

Self-presentation and *self-positioning* in
text-messages: Embedded multimodality,
deixis, and reference frame

Agnieszka Lyons

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

April 2014

School of Languages, Linguistics & Film
Queen Mary University of London

Contents

Acknowledgements	8
Abstract	10
1 Introduction	12
1.1 Texting: Definition and features	16
1.2 Background and motivation	18
1.3 Objectives of the thesis	22
1.3.1 Methodological objectives	23
1.3.2 Empirical objectives	23
1.3.3 Theoretical objectives	24
1.4 Outline of the thesis	25
2 Data and methodology	28
2.1 Data and data-collection methods	28
2.1.1 Obtaining consent	30
2.1.2 Text-message choice	31
2.1.3 Transcription error	33

2.1.4	Participants and data collection	33
2.2	Methodology	39
2.2.1	Coding	39
2.2.2	Anonymisation	40
3	Theoretical framework	48
3.1	Understanding of communication	49
3.1.1	Models of communication	54
3.2	Meaning in communication	68
3.2.1	Text and meaning-making	69
3.2.2	Participants' role in co-creating meaning	72
3.2.3	Creating intended meaning: Pragmatics	76
3.2.4	The role of context in EMC	79
3.3	The role of the medium	86
3.3.1	Mediated discourse analysis	87
3.4	Multimodality	88
3.4.1	Mode, modality, and medium	89
3.4.2	Multimodality in various modes	97
3.5	Summary	99
4	Space, place and self-positioning	102
4.1	Places and spaces in mediated environments	104
4.2	Presence	107
4.3	First textual virtual spaces in MUDs and MOOs	114

4.4	Performing yourself: Body in electronically mediated environments . . .	117
4.5	Establishing location: Deictic centre	118
4.6	Reference frame	121
4.7	Deictic shift	122
5	Establishing and negotiating deictic centre in text-messages	126
5.1	Location and deictic centre	128
5.1.1	Social location	133
5.1.2	Location through actions	135
5.1.3	Negative location	137
5.2	Motion and directionality	139
5.3	Reference frames alignment	145
5.3.1	Own reference frame	146
5.3.2	Deictic shift	150
5.3.3	Reference frame negotiation	155
5.4	Joint communicative space	156
6	Self-presentation: Person, persona and aspects of physicality in texts	163
6.1	Names, nicknames, and categories	165
6.2	Audible persona: Phoneticons	171
6.2.1	Sound length and emphasis	173
6.2.2	Imitating sounds and ways of speaking	176
6.2.3	Inaudible persona: Silence	182
6.3	Visual persona: Emoticons	188

6.4	Active persona: Expressing the self through actions	193
6.4.1	Mediated performatives	194
6.4.2	Kineticons	198
7	Theoretical considerations: Moving beyond the obvious	201
7.1	Storyworld and narrativity	203
7.2	Alterae personae	212
7.3	Embedded multimodality in text-messages	219
7.3.1	Grammar of embedded multimodality	223
7.4	Standardisation	230
7.5	Inter-modal transfer/Discursive intertextuality: case study	233
8	Conclusions and implications for further research	236
8.1	Directions for further research	242
A	Forms	244
B	Transcript and Maths Conventions	258
C	Text-messages sample	259

List of Figures

3.1	Shannon and Weaver's (1949) model of communication	56
3.2	Jakobson's (1960) communication model	58
3.3	Schramm's communication model	59
3.4	Schramm's (1954) fields of experience	60
3.5	Cumming and Ono's (1997) simplified model of information transfer (reproduced from Wolańska 2008, p.116)	62
3.6	Bordewijk and Kaam's (1986) model of communication in interactive media (reproduced from Wolańska 2008, p.121)	67
3.7	Hall's (1980) model of communication	70
4.1	A graphic illustration of the relationship between physical presence, social presence, and co-presence (adapted from Ijsselsteijn et al. 2001).	114
5.1	Deictic centre through the representation of completed and intended movement in example (15)	143
7.1	Link through pragmatic function	213
7.2	Connectors and counterparts in mental spaces	214
7.3	Mental spaces in example (22)	216
7.4	Substrate transformation: Phoneticons.	221

7.5	Substrate transformation: Kineticons.	222
7.6	Substrate transformation: Emoticons.	223
A.1	Consent form signed by respondents	244
A.2	Questionnaire (p.1)	245
A.3	Questionnaire (p.2)	246
A.4	Questionnaire (p.3)	247
A.5	Questionnaire (p.4)	248
A.6	Questionnaire (p.5)	249
A.7	Questionnaire (p.6)	250
A.8	Questionnaire (p.7)	251
A.9	Questionnaire (p.8)	252
A.10	Questionnaire (p.9)	253
A.11	Questionnaire (p.10)	254
A.12	Questionnaire (p.11)	255
A.13	Questionnaire (p.12)	256
A.14	Questionnaire (p.13)	257

List of Tables

2.1	Participants and text-message distribution in London	35
2.2	Contact details and replacement codes	41
5.1	Components of a motion event (based on Talmy 1985)	139
5.2	Parts of the Path component (based on Talmy 2000b)	140
7.1	Narrative structure in (15)	207
7.2	Narrative structure in (22)	210
7.3	Language standardisation (Milroy and Milroy 1999)	230
7.4	Development of grammar of embedded multimodality	231

Acknowledgements

Many people deserve thanks for their contributions to this thesis. First, thank you to my excellent supervisor, Colleen Cotter (and her fine-tooth comb), for her guidance, understanding, flexibility, and warmth; and to Jenny Cheshire, my second supervisor, for her valuable feedback on my work. Thanks also to the rest of the Linguistics department, for their advice and helpful comments along the way.

My fellow LingLabbers, past and present, have been brilliant colleagues and true friends. Thank you all for your input and support, but also for the chats, the endless cups of tea/coffee, the pub nights, and for always making me feel at home. Special thanks to Fryni, Eva, Dave, Fangfang, Maria, Barb, Philippa, James, Ollie, Ahmad, John, Rachele, and Ruth for their continuous friendship and encouragement. A massive thank you also to Jad, for persuading me to convert to LaTeX. This thesis wouldn't have happened also without Fryni and Abigael, who helped me tidy up my .tex file and always being there when I struggled with the code. And from outside Queen Mary, I'm greatly indebted to Guy and Nathan, who stuck by me when things got too much.

My family have helped immensely. *Mamusiu*, dziękuję, że zawsze wierzyłaś, że skończę to, co zaczęłam (czasem bardziej niż ja sama) i za nieustające zaproszenie do domu, do Sosnowca, gdzie “na pewno będzie mi się lepiej pracowało”, a potem wypełnianie całego mojego czasu zakupami i głębokimi rozmowami o wszystkim (poza lingwistyką)! *Fader*, dziękuję za mailowe nagabywanie mnie “Jak tam doktorat?” oraz

wsparcie organizacyjne w wiadomej kwestii, które pozwoliło mi skoncentrować się na pracy doktorskiej. Paweł, Agnieszka, Bartuś i Wojtuś, and all the rest of the family in Kryry, Biała, Oświęcim, and elsewhere in Poland have constantly reminded me of what's really important in life. I'm really grateful for all the precious family time. A simple thank you would not be enough to express my gratitude to *Babcia Marysia*, who was always a great inspiration but sadly passed away while the thesis was being written. Not a day goes by when I don't think about or miss her. *Babciu*, this thesis is dedicated to you.

Finally, the one person who has supported me the most in the last couple of years was my dearest fiancé, Bernard. Thank you for all your moral and practical support, pushing me to get my priorities right, and having lovely dinners waiting for me when I lost track of time at the Lab. I love you.

Oh! and thank you to Mishka, our cat, who stayed up with me when everyone else at home was already fast asleep. Although she is yet to show any interest whatsoever in *embedded multimodality*...Ehh...

Abstract

Texting has often been treated as verbally minimalist, notionally transactional, and, consequently, expressively impaired due to its text-only (mono-modal) character. Despite this, even with the development of new modes of electronically mediated communication (EMC) which made available a wide range of rich (multi-modal) communicative possibilities, texting has maintained its well-established position. This thesis approaches texting as communicatively rich and explores its expressive possibilities in the context of establishing texters' deictic centres and representing aspects of physicality.

Based on the analysis of nearly two thousand text-messages written by British and Polish native speakers and subsequent semi-formal interviews with the senders, I argue that senders position themselves discursively at one of four locations: their own physical deictic centre, the deictic centre of their communicative partner, a mutually agreed space distinct from either of their deictic centres, or a joint (virtual) communicative location with the recipient. I recognise the existence of *social location* and *negative location*, as well as location expressed through actions and motion.

Additionally, I establish that physicality and body are represented through a variety of *enacted* (rather than described) sensory information, including auditory, visual, and kinaesthetic. Through the employment of these discursive tools, which follow certain presentation rules, texters create their *alterae personae* through which actions are performed in virtual space. I argue that text-messages should not be treated as mono-modal, but as characterised by *embedded multimodality*, a term which I introduce.

Methodologically, I draw on interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Gumperz 1982; Tannen 1989), performativity and speech act theory (e.g., Austin 1962; Searle 1975, 1979),

semantics (e.g., Lyons 1977; Talmy 1985; Fauconnier 1985), text-grammar (Nunberg 1990), mediated discourse analysis (e.g., Scollon and Levine 2004), and multimodal discourse analysis (e.g., Norris 2004).

This interdisciplinary study advances current knowledge about discursive self-positioning and self-presentation in EMC, and provides insights about texting as a mode of communication that offers wide expressive possibilities despite its physical restrictions. As well as adding to theoretical discussion about motion verbs and performativity, the study contributes to research on deixis, physicality, and place, the expression of which is manifested in text-messages.

Chapter 1

Introduction

It was a very busy Friday evening in one of the pubs in Trafalgar Square. A group of five or six young people entered and sat around one big table. A few of them went to the bar while others engaged in a conversation: In fact, four different text-based conversations through their mobile devices. They seemed disengaged from their physical environment and physically co-present peers, and engrossed in their mobile phone communication. While it was impossible for me to determine what type of typed communication it was (it could have been, for example, texting, instant messaging, or chat), it was clear that their communication was primarily text-based.

A closer look at their faces and body language showed that they were reacting to their text-based communication much more than to their physically present group of friends. Their heads were down, their eyes glued to mobile phone screens, thumbs on the keypads. Not even the return of their friends from the bar was able to break their engagement for long. They exchanged a sentence or two and immersed themselves back in their individual interactions, joined by the other few who had just returned from the

bar. It transpired that there was a couple among the group, but even with the girl sitting on the boy's lap, they engaged with their individual mobile phones, every now and again exchanging looks, comments, or occasional cuddles.

It might be the case that the situation described above verges on the extreme, but it does illustrate the point that this thesis is aiming to develop and the phenomena it sets out to investigate: text-based communication by means of mobile devices can be as effective a form of communication as other types, often involving a variety of expressive channels through which meaning can be conveyed (e.g., similar to the gestures, sounds, and images in face-to-face communication). It does not happen very often that we can observe a birth of a new form of communication and its speedy growth in popularity. Texting is one such modality and with the adoption of any new medium for communication there comes a necessity to decide what communicative behaviours and conventions are appropriate for it, taking into consideration both its social and technological affordances.

When a new modality enters the communicative landscape of a society, it has no clearly established “grammar”¹ or conventions of use. Instead, users experiment with the possibilities it offers. Ways of communication mature and we get used to them. This process can be seen repeatedly in the history of communication, for example, in the case of telephone conversations. Originally, over a hundred years ago, the fact that one's interlocutor could not be seen during a phone conversation caused concern for some people. Users have since accepted telephone conversations as “normal” mediation and have become less self-conscious while talking on the phone, be it in a private or public setting. Gestures and facial expressions frequently accompany telephone conversations, illustrating the fact that remotely located participants to a certain

¹The term *grammar* is used here to refer to a system of rules characterising communication using a particular language or code rather than with reference to its syntax only (cf. Nunberg 1990; Milroy and Milroy 1999).

extent forget about the existence of the medium through which the communication takes place. This point brings us back to the anecdote, based on an observation which inspired this research project. People can get engrossed in mediated exchanges and experience a feeling of being in the presence of their remotely located communicative partners. In the case of telephone conversations, however, the range of available paralinguistic cues is larger, elaborated through spoken modality, e.g., tone of voice and key. This thesis will show how text-based messaging can be equivalently expressive. As electronically mediated communication (EMC)² has entered our communicative landscape over the past few decades, it caused varied reactions, ranging from extreme excitement about the vast possibilities it offered, to “moral panic” related to its potentially detrimental consequences on the social as well as literacy skills of (primarily, but not exclusively) young people (cf. Thurlow 2007; Crystal 2008). With time, as the social needs of technology users change, so does their use of mediated communication. Users become more confident with the tools at their disposal and their usage gains a more structured form, even though not necessarily regulated by prescriptive rules. This phenomenon concerns any form of communication, irrespective of its function and form.

Texting, as realised by means of written text, has been described as monomodal (text-only). In my research, I show that the treatment of texting as a monomodal form of communication is far too simplistic. I argue that texting is not just a carrier of “degenerate” language (as it has often been portrayed, particularly by language purists), but that it is a rich, expressive tool where texters can — through references to places, activities, and sensory cues — create a “textual virtual reality” where actions are performed, and sensory cues conveyed, as opposed to only described. Thanks to

²The term ‘electronically mediated communication’ (EMC) is used here to refer to any type of communication which takes place through an electronic medium. EMC has often been referred to as computer-mediated communication (CMC). The choice of EMC in this thesis is motivated by the fact that the type of communication referred to here is conducted through mobile phone devices and therefore it is somewhat inaccurate to refer to it as computer-mediated.

the familiarity with and implementation of media conventions and users' willingness to suspend disbelief, communication is seen by some users as more "realistic" in character than traditional written forms such as letters and telegrams³.

In a recent volume, Sindoni (2013, p.2-3) noted that today, at a time when borders between the real and the virtual are becoming more and more blurred, there is a need to apply an "eclectic method" of analysis to the wide variety of spontaneous interactions in electronic environments. The present research adopts a discourse-pragmatic approach to texting and its structures, functions, and the performative character of communication. It draws on studies of deixis, communicative intent, and discursive performativity. In my research, I incorporate insights from mediated discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis as well as from pragmatics. However, I extend certain notions and redefine some others in order to build a framework suitable for the analysis of what I focus on in text-messages: self-presentation and self-positioning and the notion of (co-)presence in one communicative space. Through these means, I develop a framework for the analysis of performative use of texting that points to the extended usage of this mode of communication among people who aim to achieve complex communicative goals through more elaborate means⁴.

As Nunberg (1990) argues for writing, contrastive approaches to different semiotic systems (in his case speech and writing) make it difficult or nearly impossible to notice features that have no equivalents in the other system, intrinsic to only one of them and capable of expressing *more* than the other system. My aim in this thesis is not to make generalisations about the use of text tools to perform the task of self-positioning and self-presentation in texting across a range of cultures, ages, or genders. It is rather to explore the possible affordances and constraints of this modality through a close analysis of the practices of a limited group of users (an approach taken by

³This view was often expressed by respondents in their interviews.

⁴It is worth noting that, although multimodal meaning-making can be seen as more complex through the employment of multiple semiotic systems which interact in constructing messages, monomodal communication is not and should not be regarded as simplistic.

Jones 2008), showing how they use text tools to present and position themselves.

The analysis in this thesis is based on a sample of text-messages collected from users' mobile phones. Importantly, text-messages serve here as an example of text-only mobile phone communication and I show that some of the findings will be applicable to other forms of mobile communication performed in a text-only medium. Some of the features, like those discussed with reference to self-positioning, are also relevant for other types of communication occurring at a distance. The choice of text-messages as a sample is motivated by the fact that this communicative modality displays a wide scope of features of relevance for linguistic analysis and, at the same time, constitutes a well-established form of communication among a range of users.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I present a general background for the study: the definition and the features of texting, my motivation for undertaking this project and the specific research objectives. I also outline the content and composition of this thesis.

1.1 Texting: Definition and features

Texting refers to the act of sending short typed messages between mobile phones using the Short Message Service (SMS). This feature has been available in most mobile phones since the late 1990s and over the years a number of online services have appeared which enable users to send messages to a mobile phone directly from an Internet website. Texting does not allow for the transfer of voice or images in the same manner as more complex forms of data transfer, e.g., Web 2.0 environments (Social Networking Sites, media content sharing sites, online video communities such as YouTube, and others). As a result, texting can be classified as technologically monomodal owing to its text-only form. (The question of multimodality in text-messages is discussed in detail in Section 7.3.) Claiming that any form of communication is

mono-modal is likely to meet with fierce disagreement since, as proposed by scholars working within the field of multimodal discourse analysis, all discourse is essentially multimodal (Scollon and Levine 2004, p.2). Even a printed page of text can be described as multimodal, involving the choice of font and colour, margin size, and page layout, all of which affect meaning and interpretation of texts (Nunberg 1990). In texting, only a very limited number of multimodal choices or variables are made available. Although senders can select font and its size as displayed on their mobile handsets, this choice constitutes their handset setting, i.e., it applies to their handset only (in terms of content created and interface alike) and it is not transmitted to the recipient's mobile phone. Therefore, the sender has almost no influence on the visual form their text-message will take when viewed on the recipient's mobile device.

In the European literature on texting, the term SMS is used to describe both the medium and the messages themselves (e.g., Kasesniemi and Rautianen 2002). In this thesis, the term *texting* will be used to refer to both the medium and the language variety, while the term *text-message* refers to any individual message sent. Following Tagg (2009), I avoid referring to text-messages using the terms *text* or *message* in isolation due to the potentially ambiguous character of both terms in the field of linguistics (but see Section 3.2.1 for the explication of another use of the term *text*, accepted in this thesis). In addition to the above terms, the verb *text* and the noun *texting* will be used to describe the process of writing or sending text-messages.

To summarise: I define a **text-message** as **a text-only form of electronically mediated communication with limited buffer size transferred by means of a mobile device**, and **texting** as **the act of typing and sending a text-message between two or more mobile phone users over a phone network using the Short Message Service**.

Following this definition, only messages sent from one mobile device to another will be considered and messages sent from any of the online texting services are not

included in the sample. Additionally, messages including multimedia content, such as images, videos, or audio files, referred to as MMS (Multimedia Messaging Service) are excluded from the sample. One text-message can contain up to 140 bytes of data, which equals 160 characters if the message is typed using the Latin alphabet or 70 characters if a more complex encoding system is used, e.g., Chinese, Hebrew, or Cyrillic script, but also, for example, texting in Latin-derived alphabets with diacritics (such as Polish). Modern mobile devices support sending text-messages exceeding 160 characters, using the system called ‘concatenated SMS’ (Crystal 2008, p.6), which breaks a long message into shorter ones, sends the parts separately in sequence, and reassembles it upon delivery to the receiving mobile device.

Text-messages are distinct from tweets, blogs, or Facebook status updates in that they are sent directly to a recipient’s mobile phone rather than broadcast on a semi-public forum (cf. Page 2012) and, as such, seen as very private. This brings a number of considerations related to data collection and analysis, some of which are discussed in the following section.

1.2 Background and motivation

Mobile phones have recently celebrated their 40th anniversary⁵ and it has been over 20 years since the invention of texting⁶. Since its introduction and popularisation, texting has grown, with more and more messages being sent every month. The statistics of the use of texting (as well as picture messaging and mobile Internet use) published by the Mobile Data Association confirm that the use of SMS grew

⁵According to the Mobile Data Association (<http://www.themda.org/news/45-mobile-phones-40-years-today>, accessed on 23rd September 2013), the first phone call was made on 3rd April 1973 by Motorola employee Martin Cooper. The phone call was made on a 22-cm tall Motorola DynaTAC, weighing about 1kg.

⁶On 3rd December 1992, the first text-message, which read ‘Merry Christmas’, was sent by Neil Papworth from his computer to Richard Jarvis, Vodafone’s Technical Director (<http://www.themda.org/news/47-mobile-data-association-celebrates-20-years-of-text-messaging>, accessed on 23rd September 2013).

consistently from 2.6 billion in June 2005 to 7.7 billion in June 2009 and 9.6 billion in December 2009⁷. According to Ofcom, there were over 150 billion text-messages sent in the UK in 2011. Texting is also extremely popular in other countries, including China where 26 billion text-messages were sent during the Chinese New Year (Wei 2014). While numbers of text-messages sent in the UK are starting to decline, which is due to the increasing use of smartphones (Garside 2014), text messages remain a chosen communicative modality for many people and are used in numerous business contexts, e.g., reservation and NHS appointment reminders, flight changes, etc.

Since its emergence in the 1990s and its later popularisation, language purists and academics have been involved in a debate about the potential impact of texting on our communication patterns and literacy. Despite what is sometimes called the “hype and hysteria” (Thurlow 2003; Hård af Segerstad 2005) that accompanies the emergence of any new medium in the popular press, and the growing popularity of texting as a mode of communication, scholarly interest in this form of communication has been rather slow to develop. In the growing body of academic literature devoted to it (and other forms of electronically mediated communication), one can notice a prevalent interest in linguistic forms employed by users, which reflects the tendency to “de-discourse” (Thurlow 2007, p. 221) the language of any new media, isolating linguistic form from communicative functions and from contextualising social practices. As with other forms of electronically mediated communication, a large percentage of early research into texting focused on its structural features and generalised all types of language found in electronic communication. Questions were asked as to whether EMC should be treated as speech, writing, or a hybrid genre, and, were it to be treated as a “new” language variety, what were its linguistic features. Scholars identified such characteristic features as the use of emoticons, letter/number homophones (e.g., *4* used instead of the preposition “for” and *u* for the pronoun “you”),

⁷Tagg (2009) quotes the figures from June 2001 to June 2009, which demonstrate the same pattern.

unconventional punctuation (e.g., multiple question marks, missing full stops or capital letters), abbreviations or word reductions (Barton and Lee 2013), acronyms and initialisms (e.g., *OMG* for “Oh my god” and *LOL* for “laugh out loud” or sometimes “lots of love”), and stylised spelling. A number of terms were coined to refer to the (generalised) language of electronically mediated communication, such as “interactive written discourse” (Ferrara, Brunner, and Whittmore 1991) or “Netspeak” (Crystal 2006). The language of texting has often been termed “textese”, or “Txt” (Tagg 2009), and has even been described as a “trans-linguistic drag queen” (Ling 2005), meaning that it combines features of both spoken and written register but has “enough flare of its own to catch your attention” (Ling 2005, p.7).

