TRAJECTORIES OF A VIRAL TEXT IN DIFFERENT COMMUNICATIVE EVENTS: ENTEXTUALISATION, INDEXICALITY, IDENTITY PERFORMANCES AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Thayse Figueira GUIMARAES[*]
Luiz Paulo da Moita LOPES[**]

- ABSTRACT: Based on an ethnographic study, this paper analyses the trajectory of a viral text though different communicative events. We aim at examining the recontextualisation processes of a video by Luisa Marilac – a trans-woman who identifies herself as a transvestite – in the identity performances of Luan - a black gay young man -, in Web 2.0 interactional practices and in his classroom. The focus is on language-in-movement as sociointeractional action, which is permeated by indexical values. These, on their turn, point to larger scale social phenomena. This research is guided by performance, entextualisation and indexicality theories and relies on a multi-sited ethnography. In the analysis, we have tried to understand how fragments of the video by Luisa Marilac are recontextualised in Luan's interactions with his classmates and with his Facebook friends. The analysis points out that the study of the circulation of a text offers different possibilities of accessing identification processes, social hierarchies and power relations, which constitute contemporary interactional practices.

- KEYWORDS: Recontextualisation. Identity Performances. Indexicality. Multi-sited ethnography.

Introduction

On June 27, 2010, Luisa Marilac, then a thirty-seven-year-old trans-woman[1], self-identified as a transvestite, published a home-made fifty-nine second video on YOUTUBE, which went viral[2] and generated more than three million accesses and

[*] UninCor – Universidade Vale do Rio Verde. Programa de Mestrado em Letras. Três Corações – MG – Brasil. 37410-000 – thayse.guimaraes@unincor.edu.br

[**] UFRJ – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Faculdade de Letras. Rio de Janeiro – RJ – Brasil. 21941-500 – moitalopes@pq.cnpq.br

[1] We use the term 'trans-woman' to refer to people who transit from men-to-women, by identifying themselves with the gender which is different from that designated by birth (BORBA, 2014). Luisa identifies herself as a transvestite in the social networks.

[2] Viral videos acquire high circulation power in the Internet and have become very popular as a typical Web 2.0 phenomenon (BLOMMAERT; VARIS, 2014).

several likes and comments about her performances. In her video, Luisa is shown in a swimming-pool, wearing a bikini, holding a champagne glass and enacting stereotypical performances of transvestite identifications. She does so by stylizing[3] linguistic and body resources, which are in common sense understood as socially-recognized signs of the so-called emphasised femininities (CONNEL; MESSERSCHMIDT, 2005). In this video, while she talks, Luisa sensually moves her rips, touches her boobs and hair, speaks to a high-pitched voice, wears a bikini and lightly holds her glass. Below you find the video transcription[4] (https://www.Youtube.com/watch?v=ikzC29rV75A, accessed April 2, 2015):

1. Luisa: this summer, I decided to do something different.
2. ((speaking in a swimming-pool, Luisa looks straight to the camera))
3. I decided to stay home, in my pool, having some nice drinks!
4. ((she points to the pool and raises the champagne glass she is holding))
5. enjoying this WONDERFUL European summer, in Spain.
6. and sharing with you these moments ((she raises the glass while rotating her body))
7. the water is pretty icy! ((she takes off her sun-glasses))
8. let's try to dive into the pool?
9. ((she turns her hair around, rotates her body again and gets ready for diving.
10. after diving, she stands up, touches her hair, reaches for her sun-glasses and her champagne glass and turns to the camera))
11. and there was rumor that I was having a bad time! Fuck, if I am having a bad time!
12. what people mean when someone is having a good time, right? ((she talks while gesticulating and looking at the camera))

From her Facebook posts and interviews on TV shows in Brazil, it was possible to learn that this short text was recorded in Spain, where she was a sex-worker. Her text travelled (BLOMMAERT, 2005; 2010) to Brazil, via YOU TUBE, in which it became popular and circulated intensely through 'likes' and 'shares'. Blommaert (2010) argues that text mobility through different contexts are continuous entextualisation practices. In Bauman and Briggs' words (1990, p.73), entextualisation "[...] is the process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a text – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting".

Luisa's video brings about relevant issues in relation to contemporary text mobility. The video which first circulated in YOU TUBE originated other texts. The video was quoted, commented on, liked, parodied, became a focus object of discussion on TV

[3] According to Rampton (2006, p.117), "style is seen as a manner of using language which is 'natural' and typical (of a particular topic, of a kind of interaction or of a person)".

[4] See transcription conventions in Annex 1 (all content has been translated into English for the purposes of this paper).

shows and on the social networks. In the following year, due to this textual travel popularity, Luisa came back to Brazil, where again her video circulated in other formats in other text trajectories: in TV interviews, in on-line news shows etc.

Luisa Marilac's video is an invitation to visualise the pluridirectional trajectory of texts, which mainly accounts for social, cultural, identity, semiotic and circulation crossings, typical of contemporary communicative processes, interweaving local and translocal orientations[5]. Her text clearly brings along traces of its migratory flux (Brazil - Spain), of a specific identity group (a text produced then by a transvestite sex-worker), of a style (stylization of emphasised femininities) and of sociocultural mobility (constructed in Spain, but popularised in Brazil on YOUTUBE). The intensification of this phenomenon of text, people, socio-historical and cultural migration are typical of contemporary globalization. As Blommaert and Rampton (2011) point out, these changes have mainly come about because of new media and communication technologies and of information circulation. This new communication technology directly impacted on Luisa's life, whose video was cited, shared, commented on, narrated, becoming as such a new text far beyond its 'original' context (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990). Her short 'piece of text', recontextualised in different communicative events, invites us to reflect on the intensified mobility of semiotic resources in our days.

In Blommaert's words (2010), a research agenda about language in society in contemporary life must consider the claim for the study of language-in-movement rather than the observation of language-in-only-one-place. The presupposition is that the contexts to which people orient their interactions go much beyond the communicative event itself, extrapolating talk-in-interaction (FABRÍCIO, 2012). This view aims at looking into semiosis between communicative encounters (AGHA, 2005). In other words, the discussion is about how repeated signs, which travel from one interactional event to another, establish connectivity between different temporal and spatial communicative encounters at the same time that they produce new conditions for contextualisation (VARIS; BLOMMAERT, 2014). This means that we need a "sociolinguistics of mobility" (BLOMMAERT, 2010) not only because the new conditions of mobility nowadays require the observation of communicative encounters under lenses of social, cultural and linguistic diversity, but also because we need to pay attention to the complexity of the investigation of these processes. Thus, as Bauman and Brigs (1990) argue, texts also carry normativities, ideologies, and histories of use, which crucially relate to power issues.

