook with younger age and higher education levels in their data and claim that Australian higher education institutions since the 1960s have played a major role in promoting an open attitude towards the Other. This shows that cosmopolitan approaches in education are one way through which a cosmopolitan outlook can be fostered. Fostering cosmopolitan outlook in technical communication pedagogy would be able to positively influence students' attitudes towards diversity when engaging in transcultural communication encounters. This attitude, in turn, could lead to successful outcomes when negotiating across borders.

Kwame Anthony Appiah's book, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers (2007)*, provides a detailed explanation in what way a cosmopolitan outlook leads to successful communication encounters. In this book, through a discussion of moral philosophy and universal values, Appiah arrives at the conclusion that persuading others of our own values even within the same national culture is most often impossible, thus people enter every conversation without the promise of a final agreement. Still, if everyone understands that agreement on cultural values is not necessary for getting along, and that if they can agree on what to do without agreeing on why, society can function well on every level from the local to the global. This however is only possible when all participants enter into conversations with strangers starting from what they share and exploring with cosmopolitan curiosity what they don't yet share. This happens naturally at the level of individual encounter, when two people of different backgrounds meet, who may like or dislike each other but when open to the encounter can make sense of each other. According to Appiah, "the problem of cross cultural communication can seem immensely difficult in theory when we are trying to imagine making sense of a stranger in the abstract" (2007, p.99). Thus when technical communicators attempt to understand colleagues and clients from a different country based solely on their own (often limited) understanding of the other's (abstract) culture, they are more likely to fail than if they also rely on a cosmopolitan outlook focused on common goals that can be applied to individuals regardless of the country of their birth or residence. It is at the level of individuals where given the mindset of cosmopolitan openness an understanding of the other can be constructed with more precision, and a common action can be pursued.

W. Barnett Pearce, a communication scholar, has also privileged cosmopolitan forms of communication over monocultural, ethnocentric, and modernistic forms in his 1989 book *Communication and the Human Condition*. According to Pearce, in monocultural forms of communication, such as baby talk, communication partners treat each other as natives (sharing the same stories/ values/ believes). In ethnocentric communication, outsiders are not treated as natives but are measured with the native standard. In addition, while an understanding of others' stories can be attempted in ethnocentric communication through getting acquainted with those stories based on descriptions of explicit and implicit patterns of interaction (or cultural models and categories), one's own stories (resources) are not threatened to be changed in the process. In modernistic forms of communication, no one is treated as a native and the story of progress takes precedence over all other stories. While these three forms of communication are focused on producing coherence, cosmopolitan forms of communication concentrate on accomplishing coordination of action. Pearce argues that in his taxonomy of communication forms, cosmopolitan communication works the best in achieving coordination, since participants in such a form of communication treat each other as natives not because they adhere to the same norms but because of the shared insight that each communication partner has similarly been shaped by all the resources that they have had access to. In cosmopolitan communication, participants suspend the belief that they know the resources their communication partner draws on and thus are much more mindful about each word uttered by them or their counterpart as meanings cannot be taken for granted but have to be constantly negotiated. For this reason in cosmopolitans' communication the output is highly hybrid because it is not measured against a native standard but against the criterion of achievement of cooperation.

Advancing the cause of cosmopolitans' communication practices, Suresh Canagarajah (2010) argued for reconceptualizing the field of Intercultural Rhetoric and Discourse and suggested that this discipline move away from the distinctions dictated by conceptualizing cultures as separate, easily identifiable entities in order to be more compatible with the context of increased cultural contact brought about by globalization. Using examples of English as a lingua franca interaction (where English is used as a contact language between speakers of other languages) Canagarajah describes how important verbal negotiation strategies are in global interactions. These negotiation strategies include establishing common understanding of words' meanings that are important to certain transactions by double-checking, rephrasing, and repetition. These strategies also include letting words and expressions slip by that are not understood but are deemed irrelevant for achieving cooperation.

Canagarajah proposes an approach that would deemphasize native standards and would focus on the shared process or practice of creating consensus between individuals of different backgrounds. This entails the acceptance of results and outcomes in fields such as technical communication that may have culturally and linguistically hybrid characteristics, and highlights as a goal a more nuanced understanding of how such hybrid results come to exist in the global workplace. Using a similar approach to teaching transcultural interactions in professional communication, for example within the context of the pedagogical project described in this dissertation, could convey to students the importance of negotiation skills in such interactions not only in regards to content but also in regards to the language used. Further, using this approach in transcultural professional writing pedagogy could emphasize that achieving understanding sometimes happens outside of standard language varieties.

Cosmopolitanism as a social process

While cosmopolitans with their varied and often hybrid identities, several allegiances, and open approaches to diversity do represent the combination of many different forces that are active in our globalized world, *cosmopolitanism* as a social process is not restricted to people who are called cosmopolitans. Rather, cosmopolitans can be conceived of as one type of "product" of the rapid social transformation resulting from increased cultural contact. As sociologist Gerard Delanty (2006) explains, when we refer to cosmopolitanism as a social process we mean to encompass all forms of social transformation that occur in the interplay between global and local, and we seek to analyze not only the process itself but also the different type of products resulting from it be it identities, lifestyles, discourse strategies, or cultural artifacts. Thus cosmopolitanism corresponds to the widespread social transformation in all its forms experienced within the context of openness in the globalized world that have been enabled and accelerated by globalization but are distinct from it. Depending on the context, the type of social transformation taking place can take different forms such as creolization, indigenization, and hybridization, but all of these processes result in outcomes of new social formations and cultural products.

Jeffery's (2010) article on Afro-Creole cosmopolitanism in Mauritius is a great example of the process where a unique segment of population and cultural practices emerge from a combination of influences. The Afro-Creole population on this Indian-Ocean island has a blend of homogenized Creole identity (reinforced by contact with creole populations in the Caribbean) rooted in their African heritage. As music and dancing is an essential part of culture for this group, expressions of similarities and differences can be located easily in this realm. Jeffery finds that different creole groups in different locations take great pride in the authenticity of some of their musical instruments, but also appropriate (hybridize) other instruments from other groups and islands. In addition, popular dance styles may differ between islands, and in the case of the Afro-Creole population in Mauritius they contain a dance called "sega," that has been appropriated from their African roots from the time of slave trade. According to Jeffery, this dance became popular in Mauritius as tourism to the island increased in the 1980s, and tourist were looking for original slave dances. In these processes, we can see that forces such as increased tourism and more frequent information exchange with other Creole populations enabled by modern technology have played important roles in the social process of creolization. While these forces are definitely connected to globalization, the source of social transformation experienced by these people cannot be equated with globalization. Rather, the social transformation, creolization, (a form of cosmopolitanism) happened (and is happening as we speak) due to increased contact with different cultural influences enabled and accelerated by globalization.

Zheng's (2011) findings in her study of Chinese karaoke bar hostesses providing their services to visiting business men can help us to further illustrate the benefits of differentiating between globalization and cosmopolitanism. In the introduction of this study, Zheng explains that the term globalization has been associated with a mostly American economic and cultural influence in the first years of postsocialist China. Later, however, as Japanese and South Korean cultural influences increased in China, the differentiation of global (the West) and local (the Rest) no longer applied. In this new "Wave" of cultural influence, the adaptation of Japanese and Korean popular cultural symbols and related consumer items has taken place differently by different elements of Chinese society. Zheng shows that the hybridized cultural symbols of the "Wave" became the signifiers of difference between the groups of bar owners and bar hostesses in the city of Dalian that were created as a result of social transformation. Thus these two groups' fashion items and the cloths-talk are the hybridized displays of social transformation, and are just as much constitutive parts of the identity of this new social group as the economic circumstances that created a demand for the services of these bar hostesses. Here, again, globalization is the reason behind the frequent visits of the city of Dalian by business men, but the process of the formation of a distinct social group, bar hostess, in Dalian is a form of cosmopolitanism as the identity of this group is created where cultural influences are appropriated for the signification of sameness and difference. As this example shows, cosmopolitanism is an on-going process of construction, as the discourse between center and periphery continuously produces new social formations, new social identities, and new cultural products. While the hybrid products of social transformation in this case are a specific form of clothing and speaking, hybridity can be observed in the products created in many realms of contemporary life, and can take the form of hybrid rhetorical strategies, document design elements or websites in the field of technical communication.

What kind of methodological considerations arise when we attempt to analyze cosmopolitanism, the social process and the hybrid products that result from it? Ulrich Beck's book, *Cosmopolitan Vision* (2006), which concentrates on reconfiguring sociology in cosmopolitan terms, outlines a research framework that is necessary to analyze the contemporary social processes of cosmopolitanism. Beck claims that due to the multiple effects of globalization producing shared benefits but also shared risks, a cosmopolitan outlook is needed in sociology to override traditional categories. His critique of the national outlook that has been practiced in sociology highlights that the traditional framework of sociological research operates in dualistic (either/or) terms such as "native" and "foreigner," terms which were not designed to describe the realities of multiple allegiances. The traditional national outlook also contributes to describing culture as connected to a certain territory, which leads to conceiving of cultural plurality as either universal sameness (Beck uses the example of "McDonaldization" here) or as cultures being so different that they become incommensurable.

In Beck's proposal to replace the traditional ontology of nation-state based social science models, a cosmopolitan research framework emerges that is capable of describing the social reality of constant social transformation characteristic of the 21st century. In this framework, investigation moves away from nationality as its basic category and can focus on hybrid phenomena due to the cosmopolitan framework's

- ability for encompassing the universal and the particular, the global and the local at the same time;
- its trait of being non-essentialist in regards to cultures;
- its capability of describing the overlap of various identities and allegiances (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002).

These benefits of a cosmopolitan research framework will become visible in the description of the methodology used to analyze data in this dissertation. The detailed methodology description can be found in Chapter 3.

Envisioning pedagogy within the cosmopolitan framework

When the teaching of transcultural professional writing is situated in the cosmopolitan framework, it necessitates a pedagogy that goes beyond the teaching of cultural differences of those involved in transcultural encounters while at the same time refocuses students' attention on the negotiation process. As St. Amant (2011) points out, technical communication educators not only have to teach how to produce materials for a global audience, but they also have to "provide students with a foundation of theory and guided practices they can use to work effectively with colleagues and clients from other nations" (p.3). It is especially this latter pedagogical purpose that focuses on the process of effective collaboration where cosmopolitanism can enhance our pedagogical practices. Cosmopolitan theory, or more specifically, cosmopolitan outlook as a capacity to engage diversity should definitely be one of the theories we introduce our students to as it has great potential for immediate application in transcultural interactions. Moreover, cosmopolitanism as "universality plus difference" (Appiah, 2008, p. 92), will widen the scope of our teaching transcultural communication that has been very much focused on cultural difference often ignoring commonalities: the universal part of the cosmopolitan equation.

Since a cosmopolitan outlook of dealing with diversity positively directly influences a person's communicative practices, she enters into transcultural encounters as processes through which similarities and differences in cultures and language use are not viewed by an ethnocentric measure of appropriateness or correctness but are understood as different resources that each participant can draw on when collaborating. For example, communication partners with a cosmopolitan outlook will take into account that, while both participants may speak English, extra efforts such as more detailed explanation, repetition, meaning checking and meaning negotiation will be necessary in each interaction to arrive at a shared understanding. This understanding then does not rest solely on what can be expected from someone who is of a certain culture, nor is it based on whether participants measure up to a certain linguistic or grammatical standard, but it is reached through ongoing negotiations in each interaction. While these types of negotiated interactions have been theorized as being central to rhetorical studies (Kent, 1993), it is in the interaction of multilingual speakers, many of whom can also be described as cosmopolitans, that actual negotiation strategies have been observed in detail (Canagarajah, 2009).

For this reason, dialogical cosmopolitanism as developed by Canagarajah (2010, 2013) and based on observations of multilingual speakers can help us explain our students the premises of cosmopolitan communication form and its implications for language use. Canagarajah advocates recognizing the hybrid cultural identities involved in transcultural communication and emphasizes the cooperative process of creating norms for each interaction by starting negotiations on equal terms and always being ready to reevaluate previous assumptions and values through self-critique. When looking at transcultural interactions through the lens of dialogical cosmopolitanism, it becomes clear that, in order for interactions to be productive, the practice of negotiation takes precedence over the content, the process takes priority over the product. Some of the most commonly used interactional strategies and attitudes by multilingual speakers and writers include not expecting that all communication partners rely on a common code (such as a certain variety of English), letting go of value judgments connected to “correct” or “incorrect” language use, using hybrid forms (sentences, words, pronunciation etc. with elements that can be traced to different language varieties), and aiding each other in the communication process.

When we teach transcultural communication to both our monolingual and multilingual students, we can point out these practical cosmopolitan strategies and can further aid the development of these strategies by creating opportunities for interaction between these two groups of students, either within the classroom or through the Internet. Most important, however, is that we ground our pedagogical approach in the cosmopolitan paradigm where we situate our cosmopolitan, practice-based approach in opposition with a norm-, fact-, and propositions-based pedagogy, as suggested by Canagarajah (see Table 1).

Norm/Fact/Proposition-based	**Practice-based**
Homogeneous speech community	Contact zone
Inhabiting a community	Shuttling between communities
Target language / culture	Repertoire building
System control	Language/ cultural awareness
Grammar of culture / language	Pragmatic strategies
Learning precedes use	Learning and use fused
Learning cumulative	Learning serial
Mastery	Open ended development
Product oriented	Process oriented
Propositional knowledge	Procedural knowledge
Predefined constructs	Emergent constructs
Formal competence	Everyday performance
Cognitive mastery	Conceptual adaptation
Rules of correctness	Strategies of negotiation
Nativeness	Appropriation
Rational process	Multisensory experience
Form as resource	Environment as affordance

Table 1. Pedagogical Implications of Dialogic Cosmopolitanism (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 223)

As we can see in Table 1, teaching that is based on the norm/fact/proposition approach builds on different values and strives to achieve different goals than the practice-based approach. For example, while the first approach values native-like mastery of the grammar and forms of a target language used in a presumably homogeneous linguistic community, the second approach emphasizes interactional strategies used in a contact zone between cultures with fluid boundaries. Consequently, the first approach concentrates on teaching correct forms that make up a specific codified system, whereas the second approach focuses on general negotiation strategies that enable individuals to strategically appropriate their resources in any given environment. Adopting a cosmopolitan approach to our pedagogy would necessarily entail highlighting that a different set of principles applies to successful communication when using English(es) in the contact zone, thus we would need to align our teaching methods with the practice-based approach of Table 1. The cosmopolitan principles and actions that grow out of the practice-based approach cannot be operationalized on the level of Standard English where the rules of correctness are codified and never to be broken. Our task then as teachers of transcultural technical communication will have to start with making sure that our students who have been educated in the norm-and proposition-based system of monolingual communication models understand the need to let go of strictly adhering to the rules of this system in transcultural communication encounters. As we address students' misconceptions about linguistic correctness, and make them aware how language functions in the context of cultural mixture accelerated by globalization, we will cultivate the cosmopolitan outlook that enables them to enter each transcultural communication encounter with openness, curiosity, and willingness to negotiate the very medium of each interaction: language.

While many of our students have the advantage of speaking English - the now global language - as their first language, these students often perceive deviations from Standard

American English (a disputed linguistic concept in itself) as errors. However, as proven by successful English as a lingua franca (ELF) and Business English as a lingua franca (BELF) interactions (Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010; Pullin, 2010), English has many forms locally and globally and has been and is being appropriated in many fruitful ways that don't follow the rules of this perceived standard. When our students start seeing these creative ways of language use in interactions with students from other countries, they could rise above the judging of other people based on their linguistic competence and could begin to value linguistic strategies for negotiating meaning more than a blind adherence to a standard.

It is with this intent that I have created a pedagogical project for my students in an introductory Professional Writing course. This project illustrates one way in which a cosmopolitan outlook that increases students' awareness of their own and others' cultural and linguistic resources can be applied in teaching practice.

Description of the pedagogical project

As discussed in the previous chapter, due to the ineffectiveness of traditional methods, I designed a different approach to teach intercultural communication. As an adjunct instructor of Professional Writing at a small Midwestern business college, I wanted to provide my students with real-life intercultural communication experiences in an online environment that is compatible with the aim of fostering students' cosmopolitan attitude. For this reason, I have connected the students in one section of a Professional Writing class I taught at Davenport University with students of a Business English class at Pazmany University in Hungary over the internet, and asked students in both countries to set up blogs with multimodal examples about their identities and with examples of the language variety attached to each specific layer of identity. Initially, I created my own "My Identities and Languages" blog to model the assignment, and then asked students to set up their own blog using the free blog interface Wordpress. My blog page then was used as the homepage for the project as it contained links to student pages. In the first phase, students in both countries set up their blogs, and then students were asked to interact with students from the other country through the comment feature of the blog. The following excerpt is taken from the syllabus of the course describing the assignment:

"Identities and Languages" Blog: In order to develop intercultural communicative competence, we will start out by understanding and mapping out our own cultural and communication resources. For this reason, you will create a blog post through Wordpress that will describe your identities and languages. The blog should reflect your understanding of the cosmopolitan approach discussed in class and thus incorporate identities you judge as relevant when introducing yourself to someone from a different country. These identities can come from different realms such as your cultural and ethnic heritage, your previous experiences, your involvement with professional and personal interest groups, etc. Also, connect each of your "identities" with linguistic resources. You can use the instructor's similarly titled blog as a model for your post. You can decide to make up a name for yourself if you are uncomfortable with putting your own name on the blog. You are welcome to use multimodal elements on your blog, such as pictures, sound recordings or links to pertinent sites (such as a specific YouTube video).

Comments on "Identities and Languages" Blog: To further improve our intercultural awareness, I have planned to connect our class with a class from Hungary in this project. Students in that class will also create their own "Identities and Languages" blog, and you will be asked to visit their blogs and make comments about them. Here you could mention what you liked about the blog, what you found interesting and why, what you did not think of before, and ask questions about certain aspects of the blog. You will be asked to comment on two foreign students' blogs, for two consecutive weeks (for a total of four comments). In order to make sure that everyone receives comments, choose blogs that have no comments yet or only one comment. Once all blogs have at least two comments, you may comment on any blog you would like. The comments should show that you have read the blog in detail and explored the links on the blog.

Students in both countries, the U.S. and Hungary received the same set of instructions as described above after having participated in a discussion about the basic principles of cosmopolitanism. During this discussion, students were introduced to a simplified version of cosmopolitan theory as it relates to globalization, cultural mixture, and communication. Cosmopolitan curiosity and openness were highlighted as assets for communication encounters where this curiosity and openness would be realized by each person starting from the acknowledgement that while they may live in different countries, they might share similar types of identities and have similarly been shaped by all the resources that they have had access to. Students had two weeks to post their blogs, and were asked to comment on other's blogs in the following four weeks.

The blog sites created by students in response to this assignment display varying degrees of sophistication in design and language use. Some blogs use ready-made templates and include very few outside links, pictures, and other modalities, while other blogs are highly personalized, and incorporate different kinds of multimodal ways to represent the identities of their designers. The instructor's blog site that contains links to student blogs is still online and can be viewed at: http://cosmoproject.wordpress.com/.

While most blogs created during the project are still available on the internet, students' blog sites were also saved in a database, as they constitute one set of data for this research project. This first data set contains 52 blog sites and comments on these blog sites, 19 of these blogs were created by Davenport University students, 33 of the blogs come from Pazmany university students. (The number of students enrolled in both classes was slightly higher, but 3 Davenport University and 3 Pazmany university students have decided to delete their blogs before they could be saved for analysis.) In addition, several months after the end of the online blog-exchange project students who had volunteered were interviewed about the process of creating their blogs for this specific audience and about the comment exchange. The transcripts of these interviews constitute the second data set for this present research. The collection of both data sets has been approved by Old Dominion University's Institutional Review Board.

Contexts

In order to better understand the many circumstances that may have influenced the type of identities students decided to present in their blogs and the way those identities are described, it is necessary to outline the significant contextual factors that may have had an effect on the content and format of the student blogs. Although an exact correlation may not be drawn between specific contextual factors and the specific features of the blogs' identity representations based solely on the information and language used in the blogs, being familiar with all factors can shed a light on what might have motivated certain content, design, and linguistic choices. The importance of considering contextual factors became especially evident during my interviews with some of the blog creators, as during these interviews the interviewed students constantly referred to different contextual elements as a way to explain their rhetorical and design choices. For this reason, it is important to discuss all relevant contextual factors and explain in what way they may have had an influence on the outcome of the present study.

National contexts

As students participating in the blog project lived in two countries and have approached this project primarily as a way to communicate with someone from a different country, a general description of the national context is necessary. While the cosmopolitan theoretical framework in which this project was created aims to move beyond methodological nationalism – using nation as the most basic social structure for analysis – it acknowledges that national centers and their institutions remain a powerful social force in the globalized world (Beck, 2006). The breadth of the following description will take into account that readers are less likely to be familiar with the Hungarian context, thus this section will be more detailed.

Hungarian context

Hungary is located in Eastern Central-Europe. Its size is comparable to Indiana; its population is 9.9 million (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2011). Hungary is a member of the European Union, but has not introduced the use of the common currency: the Euro. Hungary's economy has been improving in the last two decades, but it is much smaller than the U.S. economy. The per capita GDP of Hungary is less than one third of that of the USA (The World Bank, 2012). Hungary is a democratic republic and has been governed by a center-right political party during the duration of this pedagogical project. This factor is important as one of the identities analyzed in this project is national identity, and in recent years nationalistic rhetoric has been on the rise in Hungary partly supported by the ruling party. Why? The answer lies in Hungary's past.

Throughout the country's history of over a thousand years of statehood, it had to constantly fight for independence, mostly against the influence of the Ottoman Empire from the East and the Habsburg Empire from the West. The country entered World War I as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a member of the Central Powers, Hungary ended the war on the losing side. In the Treaty of Trianon signed on June 4th, 1920, the country lost 72% of its prewar territory, and 3.4 million Hungarians were now living outside of the country's new borders (Molnar 2001). In the years following the ratification of the treaty, Hungary sought to regain its lost territories and thus became an ally of Germany in WW II. This effort to regain territories failed in WW II and the country became one of the communist satellite states of the Soviet Union. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Hungary's search for its identity as a sovereign nation fostered the return of national sentiment at different levels of intensity from patriotism to nationalism (White, 2000). The small size and population of Hungary, its unique language (unrelated to the languages in surrounding countries), and its long and eventful history make some sort of national sentiment a necessity for the vitality of the country.

U.S. Context

The size and both the political and economic power of the United States is in stark contrast with that of Hungary. The U.S., its language, and its popular culture are well known around the world, although perceptions held by outsiders of what it means to be American are wide ranging and often have little to do with reality as these perceptions are formed by media influences. National sentiment in the U.S. has increased after the 9/11 attacks, but it remains more relevant in certain contexts (for example military involvement) than in others.

Educational and institutional contexts

While both institutions involved in the blog exchange project are universities, there are many differences between the two schools. These differences not only stem from what type of institutions these universities are, but also from the larger perspective of the role higher education plays in the two countries.

Hungarian educational and institutional context

The participating university in Hungary, Pazmany Peter Katolikus Egyetem, (Pazmany Peter Catholic University) is an institution with long history, although its operation had been restricted during the influence of communism in the country. During Hungary's socialist era, only state universities were allowed to function. This university is one of the newly reinstated privately held universities that also receive some state funding. In Hungary, a large portion of students receive state funding, others pay their own tuition. Most students especially at the Bachelor's level are what we call traditional students; they enter the university shortly after finishing high school and attend the university full-time. The students in this project were also in their early twenties. While some students may work small jobs on occasion, most of them don't work while enrolled in full-time programs and are fully supported by their parents during their studies. Part-time programs for working adults are also available in smaller numbers with classes mostly on the weekends.

College education due to the stringent entrance exam requirements has been limited to a smaller proportion of the population, as just 20 years ago higher education was free for those passing the entrance exams. While the number of students receiving full state funding has decreased in recent years, the high cost of higher education has been added as an additional limiting factor for the number of university degrees awarded in the country. According to the international Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development statistics (OECD iLibrary, 2009), 17 % of the 25-64 age group has attained tertiary education in 2009, as opposed to 39% in the United States in the same group. This disparity can not only be explained by fewer higher education institutions in Hungary (although new ones have been established in recent years), but also by a system where many jobs don't require a college degree but can be filled with appropriate specialized vocational high school degrees.

The campus that the participating class attends was built in the 1990s on church property that had been used as a Russian military base for the previous 40 years. The campus buildings were designed by the nationally renowned architect, Imre Makovecz, who incorporated elements of the ruins of the old military base into the new buildings as symbolism. His architectural style is famous for integrating elements from Hungarian historical and mythical symbols. Students seem especially proud of the university's architecture in their blogs as many of them include pictures of the buildings.

U.S. educational and institutional context

Davenport University, the U.S. university involved in the project, is a small, private, non-profit institution with primarily undergraduate degrees in business, health, and information technology and with several campuses throughout Michigan. While the university has increased the number of traditional students enrolled in recent years, in the past decades it has been known as an institution where working adults can earn their undergraduate professional degrees. For this reason, the university still offers many evening classes, and the students in one of these evening classes, primarily non-traditional students, were the ones participating in the blog exchange.

Classroom and instructional context

In addition to the national and institutional contexts, differences between the classroom environments for the two groups of students may also play a role in the type of identities represented in the blogs. Also, the fact that I have designed and planned out the blog exchange project in detail, and have facilitated it in the U.S. classroom may have had an influence on the outcomes. While there was less collaboration with the Hungarian instructor in the planning phases of the project, she has been very enthusiastic about the project during its duration and has incorporated every phase of the project as a graded assignment into her syllabus in order to increase stakes for her students. Overall, commitment to the success of the project was equal from both instructors.

Hungarian classroom context

The 35 Hungarian students participating in the transcultural project were enrolled in two different sections of a Business English class designed for the university's International Relations majors. These classes were offered in the university's full-time program with traditional students attending them. Classes met twice a week during the day from September to December.

U.S. classroom context

All of the 22 Davenport University students involved in the project were enrolled in one evening section of a Professional Writing class. 16 out of the 22 students were returning adult students holding full-time jobs ranging in age from their twenties to their forties. Five of the 6 traditional students also held part-time jobs outside the university. Two of the traditional students were categorized as international students, only in the U.S. for the duration of their studies. Thus the majority of US students involved in the study were non-traditional students.

The context of the internet and blogs

While the factors based on the two different physical environments for the students in the two countries could have had an influence on the types of identities students chose to represent in the blog, a more abstract environment, the internet and the blog interface could also have had an effect on how students chose to represent themselves during this pedagogical project.

Identities and different modalities on the internet

Much has been written about online identity and how an element of choice is present as people decide how they want to represent themselves in online environments (Turkle, 1995; Walker, 2000; Bargh et al., 2002; Siibak, 2009). Thomas (2007), for example, applies Judith Butler's (1990) concept of identity performance to the creation of online identities as she describes how her study participants created a personality in the anonymous virtual space of Second Life (secondlife.com). Certainly, online spaces in general allow internet users a high level of anonymity and thus provide the freedom to represent oneself any way one desires. While a certain level of this freedom also applies to the students participating in this study, it is much more restricted due to students' awareness that at least some of their readers (their instructors and the other students in the classroom at their home institutions) know them face-to-face. Thus the social conventions associated with personal contact carry over into the online environment in the case of this project to a large extent.

In this respect, the identities represented on the blogs might be closer to the identities represented on the currently popular social networking site: Facebook. According to a study by Zhao et al. (2008), Facebook users will not have the same degree of freedom in portraying their identities as users of anonymous sites have, because they are "nonymous," or in other words can be associated with real persons offline and present their identities to people who know them to some degree in real life. In such a specific case, what people present of their identities has been called their "hoped-for possible selves" by Yurchisin et al. (2005, p.738) who researched individuals' self-representation on online dating sites. These "hoped-for possible selves" are identities people would like to claim that can be established and are at least somewhat overlapping with their identities offline. In a way, they are what individuals choose to emphasize about themselves in order to influence how they are perceived. In the context of Facebook , Zhao et al. found that this type of identity representation was common and used the term "selective self-presentation" (2008, p. 1821) to describe this type of online identity representation. "Selective self-presentation" thus emerges in the online environment based on what individuals choose to present from their offline identities to their online audience.

For this reason, who makes up this online audience greatly affects "selective self-presentation." In an article about how people select content to be displayed about themselves, Hogan (2010) likens the profile building on Facebook and other sites to creating an exhibition. The profile owner, or in Hogan's words, the curator of this exhibition uses the principle of "lowest common denominator" (p. 383) in deciding about which aspects of her identity she wants to be represented on a certain page. Hogan explains that this means people only consider two groups when posting on the internet about themselves: those whom they want to present an idealized self, and those who based on their offline encounters with them might have a problem with this idealized information based on their offline experience with the "curator." As mentioned earlier, the students in this project were instructed to write a blog entry to be read by an unknown foreign student, thus blog writers were anonymous to their primary audience and were able to present their best possible identities. However, students also needed to take into account their secondary audience, their classmates at their local universities and their instructors, and had to find the lowest common denominator of these three different groups of audience when determining which identities they described and what kind of other modalities they used on the blog pages.

The internet not only influences the content of identity representation, but also the form of it in two different ways that are both significant to my study. The first way in which the form of identity representation is influenced by the context of the internet can be seen in the less formal language use patterns of people in this informal environment (Squires, 2010). An article by Depew (2011) for example has shown that the multilingual individuals involved in his study have explained they used a more informal language in their Facebook post, a form of English that is closer to how they speak than how they write. In addition, their posts also include linguistically hybrid texts: texts that contain elements from several different languages. In fact, one of the figures in the article (Figure 4, p.66) shows a bumper sticker from the Facebook page of one of the Indian students Depew has interviewed displaying a picture of Spiderman surrounded by Hindi curses in different fonts and colors. The picture also contains some English words and uses the number 4 to replace the word 'for,' a definite sign of informality. This example not only illustrates the informality of language use when it comes to identity representation on the internet, but also points to the variety and mixture of modes that can be used for self-expression as enabled by the affordances of different web interfaces. Thus the second way the internet influences how identities are presented on the student pages for this present project is in the way it allows students to use different modes through the blog interface to express their identities.

The blog interface

The blog interface has been selected for the pedagogical project as it allows for easy creation of web pages and includes the comment feature for interaction. The specific blog format by Wordpress (wordpress.com) used during the project enabled even inexperienced students to create their own webpages through the use of readymade templates that could be customized to a level desired by each student. The templates also allow for effortless uploads of pictures and videos and the embedding of links to other webpages. In the assignment description students were encouraged to use all of these features without further specification. Thus students were able to communicate their identities in a multimodal environment using the affordances of the interface to different degrees.

While we can discuss a blog as an interface, we cannot forget that it is also an online genre. Miller and Shepherd (2004) describe this genre by identifying its formal features and general content. They list dated entries, also called posts, as one of the most important formal features that make blogs function somewhat similar to traditional diaries. This basic feature is visible on every blog interface. What makes blogs different from diaries is that the interface on the web also contains the comment feature, which allows interaction between the reader and the writer and also presupposes that others will read the blog.

According to Miller and Shepherd, the general content of blogs is often highly personal, thus blogs exemplify the interesting combination of public and private spheres that can be observed on the internet. While the content of the blogs assigned to students during this project was clearly highly personalized, the tone of the blogs remained more impersonal in order to accommodate audience expectations. For this reason we can conclude that the formal features of the genre of blogs which are visible in the interface are more important to be considered for the present project than the content requirements of this genre. One way in which this is evident is that some students described their identities within one post, where the first identity appearing on the page is often indicated by the student as the most important identity. However, for students who used different posts for each identity, the identity on the top of the page is the one that was posted last, and is often described by students as less important or supplementary identity. This needs to be taken into account during data analysis especially at the stage when the importance of different identities is investigated.

While all of the above mentioned contexts are very complex and can hardly be given justice to by describing them within any one chapter, their possible direct and indirect effects on the data should always be considered. Even though it is difficult to show direct correlation between the contextual factors and the data, looking at the data set without knowing about some of these factors would remove language and other modalities used for communication from their social context and would thus provide us with artificial results.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The transcultural blog exchange project was primarily designed to help students create meaningful connections across borders and to provide students with real-life experiences with transcultural communication. In addition to the direct impact of this project on the students involved, studying the blog pages created during this project was another important objective of this undertaking, since the results of this study provides insight into how people in general represent and negotiate their identities online within the educational context of transcultural collaboration. Thus analyzing the student blog pages and comments is important not only because the results can inform the design of future similar online collaborative projects but also because the findings have the potential to increase our understanding of transcultural communication practices in general in the digital space.

This chapter discusses the different approaches taken during the research process that served as effective tools for answering the three main research questions described in Chapter1. First, I will outline the general research framework that was used to analyze the blog sites. Then in the next section, I will explain the research methodology and provide examples of how I applied this methodology when analyzing the blogs and blog comments. In this section I will also explain how I operationalized the central concept of this project, "identity." I will conclude this chapter by discussing how the multimodal nature of the blogs was taken into account during the investigation and by describing how the interviews conducted after the project had been served as an additional data source in the research process.

Research Framework

To analyze the data gathered during the transcultural pedagogical project, I had to first determine whether and how to group all the blog pages and comments generated by the students. While the data gathered from the cosmopolitan pedagogical projects lends itself to be grouped into two national categories (Hungarian students' blogs and U.S. students' blogs), it needs to be carefully weighed whether such an approach is suitable in the case of this project, because the cosmopolitan theoretical framework in which the project was created deemphasizes national allegiances and seeks to understand social change that takes place beyond national boundaries. For this reason, when we discuss methods for analyzing the student blogs and comments we need to first understand traditional approaches of dealing with international data sets (writing samples) created in different countries and then consider how alternative approaches might provide results more compatible with the cosmopolitan framework of this specific project.

Traditional approaches to analyzing international data sets

When analyzing texts of the same genre written in two different countries, scholars in the field of professional writing (see i.e. Barnum & Li, 2006; Gerritsen & Wannet, 2005) have often produced cross-cultural analysis using the methods that were generated in contrastive rhetoric. Traditionally, analyzing texts in cross-cultural contexts has been carried out in the United States within the contrastive rhetoric framework. The field of contrastive rhetoric has developed out of the interest of studying the writing patterns of second language writers and explaining these patterns on the basis of how they connect to the rhetorical strategies of students' first languages (Connor, 1996). Robert Kaplan's (1966) seminal study of ESL students' paragraph organization identifies specific rhetorical structures that students of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (i.e. Oriental, Romance, Russian) had used when writing essays in English. While Kaplan's article has been criticized for, among other reasons, its overgeneralizing approach when categorizing languages and cultures (Hinds, 1983), it is still a good example of the type of analysis carried out in contrastive rhetoric as it highlights the important principles of this field. The most basic tenet that the early studies of contrastive rhetoric were based on is that language influences thought (a weak version of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). Thus the first language of people, according to this hypothesis, influences the way they think which in turn affects their second language usage in speech and writing, and the rhetorical strategies they use (Connor, 2002). For this reason, when analyzing texts within the contrastive rhetoric framework, the first step is to divide the corpus into national/cultural categories in order to find the differences in rhetorical patterns.