Studies of texting have concentrated on two broad aspects. Firstly, the use and functionality have been analysed in various areas, including medicine (the use of text-messages as patient reminders and for aftercare treatment), research methodology (the use of texting to conduct surveys), business and commerce, political campaigning, and psychology (analyses of compulsive texting and cyber-bullying through text-messages). The effect of smartphone use has also been discussed in the context of involvement in civic discourse (e.g., Mihailidis 2014; Wei 2014). For example, in China, with its high number of mobile phone subscriptions and restricted access to information, mass texting is used to disseminate political satire (Wei 2014). In terms of interpersonal relationships, texting has been analysed as a tool to maintain close contact with geographically remote significant others and to form and nurture new, often amorous, relationships. A significant amount of attention has also been paid to the phenomenon of sexting, which is usually related to the digital distribution of sexually explicit images (e.g., Campbell and Park 2014), its motivations, and consequences for those involved.

Secondly, analysis of the content of text-messages has been conducted from (socio)linguistic and pragmatic points of view. Such research has been based on a number

of different languages and in various countries, e.g., the UK, the USA, Finland, Sweden, the Philippines, Poland, Nigeria, etc. Studies oriented to functions and structure elements of texting have addressed turn-taking, code-switching, openings and closings, and the purpose of communication. They have considered such aspects as the message length, textual complexity, grammar and punctuation, spelling, and the use of emoticons. An overview of findings to date can be found in Hård af Segerstad (2005), Tagg (2009), and Thurlow and Poff (2012).

This short summary is meant to establish that as far as content is concerned, texting has been analysed from a micro-perspective, seen as “bleak, bald, sad shorthand” (Sutherland 2002). Scholars have also overlooked such factors as the relation of the content of a text-message to the context or its production and processing, to the participants to the exchange (the sender and the recipient), and to the sender’s communicative intent in terms of actions performed by means of discursive tools in co-constructed (by the sender and the recipient) real time (as opposed to a narrative description). A notable exception is Tagg (2013, p.480), who argues for analysing creative practices in texting⁸ as “significant and purposeful aspect of [texting] interaction”.

Tagg’s study opens a line of inquiry into texting as a genre which this study continues. This thesis aims to further advance our understanding of the wide expressive possibilities of texting as a genre, in which modality affordances (rather than constraints) not only do not impede but, at least in some cases, encourage and facilitate creative self-presentation. Moreover, findings presented in this thesis, while based on an analysis of SMS-messages, are to a large extent relevant also for the analysis of other forms of text-only communication; some of the aspects covered here are also found in non-text-based communication via mobile devices, e.g., mobile phone calls or social media use, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

⁸The areas of creativity discussed in Tagg (2013) include self-repetition, metacommentary, idiom manipulation, double-voicing, morphological creativity, discourse play, and punning.

1.3 Objectives of the thesis

As indicated in the previous section, although some scholars have touched on the the question of creativity in texting (cf. e.g., Crystal 2008) and other types of EMD (electronically mediated discourse), Tagg's (2013) study is the first, as far as I am aware, whose main purpose is advancing linguists' understanding of texting as a genre and challenging concerns related to the allegedly detrimental influence of texting on literacy in a more systematic and open way. This thesis continues this line of enquiry in focusing on the expressive potential of text-only mobile communication, and texting in particular, and sets to test and elaborate on the following hypothesis:

Text-messages, despite their text-only character and limited buffer size, constitute a field for a discursive creation of joint communicative spaces and allow texters to imitate face-to-face communicative behaviours using a range of text-only discursive tools.

While exploring the above hypothesis, this research sets out to meet three main objectives: methodological, empirical, and theoretical. These objectives, along with specific issues to be addressed in each of the three areas, are:

1. Methodological objectives

To address the challenges of compiling and handling a corpus of text-messages, particularly ethical considerations pertaining to obtaining consent and data anonymisation as well as participant involvement in the study.

2. Empirical objectives

To explore the extent to which features identified in a range of theoretical approaches to the study of multimodal texts can be identified in text-only communication between remotely located interactants.

3. Theoretical objectives

To propose an approach to the analysis of text-only communication between remotely located participants, which accounts for the rich expressive possibilities that this form of communication offers.

In achieving these objectives, this study contributes to the understanding of texting as a rich expressive modality and proposes a new framework for the analysis of text-only communication that will account for its performative functions and multimodal features.

1.3.1 Methodological objectives

It has been noted numerous times in the studies on texting to date (e.g., Hård af Segerstad 2002; Tagg 2009) that compilation of a corpus of text messages poses serious difficulties due to the personal nature of this form of communication as well as problems related to the use of technology. The choice of collection method largely determines, and can significantly limit, researchers' ability to analyse this form of data, which is notoriously brief and filled with in-group code. This study aims to address this problem through the adoption of a more participatory and ethnographic approach and explores the use of various channels of communication to facilitate active participation of respondents in the analysis (see Chapter 2).

1.3.2 Empirical objectives

Early studies of text-messages concentrated mainly on its atypical spelling and the functions texting plays in communication more broadly, often between teenagers or in institutional contexts. This thesis tests some of the earlier assertions concerning the

linguistic features of texting, focusing on their performative functions and the discursive construction of the physical self and own location. I also test the applicability of some analytical approaches which have not been previously used in the analysis of texting. In such a vein, I explore the applicability of multimodal discourse analysis, mediated discourse analysis, and narrative studies to the discussion of the expressive possibilities of texting.

1.3.3 Theoretical objectives

The main theoretical objective of this study is to establish texting as a rich communicative modality and propose a framework for the analysis of text-only communication by means of mobile devices, informed by a range of theoretical approaches which have not been previously applied to this form of communication. In order to systematise the features of text-only electronically mediated communication, which to some extent have been identified in previous studies, I introduce and theorise the notion of *embedded multimodality* and identify some of the rules governing its grammar, or iterative system patterns. This proposed framework allows for the analysis of text-only electronically mediated communication between remotely located participants as displaying “multimodal” features and allowing for a discursive construction of interactants’ physical selves, as the data will reveal. I also describe some discursive tools employed by texters to self-position in a particular location and construct communicative spaces (Chapter 5), and specifically address the question of reference frame negotiation in communication through mobile devices (Section 5.3).

The questions that emerge from these considerations and which I attempt to answer here include:

1. How do texters linguistically represent their location and negotiate reference frame with remotely located interactants?

2. Do texters distinguish between what I differentiate as descriptions and enactment of communicative behaviour in their text-messages?
3. What aspects of face-to-face interaction have their equivalents in text-messages and what are the linguistic tools that texters use to render them?
4. Do texters position themselves as remotely located or as located in the same communicative space as their texting partner? What linguistic tools do they use to create joint communicative space?

As the subsequent chapters will show, this study argues that texting is shaped not only by the affordances and constraints of the modality but it displays a creative use of discursive tools to actively construct personae and worlds as well as fulfil a range of interpersonal functions. It will become evident that texters adapt and co-opt technology to meet their communicative and interpersonal needs. How this is done, and that it is done, should be of interest to communications scholars.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The present chapter (Introduction) has provided a general introduction to the research project by defining the concept of texting and describing the features of this modality, focusing mainly on those related to technology (Section 1.1). I presented my motivation for conducting this research and background research thus far concerning the use of mobile phones and texting (Section 1.2). Further, the research questions were discussed, along with the approach adopted in the analysis. Chapter 2 contains an account of data-collection methods (Section 2.1), including obtaining consent (Subsection 2.1.1), the choice of the sample (Subsection 2.1.2), and potential transcription errors (Subsection 2.1.3). I also discuss the group of respondents who participated in this study (Subsection 2.1.4). The question of

data-handling is tackled in Section 2.2, which covers the discussion of data-coding (Subsection 2.2.1) and anonymisation (Subsection 2.2.2).

The following chapter (Chapter 3) contains an outline of the theoretical background that has informed the present research, including the notion and models of communication (Section 3.1), expressing meaning in communication with reference to interactants (Subsection 3.2.2), pragmatics (Subsection 3.2.3), and accounting for the role of context in the modality (Subsection 3.2.4). Further in this chapter, I discuss the role the choice of medium plays in meaning-creation, referring to media theory (Section 3.3) and the framework of mediated discourse analysis (Subsection 3.3.1). Finally, I introduce the established notion of multimodality (Section 3.4), explain some related key terms, and show the possibility of multimodal expression in different communicative modalities, such as texting.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the notion of place, space, and presence (Sections 4.1 and 4.2), with a focus on electronically mediated environments. This discussion leads to the question of the existence of discursive bodies, their discursive location, and adopted reference frames (Sections 4.4 through 4.6). I conclude the chapter by a reference to the phenomenon of *deictic shift* (Section 4.7), which can explain some of the findings presented in Chapter 5. The analysis presented in Chapter 5 focuses on the question of deictic centre and reference frame as found in the analysed sample (Section 5.1). I observe that texters employ tools to signal motion and directionality (Section 5.2) and negotiate a joint reference frame in texting interactions (Section 5.3). Following from this, I propose that texters discursively create a joint communicative space where their interaction takes place (Section 5.4). Chapter 6 develops the idea of discursive representation in electronically mediated discourse by analysing self-presentation and physicality in text-message discourse (Sections 6.1 through 6.4). I identify the existence of representations of sounds, images, and action in respective subsections of this chapter. The focus on these topics is motivated by the charac-

teristics of text-only mobile communication, which mean that conveying referential and deictic information as well as aspects of physicality might seem problematic in this form of communication. Despite that, it is a common practice to use texting to micro-coordinate and help locate another person in a busy physical location. Additionally, texting is used by some to maintain intimate relations. An analysis of the linguistic content of text-messages (as one of the forms of text-only mobile communication) from the points of view adopted in Chapters 5 and 6 seems to be a good starting point to gain a better understanding of the way texters' deal with expressing such "problematic" information.

Following from the analysis presented in Chapters 5 and 6, I discuss the notion of a storyworld and propose that texting contains some narrative features that are relevant for this study (Section 7.1). I point to the fact that texters create their alternative personae in discourse and that these discursively constructed personae are the ones through which their interactions can take place (Section 7.2). In Section 7.3, I propose the notion of *embedded multimodality* in order to explain texters' use of the discursive features analysed in earlier chapters. I also show what routes some of the discussed features are likely to have taken to arrive as a text-message discourse feature for these particular respondents (Section 7.5). In the thesis, I argue that texters have found creative ways of dealing with important aspects of face-to-face and multimodal communication in their text-based exchanges and spontaneously standardise relevant features, showing that texting is a highly expressive text-based communicative modality.

In the conclusion (Chapter 8), I summarise the findings of the study, discuss its theoretical and methodological implications, and suggest potential directions for further research. I also stress the originality of this study and evaluate its significance in terms of contributions to the fields of linguistics, communication, and media studies.

Chapter 2

Data and methodology

Collecting data for any study raises numerous questions concerning the design of a collection method, sample size, and ethical considerations, which this chapter will address. Apart from these questions, which are characteristic of any data collection, compiling a sample of text-messages poses additional challenges, resulting from the features of the modality and related mainly to the ethics of data collection and handling as well as sample representativeness. The purpose of this chapter is to outline and explain the method employed in compiling the sample of text-messages for analysis, including challenges and considerations related to this process.

In the next section, the data-collection process, including relevant challenges and considerations, is presented (Section 2.1), followed by the account of methodology employed while conducting the study (Section 2.2).

2.1 Data and data-collection methods

Numerous researchers in the field of electronically mediated communication, and texting in particular, have pointed to the lack, or relative scarcity, of texting corpora available for analysis, despite the obvious need to analyse these emerging forms of

communication (Fairon and Paumier 2006)¹. The difficulty in data collection has also been frequently noted (e.g., Hård af Segerstad 2002; Kasesniemi and Rautiainen 2002; How 2004; Tagg 2009; Crystal 2008) and attributed mainly to technical constraints and privacy considerations (Fairon and Paumier 2006), but also to the ephemeral character of text-messages, which are “difficult to capture: today’s message will not exist tomorrow” (Kasesniemi and Rautiainen 2002, p.178). Indeed, also in this study, some respondents were reluctant to share their messages, stating that they contained personal content, even if, as one of the respondents said, they were “only about meeting up”. Adopting certain measures and ethical protocols (discussed later in this section) helped ensure that participants felt comfortable enough to share their text-messages, especially taking into account the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time.

Apart from the difficulty in collecting data, there are a number of ethical considerations in dealing with a text-message sample. Firstly, since communication by means of text-messages involves two participants, it can be argued that consent should be obtained from both the sender and the recipient in each case. It is, however, often impossible to access both interactants. Secondly, there are sample-reliability questions related to the free choice that respondents get in deciding which messages to submit for analysis. Finally, in cases where respondents choose to transcribe their messages themselves, there is a possibility of transcription mistakes, whether accidental or deliberate. All of the above considerations and the approach taken in each case are discussed in the following three subsections.

¹Fairon and Paumier (2006) recognise that new communication technologies have resulted in the need to analyse written language present in them according to its situation-specific manifestations. They point to the need for scientists working in Natural Language Processing to take interest in these phenomena in the context of text-processing software adaptation for use with non-standard texts.

2.1.1 Obtaining consent

According to the Data Protection Directive², processing of all data collected from an identified or identifiable person needs to be fair and lawful, i.e., every person whose data is collected needs to receive explicit, accurate, and full information about the purpose of the collection. Informed consent must be given for the data to be collected and all necessary steps must be taken to ensure protection of each individual. The Directive specifies that the principles of protection do not apply to data rendered anonymous in a way that ensures that an individual can no longer be identified.

All original respondents (n=56, see Subsection 2.1.4) were asked to fill in a questionnaire including some potentially sensitive personal information (ethnic origin of respondents and recipients) and sign a consent form (See Appendix A); both forms were approved by the Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee. In accordance with Data Protection Act 1998³, all respondents were informed of the purpose of the study and were able to contact the researcher in case of questions or concerns. They were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of all responses and informed that all identifying information would be removed from their text-messages. Participants were also told that they had a right to withdraw from the study at any point.

Where possible, the consent form was signed also by respondents recruited by the initial group (see Subsection 2.1.4 for the details of the collection process). However, in some cases such formal consent was impossible to obtain due to some senders not being able to recall who sent a particular message to them or who they sent a particular

²The full text of Directive 95/46/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 1995 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data is available from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31995L0046:en:NOT>. A summary of the proposed changes to the existing policy can be viewed on http://ec.europa.eu/justice/data-protection/document/review2012/factsheets/8_en.pdf [both websites accessed on October 14th, 2013].

³The full text of Data Protection Act 1998 is available from <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents> [accessed on October 15th, 2013].

message to⁴. In such cases, verbal consent, the fact that text-messages were submitted for the purpose of the study, and taking into account that the purpose of collection was sufficiently explained to every potential respondent, the fact of their submitting text-messages to be used in the study was treated as consent. This approach follows Hård af Segerstad (2002) and Tagg (2009), who obtained written consent from texters in as many instances as possible.

Another concern is the fact that communication by means of text-messages usually involves two participants⁵, which means that consent should be obtained from both the sender and the recipient of each text-message. Although such a practice would have been preferred, it was almost always impossible to contact the recipients of texts in the sample; however, senders who submitted text-messages for analysis were encouraged to inform their texting circle of friends about the study and an option was given to withdraw any messages from the study should one of the interactants wish to do so at any point. Adopting Tagg's (2009) pragmatic approach to obstacles in collecting and processing data, it was decided that consent from one participant, the sender, along with the thorough anonymising process, was sufficient to ensure that both the senders and the recipients were protected in accordance with Data Protection Act 1998.

2.1.2 Text-message choice

Respondents in this study were given a choice as to which messages to submit for analysis. This approach, adopted also in earlier studies (e.g., Hård af Segerstad 2002; Thurlow 2003; How 2004; Tagg 2009), was chosen to encourage participation in this study of a modality which is considered private and personal. It was assumed that,

⁴One sender in particular kept a record of all her sent and received text-messages in a notebook with no record of who each text-message was sent to or received from.

⁵Excluded are chain-messages, broadcasting, i.e., sending a single message to multiple recipients, etc.

as they felt that they had more control over which messages to reveal, participants would be more likely to part with their messages without feeling that the researcher was encroaching on their privacy.

There are, admittedly, a number of disadvantages of this approach. Firstly, respondents may choose only messages which they perceive as either particularly interesting, or most neutral ones that do not feel very personal (Hård af Segerstad 2002), which may render the sample skewed. Secondly, senders may submit messages which are not genuine, but have been made up, as reported in How (2004). As a result, the sample submitted for analysis may not reflect the general texting patterns of the respondents and therefore no claims can be made about texting in general, but rather only about phenomena identified in the analysed sample. This does not constitute a major obstacle for this project since its focus is identifying linguistic phenomena in texting, rather than a quantitative analysis of texting patterns. Adopting a different collection method could benefit more sociolinguistically oriented future research (see Section 8.1 for a discussion of implications for further research).

In some of the earlier studies, corpora were composed of both messages collected by the researcher and those publicly available online (e.g., Hård af Segerstad 2002; How 2004; Tagg 2009). The present study favours the personal collection method due to the fact that direct contact and individual approach facilitate a collection of a genuine sample of messages whose senders are known and usually contactable for a later interview. Lack of financial remuneration for participants meant that only those who were interested in participating in the study, rather than financial benefits, submitted their text-messages and there was no reason for them to submit made-up SMS-messages. Due to the nature and focus of this study, it was particularly important to ensure that respondents were happy to be contacted at the analysis stage of the project in order to clarify the context in which messages were sent and any in-group meanings or expressions which were included in the text-messages they

submitted for analysis.

2.1.3 Transcription error

As the next subsection explains, respondents had a number of possible ways of submitting text-messages for this study. In cases where their preferred method was to transcribe their SMS-messages into a Word document, Excel spreadsheet, email, or copy them by hand onto a paper questionnaire, there existed a possibility of a transcription error, which could result from conscious or unconscious corrections and typing mistakes.

Tagg (2009) notes that one of the alternatives is for senders to either use software that allows for a direct transfer of text from a mobile phone to a computer, or forward selected text-messages directly to a designated phone number. Participants in this study were encouraged to forward their text-messages to the researcher's mobile phone. Hård af Segerstad (2002) mentions that employing this method results in respondents incurring additional costs. However, as texting and mobile phones have become more popular and mobile phone deals (both contracts and pay-as-you-go options) offer a much better value for money, it was very uncommon for respondents to complain about the cost of forwarding text-messages to the researcher directly or copying and pasting from text-messages into emails and forwarding them in the form of a "free" email from their mobile devices. Many respondents declared that they have a mobile phone plan with unlimited text-messages and data transfer.

2.1.4 Participants and data collection

Any analysis of linguistic and discourse phenomena found in a sample collected among members of the same friendship group, or even among speakers of the same language, can, arguably, render results characteristic solely of this particular group. It would

then be wrong to make generalisations or imply that a similar pattern would be found in other samples.

This study does not have a comparative focus nor does it make claims as to the general presence of the investigated phenomena in texting. Nevertheless, it was decided to include two samples of text-messages in the analysis. The reason was to test whether an indication of the presence of similar phenomena can be found in more than one linguistic, geographical, and social context. As explained in Chapter 8, further research is needed to determine the extent of similarities and differences, as well as purely language specific patterns between texting in these (and other) pairs of contexts.

Participants in London

Following Hård af Segerstad (2002) and Tagg (2009, 2013), participants were initially recruited from among the researcher's London-based friends (predominantly) and workplace (not university) colleagues, who were asked to contribute *at least* ten text-messages from the Sent folder on their mobile devices. Later, some of the initial respondents recruited members of their friendship and family networks and asked them to provide at least ten text-messages.

Text-messages for the present study were collected over the period from January 2008 to December 2010 from a network of respondents aged 20-42. At the initial stage of data collection, the researcher approached 56 English-speaking individuals, 35 male and 21 female, living in London, who were either born there or have lived in London for at least 3 years. From this group, 38 people responded to the research call, out of which two declined to participate and 36 expressed interest in participating; however, not all of them returned their questionnaires. Later, 14 participants offered to forward the questionnaire to their friends or relatives who they thought might be interested in participating in the study, which resulted in more respondents coming forward and offering their text-messages for analysis.

As a result, a total of 43 respondents provided their text-messages for analysis, including 25 males and 18 females. The number of text-messages provided varied, with some senders being much more prolific than others. One of the respondents from the original group was unable to provide any text-messages because she had deleted them from the Sent folder on her mobile phone. Some senders followed the brief and provided 10 text-messages, some provided fewer than 10 (between two and eight), while others chose to provide more than 10 (between 12 and 184). There were four senders (A10, B01, W09, and A09) who provided over 100 text-messages. Although such an imbalance might be seen as problematic in some studies, it was decided to include all the text-messages in the analysed sample for two reasons: 1. The researcher gave the respondents the right to choose which text-messages to send for analysis. Limiting the sample would mean interfering with the texters' choice. 2. Since this is a qualitative study and since it does not make claims as to the sociolinguistic distribution or general popularity of the discussed phenomena, it was decided that the imbalance would not have a negative impact on the findings. While conducting the analysis, the researcher was, however, aware of the imbalance and checked that the observed phenomena were not only present in text-messages sent by one or more specific participants. Additionally, 16 texting conversations were collected, consisting of 103 messages all together. The total number of text-messages in the sample collected among Londoners amount to 1050 (see Appendix C⁶). Table 2.1 shows the distribution of text-messages per participant.

Table 2.1: Participants and text-message distribution in London

No.	Participant	Gender	Number of text-messages
1	A01	M	10

⁶The numbering in Appendix C reflects conversations, not individual text-messages.