With this perspective in mind, our objective is to understand the relationship between entextualisations and meaning making. We examine how the circulation of Luisa Marilac's text gets into the dispute for the construction of valid meanings and in

[5] According to Fabrício (2012, p.5), the notion of context as a reflexive practice, not restricted to what happens to specific events, involves a local/translocal orientation of meaning construction in communicative events "by encompassing both the immediate interactional dimension – in which there is a continuous interpretation of contextualization cues - and a more translocal dimension - in which cues and presuppositions point to a historical dimension".

the enactment of Luan's identity performances[6], a black gay young man, in interaction both on web 2.0 and in the classroom. The communicative exchanges focused on are part of an ethnographic study, undertaken by one of the authors[7] (GUIMARAES, 2014) in a state school, situated in the coastal lowlands of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This was a multi-sited project (MARCUS, 1995) because it focussed on the identity performances of a group of secondary school seniors[8], in their classroom interactional context and in their social networks on Facebook and on Twitter. Specially, this research focussed on the interactional ethos[9] and the gender, sexuality and race performances of one of the students, who will be called Luan, in his participation both in the social on-line networks and in school literacy events. The generated data refer to texts and discourses on gender, sexuality and race produced by this student in multiple interactional contexts.

Particularly, our interest lies on the investigation of how recontextualised signs produce historical social, cultural and identity relations which are translocal. This perspective makes us question how individuals obtain rights and certain modes of enunciation transformation in the mobility of discourses across contexts (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990). This means then, according to Blommaert and Rampton (2011, p.10), that:

> [...] the contexts for communications should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific places, activities, social relations, interactional histories, textual trajectories, institutional regimes and cultural ideologies, produced and constructed by embodied agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically.

Therefore, our view is that the ethnographic observation of how texts are received, incorporated, refuted, maintained and altered by subjects with different interpretive expectations and with specific linguistic / discursive repertoires of meanings, is fundamental for the study of the relationship between entextualisation and meaning attribution. Following this point of view, in the first part, we discuss the entextualising, performative and indexical nature of linguistic signs (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990; SILVERSTEIN; URBAN, 1996; BLOMMAERT, 2005; 2010; PENNYCOOK, 2010). Next, we exemplify our argument with a specific case, by analysing how Luisa Marilac's

---

[6] We use the theoretical construct of "identity performances" instead of identities, by following the notion of identity as performance (BUTLER, 1993). We want to emphasise the procedural, provisional and socio-historically sedimented nature of our gender, sexuality and race identifications because they are meaning effects which we produce through the things we do, say and wear in our everyday performances (BUTLER, 2003 [1990]).

[7] This article builds on a section of Guimaraes' doctoral thesis (2014).

[8] For ethical reasons, we have used pseudonyms for all the participants in this research.

[9] In this article, we use the concept of *ethos* in association with the notion of *ethos* as locutionary habits shared by members of a community, as in Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1996). Such "collective ethos" constitutes, for the interlocutors who share it, a "communicative profile", that is, their manner of behaving and of presenting themselves in interactions.

video was recontextualized in Luan's interactions with colleagues from his classroom and from Facebook[10].

The entextualisable nature of texts and language performativity

The crucial issue in relation to the circulation of texts is the process of entextualisation. When Bauman and Briggs (1990, p.73) approach aspects of narrative performance, they draw attention to a fundamental characteristic of discourses: their decontextualising and reconstextualising natures. When discourses materialise themselves into texts, they experience successive processes of entextualisation. As pointed out by Blommaert (2005, p.62), texts travel, that is, they follow trajectories through different contexts. This comprehension involves the fact that a 'piece of text' or 'excerpt', understood as a semiotic object, can be extracted from its 'original' context of use and materialised into a new context (VARIS; BLOMMAERT, 2014). This view also underlines the fact that when the 'same' text is transported beyond its 'original' context, it mobilises wide processes of change in the construction of meanings. Therefore, Blommaert (2005, p.45) refers to the processes of meaning construction through which

> [...] discourses are successively or simultaneously decontextualised and metadiscursively recontextualised, so that they become a new discourse associated to a new context and accompanied by a particular metadiscourse which provides a sort of 'preferred reading' for the discourse.

In this sense, materialised discourses in texts may be extracted from their original interactional / contextual environment and be replicated in another, becoming as such a new text, and successively so (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990; BLOMMAERT, 2010). The text is then remodelled, renarrated, reframed and the entextualisation becomes the very textual travel. In general terms, this process, according to Silverstein & Urban (1996), is part of "the natural history of discourses". When transported, texts are negotiated in interpretive processes, on the basis of historically-sedimented social systems. Specific interpretations arise and texts are renarrated and reframed in the interactional encounter, obeying certain meanings constructed in chains and repeated along the time. The focus of the investigation is then widened beyond the functioning of language in use, in communicative events circumscribed to specific moments. It aims at the study of texts by following their multiple trajectories so that the mobility of the texts produced constructs new interpretations of the interactional context in each phase

[10] Facebook is a social network, in which participants create a personal profile, exchange private and public messages and take part in groups of affinities with other participants.

of entextualisation-decontextualisation-recontextualisation, in which new identity signs are in action (WORTHAM, 2006).

In the case of Luisa Marillac's performances, we can state that her textual travel begins quite ahead of the very posted video. Her performance is oriented by the entextualisation of a style identifiable in society (RAMPTON, 2006), since it relies on identity-semiotic resources which are naturalised and which project for herself a stereotypic identification of transvestite performances. In other words, it relies on the enactment of 'femininity', based on hyperbolic styles, which are related to symbolic attributes, conventionally associated with the so-called emphasised femininity (CONNEL; MESSERSCHMIDT, 2005). Thus, it is necessary to take into account that Luisa is a product of the entextualisation of stylised models of gender and sexuality, presented through an intense performance[11] (BAUMAN, 1986).