This categorization requires that researchers working within the contrastive rhetoric framework understand culture as a stable category, something that can be defined easily. In fact, it requires agreeing with the traditional notions about culture, which Dwight Atkinson (1999) calls the "received view" of culture that has been widely used in foreign language pedagogy. The "received view" relies on the notions of cultures as homogeneous, easily separable entities, and disregards postmodern concepts such as "identity, hybridity, essentialism, power, difference, agency, discourse, resistance, and contestation" (Atkinson, 1999, p. 626). Thus, as Atkinson argues, the "received view" of culture cannot be reconciled with all the knowledge gained about identity and difference in fields such as anthropology and cultural studies in recent decades and should not be relied on in contrastive rhetoric research and language teaching (Atkinson, 1999, 2004). Calls for change in contrastive rhetoric, such as the one by Atkinson, resulted in reconsideration of the scope, research methods and theoretical underpinnings of the contrastive rhetoric field in recent years. The field has widened its scope to include not only academic but also professional settings (Connor, 2002), and has moved away from essentializing cultural categories in response to a call to include critical perspectives (Kubota and Lehner, 2004). It has even gone through a name change (it is now referred to as intercultural rhetoric) in order to better reflect a more nuanced understanding of the interaction between the difficult to define concept of culture and language use. Although these are all promising developments, the field of intercultural rhetoric, in my opinion, has not been able to overcome one of its original tenets, the prioritizing of *difference* in writing as a result of *difference* in culture.

This newer, more critical stance and some of the shortcomings when applying contrastive rhetoric methodology can be seen in a recent professional writing study by Wang (2010) that looks at patterns of directness in Chinese and American claim letters. Wang's study is very progressive in many ways, especially in the way it questions the dichotomy of the rhetorical patterns of directness (associated with Western writing) and indirectness (ascribed to Eastern ways) (Kaplan, 1966) in all types of written communication regardless of context. In her study, Wang finds that both groups of students (Chinese and American) preferred the direct pattern. In addition, she recognizes that a more direct approach to making a request was present in the Chinese letters (active voice and using "you"), while the American letters have concealed the actor by using mostly passive voice. Wang attributes this finding not only to the fact that the Chinese letters were written in English by Chinese students who were English majors, but also to the local context of teaching Business English to Chinese students and to the effects of globalization on postsocialist China.

While Wang's study demonstrates a more sophisticated approach to internationally generated writing, it shows that scholars often decide to employ pre-assigned national categories for analytical purposes when examining data generated in two different countries. Although this approach and other intercultural rhetoric studies may indicate some connections between nationality and writing patterns, it lacks the analytical capacity to reveal transnational phenomena that is at the heart of cosmopolitan social change. Not taking into account the possibility that transcultural exchanges can influence rhetorical strategies and writing patterns makes globalization and the resulting social change appear as a minor contextual factor that can be easily disregarded. If we agree that geopolitical and cultural globalization, and the regular information exchange across borders over digital networks is constantly changing the way we live and interact while making our world more cosmopolitan, we cannot ignore the impact of these changes on writing. In fact, it is especially important at this time to become aware of just how transnational interaction impacts the writing process and to analyze the resulting hybrid writing patterns. This type of analysis is hardly possible using traditional intercultural research methodology.

When data analysis starts out by dividing the data into national categories -as is the case in many intercultural rhetoric studies - these categories serve as the basis for reporting results. In other words, the reporting of research results will concentrate on supporting the argument that national differences exist in writing patterns. For this reason, findings from research that precategorizes data into national groups will often not include similarities and overlaps that result from the continuous crosspollination of ideas and practices in our global era. The description of similarities resulting from cosmopolitan social change can only be discussed by avoiding nationality as a preexisting category, since the very essence of nations lies in “denying difference internally, while affirming, producing and stabilizing it externally (Beck, 2006, p. 56). As cosmopolitanism entails a deemphasizing of territorial-based connections (as indicated by a person’s birth place) in many domains from its definition of human rights to its definition of cosmopolitan identities (Delanty, 2006), examining phenomena in the cosmopolitan framework necessitates an analytical approach that does not start out by dividing data sets into national categories.

Cosmopolitan approach to analyzing international data set

Since my first research question is concerned with what kind of identities students created for the purposes of the blog exchange project and to what extent these identities are associated with traditional cultural categories and hybrid, cosmopolitan identities, my research methodology has to take into account that pre-categorizing data by nationality should be avoided in order to make hybrid and cosmopolitan identities visible. Instead, the chosen methodology should reflect that within the cosmopolitan social process identities are relativized as people come into contact with others of different background (Delanty, 2012), not only as they create identities to be viewed by the Other (in our case: on the blog pages), but also as they negotiate these identities through cross-border connections such as in the comment feature of the blog pages.

However, in order to describe the traditional and cosmopolitan identities that were created during the pedagogical project and to answer the second research question about what kind of linguistic and multimodal strategies students used to represent these different identities and to interact with each other, we will not only need to move beyond traditional nation-based analytical methods but would also need to consider the following methodologically-oriented definition of cosmopolitanism.

> Cosmopolitanism is (…) a transformative condition that is concerned with possibilities in the present. (…) it is a discourse or phenomenon that is expressed in its effects on social contexts and in its response to social problems that are experienced by people in different contexts. (Delanty, 2012, p. 336).

As this quote illustrates, cosmopolitanism can be best observed in the process of individuals expressing and negotiating their identities. Thus, thinking about cosmopolitanism as a discourse can be a very productive approach for making sense of the data set gathered from the blog project. Such an approach would address the shortcomings of traditional intercultural rhetoric methods and would follow directions identified by Paul Kei Matsuda in a recent conversation about analyzing international data. As Matsuda states, "more detailed qualitative discourse analysis can actually help us develop some kind of linguistic categories to help us further the agenda of developing strategic aspects of discourse negotiations (Atkinson and Matsuda, 2013, p.233).

A data-driven discourse analysis of the blog sites and comments within the cosmopolitan theoretical framework would not only help us understand linguistic negotiation across borders in general but would also shed light on the role identities play in such negotiations. While there are many different approaches to discourse analysis, this dissertation will rely on the basic tenets of discourse analysis as applied by Deborah Tannen (1990). A more detailed description of Tannen's approach to discourse analysis and why it was chosen to be used as an analytical method will be described later in this chapter. Suffice it to say at this time, that using a somewhat modified version of the data-driven approach exemplified by Tannen's work results in a method where categories are allowed to emerge from the data rather than defined before the data analysis process. Specifically, in this investigation this approach ensures that if differences based on nationality and language exist in the data, these will emerge from the data itself and will not be pre-imposed on the data set. In addition, looking at the data this way enables an analytical approach to written texts produced in different countries that avoids "the difference fixation" (Kerschbaum, 2012, p.616) and thus opens up new ways of learning about writing that is not based on presupposed absolute knowledge about culture and nation. In sum, the data-driven discourse analytic approach described in detail in a subsequent section of this chapter should deliver more nuanced results while avoiding adding yet another study to the scholarly tradition described as "discourses of difference" by Christiane Donahue (2008, p. 319). However, before I provide a description of the methodology, I need to lay the groundwork on how one of the major concepts of this dissertation, identity, is defined and operationalized in this study.

Operationalizing identity

Since the first research question of this dissertation is about what kind of identities students created for the purposes of the blog exchange project, it is necessary to incorporate a nuanced understanding of identity into the research process. Because identity is such a widely used term with so many different definitions in different disciplines, I will start out this section by focusing the analytical lens of this dissertation on a specific theoretical approach that explains how identity is constructed in social interactions. Then, I will introduce some analytical tools that were used in the research process to uncover the basic elements of identity representation in this specific context. Subsequently, I will explain how I arrived at a data-based definition of this concept which takes into account what the project participants understood under the term: identity. This way, the findings about identity in this specific data set will organically be connected to the data, rather than superimposed and can better reflect the complexities of identity representation in this global age.

Analytical theories and tools for operationalizing identity

Identity is an extremely complex concept. It is studied widely in the social sciences and humanities. In fact, an increased interest in this concept can be observed in the last several decades that use different theoretical approaches from psychoanalytical to post-feminist in order to disseminate the significance and functioning of identity in our time (Elliot, 2011). The definition of identity varies across disciplines and scholars, and it has different connotations when used in everyday conversations. While the definitions of identity are very different based on the scholarly traditions in which they have originated, there is a general understanding in most disciplines that identity has both psychological and social elements that work in conjunction with each other.

What is identity? Anthony Elliott (2011) in his introduction to the *Routledge Handbook of Identity Studies* answers the question this way: "identity is something profoundly individual, subjective, personal and private" (p. xiv). Although describing identity in these terms is certainly adequate, it presupposes individuals living in a vacuum. As Elliott points out, such a definition is immediately problematic as it leaves out the social, cultural, historical, and political elements that influence how people see themselves in the world. Furthermore, not only are the contextual elements of one's life left out of such a definition, but so is the agency of individuals as they act to change these very circumstances. Thus Elliott acknowledges that it may be impossible to create an overarching definition of identity that accounts for all of the above factors and works equally well in every discipline and with all theoretical approaches. Nevertheless, Elliott argues that when defining identity for specific study contexts one may emphasize different elements of identity, but any definition of this concept needs to take into account the interaction between the personal and the social, or what he calls the "doubled aspect of identity" (p. xv).

While the doubled aspects of identity will be taken into account when formulating a working definition in this dissertation, as Jameson (2007) points out, it is important to pay more attention to the aspects of identity that are derived from belonging to groups when analyzing intercultural communication. When discussing the relationship of individuals and groups in identity formation, we need to consider the definition of social identity. Kurt Lewin (1948) a sociologist and an early advocate of the importance of social groups in shaping individuals' self-concepts emphasized that the sense of belonging to groups contributes to healthy personality development. In this same line of research tradition, Henry Tajfel, (1982) defines social identity as "that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 2). He also points out that some of the social groups individuals identify with are more important than others to the individual at certain times in certain situations. In this sense, individuals have a choice regarding which group memberships they place into the foreground of their social identity. Based on these early works on recognizing group membership as an important element of identity, a whole line of research into identities has developed within social psychology. The theoretical basis of this research came to be known as identity theory and has been described in detail recently by two of the most prominent social psychologists of this tradition: Peter Burke and Jan Stets (2009).

Burke and Stets trace back the origins of identity theory to the seminal work *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934) of sociologist Herbert Mead and its application to the emergence of symbolic interactionism as described by Sheldon Stryker (1980). In this line of social psychology, the relationship between identities and society is described by using the three main concepts of Self, language and interaction. To simplify the theory for our use, I will explain each concept briefly. First, the Self exists in the mind of each individual and can be acted upon by the individual the same way as actions can be directed towards other individuals. The mind arises out of the social interaction process, and it not only ensures the biological survival of the Self, but also controls the meanings that influence the responses to the environment by the Self through language. Burke and Stets formulate this the following way: "The ability to pick out meanings and to indicate them both to the self and to others gives control to humans. This control is made possible by language, which encapsulates the meanings in the form of symbols" (2009, p. 10). In interactions then, people assign meanings based on their previous experience with social actors to not only the type of situations but also to the interlocutors. Identity theory thus views interactions as "not between whole persons but between aspects of persons having to do with their roles in the groups or organizations: their identities" (p.12).

Thus, for example, in a sales situation interaction happens between the salesperson identity of one individual and the customer role of a different individual. The resources (language, gestures, etc.) these identities have access to in such a situation are then used to negotiate meanings in this specific situation. Also, individuals control what other aspects of their identities they wish to foreground in this specific situation. For example, the salesperson might find it advantageous to present himself as also a parent as he discusses the advantages of a minivan. While different identities may be foregrounded in different situations, in every interaction participants must first establish their identities. Once identities are established, communication partners use these as anchors to determine the basic rules of each interaction.

The phenomenon of multiple identities is one of the complexities Burke and Stets discuss in identity theory. Multiple identities arise because the number of groups an individual can belong to is indefinite. Categorizing these identities is complicated not only because borders between different categories are often arbitrary, but also because different identities might be foregrounded for the same person when people are categorized by researchers rather than when they are given the opportunity to select their own situationally relevant identities. For example, in a traditional account about national identity Anthony Smith (1991) explains that historically it has been less appealing for individuals to identify themselves with categories such as social class, a category often used in social science research. Further, researchers privilege certain categories in specific disciplinary contexts. An example of this relevant to the topic of this dissertation is the privileging of national identity in intercultural communication research as pointed out by Daphne Jameson (2007). In her article about cultural identity, Jameson argues that cultural identity (a specific kind of collective identity) has many different components from education and place of residency to vocation and religious identity, all of which play a role to different degrees when people interact in intercultural communication encounters. Thus it is important not to impose categories on people but to analyze identities in interaction. This would mean that researchers should try to deduce the specific identity categories people wish to foreground about themselves in specific situations from the interaction itself rather than imposing these categories on people from the outside. This would also mean that national identity may not be the most important identity category when analyzing intercultural interactions.

This short discussion about multiple identities suggests that the concept of identity needs to be individually defined not only for each discipline but also for every specific research context as different contexts greatly influence individuals' choices about the kinds of identities they wish to emphasize. Thus in this research we need to arrive at an identity definition that reflects this reality. For this reason, I selected a definition of identity from identity theory as described by Burke and Stets (2009) as my baseline definition that I then modified with data-based elements of defining identity. The definition by Peter Burke and Jan Stets was selected for this purpose, because their definition implies that the noun, identity, when applied to one person can be used in plural as a person can assume many different identities and also simultaneously multiple identities based on the context and the interlocutor in any interaction. Furthermore, Burke and Stets explain that each of the identities a person assumes "acts to control meanings/resources in a situation" (p.131) which not only influences the outcome of specific interactions but also shows that individuals do have a choice in the type of resources they want to rely on in specific encounters. However, this access of resources is limited to what society, a specific group or an individual perceives to be the identity standard for a specific identity. For example, regarding gender identity there is a set of meanings accepted by societies/ groups/individuals that characterizes someone as feminine or masculine. Burke and Stets call this set of meanings *identity standard* and explain that it can contain connotative and denotative meanings as well as cognitive and emotional meanings. Thus we can say that any identity consists of a set of meanings determined by groups or individuals. Based on these premises, Burke and Stets define identity as follows: “an identity is a set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person” (Burke & Stets, 2009, p.3). We will use this definition as our baseline for creating a data-based definition of identity, as it takes into account that the definition of a specific identity is always dependent on what set of meanings a person or group foregrounds when describing an identity.

Since the project participants’ understanding of the concept of identity has to be the basis for a data-based definition of identity in this project, I will combine the base-line definition of Burke and Stets with findings from the data. In order to analyze the language used by students as they describe their identities, I used discourse analysis in a similar way as Deborah Tannen (1993) has used it in her cross cultural study about the connections between structures of expectations and language. According to Ross (1975), structures of expectations describe thought patterns that people create based on their previous experiences and apply later to approach and interpret new situations. The term "structures of expectations" encompasses a wide array of knowledge in the fields of psychology, sociology, and artificial intelligence, that is concerned with how people's expectations about their physical and social environment based on their memory about past experience affect their behavior. An article by Deborah Tannen (1993), explains the origin and use of the most commonly used terms that describe structures of expectations in different fields such as schema in psychology (i.e. Bartlett, 1932) frame in artificial intelligence (i.e. Minsky, 1974) and in sociology (i.e. Goffman, 1974) and script in artificial intelligence (Schank and Abelson, 1977). Then, Tannen moves on to discuss that researchers interested in how structures of expectations influence a very specific behavior, language use, have also created their own use of terminology.

Fillmore (1975), for example, while describing how meaning gets assigned to words in conversations points out that people connect specific scenes or situations with specific linguistic frames. These scenes or situations include everything from usual types of interactions to "standard scenarios defined by culture" (p. 124) and are not explicitly identified in verbal interaction but are called up by the use of specific linguistic frames. Discourse analysis then, according to Fillmore, identifies specific scenes that are activated by linguistic frames in the process of interpreting a text. While Fillmore's focus is on the process of interpretation, it is important to highlight that his explanation of frames rests on culturally shared knowledge. Another linguist, Chafe (1977) uses the words schemata instead of frames for the description of structures of expectations and describes the role of schemata in discourse production, particularly in how the verbalization of experiences relies on already established structures that exist in the mind. He further explains that schemata are used by speakers to break larger units of information (a story, and event) into smaller information units. These schemata are based on previous experiences that share some similarity. Again, the main point here is that discourse production, choice of words, syntactic structures, etc. is influenced by mental structures that are based on similar types of experiences and are often culture specific.

The study on frames by Deborah Tannen (1993) is especially significant to this dissertation as it makes the connection between linguistic choices, underlying frames, and culture very explicit. This study describes the connection between mental structures and verbalization the following way: "on the basis of one's experience of the world in a given culture (or combination of cultures) one organizes knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events and experiences" (p. 16). This organized knowledge, or structures of expectations, affects the linguistic choices one makes when speaking or writing, and can be reconstructed based on the linguistic elements of texts. It is especially significant to this dissertation that the above explanation about structures of expectations incorporates the possibility that these expectations can not only be rooted in a single culture but can also be connected to a combination of cultures. Thus when structures of expectations are reconstructed based on the blog texts in this project, their connections to a single culture or to a combination of cultures becomes visible. If the analysis results show a clear connection to a combination of cultures, the argument for a cosmopolitan framework for understanding and teaching transcultural communication will be further strengthened.

Tannen's (1993) article not only provides an overview of frames and schemata in the literature, but is also followed by the description of her own study about expectations of content and expectations of context in an experiment where people of different national backgrounds are shown a silent short film and they are interviewed about this film by Tannen and her colleagues. When analyzing the transcript of these interviews, Tannen finds different type of linguistic evidence in the language use of the interviewees that have to do with different frames, different expectations of content and context. Examples of how expectations of context influenced the speakers in Tannen's study include references in the participants' utterances to the scholarly interview procedure, verbalizations of self-imposed compliance to the storytelling frame, and verbal implications of being aware of a film-viewer frame. Examples of how expectations of content affected Tannen's interviewees' narratives range from the use of evaluative adjectives to describe expectations about events and objects to generalizations about the frequency of events.

Looking at structures of expectations have been common in studies such as Tannen's that contrasts structures of expectations found in the transcript of interviews with people from different countries. But structures of expectations don't have to be discussed in terms of cultural difference; they could be recovered in any mixed data sample such as the blog texts analyzed in this dissertation. Further, the fact that structures of expectations can be connected to a combination of cultures as mentioned before is also very applicable to this research. As cosmopolitanism takes the form of social transformation resulting from the combination of cultures, the ability to detect structures of expectations that originate in a combination of cultures can provide insight into whether and to what extent cosmopolitanism is a defining factor in the current study. In addition, structures of expectations help to make connections between text and context more visible.

Tannen's approach to discourse analysis is also consistent with the way identity theory conceptualizes the process of identity representation. As discussed earlier according to identity theory, people have different identities and they decide which one of these identities to foreground in each interaction. Burke and Stets explain this as follows: "We must learn the identity of others with whom we would interact. They must be labeled symbolically (named) and thus given an identity. The categories and classifications that are used for this purpose are provided by language and culture in which we are enmeshed" (2009, p.13). This statement highlights that identity classification categories are rooted in language and as such are also affected by cultural context. Thus Tannen's discourse analytical approach that can connect the language used in identity representation with the structures of expectations rooted in a single culture or in a mix of cultures is directly applicable to the analysis of the blog texts.

Having established the connections between identity theory and discourse analysis, there is one more analytical question that needs to be addressed. In many instances, discourse analysis is used to analyze the transcripts of recorded narratives or conversations. In these cases, the basic units of analysis are turns or utterances. In the case of the blog texts, however, we have written texts that are comprised of sentences. Often, however, several sentences can be combined in the blog texts into larger units that express different aspects of identity representation as described in identity theory. These units then can be categorized based on their shared rhetorical purpose of communicating a specific aspect of identity representation. Because what connects these units is a shared rhetorical purpose, I selected rhetorical moves and steps described by John Swales (1990) as the basic units of analyzing identity representation in the blog texts.

Rhetorical moves analysis has become widely known through the research of John Swales about the generic characteristics of English language research articles (1990). In this research, Swales designed a model of the specific rhetorical moves and steps the authors make in order to render their research relevant. Swales' CARS (Create a Research Space) model is based on three rhetorical moves most authors make in research articles; these are: establishing a territory, establishing a niche, and occupying the niche (1990, p. 140). Under each move, authors take certain steps such as claiming centrality of their territory and reviewing pervious research. While the findings of Swales' study about research articles has little relevance for my dissertation, his method for text analysis, especially his approach of separating out rhetorical moves and steps as the basic units for analysis proved very applicable to the analysis of blogs and blog comments in my research. As stated above, rhetorical moves and steps communicate specific aspects of identity representation. Analyzing the rhetorical moves and steps students applied on the blogs in the temporary discourse community of this online blog exchange project allowed for the emergence of patterns in identity representations across borders.

Swales defines the term discourse community as "a group of people who link up in order to pursue objectives prior to those of socialization and solidarity" (p.24). While the description of different identities on blog sites is not generally recognized in the larger society as a genre, I argue that for the time of the intercultural blog exchange project students did form a discourse community in which they shared the common goal of engaging with someone from another country and had the same communicative purpose in describing their identities and discussing them with others. As students followed a prescribed format (through responding to the same prompt and viewing the blog of the instructor as a model), their blog entries became sufficiently similar in form and content to propose that at least for the duration of the project students' description of their different identities constituted a genre, as these were typified responses generated by the similar (if somewhat artificial) situation of writing up an assignment.

Positing that the way students introduced their identities in many ways fulfills the criteria of a genre allows me the breaking down of blog entries into moves and steps that can serve as a basis for general analysis and for operationalizing identity. The reason for using rhetorical moves and steps as the basic units for analysis is that they make visible how the different stages of identity representation happen in the written text of the blog entries. Since, according to Burke and Stets, identity representation occurs in stages of first establishing an identity and then verifying this specific identity, the sequential nature of rhetorical moves allows the observer to see how writers reproduce these stages of identification in different moves and steps. Thus when we look at students' entries of identity descriptions as samples of a genre and analyze the moves and steps students apply in this genre we can identify strategies of identity representations that go beyond the purpose of showing one's belonging to a specific community and illustrate at a more general level the processes that occur when identities are represented in writing in this transcultural blog environment

In the following section, I will illustrate how with the help of the above described analytical tools I have arrived at a data-based definition of identity and was able to identify patterns in the moves and steps students used to represent specific types of identities as illustrated in the next chapter.

Data-based definition of identity

On the blog pages created during the pedagogical project many of the students provide their own definition of identity either overtly or covertly. This section will describe in detail how I first discovered overt definitions in all blogs, then extracted covert definitions from the blog pages through identifying rhetorical moves and steps, and finally combined the elements of these definitions with Burke and Stets' base-line definition to arrive at a data-based definition of identity in this specific research context.

Since students responded to a prompt in creating their blogs, this prompt already contained a certain understanding of identity that they had to incorporate into their own conception of what identity means. In regards to identity, the assignment description in the course syllabus for both classes contained the following statement:

> The blog should reflect your understanding of the cosmopolitan approach discussed in class and thus incorporate identities you judge as relevant when introducing yourself to someone from a different country. These identities can come from different realms such as your cultural and ethnic heritage, your previous experiences, your involvement with professional and personal interest groups, etc.

These statements have several implications for how students involved in this project were expected to think about identity. First, it is implied that people have several identities, thus it supports a stronger focus on the social aspect of identity. Second, the assignment description asserts individual's agency in being able to choose from different identities while at the same time it calls attention to matching the foregrounded identities with the specific context of transcultural communication. And third, the above description provides a few examples of what kind of identities students may consider to present on their blog pages such as ethnic and professional identities and identities associated with group memberships.

In addition, students were encouraged to look at the instructor's webpage and use it as a model for their own webpages. The instructor's blog page included the following sentence in the introduction: "Take a look at my blog where I describe the different roles/identities I have, and use it as an example for creating your blog." (Cosmoproject, 2013). This sentence equates roles with identities, further supporting the emphasis on the social aspect of identity and asocial roles as identities. The different identities listed on the instructor's page can be assigned to the categories of professional identity, family role identity, and ethnic identity. In addition to the transcultural educational project context, these choices of identity categories on the instructor's page could have also influenced students' choices. However, students' statement about identities and other indirect clues in the text of their blogs suggests that many had their own definition of identity.

In order reveal what definition of identity would best apply to my data set and thus arrive at a data-based definition of this concept, I have read the blog entries of all 52 students participating in the blog exchange project and identified statements that either directly define the meaning of identity for the students who wrote them or indirectly imply a certain meaning of this concept to their writers. In addition to these statements, I have also categorized all the different identities that were listed in my blog data base, and used the category types as indications about students perceptions as to what counts as an identity. Thus I have created a data-based definition of identity as described in the following three subsections about students' direct statements, indirect statements, and identity categories.

Data-based definition elements from direct statements

In the process of reading the blogs for indications about students' concepts of identity, I found five direct statements in the introductory paragraph of blogs that explain what identity means for the writers of these statements and that are not connected to a specific identity students listed. These statements are cited below with the relevant segments italicized. After each statement, a blog identifying number is placed in parenthesis that signifies the location of the blog in the database. (To connect a specific blog identifying number with a blog see Appendix B for the complete List of Blogs in the database.)

Direct statements about identity:

"When we think about *the specific roles we play in our day to day lives*, we are able to break the roles down and analyze how the language evolves to meet the needs of that platform. *I have many identities throughout my weekly grind* that involve different types of language. "(Blog #34)

"I created this blog to show *the different "hats" I wear on a day to day basis*.(…) "Please take a few minutes and read about all my identities"(Blog #35)

"I have a couple of *different roles that I assume in my daily life.* I will categorize a couple of these as identities but not all of them."(Blog #39)

"When I started thinking of *all the different hats that I wear in my everyday life* I was surprised at the number of identities assume."(Blog #41)

"Today I present to you *a few of the many wonderful lives that I live every day* I have a couple of *different roles that I assume in my daily life*. I will categorize a couple of these as identities but not all of them."(Blog #47)

These direct statements provide a general view of how five students involved in the project conceptualized identity for themselves in their blog introductions. Three of these statements connect identities to roles, and two use a metaphor in referring to identities as different hats one wears. Wearing different hats can be interpreted as having different roles, so we can say that all five of the statements refer to identities as different roles. In addition, having different roles or wearing different hats in these five statements is collocated with words containing a temporal reference to days. All of these five statements were written by Davenport University students who based on their blog contents were full-time employees, part-time students, and were also spouses and/or parents at the time of writing their blogs thus their lifestyle of frequent switching between significantly different roles on an everyday basis may have influenced their approach to identity. Based on these five statements, we can conclude that our data-based definition of identity needs to incorporate social roles and needs to refer to frequency or a time factor in some way.

Data-based definition elements from indirect statements and implications

In the text of the blogs we can find many statements that indirectly imply what students understood as identity when they listed their different identities. In order to systematically analyze these statements, I have first identified the rhetorical moves and steps present in blog sections describing specific identities. A closer look at a random example of an identity category description from a student's blog (Blog #1, see below) will illustrate the procedure of identifying patterns in students' writing that led to determining the rhetorical moves and steps salient in all students' descriptions. To make detailed explanations easier, I added bold face numbers in the paragraph to signify a switch in rhetorical purpose.

Sportman:

Posted on November 12, 2011 by tdani90

Identity: 1. For me doing sports are meaning more than doing some hobbies. **2.** I have been doing sports actively since I was 7. At first I started to play basketball but after a year I'd decided to try judo. I did it for 6 years. In addition in elementary school I swam for 8 years. After that I started duatlon (cycling and running) and I did it for 2 years. Then I began playing football in a professional team (in all my life I've played football). **3.** Now I play football about 4 or 5 times a week (at weekends I usually play 2 matches). **4.** 2 years ago I've started to play squash (similar to tennis) and **5.** I'm really enjoy it. **6.** Every year I do some hiking (I walk about 50-100 kilometers/each one) and in the winters I go skiing. **7.** In addition I'm a tennis fan and **8.**I love to watch tennis in live. **9.** This year I was so lucky that I could watch Roger Federer in live. (Blog #1)

In the first reading of this section, I identified places of switch in rhetorical purpose or switch in the way the rhetorical purpose was fulfilled. The writer of this blog starts out by introducing the specific identity of a sportman. The first sentence (**1.**) plays the role of establishing this identity while making it relevant at the same time as something that is "meaning more than doing some hobbies." The sentences that follow the number **2** all serve the function of making this specific identity (sportman) relevant through the person's past history in being involved in the activities associated with the identity. Then a switch comes at number **3**, where the identity's relevance is explained through the frequency of doing these activities in the present. At number **4**, the writer switches back to describing the past in connection with yet another activity associated with the sportman identity. Number **5** signals another switch in the way the writer makes this identity relevant, here the writer explains the relevance of an identity through the emotional connection of enjoying an activity. Number **6** is also a reference to the present, how the writer's activities in the presence make the sportman identity significant. The purpose of number **7** is to provide yet another detail about the sportman identity by adding another subcategory of activities connected to this identity. In the phrase after number **8**, we can again observe another expression of emotional connection ("I love to watch tennis) to an activity associated with the specific identity. Number **9** provides an interesting detail about this identity by connecting it to a famous tennis player.

The coding system

Performing the same type of close reading on all the students' blog revealed patterns in how students achieved different rhetorical purposes. For example, it became clear that students always introduced an identity and often made it relevant at the same time in the first move of a section describing a specific identity. This coincides with Burke and Stets' observation that interactions need to start with establishing the interlocutors' identity, so that individuals have a way to relate to each other. In addition, it also corresponds to what identity theory says about the salience of specific identities. As people have multiple identities, they have different levels of commitment to each identity. Their level of commitment in turn influences their behavior/language use in representing a specific identity. An identity is can be salient for a person through interactional and affective components, it is important based on the number and strength of ties a person has to other people through this identity. Thus making an identity relevant in language is a way for participants to express the salience of a specific identity in their lives.

Subsequently in the second move, students always provided reasons why a certain identity was relevant to them (i.e. their time involvement with an activity). This move can be connected to the identity verification process in identity theory, where once an identity is established it is verified through language, gestures and other symbols. In addition, when these identities are connected to roles, such as to the role of student, they have to be matching societal or group expectations. Thus, for example, in order for someone to have the identity of a university student, societal expectations are that this individual spends several years studying different subjects and works towards the attainment of a degree. In another example, for someone claiming Hungarian identity, expectations are that this person is or has been in some way connected to the location of this specific country. Of course, in face to face interaction the introduction and the verification of identity can happen at the same time, such as when you meet a doctor in a white lab coat. However due to the sequential nature of writing, this usually happens in different moves in the blog texts. While this is true about the text, the multimodal elements of the blog can also provide additional and instant clues about the nature of a specific identity thus verifying expectations this way.

In the third move, students added interesting details (such as anecdotes or place descriptions) to their identity descriptions. Although there is no direct correspondence to this move in identity theory, one reason for this move might be that students incorporated it to build ethos. Because the focus of this study is on identity representation, I will not discuss this move in detail; however, it might be interesting to explore how the Aristotelian concept of ethos can be related to this rhetorical move in the blog texts.

Based on my initial observations about rhetorical moves in the data, I have created a coding system that I applied to the specific segments of each blog that describes an identity. After coding the data, the following three rhetorical moves have emerged in students' identity category descriptions:

- Move1: Establishing a specific identity (introducing identity)
- Move 2: Verifying identity (providing reasons why a specific identity is relevant)
- Move 3: Ethos building (providing engaging details about the identity).

Each of these separate rhetorical moves identified in the database, as mentioned earlier, can be broken down to steps that had different types of content associated with them. The first move, establishing identity, was often a simple statement in a factual form (Move 1 Step 1A): "I am the third of five children" (Blog #3) or "I am a husband and a father" (Blog #34). Sometimes identities were introduced and rendered significant in the same sentence in two different ways. In Move 1 Step 1B writers claimed the personal significance of a certain identity. Examples for this approach from the blog database are: "My primary identity and the one that is the most important to me is the identity of Wife and Mom to my husband and kids" (Blog #39), "Being a brother of two sisters is also very important to me" (Blog #7), These were often connected to personal relationships as the above two examples show. In Move 1 Step1B, students rendered an identity relevant in their current situation. Examples of this include: "I'm currently a Bachelor student in International Studies at Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba, Hungary" (Blog

#1), or “I currently work full time for a larger bank as a Mortgage Loan Processor” (Blog #35). These were often associated with the writer’s work or school identities.

The second move, verifying identity, contained different steps in respect to the type of evidence that was listed as a reason for the significance of an identity. Here, time connections were often used, explaining an individual’s past history (Move 2 Step 2A), current connections (Move 2 Step 2B), and/or future plans (Move 2 Step 2C) associated with an identity. The paragraph describing the sportman identity quoted above for example has many sentences that fulfill the role of these steps; here statements after the number **2** refer to the past, while the statement after the number **3** is connected to the present. The following examples from different blogs illustrate future connections: “Hopefully sometime in the far future I will be a diplomat” (Blog #10) for the identity of student, or “In the year 2012 I plan to hit 4 more Islands and in the not to distant future I want to go to Europe and Disney” (Blog #42) for the identity of traveler. Besides time connections, writers stated affective connections, for instance as we have seen in the phrase marked with number **8** “I love to watch tennis in live” in the sportman identity paragraph (Move 2 Step 2E). The category of affective connections also includes another step (Step 2F) that reveals writers’ interest in a subject as can be seen in this example “I chose to study International Relations because I was pretty interested in it” for the identity category of student. Another step (Step 2G) also reflects affective connections as it refers to satisfaction with an activity related to a specific identity. Examples here are “I enjoy going to different destinations” (Blog#42) referring to the identity of traveler, and “I truly enjoy the chance to save someone’s life” (Blog#38) describing the identity of an ER nurse. Place connections have also been used to make identities relevant, as in for example “I was born in Kupres, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Srpska which makes me a Bosnian Serb" (Blog #48) for the identity category of Bosnian Serb, or "I was raised in Michigan in a rural area about 4 miles outside a small town called Cedar Springs" (Blog # 33) for the identity category of American.

In the third move blog writers provided engaging details in connection with a certain identity. While some of the details writers described could be grouped based on similarity of their content, the statements in this move were much more diversified than in the previous two moves. This of course is understandable as these details were much more individualized relating to personal preferences and experiences. Also, their purpose was not to establish an identity but to grab readers' attention through their distinctiveness and to build ethos. Thus the details in Move 3 are too specific and cannot be used for the purposes of creating a data-based general definition of identity. While an exhaustive categorization of these statements is not feasible, some salient types of details did emerge. These include listing subcategories of an activity associated with an identity such as in the following example: "My studies are including International Law, History of Diplomacy, Security Policy, The Main Legal Systems of the World' (Blog #7). Other details centered on the descriptions of activities (for example the description of scrapbooking in Blog #39), the description of people (for example family members or friends), and description of places (for example the description of the university campus). In addition, to make a certain identity interesting anecdotes or other attention-grabbing stories were used as well as the listing of favorites in a category such as favorite TV shows or favorite sports teams, music groups, and celebrities that are connected with a specific identity.

Table 2 below provides an overview of the different rhetorical moves and steps that emerged in the analysis of each identity category listed on student blogs.