No.	Participant	Gender	Number of text-messages
2	W01	M	18 + 1Conv (3 txts)
3	W02	F	7
4	A10	M	132
5	L06	F	33
6	B01	M	109
7	L02	M	10
8	A03	F	21
9	A04	F	10
10	B03	M	12
11	A02	M	8
12	C01	F	10
13	W04	F	21
14	B06	F	19
15	B04	M	7
16	B07	F	2
17	O01	F	10
18	W05	M	5
19	M01	M	5
20	L01	M	10
21	L03	M	10
22	W03	F	10
23	L04	F	10
24	A05	F	0 (deleted sent text-messages)
25	A06	F	10
26	A07	F	10
27	B02	M	10

No.	Participant	Gender	Number of text-messages
28	L05	F	10
29	W08	M	1 + 5Conv (35 txts)
30	W11	M	10
31	L07	M	12
32	W09	M	124
33	W10	F	10
34	L08	F	15 + 2Conv (23 texts)
35	A08	M	18
36	A09	M	184
37	A11	F	3
38	W07	M	0 + 7Conv (31 texts)
39	B05	M	2
40	A12	M	4
41	W06	M	15
42	O02	M	20
43	O03	M	0 + 1Conv (11 texts)

The collection of data was performed in a number of ways: respondents were provided with the researcher’s mobile phone number and email address, so that they could either forward text-messages from their mobile phones directly or type them up and email. The initial group of respondents was given a questionnaire with space to copy their messages. Nine of the respondents chose to hand their mobile device to the researcher to allow her to copy text-messages herself.

After receipt, the data was anonymised (see Subsection 2.2.2), coded (see Subsection 2.2.1), and stored in a single Excel spreadsheet file. Personal information was stored in

a separate file. Respondents were given the choice of anonymising the data themselves, after discussing the process with the researcher. This choice was given to respondents to provide them with a greater sense of security, which proved to them that it was the content of the text-messages, rather than identifying personal information, that constituted the subject of the study.

Interpreting data is not a straightforward task, especially when dealing with data which is context-sensitive. All the respondents were asked whether it would be possible to re-contact them for clarification and in most cases semi-formal interviews were arranged at a later stage, which took place either in person or over the phone, email, or instant messenger. These interviews were aimed at providing the researcher with a greater understanding of the senders' intentions, personal motivations, and in-group use of certain phenomena, such that would be more readily apparent in a face-to-face context. They functioned as ethnographic interviews (Bernard 1995) and aimed to counter-act researcher bias (Briggs 1986).

Participants in Warsaw

Since the aim of this study is to identify and describe a text-based multimodal phenomenon, a need to include messages written in a different situational and linguistic context was identified. In order to ensure that the findings are not purely language-specific, rather than focus on text-messages in a particular language (English), a sample of 751 Polish text-messages (see Appendix C), collected in 2005-2006 among a group of students and professionals aged 20-35 in Warsaw for the researcher's MA project (Knaś 2006)⁷, was analysed to test for the presence of the phenomena found in the London sample. The researcher still has access to the respondents and it was

⁷The researcher's MA project (Knaś 2006), titled "Bonding content and limited space: The analysis of text-messages (SMS) written by British, Polish and Finnish native speakers", focused on the occurrence of bonding content in British, Polish, and Finnish text-messages in relation to popular communicative stereotypes of these nationalities. The analysis presented in the thesis covers such aspects as *grooming content* (including *ancillary-talk* and *in-group codes*), *filling content* (such as *discourse markers*), and *nonverbal content* (including *emoticons*). The study adopts a comparative approach and the results are confronted with the analysed nationalities' communicative stereotypes.

possible to re-interview most of them for the purpose of this study to ensure a similar compatibility with the London participants.

It needs to be stressed that this study does not aim to conduct and present a comparative analysis between texting habits of texters in London and in Warsaw. Instead, text-messages collected in both contexts are analysed together with the same research focus, i.e., identifying and describing discursive phenomena and texting tools of communication that exist across contexts more or less universally as well as pointing to future research to determine the extent to which cultural variation intercedes.

2.2 Methodology

This section describes the methods employed in handling and storing data. It details the questions of coding, anonymising, and the approach adopted.

2.2.1 Coding

While filling in the initial questionnaire, respondents were asked to select their community of identification. They could select an ethnic group they felt they belonged to or identify as a Londoner. Based on this self-identification, codes were assigned to respondents, using the first letter of their selected identification and a number, e.g., the first respondent in Table 2.1, A01, identified as Asian, therefore this sender's code begins with the letter 'A'. Other codes begin with 'B' for respondents who identified as 'Black', 'W' for those who identified as 'White', 'M' for those who chose 'Mixed-Race', 'L' for those who selected the option 'Londoner', and 'O' for 'Other'. As per the questionnaire instructions, respondents could select more than one option but they were asked to order their choices from the most to the least important, with "1" being the most significant. In instances where respondents selected more than one option, their first choice was taken into consideration for the purpose of coding.

2.2.2 Anonymisation

As mentioned earlier (Subsection 2.1.4), respondents were given the choice of anonymising their text-messages themselves, but they were asked to consult the researcher to ensure consistency of anonymising technique.

In approaching the task of anonymisation of the sample, a question arises as to the extent to which data, and specifically text-messages, can be anonymised without compromising it. Tagg (2009) refers to the need to be practical in dealing with this issue. She notes that, since text-messages are highly personal, it is very difficult, nearly impossible, to exclude *all* identifying information from the sample, as a large percentage of it is embedded in the text-messages and removing or replacing it would significantly alter the data (Tagg 2009, p.85). She interprets the principle of anonymisation, “firstly, as requiring the replacement of all names and contact details relating to specific individuals who could subsequently be identified and/or located by people who do not otherwise closely know them,” while ensuring that the participants themselves are comfortable with the format their SMS-messages take after anonymisation (Tagg 2009, p.85-86).

Just like Tagg (2009) in her research, I recognise the difficulties associated with automatic anonymisation, and therefore, despite the labour-intensity of the process, all messages in the corpus collected for this project have been anonymised manually and the researcher’s own judgement as well as the senders’ approval of their anonymised text-messages were used as indicators of the sufficient level of anonymisation. All senders who were contacted regarding this process were content with the removal of names, surnames, addresses, phone numbers, and any other information that would allow them to be identified or contacted. In some cases, a decision had to be made about anonymising information which was not directly related in a particular texter, e.g., country names or titles of shows. Whenever possible, senders were contacted and their choice as to whether to anonymise a particular token was treated as fi-

nal. If it was impossible to contact a particular sender, the researcher erred on the side of caution and anonymised any information that could possibly be deemed as identifying.

While rendering data anonymous, one can either replace identifying information with a different piece of information belonging to the same category, e.g. if the name “John” occurred in a text-message, it could be replaced with, e.g., the name “James” and the pub name “Black Horse” with “Red Lion”. The choice of a replacement carries the risk of influencing readers through potential social associations the new information may carry. It is believed that a simple replacement code, in which identifying information is replaced by category words is more neutral and less likely to impact on the reading of the data. Therefore, in the sample, all names were replaced by “[name]”⁸, nicknames by “[nickname]”, names of London and Warsaw boroughs by “[borough]”, etc. English language is used for category words in both English and Polish text-messages. A full list of anonymisation codes can be found in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Contact details and replacement codes

Detail	Code	Examples
First name	[name]	[name] what are you going to wear tonight because I aint got a clue its to cold for dresses aint it xx
Surname	[surname]	Swieta prawda jakem... [name] [surname] :)))

⁸Tagg (2009) uses numbers to distinguish between names, e.g., the name “Caroline” could be associated with code NAME1 throughout the corpus, while the short form “Carol” is associated with NAME2. This thesis employs numbers only within the same text-message or texting conversation, a decision motivated by the unwillingness to create unnecessary connections between individual unrelated text-messages. This principle is applied for all category words in the sample.

Detail	Code	Examples
Nickname	[nickname]	[nickname] is there any chance you can cover our branch today.[name] called in sick and it was only me and her today.
Initial	[initial]	Hi [name]. Thanks for your messageh. I'm away this weekend but will give you a call next week. Hope all is well. [initial]x
Tube station	[tubest]	I can c what u mean about Chelsea. Am at [tubest] and it is packed
Street name	[street]	Go 2 [tubest],exit 1.turn left down [street1].3rd turn on right cald [street2].walk 2 end.turn left then right up [street3] then call us...gd luck!
Country	[country]	hey. yeah it was ok though still a tad stressed. but fuck it eh?! so we meetin up when i'm back from [country] next week? x
Borough	[borough]	We're on our way 2 [borough],us, [nickname] & [name].are u coming?
Pub name	[pub]	Still up for tonight? [pub] at 700, or 630?
City	[city]	Ta very much for the offer, but I'm meeting [name1] for a drink as he's in town from [city]. Hope [name2] shows. Good game so far?

Detail	Code	Examples
Nationality	[nationality]	Lol, ure so cute [animated-icon-cheeky-wink] i no ure sexy anyway as all [nationality] girls r sexy. Wat r u worrid about. I like u 4 ure voice and ure beautiful personality. Not sure if boyband thing is compliment or not. As 4 co coment hmm not sure. If im honest not sure sum ppl like ppl with dark skin. Although im more like yellow skin lol. How do u feel about it?
Zodiak sign	[zodiak]	So am i temting [animated-icon-guy-handing-over-flowers-and-blowing-a-kiss] lol. I no u have beautiful but complicated personality. My older sis is also [zodiak]. Wen in may is ure bday? And wen do I get 2 listen 2 ure luvly voice again. Although i must admit i luv txt'ng and emailing u 4 sum reason.
Email address	[email]	Im already dreaming of it [animated-icon-guy-handing-over-flowers-and-blowing-a-kiss] email is, [email]
Name of a pet	[petname] ⁹	youre a trooper...uxbridge will be lucky to have u. will share my cigar with [petname]...;-) xxx ** hug **

⁹This is not to be confused with “petname” meaning “nickname”.

Detail	Code	Examples
Bus number	[bus]	Go outside the st get any bus 2 [borough1] and then get [bus1] or [bus2] bus 2 [borough2] get of at the cinamar & head up [street] faceing macdonalds
Train station	[trainst]	Or get train 2 [trainst] and do a right out staion then walk down 3 mins walk
College name	[college]	Heya...are you gonna be at [college] tomorrow? I might be struggling to get there today and was wondering whether it wouldn't be easier to move [name1] to tmrrow 1pm?
Names of halls or room numbers	[room]	no only five minutes before. let's just meet in the [room]. the stand should be already set up x
Cafeteria	[cafe]	Ok. then. Will see you this afternoon if you come to [cafe] before going to teach. Take good care of urself n have a splendid Monday. <Wild cat> :P
Post code	[postcode]	Ah, well done chick. Forget [nickname], he's not worth the calories it'd burn to bitch about him. How come you're in [postcode]? If I'd known I would've met u 4 lunch.
Occupation	[job]	Sure! I was [job] In my late [age]. Why?! Checking if i'm suitable enough for u to dump the other three ha ha

Detail	Code	Examples
Age	[age]	Sure! I was [job] In my late [age]. Why?! Checking if i'm suitable enough for u to dump the other three ha ha
Phone number	[phone]	Yeah sure, [name1] [phone1]. [name2] [phone2]. X
Company name	[company]	Not so good [name]. I was dismissed from [company]. We will have to catch up when you get back. Glad to hear you are having a good holiday.
Name of a park	[park]	[name] chyba pojde na ten clubbing;-) oczy- wiscie Ciebie nie moze zabraknac!Spotkajmy sie we dwie 20.30 kolo McDonalda na [trainst] i dolaczymy w [park] do ekipy!
Gadu-Gadu ID number	[GG]	[GG] - przepraszam, ze tak pozno pisze , ale zaraz jak wstalam dzis to polazlam na zajecia i oto jestem ... heh Mysza, fajnie Ci z ta [country].
House number	[houseno]	Ej!A nie [street] [houseno]?[postcode] [city]?
Date	[date]	Wlasnie przyjechalam do [city] i zdazylam sie rozpalowac, do pracy wracam [date]. Mam super pogode duzo sniegu i swieci sloneczko. A co u tam u Ciebie? U mnie srednio dzisiaj zbiera mi sie na placz, jakos ciezko nam sie gdzie dogadac po tej przer- wie.

Detail	Code	Examples
Website address	[website]	czesc [name]!sluchaj znalazlam ang wersje naszego projektu to jest projekt [company] [website] nie wiem tylko czy powiedziec to wszystkim lepiej bedzie jak zachowasz to dla siebie narazie i wykorzystasz w celu poprawienia wlasciwego slownictwa zeby znów nam nie uniewaznil zadania pozdrawiam [name] [initial].
Library	[library]	słonce zostawilem u ciebie czapeczke i rekawiczki :(daloby rade jakos kiedys odebrac? p.s. siedze teraz w [library] o ile jestes w poblizu.pozdrawiam
Bus stop	[busst]	Jestem w [bus]. Wysiadam na przystanku [busst]. Bedziesz?
Landmark	[landmark]	Mamu tu tez swoje tlumy przy [landmark]. Zajmiemy sie tym po niedzieli. Pa
Name of a hotel	[hotel]	Dostalam cynk,ze w dniach [date] w hotelu [hotel] obok Ciebie jest miedzynarodowa konferencja dla teacherow inglisa.Główny temat-neurolingwistyczne programowanie uczniow.Moze bedzie cos o manipulowaniu:)? Chcesz strzegoly?
Class or group name or number	[group]	[nickname1-NOM] I [nickname2-NOM] USTALILI ZE JUTRO [nickname1-NOM] MA Z [group1] A [nickname2-NOM] Z [group2]! PODAJ DALEJ

Detail	Code	Examples
Name of a square	[square]	Jesli masz czas godz 14-15 mozesz sie zalapac ze mna na konfe i degustacje kuchni regionalnych na [square-LOC]

In a few text-messages senders used complex animated icons, which included, for example, handing a bouquet and shrugging. These icons were available through these senders' particular mobile phones and were usually displayed in the same form on the recipients' mobile phone screens. In some cases, however, the images were changed to the corresponding ones supported by the recipients' mobile phone. In the sample for the purpose of this study, such images are described and enclosed in square brackets. As texting constitutes such an individual form of communication, it is difficult to predict what expressive means texters may choose to employ in their text-messages. It is possible, for instance, that a texter would enclose a phrase describing actions in square brackets (for similar examples, see Section 6.4.2). In order to avoid confusion, each of descriptions of an unusual animated icon employed by texters was additionally preceded by the phrase "animated-icon", e.g., the image of shrugging was transcribed as "[animated-icon-shrugging]".

In the case of Polish text-messages, translations are provided in the text and glosses are included where grammatical form is relevant for the argument. The appendix contains all text-messages in the sample, anonymised but without translations.

The methodological and theoretical approaches adopted in the thesis are discussed in Chapter 3, which elaborates on theories that have informed the present study, not only in the wide area of linguistics, but also media and communication studies.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

The aim of this chapter is to present a theoretical framework which informs the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6 and explains the theoretical approach adopted in the thesis. In order to understand and be able to interpret communication by means of text-messages, one needs to situate it within a broader scope of interpersonal communication in general and electronically mediated communication in particular, taking into account such aspects as communicative intent, context, audience, and modality affordances. All of these factors influence the way meaning is constructed, transmitted, and interpreted and, as such, will be accounted for in this chapter.

Following the introduction, Sections 3.1 and 3.2 present the understanding of communication as a transfer of meaning and explore the types of content that can be conveyed as well as a number of ways in which meaning can be expressed, both explicitly and implicitly. Models of communication relevant to understanding textual electronically mediated communication are discussed, which brings to the fore the impact of technology and the importance of prior knowledge in meaning transfer. The discussion leads to the question of target audience and the way in which communicative participants shape understanding in interpersonal communication.

As an electronic modality, texting has to be seen within the wider context of the

media, which Section 3.3 is devoted to. Grounding texting and, more generally, text-only electronically mediated communication in media theory helps us understand it as a communicative tool in which a particular form of expression achieves a particular aim and in which the intended meaning is co-constructed and interlinked with the form in which it is presented in a co-dependent way.

3.1 Understanding of communication

What characterises human communication is the employment of complex systems of codes which people are not only able to understand and reproduce but also to analyse and use in order to create new meanings (e.g., Austin 1962; Goffman 1959; Grucza 1989; Searle 1969, 1975), introduce new lexical items (for a discussion of enregisterment of internet language see Squires 2010) and grammatical patterns (Hopper 1987) to meet arising communicative needs. In this thesis, I use the definition of communication proposed by Kielar (1988), in which she describes communication as a two-way process, an exchange, rather than transmission, of the “content of their thoughts” between people, an approach compatible with the notion of *emergent discourse* (Schiffrin 1994) that underscores a great deal of context-based discourse analysis.

Komunikacja w sensie łączności informacyjnej jest procesem, w trakcie którego ludzie wymieniają treści myślowe w sposób uchwytne intersubiektywnie, za pomocą sygnałów użytych w funkcji znaków. (Kielar 1988, p.10)

Communication, understood as an information link, is a process during which people exchange the content of their thoughts in a way which is intersubjectively available through signals used in the function of signs.

[translation mine]

This definition contains a few important points. Firstly, reference is made to *an exchange*, rather than a transfer, which stresses the character of communication as a two-way or mutually reinforcing process (cf. “circuit” approach discussed in Clampitt 1991). It implicates the role of the recipient in participating in the *exchange* and interpreting *signals* in an intersubjective way (see Subsection 3.2.2). Communication thus takes place between two (or more) conscious minds which agree on a set of common beliefs, situation definitions, or understandings (cf. Hymes’ notion of communicative competence). This notion will be further explored in the remaining part of this chapter.

Secondly, Kielar mentions *symbols used in the function of signs*. According to her definition, what is transferred in communication is *the content of one’s thoughts*, which suggests the transfer of a message that may not readily lend itself to precise, unambiguous verbalisation. The *content of one’s thoughts* is approximated and represented by means of tangible symbols, e.g., lexical or non-verbal elements which carry the speaker’s intended meaning. It is the role of a recipient to decode and interpret these perceivable tokens (e.g., phonemes, letters, words, images, or gestures). To ensure understanding, the speaker/sender needs to assess the recipients’ knowledge and familiarity with certain communicative conventions and their background knowledge (cf. Section 3.1.1). This process, although occurring in any form of communication, is particularly important and challenging in written communication (including EMC) due to the limited possibility of transferring contextualisation cues (but see e.g., Shortis 2007; Baron 2008; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008; Knaś 2009) and monitoring recipient’s feedback in this form of communication (cf. Ong 1975, Section 3.2.2).

In the analysis of EMC it is possible to overlook one more important communicative aspect, that of the nonverbal. Grucza (1989) shows that communication cannot be understood merely in its verbal aspect but also needs to encompass the entire semantic

range. According to him, human communication involves a person's whole body and all senses; people communicate even through their environment:

Ludzie "komunikują się" bowiem wszystkimi składnikami swego ciała, wszystkimi posiadanymi zmysłami, całymi swymi postaciami, swoją nagością i swoim ubiorem, swoją fryzurą i swoim makijażem, swoją "pięknością" i swoją "brzydotą". (...) Komunikacyjną funkcję spełniają w jakimś stopniu wszystkie zachowania i działania człowieka. Człowiek "przemawia" do człowieka po prostu całą swoją osobą, wszystkim co ma i czym jest, wszystkimi swoimi dokonaniem (dziełami), wszystkimi zachowaniami, wszystkim, co robi i czego nie robi, a nie tylko tym, co specjalnie "w celach komunikacyjnych" wyraża, a już na pewno nie tylko tym, co wyraża słowami (Grucza 1989, p.14).

People "communicate" through all parts of their bodies, through all their senses, through their whole figures, their nakedness and their outfit, their hair style and their make-up, their "beauty" and their "ugliness". (...) All behaviours and actions of a person to some extent fulfil a communicative function. A person "speaks" to another person simply through their whole self, through all that they have and are, through all their achievements (creations), through all their behaviours, all that they do and don't do, and not only through what they express purposefully "with communicative intent", and particularly not only through what they express by means of words. [translation mine]

Communicators, therefore, may choose to employ some aspect of their context (Section 3.2.4) to represent parts or all of the meaning that they wish to communicate. It is therefore vital not to underestimate the meaning and communicative power of nonverbal elements constituting a part of a communicative situation (Goodwin and

Duranti 1992; Goodwin 2007). Crucially, communication can take place through all aspects of verbal and nonverbal behaviour as well as context in its broad understanding (see the notion of *prior text* in Subsection 3.1.1 as well as Schiffrin 1994).

Particularly salient when discussing nonverbal behaviour and contextual cues (Gumperz 1982) is the notion of intentionality. When communicating nonverbally, through the semiotics of one's clothing or elements of the environment, meaning can be transferred both consciously and subconsciously (see e.g., Mendoza-Denton 1996). The distinction between conscious and subconscious transfer of meaning is sometimes illustrated in terms of terminology. For instance, Goffman (1959) distinguishes between *expression* and *communication*. According to Goffman's definition, *expression* includes gestures, signs, vocalisations, marks, and movements produced by mere presence of a person and inevitably tied to them. Expressions do not present any explicit propositions but "give off" (Goffman 1959, p.14) information about the expressing person. Goffman describes *communication* as the use of language for intentional transmission of a message and, unlike in the case of expressions, it can be abstract. He argues that expressions are unconsciously given off and that one cannot decide to stop giving off information about themselves in the form of expressions.

"Performed" and "given off" information and their roles in co-creating meaning, even though originally discussed in the context of face-to-face interactions, can — with some adjustments — be successfully applied to electronically mediated communication, as Page (2012) did in her analysis of identities "given" (inscribed) and "given off" (invoked) in social media narratives. She found that participants in discussion forums, bloggers, and other users both make explicit reference to their identities¹ through mentioning, for instance, their names or nicknames, age, and/or gender, but

¹Page (2012) refers to the distinction between transportable, situated, and discourse identities proposed by Zimmerman (1998). Communicators carry their *transportable* identities across media and situations, while adopting *situated* identities for the particular communicative situations they are in and *discourse* identities, i.e., roles adopted for a particular turn in an interaction, e.g., narrator or enquirer.

they also index their identities through stylistic choices, such as the use of syntactic and lexical features associated with regional dialects, age or gender, and other categories. A question remains as to how elements of physicality, such as gestures, sounds, and actions, are transferred in text and whether their inclusion in a text-only communication should be treated as Goffman's *expression* (as subconscious meaning transfer would be in face-to-face contact) or *communication*.