The entextualisation and mobile dimension of these semiotic resources, culturally available, help us understand that identity performances are "the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (BUTLER, 1990, p.33)[12]. Therefore, identifications are constituted by successive repetitions of identity signs (WORTHAM, 2006) which, through entextualisation, are transported from a context to another (SILVERSTEIN; URBAN, 1996). In this trajectory, it is possible then to visualise language performativity[13] in enactment since, in this text travel, something from the previous context is kept, while novelty, creativity and change flourish (PENNYCOOK, 2007; 2010). As Blommaert (2005) emphasises, entextualisation involves a set of transformations.

This perspective therefore rejects a simplified linguistic analysis or description, which considers solely the textual, semantic and linguistic borders of a text. In this sense, the issue to be problematised in this text, when focussing on Luisa's video circulation, are not only the semiotic resources made recourse to in her stylisation as a transvestite (for example, ways of moving her body, accent, posture, the social voices mobilised, indexical cues etc.), but also how these semiotic units which are put together in the format of a video locally produce historical, cultural, political and identity relations. In other words, how these text pieces circulate and are recontextualised in different interactional contexts, oriented by local and translocal aspects (BLOMMAERT; RAMPTON, 2011). This way, it is relevant to understand how social subjects frame the stylisation presented in the video with particular purposes, by evoking identity signs and involving themselves in specific communicative practices.

---

[11] In his study about narrative performances, Bauman (1986) distinguishes between intense performances and mundane performances. He argues that intense performances are temporally and spatially highlighted in the everyday flux of communication. They are programmed, planned and typically pre-announced through emphasised meta-communicative features, in other words, through hyperbolic features.

[12] Although Butler (1990) refers specifically to gender performances, we here widen the scope of her view of performances to other types.

[13] For a deeper discussion of this issue, see Pennycook (2007; 2010).

Therefore, when we focus on entextualisation, it is necessary to understand the vulnerability of the understanding which emerges here-and-now, where texts participate in the struggles for meaning construction. Taking into account then that a text is mobile and that, when it moves, it is adapted and modified, we will next discuss indexicality with a view to understanding the nexus between locality and translocality, that is, between the use of semiotic resources in situated performances and its embeddedness in the repetition of use which sediments its semantics and the expected performative effects.

Indexicality

As above said, the view that texts travel does not imply that they themselves are autonomous and auto-sufficient objects and that they do not have a historicity of use, which points to sociocultural and historical regimes of truth. The solidified meaning effects may gain visibility through the theoretical construct of indexicality. Silverstein (2003) argues that the linguistic forms are indexical, which indicates the social and cultural aspects shared by interlocutors. Thus, in so-called Brazilian Portuguese, the addressing forms *Senhor* / *Senhora*, differently from the pronoun *você*, would indexically express a level of respect and distance in relation to interlocutors, in which one of them may be older or occupy a social superior position. In this case, such uses may be still understood as signs of politeness and good manners. As Silverstein and Urban (1996), Agha (2007) and Collins (2011) have argued, indexicality is the propriety of the linguistic sign to point to textual-semiotic projections, which indicate the interpretation of a contextualised local and cultural communicative act. More concretely, "[...] indexicality is the dimension of meaning in which textual features 'point to' (index) contextually retrievable meanings" (BLOMMAERT; MALY, 2014, p.4). The point here is that every indexical sign presupposes and creates its contexts in a dialectical relationship between "indexical presupposition" and "indexical entailment"[14] (SILVERSTEIN, 2003, p.195). According to Silverstein (2003, p.195), the indexical fact involves the social regularities and norms of use to which signs point as well as the uses and emerging contexts of use, derived from the former and to which they also point[15].

Thus, whenever Luisa's video travels, indexical relations are brought to bear. These indexical links are dependent both on what happens in the interactional events and on the sets of cultural norms and conventions, which are associated with the history of use of mobilised semiotic resources. This way it is possible to understand that, for example, her video mobilises semantic-pragmatic fields which indexically express something about Luisa's communication such as her belonging to transvestite identifications. However,

[14] "[...] Now in relation to micro-social context in the most general sense, any such socially conventional indexical (legi-sign [=type] is dialectically balanced between indexical presupposition and indexical entailment".

[15] According to Silverstein (2003, p.196), the mediating factor between presupposed pragmatics and implied pragmatics is the metapragmatic function. In this sense, Blommaert (2005, p.47) states that the indexical order is the metapragmatic organization principle behind what is widely understood as language pragmatics.

such indexicalisation is not a direct equation, mainly in the case of Luisa's video which circulated through several communicative contexts. Any semiotic resource, because of its dependence on the contexts in which it is negotiated, may produce different identifications for an individual (WORTHAM, 2001; BLOMMAERT, 2005; AGHA, 2007; COLLINS, 2011). Besides this, these identifications generate specific hierarchical values. As Blommaert (2010) sates, in the action of decentering and recontextualising texts, subjects in their practices are oriented by discursive orders[16] (FOUCAULT, 2009 [1970]), which are in operation at one time. Normativities, systems of stratifications and hierarchisations are constitutive of the ways through which we define valid meanings, create belongingness and identifications in society.

In this sense, "the linguistic forms index particular contexts and, besides this, they generate specific representations about the mobility of discourse and the manner through which such discourse must be recognized" (SILVA; ALENCAR, 2014, p.266). This aspect makes clear that entextualisation is dependent on the interactional context in the same way that Gumperz's contextualization cues (1983, p.131) are. Cues such as lexical, grammatical, phonological, intonational, voice quality, alignment, intertextual choices etc. cannot be discussed if contexts are not taken into account.

Linguistic, paralinguistic and discursive choices help to define positionings and to shape identifiable person types with particular gendered, sexual, racial, national, social class characteristics etc. in particular interactional situations, signalling social hierarchies and power relations (MOITA LOPES, 2013; 2015). In short, as Blommaert and Maly (2014, p.4) indicates:

> [...] we see signs as indices of social relationships, interests and practices, deployed in a field which is replete with overlapping and intersecting norms - not just norms of language use, but norms of conduct, membership, legitimate belonging and usage; and not just the norms of a here-and-now, but norms that are of different orders and operate within different historicities.

Thus, by investigating the recontextualisation of Luisa Marilac's video in Luan's interactions, we are concerned with understanding the "indexical cues" mobilised in the processes of text recontextualisation. When focusing on indexicality, Wortham (2001) coined the phrase "indexical cues", inspired by Gumperz's contextualization cues (1982/2002), building on these as cues of how a certain discourse resource may be interpreted by those involved in an interactional practice. In the analyses that follow, we highlight cues such as reference, predication and citation (WORTHAM, 2001)[17],

[16] Foucault (2009 [1970]) states that "in every society the production of discourse is simultaneously controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by some procedures which have the function of contriving its power and danger, dominating random happenings, avoiding its heavy and fearsome materiality".