Move 1: Establishing identity **(Introducing a specific identity)** Step 1A. establishing identity by stating it and/or Step 1B. establishing identity as personally significant (based on personal relationship, liking, or interest) and/or Step 1C. establishing identity as situationally significant (based on current or past situation)
Move 2: Verifying identity **(Providing reasons why a specific identity is relevant)** *Time connections:* Step 2A: reviewing personal history in regards to specific identity (time/past) and/or Step 2B: describing current time involvement in regards to an identity (time/present) and/or Step 2C: stating relevance of identity for the future (time/future) and/or *Place connections:* Step 2D: stating connections to a location and/or *Affective connections:* Step 2E: stating emotional attachment to people or groups, and/or Step 2F: describing intellectual connections and/or Step 2G mentioning satisfaction with activity connected to identity
Move 3: Ethos building **(Providing engaging details about an identity)**

Table 2. Student writers' rhetorical moves for describing identity categories in blogs

All steps in Move 1 and Move 2 have content associated with them that reveal what kind of elements students felt are needed to describe an identity. The content of the first move, establishing identity, is significant to our forming a data-based definition not only as to what type of identity category students establish as an identity (I will discuss these in the next section) but also as to the fact that there is a pattern in students' language use in Move 1 that indicate students felt it necessary to make identities significant. The following example sentences I selected randomly from the sentences used in Move1 to provide insight into the patterns of language use students employed in making an identity significant: (I have italicized words that are of special concern here.)

“The first of the *most important things in my life* is my family.” (Blog #4)

“Since my childhood I have been considering *very important* to emphasize that I am Hungarian.”(Blog #18)

“The *most important thing in my life* is my family.” (Blog #23)

“One of my *strongest point* is the writing.” (Blog #32)

“Being a husband is one of the two *most important* identities that I have (Blog #41)

“These 3 identities of mine are only a few of the *most important things in my life*.”(Blog #43)

“The best way to describe myself is through describing *what matters most to me."*(Blog #50)

We can easily observe that students use the word “important” quite frequently sometimes emphasized in its superlative form (“most important”), or proceeded by an intensifier (i.e. “really”, “very”). In addition to the superlatives and intensifiers in Move 1, other keywords include: “primary”, “main,” and “life.” Keywords such as these and the emphasized adjectives then necessitate that a data-based definition of identity include the concept of *significance* and at the same time incorporate Move1’s two different steps of making identities *personally or situationally* significant.

The content of steps in Move 2 contributes further elements to our data-based definition. The identity verification process, in which participants provided reasons why a specific identity was relevant illustrates that students felt a need to incorporate specific reasons to verify an identity. The different types of evidence students use to verify identities then needs to also be part of our data-based definition. To account for the three different categories of steps in Move 2, in our definition we need to make sure that the significance of identities is connected to *temporal, local, and affective* factors that are listed in the identity verification process.

The last step in creating a data-based definition of identity focuses on categorizing the type of identities students described in their blogs (i.e. student, gamer, Hungarian etc.). While a detailed description of categories and their frequency in the data base will be covered in Chapter IV, the following short summary of identity types used by students will contribute to forming our data based definition of identity. The types of identities listed by students on the blogs were grouped into more general categories based on their similarities. I considered categories that were chosen by more than one student as important to be included when creating a data-based definition of identity. The general categories assigned to types of identity labels are the following: societal role, group membership, activity-based identity, and personal characteristics.

Thus using these general identity categories that were representative in the blog data-set, and adding them to the other elements described in the previous sections I have identified all the important elements that a data-based definition of identity had to contain. In the literature review section we have selected the definition of identity by Burke and Stets (2009) as the base-line definition that fits the concept of identity used in this dissertation project particularly well. Their definition: "an identity is a set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person" (p.3) was then used as a basis for the data-based definition derived from the data analysis described in this chapter. Combining all overt and covert clues recovered through close reading, the categorization of rhetorical moves and steps, and the grouping of identity types I have arrived at the following data-based definition of identity: *an identity is a set of meanings that define who one is based on a personally or situationally significant societal role, group membership, frequent activity, or personal characteristics where significance is connected to temporal, local, and affective factors.*

Analyzing identities on the blogs

After identifying the rhetorical moves and steps students make in their identity descriptions to carry out a typified purpose in this highly contextualized genre of identity representation in transcultural online blogs I have arrived at the data-based definition of identity. The next step in the research process focused on looking at all blogs and grouping identities by identity category type. This categorizing was the first direct attempt towards answering my first research question: what kind of identities did students create for the purposes of the blog exchange project and to what extent can these identities be associated with traditional cultural categories and hybrid, cosmopolitan identities. The frequency of describing specific identity categories was then counted and ranked. Next, in order to determine the identity categories that had the highest potential to represent cosmopolitan identity, I looked for indications in students' descriptions of their specific identities that pointed to loyalties, group memberships, or significant interests reaching beyond national borders. Every instance of identity description that contained some kind of a reference to groups, people, practices, or languages that came from outside the national borders of the blog writer was counted as one potential for the representation of cosmopolitan identity. In this process, I have determined the three specific identity categories that had the highest cosmopolitan potential in the data base. Two of these, student identity and sports identity, were also the two most common identities described by project participants. The three specific identity categories with the highest cosmopolitan potential were then selected for close analysis with the hope that their description in the student blogs and their connection to structures of expectations that are based either in a single culture or in a mix of cultures will reveal patterns of identity representation in the data base.

Thus after identifying the most common identity categories with cosmopolitan potential represented on the blogs, I proceeded to analyze each category with respect to the structures of expectations that could be detected in each category. While I have used the same approach in looking for structures of expectation in each common identity category, I have used additional methods when I looked at national and ethnic identities, a very specific type of community membership. Here, I also applied the concepts discussed in *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* by Wodak et. al (1999) to my data set, as national identity is a highly ideologized issue, and thus Wodak et al's critical discourse analysis approach was very helpful in understanding how and why different discursive elements were used by the students to describe this type of identity. Again, the data in this identity subcategory was analyzed prior to categorizing students into national groups in order to allow that cosmopolitan identity, and students' understanding of cosmopolitanism as "universality plus difference" (Appiah, 2008, p. 92), could emerge from the data if present.

As the blog interface allowed students to incorporate several modalities in their blogs, I have also looked at how other modalities such as pictures and videos contributed to revealing structures of expectations. In this analytical process, I followed the argument of Anne Wysocki (2001), who believes that visuals and other forms of semiosis beyond the written text are not additional to the written text but are intricately interwoven with writing in order to reflect and construct social practices. In order to examine the blogs' multimodal components, I applied Wysocki's (2013) rhetorical approach to analyzing multimodal data. Wysocki describes her method of looking at multimodal texts as "a rhetorical approach with a strong cultural inflection" (p.2, 2013). Her analysis rests on the tenet that multimodal text producers are motivated; they want their texts to "do some sort of work in the world" (p.2, 2013). However, the choices composers of multimodal material make to do this work are not only influenced by the affordances of the media and tools they use but also by the cultural conventions that that surround the use of a certain media and mode in the composers' specific context. In addition, composers create their text for a specific audience to which they attribute either the same or a different set of cultural conventions and attitudes when it comes to interpreting different media and modes. These conventions and attitudes can all be revealed when they surface as structures of expectations,

Thus when analyzing multimodal data Wysocki suggests to start out by determining what kind of strategies producers of multimodal texts used and then connecting these with assumptions about the audience, context and purpose. This type of analysis of multimodal data is very similar to linguistic analyses seeking to uncover structures of expectations as described in the previously mentioned study by Tannen's (1993). As in the case with language use, multimodal composers' choices are also affected by their organized knowledge based on prior experiences, (what we called structures of expectations) these expectations can also be reconstructed based on how different modes are used in multimodal texts. Further, this approach will also help in identifying whether the reconstructed structures of expectations are based on a combination of cultures and thus whether they exemplify cosmopolitan practice.

Interviews

Although the blog pages and comments were my primary data source for my research, this type of data does not provide any information about the writing process. Since it is the choices an individual makes from the available resources that will determine how a multimodal communication product will take shape, inquiring about this process through interviews can reveal much about the role of agency in the pedagogical project. Understanding the motivation of individuals during the decision making/composition/design process provides us with further information about the blogs. As several studies in writing research in the digital space exemplify (Wei, 2010; Yi & Hirvela, 2010; Leon & Pigg, 2011), an effective research method to inquire about individuals' composing process is interviewing them about what motivated them while writing and how they decided between different design choices in multimodal composition. Wei (2010), for instance, learned through interviewing students that they found blogging a very effective tool for learning English as they reflected upon their research process they conducted in order to write a research paper. It was also during the interviewing process where it became evident that blogging made students aware of their self-identity as they made use of the various semiotic resources available to them through the blogging interface.

Interviewing is a widely used research tool in qualitative research (Creswell, 2012), and it is comprised of the researcher asking open-ended questions, recording the answers, transcribing the interview, and analyzing the transcribed text. Richards and Morse (2012) categorize interviews starting from unstructured or narrative interviews to the most structured ones and describes the approach the researchers take based on their level of domain knowledge. While as the instructor leading the pedagogical project I had good domain knowledge, I had little information about the specific motivation of individuals involved in the project. Thus the use of semistructured interviews suggested by Richards and Morse (2012, p.126) when the researcher knows the domain that is talked about and wants to elicit more detail about specific elements of this domain seemed the most logical choice. In semistructured interviews, the researcher has a predetermined set of questions and prompts that she asks in the same order in all of the interviews that are conducted and data is analyzed after all interviews have been completed.

Because in my research students were asked about their blogs, I have used a specific form of semistructured interviews following the research design of a guided tour through a website as described by DeWitt (1997) and DePew (2011). In this approach, participants are asked specific questions as they guide the researcher though their personal websites. DePew (2011), for example, asks multilingual students to give the researcher a tour of their Facebook pages, because using this special form of an interview provides more information about the rhetorical context and involves the research participants in identifying the motivations behind their rhetorical choices rather than simply analyzing these websites in the absence of their designers. In addition, DePew points out that this method is also effective in looking at the interactive features of these sites, as research participants can comment on how they read and write commenting posts to other Facebook users. As a Facebook profile is an online identity, with the help of the interview data, DePew in his research connects the (multi)linguistic resources with the way his research participants create this identity.

I attempted to duplicate this guided tour approach with the hope that it will reveal connections between identity descriptions and the blog interface. The selection process for the interviews as well as the questions were IRB approved at Old Dominion University (see Appendix A for a detailed description of the interview protocol and prompts). Several months after the completion of the pedagogical project, students were sent an email to ask them to volunteer for an interview. Eight students (four from Davenport University and four from Pazmany University) have volunteered and have completed the phone interviews. During the interviews the following questions were asked:

1. (Icebreaker) Tell me about your experience with intercultural communication in general and in the class in particular.
2. Was your overall experience with the blog assignment positive or negative? Please explain why.
3. Please look at the content of your own blog entry and talk about what you included in there and why.
4. Now let's talk about the choices you made about the layout and visual appearance of your blog. Again, by looking at your blog explain to me why you made it appear the way it does.
5. What was your overall impression about the blog pages that students in the other country generated during the class and how did you participate in the commenting part of the assignment?

6. Can you recall anything interesting about the language use of the students in the other country?

During each interview, both the researcher and the interviewee were looking at the interviewee's blog page while discussing especially the third question. After the completion of all interviews, the recorded conversations were transcribed. Although the eight recorded and transcribed interviews certainly provided additional insight into the process of blog creation, I realized after a general evaluation of the interview transcripts that most of the information gathered this way was connected more to technology use and project logistics rather than to the process of representing different identities. For example, students spent a lot of time talking about the blog interface and their use of it, and about how much time during the semester should be spent on projects like this, but much less about why they included certain identities and how they represented them. For this reason, I decided to use the interview transcripts as supplemental information on the findings that emerged from the blog and blog comment analysis. Whenever a specific phenomenon materialized from the blog and blog comment analysis, I searched the interview database to see if there were additional comments on this specific phenomenon by the interviewees. Thus I applied a coding system to the interview transcript that has emerged from the blog data. Different codes were assigned to different types of identities (i.e. student identity, national identity) and also to different commenting strategies. I incorporated interview excerpts on a particular identity or commenting strategy in the reporting of my research results because interviewees' comments on these issues provided project specific context in which to evaluate the research findings.

Analyzing Identities in Interaction in the Blog Comments

The blog comments are especially important as they were the sites where interaction took place between students, the sites of intercultural communication in action. While analyzing the comments, I focused on finding specific linguistic and multimodal strategies that students used to create connections between themselves relying again on the basic units of rhetorical moves and steps. Here, I looked at not only the moves used to initiate contact (i. e. greetings) but also the topics mentioned when referring to common interests (i.e. identity type, previous experience, etc.), and how multimodality was built in into the comment feature, an interface less conducive for incorporating modalities other than language. The results of this analysis were also categorized according to patterns observed in the use of rhetorical moves and steps and were evaluated in terms of the presence or absence of cosmopolitan outlook, or more specifically whether and in what form a certain openness towards diversity was detectable in the language and content of the comments. This entailed a closer look at how a relativization of some students own values and identities happened through the negotiation of words and meanings with other students as each deployed and modified a set of linguistic (and sometimes multimodal) resources during the transcultural interaction in the comment section of the blogs.

To be able to see patterns in the kind of rhetorical strategies students used for identity verification purposes in the blog comments, it was beneficial to view each comment as an example of a genre we can call “blog comments” in this temporary discourse community. Here too as in the case of blog entries we can argue that the blog comments are a “class of communicative events” (Swales, 1990, p. 45) that are based on shared communicative purposes, since participants in the pedagogical project were all trying to initiate conversations or reply to comments based on the information provided in the blogs. Thus the blog comments were all typified responses called for by the similar situation in each instance of interacting with a previously unknown person who lives in a different country. Classifying the blog comments as a genre for the purposes of this research allows us to investigate whether there are similarities in the rhetorical structure of blog comments.

In the process of a close reading of all blog comments, I became aware of many structural similarities between most comments. These similarities are form and content based and can best be explained by a systematic description of the rhetorical moves and steps that constituted the blog comments. Because the rhetorical purpose in a contact initiating comment is somewhat different than in a comment that is composed as a reply to an initial comment, the rhetorical moves and steps will be outlined for each type of comment. From the 243 comments 143 were contact-initiating comments and 100 were replies to previous comments. The following comment exchange exemplifies some of the typical moves that student made in contact-initiating as well as in reply comments. Each bolded number represents a switch in rhetorical purpose, the beginning of a new move or step.

1. *on November 24, 2011 at 5:31 pm |juliehuyser*

1. I really liked your blog. Especially your posts on Football (soccer). **2.** My husband and son are huge soccer fans and also like Man U. **3.** They went to a world cup game last summer when the US played Canada. Their goal is to someday go to England and watch soccer. Currently my son plays on a U19 indoor soccer team and my husband is the coach. Shall we set up a game sometime to play your team **4.** Do you watch soccer in the US when you are here during the summer?

2 on November 26, 2011 at 12:15 am | 16keane

1. Hi! **2.** I don't just watch soccer I also play it. There are plenty soccer grounds in nyc especially in central park. **3.** I have to say that your son and husband did choose well:D Manutd is the best team in the world.

The initiating comment by *juliehuyser* starts out by a reference to the blog creator's post (**1.**) as it incorporates a positive remark about this blog ("I really liked your blog"). The next step (**2.**) connects the blog commenter to the blog writer by pointing out something that they both have in common, in this case a family interest in soccer. This sentence also establishes the main topic of the initiating comment as connecting to sports identity. The next two sentences (**3.**) provide personalized details on the blog commenter's connection to the established common topic: soccer. The initiating comment then ends with a question (**4.**) aimed at keeping the conversation going. The reply to this comment from *16keane* starts out with a greeting (**1.**) followed by an answer to the question in the initiating comment (**2.**). The reply ends with further remarks on the content of the initiating comment (**3**). While the above example is a typical exchange, these comments do not contain all steps that are observable in other comments. They do however exemplify some of the typical moves and steps I observed in the blog comment database. These include initiating comments' establishing a connection to the blog (either its form or content) that they comment on, providing details on how the comment writer connects to the topic of the blog, and incorporating a question or some kind of a prompt that elicits a reply from the blog creator. These typical rhetorical moves were in fact so prevalent in the blog comments that even the students became aware of it as exemplified by the following humorous comment on Blog #28: "Dear Nora! This blog is pretty cool!:) I think we have something in common! " (comment on Blog #28). This short comment was placed on a Pazmany student's blog post by another Pazmany student (likely her friend) and its main purpose seems to be to jokingly point out how most of the blog comments of this pedagogical project are structured. But what in fact this comment does is that it shows how students themselves were aware of some of the moves blog comments had to contain in order to be effective, namely, they had to have a positive comment about the host blog, and had to point out similarities.

In the above comment exchange example we can also see that reply comments are focused on answering the question stated by the writer of the initiating comment and often contain a positive statement about the content of the initiating comment. We will now look at each type of comment, contact-initiating and reply, and list the rhetorical moves and steps that emerged as a result of analyzing the rhetorical structure of all comments in the database. Our purpose in looking at each type of comment this way is to first understand the rhetorical structure of the blog comments posted during the project and then to identify the steps that were crucial to identity verification.

All the blog comments in the database were analyzed in order to distinguish the rhetorical moves and steps of identity negotiation, and the following moves and steps were identified in contact initiating comments:

Move 1: Establishing contact Step 1A. greeting / self-introduction and/or Step 1B. positive comment on the blog format or blog content and/or Step1C. establishing a shared space
Move 2: Building a conversation Step 2A describing personal experience or opinion and/or Step 2B. asking for input on a blog topic often within the established shared space and/or Step 2C formal closure

Table 3. Student writers' rhetorical moves in contact-initiating blog comments

This table shows that contact initiating comments tend to start out with a greeting or self-introduction and are often followed by a positive comment on the content or format of the blog on which the comment was placed. Another common step in Move 1 was "establishing a shared space" where comment writers referred to what they had in common with the writer of blog. The main function of the second move was to build a conversation. This was achieved through describing personal experiences and through reaching out to the blog writers by asking questions. Some initiating comments concluded with a formal closure.

Blog comment replies also had easily identifiable moves and steps associated with them (see Table 4). These comments always acknowledged the contact initiating comment and contained the answers to the questions posed to the blog writer.

Move 1: Acknowledging initiating comment Step 1A: Greeting and/or Step 1B: Thanking for comment and/or Step 1C: Agreeing to established shared space and/or Step 1D: Positive comment about the content of initiating comment
Move 2: Replying to request and building further conversation Step 2A: Providing input solicited in contact-initiating comment and /or Step 2B: Asking for further input on a blog topic often within the established shared space and/or Step 2C: Formal closure

Table 4. Student writers' rhetorical moves in blog comment replies

When studying rhetorical patterns of blog comment interaction during the pedagogical project, I analyzed the moves and steps of both, the contact-initiating and the reply comments. In addition, because language was one of the main topics of student blogs and comments, I also described language attitudes and the presence or absence of translingual approaches to language use. This was done with special attention to how language attitudes were discussed and how translingual approaches - strategically using elements of more than one language within the same statement or text - were applied between commenting partners.

The following two chapters will describe the findings of my dissertation research that emerged through the application of the above described research methods. These findings then will not only point to patterns of identity representation and negotiation in this specific transcultural project, but can also serve as the starting point for defining outcomes when designing similar pedagogical projects in the future.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTITY REPRESENTATION IN THE STUDENT BLOGS

Having arrived at a data-based definition of identity in the previous chapter, we now will look at the type of identities students chose to represent in their blogs and the rhetorical moves and steps they applied to describe these identities. The chapter will start out with grouping the different identity categories students described by the kind of labels they used and by the type of identity (i.e. group identity, activity-based identity) they portrayed. Then each instance of an identity description will be categorized based on the criteria whether it contains a potential for embodying cosmopolitan identity.

Subsequently, the chapter will describe the close analysis of three different identity categories showing the highest cosmopolitan potential. For each identity category, I will study the ways in which linguistic and multimodal elements were used in each rhetorical move and step to describe this specific identity category within the constraints of structures of expectations. In detail then, I will specify how expectations of content and context influenced students in their linguistic and multimodal choices and what this tells us about the type of expectations (based on a single culture or on a mix of cultures) students held. In addition, we will look at how identity descriptions in the blogs correspond with what we know about the process of identity representation based on the premises of identity theory. I will also incorporate interview excerpts in discussing the participants' identity representations in order to provide background information about how a specific identity category was represented by individual students. This approach will then lead to answering the first research question of this dissertation about whether student identities were represented in more traditional or in more hybrid, cosmopolitan terms during this pedagogical project.

Types of identity categories and labels in the data

The first step towards answering the research question whether students represented their identities in more traditional or cosmopolitan terms during this project is to outline the types of identity categories students listed on their blogs as significant parts of their lives. Specifically, we need to disseminate what types of phenomena (activities, roles, etc.) did students think count as an identity. Based on Burke and Stets' definition of identity, we would expect the following three different identity types: an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or someone who claims particular characteristics. While all of these identity types were present in the data, some identities represented in the database could not be accounted for using these three categories. In order to determine the different identity types in the database, I will first look at the section headings of the paragraphs students used to describe identity categories on their blog pages.

The overwhelming majority of students (49 out of 52) introduced their different identities by describing them in different sections and including a section heading or label that stands for the identity category they discussed. In the following discussion, I will call these section headings identity labels. In most cases, the identity labels were very explicit in referring to a specific identity category; examples for these include: student, brother, soccer player, or computer technician. Three students did not break up their narrative into sections and did not use section headings (or identity labels) in addition to ignoring most prompts of the assignment description; thus these 3 blogs had to be left out of consideration when categorizing the types of phenomena students selected as identities. Also, some students that did use separate sections for each identity did not label all of these sections. In this case, the explicit identity category was still easy to determine, which I then assigned to these sections. The List of Blogs in Appendix B contains all identity labels students used in addition to the identity labels (in square brackets) I assigned to the sections that either did not have a heading/label, or where the labels were less direct in describing an identity category. (Examples for the latter include a section heading from Blog #33 “Motorcycles” that describe the hobby of fixing up old motorcycles as opposed to the sport of motorcycle racing, or the heading in Blog #46 “The weird girl” that describes the ethnic identity of Dutch-American.)

Once all identity labels were identified, I proceeded to group these labels based on similarity and thus created more general identity categories. This categorization was at times difficult, because some sections that did have explicit identity labels, addressed more than one identity category. Case in point in Blog #50 is the category of “Yooper” (a person from Michigan’s Upper Peninsula, UP for short, who is called a Yooper). This section described a student who is not actually from the Upper Peninsula but spends a lot of time in the great outdoors of this part of Michigan hiking and kayaking. I assigned this section to two different categories - region based identity and free-time activity: outdoors. Another example is Blog #48 where the writer uses the label “Entertainment,” but describes two different activities, watching TV and listening to music. Altogether, there were 5 labels that were ascribed to multiple categories; this has added 6 more entities when counting the different types of identity categories. The table below (Table 5) contains the identity categories derived from the labels student writers used as section headings when describing their specific identities. It also lists how many times a specific identity label was used in the data-set.

Identity categories	Frequency in the database
Societal role (based on relationships)	
A. Personal relationships (family member, friend)	19
B. Pet owner	4
Group membership	
C. National identity	13
D. Region based identity	6
Activity	
Main activity	
E. Student	37
F. Employment-related identity	16
Free-time activity	
G. Sports	22
H. Hobby	7
I. TV	2
J. Music	5
K. Gaming	4
L. Party life	5
M. Gambling	2
N. Outdoors	3
O. Travelling	4
P. Reading/Books	3
Q. Theatre	2
R. Specific interest	2
Personal characteristics	
S. Personal trait	4
T. Physical characteristics	1
Other	
U. Experience-based	1
V. Social class-based	1
W. Religion-based	1

Table 5. Identity categories by type in the student blogs

In Table 5, the numbers in each row indicate the frequency with which students chose a specific label that described a certain type of identity as relevant in their lives. (Appendix B that contains each blog's number in the database and its web address also lists the types of identity categories described in each blog using the capital letters in front of each category in Table 5). These types of identities then were grouped into more general categories based on their similarities. I considered categories that were chosen by more than one student as important to be included when creating a data-based definition of identity. The general identity types based on the grouping of similar identity labels can be seen in bold and italic type in the above table and are the following: societal role, group membership, activity-based identity, and personal characteristics. We can see that in order to group identities by types, I had to add one additional identity type to Burke and Stets' taxonomy which contained the types: societal role, group membership, and individual characteristics. An identity based on the love of reading or travelling listed on the blogs certainly cannot fit into Burke and Stets' above mentioned three categories. Further, some identity categories could be grouped under several identity types. An employee for example is a member of a group, and might have some essential characteristics that go with this group membership. However, when analyzing the paragraphs describing this identity it became clear that this and several other identity categories were described in terms of activities, so that is how I categorized them in my interpretation of the data adding the identity type: activity-based identity.

Identity representation in the data

Now that we have seen what kind of identities students created for the purposes of the blog exchange project and grouped them by type, we will explore the extent to which these identities can be associated with traditional cultural categories and hybrid, cosmopolitan identities. For this purpose we will take a closer look at the numbers that reveal the frequency of identities chosen in Table 5 above. The identity categories that were described with high frequency in the blog data base were (from highest to lowest):

student (37), sports related (22), personal relationship (such as family member) related (19), employment related (16), national identity (13), hobby related (7), region-based identity (6), music related (5), party-life related (5), gaming related (4), personal trait related (4), travel related (4), and pet related (4).

It should be no surprise that the identity most participants (37 of them) decided to represent on their blogs was the identity of a student, as this whole project was directly connected to their education. One of the Davenport students who volunteered to be interviewed described his choice of incorporating a student identity on his blog page the following way: "Then the other one I chose was a student, and this is something that I am sure the international students can relate to, it seems from me reading their blogs that they're pretty close, being on the other side of the world and being a student is not much different than here at Davenport you go to class, you study for tests, you take exams" (Interview #1). Not only do we see this student's reasoning for incorporating this specific identity into his blog in this statement, but we also find that he describes student identity in terms of activities students do, which supports my categorizing this identity under the activity- based type. Further, this interviewee also explained that he wanted to introduce identities that participants at the other university could relate to, and he thought that a student identity was certainly one that all participants connections to.

Describing one's identity in terms of societal roles such as brother, daughter, husband etc. was also high ranking on the student blogs. Many participants described a family-related societal role at the very beginning of their blogs. Interviewee #6 for example when talking about her identity choices for the blog started out with the following statement: "First of all, I wrote about my family" (interview #6). Another interview segment also indicates just how important it was for one of the participants to incorporate this societal role based identity: “what I included was about myself and that I was a mom and a wife as well. I also talked about what my important roles were […]I said really my most important role is a wife and a mother” (Interview #2). This observation corresponds to what identity theory tells us about multiple identities, namely, that individuals rely on an internal hierarchical control system when it comes to a decision about which of a persons’ many identities one wants to foreground. While a hierarchy of identities seems to exist regardless of the situation, this hierarchy can change in different contexts. In our database, we can see that some students, like the interviewees above, provide explicit markers to reveal their situationally independent hierarchy of identities. Others, for example the 20 participants who list student identity as first (see for example Blog # 1, 38, 52), modify their hierarchy of identities to fit the educational context.

Another identity many participants listed was employment related identity. The frequency of listing this identity was slightly lower in the data base than student identity (19 descriptions), most likely due to the fact that while many Davenport University students worked full time only a few Pazmany University students had a job aside from being a student. 13 of the 17 Davenport University students selected to represent an employment-related identity while only three of the 32 Pazmany University students chose to describe such an identity. This identity was also clearly related to time involvement with work activity and thus was also classified under the activity –based identity type. To reinforce this classification here is a segment from Interview #1 with a Davenport University student that concentrates on work-related activity: “I have network communications, or network administration so I kind of put an identity out there, this is something that I do now, and kind of just basically describe my job and things that I do on a day to day basis while I am at work (Interview #1).

National identity was also chosen with relatively high frequency; 13 students decided to represent this type of identity on their blogs. This identity category was grouped under group identity type, as it describes the connections to all other people who have the same nationality. Out of the 13 descriptions of national identity, 9 were placed first on the blog pages. Thus this identity was placed high in the hierarchy of identities for these students, which again, can be attributed to them acknowledging the significance of the intercultural situation. Placing national identity in this primary location by 9 students shows the degree to which these students prioritized national identity at least in this specific situation. However, a few descriptions of national identity show that for at least some participants this identity is high up in the hierarchy of identities regardless of the situation. This can also be observed in the introductory statements of national identity descriptions such as "My hungarian identity determine my life principally" (Blog #30) or "First of all, I am Hungarian" (Blog #22). One of the Pazmany students also reaffirms the primary importance of nationality in Interview #5 the following way:" Why have I wrote my Hungarian identity first? Actually because, year-to-date, it's my first identity that defines me. Any other types of identity they come after that. Because first of all, I consider myself to be Hungarian (Interview#5). While it is difficult to tell whether similar statements would be produced in a control project where only Hungarian nationals are involved, still this identity seems to be ideologically central for some students. We will look at how this centrality is expressed in the text of the blog descriptions later in this chapter.

We need to mention one more identity when considering the identity categories that were mentioned the most in the blog database. This was the most commonly selected identity relating to a free-time activity: sport. In the blog database 22 students represented an identity that is connected to a specific sport or sports in general. Two of the interviewees also perceived sports as a common type of identity that students at the other institution represented in their blogs as can be seen in the following statements" Most of the identities that they had listed were you know the student, or sister or brother, and sometimes its sports like soccer (Interview #1), "A lot of them, from what I can remember, I'm not looking at any right now but a lot of them were involved with different sports as well (Interview #2).

While it might be interesting to describe the linguistic and multimodal strategies students used to portray each of the 23 different identity categories on their blogs, we will focus our analysis on the identity categories that can help us answer the research question as to what extent cosmopolitan identities were relevant in the representation of identities for the purposes of this intercultural blog exchange project. To determine which of the identity categories had the highest potential to represent cosmopolitan identity, I looked for indications in students' descriptions of their specific identities that pointed to loyalties, group memberships, or significant interests reaching beyond national borders. Every instance of identity description that contained some kind of a reference to groups, people, practices, or languages that came from outside the national borders of the blog writer was counted as one potential for the representation of cosmopolitan identity. Sentences like the following come from segments that were categorized as having cosmopolitan potential: "I love learning foreign languages (now English and French), and I'm really interested in getting touch with other cultures" (Blog #1) and "I love watching men's tennis in particular. Roger Federer from Switzerland is in my opinion the best player to ever step foot on a tennis court" (Blog #41). The third column in Table 6 below lists the number of blog sections that contained references reaching beyond national borders in each identity category type.

Identity categories	Frequency in the database	Frequency of cosmopolitan identity potential
Societal role (based on relationships)		
A. Personal relationships (family member, friend)	19	3
B. Pet owner	4	1
Group membership		
C. National identity	13	12
D. Region based identity	6	2
Activity		
Main activity		
E. Student	37	27
F. Employment-related identity	16	1
Free-time activity		
G. Sports	22	15
H. Hobby	7	0
I. TV	2	1
J. Music	5	5
K. Gaming	4	4
L. Party life	5	0
M. Gambling	2	1
N. Outdoors	3	0
O. Travelling	4	4
P. Reading/Books	3	2
Q. Theatre	2	1
R. Specific interest	2	2
Personal characteristics		0
S. Personal trait	4	0
T. Physical characteristics	1	0
Other		
U. Experience-based	1	0
V. Social class-based	1	0
W. Religion-based	1	0

Table 6. Identity categories and cosmopolitan identity potential

Examining the numbers here we can see that the identity category types most often containing references that reach beyond national borders are (in the order of decreasing frequency numbers): student identity (27), sports-related identity (15), national identity

(12), music-related identity (5), gaming (4), and travelling-related identities (4). While all of these identity categories had some potential to describe transnational phenomena due to trans-border allegiances, in the following section we will undertake a detailed analysis of the three different identity categories with cosmopolitan potential that were most commonly represented in the blog data base: student identity, sports identity, and national identity.

Reflecting structures of expectations in identity categories

In the subsequent analysis of the identity categories : student identity, sports identity, and national identity I will uncover how students' use of linguistic and multimodal elements in their blogs represent these specific identities and reveal the underlying structures of expectations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, structures of expectations are a kind of organized knowledge about the world based on previous experience that affects the linguistic choices one makes when speaking or writing (Tannen, 1993). Structures of expectations can be reconstructed based on the linguistic elements of texts and can reveal whether the blog writers constructed their identities based on a writers' experience of the world in a single culture or in a combination of cultures. If we find that the structures of expectations revealed by linguistic and multimodal blog elements were based on a combination of cultures, we can take this as an indication of a possible influence of cosmopolitanism in identity representation in the blog data base.

Procedurally, when looking at each identity category, we will make use of the rhetorical moves and steps identified in the previous chapter as the basic units of analysis, since their content connects them to the symbolic interaction of identity representation as described by identity theory. A description of the common choices of words, phrases, and multimodal elements that make up each specific rhetorical move and step in the data base provides us with insight into how students used language and multimodality for identity verification purposes depending on expectations of content and context. Particularly, the kinds of steps students apply in describing an identity reveals their expectations about the content, or what our data shows they felt needs to be discussed when verifying a specific identity category. Moving beyond uncovering expectations of content, we will also look at how students verbalized their expectations of context, how in turn these influenced the identity verification process, and whether all students were composing their blogs in the same contextual frame.

Student identity

Not surprisingly, the most commonly represented identity in the database of student blogs is the identity of a student. Out of the 49 students who described identities in separate sections 37 (25 from Pazmany University and 12 from Davenport University) have listed “student” as one of their identities. When analyzing this specific category, it is important to remember some of the contextual factors discussed in the previous chapter. First, Pazmany University students attended the university full time, while most of the Davenport University students were part-time students. Also, all Pazmany University students were International Studies majors while only two Davenport University students had a major in an international field; they were enrolled in the International Business program. In addition, the campus that Pazmany University students attended is located in a pristine valley and had been recently built by a very famous Hungarian architect, whereas the campus the Davenport University students attended cannot claim any outstanding natural or architectural features. All of these factors may have had an effect on how participants conceptualized the identity of a student at their specific universities and the language and multimodal elements they used to verify this identity.

Student identity: Expectations of content

In order to discuss the representations of student identity on the blogs, we will first establish the expectations of content that can be derived from the rhetorical strategies and linguistic elements students used when describing this identity category. As mentioned before, expectations of content are revealed by the kind of steps students choose in each rhetorical move and by the linguistic elements they use in these steps. Since the first move's objective is to establish an identity and (in some cases) making it relevant at the same time, the choice of steps in the first move provides us with a consistent picture across the data set of how participants relate to the identity of being a student (see Table 7 below).

Move 1				
Step 1A Establishing identity by stating it	**Step 1B Establishing identity as personally significant**	**Step 1C Establishing identity as situationally significant**		
I statement (i.e. "I study at… "I study (a major) "I attend (a university)" "I am a student at")	*Key words: enjoy, like* (i.e. "I enjoy being a student at…")	*Present state reference* (the adverb "currently" or "at present" (i.e. "I currently attend)	*Frequency reference* ("on Mondays" "year around")	*Verb tense + years* (present perfect, past) (i.e. "I have been studying … for … years")
17	4	5	2	9

Table 7. Student identity-Move1: Establishing identity

As we can see in Table 7, many students (17) use Step 1A, which is simply establishing an identity (without a reference to its significance). The sentences used in Step 1A were all "I statements" starting with the first person personal pronoun followed by a verb in present tense. Only one of these 17 introductory sentences used the copular verb "be" with the noun "student," the other 16 sentences were more action oriented with most often containing the verb "study." This may indicate that participants conceived the identity of a student less in terms of a form of existence (being a student) and more in terms of the activity (studying) that goes along with this identity. This observation further strengthens the reason behind classifying student identity in this data base as an identity type that is based on an activity and not as a social role identity type as identity theory would suggest.