In written communication (including texting), all communicated content needs to be typed up and can therefore be seen as intended² (Section 3.1.1 and 3.2.3) and bearing expressive potential, situating it in the field of Goffman's "communication". However, as will be evident from examples quoted in other chapters, some of the information included in text-messages conveys the type of content which Goffman would classify as "expressions". The distinction between the two types of content in a text-only electronic environment is proposed in Chapter 6, where I differentiate between *descriptions* and *enactment* of physicality. Therefore, while text-messages can contain both communicated and expressed content (in Goffman's understanding), the definitions of these terms should be altered in the light of the newly emerged technologies and their users' initiative in adapting their communicative patterns to the affordances and restrictions of EMC. We can expect with some certainty that further changes and adjustments will be needed in the future, since technology is most definitely undergoing an ongoing change in time.

As the way meaning transfer is performed changes, a shift is needed in the approach adopted to account for the continuous change (Barton and Lee 2013). In written EMC, both expressions and communication are based on the use of language in its written form. Communication consists of utterances expressing statements or arguments while expression involves discursive representation of non-verbal communica-

²The possibility of misspellings, slips of fingers, and mis-predictions when using predictive text software, such as T9, needs to be acknowledged, but it is irrelevant for the present study and therefore will not be discussed in detail.

tion in writing in the form of descriptions or enactment. All of these types of meaning transfer are transmitted consciously, proving therefore that communicators are — or can be — fully aware of the expressive potential of their nonverbal communication and consciously employing it for their purpose (cf. e.g., Werry 1996; Walther 1996, 2007; Knaś 2009).

These two types of meaning transfer often intertwine and co-depend on each other to create a complete message, which is communicated through a set of semiotic tools and with reference to external factors, which often condition communicative choices. Communication always has a start and an end point, i.e., the source and the target, respectively, and has to take place along a chosen communicative channel or via a chosen medium (cf. Jakobson 1960). The relationship between these elements of a communicative situation is discussed in the next part of this chapter.

3.1.1 Models of communication

As observed in the discussion of Goffman’s notions of “communication” and “expression”, communication theorists have proposed numerous explanations and models to help understand the process of communication and meaning transfer between interactants. Models have been proposed to represent both face-to-face and mediated communication in order to illustrate the roles of different elements of the process of communication and their inter-relationships. In this section, I discuss the understanding of and elements that constitute communication according to communication theorists. I also point to aspects covered by earlier models of communication that are of significance in the analysis of texting.

Models, defined by Mortensen (1972) as systematic representations of an object or event in an idealised and abstract form, are arbitrary by nature. They represent a simplified version of a complex reality. Some elements of the reality are deemed more

salient than others and it is these more salient ones that are represented in a model which at the same time overlooks other elements. As a result, a clearer representation of the salient factors as part of a whole is achieved. Admittedly, models can lead to oversimplification or confusion between reality and its representation (Mortensen 1972); they can also limit our awareness of unexplored possibilities as a result of striving for completion (wholeness) in a system (Kaplan 1964). On the other hand, models have their benefits: they help clarify complexity and get an overall view on a particular process combined with attention to some of its individual components, which results in the potential for new discoveries (Mortensen 1972).

A few influential models of communication which can be applied to text-only electronic communication are presented and their features are discussed with reference to texting and interpreting intended meaning in text-only interactions between remotely located participants.

Shannon and Weaver's model of communication

The most influential of all early communication models was designed by Shannon and Weaver (1949). Their model was intended to assist in developing the mathematical theory of communication and to find a way of transmitting electrical signals from one location to another. Although this model is a relatively basic one, it takes explicitly into consideration the existence of a channel through which communication takes place. The model in question consists of five elements and depicts the way a message is transmitted. A message is created at the information source and physically transmitted by means of a transmitter to a receiver in the form of a signal. The signal can be affected by noise coming from a noise source. The signal is interpreted by the receiver and as a message reaches its destination, as illustrated in Fig. 3.1.

Applying Shannon and Weaver's model to texting means treating the sender as the information source and the recipient as its destination; transmitter and receiver repre-

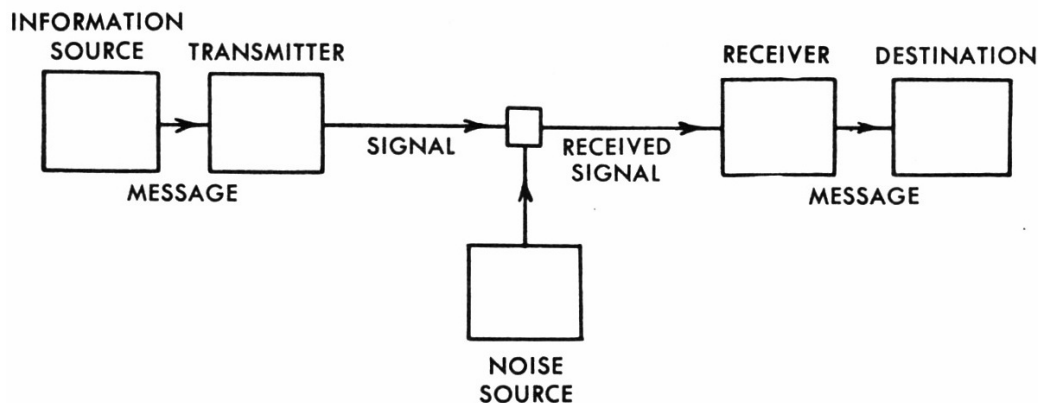


Figure 3.1: Shannon and Weaver's (1949) model of communication

sent the mobile devices through which communication is produced and retrieved while airwaves constitute the channel for the dispatch and delivery of messages. Communication may be disturbed by interference (noise), which in the case of texting can consist, for example, of technical problems with delivery, delays, change in formatting, or incompatibility of symbols used, leading to messages getting jumbled.³

Shannon and Weaver's model is concerned only with the technical side of information transfer: it does not take into account the content of messages or their interpretation. As a result, if it were to be applied to pragmatic or semantic aspects of communication, it would need to be adapted to reflect elements of communication discussed earlier in this chapter (Section 3.1). One of the fundamental disadvantages of this model is its linear and static character. It does not allow for understanding communication as a two-way activity and does not account for negotiation of meaning. Instead, it suggests that communication should be seen as consisting of messages flowing one way from sender to receiver along particular channels. This shortcoming was partially addressed by Shannon, who introduced the receiver's monitoring mechanism. Its purpose was to

³It is not uncommon for longer text-messages, which need to be truncated to get delivered, reach the recipient's mobile device in the wrong order or with a part of the text missing. It is a frequent occurrence, for instance, on New Year's Eve, when mobile networks are inundated with text-messages with New Year's wishes.

correct the differences between the transmitted and the received signal and through this provide the sender with some feedback.

Despite the fact that this model takes into account only the technological side of communication, it is highly applicable to the study of texting as well as other forms of technologically mediated communication, particularly due to the recognition it gives to the existence of a separate source and transmitter on the side initiating a communicative turn and a separate receiver and destination on the receiving end. The processes that take place between these separate elements on each side are influenced by a number of external factors. These were addressed by later communication researchers who have developed and modified Shannon and Weaver's model to account for the missing aspects of interpersonal communication, such as the sender's intention, context, social identity, and nonverbal means of expression. One such model, which focused on the elements of a communicative situation as well as their function, was proposed by Jakobson (1960).

Jakobson's model of linguistic communication

Roman Jakobson's (1960) model is probably the most often quoted and most influential model of linguistic communication in the semiotic literature since 1960s. It was influenced by the model of linguistic sign developed by Karl Bühler. The model includes six elements that form a part of any linguistic act. An addresser/sender sends a message to an addressee/receiver, through a channel (contact), such as voice, phone, or writing. The message is composed using a code, i.e., a set of rules with which both interactants are at least partially familiar and which determines the relation between the message and context (see Fig. 3.2).

Jakobson's model takes into consideration a number of factors that influence meaning transfer in any form of communication, including EMC. Just like Shannon and Weaver's model, it accounts for the channel or medium through which communica-

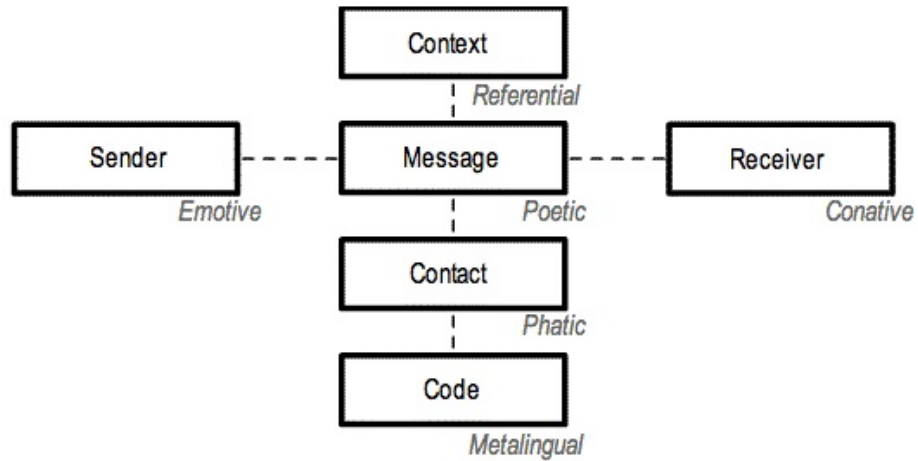


Figure 3.2: Jakobson's (1960) communication model

tion takes place. It also acknowledges the role of the context of the situation, with its referential function (see Section 3.2.4), and code in creating a message. However, the linear character of the model remains, rendering Jakobson's model, just like the model proposed by Shannon and Weaver, insufficient for the present analysis. Both Shannon and Weaver's and Jakobson's models represent what may be called the "arrow" approach to communication (Clampitt 1991). Viewed this way, communication is a one-way activity based primarily on the skills of the sender and not accounting for the process of interpretation of meaning or feedback. A model proposed by Schramm (1954) and discussed below addresses these issues by adopting a "circuit" approach to communication.

Schramm's communication model

Schramm's contribution to the model of communication (see Fig. 3.3) includes making provisions for a reciprocal, two-way exchange, and simultaneous encoding and decoding of messages. The problem of interpreting the meaning of a message has been represented through the inclusion of an interpreter, rather than a sender/addresser and a receiver/addressee.

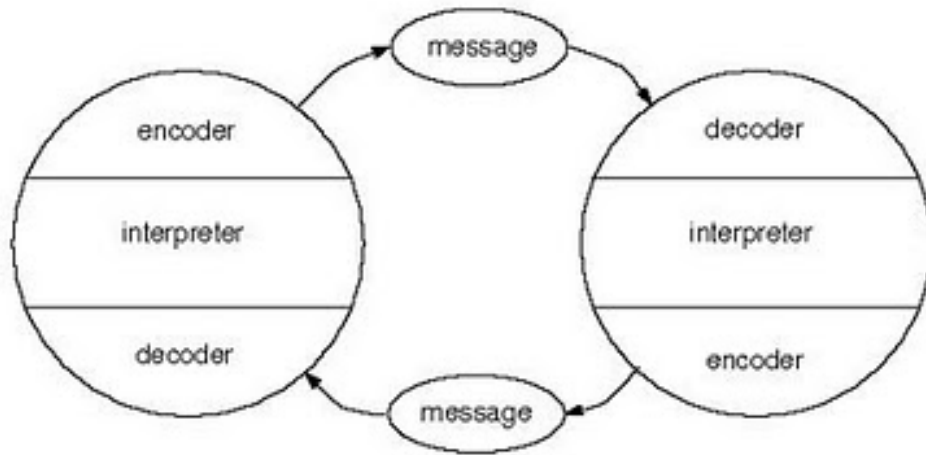


Figure 3.3: Schramm's communication model

The role of interpreters involves deciphering the meaning of messages transferred between participants using information available from participants' fields of experience, i.e., the psychological frame of reference (cf. Stalnaker 1974; Clark 1994; Becker 1995) that provides a point of departure for the interpretation of messages. Related to this is the inclusion of the factor of context and cultural background in communication, as communication systems, Schramm noted, operate within the confines of cultural rules and expectations of a particular society. In his model, these factors are termed *fields of experience*, as in Figure 3.4. In the context of electronically mediated communication, these confines are closely related to the affordances of modalities employed for communication and conventions used in them. The level of interactants' familiarity with these determines the form and/or content of interactions.

Interestingly, in this model, individual participants' fields of experience cover each participant's reality and the message (signal), but do not extend to the recipient and the expected result or interpretation that a given message is likely to invoke in the recipient. The only shared part of the interactants' fields of experience consists of the

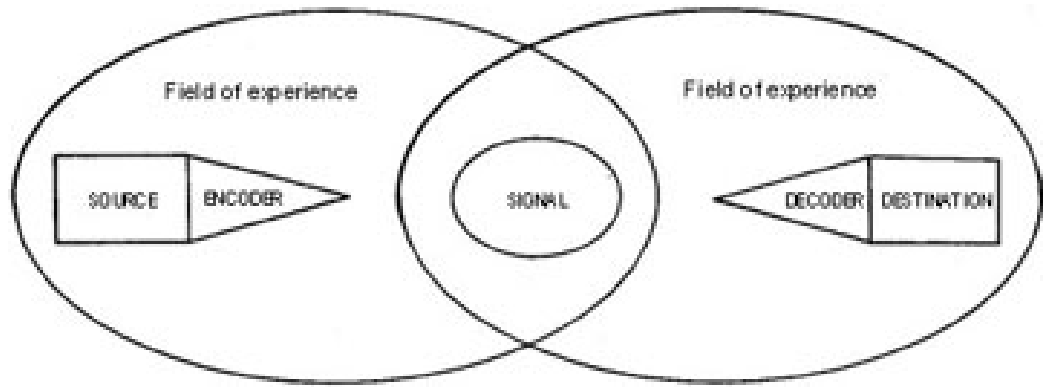


Figure 3.4: Schramm's (1954) fields of experience

transmitted signal and the part of fields of experience that both interactants share, which surrounds the signal. However, the model does not explicitly show the influence that the familiarity with one's interactant has on creating and interpreting a message. It is beyond doubt, and has been extensively demonstrated (e.g., Ong 1975, Bell 1984, Barton and Lee 2013), that the awareness of one's target audience has a significant effect on the process of message composition. It informs the expected interpretation of the message and its intended perlocutionary force (Austin 1962). A clear idea about the recipient of a message is necessary for example in publishing, such as in persuasive discourse, where audience is not specified or unknown, and immediate feedback is not readily available (cf. e.g., Puschmann 2010). Despite the fact that recipients (audience) are usually known to texters, successful communication by means of texting requires senders to pre-consider what interpretation their recipients are likely to draw from the messages (see also Section 3.2.2), an aspect addressed in some later communication models, such as Cumming and Ono's model of information transfer, which is discussed next.

Cumming and Ono's model

Most models usually posit that the primary function of language is to convey information from the speaker to the addressee. Whereas the models discussed above

concentrated on the process of such information transfer, they largely disregarded the content that is transmitted. Information, as Cumming and Ono (1997) show, is characterised by various levels of accessibility for the speaker and the addressee. From the speaker's point of view, information can be in or out of attention, while from the addressee's point of view, it can be more or less expected or predicted. As a consequence of this varied level of accessibility, which is linked to the ease of processing, the speaker in the process of speech production makes a number of linguistic choices that influence the final shape of the message being transmitted. Readily accessible information is normally expected to be coded with less marked language, whereas more unexpected content requires special linguistic mechanisms (Cumming and Ono 1997).

Information flow is a cognitive process which involves dynamic mental states of the interactants during discourse production and its consumption (see also Section 3.2.2). The sender, making linguistic choices, takes into consideration the communicative competence and mental processes of the addressee, creating the speaker's model of the mental state of the addressee (Cumming and Ono 1997). In other words, the speaker designs their message based on the image of their interactants and their potential for message processing. Cumming and Ono propose a simplified model of information transfer in discourse, which is reproduced in Figure 3.5.

They admit that their model may be misleading in that there is no difference between information that is present in the mind of the speaker and addressee. It may also be seen as suggesting that the speaker's representation of the addressee is exact, which is unlikely in reality. Cumming and Ono (1997, p. 117) argue that despite this their proposed model corresponds to the folk model interactants have about communication and is thus suitable as a first approximation.

Cumming and Ono's model can be successfully applied also to communication from the perspective of speaker's intention (Grice 1957), which is of primary concern in



Figure 3.5: Cumming and Ono's (1997) simplified model of information transfer (reproduced from Wolańska 2008, p.116)

the context of EMC with its remotely located participants. While communicating, the speaker creates an image of the intended content of a message and of intended locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary force that the message will have on the addressee.

Cumming and Ono's model can be thought of also from the speaker's perspective of planning, where the speaker intends their message to take a particular form and have a particular effect. They then produce a message that is in principle identical to the intended content. The speaker then believes that a message identical to what is intended is received by the addressee, who is then represented as possessing the knowledge of the intended content that the speaker originally wanted to transfer. As it is simplified, this model should probably be more suitably referred to and applied as a model of communication from the perspective of the speaker's intent. Despite representing the speaker's consideration of the addressee's message-processing capability, it does not explicitly refer to the intended effect of information transfer on the addressee, which has been the focus of Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1979)

and has, along with the consideration for the addressee's role in creating meaning, been embedded in the Coordinated Management of Meaning theory, discussed next.

Coordinated Management of Meaning theory

Pearce and Cronen (1980) propose the Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM) theory, according to which both (or all) participants have their share in constructing the meaning of their conversation. Rather than referential, CMM envisions communication as primarily performative, a concept borrowed from Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory, according to which words not only describe reality, but also perform certain actions just through being uttered. Austin identifies three levels of action beyond the act of utterance itself. The locutionary act is equivalent to the literal meaning, the illocutionary act represents the intended meaning of the speaker, and the perlocutionary act of an utterance refers to the effect that the utterance has on the recipient/hearer.

The type of speech act being performed corresponds to the type of attitude being expressed in communication and a speech act can be seen as successful if the audience identifies the attitude intended by the speaker/sender. However, Austin does not explicitly account for the role of speakers' intentions and hearers' inferences in creating meaning of utterances and claims that the successful performance of an illocutionary act is a matter of convention rather than intention.

What is made clear in the Coordinated Management of Meaning theory is that communicative acts cannot be performed alone. They occur in the context of other, prior and subsequent, acts and in response to acts performed by others:

Each act is done to, for, or against someone. Further, what is done is usually after and before what others do. The events and objects of the social world are not only made in communication, the process is one of

co-construction, of being made by the conjoint action of multiple persons.

(Pearce 2005, p.43)

CMM, thus, focuses not on an individualist ethic of specific acts in communication, but on a social, systemic ethic within dynamic communicative situations, which can be influenced and shaped not only by events directly preceding the act in question, but also those that happened in a distant past and those that may follow in the future. These principles are involved in the CMM notion of coordination, which calls attention to the fact that whatever we do does not stand alone but always intermeshes with the interpretations and actions of other people. We participate in a process which involves reciprocally responding to and eliciting responses from others in a multi-turn exchange between multiple persons. Through such exchanges, communicators build their repertoire of available communicative tools for encoding and decoding messages. They serve as “building blocks,” anchored in embedded contexts in which our communicative patterns develop (cf. Pearce 2005), and our lingual memory, or *prior text* (Becker 1995), which we build over a lifetime and access during the process of communication. Prior text takes part in establishing and co-ordinating meaning of communication. Participants negotiate meanings based on their individual prior texts, their shared prior text (which corresponds to the shared area of fields of experience in Schramm’s communication model discussed earlier in this section), and their image and understanding of their communicative partner (mentioned in the context of the Cumming and Ono’s model of information transfer). Through communication, people work together to create social worlds (Pearce 2005) in which we all live.

Walther’s hyperpersonal CMC model

Any analysis of asynchronous electronically mediated communication has to take into consideration the existence and influence of the medium through which communica-

tion takes place. The channel facilitates editing, discretion, and convenience, and the ability to tune out environmental distractions and re-allocate cognitive resources in order to further enhance one's message composition.

Accounting for the features of EMC, Walther (1996) proposes the hyperpersonal EMC model, which posits that users employ technological features of EMC "in a dynamic fashion in order to enhance their relational outcomes" (Walther 2007, p. 2540). Unlike early approaches to EMC (cf. Spilioti 2007), this model, which covers both linguistic and interactional aspects, concentrates on the affordances of the medium, as opposed to its limitations. The model is used to discuss impression management in relation to the desirability of one's communicative partner. However, some of the observations and conclusions that are related to the use of this model in the analysis of electronically mediated communication are of relevance also for self-presentation in terms of physicality and the technological features that may facilitate its expression.

Firstly, due to its formally asynchronous character, electronically mediated communication allows for careful editing of a message before it is transmitted, unlike in face-to-face communication, where amendments to one's utterances can only be made through repairs or rephrasing of already transmitted messages (but see Tanskanen and Karhukorpi 2008). What is more, many EMC modes allow almost unlimited time for composing messages. Even though interaction in EMC is perceived as much quicker than in other forms of written communication, in asynchronous modes one can justify any lag in responding by failure to retrieve messages (cf. Laursen 2005). The situation is different in the case of synchronous and near-synchronous EMC (e.g., chatrooms), where delay in responding may be disruptive.

Another important feature influencing impression management in EMC is that a writer composes and exchanges messages in physical isolation from the recipient. As a result any involuntary cues are eliminated from the recipient's realm of perception. Walther (2007) points out that, even though language may carry some cues

concerning attitudes (Wiener and Mehrabian 1968) and stance (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009; Barton and Lee 2013), writers have much more control over their output than speakers. Concluding from this, EMC users are able to accentuate desirable aspects of their self-presentation and conceal those that they choose not to reveal, be it in textual form or other modalities, as exemplified in Barton and Lee (2013). This is related to some reports from earlier studies which confirmed that the users of real-time EMC (e.g., near synchronous chat) may be more self-aware, more conscious of their writing, more calculating regarding their partners, or some combination of the above (Joinson 2001). As a result, they are likely to be more aware of the importance of conveying cues regarding themselves and the communicative situation in which they are involved in their messages (cf. del Teso-Craviotto 2004; Page 2012), which brings to the fore the question of target audience and, relatedly, communication pattern, including the number of recipients and the direction of communication. The interactive character of texting (and EMC more generally) and the possibility to use this form of communication for private and public purposes needs to be mentioned as well (cf. Wolańska 2008).