[17] Reference has to do with naming things and people and predication with attributes given when naming people and the world. Citation is the direct appropriation or the paraphrase of someone's else discourse (WORTHAM, 2001, p.71).

among others. Although we do not develop Wortham's approach (2001) and do not make recourse to all the cues he lists as analytical tools, we use his metalanguage to approach indexicality as a phenomenon oriented both by the constraints which guide its production in specific contexts and by a macro-social order. This is so, because in Fabrício's words (2013, p.155), communication is "an interactional accomplishment during which local processes of meaning negotiation indexicalise larger sociocultural processes".

From this perspective, when we focus on the recontextualisations of Luisa's text, we include attention to identity performances which emerge in association with a series of unstated discourses, anchored in social structures, value presuppositions, social hierarchies, cultures etc. in a specific communicative encounter. Luisa's stylisation is brought about by some semiotic choices which operate as indexical cues which point to stereotypical models of transvestite identifications. Such models are highly reflexive and shared, making it possible for Luan and his classroom and social network friends to engage themselves with discursive practices about Luisa's performances. These practices favour the understanding of "metadiscursive struggles" and "performative struggles" (SILVERSTEIN; URBAN, 1996, p.12), that is, power-knowledge struggles in the recontextualisations of texts, which are going to constitute social identifications at play. This view, beyond talk-in-interaction, has powerful implications for the understanding of language in globalisation, as above indicated, in relation to the pluridirectional trajectory of texts in the world of fluxes in which we live.

Notes on the ethnographic field: research context, Luan, analytical and methodological procedures

As made explicit above, the case focussed on is part of a larger ethnographic study, which was undertaken by one of the authors of this paper and which took into account participant-observation in different interactional practices, namely, online social networks such as Facebook and Twitter and the school context, during 10 months. This approach is based on a multisited or multilocal perspective (MARCUS, 1995), in which the researcher follows the meaning chains, trajectories and threads, which are constitutive of a phenomenon under investigation. Such an approach is derived from the juxtaposition of social sites, where the investigated practices are lived and where the researcher is trying to draw connections (WITTEL, 2000) across these spaces and practices. Following a person's or a group of persons' practices, cultural artefacts and narratives is a way of making such an approach possible (MARCUS, 1995, p.106). In this research, the multisited ethnography strategy followed Luan (the focal participant), his stories and discourses, in school interactions and on-line social networks.

In the process of defining the scope of this project and after being allowed to get into the school by the principal, the morning-shift senior group was selected to participate in the project because it was more receptive to the researcher's presence

both in the classroom and on the virtual world. Also, the writing teacher and the philosophy teacher were quite receptive to our project. The initial focus of the study was the interactional ethos and the gender, sexuality and race performances, enacted by participants on the social networks and at school literacy events. Before starting the research, all participants signed the Terms of Consent, by which they allowed the classroom recordings and individual interviews. However, we chose Luan, whose identity performances in interactional practices were closely studied.

In classrooms, we audio-recorded the interactions through the use of two tape-recorders: one was placed on the teacher's table and the other at the back of the room, near Luan's and the researcher's desks. Other methodological instruments were: field notes which were transformed into the researcher's diary, print-outs of Facebook and Twitter interactions, and individual interviews with teachers' and students'.

During classroom observation, Luan called our attention because of the trajectory of his texts on gender, sexuality and race. Luan, a black young man who was constantly positioned as gay in classroom and on on-line interaction, gained prominence in the investigation because he continuously discussed issues we were concerned with in the ethnographic research project. In this study, it was possible to see that when a set of semiotic resources, amalgamated through power relations, indexed his gender/sexuality and race, it also became part of a struggle for the negotiation of valid and value-based meanings. His texts were produced through the constant negotiation of meanings about body, normativity patterns, social stereotypes, legitimate social voices, among others. Further, Luisa Marilac's voice was frequently entextualised by the young man in his interactional practices, both at school and on the social networks. Luisa's discourse brought about some aspects related to how Luan interacted on Facebook and it could be analysed as a strategy of how he participated on this social network. In this connection, it is worth focussing on some field notes about how he entextualised Luisa Marilac's text:

> [..] This is not the first time that I hear him recovering the transvestite Marilac's voice in his texts. Apparently, Luan quite usually quotes texts which circulate in popular culture when enacting his participation in these contexts. For example, Funk lyrics, international pop music and hip-hop female stars' lyrics, Beyoncé and Rihanna (Field notes, May 19, 2011).

Because of these entextualisations, Luan was commonly a target for pejorative evaluations. Through our ethnographic observation, it was possible to understand how Luan constructed his identity performances at school and among his classmates in performative struggles for the construction of valid meanings. Having in mind that "entextualisation practices turn out to be about 'identity'" (SILVERSTEIN; URBAN, 1996, p.10), we will now focus on how fragments from Luisa's discourse are hierarchically evaluated when they come into the production of intelligible identifications between Luan and his school and Facebook friends.

Besides this, the mapping of the valuation of indexical signs in the processes of Luisa's text recontextualisation may be made operational by means of the observation of how frames and footings are being constructed through indexical cues. Goffman's theoretical constructs of frame and footing (1974; 1981) are relevant for the understanding of participants' interpretive work in the entextualisations of texts sociohistorically situated.

According to Tannen and Wallat (2002 [1987], p.188), "the notion [...] of frame refers to the definition of what is going on in interaction". This basic principle is related to how our structures of expectations affect how we interpret and categorise the meanings of interactional events. Such meanings are constructed when participants in an interactional event ask themselves: "what is it that is going on here?" (GOFFMAN, 1974, p.25). Frame refers to the meta-communicative control of the entextualised text and footing or alignment, related to the negotiation of frames, has to do with participants' positionings. The frames of an interaction are constantly negotiated and the alignments have a central role in this process of negotiation (GOFFMAN, 1974). This way, such constructs are productive because they account for discursive negotiations and changes, in the emerging nature of meaning construction. This fact presupposes texts in constant mobility in processes of entextualisation-decontextualisation-recontextualisation.