Also, we can see that the 20 participants in our database that did decide to include a reference to the significance of student identity have used either Step 1B or Step 1C to do so. Out of the 20, 16 students used Step 1C making the identity of being a student situationally significant by using some kind of a temporal reference. Some students added the adverb “currently,” while others referred to the number of years or semesters they have been studying. Two students made this identity relevant by including a reference to time frequency. (To explain why both of these students were from Davenport University, we need to refer back to the general definitions of identity, where several Davenport University students described identity as different hats one wears at different times of the day or week). Only 4 students used Step 1B which indicates significance based on personal relationship, liking, or interest. Also there is lack of intensifiers (i.e. “very”) and emphasizing adjectives such as “important” in all three steps of Move 1 used by students. Thus based on the types of steps and the language used by participants in these steps, the identity of a student represented in the database appears to be activity oriented and only situationally significant. This means that most students’ expectations of content focuses on the temporal positioning of this identity.

This temporal quality of student identity is further evidenced in the Steps of Move 2 (see Table 8 below).

Move 2			
Step 2A	**Step 2B**	**Step 2C**	**Step 2D**
Reference to past (“after I graduated from high school”)	**Reference to present** (“this is my final year”)	**Reference to future** (“after graduation I would like to”)	**Place connections** (“our school is situated”)
13	13	20	8
Step 2E	**Step2F**	**Step 2G**	
Emotional attachment to people (“I like the people here)	**Intellectual connection to subjects** (“I am interested in international relations)	**Satisfaction with activity** (“I love learning foreign languages”)	
5	10	4	

Table 8. Student identity-Move 2: Verifying identity

As mentioned earlier, it is in Move 2 where blog writers provide a reason why a specific identity is relevant thus verify an identity this way. In the case of student identity, there are 46 instances where a temporal reference is given to explain why student identity is one of the identities the writers chose to describe. Other types of reasons such as intellectual (10) as exemplified in the statement “I chose this university and these studies because of his “fame”, and I’m interested in international relations, in law and politics” (Blog #5) and place connections (8) such as in “Im [sic]very happy to study here because the University is very close to my home” are also frequent in the blog database. There are only a few examples with emotional connections (5) as for example “I like it here because it has a nice athmosphere” [sic] (Blog #7) or satisfaction with an activity (4) as in the statement “I love learning foreign languages” (Blog #1) are provided as reasons for this identity’s relevance.

Looking at the first two rhetorical moves and outlining expectations of content based on the content described in these moves no patterns of intercultural difference emerge where we could establish a correlation between different groups of students and the writing strategies they used to establish and verify this specific identity. Student identity is largely represented in similar ways by participants at both universities, as one interviewee from Davenport University also states: “I knew that a college student is pretty much the same wherever you go. They had the same things that I was doing. I connected with them because it's a college student (Interview #4). This similarity that the interviewee expressed and is also seen in the first two moves should not be a surprise as these moves were also the ones that were more wide spread across the data set and could be devised into easily identifiable steps. Move 3, however, allows for inclusion of more individual details, and this is where a few content related patterns had surfaced during the analysis. The details described in Move 3 across the whole blog data set were mostly connected to study subjects, majors, school and program requirements, in both the Pazmany and Davenport University students’ blogs that distinguished individual students thus established their ethos. In addition, some participants included explanations or little anecdotes about why they chose a certain major or university. However, these details did not show any patterns. The pattern that did emerge in Move 3 is related to referring to the identity of a student as being part of a community. This again is interesting as this observation would point to classifying student identity as a group identity, rather than Burke and Stets’ categorization of this identity as a social role in identity theory. However, this reference to group membership is mostly observable in the identity description of Pazmany University students. Seven Pazmany University students write in detail about the community of friends they form with their fellow students, while only two Davenport University students mention other people at the university. The keyword “friend” has been used eight times in this section, all by (5) Pazmany University students. Further, less direct indications of community membership also align with the tendency that Pazmany University students represent the identity of a student from a more collectivistic viewpoint. Here, patterns in the use of the first person plural pronoun (“we”/”our”) in Pazmany University student blogs are especially revealing.

Understanding how people use personal pronouns in discourse, according to Deborah Schiffrin, helps us identify the relationship that speakers/writers create between themselves in a given verbal exchange, or “textual world” and the reference they make to other people and themselves beyond this exchange in the actual, “interactional” world (2006, p. 104). This indexing characteristic of especially first and second personal pronouns is explicitly connected to whom speakers/ writers identify with, and thus have direct implications to the kind of identity that is represented through them in discourse.

The first person plural pronoun “we” has been used 14 times across all blog sections describing student identity (13 times by 7 Pazmany University students and once by a Davenport University student), whereas the first person plural possessive determiner “our” has been used 12 times (at each time by 5 Pazmany University students). When we examine what exactly the pronouns “we” and “our” refer to when used to describe student identity in our blog database, we can categorize usage depending on whether the pronoun refers to the university or student body, or to an outside group, or has perhaps has a universal meaning. Meanings of personal pronouns constantly shift within the same discourse; thus, it is important to identify what function of the personal pronoun “we” and "our" becomes foregrounded in each instance of its use. Because the purpose of this analysis is to understand whether student identity is described as a type of group identity through the strong connection to the community of students at a university, the specific semantic references and the frequency of "we" and "our" in the data (as shown in Table 9 below) can provide insight into how this linguistic resource is used by participants to create community. Because the central unit of reference in this case is the community of students at the university, all instances of use that aligns with this reference are categorized as student community-focused below.

Semantic functions of "we" and "our"	Number of usage instances by Pazmany University students	Number of usage instances by Davenport University students
Not focused on student community (writer and others outside the university)	2	1
Student community-focused (writer and others at the university)	19	0
Student community-focused (all at the university and in the country)	2	0
Universal (everyone in the world)	2	0

Table 9. First person plural pronoun usage in the descriptions of student identity

The numbers in Table 9 point to the overwhelming use of the first person plural pronoun with a direct reference to the student community (19 times), the writer and his or her fellow students at the university or in the program. The following example sentences illustrate this in more detail:

"Some of *our* subjects are in English like British Constitution and Society, and *we* have several language course [sic] like Business English and Academic Reading." (Blog #7)

"*We* have to study a lot, especially in this last year before the diploma" (Blog #11)

"*We* like to go to the cinema and parties or just chill in our Student's Club." (Blog #14)

These sentences point to a sense of community the Pazmany University students have with their fellow students within the same program or at the same university. This strong sense of community was also voiced by one of the Pazmany University interviewees the following way: "And we are in a very friendly environment and there is a strong community amongst students. It's not like a university in Budapest where you feel like a stranger (Interview #6).

Why can't we find a single example of the plural first person pronoun referring to the community of students in the student identity description sections written by participants from Davenport University? While a direct correlation cannot be established, the most likely reason for this difference is not cultural but has to do with the educational context of the participating institutions and students. As pointed out earlier, most Davenport University students attended the university part-time, while in Hungary most students were enrolled full time. Also, all Pazmany University students in the classes that were connected had the same major, while students in the U.S. classroom had different majors. Seeing in this example that difference in writing style and identity representation in the data is not always connected to nationality can serve as a reminder to not privilege nationality in analyzing international data sets.

Another area where the student identity description sections differ significantly in expectations of content between Pazmany University and Davenport students is in the use of pictures and other modalities. 12 Pazmany University students incorporate a picture of their university into their blog entry sections about student identity while only 3 Davenport University students do the same. In addition, six Pazmany University students also write about the unique architecture and natural surroundings of their campus, while none of the Davenport University students describe their campus in any way. The high frequency with which Pazmany University students included a picture about their university was also noticed by Davenport University students. One Davenport interviewee describes this the following way: “Many had pictures of the school that they go to (…). I'm looking at another one right now and I saw that same picture a lot of the University that they attend” (Interview #2). A Pazmany student describes her motivation for incorporating a picture of university building in the following statement: “So it’s not normal building it’s very famous in my country and because of the engineering. Everybody is proud of their school and they wanted to show what it looks like” (Interview #6).

Here again, knowing the contextual information of the Pazmany University campus being built by a nationally famous architect helps us to understand why these students might take pride in mentioning this topic. But what was the blog composers’ motivation behind posting pictures of their university buildings, what kind of expectations of content did they respond to? Or as Wysocki (2013) put it, what ideas of audience, context, and purpose would encourage the creators of the blogs to adding a picture of their university as a way of describing an identity?

Figure 1. Picture of Pazmany Peter Catholic University, Hungary.

The answer to this question starts out with a non-culture specific assumption people hold about photography. Photographs, as described in Susan Sontag's seminal book *On Photography* (1973), add to the truth value of their images. This happens because they not only seem to be the portrayal of the real, but also provide the means for the viewer to have control over the image portrayed. Or as Sonntag puts it, "photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we are shown a photograph of it" (2001, p. 5). This is certainly what motivated some of the blog writers to incorporate these pictures into their blog as two of the Pazmany University participants allude to this function of pictures in the following statements:

"As you see in this picture our university has a very special looking [sic]. It was designed by Imre Makovecz who was a famous architect. (Blog #7)

"I'm not lying if I say that my university is one of the most beautiful but in the meantime one of the most extraordinary architecture withing [sic] Hungary. To support this statement please find below the solid evidence, a picture about it. (Blog #15)

The incorporating of the campus picture and especially the above statements reveal that the composers of these blog sites start out from the assumption that if they make a claim about how extraordinary something looks, they should include a picture to prove it so that their audience can arrive at the same conclusion after looking at the picture. In addition, the act of posting pictures of their campus also points to these blog writers assumptions about the context of their audience. The fact that they considered the look of their university special even for their audience suggests that blog composers assumed their audience lives in a world where most buildings are built with walls using 90 degree angles, thus something that differs from that must be remarkable not just in Hungary, but also in the U.S. context. Thus the purpose of posting these pictures on the blog is not only to provide evidence to statements but also to call attention to the extraordinary. In the end, the extraordinary, the exceptional, and the unusual are what makes an identity unique, and thus once an identity is established and verified, ethos building can begin through the extraordinary.

When looking at the visual mode, in this case the pictures, as one mode that is interwoven with the other modes to deliver a message as Wysocki (2001) suggests, we can connect the message of representing student identity by Pazmany University students as much more of a communal identity than it is evident in the blogs of the Davenport University students. Thus we see resources such as the more prominent use of first person plural pronoun when referring to this identity together with incorporating a picture of a unique-looking campus work hand in hand to reveal that student identity is much more of a group identity for the Pazmany University students participating in this project than for the participants from Davenport University. Connecting this difference to nationality would again be drawing conclusions too hastily, as it is very likely that other contextual factors such as students' individual situations as full-time vs. part-time students and the difference in campus environment play a role in this difference.

Student identity: Expectations of context

After establishing what kind of expectations of content the blog texts pointed to when it comes to establishing and verifying student identity, we now will take a closer look at what the blog texts reveal about expectations of context in this identity category. In Tannen's (1993) study mentioned in the methodology chapter, participants were asked to watch a film segment and then were interviewed about this segment by researchers. As Tannen showed, the larger context (or frame) of participating in an academic experiment has affected how interview subjects have formulated their stories; it has affected the linguistic choices they made in their narratives. In addition, the storytelling frame and the frame of talking about movies have also influenced the language used by Tannen's interviewees. In this present study, when looking at the student blogs we can also identify some of the important frames that have an effect on how the participants composed their blog entries about student identity. When we analyze how the context affected participants' description of student identity, we essentially uncover the important situational factors that influence the process of identity verification as described by identity theory. In this sense, expectations of context then are ways in which available meanings within the environment influence the identity representation process. In this section, two overlapping frames that influence students' blog composing practices will be described together with textual and multimodal examples from the blogs. Understanding how different frames modify the resources participants used to create their blogs will help us to see the extent to which expectations of context emerge from single cultures or from a mixture of cultures.

The internet/blog frame

As described in the previous section under relevant contexts, publishing content on the internet often influences composers of multimodal texts in what they write about and how they compose their content. In regards to language use, this becomes obvious when writers incorporate expressions from the so called internet language or net talk register (Squires, 2010) such as popular acronyms and abbreviations (i.e. LOL: laugh out loud). Further, digital media users often incorporate visual symbols, called emoticons (Krohn, 2004; Provine et al., 2007) in the context of communicating on the internet. In our data set of blog sections describing student identity, while no examples of the net talk register were found, there were 7 instances where emoticons (a smiley face) were used. These 7 instances were in the blogs written by 6 Pazmany University students. Six of these emoticons were placed at the very end of the sections describing student identity. What is the function of these emoticons in the blogs, and why were they placed in most cases at the end of a written section?

According to a study by Provine et al. (2007), emoticons on websites are often placed in a text where there would be a pause in speech. This is similar to where laughter is placed in actual speech and is termed the "punctuation effect" of laughter (Provine, 1993). This effect then can add a personal characteristic to any identity which can serve as not only a way to make someone seem unique but also an invitation for interaction. The smiley-face emoticons (in either the visual symbol form: or created by the combination of a colon and the capital letter :D) in our data base were also serving the purposes of punctuation, of signaling the end of a section as can be seen in the following example:

> As I mentioned, I learn International Studies at Pazmany Peter Chatolic University, in Piliscsaba. I chose this university and these studies because of his “fame”, and I’m interested in international relations, in law and politics.. I like languages, this is so important, when somebody wants to go here. We deal with other cultures, we would like to know them and I think it is very interesting. I would like to work at a big company, a multinational company, for example. I would have any mood to this. With this diploma I will hopefully get a good job!:D (Blog #5)

In some examples, the smiley-face emoticon not only signals the end of a section but also follows a humorous statement as is customary with this emoticon. The following two examples illustrate this use.

> People ask me why did I choose this I like to joke around and say because of the blue licence place since I cant drive or because with this diploma I hopefully get a job where I can tell people what to do which is one of my favourite things :D (Blog #3)

> I really like doing sports, going out with my best friends, walking, reading, going to the theather, cinema, or anything else. What I hate? I hate wake up at early time (before 9 a.m.), and when I’ve ran out of money . (Blog #17)

In one case, the use of the smiley-face emoticon illustrates the intricate connections between modes that are enabled by the multimodal interface of the blog site used during this project: “We always have fun at the campus and somethimes [sic] we do silly things. Check it! ” (Blog #14). This segment incorporates meanings of different modes from textual, and visual, to audio and video while at the same time also makes use of hypertext elements. The smiley face here provides a punctuation effect as it is at the end of the student identity section in Blog #14, and also follows a humorous statement (“we do silly things”) to provide emotional emphasis. But in addition to these two functions the smiley face is added to point out the humorous content of the link to a video that the audience of the blog can see when clicking on the link associated with the request: “Check it!.” However, before the audience is taken to the link, moving a cursor over the link reveals the title of the link which is: “Party Rock at the university. =).” The words “Party Rock” in the link title refer to the title of a popular song that was used as a basis for the music video in the link, and add another level to the meaning of this short segment through intertextuality. What is the function of the interesting link title, the video that the link connects to and the two emoticons? In other words, what notion of audience, context, and purpose motivated the composer of this blog site to incorporate all of these elements into her blog?

One answer to this question could be that the blog composer constructs her entry about student identity this way because the affordances of the website and internet conventions allow her to do this. She must assume that these conventions (i.e. the use of emoticons, blue color to signal a link, informal language) are shared across borders when it comes to internet sites thus the notion of the internationally shared context of the internet appears here. The blog composer uses these elements because she can (due the affordances of the website) and because she believes that there is a shared context between the composer and the audience which will ensure that she will be understood. But what could be this blog composer's main purpose for incorporating direct requests and using humor and emoticons? The answer to this question can most likely be connected to the blog composer's high level of audience awareness. This composer not only wants to write about her identity as a student, but she also wants to make sure that in the process of talking about herself she creates connections between herself and her audience. The composer of Blog #14 is not alone in revealing high audience awareness when discussing the student identity category. There are many expressions, especially in the blogs of the Pazmany University students that point to the same tendency. I will discuss these examples in the next section, as, it seems, the usage of these expressions have to do with how students interpreted another major context (frame) of this project which will be called the assignment frame.

The assignment frame

Expectations of context in the case of the blog project not only came from the environment (the internet) in which these blog posts were published, but were also imposed by the circumstance that these blog posts were written in response to a classroom assignment. While the assignment description was the same for both the Pazmany University and Davenport University students, the text of the blogs about student identity reveals that these two groups interpreted the assignment differently. Based on the following textual examples, it seems that Pazmany University students ascribed more emphasis to the exchange/ interaction element of the blog project whereas Davenport University students paid more attention to the fact that this blog page had to be created as an assignment, therefore they perceived its main audience to be the instructor.

There are several phrases in the blog sections of Pazmany University students describing student identity that point to these students' audience awareness and focus. Two of these ("that means" and "which means") are included to explain something to an audience (the Davenport University students) who may not know enough about the Hungarian school system to understand the blog entry. Here are the full sentences that illustrate this point: "This is my third year that means I must write my thesis in order to take my degree next year" from Blog #1, and "I was studying in a Hungarian – English bilingual class, which means that I had certain subjects in English such as history, mathematics, biology and physics" from Blog #13. In addition the following statement in Blog #30 "Our system not allow to have a job next to university" also points to a Pazmany University student being aware of what her audience might not know about the educational context in Hungary.

Other examples of the audience awareness include expressions that directly address the reader and are closer to informal spoken language than to the written language required in a regular school assignment. Here are a few examples for these:

"*You certainly know*, what are the key words of being student, *but let me mention* a few." (Blog #2)

"More precisely my major is International Relations, which sounds quiet official, so *let me put it in another way*." (Blog #10)

"So *wish me luck everybody* to get my first degree! "(Blog #14)

"To tell the truth this school is so cool (*ok I know it was horrible, I'm sorry*), good environment, good friends, good lessons (most of them)." (#17)

All of the above examples come from 7 different Pazmany University student blogs. In the blog sections about student identity written by the U.S. students there was no indication that these short sections were designed for an audience of students from a different country. In fact, the language of these sections is very factual and formal, similar to what can be found in composition assignments that stress an impersonal tone. Here is a typical section written by a Davenport University student that illustrate this point:

> I have been a student at Davenport University for the last five years in the Business Management program. During this time I have been attending on a part-time basis taking a combination of in-seat and online courses. I will finally graduate at the end of the summer 2012 semester. I originally started attending college all the way back in 1999. When I graduated from high school in 1999 I attended Central Michigan University from 1999 to 2002. After a four-year sabbatical I returned to college at Davenport University to finally finish my degree. (Blog #40)

While both Pazmany University and Davenport University students use this same approach describing the main components of their student identity in terms of listing temporal milestones (as we have discussed in the section describing expectations of content about this identity). Only in the blog text of the Pazmany University students can we find evidence that some of these students actually envision their counterparts in the other country as their main audience. Thus we can conclude that in our data set although all students write in the same frames their interpretation of these frames sometimes results in different texts. While some difference exists in interpreting the context of the pedagogical project and affects students' expectations of context, based on the small sample size we cannot make a general statement that this difference is based solely on different nationality of the writers. Further, the difference in expectations of context is connected to the rather international norms and usage patterns of the internet. In other words, the expectations of context here come from an international context that is based on a combination of cultures rather than coming from a cultural context that is unique to a specific culture. Therefore we can arrive at the conclusion that when analyzing student identity very similar expectations of content existed across the blog database since most blogs described student identity as a highly situational, temporal, and activity-oriented identity. The only difference found was in expectations of context which connected to the internet and blogs. These expectations are based on experiences of using the internet which is certainly the prime example of context that is based on a combination of cultures.

Student identity: Cosmopolitan elements

In order to discuss whether and to what extent the different student identities represented in the blog data set can be conceived of as cosmopolitan identities, we will here recall the definition of cosmopolitan identity from the previous chapter. In chapter 2 I proposed that *cosmopolitan identity* is one of an individual's varied identities which is developed through *loyalties, group memberships, or significant interests that reach beyond national borders* and stems from a *cosmopolitan outlook* or genuine willingness to engage with the Other physically or virtually. As mentioned before, when looking at the identity description part of the blogs, I have determined for each description of an identity on all blog sites whether they had a potential to represent cosmopolitan identity by identifying transnational elements. In the case of the student identity, 27 of the 37 blog categories describing this identity contained such elements (see Table 5). Of the 27 student identity sections containing transnational elements 24 were written by Pazmany University students and 3 were written by Davenport University students. Since we know that all students enrolled in the Business English class in Hungary were International Relations majors, it should be no surprise that most of them included some kind of a transnational element in their description of student identity. These transnational elements in the Pazmany University students' blogs were ranging from listing school subjects with international content and foreign languages to interest in other countries and cultures.

From the three Davenport University students that included transnational content in their student identity descriptions one was an international business major (Blog #43), one was an international student from Iceland (Blog #49), and one referred to the presence of international students on campus (Blog #47). Although it is necessary to acknowledge the large gap between the numbers in each nationality group, we need to keep in mind that for our cosmopolitan approach to international writing samples the focus needs to remain on the fact that students did show cosmopolitan identity potentials in their student identity descriptions. This is especially important in light of the findings from a study by Phillips and Smith (2008) referenced earlier in chapter two that emphasized the role of higher education in developing a person's cosmopolitan outlook. The following quote from Blog #47: "Being a student here at Davenport University that promotes diversity and internationalism (my word) in its student body is a wonderful feeling" also attests to this capacity of higher education to promote cosmopolitanism.

While the textual references to transnational content do allow us to categorize student identity in our data base as one identity that can be understood in terms of cosmopolitanism, two of the blogs contain multimodal data that will help us constitute a more complex picture of how cosmopolitanism figures into representing student identity.

Blog # 2 and Blog #14 refer to a video on YouTube (golytabortv, 2011) with highly hybrid content, a remark of cosmopolitan influence. The writer of Blog # 4 has embedded this video into his blog site under student identity, while the writer of Blog #14 directs her audience to the video with the link: "We always have fun at the campus and somethimes [sic]we do silly things. Check it! " as described earlier.

The video is titled *PPKE-BTK Everyday I'm Shufflin* (golytabortv, 2011)and is a remix of the music video popular in 2011 entitled *Party Rock Anthem* by a band called LMFAO (LMFAOVEVO, 2011). The original video by LMFAO shows many dancers using a shuffling move while the two singers of LMFAO sing and dance along with the group on the streets. The video became viral in 2011; its YouTube page shows more than 620 million views at the end of 2013. According to the entry about this video on the Know Your Meme website, the song is a parody of a movie and is based on the promise that everyone is infected with a virus where they have to dance when they hear this music (Fridge Logic, 2011). This website also mentions the appearance and spread of many popular remixes based on the LMFAO video along with the creation of the visual symbol of the song that was released on a t-shirt (Party Rock Clothing, 2013) by LMFAO.

The remix that two Pazmany University students posted on their blog pages (golytabortv, 2011) was created by students of their university the same year at freshman camp. Many universities in Hungary invite their freshman for a week-long camp before the fall semester where prospective students not only learn about the university but also get a chance to get to know each other. The camp thus provides good opportunities to socialize and do what young people think is fun; in this case create a video remix of the most popular music video at that time. The remix starts out with a young man walking down a sidewalk between university buildings dressed in jeans and also wearing a jeans jacket and a baseball cap put on backwards. He has a boombox in his hand, walks to a set of stairs in the middle of a square and turns on the music. As soon as the music is on, five dancers appear at the top of the stairs right next to a statue held up by a column and start dancing using the shuffling move. More and more bystanders also become aware of the music and either join the party or form their own little dancing groups around the square. Other students are shown to be dancing at other campus locations, but the video ends on the main square with the original group. After the finale, a still image appears that is a modified version of the logo visible on the LMFAO t-shirts (Party Rock Clothing, 2013). Figure 2 below shows a screenshot of the image from the video remix.

Figure 2. Screenshot of the *Everyday I'm Shufflin* image from remix video (golytabortv, 2011).

The above image from the remix video contains the major elements of the LMFAO logo with a slightly modified color layout and with an embedded picture of the campus' main building also pictured in Figure 1. Both the remix video and the final image shown above are true examples of hybridity. As discussed in chapter two, cosmopolitanism as a social process is often realized in hybrid outcomes in many different domains. Sociologist and cultural studies hybridity expert Jan Pieterse describes hybridity in a theoretically oriented article as "multiple identity, cross-over, pick-'n'-mix, boundary-crossing experiences and styles, matching a world of growing migration and diaspora lives, intensive intercultural communication, everyday multiculturalism and erosion of boundaries" (Pieterse, 2001, p. 3). In this same article, Pieterse uses an example from the popular music scene called Mandarin pop, a Cantonese and Pacific American combination of music to illustrate the breath and reach of mixed musical styles. He refers to such hybridity as the remixing of combinations and claims that the frequency with which such combinations happen in music and other domains is an indicator of larger social change. We have referred to this social change earlier as the cosmopolitan social process, and the hybridity observable in popular music styles as well as in the remix video produced by a group of Pazmany University students is the visible and audible product of this social change.

If we delve into the setting of the remix music video further, we can uncover historical and symbolic connections that gain new meaning with the production of this remix video. The university campus square that students chose as the scene for the filming of the video incorporates a row of three statues along a line that cuts across campus from the East to the West. The Kozterkep (2010) website that hosts a digital catalog of sculptures around Hungary explains that these three statues symbolize the country's location and connections between East and West as well as reflect on the country's historical and Christian roots. The statue on the East side of the square is of Aristotle, the Ancient Greek philosopher, and on the West side of the square stands a statue of St. Thomas Aquinas, who incorporated some of Aristotle's philosophy into Christian theology. The statue in the middle is of St. Stephan, the first king and founder of the state of Hungary who accepted Christianity as a state religion in the year 1000 and thus strengthened the country's connections with the West. These three statues then illustrate the interconnection between cultures and ideas in Hungary's history. Filming the remix video at this square thus reinforces that cultural mixture and reinterpretation of texts is something that is natural and has happened in the past as well. What is different in the present is the frequency with which such mixture happens and the widespread availability of technology that allows many people to participate in this process.

When we situate the remix video in the contemporary media environment which Henry Jenkins (2006a) calls convergence culture we can better understand the relevance this remix video has for the transcultural blog exchange project. Jenkins describes convergence culture as “the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences” (2006a, p. 2) and emphasizes the increased participation of the traditionally passive audience as another a key factor in this media culture. In a participatory culture, as Jenkins explains, the consumers of cultural products are actively involved in the creation and distribution of new media content. Active participation is enabled by distribution platforms, such as YouTube, that allow users to create new content and post it on the site. But participation does not stop there, YouTube users can select videos and utilize different digital channels to distribute them. In fact, Jenkins characterizes participatory culture specifically on YouTube as a three stage process of “production, selection and distribution” (2006a, p.275).

Thus while from the blog contents we cannot be certain whether the student involved in the remix video production were also students enrolled in the classrooms participating in the blog project, we know that the two students who posted a link to the remix of the “Everyday Im shuffling” song on their blogs contributed to the selection and distribution (the second and third) stage of sharing a media product with viewers. Taking part even in this stage of participatory media culture provides these students with a sense of agency as they spread this remix video with highly hybrid visual content to audiences that otherwise would have been very unlikely to stumble upon this video amongst the vast amount of content (more than 100 hours of video) that is being uploaded onto the YouTube site every single minute (YouTube, 2014).

So why did these two students incorporate a link to this amateur remix video on their blogs? What notions of audience, context, and purpose could have motivated this decision? Incorporating a link to this video has to come from the assumption that the viewers of the blog site are familiar with the practice of remixing and posting videos on YouTube and that they also might know the song that was very popular at the time. This in turn points to the assumption of a (globally) shared media context that includes popular and participatory culture. A very likely explanation about the purpose of incorporating the link to this video then is to show that students at Pazmany Peter Catholic University in Hungary are also aware of and participating in the global convergence culture putting their own spin on the popular media content of their time. In his book, *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* (2007), the applied linguist Alastair Pennycook describes a similar phenomenon in the case of the English used by a Malaysian hip-hop artist during a performance in Kuala Lumpur. Pennycook explains that in this performance "the use of English becomes not merely imitative, but part of a localized subculture" (p. 4) that can be observed in many parts of the world. While the English of the video remix was not altered by the students who produced this video, adapting this song and its language for their local environment does exemplify another way in which localized subcultures emerge around more global phenomena. And through adding their own visual elements to this video, the remix functions as a resource through which these students can perform their identities. Thus adding a link to the remix video onto the blogs emphasizes what is shared between many students involved in the project that participate in practices of this musical genre's subculture regardless of their country of residence which certainly meets Appiah's description of cosmopolitanism as "universality plus difference" (2008, p. 92).

Sports identity

The second most common identity category represented on the student blogs that also has a high frequency of cosmopolitan identity potential is connected to sports. Initially, it was difficult to assign an identity type to this identity category, as people can be involved with sports in different capacities. Some of the students describe themselves as fans of a certain team, which would point to categorizing it as a group membership. Others referred to themselves as fans of a specific sport, which could still be a kind of group membership, but certainly of a much more loosely formed group. Most of the students however describe how they are involved in sport related activities or play a certain sport. This commonality then led to categorizing student identity as an activity based identity type, the one category that I created to amend the categories suggested by identity theory.

As for specific numbers on sports identity, 22 students (15 Pazmany University and 7 Davenport University) decided to describe this identity category. That sports were described and discussed frequently on the blogs was also evident for the students participating in the interviews. One Davenport student when talking about her impression of the content of Pazmany University blogs explained: "A lot of them, from what I can remember, I'm not looking at any right now but a lot of them were involved with different sports as well. They seem to enjoy that as well" (Interview #2). Also, the participant in Interview # 1 mentioned sports as one of the most common categories described on the blog sites.

The contextual factors important to consider when discussing this category have to do with how sports are viewed and played in each country. In the U. S. there is a culture of college athletics; being a member of a college team counts as an accomplishment and intercollegiate sports are followed by many not associated with the college in any other way. In Hungary, on the other hand, sports are played in clubs; no teams are associated with universities. Beyond the national contexts of collegial sports, it is also important to consider the role sports play in the globalized world. In addition to the countless popular books on different sports and athletes with a global reach and appeal, many academically oriented books on the subject attest to the importance sports have in people's lives around the world (i.e. Maguire, 1999; Bairner, 2001; Chappelet, 2008; Marjoribanks and Farquharson, 2011; Markovits and Rensmann 2010). In the analysis of blog sections describing a sport related identity, we will have to take all of these contextual factors into consideration. Similarly to the analysis of the student identity category, the analysis of sport identity will also start with identifying expectations of content and context and describing how these influence establishing and verifying this specific identity. This analysis will be followed by a look at the cosmopolitan elements of sports identity.

Sports identity: Expectations of content

In order to understand how participants established and verified an identity that is connected to sports, we will look at the type of expectations they have revealed in their rhetorical moves in regards to content when describing this identity. The steps most commonly chosen in the first move, establishing identity, can tell us about how participants introduced sports identity and why they felt this identity is significant for them. But before we discuss this, we will look at the labels participants chose to describe their sport related identities, as these labels also contain information about the kind of significance students assign to this identity.

As opposed to the student identity category where participants labeled the section using mainly the word "student", the labeling of sports identity is more diverse on the blogs. 8 students described this identity in terms of affective attachment (i.e. tennis fan, sport lover, motorcycle enthusiast), 6 students described it in terms of activity (i.e. snowboarder, horse rider, tennis player), 3 students identified themselves as sportsman or sporting girl, 3 more students used the general description of "sports" as label (one of the 3 added a smiley-face emoticon after the word "sport"), and 2 students used loosely related categories such as "hobbies and identities" or "wintertime" as labels. Counting the emoticon as a sign of liking, 9 students altogether have indicated personal significance of this category in their labeling. Further evidence for sports being mostly personally rather than just situationally significant comes from looking at the steps students used to verbalize Move 1. Table 10 below summarizes the type of steps blog writers used to accomplish Move 1, and established sports identity.

Move 1 –Establishing identity		
Step 1A **Establishing identity by stating it**	**Step 1B** **Establishing identity as personally significant**	**Step1 BC** **Establishing identity as personally and situationally significant**
I statement (i.e. "I practice Mixed Martial Arts…" "I represent Davenport University…")	*Expressions of importance* (i.e. "I *really* love snowboarding…" "This is the *main* part of my life.")	*Frequency or past reference* (i.e. "Since I was 6 I'm a huge Manchester United fan.")
3	10	4
Step 1C **Establishing identity as situationally significant**		
Frequency reference (i.e. "I am about to follow the latest news and results of sports…")	*Verb tense + years* (past, present perfect) (i.e. "I have been playing tennis since I was 11 years old.")	
1	4	

Table 10. Sports identity-Move1: Establishing identity

As we can see in this table, to describe all the introductory moves students made we had to add a mixed move, Move 1 BC which accomplishes to show personal signification (liking, being a fan) and situational signification at the same time through providing a timeframe for the personal signification such as in the statement: "I have been a Pistons fan since the mid-nineties" (Blog #41). Thus adding the numbers for Step 1BC to Step 1B which show personal signification we find that 14 of the 22 students who decided to include a sports identity introduced this identity in terms of this identity being personally significant to them. Five students used situational signification in their introduction and only 3 used a simple introduction of sport identity without indicating why this identity is significant. Thus based on the introductory moves and labeling of sports identity, we get the impression that students present this identity as something that is very personal to them. This highlights that as suggested by identity theory, some identities rely more heavily on emotional processes than on cognitive processes. Does this emotional emphasis also play out in how this identity is verified?

When we look at Move 2. in Table 11 below we can see the number of specific type of Steps in Move 2 that students used to explain why the sports identity was significant for them.

Move 2		
Step 2A	**Step 2B**	**Step 2D**
Reference to past (i.e. “I learned to skate at the age of 4.”) (#13)	**Reference to present** (i.e. “Now I play volleyball, basketball and pub sports. (#11)	**Place connections** (“i.e. Most of the winters I spend a week in a ski paradise in Austria or Slovakia. (#13)
25	20	3
Step 2E	**Step 2G**	
Emotional attachment to people/sports teams (i.e. “My favourite team there is LA Lakers”) (#2)	**Satisfaction with activity** (i.e. “I also like playing and watching soccer.”) (#48)	
17	22	

Table 11. Sport identity-Move 2: Verifying identity

We find that students used time connections and affective connections most commonly to explain why the sports identity is relevant to them. When using Step 2A and Step 2B, students describe in their blogs when they started playing sports or became a fan of a certain sport. Affective connections that show the emphasis of emotional processes in identity representation also rank high in the description of the content that belongs to sports identity. Here Steps 2E and 2G mark two different types of emotional connections participants have to sports. These affective connections in case of sports have to do with favorite teams or players and enjoying being part of a sports team (2E) or enjoying the activity of either playing or watching a certain sport. Based on the common rhetorical moves students make in their description of sports identity, we can summarize expectations of content in regards to an identity that is connected to sports as a time involvement with either playing or watching a certain sport and an affective connection to that sport. These expectations of content are consistent throughout the blog database, no specific patterns are observable that are connected to other characteristics (such as nationality) of the participants.

We have seen in the previous section about student identity that pronoun use was an important way students expressed belonging to a community, the student body of the university. When we look at the use of pronouns indexing an identity that is connected to a specific type of community in participant's description of sports identities, we again want to find out how often students refer to themselves as belonging to a sports related community. Based on the blog analysis, this community membership in the case of sports identity descriptions is realized in the capacity of a member or a fan of a sports team. The following table (Table 12) summarizes the semantic functions and the group reference this pronoun is associated with in the blog sections describing sports identity. Here, again, I applied the label "sports community-focused" when "we" and "our" is used to refer to a sports team or fan club. Instances when the first person plural pronoun is used to refer to a group outside of sports circles or when it refers to the writer and his or her fellow citizens are categorized in separate sections of the table.