Bordewijk and Kaam's model

According to the model proposed by Bordewijk and Kaam (1986), (tele)communication follows four definable information traffic patterns: allocution, conversation, consultation, and registration. *Allocution* occurs when the same message is sent simultaneously from an information centre to multiple recipients without feedback possibility. In *conversation*, individuals interact directly as equal partners within a single communicative network. *Consultation* occurs when an individual requires information from the service centre and feedback is possible. Finally, *registration* involves the information centre requiring information from an individual.

Wolańska (2008) shows that all of these patterns can be found in different uses of

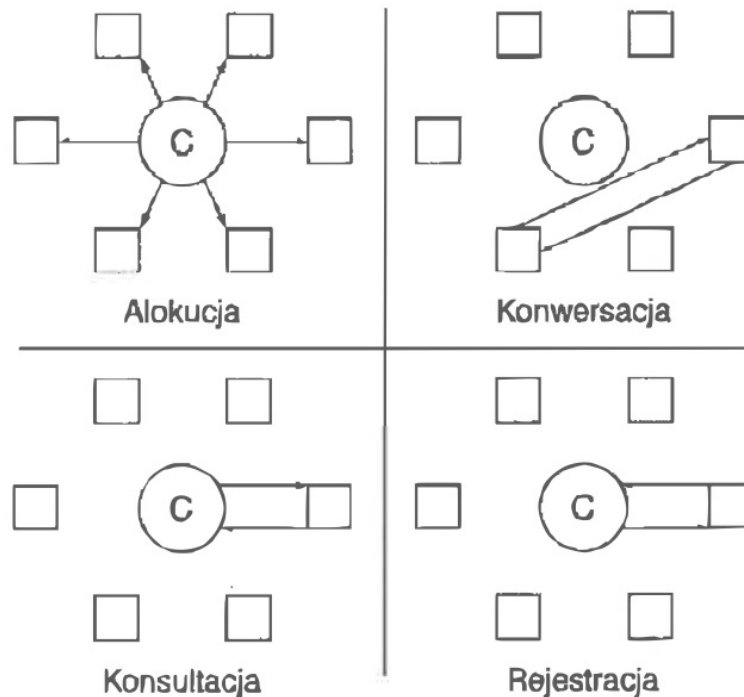


Figure 3.6: Bordewijk and Kaam's (1986) model of communication in interactive media (reproduced from Wolańska 2008, p.121)

texting. Advertisements or service messages from mobile phone networks represent allocation, eliciting information through messages sent to automated services involves consultation, messages sent by the service provider to elicit information from a user regarding their willingness to use particular services follows the registration pattern, and text-messages sent in friend-friend communicative dyads can be labelled as conversation. This thesis concentrates only on messages that take the form of Bordewijk and Kaam's "conversation" in which individuals interact directly as equal partners within a single communicative network. This formal model needs to be accompanied by a model of EMC concentrating on the content of communication transferred through electronic media (discussed earlier in this section). These points will be revisited in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

3.2 Meaning in communication

This section concentrates on different aspects that play a part in meaning-making in communication. As discussed earlier, the “container” models of communication fail to take account of context and sociolinguists have shown that our understanding of communication is based not only on grammatical and lexical knowledge but also on references to schemata or interpretive frames related to our prior experiences with similar situations. As a consequence, discourse analysis concentrating solely on verbal material is not sufficient to explain the processes that occur in communicative situations. Of equal importance are the actions that people take with these discourses as well as their consequences. Building on these premises, interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982; Schiffrin 1994; Tannen 1989, 2004) focuses not only on linguistic units such as words and sentences but also on contextualisation cues such as prosody and register that signal contextual presupposition and are often culture-specific. Interactional sociolinguistics was originally developed for the analysis of face-to-face communication and as such it accepts that certain results are achieved in communication subconsciously as part of interaction. It also assumes that contextualisation cues are readily available to the interactants and subject to their interpretation, which is not the case in written interactions.

The subject is introduced by a brief introduction of the concept of *text* and meaning-making, followed by the consideration of the role of participants in creating intended meaning. Finally, situational and extra-situational factors of context are covered. This section is concerned with a number of different aspects of meaning construction in interactions and considers their applicability for the study of text-only mobile communication. The notion of text is discussed, following the role of interactants in creating meaning. After that the question of intentionality and pragmatics is covered. The discussion is concluded with the consideration of the notion of context in electronically mediated communication.

3.2.1 Text and meaning-making

Text is crucial in meaning-making. The term “text” is used here in its linguistic meaning, and does not refer to text-messages (cf. Section 1.1). This subsection discusses the understanding of the notion of text, the term defined following Halliday’s reference to meaning-making events in specific social contexts.

We can define text, in the simplest way perhaps, by saying that it is language that is functional. By functional, we simply mean language that is doing some job in some context, as opposed to isolated words or sentences that I might put up on the blackboard...So any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation, we shall call a text.

(Halliday and Hasan 1985, p.10)

According to Halliday and Hasan (1985), text can take any form: it can be spoken, written or transmitted by any other form of expression. The definition proposed by them extends the understanding of this notion to multimodal texts and even texts which contain no language at all. What is important is the fact that texts constitute a part of a meaning-making event in which they participate and are embedded in a particular context or situation, which they help to constitute through their mere existence. Texts therefore are inseparable from the contexts in which they function (see Section 3.2.4).

Each semiotic modality, although constituting a text and capable of expressing meaning, makes meaning following different principles. Cultural and societal knowledge (cf. Malinowski 1923’s concept of *context of situation* and *context of culture*, discussed in Subsection 3.2.4) influence the creation and interpreting of a text. Focus on the meaning-making process reveals a number of stages that take place between the moment the intention of a message transfer occurs on the part of the sender and a message being “consumed” by the recipient, which were thoroughly discussed

in Hall (1980). Hall (1980) proposes that messages and meanings take the form of “sign vehicles”, which are organised based on a system of codes in discourse. To be conveyed from a source to a receiver, a message must be *encoded* and take a “form of appearance” which allows it to be transferred. Upon delivery meanings have to be *decoded* by the receiver in order to be understood. The process of communication and the meaning that accrues, as understood by Hall (1980), is illustrated in Figure 3.7. He used television programmes as an example, but his model is applicable to any form of communication, including text-only EMC (as I will discuss).

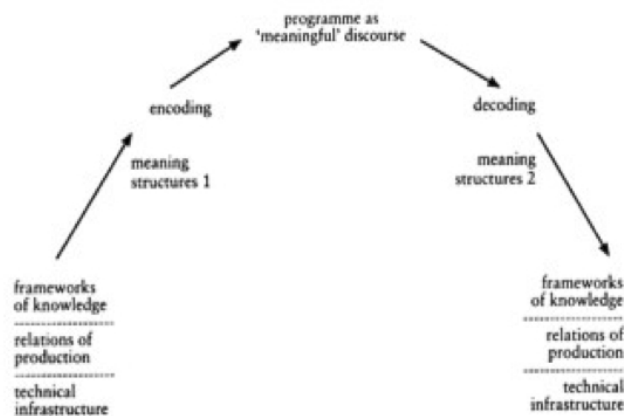


Figure 3.7: Hall’s (1980) model of communication

The way meaning is encoded is dependent on a range of existing knowledge, pre-conceptions, beliefs, and other external factors, which may be asymmetrical between the source and the receiver. Their influence may, consequently, render the decoded (interpreted) meanings (in Hall’s model “meaning structures 2”) different from the original (intended) ones (“meaning structures 1”), leading to communicative misunderstandings. They can result from the mis-match in “preferred meaning”, which is the reading of a text taking into account a whole social order which is embedded in it (cf. the notion of prior text in Subsection 3.1.1 and Section 3.2.4). As a result of a

long history of coding and decoding in a particular community, certain codes may become so widely distributed that they appear to be “given” rather than created. More arbitrary codes, on the other hand, require coding and decoding based on conventions (cf. the distinction between signs, indexes, and symbols).

Texts, understood as functional meaning-carriers, are not limited to linguistic forms and their meaning is largely context-dependent. At the same time, the possibility of recontextualisation results in the potential for the transfer of forms characteristic of expression in one modality to another, in which associations with the earlier are evoked. Familiar genres of speech and multiple semiotic modalities can also be *recontextualised* to a different (target) modality. In novels, for instance, physical actions and familiar non-linguistic experiences, such as sounds, smells, and images, are conveyed through the choice of lexis and grammar (Tannen 1989; Baldry and Thibault 2006), resulting in the possibility to evoke “off-line perceptual experiences” (Baldry and Thibault 2006, p.3) of these sensory cues. Examples of such recontextualisation have been identified in the sample, and are discussed in the analysis part of the thesis (cf. Chapter 6 and Subsection 7.3.1). It will be shown that a process similar to Hall’s encoding takes place as part of senders’ attempts to discursively represent physicality and that a set of rules is applied by them to ensure successful decoding on the recipients’ part.

The question of context of situation and context of culture, mentioned briefly in relation to Halliday, are discussed in more detail in a later part of this chapter (Section 3.2.4), along with other aspects of the influence of context on meaning-making in text-messages. Prior to that, the role of interactants themselves (Subsection 3.2.2) and their communicative intentions (Subsection 3.2.3) are considered.

3.2.2 Participants' role in co-creating meaning

Just as the analysis of context in electronically mediated communication needs a new approach which would take into account the characteristics of the modality used, the notion of participation also requires revisiting to account for new interaction patterns made possible in mediated environments. Jones (2004, p.28) notes that from the point of view of a user, communication does not have to be a straight transmission between a sender and a recipient, as suggested by communication models (Section 3.1.1). Instead, taking into consideration the intersecting aspects of offline and transmitted context (discussed in Section 3.2.4), the most important electronically mediated interaction at any time might be among multiple users accessible to each other through physical or virtual environments. EMC users are thus involved not in “interactional dyads,” but in “interactional fields” (Katriel 1999, p.97), which include both primary and secondary interactions at any given time.

In order to explain the participation framework (Hymes 1974; Goffman 1981) that can be applied to texting, I refer to Jones' analysis of the use of the internet communicator ICQ and the participation structure that its users are involved in. Jones points out that each ICQ contact list constitutes a “customised community” and an instant social gathering that “materializes every time a user switches on his or her computer” (Jones 2004, p.30). At the same time, logging on to ICQ means that a user becomes part of a number of other social gatherings composed of those who appear on other people's contact lists. Jones points to the complex structure of such social gathering and explains that logging off is not tantamount to leaving the group as even people who are offline remain part of a given community in that they still can be interacted with, e.g., by sending offline messages.

It can be argued that the participation framework structuring text-messages resembles that described by Jones in relation to ICQ. Firstly, by compiling a list of contacts in one's mobile phone, each mobile phone user creates a form of customised community

that could be compared to an ICQ contact list. Members of such a community do not select their availability status, which is the case in ICQ. Instead, there is a constant possibility to send messages, which their contacts will retrieve at their own convenience. They are, then, permanently reachable. Although Jones (2004) does not mention it, the structure of a social gathering is emphasized by the fact that there exists a possibility to broadcast a message to multiple participants at the same time. In ICQ, it can be done by means of changing status or by initiating a multi-party conversation, whereas in texting one can send the same message to multiple recipients simultaneously. These uses, however, seem to be marginal, with preference being given to one-to-one communication.

In the case of texting in friend-friend dyads, there are only two participants to any given exchange. Within such a communicative pattern, a sender is treated as the basic point of reference whereas the recipient's role can be compared to that of an audience. Bell (1984) notes that communicators are capable of intraspeaker linguistic variation when interacting with different audiences and outlines a framework for explaining style variation, which he terms "audience design" (Bell 1984, p.147). He argues that style dimensions should be correlated with personal attributes of the hearer, which bears similarities to Goffman's (1981) "participation framework." The audience design framework assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons and that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk. The characteristics of the speaker account for speech differences between speakers, while speakers design their style for their audience, which results in intraspeaker differences, i.e., differences within the speech of a single speaker (Bell 1984, p.159), such as switching between two or more languages, the choice of address forms (see examples in Section 6.1), politeness strategies, or pragmatic particles. Users can have responsive or initiative motivations for this stylistic shift, which means that they either accommodate to the style of their interlocutor (responsive) or use style to initiate a change in interpersonal relationship

between themselves and their communicative partners (initiative). One of the main reasons for such accommodation is approval seeking, but communicators are guided also by the need for communicative efficiency, i.e., taking the addressee's situation and abilities into account to ensure that messages are received and understood (Bell 1984)⁴. The people who have the most impact on the design of talk are the direct addressees of messages, i.e., the audience members who are both known to the speaker and ratified (Bell 1984; Goffman 1981). Although audience can be seen just as "people who hear the speaker's utterances" (Bell 1984, p.161), their role in communication is by no means passive. Through their responsiveness they shape the speaker's style design (see the discussion of the interactive character of the media and the notion of *pseudo-relationship* between the audience and the media in Cotter 2010).

The way in which addressees can influence the shape of an utterance has been explicated in Giles's theory of accommodation, whereby speakers shift their style on the level of speech rate, accent, content, and pausing (e.g., Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979) to that of their addressee to win their approval. They may also choose to maintain or diverge their styles from that of their communicative partner for a variety of reasons. In an attempt to apply the theory of accommodation to text-only mediated communication, one needs to consider the influence of the lack of immediate feedback on the speaker's (sender's) possibilities to accommodate their message to the recipient. In order to explain this phenomenon, I turn to the perception of audience in writing.

As Ede and Lunsford (1984, p.158) point out, "no matter how much feedback writers may receive after they have written something (or in breaks while they write), as they compose writers must rely in large part upon their own vision of the reader, which they create, as readers do their vision of writers, according to their own experiences and

⁴Bell (1984) gives an example of the news on the radio being repeated more frequently than on TV due to the fact that radio audience often "comes and goes" and listeners are therefore likely to miss important information if it is not repeated at certain intervals.

expectations". Ong states that a writer always has to "construct in his imagination, clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role [and] that the audience must correspondingly fictionalize itself" (Ong 1975, p.12). On a general and abstract level, Ong's notion of an audience as a construct of the writer can be successfully applied to texting. A sender is left to guess or predict the recipient's offline context or at least its aspects relevant to the interaction. While composing a message, senders must rely on their perception of recipients and address the message to the recipient as perceived by the sender themselves. Aspects that need to be taken into consideration by the sender are, among other things, the recipient's familiarity with the topic, the sender, and with the conventions employed by the sender. The sender has no possibility of knowing what the recipient's reading of a given message will be. Therefore, the whole communication is based on the speaker/sender's assumptions or judgement about the recipient. Therefore, to use Ong's terms, audience (in this case the recipient) is always a fiction.

Similarly, recipients also need to make judgement as to the correct interpretation of the message they receive. Especially in the case of written communication, given its asynchronous character, there usually exist multiple possibilities of interpretation of any given message. Therefore, the recipient needs to gauge not only the sender's intentions but also their most likely assumptions about the recipient. To clarify, any given recipient needs to decide what the sender's intentions were and what assumptions the sender made about the recipient while composing the message. In their interpretation recipients need to compare their original interpretation of a message with that most likely predicted by the sender.

In the following section, I discuss the components of meaning transferred in communication and the types of knowledge that texters need to activate to successfully convey and correctly determine the intended meaning in texting.

3.2.3 Creating intended meaning: Pragmatics

Transfer of meaning can take conscious or unconscious form (e.g., Goffman 1959). This observation is particularly salient in the analysis of face-to-face communication, where, along with conscious verbal and non-verbal exchanges, certain aspects and attitudes are transferred subconsciously by the speaker through gestures and other non-verbal means. Therefore, in interpreting a message, recipients have to be able to distinguish between intended and non-intended transfer of meaning and use their judgement as the basis for their understanding of its content.

Due to the character of texting, particularly its asynchronicity and the possibility of editing messages before sending that it offers, texting can be seen as a fully intentional form of communication. Earlier in this chapter, I explained that context (see also Section 3.2.4) and the image that interactants have of each other are likely to influence the form a message takes (Section 3.2.2). This section concentrates on the components of meaning that interactants create as they produce and interpret messages as well as on the types of knowledge that need to be activated to successfully communicate intended meaning.

In the analysis of meaning in interaction one needs to consider its three different types: the semantic meaning of words and sentences in the language, the speaker's intended meaning, and the hearer's constructed meaning. Semantic meaning is equivalent to what Grice (1957) called *natural meaning*. This type of meaning is usually the easiest to decipher, as it resides in language units themselves and is independent of human intentionality. The broader interpretations of utterances, the added meanings, are what Grice termed *implicatures*, i.e., messages conveyed in a way other than through the stable semantic meaning of their words. Implicatures are based on rules and principles of conversation; more precisely, on the cooperative principle (Grice 1957) underlying communication. Implicatures constitute Grice's non-natural meaning, or meaning-*nn*, understanding of which requires recognising the speaker's intention. Levinson gives

a rephrased formulation of Grice's characterisation of meaning-*nn*:

*S meant-*nn* z by uttering U if and only if:*

(i) S intended U to cause some effect z in recipient H

(ii) S intended (i) to be achieved simply by H recognizing that intention

(i)

Here z refers to some belief or volition invoked in H. (Levinson 1983, p.16)

According to the above formulation, meaning-*nn* involves the speaker/sender's intention to cause the recipient to think or do something, just by getting the recipient to recognise that the sender is trying to cause that thought or action. This intention is achieved or satisfied just by being recognised. In the process of communication, this intention becomes mutual knowledge of the interactants and achieving it indicates that communication was successful (Levinson 1983). In order to create meaning on the part of the sender and interpret the sender's intended meaning on the recipient's part, i.e., to attain mutual knowledge, communicators draw on a range of different types of prior knowledge. A sender, while choosing how to make reference to an entity, must make estimations of what the recipient already knows. These estimations can be based on three main sources of knowledge: the physical context (Section 3.2.4), text preceding the current message, and background or common knowledge (cf. the notion of prior text in Subsection 3.1.1 and its application in the analysis of texting in Section 4.6).

Stalnaker (1974) uses the term "common ground" for the presuppositions in a discourse. This term was adopted by Clark (1994) whose definition of common ground implies that "a proposition *p* is only common ground if: all the people conversing know *p*; and they all know that they all know *p*" (Monk 2003).⁵

⁵According to Clark (1994)'s formal definition of common ground, *p* is common ground for members of *C* if and only if: *i*. the members of *C* have information that *p* and that *i*. This implies: everyone in *C* knows *p*, everyone in *C* knows everyone in *C* knows *p*, everyone in *C* knows everyone in *C* knows everyone in *C* knows *p*, and so on.

Clark (1996, p.100ff) distinguishes between “communal” common ground for the knowledge shared by co-members of communities (all EMC users or all texters) and “personal” common ground for the knowledge two people share from their past experience of each other. In EMC, communal common ground can be related to the users’ familiarity with media conventions, which constitutes an important part of the knowledge of the world as it not only determines understanding but also indicates membership in a particular community, that of the competent EMC users. Familiarity with media conventions determines, at least to some extent, discursive choices made by senders and guides correct interpretation by recipients. In order to ensure successful communication through texting, interactants must make assumptions about their partner’s general communicative competence as well as their familiarity with modality conventions (Section 3.2.2). Subsection 7.3.1 shows how familiarity with media conventions, along with the human communicative ability to alter existing communicative patterns to create new meanings, facilitates the emergence of a “grammar” of embedded multimodality, which, originally a personal common ground, can gain the status of communal common ground and get enregistered (Squires 2010; Agha 2007) as a feature of a particular internet language variety (Crystal 2006).

Personal common ground in texting is equivalent to idiosyncratic language use. Texters may develop a form of in-group language in a way similar to any other type of community. This idiosyncratic form of communication may be based on prior text, experience of each other, or intertextuality and inter-modal transfer of certain inscription conventions (cf. Chapter 7.3) as well as communicative context, a feature which is elaborated on in the following section. Examples and the discussion presented in Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Section 7.3 also illustrate these phenomena in relation to the data.

3.2.4 The role of context in EMC

As indicated in the previous section, external features influence meaning-making in communication. One such external aspect that needs to be accounted for is what is broadly understood as context. As a concept, context is complex in itself and it is not easy to decide what constitutes context and how to define it for any particular communicative situation. This section addresses some of the questions related to the notion of context and its applicability for the analysis of electronically mediated communication. Examples from ethnographic research are provided to illustrate the extent of meaningful contextual information in face-to-face interactions and relate it to context in EMC, showing how the analysis of context could be extended to cater for newer technologies and mediated environments.

Most communication models that acknowledge the role of context in creating and deciphering meaning in communication, often divide meaning into literal (denotation) and non-literal (connotation). Neither of these types of meaning is equivalent to word or sentence semantics. Instead, it is constructed and situated (Gee 1999) and depends on physical and socio-cultural contexts in which it was produced, including prior text or common ground, responses it evoked as well as actions taken by interlocutors (Hanks 1996). Understanding the meaning of both utterances and actions (cf. Section 6.4 and Chapter 6 more generally) involves recognising the context in which they appear and establishing situation definitions (Wertsch 1985), intimately related to the possible meanings that utterances, actions, and objects have for interlocutors at a given moment. According to Rommetveit (1974), from whom Wertsch takes his understanding of situation definitions, it is speech that “serves to impose a particular interpretation and create a temporarily shared social reality” (Wertsch 1985, p.160). As in Kielar’s definition of communication cited earlier (cf. Section 3.1), here too the focus is on the fact that it is particular ideas that are communicated, which are expressed in the form of words (or signs). In written communication between remotely

located participants, successful interpretation of communicated content is dependent on a shared understanding of the code used, prior knowledge, and familiarity with interactional conventions. Consequently, interactants constantly make decisions about what and how to encode and decode (Hall 1980).

Interactants have at their disposal a variety of communicative tools for making certain contexts relevant, such as contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982), at a given moment. Contextualisation cues are “the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows” (Gumperz 1982, p.131). As can be concluded from this point, the primary context for the occurrence of contextualisation cues is spoken interaction, where they are readily available and subject to immediate feedback. Goffman (1981) points out that when conversation is reproduced in print, readers need to be supplied (in print) with information required for understanding it, either explicitly or through allusions.