Analysis of the trajectory of Luisa's text in communicative events

The following excerpts show Luan talking with his classmates, in different interactional contexts: on Facebook and in his classroom. In the analysis of the excerpts, we draw attention to how fragments of Luisa's enunciations are recontextualised by Luan and to how they are part of the interactional struggles between Luan and Sávio. He is one of Luan's classmates and also a research participant. In classroom interaction and interviews, Sávio positioned himself as a heterosexual man. Besides this, Sávio usually made use of stigmatised racial and sexuality signs when talking to Luan and other classmates. The first excerpt is an interaction on Facebook. Besides Sávio, Luan also interacts with Carla, Rocha, Marcela e Maria, some of his other classmates. The focus is on how the group understands Luan's performances and on how Luan negotiates particular regimes of truth when recontextualising fragments of Luisa's discourse, which circulate beyond the situated event. In order to avoid the identifications of Facebook participants, we gave the participants different names and their photos and links are not identifiable; therefore, we decided to transcribe the interactions rather than use the printed screen version.

Excerpt 1

1	Luan's post:	Late afternoon it is time to eat a ham and cheese sandwich and to have some nice drinks.
2		[10 likes]
3	Carla:	what what's up girl you'remarvellous; x LOL [1 like]
4	Sávio:	little nigger girl, tell me the truth you are about to have bread and water
5		because your time in the slave quarters is over
6	Rocha:	LOL
7	Marcela:	just because I am black, kisses :(
8	Luan:	I dont give a damn to what you say. My pleasure I am a NEGRO MAN from
		the slave quarters
9		I know that you you you want it
10		after that if you want me to I can delete you from the group of my friends on
		facebook, no prejudice Sávio
11	Maria:	LOL :-)
12	Sabrina:	fuck if that means to be doing poorly, what does it mean to be doing well ;)

In this post, Luan decontextualises Luisa Marillac's viral video and recontextualises it in his text, adapting it to the interactional purposes of this interactional event. The video is retrieved by means of the direct citation "nice drinks" (l.1) and this citation points to the following fragment of Luisa's enunciation: "I decided to stay home, in my pool, having some nice drinks!" (l. 3 cf. Introduction). Luan animates his enunciation as if these were his own words and an unaware interlocutor would not manage to distinguish Luan's voice from Luisa Marilac's. In this post, the entextualised enunciation engenders the enactments of tranvestite Luisa Marilac's performances and brings about how Luan interacts on Facebook. His enunciation can be analysed as his participation strategy on this social network.

Luan's post received 10 likes until the moment the data were generated (l.2), which draws attention to his interlocutors' positive evaluation of Luan (these interlocutors are not identifiable in the transcription). They therefore align themselves in agreement with Luan's performances. Such a resource seems to mobilise meanings which show how adequate Luan is to this interactional context and signals the comprehension of his post by his friends.

On line 3, we see Carla acting in the evaluation of Luan's identity performances. The post evaluation is constructed by: a) the repetition of " what what's up", with a questioning value; b) the unification of separate lexical items, forming a new word "you're marvellous"; and c) the predicative reference "girl" (l.3). In the context of digital interactions, the use of repetition and the juxtaposition of items forming one single word are frequently used on-line for emphasis. Such cues contribute to the construction of Luan's performances in a similar manner to Luisa's, mainly because the signs "girl" and "you'remarvellous" indexically express identity discourses socially constructed as part of the feminine world. The signs mobilised in Carla´s words seem to provide a positive evaluation of Luan's semiotic resources in his performances.

In opposition, Sávio's comments (l.4 - 5) seem to bring up a communicative realignment by relocating Luan through the juxtaposition of gender/sexuality and race social identifications[18]. Sávio (l.4) initiates his post with the identity sign "little nigger girl", which indicates that Luan belongs to a particular type of a culturally recognised identification. The reference "little nigger girl" positions Luan as a black young man with feminine identifications. This footing is also constructed by the lexical items "bread and water" and "slave quarters", which mobilise stigmatised sociocultural routes. These are based on a supposed racial origin, which positions Luan as related to slavery and heavy labour. Besides this, the item "little" in "little nigger girl" provides Savio's enunciation with an ironic and derogatory footing in relation to Luan's performances and contributes to the construction of a mockery frame, which signals the negotiation of power relations in this social interaction.

By positioning Luan as black and effeminate, Sávio makes use of signs with a high degree of stability in Brazilian society and which relationally contributes to the construction of his own identity performances as that of a white heterosexual man. We then see that Sávio produces pejorative alignments in relation to Luan's entextualisation and performances. Therefore, the indexical links to the references "little nigger girl", "bread and water" and "slave quarters" provide the citation of Luisa's text with a specific direction. While the mobilised signs in Luan's post and on Carla's comment (l.3) seem to value Luan's performances, in Sávio's comment the indexicalities point to another direction: that of stigmatised and derogatory meanings.

When replying to this evaluative post through the assertion "My pleasure I am a NEGRO MAN from the slave quarters" (l.8), Luan makes recourse to identity-semiotic resources socially naturalised in Brazil, which project for himself an identification which points to the masculine gender. The items "NEGRO" in capitals, indicating a high pitch tone, together with "slave quarters", emphatically signal the stylised dimensions of Luan's gender/sexuality and race performances. In this assertion, Luan accepts the identity sign Sávio projected on him, but instead of putting himself in an inferior position, Luan positions himself positively through the phrase "My pleasure" (l.8).

[18] For a deeper comprehension of the intersectionalites of gender, sexuality and race performances, see Guimaraes and Moita-Lopes (2016).

Further, by beginning line 8 with " I dont give a damn to what you say", Luan projects a footing of a non-victimised person in relation to Sávio's possible derogatory practices.

Within this struggle frame, Luan repositions Sávio's participation by entextualising the lyrics of the Funk[19] "I know you you you want it" (l.9). With the help of Melon Woman's voice, he creates an association between the provocative alignment projected by Sávio and homoerotic gender/sexuality identifications, suggesting an alleged sexual desire on the part of Sávio for Luan. Strategically, the text entextulised by Luan seems to de-legitimise Sávio's vigilance over Luan, by challenging Sávio's heteronormative performances.