Semantic functions of “we” and “our”	Number of usage instances by Pazmany University students	Number of usage instances by Davenport University students
Not focused on sports community (writer and others outside sports circles)	1	0
Sports community - focused (writer and others in the country)	3	0
Sports community - focused (writer and others in the same sports team or fan club)	24	2

Table 12. First person plural pronoun usage in the descriptions of sport identity

The numbers in the table show a more frequent usage of this pronoun by Pazmany University students. The usage instances recorded were found in the blogs of 7 Pazmany University and 2 Davenport University students. Because there were 7 Davenport University and 15 Pazmany University students describing sports, we can say that the usage of first person plural pronoun is more proportionate across participants in regards to the country of residence than what we have seen was the case with student identity. These examples show us that when describing sports identity using the first person plural as a reference to a sports team or fan club is an important way of identifying oneself with these two types of communities focused on sports across the blog database.

In addition, other linguistic elements can also be observed across all the sports identity sections that are common when describing sports communities. Names of different kinds of sports are one of these. Some students described only one kind of sport while others referred to more than one (up to 9 in one case- Blog #1). Also names of famous players and sports teams are mentioned 21 times in the blogs, in addition to the mentioning of national sports associations 8 times. Sports teams that students actually played on were named in 5 different blogs. The difference between famous teams and the teams students are involved in points to a larger differentiation in sports identity. This can also be seen in the two most common key verbs in these blog sections which were "play" (54 times) and "watch" (16 times). When we connect this observation to the labels discussed earlier that students used to describe their sports identity, we can see that this identity can be assigned to three groups, people who play sports, people who just follow certain teams as sports as fans, and people who play and watch sports. Thus expectations of content in the sport identity category center around playing and/or following a sport or several different sports and describing time and affective involvement with these sports and their players either in person or through the media. Again, these observations were consistent across all blogs, no national or other type of difference was observable in defining sports identity as playing and/or following a sport.

The multimodal elements incorporated on the blog sites are also consistent with the type of content expectations derived from the blog texts and are also consistent in not showing differentiation based on nationality. Counting all multimodal elements in the sports identity sections we find that 19 of the 22 students posted a picture, a link, or a video in the sport identity section that account for the 32 multimodal elements displayed in total under sports identities. Altogether, there were 19 pictures posted in the student blog sections describing sports identity, along with 3 embedded YouTube videos and 10 links to websites or videos. While eight of these multimodal elements were embedded with the purpose of illustrating a certain sport and had no specific team connections (i.e. picture of a snowboarder on Blog #27 or the picture of a handball on Blog #23), 24 of these elements displayed membership in a sports community in different ways. Of these, five pictures showed the blog writers and their teammates in different sports, and the other 19 were pictures or videos of sports stars and professional teams or links to team and sports association pages which all displayed distinct team logos or uniforms.

The fact that 75% of all multimodal elements contain a sports related logo highlights the importance of symbols in sports that mark community membership. Several articles (Hyatt and Andrijiw, 2008; Cottingham, 2012; Taesoo et al., 2013), attest to the crucial role of team logos in sports fandom. A study by Cottingham (2012) found that team logos along with the emotional connection necessary to develop team loyalty are both essential ingredients that help form solidarity amongst fans of a sports team and thus create a community. This finding is consistent with our observation that students used affective connections as one of the reasons why sports identity was significant for them. Thus both the multimodal and the textual elements in the blog sections describing sports identity point to expectations of content about this identity that center on affective connections to not just an activity but also to a community represented by a distinct display of community related visual symbols.

While not all participants describing sports identity declared themselves as fans, 8 of the 22 students choosing to describe this category used the word “fan” in this blog section. From these 8 participants, 7 have also incorporated a picture or a link to their favorite team. Directing people to specific media content this way is another example of how participatory culture described by Henry Jenkins (2006) is also apparent in the representation of sports identity. But this identity, especially when it is exhibited in terms of fandom, also exemplifies another way in which New Media supports the formation of actual and virtual communities. In a book chapter about interactive audiences, Jenkins (2006b) points out that the affordances of the internet allow fan groups to accumulate collective intelligence about the object of their shared interest and form a knowledge community. A good example for the significance of such communities in identity representation is a link in one of the students' blog sections on sports identity to a fan site which is introduced as follows: "I'm also a editor for the biggest Hungarian Manchester United Fan Site" (Blog #16).

What notions about context, audience and purpose would motivate the blog creators in our project to incorporate pictures and videos of teams, famous players, and links to fan sites? We have already mentioned that displaying team symbols fulfills the purpose of identifying oneself with the team. This can only be interpreted as such an action, when the audience of the blogs understands a context where sports teams have logos, and sees the presentation of logos as a visual clue signaling that someone belongs to a sports team or a fan community. These shared notions of audience and purpose can only be a result of expectations of content that are based on a combination of cultures, in this case based on the international culture of sports the relevance of which has been intensified by the global media coverage of sports events. Implications of such cultural combinations will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming section describing the cosmopolitan elements of this identity. But before we take a look at that, we want to explore whether there are other ways in which the context influenced the participants of this project in the next section about expectations of context.

Sports identity: Expectations of context

As we have seen in the case of student identity, different contextual frames influenced the way participants used different resources to establish and verify their identities. We have identified two different frames there as influential in the process, the internet/blog frame and the assignment frame. We can find evidence in the text of the sports identity sections about the effect of the internet frame on the text of the sports identity sections in the blogs written by Pazmany University students. This evidence includes the three emoticons in two different Pazmany University students' blogs and addressing the reader directly such as in the following two sentences: "As far as basketball concerned, I do not think I have to tell you so much: we admire our [sic] world class league, NBA (sorry for the lockout)" in Blog #2 and "I am sure, that you know it, but here is the Horse Whisperer's trailer in Blog #21." The sentence from blog #2 contains a typo, as it is clear from the context that the blog writer meant "your world class league." Both of these sentences are addressed directly to the reader and were written by Pazmany University students. While the above examples do show that the blog frame affected students writing style, in the case of the sports identity the assignment frame appears to have impacted the textual features of the blogs in more significant ways.

When we look at evidence in the text about how students interpreted the assignment frame, we find that similarly to the description of student identities, Pazmany University students put more emphasis on the exchange aspect of the blog assignment and thus also display more audience awareness in their descriptions of sports identities. There are 11 instances in the sport identity sections where some kind of an explanation is given about the content of the blog, 10 of which come from blogs composed by Pazmany University students. Examples include short explanations about a kind of sport (i.e. “duatlon (cycling and running)” or “squash (similar to tennis)” in Blog #1) or about teams such as “Veszprém is a Hungarian handball club from Veszprém” in Blog #23.

Some of these explanations by Pazmany University students are clearly directed towards Davenport University students, as is in the case of all references to soccer. Many of the Pazmany University participants use the correct American English word for the sport “soccer” instead of the British English word “football.” There are examples where this knowledge is made explicit such as in the identity label “Huge Football (for some of you Soccer:D) Fan” from Blog #16 or when using the term football with the additional explanation as in “football (called soccer in the U.S.) from Blog #2. Others are aware of the term soccer but do not display knowledge that the whole terminology of soccer is different in American English, thus the writer of Blog #26 for example writes: “My favourite sport is soccer. I really love playing soccer with my friends and neighbours. Every sunday we go to the pitch and play” using a mixture of American and British English terminology here.

Other explanations provide background knowledge on the national context. The following two statements “soccer is more popular here, than in the USA, but unfortunately Hungarian clubs are not so good at it (Blog #2) and “soccer is more popular around the world than it is here in the United States” (Blog #48) refer to the same sentiment from different point of views and reveal an awareness of a larger than national context and a focus on audience. Interestingly, the above statement from blog #48 (the only explanation written by a Davenport University student) was written by one of the participants, who came to the U.S. from Serbia as a young child, and has been to Europe during the Soccer World Cup, which gives him a basis for comparison. This and other examples described in this section highlight that expectations of context in the framework of the blog assignment are often based on cultural knowledge stemming from a combination of cultures. In the next section where we discuss the cosmopolitan elements of this identity we will gain an insight into the simultaneously local and global nature of the contemporary sports scene and its relevance for identity formation for our participants.

Sports identity: Cosmopolitan elements

In order to determine to what extent sports identities have the potential to represent cosmopolitan identity in the blog database, I identified transnational elements in the text and multimodal components in the blog sections describing sports identity. I found that 15 of the 22 blog categories describing this identity contained such elements (see Table 5). Most cross border references in the blog texts were connected to famous teams (i.e. L.A Lakers, Manchester United), famous players (i.e. Roger Federer, Koby Bryant,) sports organizations (i.e. NBA, NFL) other countries and their winter sport locations (Austria, Slovakia) and international competitions (World Cup and Olympic Games). However, in the case of sports identity, determining what counts as a transnational element based on the criterion that it has connections beyond one's national borders sometimes resulted in categorizing the same sport reference (i.e. NFL, or an NBA team) as reaching beyond national borders when it was used by Pazmany University students but not when it was used by Davenport University students.

The challenges of categorization in the sports identity sections comes from the position sports have achieved on the international scene. Starting from the first modern Olympic Games and other international competitions over a hundred years ago, sports have provided a way to bring together international athletes while elevating levels of national pride at the same time. According to sociologist Richard Giulianotti (2004), sports have a cross-cultural appeal that is similar to the universal appeal of art and truth. In addition, since sports are based on a set of rules, they are easily transferrable across cultures. As this universal appeal, explains Giulianotti, is strengthened by the coverage provided by global media, new often virtual spaces of sport spectatorship and fandom are created presenting new opportunities for identification. These new forms of identifications are based on choice and are increasingly more deterritorialized as fans of globally popular teams are dispersed across many nations as they share the language of their favorite sport's terminology.

Particularly, a small number of sports referred to as "hegemonic sports" by Markovits and Rensmann in their book *Gaming the World* (2010) have captured the imagination of audiences across the globe and have produced communities that shape identities from the local to the transnational levels. These sports, (i.e. American football, basketball, soccer, cricket) have gained such wide-ranging recognition and influence the habits of so many people all over the world that they should be recognized as powerful social forces acting on transnational levels. In addition, Markovits and Rensmann claim that most hegemonic sport teams are characterized by cosmopolitan attachments recognizable not only in the variation of their fans' nationality but also in the diverse national origin of their team members.

Often the role of hegemonic sports is depicted as a one way transfer of cultural commodity from the United States to other parts of the world (see for example Guttman, 1996). Certainly, in my data sample there were several references to American teams and players by Pazmany University students, but players and teams of other countries such as the U.K., Germany, Switzerland, and Japan were also mentioned by these same students. Further, there were several transnational references in the blogs of Davenport University students, specifically to Swiss and Serbian sport stars. This finding is in line with what Markovits and Rensmann describe as the culture-changing impact of global sports everywhere. Examples are not only Pazmany University sports fans who watch NFL on television ("It is great that NFL is on TV in Hungary, I try to watch it each time eventhough it ends at late night around half past two" Blog #12) but also Davenport Universitys who admire the exceptional skills of a Swiss tennis player ("I love watching men's tennis in particular. Roger Federer from Switzerland is in my opinion the best player to ever step foot on a tennis court" Blog #43). Other examples of sports cited by Markovits and Rensmann, that are challenging societies to change their ways include China's newfound excitement for NBA stars that evades government censorship and Germany's reinterpreted sense of nationality as German citizens applaud the success of athletes born on other continents and wearing the German uniform in international sports events.

When I discussed cosmopolitanism as a social process in Chapter 2, I referred to Delanty's (2006) definition of it as all forms of social transformation that occur in the interplay between global and local. Looking at the impact global sports have on people's lives and the way they align themselves with communities beyond their national borders as also seen in the sports identity descriptions in the blog database, we can agree with the following summary about the cosmopolitan aspects of sports by Markovits and Rensmann's: "The cosmopolitanism of sports not only facilitates the universal admirations of the very best – thus generating an everyday sense of global commonality and communality of sports connoisseurs – but it also transforms persistently relevant collective identities" (2010, p. 31).

One of the collective identities that often intercepts with sports identity is national identity. Competitions like the Olympics or the World Cup provide major opportunities for the display of national symbols and success at these events increases national pride uniting citizens of a country and foregrounding the importance of national identity (Marjoribanks and Farquharson, 2011). This happens at the same time as the cosmopolitan effects of global team sports deemphasize the relevance of nationality. In our database of blog sections describing sports identity, there are also indications about the connections of a local/national identity and sports identity. One of the Pazmany University participants mentions the finale of the Olympics in water polo while using "we" to indicate an identification with his nation and to signal an ownership of the national team: "In waterpolo I think we are good enough: on the last Olympic Games in Beijing 2008 USA and Hungary played for the gold medal" (Blog #2). An Davenport University student who is originally from Serbia describes in his blog that his interest in tennis was sparked by a famous Serbian player: "I got turned on to tennis was because of Novak Djokovic who happens to be Serbian and is currently ranked 1st in the world" (Blog #48).

Geographical location is also a factor of sports identity that has decreased its relevance due to global media and digital networks and added to locally connected fans an ever growing group of "long distance fans" (Marjoribanks and Farquharson, 2011, p. 182.)

A statement by a Davenport University student shows the importance of location in determining his team allegiance: “The current Pistons roster makes the championship team from several years ago seem like a distant memory, but I will be a Pistons fan for life (unless I move to another state)” (Blog #41) and demonstrated location based fandom. On the other hand, the Pazmany University student that indicated his editorial role of the Hungarian Manchester United Fan Site as an important element of his sports identity in blog #16 illustrates the wide array of possible engagements with distance teams. In addition, it attests to the newly emerging cosmopolitan aspect of sports as such fan sites provide an arena for a mixing and hybridization of cultural practices and languages (see Figure. 3 below).

Figure 3. Screen shot of the Hungarian Manchester United Fan Site (MUSC Hungary, 2014).

On this screen shot we can see team members and symbols of the British team together with a mixture of English and Hungarian words. The website not only contains team news for the fan club members but also connects them with each other through discussion forums and social networking sites. All these platforms are sites for fan interaction where the newest line-ups and latest games are discussed with English soccer terminology mixed into the Hungarian commentary.

Such transcultural involvement in sports is just one way in which participants of the pedagogical project demonstrated how global sports transform identities and create cosmopolitan involvement. These identities that reach beyond one's national borders are difficult to describe within the national paradigm as they reveal multiple allegiances while changing traditional ideas about communities. The question then becomes whether we have evidence in our database for more traditional communities, such as nations, still maintaining their strong appeal for individuals for the purposes of identification. And if students did choose to list this identity as one of their important identities, what kind of necessary elements did they ascribe to this identity as evidenced by the expectations of content and its impact on the verbalization of this identity. To answer these questions, we will analyze the blog sections describing national identity next.

National identity

National identity, a sense of belonging to a community called nation, was the third type of identity in our blog database that had a high number of elements indicating cosmopolitan potential. According to the taxonomy of Burke and Stets' identity theory, national identity is classified as a type of group identity. I have categorized this identity also under group identity type, since the most salient characteristic of this identity is the belonging to a group of people even though it is a rather large group and definitely not a tight-knit community. While categorizing national identity as a group identity cannot be contested, the subjective nature of national identity needs to be taken into account when discussing this identity, and aspect that is missing from identity theory's concept of national identity. According to Huddy (2001), national identity does not have the same significance for each citizen within a nation. In addition, how strongly individuals feel about their national identity changes over time. These changes often are connected to specific political situations, to global political phenomena, and to the fluctuating influence of national ideology on the political scene. Thus when we look at the representation of national identity in our database, we need to contextualize this discussion in a way that acknowledges the concurrent political realities of each nation discussed.

In addition, we need to widen our scope and place national identity in the global context of ongoing cosmopolitan processes. Looking at our blog database, 12 of the 13 students who decided to represent national identity as one of their significant identities revealed allegiances reaching beyond the borders of their country of residency. Out of the 13 blog sections that described national identity, 6 were written by students who had resided in the U.S. and 7 were written by students who had resided in Hungary at the time of the assignment. The careful language here (using residency as a descriptor rather than nationality) is associated with the complexity of this category that is illustrated by several blog entries where the national identity described by some students is not the same as their country of residency at the time of the project. Of the 6 Davenport University students who chose to represent this identity on their blogs one was an international student from Brazil, two had moved here in their childhood from Europe, one connected to a Polish identity through his grandparents, and two described an American identity. In the group of 7 students that attended class in Hungary and described national identity, there were two students that came from ethnic Hungarian minority groups living in the Ukraine and Rumania, there was one student who described herself as having a double Hungarian and Iraqi national identity, another student characterized his identity as simultaneously Hungarian and European, and the remaining three students labeled their identity as Hungarian.

From the eight interviewees, four have described how they incorporated a section about their national identity on their blogs. Each of these students chose to represent their national identity as the first identity category on their blogs. One of the students expressed the reason for prioritizing this identity as follows: “Why have I wrote my Hungarian identity first? Actually because, year-to-date, it's my first identity that defines me. Any other types of identity they come after that. Because first of all, I consider myself to be

Hungarian" (Interview #5). As we can see in this statement and on his blog, this participant perceives national identity to be a his primary identity. Another interviewee explains his reasons for putting this identity first with this simple statement: "I am pretty proud of my culture" (Interview #4)

Before we move into analyzing the blog sections describing national identity, it is necessary to agree upon a well-formulated definition of "nation" that will aid us in focusing on a well-defined concept as we discuss national identity. Anthony Smith, sociologist and founder of the interdisciplinary field nationalism studies, explains in his book *National Identity* (1991) that many nations have their own states, but statehood is not a necessary prerequisite for a nation. In fact, it depends on whether a nation is conceptualized within the framework of the Western model or the ethnic model how important statehood is for the existence of a nation. In the Western model, a nation means a historical, territorial entity combined with a single political will, equal legal rights and responsibilities, and common values and traditions often within a state. In this model, new immigrants are acculturated through institutions of socialization and it may take a few generations before the children of newcomers interpret the symbols and historical traditions of a nation as their own. Nationhood in the United States, for example, can be conceptualized within this Western Model. On the other hand the ethnic model of nation, as Smith explicates, emphasizes common descent for its members over belonging to the territory of a currently existing state. In addition, a common language and shared customs are also important for nations within the ethnic model. For this reason, nations that were formed based on the ethnic model have spent considerable energy to explore their historical and linguistic roots reaching back sometimes across millennia and to make the results of this research common knowledge. According to Smith, many nations in Eastern Europe can be categorized to belong to the ethnic model including Hungary.

While these two models stress different elements of nationhood, Smith argues that there is a common core within both of these models that allows us to formulate a definition of nation applicable to both models. Based on these common elements, a nation can be defined as “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (p. 14). In a nation defined this way, national identity is multidimensional and underemphasizes differences in class and religion but accentuates shared characteristics (i.e. language, territory, history, and/or culture); thus national identity has the power of uniting different individuals and communities under one national unit. If we want to understand the shared national characteristics that are emphasized by each participant in our blog database we need to consider several contexts, especially linguistic and historical ones.

The historical background knowledge that should be considered in the case of these blogs covers a wide array of events from World War I to the fairly recent war in the former Yugoslavia as these events have a significant impact on expressions of national identity in some individual blogs. We will consider this historical background information as we discuss each identity description. In addition, we will also look at how the context created by language attitudes affects descriptions of national identity. But before we can discuss individual details we need to understand what exactly constitutes national identity for our pedagogical project participants. For this reason, we will first analyze how expectations of content influenced participants in their verbalization and multimodal expressions of this identity.

National identity: Expectations of content

What type of content needs to be addressed when describing national identity? How is this identity made significant in the blogs? In order to answer these questions we will again look at the rhetorical moves and steps students made when describing this identity. The distribution of the type of steps students used when making the first move of establishing and making an identity significant can be seen in Table 13 below.

Move 1			
Step 1A Establishing identity by stating it	**Step 1B Establishing identity as personally significant**	**Step 1C Establishing identity as situationally significant**	
Simple statement (i.e. my nationality is Hungarian" (Blog #2)	*Expressions of significance* (i.e. "For me having to [sic] (two) nationalities always came out to be a positive thing …" (Blog #3)	*Present state description* (current location) (i.e. "I live in Esztergom, Hungary" (Blog #22)	*Past tense +location:* (place of birth) ("I was born and raised in Brazil" (Blog #44)
5	3	1	4

Table 13. National identity-Move1: Establishing identity

The most common way of establishing national identity in the 13 blog sections discussing this identity is simply naming it. Five of the thirteen students introduced this identity this way thus without stating its significance. Three students incorporated an expression of significance or positive connection with their nationality, one student connected his nationality to his place of residence, and four students connected their nationalities to their place of birth. Thus, five of the introductory moves contained place connections, which indicates that for many when discussing national identity the expectations of content incorporate the naming of the territory that belongs to a nation. One participant's first move illustrates this strong connection between nationality and place of birth in very clear terms: "I was born in Kupres, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Srpska *which makes me* (my emphasis) a Bosnian Serb" (Blog #48). Such direct link between nationality and place is very much in line with our definition of a nation containing the criteria of a shared territory. Place connections are an inherent part of talking about national identity, and expectations of content about national identity will necessarily lead to incorporating proper nouns naming places and adverbs of place.

When we further analyze the entries in regards to their expectations of content we can see that place connections are often used by participants also in their reasoning about why this identity is relevant for them as they verify national identity (see Table 14).

Move 2				
Step 2A	**Step 2B**	**Step 2C**	**Step 2D**	**Step 2E**
Reference to past (i.e. "Our lands were seperated after the first world war and it was givan [sic]to Russia " (Blog #19)	**Reference to present** (i.e. "I now live in Grand Rapids which is huge for me"(Blog #43)	**Reference to future** (i.e. For me being hungarian means (…)the way how i think about my future and my future plans" (Blog #30)	**Place connections** ("i.e. Hungary is located on the central part of Europe" (Blog #2)	**Emotional attachment to people, country, culture** (i.e. "I really like our culture, our folklore (language, dancing, gastronomic traditions etc.)" (Blog #19)
18	5	1	18	8

Table 14. National identity-Move 2: Verifying identity

As shown above, 18 different moves have been employed throughout the 13 blog sections on national identity that describe place connections. The places referenced range from countries to smaller regions and towns. As shown by the different type of locations mentioned, not only the national territory but also other locations and a country's landscape contribute to how a national identity is realized. While people often identify countries with certain unique landscapes, according to White (2000), different types of geographical connections are not often discussed in detail in scholarly descriptions of national identity. We will now look at different types of approaches to place descriptions in the blogs to see the different ways in which students use place connections to represent national identity.

The first interesting trend to notice is that two Pazmany students discussed the location of their country rather than the location of their specific home towns as can be seen in the following to quotes: “Hungary is located on the central part of Europe extended approximately on 93 000 square kilometre (36 000 sq mi) (…) Our landscape is various and simply beautiful: huge mountains and sandy lowlands can also be found here.” (Blog #2) and “Hungary is a small country in the heart of Europe” (Blog #18). Place references to country in the blogs written by Davenport university students were not found, rather they focused on their specific towns: “I grew up in a small town where everyone knows everyone. I love that… I now live in Grand Rapids which is huge for me. Visit Grand Rapids to view more about this beautiful city (Blog #43), “I was raised in Michigan in a rural area about 4 miles outside a small town called Cedar Springs. (Blog #33), “I lived in BanjaLuka, Bosnia before moving here to the United States” (Blog #48), and “I lived in a big city on the east coast of Brazil” (Blog #44). One reason for this might be the geopolitical position of the United States; very few people around the world need an explanation about where the United States is. Even the two Davenport students’ place references from above (Blog #44 and #48) who describe their small town in a different country don’t provide explanations about their countries, which in the case of Brazil can possibly be associated with its size and geopolitical position, and in the case of Bosnia with its recent war, which made it well known around the world.

Another interesting observation when it comes to place connections of national identity comes from the blogs of two Pazmany students who are members of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries of Ukraine and Rumania. The following two quotes from their blogs illustrate a direct connection between history and their places of residence: “I’m Ukranian citizen, but my nationality is hungarian. Our lands were seperated after the first world war and it was givan to Russia (in this time Soviet Union). Our little community became very strong and we needed each other to survive. Nowdays it’s called Ukraine, and we have to live on the other side of the borders” (#19), and “I was born in Transilvania in a small town, Gyergyószentmiklós. It was a part of the Austro – Hungarian Kingdom till 1920, but the victoriuos powers awarded it for Romania after the I. World War. That part of Transilvania where I grew up is called Seklerland” (Blog #20). In both of these quotes there is a reference to World War I and to the peace treaty after the war that resulted in loss of territory for Hungary. The student who wrote blog #19 even incorporated a map (see Figure 4) that shows the border changes.

Figure 4. Map of Hungary's border changes from Blog #19.

The national identity portrayed by these two students corresponds to Smith's (1991) concept of nation within the ethnic model of nationhood. In this model, as mentioned earlier, it is very important to reflect on a common history reaching far back into the past. Not surprisingly, several sentences that constitute Step 2A (reference to past) have a country, a nation, or a sub-community (a minority) as their subjects rather than the blog writer, the most common subject in other types of identities discussed earlier. More specifically, 5 of the 18 past referencing sentences refer to the past of the country or minority community all of which are in the blog sections written by Pazmany students. Through these examples, we can see the importance of the national community, the nation's past influencing individual lives in these blogs.

In addition to connections to the individual and national past and to place connections, incorporating affective connections was the third most commonly used rhetorical strategy that our participants applied to verify their national identity. Here connections were not so much to a specific group but rather to abstract concepts such as culture, homeland, and language as illustrated by the following examples: "I really like our culture, our folklore (language, dancing, gastronomic traditions etc.)" from Blog #19; "I love my homeland, because it's always give me a lots of energy when I go home after a semester" from Blog #20; "I post here a musical poem, Szózat which is not the national anthem, but when i'm listening-even if it's sentimental-i really feel that i'm hungarian, that's why i send you to present my feelings about my hungarian identity!" from Blog #30. All of these examples point to the importance of emotional connections to the concepts that are essential elements of nationhood: a shared territory, language, and customs. But how else do expectations of content about national identity influence the verbalization of this identity?

We will now move to analyzing the use of the first person plural pronoun in our blog data sections that describe national identity. Our main goal here then is to determine what kind of a community the pronouns "we," and "our," refers to in each instance of their use (see Table 15).

Semantic functions of “we” and “our”	Number of usage instances by Pazmany University students	Number of usage instances by Davenport University students
Not focused on national community (writer and family)	7	2
National community-focused (writer and everyone else in the nation)	13	1
National sub community-focused (writer and smaller subgroup belonging to nation)	7	2

Table 15. First person plural pronoun usage in the descriptions of national identity

Personal reference, especially pronouns, are one of the linguistic means involved in the discursive construction of national identity as described by Wodak et al. (1999) in their book *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. The book proposes that the personal pronoun “we” is especially important when it is employed in the construction of national identity because it indicates sameness of all that the “we” refers to and thus becomes an essential part of constructing a nation as a unified, cohesive group. When it is used, it inherently alludes to the implications of difference between “us” and “them” and when it is applied in sentences about the national past, it reinforces political continuity at the national level.

Looking at Table 15 we can see that the first person plural pronoun has been used over 70% of the time in reference to either the nation or a national sub community (minority). This high rate of use with a focus on the nation or a minority is explained by the argument of Wodak et al. (1999) about the important role of the first person plural personal pronoun in the discursive construction of national identity. What is not explained by this argument, however, is the large gap between usage instances by Davenport and Pazmany university students. 87% of all nation focused references of "we" come from the blog sections created by Pazmany university students. Further the only one pronoun that referred to the whole nation written by a Davenport University student was indexing people in Brazil in the sentence: "In Brazil, we speak Portuguese so it was a difficult task for me to learn English" (Blog #44). Thus while the number of national identity descriptions is almost equal for both groups of students, none of the American students have used "we" to highlight close connections between other Americans and themselves.

In addition to the linguistic elements, the multimodal elements of the blog sections about national identity also attest to a more comprehensive and community-oriented representation of national identity by Pazmany students. The 13 blog sections contain 16 multimodal elements of which 5 were posted by Davenport students and 11 by Pazmany students. Davenport university students incorporated 3 pictures of landscapes, one link to a website (about the Republic of Srpska, former Yugoslavia), and one flag (the flag of the Republic of Srpska) into their blogs, while Pazmany students posted 4 photos, two flags, one map and 4 YouTube videos. Two of the four photos were of landscapes and 2 depicted famous Hungarian inventions. The two flags were posted by a student of double Iraqui-Hungarian citizenship from both of her countries. The four videos aimed at establishing national identity all contain national symbols such as famous historical locations and buildings in addition to elements of folk music or dancing. One of the videos is a parody of a tourist guide introducing Budapest in English. Another video is the recording of a performance of the second most important national poem: the Szózat.

With the Szózat, a Hungarian language poem as widely known as the national anthem, we come to the role language plays in national identity as represented in the blogs. The following quote from Blog #22 exemplifies the relevance of language to national identity for one student: “First of all, I am Hungarian, that means I use our national language.” Equating language use with nationality is very much a sign that this student perceives his nationality in the framework of the ethnic model. Another theme that appeared in several blogs has to do with beliefs and attitudes towards language. Three different Pazmany University students described the Hungarian language as difficult and complicated as shown in the following quotations: “Hungarian is a very difficult and unique language in Europe” (Blog #2): “I speak Hungarian which is one of the most complicated languages all over the world. I think this is a beautiful and special language” (Blog #18), “My spanish teacher who is a linguist, told me that our language is the second hardest in the world, after chinese” (Blog #30). Because Hungarian is from the Finno-Ugric language family, it is very much unlike any other language in the neighboring countries that mostly have languages from the Indo-European language family. Hungarians are often told by foreigners that their language is difficult to learn and as we could see from the above sentences, this widespread belief is held by many. Especially the quote from Blog #30 reveals just how deeply held of an assumption this is. In this excerpt, the student quotes an expert, her Spanish teacher, who claims that Hungarian is the second most difficult language in the world. While it is clear that such an ordering is not only subjective but also impossible with all the languages in the world, such statements work on the discursive level to construct national identity. Wodak et al. (1999) categorize these types of statements under the main strategy of "singularization" and describe this strategy as "a presupposition of/ emphasis on national (positive) uniqueness" (p.38). In fact, according to Wodak et al., this strategy is often used when referring to the landscape as is the case in the following statements from Blog #2: "Our landscape is various and simply beautiful: huge mountains and sandy lowlands can also be found here. Our worldwide-known wine is produced on this gently sloping countryside." In order to truly appreciate the hyperbole here, we need to know that the tallest mountain in Hungary is just over 3,000 feet. Thus we can see how describing the country and its language as unique works in the texts of Pazmany students to construct their national identity.

While Pazmany student blogs contribute to constructing a myth about their unique and homogeneous language, the following two examples from Davenport university blogs work to dispel the one language/one country myth: "There are certainly different dialects within the English language and most Americans can often discern what part of the country a particular person is from simply based on their accent. People from the southern Midwest certainly have a dialect that is easy to detect and I am sure people from my area have a dialect as well" (Blog #33), and "I grew up speaking english. I know this is not very surprising, but there are many spanish speaking families in surrounding towns" (Blog #43). We can see in these statements that the two students constructing an American national identity don't consider the homogeneity of their language as an important requirement for nationhood, even though linguistic homogeneity in the U.S. is certainly on the agenda in political circles. However, when we consider that nationhood in the U.S. is based on the Western model and in Hungary on the ethnic model, we can appreciate the differences in personal attitudes towards the national language. For a nation like Hungary, that has been based on a thousand year old written history and mythology going back beyond that and has a sizable minority that now lives beyond its borders due to peace treaties after World War I, it is very important to stress homogeneity. Thus our participants that described their Hungarian national identity have constructed it in their discourse as one that stems from a homogeneous, historically continuous entity, the Hungarian nation. But what other notions about the context and audience could have influenced our participants to incorporate the linguistic and multimodal elements they did in the construction of their national identities? In order to answer this question we will now look at the effect expectations of context had on the blog entries about national identity.

National identity: Expectations of context

When we analyzed the previous two identity categories, student and sport identities, we have seen that different contextual frames influenced the way participants created their blog entries. The two different frames that had an impact on both of these categories were the internet/blog frame and the assignment frame. While the internet/blog frame and the assignment frame did not produce any phenomena in the analyzed blog sections that has not been addressed under student and sport identities, the addition of a new frame was needed in order to explain interesting observations about patterns of national identity representation in the blogs. As we established at the beginning of this section, it is not sufficient to treat national identity as one of the many group identities, as identity theory would suggest, but it needs to be contextualized on the national and international level. We will call this specific context the geopolitical frame, since it encompasses current and historic power relations on the national and global scene and has an effect on our participants' forming of perceptions and assumptions about different countries including their own. As mentioned in chapter 2, Hungary is a small country with 10 million inhabitants whereas the United States is a much larger and more populous country with incomparably more presence and influence on the world stage. Thus we can expect that the same geopolitical frame will have different effects on participants depending on whether they belong to a nation that is a major player on the international scene or to a nation that is small and not very well known. The role this frame played in the formulation of national identity on the blogs will be discussed after a quick review of effects of the first two frames.

The influence of the internet/ blog frame has again surfaced in the informality of the Pazmany student's blog especially in one of the ways that we have measured it: by the use of emoticons. There are three blog sections on national identity that contain altogether four smiley faces. We will look at one of these usages that illustrates the kind of complexity different contexts created for the project participants. The producer of Blog #3, representing her dual nationality of Hungarian and Iraqi, writes this about national holidays: "For me the best part is that though we have are [sic] (replace with :our) own holidays, which we celebrate we also celebrate the Christian ones like Easter or Christmas which means double presents for me. Jejj me." While we can assume that the two smiley faces represent a more pronounced emotional emphasis than one does, the words before the smiley faces might be puzzling. What we see here is the emotional exclamation, "yay," but written according to the rules of Hungarian orthography where the letter "j" stands for the English "y" sound in word initial position. But then why did the writer of Blog #3 not spell it this way:"jaj"? The answer to that lies in the way this word has been used on the internet. Many popular sites use the nowadays more common spelling of "yay" which is "yeyy" as a tag. On Instagram, for example, there were 36,508 photos tagged with "yeyy" in the beginning of the year 2014. Thus this example shows one of the many ways in which the internet context and language use become intertwined in this transcultural blog exchange project.

The effects of an increased audience awareness that comes from interpreting the assignment frame as primarily an exchange are less apparent in the sections describing national identity than the other two identities discussed earlier. A direct addressing of the audience can only be found once in the sample in the following sentence: "I post here a musical poem, Szózat which is not the national anthem, but when i'm listening-even if it's sentimental-i really feel that i'm hungarian, that's why i send you to present my feelings about my hungarian identity!" (Blog #30). The fact that we find less evidence for increased audience awareness in the blog sections of Pazmany students describing national identity than in the other sections is in agreement with the findings about the first person plural pronoun usage discussed earlier. If students mostly speak from the position of a whole nation (i.e. we have been living here…, our landscape…), personal comments or directly addressing the reader does not happen as naturally. Even in the above example from Blog #30 a direct connection with the reader is possible because the writer shares her personal feelings about her nationality, thus speaks from a subject position of a single person, not of a whole nation.

The third frame that we will discuss here, the geopolitical frame, situates our participants based on the place of their country in a hypothetical hierarchy created by current international power relations. Nations with more influence on the global scene that is constantly broadcasted by mass media have a higher profile international image that incorporates globally more recognizable names and locations than nations with less power (Al-Rodhan, 2009). This effect is further strengthened by popular culture. Thus when a person is from the United States in today's world, very few non-Americans need to have explained where that country is, what it looks like, or what language is spoken there. On the other hand, Hungary with its small size and significantly less geopolitical power needs to be explained, described and even justified to outsiders living thousands of miles away. That is why we can find descriptions of the countryside, references to history, and even pictures of inventions in the blogs of Pazmany students.