In written electronically mediated communication, interactions are conducted through the medium of writing, which makes them similar to reproduced conversations referred to by Goffman. Consequently, it would not be unjustified to expect contextual information to be transferred through or implied in order to facilitate understanding and avoid miscommunication. Jones (2004) notes that despite the fact that the role of context has been recognised within linguistics in general, strikingly little attention has been paid to the nature and role of environments (physical and virtual) in which such communication takes place in linguistic studies of EMC. This view was confirmed a few years later by Thurlow (2007, p.221), who pointed to the prevalent interest in linguistic forms employed in texting which reflects the tendency to “de-discourse” the language of any new media, isolating linguistic form from communicative functions and from contextualising social practices.

The fact that context is of significance in face-to-face communication has been seen

as a given for a while now (Goodwin and Duranti 1992; Tracy 1998). From the early notions of context as the text directly preceding and following the text that is being analysed, the understanding of context expanded to understanding it as the wider conditions in which communication takes place. Malinowski (1923) can serve as an example to illustrate this. In his attempt to make his findings accessible to speakers of English, he found that a free translation of his notes, originally in Kiriwinian (the language which he investigated), was not enough to render their meaning when they are read out of the original context. To deal with this problem, Malinowski provided extensive notes which constituted, or replaced, the context of situation⁶. This strategy brings to mind the use of stage directions in plays, where additional information about the context needs to be provided to facilitate understanding and help actors visualise the scene. It can be expected that some form of strategy will need to be adopted in any form of written communication where visual cues are absent, including electronically mediated communication, and this thesis tackles some of such strategies in the analysis (see in particular Sections 6.3 and 6.4, but also Chapter 5 and other sections of Chapter 6). Before an analysis can be presented, however, a closer look at the development of the understanding of context is needed.

As an ethnographer, Malinowski was not primarily concerned with language and therefore his notion of context proved not detailed enough for the study of language. A more complex understanding of context was proposed by Malinowski's colleague, Firth (1957), who identified four elements of context of situation: participants, their verbal and nonverbal action, other relevant features of the situation, and the effects of the verbal action. The focus on action and the importance of participants and their interpretations of the situation is clearly evident here. Verbal resources are seen as used to perform *action* and attention is devoted to the results of verbal communication. There is also the rather vague factor of *other relevant features* which leaves

⁶*Context of situation* is a term which Malinowski (1923) coined to refer to the environment of a text, and context of culture, which was needed to understand particular practices.

room for interpretation, but it can encompass, for example, any (or all) of the elements proposed by Dell Hymes (1974) in his ethnography of speaking, which was one of the most influential approaches to context after Malinowski and Firth. It consisted of eight elements of context: setting and scene, participants, ends, act sequence, key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre (hence the acronym SPEAKING). A decade later, Halliday and Hasan (1985) proposed a three-part conceptual framework to analyse context, which presented a reconceptualised approach to some of these factors. Halliday and Hasan's framework identified the existence of the field, tenor, and mode of discourse. *Field* of discourse refers to the nature of the social action taking place, *tenor* of discourse refers to the roles and relationships of participants, and *mode* of discourse refers to the channel through which communication takes place and the role and effect of language in the analysed situation (Halliday and Hasan 1985, p.12).

What has started to be more prominent is the importance of the channel of communication and the norms that govern the choice of forms of expression depending on the situation and communicative aims. According to these approaches, however, although context is deemed salient for the interpretation of communicative situations, it also seems to be a given, unchangeable feature. Context is treated as static, or constant, and there is no acknowledgement of the changeability of contextual information in interactions, its negotiation between participants, or its consequences for interpersonal relationships and the outcome of communication. This is not to say that none of the early approaches to context mentioned the importance of intraspeaker shift in establishing situational context. Context has been seen as negotiated and established by interactants in a dynamic way, e.g., through framing (Goffman 1974) by showing their alignment and defining identifications on a moment-by-moment basis, choosing from a wide repertoire of possible conventions to signal their understanding and attitude to the communicative situation.

According to Jones (2004, p.23), what makes these models problematic from the

point of view of electronically mediated communication is their assumptions that communication “takes place in the form of focused social interactions that occur in particular physical spaces and involve easily identifiable participants with clearly defined roles and relationships”. Context is a dynamic construct of interactants (cf., Goffman’s *framing* and *footing*) and is an outcome of negotiation of communicative intentions and aims of participants. It depends also on interactants’ enactment of social presence as well as on the ways in which these enactments are understood by their communicative partners.

Jones points out that the traditional dichotomies used to describe context in face-to-face, or unmediated, communication are unsuitable for the discussion of context in EMC and the models designed for their analysis are problematic in the study of EMC due to the fact that some basic assumptions do not hold in the face of new temporal, spatial, and social flexibilities made available in technologically mediated contexts (Jones 2004, p.23). Using the example of his university students, he shows that categories traditionally perceived as constituting elements of clearly definable context are blurred and difficult to grasp in electronically mediated communication. EMC users are simultaneously involved in a number of offline and online situations at any time. For example, during Jones’ class, they concentrated not only on the teacher and the task at hand, but also engaged in chatting with friends using internet communicators, checked emails, or browsed their friends’ photos on social networking sites (SNS). For each of them, then, their “environment of communicative possibilities”, as Jones (2004, p.25) defines *Umwelt* (“surround”), include the multiple communicative possibilities offered via electronic devices but also by other physically co-present people. Jones argues that communication by means of new media differs from face-to-face communication not due to its alleged “despatialisation” or the lack of contextualisation cues (e.g., Sproull and Kiesler 1986), but on account of different sets of “mutual monitoring possibilities” that these technologies make available, i.e., the different ways in which

they allow us to be present to one another and to be aware of other peoples' presence (Jones 2004, p.23).

By mutual monitoring possibilities Jones understands, after Goffman (1964, p.134), being accessible to the “naked senses of all others who are present” in a particular communicative situation. New technologies make available different ways in which users can be present to each other and to be aware of other people's presence when interacting through electronic media (Jones 2004, p.23). Electronically mediated communication gives its users the possibility to “mute” auditory or visual channel and therefore enables them to participate in a number of simultaneous communicative exchanges while appearing (fully) present in each of them. At the same time, while appearing present through the media, people can at times disconnect from their physical environment. This phenomenon is evident in situations like the one recounted at the beginning of Chapter 1, where people are so engrossed in the use of technology that they do not notice the passing of time and feel more connected to the “world” associated with the technology they use than their physical location (see Section 4.2 for a discussion of the notion of *presence* and *absent presence*). It needs to be noted that, although this phenomenon is often associated with advanced technologies (online environments, virtual reality, and gaming), it is not exclusive to technologically mediated communication. We can observe a similar pattern in the case where people “lose themselves” in a book, for example. What is usually implied is that a strong sense of presence is evoked by sensory experiences that make “the other world”, be it a computer game or a book, perceived as very real thanks to, e.g., realistic sounds and images, which highlight the importance of multimodal expression.

It has been suggested that electronically mediated communication should be analysed under the multimodal discourse analysis framework to account for the body language of interactants and its correlation with emotions presented in IM interactions (Marruccia, Atifi, and Gauducheau 2008). While I agree that this perspective can offer a

valuable insight into communicative practices of EMC users, I argue that to understand communication as it is produced, received, and perceived by texters, one needs to focus on what I call *transmitted context* of interactions. I define **transmitted context** as **contextual information discursively created by the sender and interpreted by a remotely located recipient in a text-only electronically mediated exchange**. Transmitted context is different from, although it might include elements or representations of, **offline context**, which I define as **the sender's and recipient's physical setting**, or Umwelt if to accept Jones' (2004) use of the term, **inaccessible to the other party**. Just like offline context, transmitted context can include the discursively created setting of interaction, including the bodies of sender and recipient along with the perceptual connections between them and the space in which they interact (Hanks 2000). Detailed analysis of the elements of context transmitted in texting will be analysed further in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Despite the ease with which one can theoretically draw a distinction between offline and transmitted context, these two types of context are unavoidably interconnected. Constructing and interpreting transmitted context is possible based on the cues discursively conveyed in electronic messages, but influenced by a number of factors related to the sender's and recipient's offline contexts.

In EMC what plays a part in creating context, apart from differentiation in terms of social language used in communication, is also a particular type of language characteristic of the modality involved. Familiarity with these linguistic conventions is required in order to conduct a successful electronically mediated exchange. In EMC, contextualisation cues, understood as means that help participants understand the context of an exchange, can involve written representations of what would be defined as contextualisation cues in speech and certain conventions that define the desired understanding of a given message. This can be achieved by inscription conventions,

text-category indicators⁷, etc.

Taking into account the character of communication by means of texting, particularly the fact that it is of text-only character and that it most commonly takes place between remotely located participants (but see e.g., McCarthy and boyd 2005, who discuss the use of text-based digital backchannel communication in a shared physical space of an academic conference), one can assume that interactants would devote a significant amount of attention to signalling and interpreting contextual information to ensure understanding in this form of communication where immediate feedback is nonexistent.

3.3 The role of the medium

As explained in the earlier part of this chapter, the affordances of communicative modalities play an important part in shaping the content and understanding of mediated communication. This observation brings to mind Marshall McLuhan's widely discussed phrase "the medium is the message". McLuhan claimed that the medium embeds itself in the message, influencing how the message is perceived and understood. Although widely recognised as articulating some of the most profound changes that the new media technologies were ushering in mid last-century (Stevenson 1995), McLuhan's technological determinism undercut his support. His observations and predictions, however, remain salient for the discussion of media and can be applied to new media to a much wider extent than to the "old" media. His claim that modern technologies can be seen as reducing spatial and temporal distance between interactants and constitute "extensions of the body" is also relevant in the context of communication between remotely located EMC users, which is illustrated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. In examples I present, I show that modality and its affordances,

⁷The notion of text-category indicators is explained in detail in Subsection 3.4.1 and its application in the context of texting is discussed in Subsection 7.3.1.

along with certain aspects of situational context in which they are employed, constitute meaning-making factors. The analysis of mediated interactions requires taking into account more than just the content of text-messages.

3.3.1 Mediated discourse analysis

Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) stems from observations that if we were to analyse just the discourse or the written text that can be found, e.g., on a paper cup (Scollon 2001), or the spoken word, we would understand little about what is going on in the situations that these discourses are related to, nor would we understand the actual meaning of these pieces of discourse, or the connotations they bear. Taken out of context, messages conveyed become ambiguous and meaning can be only partially understood. The reason for this is that the meaning “does not so much reside in the discourse itself, but rather resides in the actions that people take with it” (Jones and Norris 2005, p.4). MDA broadens the scope of discourse analysis to include paralinguistic sounds and gestures, and also objects and environments. In MDA, just like in interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982; Schiffrin 1994; Tannen 1989, 2004), interest is on how communicators use their own actions to achieve desired social effects, including their identities, footings, and their positioning in relation to other participants. In order to achieve this, they employ a variety of “expressive equipment” (Goffman 1959) provided by their culture to serve their communicative goals. These “cultural tools” (Wertsch 1989), through which all actions are mediated, i.e., objects, technologies, identities and semiotic systems including language, are characterised by certain affordances and constraints that people need to appropriate in order to achieve successful communication (cf. Jones and Norris 2005, p.5). Drawing on the work of Bakhtin (1981, 1986), Wertsch claims that the main tools are *voices*: the words, phrases, narratives, and ways of speaking that we employ to interact with others. These voices are subject to interpretation by communicators to serve, suc-

cessfully or not, the intended communicative goal of the speaker/sender. Therefore, actions have a strong expressive potential, but their expressive function, just like the use of language, is subject to the mutual understanding between the participants; and the level of mutual understanding needs to be gauged by the interactants.

3.4 Multimodality

Multimodality has been defined as “[t]he use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, p.20). Scholars working within Multimodal Discourse Analysis recognise that all communication is constructed across a number of planes (e.g., verbal, nonverbal and visual), realised through semiotic resources (language being only one of such resources) drawn upon to create meaning (Jewitt 2009). Communication within various modalities is achieved through hybrid communicative acts which, Van Leeuwen (2004, p.8) claims, constitute “multimodal microevents in which all the signs present combine to determine its communicative intent”. Some of these signs can be realised verbally, others through actions, writing, or images. Genres of speech and writing, traditionally seen as modes of communication themselves, are in fact multimodal: speech combines language and action while written genres comprise language, image, and graphics (Van Leeuwen 2004, p.10). These multiple planes of communication are described by scholars as *modes* and analysed within the domain of multimodal analysis. A multimodal approach to the analysis of communication views language in a wider semiotic frame in which it was produced. Additionally, it investigates the use of other semiotic modes and contexts that play a role in constructing meaning in communication, such as objects and their positioning in space, etc.

The following subsection (3.4.1) provides definitions of *mode*, *modality*, and *medium* and points to distinctions between them. It also discusses criteria for classifying

semantic codes as communicative modes. Further, Subsection 3.4.2 mentions a range of fields in which multimodality has been found of importance, either in scholarly research or in practical application.

3.4.1 Mode, modality, and medium

This section discusses the terms *medium*, *mode*, and *modality*, and their features as well as criteria for classifying semiotic resources as communicative modes. First, I discuss the existing definitions of the relevant notions and the features to which scholars have pointed. This discussion is developed in the later part of this section. Following the discussion of these notions in general, I focus on their relevance for multimodal analysis of written communication.

The term *medium* refers to the physical means of inscription (cf. *technologies of inscription* in Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996 and *stratum of production* in Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001) or distribution such as a printed or handwritten text, signs chiseled in stone, and body movements. Traditionally neglected in linguistic and semiotic research (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996), (the choice of) medium influences meaning and therefore has to be taken into account in semantic analyses, MDA proponents argue.

Attempts at defining the notions of *mode* and *modality*, fundamental to the field of multimodal analysis, have rarely been undertaken in the literature. Two common assumptions may have contributed to this: the ostensibly self-evident and unproblematic nature of the modalities under investigation and the fact that semiotic modalities naturally align with sensory modalities (Bateman 2011). Making such assumptions leads to hasty classification and prevents scholars from discovering more fine-grained semiotic modes, Bateman argues.⁸

⁸For a discussion of examples of more fine-grained modes that would have been taken for granted in line with the above assumptions see Bateman 2011.

Definitions of the term *mode* have focused on different features and classification criteria, having been informed by a variety of theoretical backgrounds of scholars working within the domain of multimodal studies. Whereas some researchers (e.g., Kress 2009 and Van Leeuwen 2004) aim to define mode and propose a set of criteria for classifying a resource as mode, others (e.g., Bateman 2011) move beyond descriptions in order to theorise the notion of mode. Despite differences in approach, the link of mode to meaning-making has been consistently recognised. However, no agreement has been reached as to whether all modes merely replicate meanings present in speech and writing (language) or whether they create meanings independently (Kress 2009). As a result, the traditional view of language as a dominant meaning-making tool is questioned in favour of the belief that language constitutes one of numerous equally expressive means for making meaning.

Within social semiotic approaches to multimodality, the term *mode* is used to refer to any and all cultural-semiotic resources for making meaning and creating representations (ranging from gesture to colour to spatial relationships). Based on the assumption that expressive resources of a culture are not limited to those of speech and writing, mode is understood as socially established in conjunction with the affordances (Gibson 1986) and constraints of the material substrate of a resource and its specific semiotic uses within a community. Kress (2009) defines mode as “a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning” and problematises this notion from the perspective of qualifying criteria as well as features and descriptive planes which help differentiate between individual modes. These aspects are discussed in detail further in this chapter.

A different understanding of mode has been proposed by Van Leeuwen (2004), who defines modality as deriving from the concept of modality in grammar (cf. modal verbs). He extends this notion to mean a stance that may be taken by communicators. *Modality* is thus polysemous in that it can refer to the presence or employment of

modes of communication or the grammatical system of stances.

Bateman (2011) argues that as a consequence of assumptions made about semiotic modes in operation in a particular situation, the majority of multimodal analyses rarely go beyond detailed descriptions. In order to address this issue, he sets out to pursue a “tenable definition of semiotic mode” (Bateman 2011, p.18). He proposes that any non-material semiotic contribution be characterised on two planes: paradigmatic choices and syntagmatic organisation of these choices into more complex signs. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), he distinguishes between “lexically-organised” and “grammatically-organised” semiotic resources. Lexicons, i.e., sign repertoires, of lexically-organised semiotic resources are characterised by little internal organisation, whereas signs in grammatically-organised semiotic resources are organised into a productive system of meaningful configurations in which simple signs are composed into more complex ones through the employment of mechanisms analogous to grammar in language. Each semiotic resource has also a certain level of complexity (stratification), with a number of variables to consider in its analysis. In the case of language, the expression plane includes graphology and phonology and the visual plane includes colour, framing, and perspective (cf. O’Halloran 2008). Following from this, Bateman (2011) defines semiotic code as including “a non-material component taking in *both* the content and expression planes and, *in addition* to these, a material component” (Bateman 2011, p.21; emphasis in the original). The importance that he assigns to the material component of semiotic codes is a reflection of a changing communicative landscape: multimodal analyses address a wide range of substrates whose choice and properties influence the possible syntagmatic organisations and, consequently, support varied articulations. It is also not uncommon for semiotic modes to migrate to other physical substrates, a phenomenon that needs to be acknowledged and discussed in the context of text-only communication, where expressive affordances of a modality of communication are taken into account to express meanings whose basic

form lies in a non-textual mode. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss such phenomena in detail. From a different point of view, taking a cue from social semiotic theory, Kress (2009) says that resources have to fulfil three criteria in order to be recognised as modes: they need to be able to represent states, actions, or events (ideational function); represent social relations of participants in a given communicative act (interpersonal function); and represent both of the above as coherent (both internally and within their environments) texts (textual function). According to Bateman (2011), the minimal requirement for a semiotic resource to be recognised as mode is that a particular material substrate is sufficiently controllable as to admit purposeful use in the meaning-making process. It is essential that a material substrate can be fixed and organised along the axes of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, i.e., a choice of a substrate to be expressed in a particular syntagmatic configuration. Such an organisation would allow for the use of simpler signs to express more complex meanings following rules similar to grammar in language. It is no longer tenable, Bateman (2011) argues, to consider the material substrate as already included within the expression plane of a mode. One of the reasons is that semiotic modes often migrate across physical substrates and that features of a substrate influence syntagmatic relations expressed through its use, as is the case, for instance, in electronically mediated communication.

With growing interest and prominence of multimodal approaches to the analysis of communication, scholars have attempted to separate contributing modes for the purpose of analysis. This task has proven difficult due to the parallel and co-dependent development which has resulted in the fact that modes now function as multimodal ensembles rather than groups of modes co-existing independently. Chapter 7 (in particular Section 7.3) explores the phenomenon of multiple modes intertwined in an intrinsic whole.

As noted earlier, modes and multimodal ensembles serve to make meaning, and meaning, as shown by Kress (2009), exists only as materialised in a mode or multimodal

ensemble. Compared to the world they represent or describe, modes are necessarily partial in their expressive potential, or their “semiotic reach” (Kress 2009). This partiality of each mode varies from culture to culture. It would be incorrect to assume an equivalence between modes and the meanings they can express in different cultures. What in one culture is best expressed in writing, in another may be best expressed through gestures, images, or objects (Kress 2009). The same can be said about other types of groups and functions of code use. The choice of a form of expression depends on a number of factors and is subject to continuing change. One such example is the use of text-only forms of communication (text-messages or IM) to inform about bereavement or end an amorous relationship. Unthinkable in the past, it is an accepted practice among young people for whom texting serves as a means for conducting even profound conversations. What can be observed through this is a bottom-up gradual change in attitudes to media and the patterns of their employment.

Similarly, individual semiotic modes, rather than pre-established ones, are developed by groups of users. Such development results from exploring affordances of modes which are deemed useful for meaning-making within a particular context (Bateman 2011). Lack of certain expressive possibilities in a language, mode, or community may, and does, lead to the development of alternative ways of expressing the same concepts or meanings, be it in the same or other modes (cf. the elaborate linguistic system of gestures that constitutes sign language compared to a narrow scope of gestures accompanying other modes of communication; and the use of punctuation, originally intended as the representation of intonation in writing, as stated in Nunberg (1990)). Such processes have been taking place in text-only electronically mediated communication, where text tools have been used to represent actions, sounds, and images. Examples of this phenomenon are discussed in Chapter 6.

Additionally, the meaning of particular gestures or conventions may be characteristic of a particular genre of communication. A message expressed in a certain mode may

have a different meaning in the cultural setting in which it was produced and in other cultures or societies. Following from this, a mode is what a community takes to be a mode, based on its representational needs and practices (Kress 2009, p.58-59), and a resource can only be recognised as a mode for a particular group of users if it is used by this group regularly, consistently, and with shared assumptions about its meaning potential (cf. the notion of communicative competence proposed by Hymes (1974)). Consequently, meaning expressed in a particular mode needs to be contextualised within a particular discourse stratum of *discourse semantics*, which would provide rules for its interpretation. The presence of a discourse stratum should, according to Bateman (2011), be adopted as a defining property of a semiotic mode. He argues that the absence of a specific discourse stratum would allow for semiotic modes to carry meanings only within very limited contexts.

Of particular relevance in the context of the present research on texting is the multimodal aspect of written communication. Multimodal discourse analysts recognise the importance of written text in interaction and treat the communicative mode of print as multimodal in itself in that it includes “language, the medium, the typography, and the content, when it is incorporated into the interactions” (Norris 2004, p.44). Van Leeuwen (2004) notes that just as speech genres combine language and action, written genres combine language, image, and graphics in an integrated whole. Multimodal discourse analysis focuses on media that employ a variety of presentational modes, e.g., text, layout, and font as well as images (Norris 2004, p.45), and their influence on the dynamics of face-to-face interactions into which they are incorporated.