As regards this struggle, the interactions between Luan and Sávio are also evaluated by other participants, suggesting a positive alignment in reference to how Luan responds to Sávio's provocative footing. When Maria (l.11) makes recourse to a semiotic resource, which indicates laughter (LOL), and to the sign ":-)" (which signals agreement), she seems to be in favour of Luan's comment. The same is also true of Sabrina (l.12). When she says "fuck if that means to be doing poorly, what does it mean to be doing well", she entextualises a fragment of Luisa Marilac's enunciation (Fuck, if I am having a bad time! what people mean when someone is having a good time, right?) – cf. Introduction), which, in this interactional context, implies that she is supportive of Luan's post.

Thus, as a part of the struggle for the entextualisation of Luisa's text in the construction of his performances on Facebook, Luan renegotiates discourses of gender/sexuality and race on the basis of stereotypical discourses of social identifications. Luan seems to be aware of the interactional game between knowledge/power relations which construct rigid identifications for our bodily lives. He engages himself with signs which produce the effects of specific identifications: blacks in the slave quarters, entextualising racial and sexual intersubjectivities at the translocal level (which come from stigmatised signs, regimenting repetitive historical meanings) and, at a local level, he makes use of these meanings in his favour on Facebook interactions, contesting the footings projected by Sávio. This combination of levels point to performative and metadiscursive struggles in action in the communicative events, which can only be studied by relating the most local with translocal meanings.

Next we follow another travel of Luisa's video into another interactional encounter. The excerpt again presents an interaction between Luan and Sávio, initiated after a classroom task developed by Luan, in a Philosophy class. The teacher has asked students to interview different professionals and inquire them about ethics and moral values. Luan interviewed Lohana, a person who identifies herself as a transvestite, This interactional moment in classroom consisted of frames which signalled reprobation alignments of the interview with the transvestite. In this regard, the indexical evaluative signs in the discursive event pointed out that Lohana's voice was not legitimate in this

[19] "Do you want it?" (also known as "You, you, you, you, you, you, you want it?") is a Funk by the Brazilian Funk female singer Melon Woman.

interactional practice. However, Luan does not allow himself to be beaten and again meta-discursive struggles are brought into the interaction.

The excerpt below presents another section of an interaction between Luan and Sávio. In the excerpt, we again draw attention to how Luan renegotiates his texts, with a focus on a quotation by Luisa Marilac and on the interactional and identity consequences of this entextualisation. After the presentation of his interview with the transvestite, Luan goes back to his desk and talks to Sávio, projecting a non-institutionalised frame on their conversation, which occurs in parallel to the institutional frame of a classroom oral presentation.

Excerpt 2[20]

59 º	Sávio:	you keep trying to justify your gayness @@@º ((he gazes at Luan while he talks))
60	Luan	>ºyou keep saying I am a faggot because of this?º < =
61	Sávio:	=I´m kidding
62	Luan:	I just think that birds of a feather shouldn't provide opposite points of views
63		[I know that you know transvestite and gay slang very wellº]
64	Teacher:	[Talita and João. it is your turn now?]
65	Sávio:	that doesn't make any sense, everybody is familiar with this kind of slang
66	Bruno:	hum:: I am not familiar with any gay slang @@@
67		((he speaks to Sávio while standing up))
68	Luan:	people know that you like to have some nice drinks! ((class laughs))

In this interaction, we see Sávio interpelating Luan's performances at the end of Luan's presentation. In line 59, the phrase "to justify your gayness" creates an apparent relationship between Lohana's identity performances and gender/homoerotic identifications. Sávio's alignments seem to evoke existing gender expectations, which relate Lohana's entextualised enunciation to Luan's alleged homoerotic practices. Besides this, his alignments point to meanings which deligitimise Lohana's voice and, consequently, Luan's presentation in this interactional context.

In line 60, in his reply to Sávio, Luan projects a questioning footing on this supposed correlation between Lohana's voice and his own gender/sexuality performances when he says ">ºyou keep saying I am a faggot because of this? °<". Immediately afterwards, in an almost simultaneous turn, Sávio re-frames that interactional moment as a joke when he says "I´m kidding". This enunciation brings about an indexical link which

[20] Please, see transcription conventions in Annex 1.

locates the stigmatising act, "gayness", within the ambiguous meanings of a joke (which is favoured by the interlocutors' proximity as classmates). This ambiguity may strategically mitigate a more aggressive positioning on Luan's part.

Nevertheless, such indexicality seems not to be ratified by Luan, who is going to contest Savio's words, when he says that "birds of a feather shouldn't provide opposite points of views" (l.62). With this statement, Luan establishes a symmetrical relationship between himself and Sávio, making use of an idiomatic expression "birds of a feather" to position Sávio in accordance with his own homoerotic performances. In this game, Luan performatively produces the effect of a specific identification for himself and for Sávio: gay young men. Next, in line 63, when Luan states that "[I know that you know transvestite and gay slang very well], he also positions Sávio in association with the trans universe and gay identifications.

In the meaning negotiation game, Sávio replies that "that doesn't make any sense, everybody is familiar with this kind of slang" (l.65). In this fragment, Sávio seems to defend himself as a heterosexual man, re-framing the situation and protecting himself against the indexical signs which the idiomatic expression "births of a feather" presupposes in that interactional context. However, Luan again does not accept Sávio's disagreement and in line 68 directly relates Savio's footing with Luisa Marilac's performances. Luisa's enunciation is recontextualised in line 68 by the citation "nice drinks". Such quotation is used as an identity-semiotic resource which indexes the tranvestite's identifications.

As regards the negotiations of the identity performances, such a citation is a cue which positions Sávio within the same identity borders as of Luisa Marilac's. This fact challenges the ontological security of the heteronormative masculinity identifications often enacted by Sávio in school interactions. Strategically, Luan dislocates the focus on differences, de-stabilising the authority of this hegemonic other, who speaks from an apparently heteronormative space. At the level of the negotiation of legitimate meanings in classroom, the recontextualisation of Luisa's enunciation is also part of the contestation game of indexical signs which the enunciation "to justify your gayness" entails. In sum, the analysis of this excerpt allows to see that the dispute for the construction of valid meanings in the classroom context takes place in the recontextualisation of identity signs crystallised in time, which are in friction with situated performances.

A final word

We believe this article provides ways of considering relevant issues in connection with the mobility of semiotic resources and the construction of meaning in contemporary life. First, the analysed interactions make clear a type of flux which is typical of contemporary interactions. Mobility here was accounted for through a multisited ethnographic methodology (MARCUS, 1995). One of the authors followed the trajectories

of texts about gender, sexuality and race, in which Luan (the focal participant) took part. The study of how textual trajectories are intensified in contemporary life was made possible through the ethnographic observation of: a) how participants recontextualise semiotic resources in their everyday interactions, based on Luisa Marilac's text and on how she makes recourse to a trans universe stylisation to create her own video; and b) the reception of her video in Luan's interactions with his friends on-line and at school.