One example for this type of explanation and description that shows the impact of the geopolitical frame can be found in Blog #2 for instance in the following sentence: "Our worldwide-known wine is produced on this gently sloping countryside." This sentence not only shows the influence of expectations of content as it draws an idyllic picture of the countryside in order to emphasize positive national uniqueness (Wodak et al., 1999), but also exemplifies the effect expectations of context has in its choice of the words: "worldwide known." Here the writer from Hungary uses the appeal of a well-known product to advocate for his small nation. This kind of justification is also one of the goals of the section on national identity in Blog #18 as can be seen in the next quote: "Hungary is a small country in the heart of Europe. Although it is small, has a long history with special kings and heroes, legends, scientists and stars." The subordinating conjunction at the beginning of the second sentence points to expectations of audience while trying to prove that despite the expectations people from a big country might have towards a small country, Hungary has it all from kings to stars as the long list highlights. To further emphasize this point, the creator of Blog #18 also inserts the picture of the Hungarian Ernő Rubik holding his famous invention, the Rubik cube, in his hands and a picture of some matches. Audience awareness however is lacking here, as there is no explanation included with the pictures. While the first picture might be interpreted more easily, a non-Hungarian would probably not know that the picture of the matches was included because another Hungarian inventor played a major role in developing today's safety matches. Thus it is more likely that these pictures served the role of providing proof for the greatness of a small nation to people from a large country as would be expected considering the geopolitical frame, rather than trying to build a relationship between two students.

How did the geopolitical frame affect the national identities represented by Davenport University students? I have already mentioned that only two students selected an American national identity for inclusion into their blogs. While there may be many different causes why only two Davenport students decided to incorporate an American national identity into their blogs, one of these causes could possibly be the geopolitical frame. Even the two students who did describe American national identity did not incorporate any type of introduction (such as location, size, or description) of their country, as they most likely assumed that everyone knows where the USA is. Instead they described this identity as a much more localized identity with references to places where they grew up and where they live. These examples show how the geopolitical frame on the macro level motivates our project participants' verbalization and multimodal representation of national identity.

National identity: Cosmopolitan elements

Because 12 of the 13 segments representing national identity contain cross-border references, the category of national identity is the third category that showed cosmopolitan potential in our database. Some of these cross-border references are associated with physical movement of the participants or their ancestors across countries and some have developed as a direct result of historical events' influence on personal lives. One of the interviewees who gave the title "Best of Both Worlds" to the section where she describes her double national identity explains the reasons behind her title selection as follows: "I'm really into a music and there was a song that was titled "Best of Both Worlds" and I think it really defined that I'm from two homes, I have two home. I think it... I don't know exactly to say it. I think I gained that from my Iraqi side and from my Hungarian side as well. If it makes sense" (Interview #8). Being connected to two worlds/countries was the experience of not only this participant, but also others who described their national identities on the blogs.

Table 16 below provides a summary of all the blogs that include national identity as a category together with the title blog creators gave to this section of their blog. In addition, the table also contains the nations/nationalities described in each of the blogs.

Blog #	Section title	Nationality described	Cross-border reference
#2	Hungarian	Hungarian	√
#3	Best of both word (worlds)	Iraqi/Hungarian	√
#18	Hungarian Girl	Hungarian	√
#19	My Hungarian Identity	Ukrainian/Hungarian	√
#20	Transilvanian-Hungarian	Rumanian/Hungarian	√
#22	N/A	European/Hungarian	√
#30	I am hungarian	Hungarian	-
#33	American	American	√
#41	Polish	Polish/American	√
#43	American	American	√
#44	Brazilian	Brazilian	√
#46	The weird girl (non-American)	Dutch/American	√
#48	Bosnian-Serb	Bosnian/Serb	√

Table 16. List of national identity labels and descriptions in the blog database

One of the first problems one encounters in the above categorization is how to signal a national identity that is connected to several countries. Hyphenating the name, such as in Dutch-American implies that the person has Dutch ancestry but is primarily American. Further, this type of description does not address whether the person herself has lived in the Netherlands earlier in her life or whether it was just one or both of her parents or perhaps grandparents who moved to the United States. In addition, hyphenating an identity is a nationality imposed on someone based on current residency or citizenship and does not take into account whether that person acknowledges this ascribed identity as his own. One example here is from Blog #48 whose writer decides to incorporate his Bosnian-Serb identity into his blog, without referencing his status as American citizen. Calling his identity “Bosnian-Serb-American” for the sake of categorization would take away the role of agency students had in other categories for naming. In addition, hyphenated identities create a theoretical problem, because, as Caglar (1997) explains, "hyphenation is anchored in ethnicity" (p. 172) and when we characterize people in terms of two different ethnicities, two imagined cultural wholes, we limit possibilities of hybridization and indicate certain directionality. Thus the categorization of a Dutch-American implies that there is an entity, Dutch culture, which has been transferred by an individual with her movement to the United States and her currently prioritized American culture has been infused with elements of her Dutch culture. Since this type of description would imply an imposition of a certain identity-type on a person from the outside, it would move us away from the data-based methodology I have described in the third chapter. Thus we need to eliminate the use of hyphenated identities in the labeling of nationalities, unless it is the form in which our participants defined their identities.

When we look at individual examples of why the hyphenated identity does not work for two other participants, we can see the richness of variety in national identities that defies this kind of categorization. Two Pazmany University students (the writers of Blog #19, and #20) belong to Hungarian minorities that ended up on the other side of the newly defined national borders of Hungary after World War I. Describing them as Ukrainian-Hungarian or Rumanian-Hungarian would mean that they have at some point in their lives been Ukrainian or Rumanian or have acknowledged such an identity. However, both of these students describe a primarily Hungarian identity that they are forced to live in a different country because of the outcome of historical events.

In order to illustrate how national identity is not only a product of geopolitical contexts but is also a fluid concept recognized as such by the participants, I will provide a more detailed discussion of one student's representation of his dual Hungarian and European identity on the blog (Blog #22). The writer of Blog #22 introduces his blog as follows: “On this blog I would like to show how complex identities can be in Europe. For that purpose I use my own situation as an example.” This introduction is a way for him to preface his discussion of identity as influenced mostly by nationality, language, and history. He then proceeds to introduce his identities by starting out with the Hungarian identity: “First of all, I am Hungarian, that means I use our national language, I think of our history to be mine, too, and I feel that the interests of the nation are my interests, too.” This unsolicited definition of national identity as determined by a shared language, history, and interest points to the need displayed by this participant to interpret identity for his individual use. Further, this definition shows that a shared language and history (the common identifiers of the ethnic model of nation by Smith) are as prominent elements of the national identity described by the writer of Blog #22 as a shared interest is.

To this point, the way this participant represents his identity fits very much into the national framework. But what follows, is in stark contrast with a textbook definition of national identity:

> But in the same time I am European. That not only means that I am a citizen of the European Union, but it does mean a strong identity that roots in Europe as cultural and geographical unit. That kind of identity is more and more important in the times of globalization, because today people not only have to distinguish themselves from their nieghbour nations, but they do have to find an identity globally, that connect them to a larger group. (Blog #22)

Here, the writer of Blog #22 describes a supranational identity, one that emerges as a result of the creation of a unit larger than a nation: the European Union. The description of this European identity then continues as follows: “my European identity means I am aware, of course, of the multicultural and multinational features of this continent, but I know the history and culture of this population have common roots. It is not a national identity, for example as I am Hungarian, or a lingual identity, it’s rather a historical and cultural one” (Blog #22). Here the writer differentiates between a national identity and this European identity only - it seems - on the basis of not having a common language associated with it. However, territorial integrity and a shared culture and history are still highlighted as its basic features.

Can we postulate that the blog text describing this double Hungarian/European identity by the writer of Blog #22 is an example of representing a cosmopolitan identity? While on the one hand this double identity is a great example of multiple allegiances reaching across national borders, these two identities appear as two different versions of the same “old-fashioned” national identity. In fact, the writer seems to transfer the meaning of national identity to a larger unit, a union of nations even as it is acknowledged by the writer that this transfer does not work to its full extent (it excludes a shared language).

The writer of Blog #22 is not alone in wrestling with the problem of defining a European identity in the EU as many scholars have tackled this same issue (Smith, 1992, Checkel, 2001, Delanty, 1995) and arrived at the conclusion that this identity for many coexists with national identities as it is rooted in shared territory and history and is situated in a national framework. For this reason a European identity does not necessarily incorporate cosmopolitan principles, but rather assumes a weaker form of national identity.

A questioning of the strength of a European identity also emerged in the interview conducted with the writer of Blog #22 several months after the end of the blog project. In this interview he wishes to revise the identities he posted on the blog based on his recent experiences living in a different country within the European Union. He explains his thinking at the time of writing the blog the following way "In the time, I haven't been abroad and I strongly believed in the culture effect of the European Union that I don't believe in today, for example. Today, I think that the European Union is a very good political and economical unit, but it's not meant for to make cultures to communicate with each other. People can learn about each other without the European Union as well." This statement clearly indicates not only that this participant understands the problematic nature of proposing a European identity a supranational category that is based on a national framework, but also that he became aware of the contextual nature of identities. While one type of identity made sense to him at one point in time, the same identity does not hold up having been exposed to different experiences. In this sense, the recognition that his identities are multiple and not constant and that cultural exchange is possible without a larger political unit (in this case a supra-nation) that officially sanctions it, sets this participant on a path that brings him closer to embracing cosmopolitan principles which work on a transnational level and do not require territorial unity.

In addition to the blog text and interview with the writer of Blog #22, our discussion about hyphenated identities also attests to the difficulty of describing and determining national identity in the contemporary social and geopolitical context. The difficulty comes from the fact that identity description is often attempted within the national framework, when in reality people have many allegiances in many different areas of their lives that reach beyond national borders. Even those students who described their national identity had to refer to countries outside of their place of residency because of physical dislocation or as a result of larger historical events. Thus we can see that describing identity within the national framework in an age when transnational physical and virtual movement of people is so prevalent is becoming very limiting. This applies not only to national identity but to all other identities represented on the blogs, as several of the other identity categories listed by students had allegiances reaching beyond borders associated with them. Using the cosmopolitan framework however allowed us to better understand the complex interaction of global forces and individual lives as they manifested in students' descriptions of their identities.

The analysis results of the three identity types, (student identity, sports identity, and national identity) in this chapter have shown that students' structures of expectations in this project were often based on a mixture of cultures rather than on a single culture. In addition, we have seen that all participants regardless of their country of residency used the same type of rhetorical moves and steps to describe specific identities while also incorporating content about allegiances reaching beyond borders. Based on these findings, we can see that conceptualizing identity within the cosmopolitan framework has much to offer for a more nuanced understanding of identities involved in transcultural communication over digital networks. To see the relevance of explaining identity representations in cosmopolitan terms for transcultural communication encounters, we will look at the type of interactions that developed in the comment section of the blog pages in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

IDENTITIES AND LANGUAGES IN INTERACTION: STUDENT BLOG COMMENTS

As we have seen through the analysis of blog texts, students involved in the cosmopolitan pedagogical project have established and verified their identities in terms that reach beyond the national paradigm. We have also established in the previous chapter that the contexts and the way students envisioned their audience influenced student's multimodal and linguistic choices in representing their identities. While imagining the audience of blogs involves some speculation as there is no one explicitly named as audience in the blog texts, this context changes significantly for blog comments since these have a very specific audience. Students in this transcultural project used the comment feature to address the creator of the blog in order to initiate contact, and the reply button incorporated in the blog comment interface allowed the blog creators to engage in interaction with their commenters. Since students were asked to comment on blogs written by students at the partner university, discussions that took place in the blog comments are prime examples of written transcultural communication encounters between two people from two different countries.

The goal of this chapter is to describe interactions that took place in the blog comments during the pedagogical project. In interactions, according to identity theory described by Burke and Stets (2009) participants use language and other symbols to convey and control meaning. The precise meanings in each interaction are defined between the participants as the conversation progresses. Since we had defined identities as a set of meanings that determine who one is, it is evident that together with meanings, identities are also negotiated in interactions. Burke and Stets in their discussion of interactions describe the process of identity negotiation as a feedback loop. In this loop, the meanings attached to self (identity) are compared with the self's perception of meanings that others assign to the self in interaction. When these perceptions are consistent with the meanings attached to the identity claimed by the self, identity-verification occurs. In this chapter, I will describe how project participants used different rhetorical strategies for identity verification, and how they connected the linguistic and multimodal elements of their blog comments with different identity categories. In this process, I will also answer the questions whether and in what form students incorporated the cosmopolitan principles of "universality plus difference" (Appiah, 2008, p. 92) into their interaction. In addition, this chapter will also look at language attitudes as formulated in the comments and will cite specific instances of language use from the blog comments that exemplify the importance of translingual practice in transcultural interactions.

Blog comments and identity types

During the second phase of the transcultural blog project students were asked to make comments on the blogs of a few students at the partner university. The web addresses of all blogs created for the class were listed on the homepage for the project in two groups by university so that students can easily review and select blogs for commenting. In the three weeks when students participated in the commenting phase, many comments were generated and from all of these comments a total of 243 comments were saved in the blog comment database (a small number of comments were deleted before the end of the semester together with the blog pages by some students, so these could not be saved to the database). Students were encouraged to reply to comments on their sites; some students developed longer chains of replies, while others did not reply to every comment. For these reasons, of the 243 total comments 191 comments were involved in chains of initial comment and reply. The length of comments varied from 1-2 line comments up to comments with 30 lines.

The initial categorizing of blog comments based on the topics that were addressed in them provided an insight into the connections between the comments and the identity category types that were described in the blog texts. This process started with a close reading and coding of the comments with the purpose of finding the main topic(s) of each comment. Through this coding process, I have found that every comment was associated with at least one of the identity category types in the blogs or with the topic of language, the other major subject of the blog sites in addition to identities. In order for an identity category to count as the main topic of the blog comment, I set the criteria that more than one sentence has to address this identity type in the comments. Some comments addressed more than one identity type. Table 17 below shows the total number of times a specific identity type served as the main topic of a blog comment.

Types of identity labels/Main topic of comments	Frequency of this category in the blog texts	Number of comments addressing each category
Societal role (based on relationships)		
A. Personal relationships (family member, friend,)	19	33
B. Pet owner	4	10
Group membership		
C. National identity	13	19
D. Region based identity	6	2
Activity		
Main activity		
E. Student	37	14
F. Employment-related identity	16	26
Free-time activity		
G. Sports	22	66
H. Hobby	7	27
I. Tv	2	3
J. Music	5	15
K. Gaming	4	20
L. Party life	5	1
M. Gambling	2	2
N. Outdoors	3	9
O. Travelling	4	26
Other		
V. Social class-based	1	1
W. Religion-based	1	4
Additional Topic		
Language		25

Table 17. Identity categories and number of comments addressing each category

The numbers in this table indicate that the most popular topic for commenting during this pedagogical project was sports with 66 comments that discussed it as a main topic. This should perhaps not be a surprise as many of the blog creators (22) decided to introduce a sports identity as one of their important identities on their blogs. In addition, as described in the previous chapter, sports identity had a high cosmopolitan potential with sports interests and team allegiances reaching across borders. The fact that sports have been the main topic of twice as many comments (66) as the next common topic based on identity type, family and personal relationships (33 times), demonstrates the important role of sports and the identities formed around them in transcultural contexts. In addition, it shows that being interested in the same sports or teams serves as a rich topic for transcultural conversations. One of the interview participants also attested to that in the following way: "That was a big one, sports. Pretty much wherever you go, there's going to be a huge sports backing, so you can connect with anybody on that" (Interview #4).

Other common identity types that appeared as the main topic of blog comments were identities based on hobbies (27), travelling (26), employment (26), gaming (20), nationality (19), and music (15). In addition to the main topics that were based on identity types, the subject of languages was also discussed frequently as the main topic (in 25 comments). These happened most commonly in regards to the different foreign languages students spoke or were planning to learn. Some of the identity types that served as main topics in the comments such as the ones based on travelling, gaming, music, and nationality incorporate elements reaching beyond national borders, while others such as hobby-, employment-, and family-based identities have less cosmopolitan potential. While it is interesting to look at the number of times different identity types and subjects emerged as the main topic of comments, these numbers alone tell us little about the transcultural interaction that took place between students. Because our main objective in this chapter is to answer the research question about the kind of linguistic and multimodal strategies students used to interact with each other during the commenting phase, we need to describe the rhetorical strategies of identity verification that were common in the blog comments. In addition, we will also highlight specific linguistic and multimodal elements of these rhetorical strategies that resulted in successful transcultural interaction.

Rhetorical strategies in blog comments

In Chapter 3, I described the different rhetorical moves and steps that were identified in the blog database. In this section, we will look at the kind of language that was used in each move and step and will find out whether there are indications in the commenting phase of this pedagogical project that show the effect of the cosmopolitan aspect of this transcultural project. Once the basic rhetorical structure of each comment type is described, we will focus on the specific steps that enabled a cosmopolitan stance in these written interactions and will identify the linguistic and multimodal elements that were instrumental in this process.

Rhetorical structure of contact-initiating comments

All the blog comments in the database were analyzed in order to distinguish the rhetorical moves and steps of identity negotiation and verification that were characteristic for each type of comment. We will first look at the moves and the different possible steps constituting contact-initiating comments (identified in Table 3 of Chapter 3). As we look at each move, we need to keep in mind that comments can contain different combinations of steps for each move.

For the first move in contact initiating comments, “Establishing contact,” students have used several options (steps) to achieve their purpose. For instance, some of the contact-initiating comments start with a greeting either in a simple form (hi, hello) or a greeting with a name (i.e. Hi Dora,) but only about half of all comments contain greetings. Some of the greetings include the blog writer’s real name, if it was revealed on the blog (i.e.

"Hello Zoltan" in a comment on Blog #26). Other greetings contain screen names, such as "Hello Weeatfish" in a comment on Blog #47. These features in the blog comments highlight that the purpose of writing a comment in this assignment is to create personal relationships, thus students seem to handle these comments as emails or letters.

Many comments, however, don't start with a greeting but with a positive comment about the blog where the comment is placed. This rhetorical step serves the purpose of a specific aspect of identity theory's identity verification process, namely it stands for providing rewards and praise to interactional partners that allow for positive identity verification. Starting out with a praise allows the comment writer to strengthen the comment reader's self-image thus it creates a non-threatening situation. Step 1B ("Positive comment on the blog format or content") refers to these praises and simple positive statements about the blog, its format, and content. Examples here include: "Nice blog" (Comment on Blog # 24) or "I really like your layout" (Comment on Blog #9) or "That is quite a list of sports you've participated in" from a comment on Blog #1 and "Very interesting identity on your Warcraft" from a comment on Blog #9. The expression "nice blog" for example can be found in 9 different comments written by 7 different people. Other ways participants expressed their liking was using different adjectives such as "interesting" with the intensifying adverb: "very;" this adverb was found 32 different times where Step 1B has been used in contact-initiating comments.

In addition to writing positive remarks about the host blog, another common way to establish initial contact in the blog comments is referring to what the blog writer and commenter have in common. This happens in Step 1C, "Establishing shared space." For potential interactants, according to identity theory, this serves the purpose of coming up with a set of meanings that is shared at least to some extent. Once participants in a conversation agree on shared meanings, consensus is much more likely than if these shared meanings were not established. In addition, sharing also occurs based on participants' hierarchical system of their identities, because by reassuring the comment reader that a certain identity is also placed high in the writer's hierarchy of identities, participants not only establish common meanings but also common values.

Examples for Step 1C include: "I am also an animal lover" (Comment on Blog #4) and "I also like playing games" (Comment on Blog #52). This step (Step 1C) where a shared space is established is not only relevant with respect to the identity verification process but is also particularly interesting as it relates to the importance of shared qualities that enable cosmopolitan dialogue. We will discuss the relevance of this move for cosmopolitan communication in the next section.

After establishing contact in the first move, the comment writers then proceed to build a conversation in the second move. In Step 2A, "Describing personal experience or opinion," writers include details about their own or one of their family member's/ friend's past experience or personal opinion about the established topic and thus share their own concept of a certain identity. Some blog commenters also include a link to a website or a picture that their readers can explore for further information. The next step (Step 2B: "Asking for input on a blog topic often within the established shared space), where comment writers pose a question to their reader about the shared topic in order to keep the conversation going, is an important interactional part of contact initiating comments. This is the step where blog commenters can establish actual conversations with the blog writer as these questions prompt their reader to reply to the comment. The importance of these questions is exemplified by one Davenport University student who commented on a Pazmany student's site and did not include this step, then a few minutes later has added another contact-initiating blog comment to the same blog (as evidenced by the comments' time stamp) which then contained the question to keep the discussion going (comments on Blog #13). Other ways to elicit a reply include asking the comment reader to post a picture or link. While many content initiating comments end with soliciting input from the reader, some comment writers conclude with formal closure reminiscent of letters by electronically signing their name (Step 2C:"Formal closure").

One of the interviews also described the importance of the rhetorical step that keeps the discussion going (Step 2B) in the following way when she was asked about other students' comments:

> Some of them were just not a lot. They were just niceties and that type of stuff. One of them from what I can remember had asked me about my scrapbooking and how many albums I had and what I did and that type of stuff. That was nice. I found that interesting and everything. Some of them were just like, 'I find it interesting reading about this,' or something like that. Some of them really … They wanted to keep the conversation like, 'I've never done scrapbooking and I think that would be really interesting to check that out' and everything (Interview #2).

This quote shows that at least one student found contact-initiating comments more engaging when they included Step 2B (asking for input on a topic) that would move the conversation forward.

Rhetorical structure of blog comment replies

Similarly to contact-initiating comments, the rhetorical structure of reply comments also follows some basic moves and steps that were observable in all reply comments of the database. The main rhetorical purpose of these replies is to provide some input on a topic that was solicited in the contact-initiating email (See Table 3 in Chapter 3).

The length and level of complexity of answers provided in reply comments vary greatly across the replies in our database; some answers contain detailed explanations and links to external websites for further reading while other answers are formulated in just one sentence. Replies start with Move 1, “Acknowledging initiating comment,” usually with a greeting using “hi” or “hello” and sometimes a name (Step 1A). The next step, Step 1B acknowledges the initiating comment through thanking explicitly for the comment (i.e. “thanks for the comment” posted on Blog #3) or through thanking for some part of the contact-initiating comment (i.e. “Thank you for the pictures of Budapest” in a comment on Blog #50). Step 1B was very common in the database, as it was present in 43 of the total of 100 reply comments. In addition to thanking for the comment, the first rhetorical move of replies also often contains a step (Step 1C: “Agreeing to established shared space”) that voices agreement with the established shared space mentioned in the contact-initiating comment such as in “It seems we have really a lots of common” that appeared in a reply comment on Blog #20. Again, this acknowledgement of shared space contributes to a positive identity verification process. The last step in the first move, (Step 1D:”Positive comment about the content of initiating comment”) contains a positive remark about the content of the initiating comment (i.e. “It was very interesting to read that your grandpa liked history so much” from a reply on Blog #22). Here too, similarly to Move 1 Step 1B in contact-initiating comments, we can find examples for usage of the intensifying adverb "very" with an adjective of positive connotation.

The second move, "Replying to request and building further conversation" in reply comments is where participants provide the input that was asked of them in the contact-initiating comment. Here, specifically in Step 2A, where writers provide the input solicited by the first comment in addition to answering questions and voicing opinions, reply writers also incorporate links to outside websites or direct their reader to pictures posted on the blog site. There are no common keywords or grammatical structures that are observable in this step, rather, it is the expert position reply writers take when answering the contact initiator's comment while substantiating their own identity claims that is noticeable in most of the examples of Step 2A. In fact, it is this expert position that allows the reply writers to share their own world or point of view with the commenter initiating the contact. Thus this is a crucial step under Move 2 which enables adding the difference to (cosmopolitan) universality that has been established through claiming a shared space by the contact initiator. In order to better understand how positionality in Step 2A contributes to cosmopolitan dialog, we will look at this step in more detail in a subsequent section.

The remaining steps of Move 2 seem to be more optional. For example, only 32 of the 100 total reply comments contain a question that would keep the conversation going beyond just one comment exchange. Also, as with greetings, some reply comments contain formal closing elements, such as "regards, Dwayne" in a reply comment on Blog #47 or just a signature like "Stephanie" in a reply on Blog#43, while many reply comments end without formal closing.

The distribution of the usage of all the above moves and steps and the linguistic elements that constitute these rhetorical moves and steps is very similar between Pazmany and Davenport university students. In fact, this easily noticeable similarity among all blog comments is what allows us to identify the rhetorical structure of all comments in the context of the pedagogical project. But are there perhaps other explanations in addition to the shared rhetorical purpose as to why such salient similarities exist in the blog comments? One explanation for the reason why both Davenport and Pazmany university students use positive remarks with intensifying adverbs when indicating their liking of the blog site, refer to what the writer and reader have in common, and show interest in each other's lives in blog comments might be that they all apply universal politeness principles as described in the seminal work of Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1978). In their book, *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*, Brown and Levinson present their theory of politeness and explain that mutually cooperative behavior can be observed in many languages and can be categorized based on the type of politeness strategy speakers use in their utterances. The authors arrive at a categorization of politeness strategies on the basis of a "face-saving" theory of politeness that assumes every person makes a decision about language use in each situation in order to reduce the chance of face threatening actions. The affirmative remarks, showing sometimes exaggerated interest in the addressee, and claiming common ground found in our comment database are examples of positive politeness strategies listed by Brown and Levinson.

Although the theoretical framework underlying the claims in *Politeness* (1978) has been used as the basis for many intercultural studies, it has also been greatly disputed in the decades following its publication (i.e. Watts, 2003). While a detailed description of this theory and its critique is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is beneficial for us to be aware of the fact that many of the linguistic strategies used by the comment writers of this project seem to be complying with universal politeness norms. This alone however tells us little about the relevance of using these strategies when building conversations across borders. Further, while we can find countless studies that compare politeness strategies in cross-cultural interactions (i.e. Chang and Haugh, 2011; Murphy and Matas, 2009; Schnurr and Chan, 2009) always pointing out the difference between the use of these strategies by speakers of different national backgrounds, little attention has been paid to how larger units of conversation are connected with each other in order to make cross-border encounters successful. Again, referring back to the methodology section in Chapter 3, in this project we want to overcome the "the difference fixation" (Kerschbaum, 2012, p.616) connected to established national identities that are prioritized in cross-cultural research, and concentrate rather on the process of relativizing identities as people enter into conversations with others of different background.

Thus in order to observe how conversations are built in the transnational space of online blog exchange in an age where identities are relativized in cross-border encounters, we will look at specific rhetorical categories that emerged from the blog comment database and have the potential to incorporate basic principles of cosmopolitanism. In the selection of rhetorical moves and steps with a cosmopolitan potential we will rely on the following claim of communication scholar W. Barnett Pearce: "In my judgment, the social and material conditions of the contemporary world demand the practice of something very much like cosmopolitan communication, and there are an increasing number of individuals who engage in it. (1989, p. 197). Thus we anticipate that some of the rhetorical moves and steps students used in the comment exchange already incorporate cosmopolitan principles.

For this reason we will examine the linguistic and multimodal elements of two specific rhetorical steps that seem to embody the cosmopolitan principles of openness and curiosity and exemplify the two essential sides of the cosmopolitan equation: universality plus difference. In the next section, we will first analyze Move 1 Step 1C in contact-initiating comments, as this is the move were commenters establish a shared space, a small scale universality, between two people. Then we will discuss how the expert position assumed by writers of reply comments in Move 2 Step 2A contributes to imparting information about difference without making this difference stand in the way of mutual understanding.

Establishing shared space through linguistic and multimodal means

Before we look at the linguistic and multimodal elements of blog comments that enabled establishing a shared space, we shall return to Appiah's description of cosmopolitan communication encounters discussed in Chapter 2 and highlight how sharing is an essential element of the cosmopolitan communication practice. Appiah's argument for achieving understanding between people of different backgrounds highlights that relativism about important topics, such as values and morality does not lead to mutual understanding, because when communication partners arrive at the conclusion that each of them is right, relative to each person's context, they effectively establish that they each live in separate worlds. Then Appiah asks "without a shared world, what is there to discuss" (p. 31). If, however, people approach communication encounters with the understanding that their universality as humans can be manifested in the smallest of things they share, such as tastes in music or appreciation of certain sports, they establish enough of a companionship between them that will open their minds for a more acceptant exploration of their differences. To find something that communication partners share, Appiah points out, should not be difficult in our globally connected world where people have multiple allegiances and interests reaching across borders. In fact, the identity types that showed high cosmopolitan potential in this blog project have shown us just how much people living in different countries have in common.

As it became evident from the interviews, students participating in the project did not have any difficulties finding similarities between themselves and others at the partnering university. In fact, 7 out of the total of 8 interviewees have mentioned finding something they have in common with someone as the most important criterion for choosing which blogs to comment on. In Interview #1, the participant explained this in the following way: "I was just kind of going over some of the other blogs. I tried to look at all of them, and comment on the ones I had similarities with, similar experiences and stuff." We can find similar points in the answer of the student in Interview#6 when she was asked about which blogs she commented on: "There was one who was writing about baking and she creates more and more cakes. It was very interesting for me because I love baking and cakes." Another participant in Interview #7 states the same point this way: "He has some…a similar identity like me. Then the common point was the nature, and that was why we started to talk because mine and his main thing was also the nature. Then, he also liked to walk and everything so this was very similar." In addition, the same person also described that she included in her comment a mentioning of the similarities between the blog writer and the commenter: "So I opened one, and I judged the pictures, and I started to read, and it was sympathetic, then I commented on that blog. (…) There was a boy who liked to play Call of Duty and my comment was that my friend is always playing the same thing and I like it too." All of these quotes highlight the importance of finding a shared interest before commenting, and the last two interview segments quoted above even attest that the structure of the assignment was conducive to finding people with similar identities and the comment feature allowed students to express what they shared as a way of starting a conversation with someone previously unknown and from different country.

In order to see how our participants activated what they had in common in the texts of the blog comments, we will now look at the language participants used in Step 1C; specifically, how they created a shared space, and how this step is connected to identity categories. When participants establish a shared space in their blog comments, they either claim that they agree with a statement the blog writer made on his blog or point to an identity category the blog writer listed as one that is also important to them. From the 87 times Step 1C has been used by blog commenters, 9 times it was in the form of voicing agreement with the blog writer. Examples for these are "I agree with your slant of life and thinking about these things" from a comment on Blog #47 and "I have to admit that I absolutely agree with the complexity of the family language" from a comment on Blog #34. In the more common form of establishing a shared space (Step1C), blog commenters declare a shared interest or activity that connects to an identity category. Grouping the instances each time Step 1C connects to an identity category, I have found that the most common identity category used for establishing shared space is sports identity. From the total of 87 occasions Step 1C has been used, sports have served 25 times as the common ground for establishing shared space. The next most common identity categories that participants connected to in this rhetorical move is gaming (13 times), followed by hobby (7 times), family (6 times), and music (5 times). After seeing the high cosmopolitan potential of sports identity for the project participants as described in the previous chapter, and knowing that it was the topic of most comments in the whole project (see Table 17), it is not surprising that this identity category has been commonly used for the purpose of establishing shared space. Also, establishing a shared space around the global culture of computer games is very common in our database. Thus our findings indicate that in an age of global sports and gaming, these identities can definitely serve as points of connection around which people from different countries can find something they share and use this shared enthusiasm for sports or video games as the basis for exploring difference.

Now that we have listed the identity categories that were commonly used for establishing a shared space, we will look at the kind of linguistic and multimodal elements blog commenters used to create this common domain for their conversations. The most frequent linguistic elements that students use in Step 1C in order to establish a shared space are words that express similarity or sameness. The adverb "also" for example can be found in 53 of the total of 87 times that Step 1C has been used by blog commenters to establish a shared space such as in the comment "I also come from a family with five kids" placed on Blog #3 and in the comment "I also had a German and a French exchange-student partner during the high school" placed on Blog #43. Other frequent words in this step are: "too" as in "I find it easy to relate to your experience since i too, am a dual citizen" (comment on Blog #3), "as well" as in "I like that your a family person. I am as well" (comment on Blog #4), "same" as in "I play the same role in the team as you" (comment on Blog # 49), and "common" as in "It sounds like we have a lot in common" (comment on Blog #20). All of these words work towards pointing out what the blog creator and the comment writer share.

In addition to using linguistic elements to create a shared space, participants have also incorporated multimodal elements into their comments for the same purpose. While the affordances of the comment interface make this environment less suitable to incorporate multimodal elements, students found other ways such as posting links to different websites with multimodal features to create conversations beyond the verbal mode. One of these exchanges that developed in the comment section on Blog # 48 exemplifies how sharing a common interest, in this case, an appreciation for hip-hop music can lead to making connections across borders despite the linguistic boundaries. Alastair Pennycook (2007), who examined global Englishes and their connection to transcultural flows also used the global subculture of hip-hop as his main example to illustrate how transcultural exchange around this musical genre cannot be explained in the traditional framework of nation-states, imperialism, and monolingual ideologies. The following exchange from our comment database exemplifies that multimodality further complicates this picture.

The comment exchange on Blog #48 starts out under the identity section that describes a Davenport University student's musical taste and incorporates a hip-hop / rap music video. In the following comment a Pazmany University student reciprocates the blog composer's decision about incorporating a video into his blog by also adding a link to a music video:

> Hi! I'm Judit. I found your blog very intresting. Music plays an important role in my life, too. I spend no day without music. In my car, there is a CD collection of my favorite musics because I like listening to music during driving especially When I go for a long journey. I prefer metal and rock music but I am willing to listening to rap. My favorite is Sub Bass Monster, who is a famous hungarian rapper.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2AkqEZKPB4

The title of THE track is 4 strokes – with a slightly different meaning.

In this contact initiating comment we can observe the rhetorical moves and steps discussed previously, such as greeting, self-introduction, and the positive comment on the blog. The crucial step in establishing a shared space, Step 1C is also present with the purpose of forming a temporary community of hip-hop and rap music fans to include both the blog commenter and the blog writer. Once this shared space is created, the blog commenter describes further details about her own musical taste and includes a link to a Hungarian rap music video on Youtube. This Hungarian rap group already has an English name, Sub Bass Monster, but the blog commenter decides to also translate the title of the song which is *Four Strokes,* relating not only to the four stroke engine but also having additional connotations. Clicking on the link, the viewer sees a Hungarian rap singer sitting down in a room with outdated furniture while singing in Hungarian and using hand gestures, a hallmark of hip hop and rap singers.

When viewing both music videos, the one on Blog #48 and the one in the comment, subsequently, a dialog in rhythms emerges in addition to the dialog in words. Each video contains the different semiotic modes of speech, music, and actions/ hand motions that are rhythmically organized and follow the expectations of this musical genre. According to Martinec (2000), in multimodal texts each one of these modes has a rhythmical hierarchy that is synchronized by a metric principle. Synchrony thus appears as a result of the different modes operating on the basis of the same principal. This principal, the familiar rhythmic pattern of rap music as played out in the different modalities of music and action, operates in both videos regardless of the language of the songs, and creates an exchange without words. The following reply to the above cited comment by the writer of Blog #48 also attests to the significance of other modes in this exchange: "ahahahahaha! nice well ive seen the video and though i couldnt understand what he was saying, i think i got some of it from his hand usuage ahahhaha!"