A further link is established by Kress (2009), who shows that alphabetic writing is a “border category” as, although spatially displayed, it follows the sequence-in-time logic of speech, which is represented by the sequence of individual elements on the line. The reading and interpretation of a written text is governed by the rules of linearity and directionality - from left to right or from right to left. In the era of audiovisual

digital media, there has been a dramatic increase in the use of writing through electronic discourse (Smith 2011). The dialogic nature of this type of communication has led users to co-opt relevant technology in order to introduce semiotic codes that facilitate rich written communication and meet their communicative needs and, consequently, to the evolution of the resources of the written language, as Thurlow and Poff (2012) describe for the language of texting. However, a consistent representation of intonational resources in the orthography is still nonexistent (cf. Nunberg 1990), so the problem of representation of features of speech in written media remains.

Scholars have discussed the question of the epistemological status of claims made within multimodal studies (cf. Kress and Leeuwen 1998), i.e., the basis on which we build our interpretations of semiotic codes and values we attribute to them. Some of the suggestions include interpreting spacial orientation based on our prior visual literacy (e.g., Dyer 1989), familiarity with semiotic registers (emergent due to the changing contexts in which they are produced), with their sets of linguistic or non-linguistic signs (Agha 2007; cf. Goebel 2011), or on the cognitive theory of metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), according to which most abstract concepts are interpretable with reference to other, concrete, metaphors (e.g., Dezheng 2011; Montoro 2010). Smith (2011) shows that the interpretation of written representation of speech in particular contexts is possible based on the empirical profiling of patterns of choice in semiotic systems within particular registers, which are later used to interpret transcriptions of spoken texts from the same or similar contexts. Despite the differences in their potential for communication between instances of a particular mode as used in different cultures, there are also some commonalities. For example, sequence in time is fundamental to making meaning in speech, as sounds are produced in sequence and their order determines the meaning of an utterance. In comparison, in images all elements are displayed simultaneously and it is their arrangement in space that constitutes a major means for making meaning (Kress 2009) and picture

frames mark image boundaries and separate it from the surrounding environment.

As a theoretical concept, *frames* have a lot of traction. *Frames* mark material boundaries or borders of a a single coherent unit, essential to all meaning-making. Frames and framing devices are signifiers and as such constitute resources for making signs (Kress 2009)⁹. In the case of images, framing can be realised by an actual wooden frame or an alternative marker of discontinuity between what is within the frame and what is outside. They mark boundaries of the world depicted in an image, but they do not constitute part of this world. Physically, frames separate particular elements of a text (cf. Subsection 3.2.1), for instance, they mark the border between language and image in the case of cartoon captions, where such separation can in itself serve as a meaning-making tool (Baldry and Thibault 2006). They can also separate the world represented in the text from everything outside this world, for example, picture frames separate the world represented in the picture from the outside world of the author or viewers. Functionally, frames can show the relationship between the author and the text, e.g., they allow authors to distance themselves from propositions in the text through presenting words in a cartoon from the perspective of one of the characters - either through their inclusion in speech bubbles or through the choice of linguistic tools, such as deictic words, mood, tense, and speech marks - and adopt an affective stance of solidarity with the character thorough placing the words outside the image frame (cf. Baldry and Thibault 2006). Overall, language, frame, and other semiotic resources not only participate in meaning-making equally, but they create meaning through their mutual interdependence.

In writing, framing is realised by punctuation, which Nunberg (1990, p.17) describes as

“...a category defined in partially graphic terms: as set of non-alphanumeric

⁹This reference to frames is not to be confused with Fillmore’s (1975) work on semantic frames, or Goffman’s (1974) notion of framing in discourse.

characters that are used to provide information about structural relations among elements of a text, including commas, semicolons, colons, periods, parentheses, quotation marks and so forth.”

Since the scope of this understanding of punctuation is rather narrow and does not encompass graphic and syntactic means for framing units such as paragraphs, lines, etc., Nunberg (1990) argues that punctuation should be considered as one of a range of graphical features, such as font, face, capitalisation, indentation, and spacing. He refers to these graphical devices as *text-category indicators* of written language. Although his *linguistics of punctuation* has not been referred to by scholars working in the field of multimodal studies, Nunberg (1990)'s focus on demarcation tools and layout in written texts is of relevance to multimodal expression in texting. In my analysis of discursive tools employed by texters, I employ Nunberg's term to refer to the means of framing used in encoding embedded multimodality in text-messages (see Section 7.3 and in particular Subsection 7.3.1).

This thesis (in particular Sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4) shows that discursive tools used within texting form separate modes of communication. They follow certain rules (cf. Nunberg's 1990 *linearization rules* and see sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4) and are characteristic of the community of EMC users.

3.4.2 Multimodality in various modes

A number of modalities have been enriched by the use of a variety of communicative modes. The more technologically advanced the medium, the more expressive possibilities it offers. For example, it is possible to embed images and sounds on Internet websites, combine sound and 3D image in films, and modern 5D (or even 7D) technology in theatres is capable of simulating not only movement, but also aroma, the

weather, and sensory experiences¹⁰ (Leshock 2013).

Other fields in which the importance of multimodal expression has been recognised include advertising (Dezheng 2011; Maier 2011), personal publishing in the form of social networking sites and poetry albums (Eisenlauer 2011), decoration (Leeuwen 2011), children's books (Wignell 2011), comic books (Herman 2010), print multimodal narratives (Gibbons 2010), and visual design in general (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). Research covered areas such as opera (Hutcheon and Hutcheon 2010), music and tangible interfaces (Berry and Wyse 2011), and education (Jewitt 2011). Enregistering identity and expressing intertextual meanings have been analysed in TV series (Goebel 2011; O'Toole 2011).

In electronically mediated interactions, research has focused on representation of the self and performing one's identity on platforms such as LiveJournal (Rebaza 2008), Friendster (boyd and Heer 2006), multimodal aspects of participatory web (Androutopoulos 2010) as well as the use of avatars and the importance of their non-verbal behaviour (Garau, Slater, Bee, and Sasse 2001) in online environments, such as Second Life¹¹ (Meadows 2008) and in small display mobile communication devices (Kang, Watt, and Ala 2008) (see also Section 4.2) as well as electronic multimodal narratives (Ensslin 2010; Toolan 2010).

The list of disciplines provided above is not exhaustive. Its aim is to draw attention to the range of forms and breadth of research in which multimodal expression has been recognised. Multimodal analysis is capable of providing in-depth insights into communication in a variety of expressive modalities. In the course of this thesis, I refer to some of these forms and point to their relevance for the study of text-only

¹⁰Special effects in the 4D, 5D, and 6D theatres offered by one of the technology manufacturers (see <http://modern5d.com>) include Bubbles Effect, Wind Effect, Snow Effect, Smoke/Fog Effect, Rain Effect, Aroma Effect, Flash Effect, and Thunderstorm Effect. The special effects in the seats comprise Leg Tickler, Butt Poker, Back Poker, Neck Blast, Air Blast, Water Jet, Seats Vibration, and Seat Sub-woofer.

¹¹According to its website (<http://secondlife.com/whatis/>), Second Life is a 3D world where everyone you see is a real person and every place you visit is built by people just like you.

communication and some similarities between these multimodal forms and texting that have been overlooked in the study of text-only communication to date.

3.5 Summary

This chapter outlined the theoretical approach adopted in this thesis, referring to the concept of communication, the roles of different factors, such as participants, intention, and context, as well as the choice of medium for meaning-making.

I established the understanding of communication as transfer of meaning that can be achieved through conscious and subconscious means. In Section 3.1.1, a number of earlier communication models and their relevance for the analysis of conversation (Bordewijk and Kaam 1986, Section 3.1.1) by means of texting were discussed. I focused on the importance of coding and decoding that are influenced by the interactants' "fields of experience" (Schramm 1954) as well as their evaluation of the addressee's communicative competence and mental state (Cumming and Ono 1997). I concluded, following Pearce and Cronen (1980), that meaning in communication is negotiated between participants and is influenced by a number of factors related to the interactants and their prior texts (Becker 1995). Taking into account the affordances of the modality of texting, in Section 3.1.1, I agree with Walther (1996, 2007) in recognising the potential for self-awareness while communicating by means of text-messages (among other modes of EMC). The final shape and content of a message can, unlike in face-to-face communication, be a result of careful consideration and editing.

As Section 3.1 demonstrated, attempts at proposing a model of communication have highlighted the need for considering both formal and meaning-related factors. From a formal point of view, elements of communication models have widely included message source and destination as well as the channel along which communication takes

place. The importance of code employed by communicators is discussed alongside the question of interpretation of messages, which leads to the recognition of interactants as interpreters, who use an array of extra-situational knowledge in deciphering messages they receive. As communication involves two or more participants, whose prior or extra-situational knowledge (including familiarity with the medium and their communicative partner) may differ, feedback is of particular importance to ensure successful communication.

In the case of texting, as people are normally remotely located and communicate via electronic devices, immediate feedback is usually unavailable, which means that texters have to rely mainly on their judgement based on their familiarity with the recipient, to ensure that their communication is successful. Coupled with the potential for miscommunication caused by the use of non-standard spelling, punctuation, and the lack of paralinguistic cues, communication by text-messages seems to be a complex and challenging endeavour.

Section 3.2 dealt with the different aspects which influence meaning-making in communication. I compared the participation framework in texting to that proposed by Jones (2004) for the analysis of ICQ interactions. Further, I pointed to the role of audience in shaping messages and the importance of audience design in creating intended meaning. I also discussed the changing nature of context and its relevance for electronically mediated communication. Having referred to Jones' (2004) analysis of multiple contexts in EMC, I argued for a new approach to the analysis of context in EMC, whereby importance would be given to the analysis of transmitted context, i.e., a joint communicative context for a given interaction discursively created by the sender and interpreted by the recipient.

Another aspect that cannot be overlooked in the analysis and was therefore covered in this chapter is the role of the medium in communication. Mediated Discourse Analysis was mentioned with reference to the study of expressive tools, taking into account

their affordances, employed by communicators to achieve their communicative goals and ensure understanding. Chapter 5 concentrates on an aspect of such use, namely, the use and appropriation of modality affordances to represent spatial practices and discursive self-positioning of interactants. The notion of mode, modality, and medium, defined in the discussion of multimodal approaches to the analysis of communication, are also salient for the analysis presented later. As was established in the present chapter, individual semiotic modes are a construct of their users aimed to better meet their needs in a particular communicative context. The discussion covered the phenomenon of framing, and led to mentioning *text-category indicators* (Nunberg 1990), which will be of relevance for the analysis presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4

Space, place and self-positioning

Research has shown that in mobile phone conversations people usually attempt to establish their interactants' location at the beginning of conversations by asking "Where are you?" or "What are you doing?" (Weilenmann 2003; Laursen and Szymanski 2013). The importance of place and space in electronically mediated contexts is additionally illustrated by the abundance of spatial metaphors employed in discourses about EMC. For example, Brewer and Dourish (2008) list such terms as collaboration *environments*, data *warehouses*, and shared work *spaces* and Graham (1998) mentions, next to *cyberspace*, terms such as *website*, *teleport*, and electronic *marketplace*. He points out that, as a result of these spatial metaphors, networks such as the Internet tend to be conceptualised as large territorial systems similar to material and social spaces and places and related to them, most commonly through binary oppositions. This binary approach is necessarily a simplistic one and results in little thought being put into the analysis of the relationship of new media to offline spaces and places. At the same time, a different approach portrays cyberspace as boundary-free (cf. Nakamura 2000), "anti-spatial" or "incorporeal" (Mitchell 1995), "bodiless" (e.g., Hall 1996; Sutton 1999), or even as a "no-place" in some television commercials (cf. the TV commercial "Anthem" discussed in Nakamura 2000). Irrespective of which

of the two approaches one adopts, it is clear that place and space are on the agenda of discourses concerning (technologically) mediated communication.

Current interest in creating virtual spaces in electronic media is sometimes represented as new, e.g., in the studies of virtual worlds as well as with respect to the electronic reconstruction of places (e.g., Turner and Turner 2006). However, questions concerning spatiality have long been of interest to research within a number of scholarly domains. In the field of human-computer interaction (HCI), for instance, they have concerned different aspects of collaboration at a distance or the design of virtual spaces (see e.g., Section 4.3), to name but a few.

With changing patterns of employment of technologically facilitated communication and its ubiquity in both professional and private spheres, research has focused on the impact of mobility on new configurations of collaboration and coordinated activity. According to Weiser (1991), the natural consequence of technology becoming ubiquitous is its eventual “blurring” in the human consciousness. As technology becomes more ingrained in everyday life and, in consequence, indistinguishable from it, we gradually become unaware of its presence or role in the processes in which they are participating. Only then are we able to use technology without thinking and focus on new goals or our communicative partners:

By pushing computers into the background, embodied virtuality will make individuals more aware of the people on the other ends of their computer links. This development may reverse the unhealthy centripetal forces that conventional personal computers have introduced into life and the workplace. (Weiser 1991, p.89)

It is likely that this embodied virtuality¹ has led not only to, as suggested by Weiser

¹Weiser (1991) defines *embodied virtuality* as the process of drawing computers out of their electronic shells.

(1991), decreasing awareness of ubiquitous technology, but also to a change in how content processed using these technologies is received.²

In the following section the concepts of place and space are defined, and their relevance for electronically mediated environments is explored. This section also introduces examples of places created in various media, both multimodal and text-only.

4.1 Places and spaces in mediated environments

Places take particular significance as boundary markers for interactions, their limits mark the categories of inclusion and exclusion of participants in and from conversation. In unmediated environments spaces delimit the borders of audibility, authorising the participation of hearers located within earshot. In mediated communication, technology opens channels that establish links between remote locations (Licoppe 2012) or enable parallel communication in multiple channels (cf. McCarthy and boyd 2005).

Harrison and Dourish (1996) distinguish between the notion of *place* and *space* in terms of their geometric (space) and experiential (place) understanding of the concept³. This is not to say that their distinction corresponds to the distinction between physical and social understanding of space, in accordance with which the term “space” is used to refer to the physical dimension of a particular setting of action, while “place” involves the social and cultural aspect of space and determines a particular “behavioural framing”. Rather, Brewer and Dourish (2008) argue, following Curry (2002), both concepts should be seen as products of social practice. In this context, “places” are settings which have been given particular meanings or relevance

²In order to fully analyse the latter, extensive cognitive study of information processing, medium awareness, and the feeling of telepresence (cf. e.g., Waterworth and Waterworth 2001) needs to be conducted. For the purpose of this thesis, however, an assumption will be made that such impact exists based solely on interviews with respondents (see Chapter 8.1 for a more detailed discussion).

³Similar views were presented around the same time, e.g., by Fitzpatrick, Kaplan, and Mansfield (1996). Therefore, it would be incorrect to treat the cited work (Harrison and Dourish 1996) as unique in this respect.

through a combination of physical affordances and cultural or social associations, and “space” refers to those properties by which settings can be linked and comprehended; The defining feature of space is the movement taking place through it (Brewer and Dourish 2008).

Apart from explicitly stating one’s geographical location, a number of strategies have been employed in a variety of media to communicate locations, construct places, and evoke the sense of presence. For example, presence created in epistolary relations has been seen as potentially more “real” than physical presence when corresponding parties meet in person (Milne 2010). Postcards are another type of communication often associated with constructing (images of) places (Makaro 2010) through the use of standardised, socially accepted, and repetitive photographic forms and have also been discussed as a “technology of presence” (Milne 2010). In her analysis of postcard communication between William and Elsie Fuller⁴, Milne (2010) finds that images on William’s postcards show places he has seen and convey a range of emotions which he wanted to share with his sister, who, by looking at the same sights was expected to experience the same feelings. Sites represented on postcards (necessarily following the *pars pro toto* rule, where chosen landmarks are used to represent whole cities) help construct idealised images of locations (Banaś 2005). As objective and true to reality as such images can appear, they necessarily reflect the point of view or creative choice of the photographer or commissioning party, representing as a result a subjective (partial and idealised) image of a location. Makaro (2010) points out that senders play a role, however minor, in creating images of locations represented on postcards by their choices of a postcard to send. She does not mention, however, that recipients also participate in this interpretational process through their reactions to postcards they receive. It is possible for them to either completely ignore the image

⁴William Robert Fuller was born in Australia and served in the Australian Army between 1915 and 1918. During the war, he sent postcards which document his wartime experience to his younger sister Elsie (Milne 2010).

and focus on the verbal content of the card, spend time analysing the image and only skim through the - sometimes fairly formulaic - message, or divide their attention between the two. Indeed, communication takes place through the utilised media as well as senders' intentions and recipients' interpretation of the message in all its communicative channels (cf. Subsection 3.2.2).

In discourse, Tannen (1989) argues, images created through the employment of various discursive strategies, e.g., adverbs, graphic verbs, details, are more convincing and more memorable than abstract propositions. Representations of places can constitute discursive depictions of previously experienced visual stimuli, or their "visual repetitions" (Tannen 1989, p.2). Although linguistic strategies facilitating imagery in discourse were originally intended for the analysis of narratives, as in Tannen's work, the linguistic features and strategies are equally relevant for the study of place construction in electronically mediated communication. Descriptions with a plethora of details serve the construction of places to a similar effect as the employment of deictic expressions, which is discussed later in this thesis (see Section 4.5, Section 4.7, and Chapter 5). In the context of technologically facilitated communication, users have been seen as either *creating* new spaces and/or places in electronic environments or merely *appropriating* their existing types to suit their purposes (cf. Section 4.7 for a discussion on storyworlds, i.e., worlds evoked by narratives, and "third spaces" (Bhabha 1994; Rutherford 1990) where communication takes place).

Nicholas Negroponte, founder and Chairman of MIT Media Lab, expresses an opinion that, as we live in a more and more digitalised world, our dependance on being in a specific place at a particular time decreases. He predicts that digital living will lead to the transmission of place itself becoming possible:

If I could really look out the electronic window of my living room in Boston and see the Alps, hear the cowbells, and smell the (digital) manure in summer, in a way I am very much in Switzerland. (Negroponte 1995,

Negroponte's vision has to some extent been realised in virtual reality involving visual, auditory, olfactory, and haptic experiences as well as purely textual forms of virtual reality (see Section 4.2).

4.2 Presence

Media have the potential to connect remotely located people and provide a sense of togetherness or connection between geographically dispersed individuals. Stone (1991) proposes that the exchange of written accounts of experiments among scholars in the seventeenth century should be seen as the beginning of this phenomenon as it provided scholars who were physically absent with the possibility to virtually witness the experiment.⁵ Similarly, the feeling of community leading (at least in part) to the formation of national identity among dispersed people results from the use of textual representation in newspapers (Anderson 1991). Other examples of media facilitating the creation of proximity and togetherness include travel narratives (Pratt 1986), television⁶ (Adams 1992; Meyrowitz 1985), and certain online environments, e.g., MUDs (Kendall 2002), bulletin boards systems (BBSs) (e.g., Baym 1995; Correll 1995), chatrooms (del Teso-Craviotto 2004), and text-messages (Rettie 2006; Chib, Malik, Aricat, and Kadir 2014).

A number of emerging technologies are designed to provide media users with an illusion that mediated experience is real. This “illusory shift in point of view” (Dennett 1978, p.314-315), which has been discussed as a feeling of “being there”, or

⁵It needs to be noted that, following a similar train of thought, any instance of story-telling (verbal or written) would fall within this category. Consequently, the sense of togetherness at a distance can be traced back much further in time.

⁶According to Adams (1992), television provides viewers with an illusion of interacting with others through identification with people and places visible on the screen and through the awareness that a large number of other people are viewing the same programme simultaneously.

(tele)presence, in mediated environments (Ijsselsteijn and Riva 2003, p.5), is not an intrinsic feature of any specific type of technology but is considered to be a product of the human mind or a quality of personal experience that varies in time and is based on users' willingness to temporarily suspend disbelief. Based on available cues, such as verbal descriptions, mental pictures are created to serve as substitutes for (real-life) images. As Le Guin (1989, p.143) puts it: "When we look at what we can't see, what we do see is the stuff inside our heads."

According to the International Society for Presence Research⁷, which is made up of, among others, media and communication specialists as well as psychologists, linguists, and practitioners whose work focuses on *presence*, all experience of the world is mediated in one way or another, e.g., by the media but also by the human senses. In the latter case, reference is made to the "first order" mediated experience. Such perception provides a subjective sensation of being present in the environment and no technology is involved in creating this perception. In order to describe situations when an individual fails to notice that part or all of an experience is mediated not only by human senses (i.e., "first order" mediated experience) but also by human-made technology (i.e., "second order" mediated experience), the notion of presence (short term for "telepresence") can be applied (International Society for Presence Research 2000).

The feeling of presence can vary in degree and depends on how much an individual

⁷The International Society for Presence Research is a non-profit membership organization founded to support academic research related to the concept of (tele)presence. Its current members include Matthew Lombard (Media Interface and Network Design Lab (M.I.N.D. Lab), Department of Media Studies and Production, Temple University, USA), Phil Turner (School of Computing, Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland), Robby Ratan (Department of Telecommunication, Information Studies and Media, Michigan State University, USA), Astrid Marieke von der Pütten (Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany), Vicky McArthur (York University, Ontario, Canada), Frank Biocca (Media Interface and Network Design Lab (M.I.N.D. Lab), S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University, USA and Sungkyunkwan University (SKKU), Korea), Cheryl Campanella Bracken (School of Communication, Cleveland State University, USA), Jonathan Freeman (i2 media research ltd., Department of Psychology, Goldsmiths College, University of London, England), and Wijnand Ijsselsteijn (Media Interface and Network Design Lab (M.I.N.D. Lab), Human-Technology Interaction Group, Department of Technology Management, Eindhoven University of Technology, The Netherlands).

is aware of the role of technology in creating their experiences. In extreme cases a person can, at least for a moment, forget that the experience is mediated, for example, in advanced flight simulators, films, or as was reportedly the case in the Aurora shooting (Muskal July 20, 2012; Pilkington and Williams July 20, 2012). In most cases, however, the individual can indicate correctly that they are using technology, but their perceptions overlook this knowledge to some extent (see also Section 4.7).

Factors that contribute to the feeling of presence can be divided into those referring to media/technology form, content, and user. Characteristics of media/technology form include, among other things, a number of variables related to interactivity, the quality of sensory outputs, viewing distance, use of motion, colour, and audio as well as obtrusiveness of the technology. Characteristics of media/technology content include the quality of writing or acting, believability, the use of media conventions, and the nature of the activity. Characteristics of the media/technology user include their willingness to suspend disbelief, familiarity with the technology involved, and other social factors, such as age.