Secondly, Luan's interactions with his classmates entextualise other voices and words, which are not mere copies of what was said. As Pennycook (2010) points out, when repeating what was said before, there is also room for creativity and re-signification. In the analysed scenes, when Luan and his colleagues are recontextualising Luisa Marilac's video, they are shaping this discourse in accordance with her communicational purposes. Obviously, the entextualisation of Luisa's video accounted for indexical signalling which goes beyond textual, semantic and linguistic borders. When these texts travel from an event to another and are recontextualised, they locally produce historical, social and identity meaning relationships. In the excerpts, Luan's performances are constrained by a white and heterosexual matrix, by means of racist and homophobic discourses which populate Sávio's comments. In the interaction with these discourses, meta-discursive struggles took place in the power relations between Luan and his classmate, both on-line and in classroom. Strategically, by contesting the derogatory sites in which Sávio localised him, Luan entextualises crystallised race and sexuality signs and makes use of them in his own favour when interacting with Sávio. Such struggles draw attention to how his discursive entextualisations are productively and agentively used through a micropolitics which destroys the hegemonic positions occupied by this classmate.

This perspective implies the need to understand both oral and written texts as links in the discursive communicative chain of a particular field (BAKHTIN, 2003 [1953], p.296). The gains of this view for language studies are clear, for they dislocate the focus on language as pure, transparent and separate from everyday social life to the study of the performative and ideological effects of these linguistic units which are grouped together in texts (MOITA-LOPES, 2013; 2015). Such an understanding of linguistic analysis from this point of view brings about a theoretical, analytical and methodological displacement from a "linguistics of system" to a "linguistics of mobility", accounting for multiple chains of entextualisations and text trajectories.

Such a view orients contemporary studies in the field of linguistic anthropology (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990; SILVERSTEIN; URBAN, 1996) and sociolinguistics (AGHA, 2005; 2007; BLOMMAERT, 2005, 2010; BLOMMAERT; RAMPTON, 2011). In Brazil, the research by Guimaraes and Moita-Lopes (2016), Fabrício (2013; 2015), Silva (2014), Melo & Moita-Lopes (2014) are some examples which take this perspective into account. These are theoretical-analytical and also political positionings which point to the entextualisable, performative and indexical interpretation of signs and texts. However, this logic, which is still little explored in the field of language studies, claims for other studies which focus on different analytical aspects of the

contemporary mobility of texts, mainly as regards the struggles for recontextualisations in the construction of identifications in social life.

Acknowledgements

Dr. T. Guimaraes is grateful to CNPq for Grant no. 163647/2014-3, MEC/CAPES and MCT/CNPq/FINEP Consortium no. 28/2010 – Post-Doctoral National Program – PNPD 2010, which made this study possible. This grant was given to the Research Project "Digital literacies: ethos singularity, performances and identity narratives", by Professor Luiz Paulo Moita-Lopes.

Professor L. P. Moita-Lopes is thankful to CNPq for Grant no. 3033-1/2009-0, FAPERJ for Grant no. E-26/110.065/2012 and PNPD 2010 (MEC/CAPES and MCT/CNPq/FINEP Consortium) referred to above. He is also grateful to CNPq for Grant no. 9470547/2012-0, Edital Universal (14-2012).

GUIMARÃES, T.; MOITA, L. Trajetória de um texto viral em diferentes eventos comunicativos: entextualização, indexicalidade, performances identitárias e etnografia. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.61, n.1, p.11-32, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Com base em um estudo etnográfico, analisamos a trajetória de um texto viral em diferentes eventos comunicativos, neste artigo. Busca-se refletir sobre os processos de recontextualização do vídeo de Luisa Marilac, uma mulher trans que se identifica como travesti, na construção das performances identitárias de Luan, um jovem negro e de identificações homoeróticas, em interação na web 2.0 e na sala de aula. O foco aqui é colocado na linguagem-em-movimento enquanto ação sociointeracional, perpassada por valores indexicais e que apontam para fenômenos sociais mais amplos. Este trabalho é guiado pelos pressupostos teóricos da performance, da entextualização e da indexicalidade. Tem como método de pesquisa a etnografia multissituada. Nas análises, buscou-se observar como fragmentos do vídeo de Luisa Marilac eram recontextualizados nas interações de Luan, com colegas de sua sala de aula e da rede social Facebook. As análises apontam que o estudo da circulação de um texto oferece possibilidade diferenciada de acesso aos processos de identificação, às hierarquizações e às relações de poder que constituem as práticas interacionais contemporâneas.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Recontextualização. Performances Identitárias. Indexicalidade. Etnografia multissituada.*

REFERENCES

AGHA, A. Semiosis across encounters. **Journal of Linguistic Anthropology**, University of Pennsylvania, n.15, p.1-5, 2005.

_____. **Language and social relations**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

BAKHTIN, M. Os gêneros do discurso. In: BAKHTIN, M. **Estética da criação verbal**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003 [1953]. p.261-306.

BAUMAN, R.; BRIGGS, C. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. **Annual Review of Anthropology**, California, n.19, p.59-88, 1990.

BAUMAN, R. **Story, perfomance and event:** contextual studies of oral narrative. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

BLOMMAERT, J. **Discourse**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

_____. **The sociolinguistics of globalization**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

BLOMMAERT, J.; RAMPTON, B. Language and superdiversity: a position paper. **Working papers in urban language & literacies**, London: King's College, n.70, p.1-22, 2011.

BLOMMAERT, J.; MALY, I. Ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis and social change: A case study. **Tilburg papers in culture studies**, Tilburg University, n.100, p.1-28, 2014.

BLOMMAERT, J.; WESTINEN, E.; LEPPANEN, S. Further notes on sociolinguistic scales. **Tilburg papers in culture studies**, Tilburg University, n.89, p.1-11, 2014.

BORBA, R. **(Des) aprendendo a "ser":** trajetórias de socialização e performances narrativas no Processo Transexualizador. 206 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística Aplicada) – Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2014.

BUCHOLTZ, M. The politics of transcription. **Journal of Pragmatics**, Texas: Elsevier, n.32, p.1439-1465, 2000.