Although this reply states that the blog writer did not understand the words of the song, it also indicates that the hand motions, a non-verbal modality, were helpful in creating an engagement with this video which in turn helps to create a connection with the writer of the blog comment. Thus the exchange of music videos in the same genre but different languages is not only another example of foregrounding universality plus difference, the building of transcultural interactions on the basis of shared interests and characteristics, but also a proof that other modalities beyond the written text play an important role in the success of transcultural dialogs in this transcultural project.

In his description of dialogic cosmopolitanism, Suresh Canagarajah (2013) also emphasizes the importance of using different semiotic resources in conversations across borders, as all different modalities work together to produce meaning in this context, too. Thus when we look at the transcultural interactions that took place during the blog exchange project in an environment that supports multimodal communication, we can expect to see that rhetorical moves and steps also incorporate multimodal elements. In addition to the example of the music video, there are several more examples where participants used videos and pictures to establish a shared space. The following example from a comment on Blog #18 also connects to music and dancing:

> I especially enjoyed the video you included of your folk dancing. I get together with a group that does Irish folk dancing, and it is interesting to see how your dancing is

> similar in some ways. You can see an example of Irish dancing at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pb9tDIX_lBc&feature=related."

Another commenter (on Blog #9) does not include a link, but describes how her and her family's watching of a game play video posted on the host blog was instrumental in creating a connection between these two participants, a connection the commenter then uses to establish a shared space.

> Very interesting identity on your Warcraft. My husband and son enjoyed your video of it. They also know about this game but are unable to play it online as our internet connection is too slow. Is this game a big thing in your country and how long have you been playing it?

In addition to using videos for establishing shared space, participants also incorporated references to pictures into Step 1C. The following example comes from a comment on Blog #4: "I really like the picture of the line of trees. looks like a nice place to be. kinda looks like where i live at the moment." In this example the picture of a line of trees on the street where the blog writer lives serves as a connecting element between blog writer and blog commenter. Another multimodal element, smiley face symbols, while often used in the comments (a total of 128 times), only appears once in Step 1C but is very common in recounting individual experience especially with humorous content. In the only example of the smiley-face symbol as part of Step 1C "I like sports too! " (In a comment on Blog #48), this symbol is used by a commenter who incorporated a total of 16 of smiley faces in her comments. This high proportion of using smiley faces then appears to be more a characteristic of her comment writing style rather than a typical use of this symbol in the rhetorical step of creating a shared space. Although the smiley-face symbol was not the most instrumental in creating shared space, we have seen that other multimodal elements were effectively used for this purpose. Thus we have seen that using linguistic and multimodal elements students have frequently set out to create connections between each other and start the conversation by establishing a shared space.

Positioning as Expert

As we have seen in the previous section, establishing a shared space in which the conversation can begin is an important element of moving communication towards the incorporation of cosmopolitan principles. Within this shared space, as Appiah (2006) points out, it is much more likely that a more acceptant exploration of people's differences will take place. But what kind of linguistic and multimodal rhetorical strategies can we find in our comment database that enables a cosmopolitan engagement with difference? Or in other words, how is difference explored from the point of view of each communication partner without turning this difference into a divide? Based on the analysis of blog comments, I have found that the strategy most often used for the exploration and explanation of difference is the positioning of one of the communication partners as an expert in a certain topic. Before we look at examples of how students position each other as experts in the blog comments, we will first explore what positioning is and what kind of a role it plays in verbal interaction.

The concept of positioning has emerged in discursive psychology (Davis and Harré, 1990, Harré and van Langenhove, 1999) in the process of looking for explanations about how participants assume different roles in conversation as they construct situationally variable meanings. A definition of this concept as used in discourse analysis by Branca

Ribeiro describes positioning as a "framework that helps understand the ever-shifting moves of interlocutors in the construction of self in interaction" (2006, p. 50). Thus positioning underscores that context is created by interlocutors in each interaction. Identities within each new context are negotiated between the participants based on how they position themselves and others in a certain communication encounter. Harré and van Langenhove (1999) describe positioning as a way of verbally creating a location for each speaker within the grid of a conversation. The positions conversation partners ascribe to themselves or each other are often commonly known social roles, such as the position of teacher and student. However, Harré and van Langenhove also emphasize that someone can position herself or her communication partner in more general terms for example as being powerful or powerless, authorized or unauthorized. It is in this more general sense that we will apply the concept of positioning to the explanation of certain rhetorical moves observed in the blog comment database, as we will see it provides a useful tool for the description of how difference is discussed between students.

The following excerpt from a blog exchange posted on Blog # 20 illustrates how positioning is at work in the blog comments as a way of exploring difference (I inserted bold numbers in the quoted text to signal the rhetorical moves and steps relevant for this discussion):

1. **1.** It sounds like we have a lot in common. I too have a deep love and respect for nature. Michigan only has small mountains and they are 9-10 hours away. **2.** What are your mountains like? We have a lot of hills, lakes and rivers, and I love to spend time out in them to enjoy the peace and quiet. I like to go fishing with my dad too, but he recently sold our fishing boat and bought us kayaks. Now we can enjoy

paddling around and exploring the rivers. Your dogs are very cute, what breed are they? I have 3 cats and a rabbit. I used to ride horses at summer camp, but they are very expensive. The archery sounds very interesting.

2. I very happy for your comment! **3**. It seems we have really a lots of common. **4**.Well, you know I'm just learning here in Budapest, but my homeland is Seklerland I don't think that you will find it on the map but, if you check the Eastern Carpathians, the middle of this is my homeland. We have high mountains with rivers and lakes too, wild animals like bears wolfs, deers, wild boars and so on. So…I love it! My two dogs are mongrels/mix dogs…I don't really know how do you call it, but I have found only these expressions on it. They are two years old. The white dog is "Foltos" and the brown is "Picur".

The bolded numbers indicate the rhetorical steps that play an important role in positioning the second comment writer as an expert. In this exchange, the contact-initiating comment starts out with (**1.**) establishing a shared space. Once this has been established, the comment writer proceeds to Move 2 by describing a personal experience in connection with the established shared space around nature. The next step in Move 2, is Step 2B where the contact-initiating student asks for input on the established topic by posing the question: "What are your mountains like?" (marked **2.** in the above exchange). In this step, the first student attempts to keep the conversation going by seeking information on a topic from the replying student. This is the specific step that positions the reply writer as an expert in this case on the geography of her homeland. Could the contact initiating student have done some research to answer this question? Certainly. But by posing this question and affording expert status to the replier the first student provides an arena for the second student where she is invited to share differences from a respectable point of view within the established shared space. Thus approaching difference in this way allows for seeing difference as a minor variance within the main shared space, rather than a major discrepancy.

The student in the reply comment (comment 2 in the above example) accepts the expert status in which the question in comment number 1 positions her, and after reinforcing the established shared space (**3.**) she answers the question (**4.**) This part of the second rhetorical move of reply comments is where difference from the cosmopolitan equation appears in the shared topic. In this exchange the replying student describes her homeland, answers the question posed and provides further details on her homeland such as the type of wildlife that lives there.

During the interviews, the same person that wrote the reply comment in the above interaction also pointed out the similarities her commenter shared with her while showing an interest in her home country as we can see in the following excerpt: “The first student write that we have a lot of common. Because she is also respecting the nature, and she is also going to kayak and fishing boat. And she also liked dogs and animals” (Interview#7). Once this shared interest has been established finding out more about each other’s countries will follow the pattern of painting the same picture but adding different details here and there, which then ends up being a variation on the same theme. With the main topic of the discussion being shared, the differences will not be emphasized to a degree where it hinders communication or cooperation.

Another interviewee also described the same phenomenon of coming from an established shared space and asking questions that positioned her comment reader as an expert in gaming. Here is what she said: "One of them, he talked about World of Warcraft. I've never played it. I really don't know anything about it, but I know my boys have played it. I had asked him about that because he said that in his free time he often plays World of Warcraft and he played it online. My kids have never played it online so I was asking him a little bit about that, but he seemed to really know a lot about that" (Interview #2). The last sentence in this interview segment is where we can see that the writer of the contact-initiating comment in this case was convinced about the expert status of the other student. Her question to him in the comment can also be described as finding out about variation on the same theme: "Is this game a big thing in your country and how long have you been playing it?" (Comment on Blog #9).

The following answer to this question in the reply comment illustrates some of the linguistic features that can be found in segments where students write from the position of an expert: "I playing with this game since 2007 , i think in hungary have 20000 player in wow" (Comment on Blog #9). First of all, his answer incorporates an exact number. Also, he uses the abbreviation: "wow" for World of Warcraft which is a common way of referring to the game by its avid players. Both of these linguistic elements can also be observed in other reply comments where the reply writer has been positioned as an expert such as in the following exchange on Blog #2 initiated by a Davenport University student:

1. You like the Lakers you said? What did you think about them getting beat by the Mavericks last year in the playoffs?? I cant wait for the NBA lockout to be more, we could be watching NBA games right now, instead we have to find other things to do.

2. Yeah, you're right, I'm a Lakers fan. I was a bit sad because of being eliminated by Mavs, but not surprised at all. They won the championship in 2009 and 2010, and I think the satisfaction of success is inevitable in their case. So the refresh of the team is needed. That's why I would throw out a few veteran player like Lamar Odom from the team. Then I would bring a young franchise player to the team (e. g. Kevin Durant, Russell Westbrook), to whom Kobe will be able to help. Bringing a young, talented and prestigious head coach is the last step of this process (but this coach is NOT Mike Brown, please).

Here, after establishing shared interest in the same league, NBA, the reply writer lists the exact years when the discussed team won the championship, uses an abbreviated version of the name of the opponent team (Mavs) mostly used and understood by insiders, and writes up a whole list of players and strategies that should be applied to revive the team. Certainly, the expert status assumed by the reply comment writing student cannot be questioned here. The same student writing a reply comment to another question on Blog #2 that asks about national holidays in Hungary again incorporates exact dates and figures in the description of the history of some national holidays and also adds outside links for further reading. Other students when writing from an expert position also incorporate links to outside sources such as the student on Blog #21 to a Hungarian Bluegrass site and the student on Blog #23 to the official website of two Hungarian soccer teams.

But the expert position by these students was assumed only after it was ascribed to them by the writer of the contact-initiating comment. How did the writers initiating the contact assign expert position to their reader? As indicated in Table 3, Move 2 Step 2B in contact initiating comments has the purpose of asking for input on a blog topic often within the established shared space. Students applied this move with two different positioning outcomes, they either positioned their reader as an individual they want to learn more about using questions such as “Have you ever been on a cruise?” (Comment on Blog #31) and “What is your dream job” (Comment on Blog #32), or they positioned their reader as an expert using such questions as “What is different about Judo” (Comment on Blog #1) and “What do you think which team will win the championship? (Comment on Blog # 48). Of the 131 total times the move focusing on asking questions from the comment exchange partner has been applied in the blog comment database, 51 times it positioned the reader as an expert. The last two example questions also show some variation in assigning expert position, since it was either expert knowledge participants were focusing on as in the above question of asking about Judo, or it was expert opinion they were seeking, as in the question asking about the reader’s opinion about championship outcomes.

What topics were used most frequently for assigning expert position? Or in other words, in connection to which kinds of identities have participants used expert positioning to explore their differences? Table 18 below shows the connections between identity categories and the number of expert positioning in questions for each identity category.

Types of identity labels	Frequency in the blog database	Number of expert positioning moves related to each category
Societal role (based on relationships)		
A. Personal relationships (family member, friend,)	19	3
Group membership		
C. National identity	13	11
Activity		
Main activity		
E. Student	37	3
F. Employment-related identity	16	4
Free-time activity		
G. Sports	22	11
H. Hobby	7	4
J. Music	5	1
K. Gaming	4	4
O. Travelling	4	1
Additional Topic		
Language		9

Table 18. Identity categories and frequency of expert positioning moves

The numbers in this table indicate that the three most common topics were expert positioning was assigned to the reader were: sports identity, national identity, and language. Other identity types with higher frequency of expert positioning moves are: hobbies, gaming, and employment related identities. The variety of identity categories in Table 18 that have been explored by participants using the moves of expert positioning shows this move to be an effective way of exploring differences in different domains. Especially since this move was most often used in the comment database after a shared space has been established, it holds much potential for leading to cosmopolitan communication practices.

Positioning the reader as an expert on the writer's side often means "the willing suspension of belief" (Pearce, 1989, p.177) which according to Pearce is required for cosmopolitan communication. This entails challenging a person's own assumptions about the Other and her contexts. The following quote from a comment on Blog #25 shows just how deep seated and generalizing these assumptions can be, but also includes a sign that these assumptions can be challenged in the blog exchange: "You mentioned you love music as well, I'm curious about what kind of music do you listen to? Also you said you dont have festivals like we do but you guys have totally different holidays. I mean spring break is as big a deal as they make it look like in the movies right? You guys go to some lake, throw a party have fun. If it really is like that how about a trade?" We can see especially in the last 3 sentences that the writer does have assumptions based on movies about the reader and her life, but the first part of the last sentence in this quote, "if it really is like that," does open the door for challenging these believes and accords an opportunity to the reply writer to alter the reader's assumptions.

Challenging beliefs also happened in moves where readers were positioned as experts in regards to languages as the following quote from a comment on Blog #36 illustrates: "I heard that Portuguese can understand Spanish, but Spanish can't understand Portuguese. Is it true? Or it is just a legend? :)" The fact that assumptions about language were challenged in the blog comments together with the observation that language itself was the second most frequent major topic discussed in the comment exchange points to the important role students assigned to language in this pedagogical project. Language was also discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation by citing scholars who claim that applying the principles of cosmopolitan communication affect language use. I have shown the influence of cosmopolitanism on the representation of identities in the previous chapter, and we have found rhetorical strategies in the blog comments that exemplify the principles of cosmopolitan communication in the first part of this chapter, we now will explore whether we can find any connections between the cosmopolitan framework of this pedagogical project and language attitudes and usage in the transcultural exchange of blog comments.

Language ideology and translingual practice

The blog assignment called not only for students to represent their different identities, but also to describe the languages or language varieties that they associate with each identity. On the blog pages, students added a subsection under each identity that described the kind of language they use when enacting a certain identity. Looking at these subsections can help us gain insight into the language attitudes student held at the time of creating their blogs. These attitudes then can be connected to language ideologies that support specific attitudes and assumptions represented on the blog pages. As mentioned above, language was also a common topic of conversation in the commenting phase of the blog project. In addition to these comments revealing assumptions about language use and reinforcing certain language ideologies, we will see that they also exemplify how ideologies get challenged through meanings that are negotiated during discussions between students in the two different countries. In this section we will first look at the language attitudes and ideologies represented in the blogs in order to create a baseline and then we will explore whether and if so, how these attitudes are re-examined or even changed in the blog comments. While the aim of this dissertation is not a thorough examination of language attitudes and language ideologies within the database, a general insight into how students thought about language(s) can help us situate the linguistic choices they made and the linguistic practices they represented on the blog sites and in the blog comments.

Language ideology and translingual practice on the blogs

How do language attitudes and language ideologies connect to cosmopolitan communication? In psychology an attitude, according to Sarnoff, is defined as a "disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects" (1970, p.279). In case of language, Garrett (2010) states that we call these dispositions language attitudes, and they can be directed towards certain languages, language varieties, and linguistic forms. Language attitudes are learned through either personal experience (predominantly in schools) or through general values present in the social context and expressed in the media. Garrett also explains that when these language attitudes are combined in a set of principles explaining values and assumption about language in social reality and they become "naturalized" (2010, p. 34), they develop into what we call language ideologies. Garrett refers to standard language ideology as a very common language ideology that greatly depends on the principles of correctness. Further, as standard language ideology is built upon the assumption that languages are stable and isolated entities, it connects directly to monolingual ideology that postulates languages as "discrete, uniform, and stable" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 307). Thus monolingual ideology creates expectations that language users conform to a single set of norms (the standard variety) while also assuming the stark separation of these norms by languages.

As discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation, teaching transcultural communication in the cosmopolitan framework necessitates a foregrounding of dialogical cosmopolitanism (Canagarajah, 2013) that recognizes hybrid cultural identities involved in transcultural communication, emphasizes cooperation of actions over coherence, and highlights a practice based approach over the norm-, fact-, and proposition-based model. Or in other words, dialogical cosmopolitanism involves a letting go of the monolingual and standard language ideology and requires the embracing of translingual practice which "teaches language users to assume and expect that each new instance of language use brings the need and opportunity to develop new ways of using language, and to draw on a range of language resources" (Horner et al., 2011, p. 312). This type of language use, where speakers and writers utilize their knowledge of different languages within the same communication encounter is already happening in many realms in the globalized and networked environment of our current era (see for example: Pennycook, 2010, Blommaert, 2010, Canagarajah, 2013, Pandey, 2013, Bou Ayash, 2013).

One of the aims of the pedagogical project described in this dissertation was to foster such practice in case of multilingual students and to expose functionally monolingual students to this practice so that they can let go of prioritizing correctness and can move away from monolingual language ideologies. This way, both monolingual and multilingual students would be able to concentrate more on the message rather than mostly on the form, and work towards coordination of actions rather than just coherence in accordance with the principles of cosmopolitan communication. In order to determine where students started on this journey of moving away from monolingual ideology and how close they got to applying the principles of cosmopolitan communication, we will first look at to what extent both monolingual ideology and translingual practice is present on the blogs. Then, we will discuss whether and how through interaction between students their old (monolingual) ideologies get challenged and new (translingual) practices get accepted in the blog comments.

On the blogs, students were asked to describe the different languages and language varieties they used in connection to each identity they described. For Davenport students who were functional monolinguals this resulted in the description of different registers and their vocabulary associated with a certain identity. The following excerpt from Blog #39 illustrates such a typical description for the identity of full-time employee:

> *Language:* In the insurance industry we use a lot of different terms that I would not use in my other identities. We talk about forms, policies, id cards, declaration pages. We work with Subject Matter Experts, Forms Analysts, Budget and Analytics specialists and Human Resource individuals. The primary language we use is English and we communicate via email using a professional tone at all times. (Blog #39)

For students both at Davenport and at Pazmany University who were multilingual this description focused on the context they use their different languages they have acquired. Many students, especially at Pazmany University, connected their different languages to their student identity as can be seen in the following excerpt from Blog #1:

> Language: My native language is Hungarian. I use English as my second language and I've been also learning French since high school. I have an intermediate English exam and I'm planning to take an intermediate French language exam next year. At university I learn English and French and in addition I learn political, business and legal English language. We also read a lot of English texts and books here. In the future I would like to learn more languages. I hope when I will finish my Master

> qualification I will able to speak at least 3 foreign languages (English, French and German or an oriental language).

In fact, 20 out of the 37 students who chose to represent their student identity had similar descriptions about foreign language requirements and the different languages they use as students. Connecting language skills with student identity indicates that foreign languages serve utilitarian purposes for these students. This view often is closely connected to monolingual ideologies as each language is separated by domain of use since foreign languages are learned and used predominantly in school. This separation became even more obvious when Pazmany students discussed their identities as family members or their national identities, and connected their Hungarian language to these domains as shown in the following examples:

"Of course we speak hungarian at home." (Blog #6)

"I am proud of being a Hungarian girl. I speak Hungarian which is one of the most complicated languages all over the world." (Blog #18)

"All of my family is hungarian so we speak hungarian with each other and I use hungarian when I speak with my friends." (Blog # 26)

"I'm 100% Hungarian, and we use hungarian language within the family."(Blog #14)

In these statements the wording "of course we speak hungarian" and "I am 100% Hungarian" implies a strong underlying connection between nationality and monolingual ideology as speaking the language is a requirement for belonging to a nation. This reminds us about the important role language plays in ethnic models of national identity as described in the previous chapter. The writer of Blog #18 while showing her pride in the Hungarian language even lists some Hungarian words that she thinks "sound very special."

One of these words is "randevú" a word originating in French. This example makes the impact of monolingual language ideology very transparent in the words of this writer, since she makes her language "special" as an isolated system not influenced by other languages. In addition to the students that describe Hungarian as a unified, isolated language, there are two marked examples in the blogs of Pazmany university students that do acknowledge the presence of different languages and language varieties within Hungary, but at the same time still exemplify monolingual ideology. The first one is in the description of language that the writer of Blog #28 associates with her identity as a city person (she uses the word: citizen).

> As for the language, generally I speak hungarian, because all of my family and close friends use this language. Some differences are that being a citizen I left the countryside-dialect what my grandparents speak and I use lots of other terms. However it's important for me to save the 'origin' of the language — what I mean that I try to read a lot, and when creating a text, I attempt to be neat and for example avoid *abbreviations,* the short terms, which are very frequent in modern phrasing. Even so I can't escape from the 'hunglish' language, which is a weird combination of hungarian and english, very popular in the IT terminology, and particularly in facebook-terms. I give you some examples: like=lájk, post=poszt, wow=váo, or expressions completely infiltrated in the hungarian language like 'come on', 'no way', etc. (Blog #28)

Although the writer of Blog #28 acknowledges the interaction of different languages, she does this in a way that sheds negative light on such interactions. Since her critique of such mixed language use and her reference to the "origin of language" indicates that her views are greatly influenced by monolingual (and standard) language ideology, her mentioning of hunglish terms is not an example of translingual practice but a way to reinforce monolingual ideology.

There is also a multimodal example that uses different languages but still reinforces monolingual ideology on Blog #18 in the language subsection of the blog paragraph that describes the writer's Hungarian identity. This is a youtube video (Nyelvguru, 2014) posted on the same blog that included the word "randevú" as a Hungarian word referenced above. The video contains the music and text of the song *Hello Tourist* written and performed by Emil RuleZ! an alternative jazz performer in Hungary. The video displays the picture of Chain Bridge in the background with the text of the song moving along with the melody line-by-line most likely created with the help of presentation software. The text of the song is mostly in English but it also contains Hungarian, German, French and Italian words. Here is a short excerpt from the beginning of the song

> Hello Tourist, du bist in Budapest, capitol of Hungary. For a little money I will show you this beautiful city. I am a Student, I am twenty three, I study sociology, on the very famous Eotvos Lorand Science University. (Nyelvguru, 2014)

This video reinforces monolingual language ideology especially in its pronunciation. Although the song is in English, it is sung with a very strong and overemphasized Hungarian accent (i.e.: the presence of the Hungarian rolled "r" in English words, pronouncing a vowel where there is a silent "e" in English). This strong Hungarian accent is also recognizable in the words of the song that come from other languages. While words from different languages are mixed in this song, overemphasizing the accent highlights that there are impenetrable boundaries between languages. Thus the writer of Blog #18 by incorporating this video into her blog accentuates the importance of a divide between languages and through this reveals the influence of monolingual ideology.

Other examples where several languages are discussed on the same blog post incorporate the description of multiple national or ethnic identities and the languages as they connect to a specific national identity. The following example comes from a Davenport university student who described a Bosnian-Serb identity:

> I use the Serbian language only around my immediate family here in the United States which consists of: my brother, mom, uncle, aunt and cousin. There are not too many people here that I know of that speak my language. I do speak in Serbian through social sites like Facebook or even applications like Skype. I would not say that im completely fluent, but I am able to hold a conversation. I have come a long way from when I didn't even speak English in first grade to now being able to communicate in two languages. (Blog #48)

This entry shows that the writer of Blog #48 connects his different languages to different contexts (Serbian language: only with family in U.S. and relatives in Serbia, English language: outside of family in U.S. and in school) which indicates a complete separation of languages that is in line with monolingual ideology. Separating languages by domain of use and in connection with different nationalities is also evident in the language description of a student who wrote about her Hungarian minority identity in Rumania as follows:

> **Language:** My motherlanguage is hungarian! In Transilvania approximatly 2 million people speak hungarian. At home with my parent's, freinds and seklers, we are talking in hungarian, but when we have to go in official places we have to speak romanian, or find somebody who can speak hungarian. (Blog #20)

For this student the stark separation of her two languages can not only be explained by the prevalence of monolingual ideologies but is also supported by the political context that she lives in as a minority. Since Hungarian minority rights are not well supported by the Rumanian government, this student's attitudes towards her Rumanian language are negative. While in her everyday language use she very likely mixes both of these linguistic resources even within the same utterance, as a member of the Hungarian minority in Rumania her national identity is closely connected to insisting on a complete separation of these two languages.

This is not the case with the writer of Blog #3 who is also multilingual as the child of Iraqi parents and someone who grew up in Hungary. When she writes about her identity as a family member, she describes a situation where languages are constantly mixed:

> **Language**: As I mentioned earlier we have our own multiple language. My parent prefer Arabic, we use more Hungarian, but you can find everything we ever learnt in it (French, German, Spanish and even Japanese). The most useful part of having two nationalities is that I know Hungarian just as goon (*=good*) as Arabic. I only use Arabic with my family. My dad sometimes pretends that he doesn't understand us until we do so, but because I use Hungarian more often those words pop in my head more quickly which leads to a mixed language. My friends always laugh when they hear me talk on the phone… (Blog #3)

The orientation of this student to her different languages does the opposite of emphasizing the boundaries between them. She actually acknowledges that she relies upon different linguistic resources in certain situations, especially with her family members to express herself. Such an orientation indicates a less significant influence of monolingual ideology on this writer's language use and implies an openness to the mixing of different languages that also happens in translingual practice. Such openness towards translingual practice is also evident in the following description of a Davenport University student who was born in the Netherlands: "The language I use as a mediator is mostly English. I also throw in a little Dutch/English combo here and there when I speak with family" (Blog #46). Again, we can see here that the writer of Blog #46 uses different languages as resources in her identity as a family member.

In the blog data base we can also find examples where participants incorporate words from languages or language varieties other than Standard English to represent their identities. When this is done by strategically placing these words into the Standard English text to better portray identities, it illustrates the point Canagarajah (2013) makes about the connections of translingual practice and identity. He explains that languages "provide creative resources to construct new and revised identities through reconstructed forms and meaning of new indexicalities" (Canagarajah, 2013, p.199). The first two words we will look at that exemplify this form of indexicality are two different site titles from the blog database. One of the Davenport University students was an international student from Iceland, and she used the title "svartahvitu" for her blog site (Blog # 49). "Svartahvitu" means black and white in Icelandic and is most likely used here to reference some element of the writer's Icelandic identity. The other site title example "chupalaverga" (Blog #8) comes from a Pazmany university student. Although this is an obscene expression in Spanish, it is also used according to the Urban Dictionary website (Urban Dictionary, 2014) in slang expressions by certain groups in the U.S. with the meaning of a greeting. While we cannot determine what exactly the blog writer meant when using this term, it is certainly the case that he brought new connotations to the description of his identities by using such a site title.

Several participants have seen the blog title or section titles as a pertinent place for incorporating different languages or language varieties. A Pazmany university student, for example, titles her whole blog" "My identities/identitásaim" (Blog #30) by adding the Hungarian translation of the English word to her title. She then begins to introduce her Hungarian identity in the first section of her blog with the following statements: "My hungarian identity determine my life principally. It determines the way i think about the world, my preferences, and because of the language- how i can describe the things around me" (Blog #30). Based on this description it is understandable that for the writer of Blog #30 incorporating the Hungarian word that means "my identities" further accentuates her primary identity as Hungarian. A Davenport University student in Blog #50 uses the word "Yooper" (as someone from Michigan's Upper Peninsula, UP for short, who is called a Yooper) that only exists in a regional variety of English. Again, using this word for her better describes the identity she introduces than just introducing it with standard English words. Yet another example of using a nonstandard word as an identity category title comes from Blog #30. Here, a Pazmany university student titles the section where he describes his identity as a heavy metal music fan: "\m/". According to the Urban Dictionary (Urban Dictionary, 2014) this is a "representation of the horns, a metal salute" that is used by heavy metal fans for affirmation. Using this non-standard word as the title of his blog section, the writer of Blog #30 is able to signal his insider status in this community and can incorporate connotations that would otherwise be left out of his description of this specific identity had he only used Standard English.

Another interesting case of incorporating different languages into the English blog text comes from Blog #47 where a Davenport University student who is a functional English monolingual ends his blog page with the following Hungarian sentence: "Szeretem a halat, így érdemes! The title of the student's blog is "weeatfish" and the approximate translation of this Hungarian sentence is: I like fish, so it is worth it! The writer of Blog #47 was one of the interviewees and when asked about why and how he incorporated this Hungarian sentence, he explained that he just wanted to show that computers in our age make even language barriers less of a problem, so he took a phrase that would go well with his "fish" theme on his blog and entered it into Google Translate. Although the Hungarian sentence is grammatically correct, it would require a very specific textual context for it to be actually meaningful; thus the writer of the blog not only displays the possibilities computer translations can offer, he also demonstrates the limitations such programs have. Still, by reaching out to his audience of Hungarian students through incorporating their language into his blog, the writer of blog #47 works towards weakening language barriers that are supported by monolingual ideologies.

The writer of Blog #9, a Pazmany University student, also describes and displays language practices that weaken the arguments of monolingual ideology in his explanation of how he uses language(s) when playing World of Warcraft:

> ***Language:*** Thats very intresting, because the game is an english language game, so we have many worlds what we dont translate. For example (Pull, heal, damage, tactic, talent, spell, the name of the spells), because its very funni if you try to translate to hungary. When we play together we use Team Speak 3 client, thats one program, like skype, we able to speak with each other during the game. When we

doing “Raids” (we are playing in groups) we use wery short phrases (DPS – damage per second,) beacuse we have to react very fast to a different situations during the game. If u never heard about W.O.W. i show you one video how does it look like when we playing together. (Blog #9)

Following this description, the writer inserts a gameplay video that is posted on YouTube (Orseh, 2011). In the video a small text box in the bottom left corner of the frame appears that shows players’ chats during the game. The following chat text from one of the video frames exemplifies how English and Hungarian mix during game playing activities and provides yet another example of the type of translingual practice that students involved in the blog project already apply in connection with their different identities:

[Garlogg] whispers: ja és +ba még lány vagy… az mindig + pont

To [Garlogg]: jaj ezt hagyjuk mert hidegrázást kapok tőle

To [Garlogg]: de komolyan

Ezetrol has initiated a ready check

[Raid] [Zapphire]:RSC > Everyone has flask and food buff

[Garlogg] whispers: :D

[Garlogg} whispers: ez igy van és kész (Orseh, 2011)

The representation of translingual practice described here and in the other examples from the blog texts above shows that while some students clearly display an overwhelming influence of monolingual ideology on their language attitudes, other students move away from it especially when establishing identities outside of the academic context. In the next section we will first see examples of how participants in the commenting phase of the cosmopolitan pedagogical project also reaffirm the influence of monolingual ideology in their interactions. These examples, however, will be followed by descriptions of instances where students engage in negotiating practices that are the basic elements of a translingual approach to language use.

Language ideology and translingual practice in the blog comments

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, 25 comments were classified as having language as one of their main topics, which means that following the criteria set for main topics, 25 comments contained at least 2 sentences about a language or languages. 19 out of these 25 comments discussed foreign language learning in terms of, for example, how many years it took to learn it, which languages do the commenting partners speak and at what level. The following excerpt is representative of this type of comments:

> I am so intrigued that your english is so good! I know Spanish, but not enough to write a whole blog about! For that, I congratulate you!... Your blog is really good along with your english! (Comment on Blog #12)

While these comments approach language proficiency from a functional viewpoint, they are based on a strict separation of languages and prioritize mastery and control over a language as a system; this shows a connection to monolingual ideology.

These elements of monolingual ideology also appear in the remaining 6 comments that were about languages and language varieties in general or related to certain characteristics of specific languages and language varieties. A comment exchange on Blog #49 illustrates how commenting partners discuss languages and reveal assumptions about them.

1. *etelaky16* December 6, 2011 at 6:26 pm

Could you plese give me the answere if there are any resemblances between English and Icelandic language? I assume that in Iceland it is compulsory to learn English if I am not mistaken.

2. *svartahvitu* December 12, 2011 at 9:27 pm

There is no similarities between Icelandic and English. The only words that are the same are the new words that younger generations have brought into Icelandic, mostly swear words lol.

Kids in Iceland start to learn English in School at the age of 9 or 10 I think, and people are learning English form the Tv-shows, the movies, and the Internet. Most Icelandic people speak English and we learn Danish as well in school.

The answer to the first commenter's question not only provides information about the Icelandic language but also reflects the global reach of English. In addition, this answer also postulates languages as separate entities by relying on the borrowing model, where words from one language are borrowed to be used in another language. Here again, monolingual ideology is behind imagining languages as isolated systems that sometimes are enhanced by borrowing elements from other systems.

Another comment about languages contains language attitudes towards the languages discussed in very specific terms. The following comment exchange exemplifies the type of language attitudes and assumptions that were expressed in students' comments:

1. *adaydreaminggirl* November 28, 2011 at 7:29 AM

Hi! Your blog is very interesting! :) I'm jealous because you can speak Spanish :D
After graduating I plan to take language lessons in Spanish. It is so beautiful :)
I heard that Portuguese can understand Spanish, but Spanish can't understand Portuguese. Is it true? Or it is just a legend? :)
Erika

2. *Juan the Interpreter* November 28, 2011 at 3:23 PM

The Truth is that it depends on what type of spanish you speak, i can understand the Portuguese that the brazilians speak, but the actual Portuguese from Europe. Im glad you want to learn Spanish its a beautiful language that has such an amazing flow to it while you speak (Comments on Blog #36)

This exchange shows that students while articulating some of their language attitudes ("It is so beautiful" and "it's a beautiful language that has such an amazing flow to it") also question some of the beliefs they hold about languages through assigning expert status to the other commenter. This move points to the same kind of openness we have seen earlier in the discussion of expert positioning that results in having one's beliefs challenged. It appears that within this commenting environment students are also willing to negotiate assumptions and meanings they previously associated with a language related concept. This negotiation about language not only happens on the macro level, in regards to languages, but is also apparent in connection with specific word meanings as observable in shorter comments

In addition to the comments that were classified as having language as their main topic, 31 additional comments contained just one sentence or a short reference to a certain language or language use. Some of these were comments or praises concerning the level of language competence or years of language learning of the blog writer. Examples of these include: “Your english is very good I think it is better then mine.” and “i’ve been learning englihs for about 14 years now…” both from Blog #7. Other short comments referred to actual language use or level of comprehension achieved in the comment such as at the end of a comment describing the differences between karate and judo: “I don’t know more but I’m sure there are more differences or samenesses . I hope its understandable:-) (Comment on Blog #1).

Some of these short comments concentrate on the meaning and usage of specific words. Here is an example from a Davenport University student’s comment: “I had to look up what a “hostel” was. Is that a requirement for school? (Comment on Blog #21) and from a Pazmany University student: “At the beggining of your blog you mentioned “hobbyfarm”. Could you tell me what do you meant by it?”(Comment on Blog #33). In these two examples the comment writers are not familiar with a word as it is used in a blog, and they want to find out the meaning of these words from the blog writer. In another case, a Pazmany student in a comment on Blog #20 anticipates that her word choice might lead to questions thus she provides commentary on her word choice: “My two dogs are mongrels/mix dogs…I don’t really know how do you call it, but I have found only these expressions on it.” This comment was answered the following way by a Davenport University student: “Here mixed dogs are usually called mutts. They are often the best kind to have.” This exchange shows that the commenting phase of the project where students interacted with each other also served as an arena where students displayed audience awareness and negotiated language use between each other.

The meaning of the words “soccer” and “football” was also discussed several times in the blog comments. The following excerpt exemplifies how in a comment exchange initiated by a Davenport University student participants go through elaborate questions and detailed explanations in order to arrive at a shared meaning.

1. juliehuyser - november 20, 2011 - 12:49 de.

I found your blog very interesting. I do have a question however? You state that your brothers play football and that your boyfriend is a soccer coach, are you referring to the same sport? In the US we call it soccer but I know other countries call it football, could you please let me know? My son plays soccer and my husband is a coach. Share a link with some information on soccer (football) if you could, as they are always interested in other countries and how they play soccer. Also at our university soccer is a big sport with a lot of international players on the teams – both boys and girls.

2. kitty0617 november 21, 2011 - 4:51 du.

Yes, my brothers play soccer. In Hungary we call it football. Football or soccer may refer to one of a number of team sports, which all involve, kicking a ball with the foot to score a goal. Football play between 2 teams of eleven players with a ball. The game is played on a rectangular field of grass or green artificial turf, with a goal in the middle of each of the short ends. The goalkeepers are the only players allowed to touch the ball with their hands or arms. Matyi's team:

http://www.vidi.hu – the official website of videoton footballclub

http://www.vidi.hu/jatekosok/spandler-matyas/adatok.html

Csabi's team: http://www.pfla.hu

http://www.pfla.hu/playerpopup.php?id=443

The Pazmany student's answer clarifies that she uses both words, soccer and football, to refer to the same sport where the ball is kicked and only the goalkeepers are allowed to touch the ball. In the second part of the answer, the Pazmany student includes links to her brothers' soccer club sites, further clarifying how she uses the words football/soccer. This detailed explanation eliminates the possibility of the word "football" in this conversation referring to American football. Through this exchange the students involved in the interaction negotiate word meanings to ensure mutual understanding. Coherence is not assumed, rather a meaning is agreed upon through negotiation. One of the interviewees also pointed out that she discussed the meaning of soccer vs. football in her blog comments and she referred to that as "we want back and forth a little bit on that one." Another Pazmany student is also very conscientious about soccer vs football in regards to using the right word for the audience when writing to a Davenport student. In his comment on Blog #49, he not only shows audience awareness, but assumes agency in language choice the following way: I'm also a soccer (I still call it football) fanatic, on and off the pitch."

As we can see in these comments, especially in the above comment exchange about word choice between two students, participants in the blog project not only used verbal explanations to clarify word meanings but also utilized the affordances of the blog commenting interface and attached links to websites. These sites then add a multimodal dimension to the explanations as they contain pictures and videos. A Pazmany student explicitly thanks for a link that was used to explain a word on Blog #50 by a Davenport University student: "The phrase "Yooper" was unknown for me, thanks for the link, it helped me to understand the meaning of it." Blog #50 also contains a picture of a wooden board in a forest that has the *Prayer of the Woods* carved on it in English. In reply to this picture, the same Pazmany student that thanks for the link on the meaning of "Yooper" also posts the entire text of the *Prayer of the Woods* in Hungarian in her comment. The Davenport student then replies as follows: "Thank you for including the prayer of the woods in Hungarian, I really appreciate it. I am thinking about printing it out on a picture of woods and hanging it on my wall."

This comment exchange on Blog #50 in addition to the other comments discussing word meanings and challenging language attitudes point to several different ways in which the commenting section of the blogs enhanced the transcultural project. The commenting space served as the actual contact zone where some students were able to overcome restrictive monolingual ideologies and have used different languages, language varieties, and even multimodal means as communication resources in order to achieve mutual understanding. The curiosity and openness for negotiation in these interactions create space for the emergence of translingual practice and are essential in cosmopolitan communication. Thus we can see that the commenting phase of the project was crucial in furthering the development of students' cosmopolitan communication practices.

One of the Pazmany University interviewees also described this aspect of the commenting phase as follows: "So I thought that I write everything incorrect, and they will laugh and all, because we can't write correctly in English. So I thought this at the first moment. But after we started to comment on each other's blog I didn't find big mistakes in our comments. (…) First I thought that they will not understand but I realized that then they will ask what is it" (Interview#7). We can see that this student, once in contact with the other students through the comment feature of the blog realized the possibility and importance of negotiations in transcultural communication encounters. This realization then freed her from concentrating rigidly on correctness and enabled her to focus on coordination and mutual understanding rather than concentrating on correctness for its own sake. The same interviewee then expresses this realization with the following words where she refers to Davenport students as "they" and to Pazmany students as "we": "Because I realized that they are not interested in whether we write correctly or not. It was more important to relay information not whether it is done correctly. Because no one corrected us, so really they just wrote about the topic. I thought they would say, this is not correct, or something" (Interview 7). And, in fact, only one comment by a Davenport University student out of the 243 total comments contained any kind of reference to correctness: "I really like your layout. you might want to proof read it" (Comment on Blog #9).

Throughout this chapter of discussing the rhetorical strategies and students' language attitudes and language use in the blog comments, we have encountered a certain level of openness with which several students had approached these transcultural encounters. The negotiations these students engaged in, and the creativity they displayed in using language(s) in this space points to the presence of cosmopolitan communication principles. Pinpointing the strategies that represent cosmopolitan principles and understanding these strategies' connections to the design of the blog project and to the blog interface can serve two different purposes. Primarily, it helps us to evaluate how effective this specific project was in teaching a cosmopolitan approach to transcultural communication. Secondly, but even more importantly, it aids in creating a list of practical communication strategies that can explicitly be taught in subsequent semesters of conducting this pedagogical project. Both of these benefits from the findings of this dissertation research will be discussed in the next, concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS DEVELOPING A COSMOPOLITAN OUTLOOK IN THE TEACHING OF TRANSCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The nature of professional communication has changed radically as a result of globalization. In this environment, it can be anticipated that a technical writer will work on documents for an international audience and will collaborate with people from different national, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds with increasing frequency in her career. For this reason, we need to be able to teach our students, the technical writers of the future, specific communication strategies that they can use when they have to collaborate with people from different backgrounds. However, traditional ways of teaching inter/transcultural communication are not as effective in the global work environment, mainly because the ease of physical movement and constant mixture of ideas enabled by the internet has resulted in the blurring of cultural boundaries and the pluralization of identities (Starke-Meyerring, 2005).

This dissertation introduced an alternative approach to teaching transcultural communication. It explained how by relying on the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism students can be taught a general approach to transcultural communication encounters regardless of the nationality of their communication partners. The dissertation described a blog exchange project between students in two different countries that was designed according to cosmopolitan principles to better account for the concurrent cosmopolitan social process. This project also provided students with the benefit of experiencing transcultural communication in an online environment, thus preparing them for the globalized and networked workplace. Students' blog pages and interactions during the project were then analyzed with regards to the type of identities they represented on their blogs and the strategies they used to interact with each other in the comment section of their blog pages.

The findings from this dissertation research not only provide insights about the way students established and verified their identities and interacted in this specific blog exchange project, but also have the potential to inform the design of similar projects when teaching inter/transcultural communication for professional writing students. In this final chapter of my dissertation, I will review the major findings of my research and their implications for the field of teaching transcultural professional communication. Based on the major findings, I will propose a model that illustrates the process of teaching cosmopolitan communication practices in this project. This model can also be applied in the design phase of future transcultural online collaborative projects. I will conclude this chapter by outlining further research directions based on my current data base of blog pages and interviews and identifying additional research projects that have the potential to provide even more information about the effectiveness of the cosmopolitan approach to teaching transcultural communication.

Major findings and implications

In order to answer the first research question about identity representation on the blogs, I have first determined how participants in this project defined identity. I found direct definitions of identity in our database together with implications of what constituted identity for participants at the time of writing their blogs. A data-based definition of identity was created based on these elements. Using this definition, major identity categories where identified that students most commonly chose to represent on their blogs. The five categories that were represented with the highest frequency were: student identity, sports-related identity, identity based on personal relationships (such as daughter, brother), employment-related identity, and national identity. From these identity categories, student identity, sports identity, and national identity were found as having a high cosmopolitan potentials due to their connections reaching across borders. The analysis of these identity categories has shown that students established and verified these identities based on structures of expectations that often originated in a mix of cultures. Thus, I have determined that the identity verification process is largely influenced by the transcultural context. This is an indication that in the age of frequent global movement of people and information the description of many identities can no longer be based on structures of expectations of a single, national culture. Or in other words, many identities that the students in the transcultural project found personally or situationally significant incorporate elements that are connected to different countries or global phenomena such as the widespread interest in certain sports teams.

These findings are in line with the increasing presence of pluralized identities and blurred boundaries due to globalization as described by Starke-Meyerring (2005). Further, the findings underline the importance of reevaluating the privileging of national identity in researching and teaching intercultural communication within the field of professional writing (Jameson, 2007). Since the privileging of national identity especially in the case of intercultural collaborative teams is no longer enough to characterize interactions, Starke-Meyerring (2005) calls for a more globally situated pedagogical practice when teaching intercultural communication. The cosmopolitan approach to teaching intercultural communication described in this dissertation is one of these globally situated pedagogical practices.

Explaining to students the premises of cosmopolitanism and asking students to describe themselves by representing their different identities proved to be crucial for starting out their communication encounters from realizing all that they shared with people from other countries. As explained earlier, in cosmopolitan communication discovering first what communication partners share can lead to a more productive exploration of their differences or what they don't yet share (Appiah, 2006). Through the observation of participants' blog commenting strategies and through what we learned from the interviews, we have seen that students chose whose blog to comment on by finding people who represented similar identities to theirs. The layout of the blogs that was based on describing different identity categories in separate sections was conducive for helping students to realize just how much they have in common with students in the other country. This provided students with a personal experience that supported their understanding of cosmopolitan principles discussed prior to the project. One of the interview participants from Davenport University summarized this experience as follows: "I find it very interesting to reach out and talk to people in other parts of the world, see how they live, and things that are normal activities for them and to see what parallels they have with my own personal experiences" (Interview #1). Thus as participants were getting ready to comment on others' blogs pages they recognized similarities or parallels between themselves and the students in the other country and internalized the basic tenets of cosmopolitanism this way.

As observed when looking at the most frequent moves made in the blog comments, many students then proceeded to point out similarities with their reader through establishing a common ground. The results of the blog comment analysis highlight that common ground was often established around identities with high cosmopolitan potential. Establishing common ground allowed students to situate themselves in the interactions as equal partners. It also provided students with the possibility of moving along the conversation towards the discussion of differences.

The blog comment analysis has also revealed that positioning the comment reader as an expert proved to be an effective way of exploring differences that also followed the principles of cosmopolitan communication. This move has served as an invitation to share differing knowledge bases, values, and beliefs and has resulted in often multimodal communication encounters that challenged previously held assumptions about cultures, countries, and languages. Thus this move was the final phase of the process that students progressed through in this transcultural pedagogical project towards reflexive self- and other awareness. A Pazmany University student when asked about his overall opinion of the blog exchange project also described that his assumptions were challenged through this project: "There are prejudice connected to American people.(…) One of the prejudice are that they are not interested in the other parts of the world. They can't understand people who are from different cultures. Obviously, that's not true but this prejudice are in our culture, and you hear them every day. That's why I was a bit afraid of that. That it[1] will be good for nothing, but finally, of course, my prejudice turned out to be not true. So, I was very pleasantly surprised" (Interview #5).

[1] "it" here refers to the blog exchange project

While the research design does not allow determining whether all participants had a similar experience with the project where their assumptions were challenged through engaging in online interactions with students from another country, the results of the blog analysis do suggest that given the project design many students will go through a process of recognizing similarities and exploring differences in accordance with cosmopolitan principles. The exact steps of this process (see Figure 5) were revealed thorough the analysis of the blogs and blog comments and can be used as scaffolding in subsequent iterations of this or similar projects.

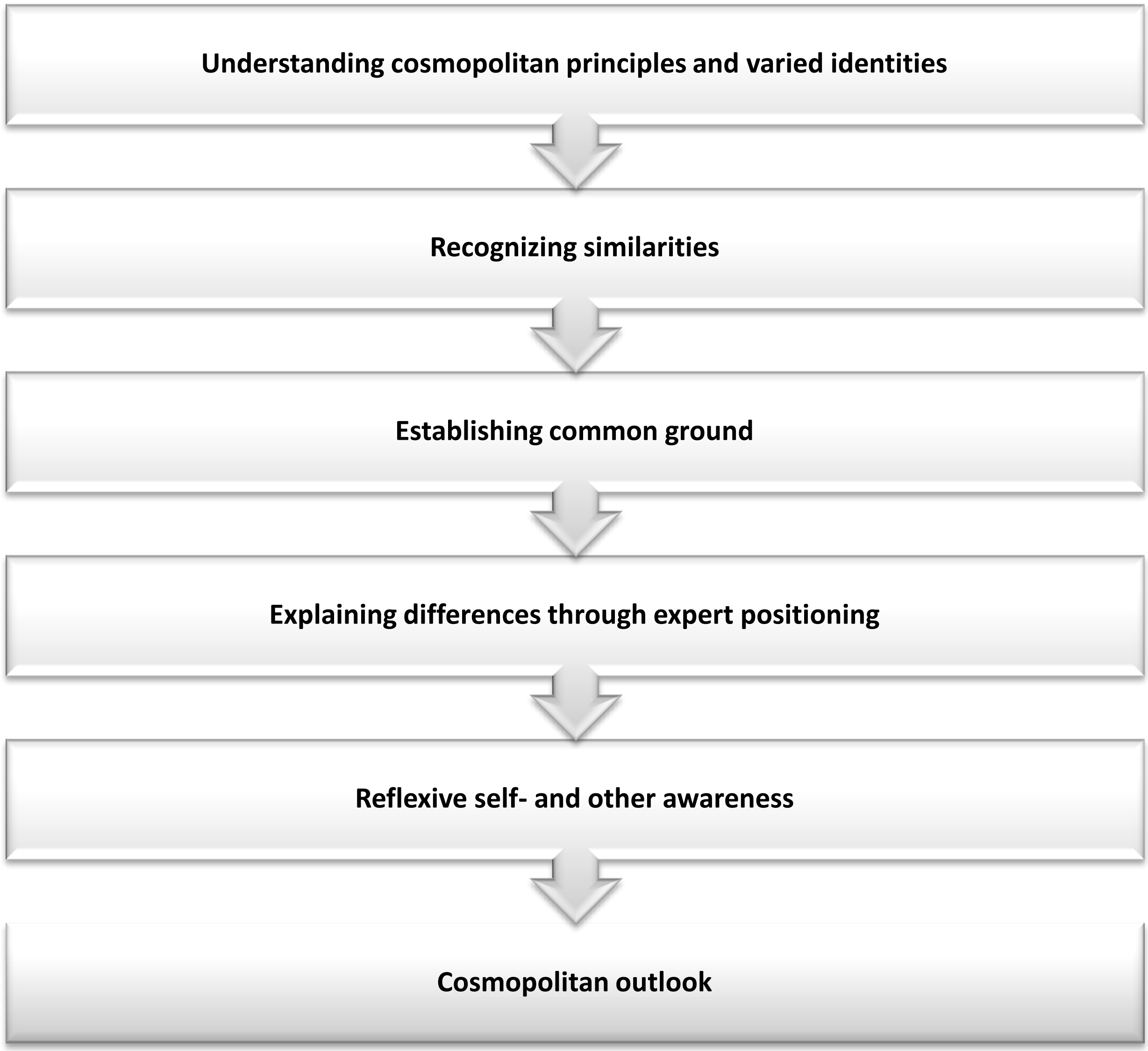

Figure 5. Cosmopolitan communication process during the transcultural blog project.

The most immediate goal of familiarizing students with the above process is that all students achieve an understanding of the most effective cosmopolitan communication strategies in this specific online environment. The main objective of this project, however, is that the cosmopolitan outlook students develop during the blog exchange project will remain with them beyond completing the assignment and will guide their approach to transcultural communication in the workplace.

As described in Chapter 2 this cosmopolitan outlook, or as Vertovec and Cohen (2002) put it, this "capacity to engage cultural multiplicity" (p. 1.), can be an asset not only when encountering cultural difference, but also when experiencing multiplicity in other domains. For example, accepting multiplicity in language use in the form of not adhering to standards arose in the blog project when assumptions about language use and language ideologies were challenged in conversations between students as outlined in Chapter 5. Accepting multiplicity in language use was also supported by the multimodal communication options of the blog interface. In fact, we can argue that based on the wide variety of linguistic and multimodal resources the project participants used in this transcultural context where the sharing of one's many different resources (languages, pictures, music, etc.) are enabled, the hybridity of these resources for communication becomes more perceptible. This in turn reinforces identification with cosmopolitan principles and further strengthens cosmopolitan outlook.

Contributions to the field of professional writing

This dissertation contributes to the knowledge in the field of professional writing in two different ways. First, it suggests a new framework for pedagogical project design that moves away from the traditional emphasis on cultural differences while teaching intercultural professional communication. Although the acknowledgement that cultural stereotyping needs to be avoided in pedagogical approaches had become a major topic of discussion since the publication of DeVoss et. al's (2002) article that critiques traditional approaches of teaching intercultural communication and suggests a new method, no comprehensive framework has been suggested that would accomplish such an outcome. A good example of this is a recent collection of papers edited by Thatcher and St.Amant (2011) on innovative ways to teach intercultural communication. This collection provides an overview of ideas that contribute to more effective approaches to pedagogy, such as Cleary's (2011) integrated framework approach that relies not only on classroom instruction but also on experiences that students and faculty acquire through international partnerships and exchanges to teach intercultural communication. Another contributor to the volume, Padmanabhan (2011), incorporates a list of successful intercultural rhetorical practices such as involving the user into the development cycle and applying localization standards. These strategies, Padmanabhan argues, can be taught and used when practitioners are involved in cross-cultural collaboration projects.

The two above examples illustrate that while the chapters in Thatcher and St.Amant's collection are all describing practical strategies on how to teach intercultural communication, they do so without suggesting an alternative framework. This further establishes the validity of the "reductionist sociology of culture" (Benhabib, 2002) that treats cultures as separate, homogeneous entities and completely disregards the hybridizing effect globalization has on cultures. The cosmopolitan framework described in this dissertation, on the other hand, does provide an alternative theoretical framework that takes into account not only the differences between people's backgrounds but also the similarities in their identities and communication strategies used in intercultural encounters. Thus, this dissertation highlights the importance of examining the theoretical frameworks that surround actual teaching practices. In addition, the dissertation suggests that the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism is one that is capable of successfully encompassing global realities in which the teaching of intercultural communication takes place.

On a more general level, this dissertation also proposes an extension of current frameworks used in not only teaching but also in research practices of the field of professional communication. The dissertation suggests that when extending the current theoretical framework to include cosmopolitanism, scholars in the field will be better able to describe global, transnational, and transcultural social phenomena that affect the process and products of transcultural professional communication. This necessary extension to the framework does not imply that cultural differences and their expression in the ways we communicate no longer exist; instead, it asserts the need to take new phenomena into consideration that cannot be described by the current framework, whose shortcomings have been pointed out by several scholars such as Stake Meyerring (2005), Hunsinger (2006), Cardon (2008), and Wang (2010). The framework of cosmopolitanism described in this dissertation makes hybrid and global phenomena visible to researchers that would be undetectable within traditional frameworks.

Application of major findings in similar projects

The findings from this dissertation research can be directly applied when designing similar transcultural communication projects. The individual steps of the cosmopolitan communication process can be highlighted by instructors at different phases of the blog project from the design of the blog pages through the composing of comments. Specific linguistic and multimodal strategies used successfully in this project can be used for modeling cosmopolitan communication for future project participants. In addition, exposing students to the cosmopolitan elements of identities represented in this project can encourage students to identify and incorporate similarly hybrid elements in their identity representations. Overall, lessons from this specific project can enhance the outcome of similar online collaboration projects in the future in many ways.

However, it should be considered that while acquiring cosmopolitan outlook as shown in Figure 5 through the application of cosmopolitan communication practices appears to be a movement through a process with a definite end, it never is a finished endeavor. Since cosmopolitan outlook entails the acceptance of fluid cultural boundaries and the translingual practice often accompanying cosmopolitan outlook incorporates a practice based approach to linguistic performance, it follows that cosmopolitan outlook as the desired outcome of transcultural collaboration projects is always emergent. Knowing this, such projects can only be successful when students are accorded the agency of using different communication resources and are guided through the process of applying them as they become more skilled at employing these resources throughout the duration of the project. If instructors take this into account when teaching transcultural communication while applying the cosmopolitan approach, they can facilitate students' learning process more effectively and can hope for a more effective transfer from classroom to workplace.

Further research

Although the analysis of blog pages and comments has revealed much about identity representation and communication in this transcultural online environment, the findings are limited to the informal context of internet blogs. This informal context was not only created thorough the online environment, but was also influenced by the blog genre. Blogs are located at the "peculiar intersection of public and private" (Miller & Shepherd, 2004, p.1.), and thus provide a space where individuals can express themselves in an informal way about public or private topics. Similar interactions in a more formal environment, such as perhaps through self-introductory emails could have somewhat different outcomes in regards to formality levels. In addition the blog's multimodal interface further lent itself to personalization and informality that would not have been possible through all channels. Also, the findings are limited as they only apply to the specific group of students participating in the first application of this pedagogical project design. In addition, only 2 institutions from two different countries were connected with each other. It would be valuable to compare the results from this analysis with a similar project where a larger number of institutions from more countries would be involved.

In addition, we could gain a deeper understanding about the effectiveness of explicitly explaining the steps of the cosmopolitan communication process (Figure 5) by analyzing a subsequent project that would incorporate the insights gained from this project in the actual teaching practice. In this subsequent iteration of the project students would not only be introduced to cosmopolitan principles, but would receive specific instruction on how to create a blog that invites comments, and on the rhetorical moves and steps their comments should include to enable cosmopolitan dialog. This might result in a learning environment where nearly all students would experience every stage of the cosmopolitan communication process, and would as a result develop a cosmopolitan outlook. On the other end of the spectrum, a comparative study could also be developed where students in two countries would still create blogs and write comments to each other, but would not be introduced to either the principles of cosmopolitanism or to the steps of cosmopolitan communication process. Such a study could create a more nuanced understanding of whether and how the theoretical framework of this pedagogical project affects its outcomes.

Further, more data could be gathered about student's perception of the effectiveness of such projects in the form of interviews and surveys. This could augment the data that was gathered in this respect in the 8 interviews conducted after the end of the course. Post-project interviews could also help us to better understand students' decision making and digital composing process when creating their blog pages. As the 8 interviews gathered after the project contain much information about students' technology use in the blog page design phase, these interviews could serve as a starting point for additional research on the connections between the blog interface and the multimodal composing process students applied in this transcultural online environment.

Another topic of investigation about which more data could be gathered through interviews is language attitudes. As we have seen in the blogs and comments students have very specific opinions about different languages and language varieties. Also, we have connected these opinions to monolingual ideology. To better understand students' ideas about languages and language use and the connections of these to language ideologies at the start of the project, interviews could be conducted about these prior to engaging in transcultural exchange. Then, post-project interviews could shed some light on whether, and in what way students perceive that the cross-border encounters have influenced their language attitudes.

Concluding remarks

In this dissertation, I hope to have outlined the potentials that the framework of cosmopolitanism has to offer for reconfiguring the research and teaching practices of the field of professional communication. Having used a cosmopolitan approach to my international data set, I have shown that students participating in a transcultural blog exchange represent many identities with cosmopolitan potential. Also, I have identified communication strategies in their blog comments that follow the principles of cosmopolitan communication and are helpful in developing students' cosmopolitan outlook. Thus I have illustrated in several ways that the theory of cosmopolitanism which unites universality with difference can serve as a way to help us understand that there is no abyss between cultures only individuals with their varying connections to local and global networks. This understanding provides us and our students with a more nuanced insight into how to approach transcultural communication in a globally connected and networked world. When students who have developed a cosmopolitan outlook engage in transcultural negotiations, these negotiations will have the effect of forming and transforming their contexts, the identities of conversation participants, and the relationships communication partners have with each other and the world.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project: Interviews in regards to Globally Networked Professional Writing Classroom in a Cosmopolitan Framework
Time of Interview:
Date:
Place:
Media: (in-person or phone):
Interviewer:

Verbal Introduction by interviewer:
As I mentioned in the email inviting you to participate in this study, I am investigating the composing process students used in ENGL 311 as they were creating their blog assignment. In particular, I am interested in the choices you made about what to include and what to leave out from the text of the blog, and how you have decided about the kind of visuals you have added to enhance your blog. I am also interested in what type of comments you made on other's blogs. If you are willing to answer the questions in this interview, your answers could help me to understand this topic better from the students' point of view. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can choose not to talk to me at all or you can refuse to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable with. However, I do hope you will help me by answering as truthfully and completely as you can. This interview is not anonymous, as I know who you are and will know how you respond. However, I will keep what I hear confidential and no names or other identifiers will be attached to my notes or the tape so the information you provide will remain anonymous. Further, I will be talking about student blogs to other people enrolled in the same class and when I report my findings, I will do so in the aggregate and thereby keep your identity and responses anonymous. When talking about individual choices, I will use pseudonyms. Do you have any questions?

If not, can we proceed with the interview?

Questions:
1. (Icebreaker) Tell me about your experience with intercultural communication in general and in the class in particular.

Probes: What did you know about intercultural communication before this class? Has this changed in any way by working on the blog assignment?

2. Was your overall experience with the blog assignment positive or negative? Please explain why.

Probes: Have you had any experience creating blogs before? In what way did this assignment differ from other class assignments? Whom did you envision as your audience? Did you have any reservations about writing a blog and posting it on the internet?

3. Please look at the content of your own blog entry and talk about what you included in there and why.

Probes: How did you select the different identities, such as student or avid gamer that you included? If there were there any identities you decided to not post on the blog, why did you make that decision? Why did you put the different identities in the order in which they appear on the blog? Were there any particular elements/words that you felt needed to be included with a specific identity? How did you decide on what words to use when you explained the language variety that goes with a specific identity? Would you include the same identities now that some time has expired or would you change them?

4. Now let's talk about the choices you made about the layout and visual appearance of your blog. Again, by looking at your blog explain to me why you made it appear the way it does.

Probes: Why did you choose the background you have? How did you decide on the pictures and/or videos on your page? Why these visuals and not others?

5. What was your overall impression about the blog pages that students in the other country generated during the class and how did you participate in the commenting part of the assignment?

Probes: When looking at the blog pages of other students were there any particular ones that you liked? Which ones and why? How did you decide on which ones to comment? What did you include in your comments? What was your impression about the comments you received? Which comments did you find most interesting and why?

6. Can you recall anything interesting about the language use of the students in the other country?

Probes: Was their English similar to your or different from yours? In what way? What words did they use that you would not use? Did you observe any difference in sentence structure or writing style? Did that influence your understanding of the text?

Thank you very much for your time today. I'd like to once again assure you that your answers will remain confidential and if you have any future questions about this research, you may contact me at any time.

Invitation to Participate

to be sent to students

You are receiving this email because you participated in the intercultural blog assignment project as part of the requirement for ENGL 311 in the Fall semester of 2011. As I mentioned during our classes, I am doing my doctoral research on intercultural communication. The blog assignment you completed during our class constitutes a major portion in my data. As I am looking at my data, I feel that I could gain a more detailed understanding about the blogs by interviewing some of you about your blog writing process and the layout and design decision you made during this process. If you are willing to take part in this 45-minute phone interview scheduled at your convenience, your answers could help me understand this topic better from the students' point of view. Your participation in this interview would be entirely voluntary and your answers would be kept anonymous. If you decide to volunteer, I will send you a $ 10.00 Amazon.com gift card after the interview as a small token of my appreciation for your time.

If you are interested in talking to me about your experiences with the blog assignment or if you would like more information about my study, please email me at zpalm001@odu.edu.

Thank you for your consideration.

Zsuzsanna Palmer

APPENDIX B

IDENTITY CATEGORIES IN THE ORDER POSTED BY STUDENTS

#	Category				Identity category types (see Table 5)	Cosmopolitan identities	Blog Address
#1	student	sportman			E,G	E,G	http://tdani90.wordpress.com/
#2	Hungarian	student	sportsfan		C,E,G	C,E,G	http://kaszasgabor8.wordpress.com/
#3	Best of both words [nationality]	What about the future [student]	The middle (child) [family]		C,E,A	C,E,A	http://sabreendaybis.wordpress.com/
#4	[family]	Loving my pets	[student]		A,B,E	B,E	http://jucikasaradi23.wordpress.com/
#5	With my family	As a student	Animals in my life		A,E,B	E	http://doraorosz.wordpress.com/
#6	student	Tennis fan	brother		E,G,A	E,G	http://l1990project.wordpress.com/
#7	University student	Arts and the fine arts [hobby]	brother		E,H,A	E	http://balazstimar.wordpress.com/
#8	from the countryside	Student of Pazmany	\m/ [music]		D,E,J	E,J	http://chupalaverga.wordpress.com/
#9	Student	Expert on International Relations [specific interest]	MMORPG player		E,R,K	E,R,K	http://beeroblog.wordpress.com/
#10	Me as a student	Nightlife	Sport		E,L,G	E	http://fenyomarton.wordpress.com/
#11	Back at home [place-bound]	University student	Artist [hobby]	Sporting girl	D,E,H,G	E	http://bubu0516.wordpress.com/
#12	Student	Sport lover	Computer game lover	Outdoor	E,G,K,N	E,G,K	http://faktisch.wordpress.com/
#13	BA student	snowboarder	traveler		E,G,O	E,G,O	http://orsolyatopa.wordpress.com/
#14	Before the diplome [student]	College life [party life]	Daddy’s girl [family]		E,L,A	E	http://szzsofika90.wordpress.com/
#15	student	Entertainment [party life]	sports		E,L,G	E	http://etelaky16.wordpress.com/
#16	University student	Son and brother	Huge football (for some of you soccer) fan		E,A,G	E,A,G	http://16keane.wordpress.com/

#	Category				Identity category types (see Table 5)	Cosmopolitan identities	Blog Address
#17	I'm a student	I'm brother	I'm a traveller, I'm an open book	I'm a cultural creature [music, gaming, books]	E,A,O,J,K,P	E,O,J,K,P	http://kollarberci.wordpress.com/
#18	Hungarian girl	To fall in love w/ someone	Life in a student hostel		C,A,L	C	http://taksonyhu.wordpress.com/
#19	student	My Hungarian identity	My kid identity, I live in fables [books, theatre]		E,C,P,Q	E,C, P,Q	http://egressymariann.wordpress.com/
#20	Transylvanian Hungarian	BA student	Nature and animal friendship		C,E,N,B	C,E	http://kozmaklemis.wordpress.com/
#21	Member of a family	Student in PPKE	Horse rider	Musician	A,E,G,J	G,J	http://judyjo.wordpress.com/
#22	Hungarian	European	Numismatics		C,D,H	C, D	http://jaroslavh.wordpress.com/
#23	My life [family]	My studies	Sport		A,E,G	E,G	http://spandlerkitti.wordpress.com/
#24	Scorpio [personal trait]	Eastern European woman	A poor person	A fighter [sport]	S,D,V,G	D	http://esztergardos.wordpress.com/
#25	student	sportsman	International pal		E,G,A	E,G,A	http://maybethisone.wordpress.com/
#26	Soccer fan	poker	reading		G,M,P	None	http://z1989.wordpress.com/
#27	Girl from Hungary [personal trait]	Wintertime [sport]	Party girl		S,G,L	G	http://girlfromhungary.wordpress.com/
#28	Citizen	University student	traveler	Hostess (part time job)	D,E,O,F	E,O,F	http://noratornyosi.wordpress.com/
#29	student	Guitar player	gambler		E,J,M	E,J,M	http://adamkaradi.wordpress.com/
#30	Hungarian	student	Parent [pet owner]	Green [specific interest]	C,E,B,R	C,R	http://dorottyatuba.wordpress.com/
#31	student	bartender	child		E,F,A	E	http://valentinsara.wordpress.com/
#32	Writer and journalist	Tv show fan	Friend		F,I,A	I	http://edgeofglory89.wordpress.com/
#33	American	Electronic technician	Computer student	Motorcycles [hobby]	C,F,E,H	None	http://sarmstrong18.wordpress.com
#34	Work identity	School identity	Family identity	Sports junky	F,E,A,G	None	http://ekoeppel.wordpress.com/

#	Category				Identity category types (see Table 5)	Cosmopolitan identities	Blog Address
#35	Mortgage loan processor	Part-time student	New wife		F,E,A	None	http://angeltobias.wordpress.com/
#36	(No explicit categories)						http://interpreterinthesuburbs.blogspot.com/
#37	Employee	College student			F,E	None	http://lmariedotorg.wordpress.com/
#38	Pre-nursing student	Certified nurse aid	Cake decorating		E,F,H	None	http://ashleysenglishblog.wordpress.com/
#39	Full-time employee	Wife and mom	Scrapbooking		F,A,H	None	http://juliesidentitiesblog.wordpress.com/
#40	Motorcycle enthusiast	Role model ("personality")			G,S	G	http://nykvaughn.wordpress.com/
#41	Husband, father ("family)	Insurance professional	Polish	Pistons fan Gamer	A,F,C,G,K	C,K	http://kennethtgould.wordpress.com/
#42	Christian	Cancer survivor	Traveler		W,U,O	O	http://kayta8.wordpress.com/
#43	International business student	American	Tennis player		E,C,G	E,C,G	http://sfortney1.wordpress.com/
#44	Business administration student	College athlete	Brazilian		E,G,C	G,C	http://vgroland.wordpress.com/
#45	(No explicit categories)						http://rsigsby.wordpress.com/
#46	The mediator (personality)	The weird girl (non-American)	What? The smile and nod girl (hearing impaired)	A mother of three	S,C,T,A	C	http://simone2781.wordpress.com/
#47	Architectural designer/ business owner	student	Technical information network administrator		F,E,F	E	http://weeatfish.wordpress.com/
#48	Bosnian Serb	student	Worklife Sports fan Entertainment		C,E,F,G,I,J	C,G,J	http://khakisuit.wordpress.com/
#49	student	Soccer player	Employee at summer camp		E,G,F	E,G	http://svartahvitu.wordpress.com/
#50	Yooper ("place identity")	Debt counselor	homebudy		D,N,F,H	None	http://northwoodsmeagan.wordpress.com/
#51	(No explicit categories)						http://coreyanderson5.wordpress.com/
#52	student	Computer technician	gamer		E,F,K	None	http://rogelite.wordpress.com/

VITA

Zsuzsanna Bacsa Palmer
Grand Valley State University Lake Ontario Hall, 312
616-331-8147 Allendale, MI
palmerzs@gvsu.edu

EDUCATION

PhD in English: Writing, Discourse, Technology, and Media Studies
May, 2015, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA
Dissertation Title: Identities and Interactions in a Transcultural Online Collaboration Project. Committee: Julia Romberger (Director), Kevin DePew, Bridget Anderson, Christine Tardy

Master of Arts in English Language and Literature
Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan, May, 2005

Master of Arts in Hungarian Language and Literature
Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, Hungary, June, 1998

Bachelor of Arts in German Language and Literature, Minor: English
Grand Valley State University, Allendale, Michigan, May, 1997

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Grand Valley State University, Allendale, MI — August, 2014-Present
Visiting Assistant Professor – Department of Writing

Davenport University, Grand Rapids, MI — 2001-2013
Adjunct Instructor of Writing

INDUSTRY EXPERIENCE

IMA America Corporation, Grand Rapids, MI — 1998-2000
Logistics and Parts Department Associate / Translator

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

"Maps, Meanings, and Ideologies" in *The International Journal of the Image* 5(1), 11-24. 2014
"Cosmopolitanism: Extending our theoretical framework for transcultural technical communication research and teaching" in *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 43(4), 381-401. 2013.