BUTLER, J. **Problemas de gênero:** feminismo e a subversão da identidade. Tradução de Renato Aguiar. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003 [1990].

COLLINS, J. Indexicalities of language contact in an era of globalization: engaging with John Gumperz's legacy. **Text & talk**, Germany, n.31, p.407-428, 2011.

CONNELL, R. W.; MESSERSCHMIDT, J. W. Hegemonic Masculinity: rethinking the concept. **Gender & Society**, London: Sage Publications, n.19, p.829-859, 2005.

FABRÍCIO, B. F. Trajectories of socialization in school transcontexts: discourse journeys on gender and sexuality. **Working Papers on Urban Languages and Literacies**. King`s College, n.94, p.1-24, 2012.

_____. A "outridade lusófona" em tempos de globalização: identidade cultural como potencial semiótico. In: MOITA-LOPES, L. P. (Org.). **O português no século XXI:** cenário geopolítico e sociolinguístico. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2013.

_____. Policing the borderland in a digital lusophone territory: the pragmatics of entextualization. In: MOITA-LOPES, L. P. (Org.). **Global Portuguese**: linguistic ideologies in late modernity. Nova York: Routledge, 2015. p.1-27.

FOUCAULT, M. **A Ordem do Discurso**. Tradução de Laura Fraga de Almeida Sampaio. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2009 [1970].

GOFFMAN, E. **Frame analysis***:* an essay on the organization of experience. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

_____. **Forms of Talk**. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

GUIMARAES, T. F. **Embates entre performances corpóreo-discursivas em trajetórias textuais:** uma etnografia multissituada. 209 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística Aplicada) – Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2014.

GUIMARAES, T. F.; MOITA-LOPES, L. P. Entextualizações estratégicas: performances sensualizadas de raça em práticas discursivas na WEb 2.0. **Linguagem em (Dis)curso – LEMD**, Tubarão, v.16, n.2, p.289-307, mai.-ago. 2016.

GUMPERZ, J. Convenções de contextualização. In: RIBEIRO, B. T.; GARCEZ, P. M. (Ed.). **Sociolinguística interacional**: antropologia, linguística e sociologia em análise do discurso. Porto Alegre, Edições Loyola, 1982/2002. p.98-119.

HINE, C. **Virtual ethnography**. London: Sage Publications, 2000.

KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. **La conversation**. Paris: Seuil, 1996.

LÉVY, P. **Cibercultura.** Tradução de Carlos Irineu da Costa. São Paulo: Editora 34, 1999.

MARCUS, G. E. Ethnography in/of the world system. The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. **Annual Review of Anthropology**, California, n.24, p.95-117, 1995.

MELO, G. C. V.; MOITA-LOPES, L. P. Ordens de indexicalidade mobilizadas nas performances discursivas de um garoto de programa: ser negro e homoerótico. **Linguagem em (dis)curso***,* Tubarão, n.14, p.653-685, 2014.

MOITA-LOPES, L. P. Como e por que teorizar o português: recursos comunicativos em sociedades porosas e em tempos híbridos de globalização cultural. In: MOITA-LOPES, L. P. (Ed.). **O português no século XXI:** cenário geopolítico e sociolinguístico. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2013. p.101-119.

_____. Introduction: linguistic ideology: how Portuguese is being discursively constructed in late modernity. In: MOITA-LOPES, L. P. (Ed.). **Global Portuguese**: linguistic ideologies in late modernity. Nova York: Routledge, 2015. p.1-27.

PENNYCOOK, A. Performance and performativity. In: PENNYCOOK, A. **Global Englishes and transcultural flows**. London: Routledge, 2007.

_____. **Language as a local practice**. Londres: Routledge, 2010.

RAMPTON, B. **Language in late modernity**: interaction in an urban school. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

SILVA, D. O texto entre a entextualização e a etnografia: um programa jornalístico sobre belezas subalternas e suas múltiplas recontextualizações. **Linguagem em (Dis) curso,** Tubarão, n.14, p.67-84, 2014.

SILVA, D. N.; ALENCAR, C. N. Violência e significação: uma perspectiva pragmática. In.: SILVA, D. N.; FERREIRA, D. M. M.; ALENCAR, C. N. (Ed.). **Nova Pragmática** – modos de fazer. São Paulo: Cortez, 2014.

SILVERSTEIN, M. Indexical order and dialectics of sociolinguistic life. **Language & communication***,* University of Chicago, n.23, p.193-229, 2003.

SILVERSTEIN, M.; URBAN, G. (Ed.) **Natural histories of discourse**. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

TANNEN, D.; WALLAT, C. Enquadres interativos e esquemas de conhecimento em interação: exemplos de um exame/consulta médica. In: RIBEIRO, B. T.; GARCEZ, P. (Ed.). **Sociolinguística interacional**. São Paulo: Loyola, 2002 [1987]. p.183-214.

VARIS, P.; BLOMMAERT, J. Conviviality and collectives on social media: Virality, memes, and new social structures. **Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies**, Tilburg University, n.108, p.1-21, 2014.

VERTOVEC, S. Super-diversity and its implications. **Ethnic and Racial Studies**. University of Oslo, n.30, p.1024-1054, 2007.

_____. Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, contexts and conditions of diversity. **International Social Science Journal,** London, New York: Routledge. n.199, p.83-95, 2010.

WITTEL, A. Ethnography on the Move: From Field to Net to Internet. **Forum:** Qualitative Social Research (FQS), v.1, n.1, p.21-41, 2000.

WORTHAM, S. **Narratives in action**. New York: Teacher College Press, 2001.

_____. **Learning identity:** The joint emergence of social identification and academic learning. New York: CUP, 2006.

WOYDACK, J.; RAMPTON, B. Text trajectories in a multilingual call center: The linguistic ethnography of a calling script. **Working papers in urban language & literacies.** King`s College, n. 47, p.1-24. 2015.

Annex 1

Adapted from Bucholtz (2000)

[ ]	overlap beginning and end
CAPITALS	louder talk
> talk <	speeding up the pace
(( ))	transcriber comment
underline	emphatic stress or increased amplitude
:	length
,	slightly rising tone a sense of continuation
?	end of intonation unit; rising intonation
!	end of intonation unit; emphatic falling intonation
.	end of intonation unit; falling intonation
º talk º	degree sign
talk =	latching (no pause between speaker turns)
@@@	laugh

Received in september 2015

Approved in september 2016