In texting, characteristics of media form are of a limited scope due to the text-only character of this modality. However, one can still take into consideration such factors as the size and quality of the screen, the possibilities offered by certain handsets to display emoticons in the form of images, animated or not. In the future, other features may be added, such as those proposed for books on mobile phones in Japan, where vibrations are planned to be added to books to increase the feeling of reality of the situations presented in the book. What must not be overlooked here is the importance of users' familiarity with the conventions of electronically mediated communication, e.g., pertaining to the use of emoticons, both within one particular modality and across different modalities (for a discussion on intertextuality and inter-modal transfer of such conventions see Section 7.5).

Technologies or media with specific sets of characteristics are likely to evoke a similar

level of presence responses across individuals and across time (e.g., an IMAX 3D presentation or virtual reality equipment typically produce greater presence than a small television presentation or a written note). However, even in the case of media which have the potential to induce a higher level of “presence”, participants usually acknowledge the existence of the modality through which communication takes place. The real world and mediated environment both provide stimuli for the participant’s senses and the feeling of being positioned in either one or the other depends on what becomes the dominant perception at any one time.⁸

As a consequence of presence, individuals may experience, among other things, changes in physiological arousal, feelings of self-motion (vection), enjoyment, empathy, connectedness (involvement, mutuality, engagement) with other people, and parasocial relationships. Most of these consequences are directly related to presence experienced with the use of advanced or sophisticated technologies, where a person is placed within a technologically-mediated environment, such as virtual reality (VR). In the case of less advanced technologies the consequences of presence may not be as clear but they include also increased enjoyment, connectedness – involvement, mutuality, engagement – and emotional responses. People come back to messages and re-read them, which, reportedly, gives them the feeling of connectedness with the sender. That is the reason why some people keep messages received from close people in their mobile phone inboxes, sometimes for a very long time (see reported consequences of feeling co-present with a remotely located interactant discussed in Section 5.4).

Research on presence includes presence mediated by technology created specifically to represent reality and create the feeling of being there but also other types of technology, like print, radio, and technology aimed at improving and enhancing perception, such as glasses. Two aspects can be most easily distinguished in research on presence

⁸Presence research requires scholars to compare human perceptions and responses in the context of technology with human perceptions and responses in contexts that do not involve technology, often referred to as “face-to-face” or “interpersonal” contexts or, somewhat confusingly, “nonmediated” or “real” contexts.

so far: presence has been discussed in terms of 1) common communicative *space*, e.g., through reference to places, and 2) physicality in terms of interactions through *bodies* virtually created by the participants, i.e., through the description of sensory cues and activities, where the focus can be either on space where the activity is performed or the physical aspect of bodies involved in interaction.

The primary aim of mobile phone use, and texting in particular, is to convey textual messages (transactional, if to believe early reports about texting), rather than to create the illusion of being present in a particular space, or co-present with the recipient. Studies of texting that do mention presence cover only sociological or psychological (rather than linguistic) aspects. For instance, reference has been made to the so called “absent presence” (Gergen 2002) whereby people are so involved in their “texting world” (Kopomaa 2005) that they are only physically present, and not actively engaged, in their geographical location. On the other hand, for remotely located friends or relatives, texting constitutes a channel of constant reachability within certain “techno-social spaces” (Ito and Okabe 2005b) and the use of mobile phones is reported to facilitate a sense of belonging and helps to feel included (Mihailidis 2014). Mobile technologies allow remotely located family members to maintain family ties, as, for instance, in the case of transnational mothering (Chib, Malik, Aricat, and Kadir 2014). In all cases, the employment of mobile technologies has meant changing interaction patterns and negotiating or renegotiating identities among users. Young people feel dependent on their mobile phones to such an extent that they sometimes hear false ringtones and pretend to check their phones in socially awkward situations (Mihailidis 2014) and transnational mothers negotiate their identities and need to make decisions concerning their parenting strategies at a distance (Chib, Malik, Aricat, and Kadir 2014).

The characteristics of mobile phone communication vary depending on the type of communication chosen. In the case of voice calls the features of this modality are sim-

ilar to those experienced while using a landline phone. They include, apart from the actual message expressed in words, also the tone of voice, paralinguistic information, and any background noise that can situate the caller in a given space providing the other person with information concerning their environment (see Subsection 3.2.4). In the case of texting, as in any written discourse where the mode of communication is purely textual, the scope of presence responses evoked can be expected to be lower than that evoked by voice conversations.

Some researchers argue that the types of presence should be divided into those that involve perceptions of physical environments, those that involve perceptions of social interaction, and those that involve both of these. The International Society for Presence Research underlines the importance of distinguishing between antecedents/causes of presence, presence itself, and consequences/effects of presence in identifying dimensions of presence.

What has been overlooked in communication research about presence in the context of texting so far is what I call **co-presence** and define as **participants' joint presence in one discursively created communicative space**, similar to that created discursively in MUDs⁹ or graphically in Second Life. In the analysis chapters, I show what discursive tools are used by texters to establish the feeling of co-presence (see Chapter 5 and Section 7.3).

Lombard and Ditton (1997) distinguish between six types of presence that occur in mediated interactions, which fall into two broad types: *physical presence*, which refers to the sense of being physically located in the same mediated space, and *social presence*, which refers to the feeling of being together, of social interaction with a virtual or remotely located communication partner. At the intersection of these two,

⁹MUD (or Multi-User Dungeon, with later variants Multi-User Dimension and Multi-User Domain) is a usually text-based multiplayer real-time virtual world, which combines elements of a role-playing game, interactive fiction, and online chat. The discursively created virtual world features descriptions of rooms, objects, other players, and performed actions, and allows players to interact with each other through their characters, which may or may not resemble the players' offline selves (see also Section 4.3).

co-presence represents a sense of being together in a shared space, combining significant characteristics of both physical and social presence. According to Ijsselsteijn and Riva (2003), communication is central to social presence but unnecessary to establish a sense of physical presence. While Lombard and Ditton's model has its ground in the sociological tradition, I suggest that the distinction proposed by them along with the distinction between physical presence, social presence, and co-presence, may be approached from a discourse-analytic perspective, since all these parameters can be represented in discourse, as I will discuss in the analysis part of this thesis (in particular in Chapter 5 and Section 7.3). For this reason their model has been adopted in the present study.

Ijsselsteijn, Freeman, and de Ridder (2001, p.181) present visually (in graph form) the relation between physical presence, social presence, and co-presence with examples of various media. Even though text-messages are not accounted for in their original graph, it can be concluded that they would be placed in the same group as email, letter, and online chat, i.e., among media providing the feeling of social presence, evidenced also in Spagnolli and Gamberini (2007). However, as will become evident in the analysis, texters sometimes focus specifically on physical places and spaces in their communication. Therefore, I propose that texting should be placed on the border between social presence and co-presence, as illustrated in an adapted form of Ijsselsteijn, Freeman, and de Ridder's graph (Figure 4.1¹⁰).

It is important to note that some of the media included in their representation allow for the expression of other types of content. For example, telephones can be used to facilitate the feeling of being at the interlocutor's location, although, admittedly, this use is fairly infrequent. The graph also does not include others forms of mobile communication, such as text-based forms of instant messaging (IM), which would be placed at the intersection of social presence and co-presence as well.

¹⁰Abbreviations: VR 5 Virtual Reality; LBE 5 Location-Based Entertainment; SVEs 5 Shared Virtual Environments; MUDs 5 Multi-User Dungeons.

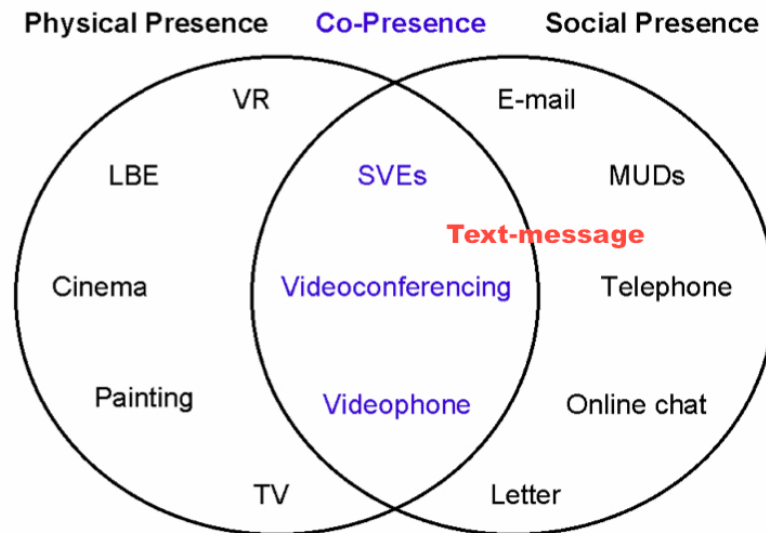


Figure 4.1: A graphic illustration of the relationship between physical presence, social presence, and co-presence (adapted from Ijsselsteijn et al. 2001).

In order to better situate the construction of places and spaces in text-only forms of communication, which result in their placement at the intersection of these two types of present, Section 4.3 aims to present the phenomenon of virtual spaces in such early text-based online environments as MUDs and MOOs.

4.3 First textual virtual spaces in MUDs and MOOs

Unlike in texting, the aspect of space has been extensively researched in MUDs, i.e., Multi-User Dungeons (also called Multi-User Domains or Multi-User Dimensions). The first MUD was invented in 1979 as an open-ended on-line fantasy world that role players could not only explore but help build by creating new objects and rooms (Rheingold 1993, p.150). MUD programs have been described as a set of tools that can be used to create a sociocultural environment (Reid 1995, p.167), a type of an interactive, text-only online forum (Kendall 2000, p.257), and as a text-based communication system with collaboratively created spaces.

MUD users seek to imitate face-to-face communication with all accompanying visual and aural cues as well as situational context through verbal descriptions of virtual spaces where interactions between participants take place, e.g., the Falcon, one of the hangouts in a MUD called BlueSky (Kendall 2002) or The Coat Closet, an interactive space of another MUD (Reid 1995). Additionally, aural information available through the sense of hearing in face-to-face interactions is being represented by means of textual tools, including graphemic representations of sounds and pronunciation. Through such descriptions, interactive spaces for verbal exchanges between participants are created providing stimuli for participants to imagine the particular virtual environment as a physical interactive space.

The situational context provided in each MUD might be different but all of them create their own contexts by means of language. The visual and aural cues that we take for granted in regulating our real world behaviour are present on MUDs, but not in the forms we are used to encountering. Descriptions, commands, specialised language, and graphemic representations replace signals normally received through sight, sound, and touch, such as images, sounds, and feelings. Reid (1995) posits that these textual cues are treated by users as if they were physical. They provide a common ground for the interactants allowing them to “imaginatively place themselves within the virtual world” (Reid 1995, pp.169-170).

Mudders¹¹ use their programming skills and imagination to create the feeling of reality and common presence in a virtual space. The richness and perceptibility of this virtual reality depends on each person’s willingness to invest his or her own imagination in creating virtual objects and places. The MUD program serves to display figments of their imagination in ways that can be communicated to or retrieved by other users. However, according to Reid (1995), it is not the technological interface itself that

¹¹The term *mudders*, i.e. users of MUDs, is sometimes capitalised or spelt as MUDders. In my choice of spelling (“mudders”) I follow Kendall (2000), who treats it as a common noun and spells it using lower case.

sustains the willingness of users to treat these simulated environments as if they were real. It is the degree to which MUDs mediate between the user's imagination and the communication to others of what he or she has imagined. As such, the atmosphere and "tangible" character of this communicative environment is co-constructed and inhabited by the users who see their activity as taking place in a public physical, or at least conceptual, space (Stone 1991, p.104). As Curtis (1992, p.26) comments, the virtual worlds within MUD systems have many of the social attributes of physical places, and reveal many of the usual social mechanisms. For this conceptual shift to work, participants must accept the unstated premise that the computer screen is a physical space that can be inhabited by virtual bodies (del Teso-Craviotto 2004). Users treat the world depicted by MUD programs as if it were real (Reid 1995).

Lacking physical reality, EMC users must create an explicit, written language to convey propositional meaning as well as situational context relating to physical space where their interaction takes place. Based on language, computer-mediated communication relies to a large extent on explicit descriptions, implicit suggestions, symbols, analogy, and metaphor as well as reference to shared socio-cultural knowledge to recreate or transfer physical information through electronic media (MacKinnon 1995). MacKinnon (1995) points to the importance of words for characterizing the network's universe, that is for the creation of the physical space to which interaction within computer-mediated communication refers. Although not, or rarely, mentioned in linguistic research, other types of text-based EMC have all the necessary tools to allow for the creation of interactive spaces. It will be shown in the analysis that text-messages, despite their minimalist character, are in this respect similar to MUDs and chat rooms in that they provide not only the feeling of social presence but of co-presence in the same physical space.

4.4 Performing yourself: Body in electronically mediated environments

Research devoted to the analysis of space in a variety of disciplines (e.g., geography, history, philosophy, and sociology) rarely covered the theoretical question of body, due to, according to Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003), the complexity involved in resolving the question of dualism of the subjective and objective body as well as the notion of body space, which involves both material and representational aspects. Body as a physical entity requires space in which it exists and acts. Body can also be seen as a centre of agency or a lived experience itself, which is capable of creating places (cf. Section 4.1) through orientation, movement, and language. The concept that draws these notions together is *embodied space*. It refers to the location where human experience adopts a material and spatial form (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003) in its sensory dimensions (e.g., smells and colours).

In Western cultures the notion of body is taken for granted. Body is a location of living experience and exists in space; it is also through our bodies (senses) that knowledge of the world is acquired. However, body is not an unambiguous term. It has been conceived of as a multiplicity: from being perceived as a combination of *social* and *physical body* (Douglas 1996 [1970]); to being divided into a phenomenally experienced *individual body-self*, a *social body*, which represents thinking about relationships between nature, society, and culture; and *body politic*, which can be described as an artefact of social and political control (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987); to being separated into five bodies (including the *consumer* and *medical bodies* alongside the other three) (O'Neill 1985).

In electronic environments, the multiplicity of bodies has also been discussed. Del Teso-Craviotto (2004) recognises the existence of three types of bodies in chatrooms: *material bodies*, *discursive bodies*, and *virtual bodies*. These types of bodies refer to

users' offline selves and to their online personalities. Material bodies are references to users' offline self, discursive bodies link the offline and online self of a user through graphical means such as emoticons. Finally, virtual bodies refer to users' *alterae personae*, achieved by the use of screen names and through reference to oneself in the third person singular.

4.5 Establishing location: Deictic centre

In its traditional understanding, deixis refers to the fact that certain linguistic expressions and forms are not associated with a stable semantic meaning but are subject to a context-based interpretation within a particular speech situation. Lyons describes deixis as

the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee. (Lyons 1977, p.637)

Deixis is readily interpretable in these “canonical situations of utterance¹²” (Lyons 1977), which are inevitably egocentric in the sense that the speaker (typically) relates everything to his/her viewpoint, leading to the potential of constant shifts in the point of reference with the changing roles of participants.

At the centre of every situation there is a deictic centre (DC), or *origo* (Buhler 1934), which consists of three deictic components: temporal, spatial, and person, i.e., the

¹²Lyons (1977) describes the canonical situation of utterance as involving one speaker, one or multiple addressees, signalling in the phonic medium along the vocal-auditory channel and with all participants co-present in the same physical location and able to notice any non-vocal paralinguistic communication.

WHEN, the WHERE, and the WHO¹³, and is linked to the “phenomenal present for the user of the deictic terms” (Segal 1995, p.15). Every instance of the construction of “here” and “there”, as well as other deictic terms in communication reflects how people perceive the world and themselves in it (Hanks 2001). Deictic expressions do not, as could be assumed, establish a transparent relation between a word and its referent. Instead, according to Hanks (2000), they encode a relational structure in which a referential function is joined to an indexical ground, in a way that the deictic denotes an object relative to the context of its utterance. Hanks explains that the term “this” might encode “the one (referent) proximal to (relational predicate) us right now (indexical ground)” but denotation is only possible if the indexical ground is specified, as the feature of “thisness”, independent of a context or indexical ground, does not exist.

Reference is subject to an abundance of variables and is time-sensitive, which creates potential for misunderstanding and miscommunication. In texting, it is additionally complicated due to the fact that communication takes place in writing through an electronic medium. As a result, non-vocal or paralinguistic cues are not available to participants, which differentiates texting from Lyons’ canonical situation of utterance (Lyons 1977). Taking into consideration the character of communication by texting, and in particular its feature of portability, one can expect that assigning values to deictic expressions in this modality will be prone to ambiguity and indeterminacy (cf. Lyons 1977, p.638) and the question of reference could cause more interpretational difficulties than other, primarily stationary, forms of communication, e.g., in face-to-face communication, where interactants are co-present in one physical location and thus are likely to adopt the same frame of reference anchored in their geographical location and interactional context. The fact that texting constitutes (traditionally)

¹³Zubin and Hewitt (1995) recognise the existence of a fourth element, the WHAT, which becomes important where a particular deictic centre is structured around a stable or movable object (For a discussion of cases where location in texting is established with reference to an entity, see Section 5.2).

a one-to-one communication between remotely located participants results in the existence in this communicative situation of at least two separate deictic centres around which communication can be organised. Senders compose text-messages in a particular physical location (sender's physical location) and recipients retrieve text-messages in another geographical location (recipient's physical location). Each of these locations can be explicitly or implicitly defined by each of the participants respectively and may consist of a point or area (e.g., a room or a country); it may also be defined in other ways, e.g., with reference to an entity or a person. What is more, the mediated channel through which communication takes place leads to the emergence of an additional set of potential deictic centres located on the mobile screens of the sender's mobile phone and the recipient's mobile phone (cf. Subsection 3.2.4).

The sender's deictic centre is traditionally located at the sender's physical location and refers directly to places and objects positioned in the sender's physical proximity while the recipient's deictic centre is located at the recipient's physical location and any deictic references will be naturally interpreted from the point of view of the recipient. The problem of deixis is complicated by the fact that deictic expressions can refer not only to the speaker's and hearer's spacio-temporal environment. Employed in a more abstract sense, deixis can be understood as a physical or psychological location with which the speaker identifies in the particular communicative situation (Zubin and Hewitt 1995, p.130) or, as Fillmore (1975, p.235) put it, refer to "the linguistic expression of the speaker's perception of his position in three-dimensional space" (place deixis) and the "position in time of the speech act" (time deixis).

The potential for situating an interaction in two separate physical locations is linked to the existence of at least two separate deictic centres and distinct reference frames. To ensure successful communication, interactants need to be aware of and consequently ensure alignment of these reference frames. This phenomenon is discussed in detail

in the following subsection (Section 4.6).

4.6 Reference frame

Clifford (1955) states that spatial information, which may include information about the “position, motion, orientation, shape extent, topology, and so on, of objects or events” (Yuhan and Shapiro 1995, p.191), is essentially relational and its interpretation is performed with regard to a spatial reference frame, which needs to be defined based on information and context available in communication. Spatial information is always related with respect to a reference point, “a line, a plane, or anything else, abstract or concrete, explicitly or implicitly expressed” (Yuhan and Shapiro 1995, p.192). Whether explicit or implicit, correct identification of and interpretation of the “hinge of reference” conditions complete understanding of a spatial expression along with the recognition of the orientation of an imaginary grid-like system serving as its frame. Yuhan and Shapiro (1995, p.192) define such a reference frame as “an appropriately established orientational system centered at a certain reference origin.” In order for a clear reference to be produced and understood by the participants, the point of reference needs to be properly identified and a reference frame recognised by the participants of a particular interaction. What constitutes a problem in the analysis of reference frames is the difficulty that users encounter while trying to establish the most appropriate reference frame to interpret a particular spatial expression where more than one frame is possible (see e.g., Clark 1996).

There are three types of reference frames that interactants can employ in order to define location: absolute, relative, and intrinsic. *Absolute reference frame* defines location based on stable features of the environment as is the case, e.g., with cardinal directions. *Intrinsic reference frame* defines location based on the directional features of a selected reference object. *Relative reference frame* is based on the speaker’s

viewpoint. In communicative situations, respondents have been found to be aligning their reference frames to ensure task completion and full understanding of deictic information (Watson, Pickering, and Branigan 2004). In face-to-face communication, participants can ensure that they are attending to the same visual field, e.g., while pointing to something, through verbal and visual means, e.g, through shifting one's gaze to the face of one's communicative partner to check whether their attention is focused on the same object of shared attention (Goodwin 2007).

In the case of texting, attention of both parties is directed to the mobile phones where text-messages are created (on the one hand) and read (on the other). Even though attention in texting is physically concentrated on two different devices and participants are usually remotely located, the text-message provides the link between them. Thus, text-messages constitute the common focus of attention in a similar way to the object of shared attention in face-to-face interactions, although remotely located texters cannot easily ensure simultaneous focus on the content of a text-message.

4.7 Deictic shift

Subsection 3.2.2 explored the role of participants in creating meaning in interactions and the importance of taking into account others' points of view and knowledge in constructing and interpreting messages. Taking into account the possibility that multiple reference frames exist, adopting and aligning with an appropriate reference frame (cf. Section 4.6) constitute further examples of processes vital for successful communication. Related to this is the phenomenon in which participants are aware of multiple deictic centres available in a particular communicative situation and locate themselves at an *origo* (Buhler 1934) distinct from their own. When placing themselves in a situation, interactants adopt a certain spatial, temporal, and psy-

chological point from which they experience it (Zwaan 1999). One such example is processing written and spoken narratives, where adopting a certain vantage point conditions comprehension of the story. It is assumed that comprehenders (e.g., readers or viewers, depending on the type of narrative) place themselves, to some extent, within the narrated situation and from that vantage point they construct a *situation model*: a mental representation of, among other things, locations, objects, characters, and events in the story (Zwaan 1999). Consequently, they become active participants (Busselle and Bilandzic 2008) and “writer[s] of [their] own version of the story” (Oatley 2002, p.43).

A question may be raised as to the definition of narrative and the applicability of this term to texting. While not trying to argue that text-messages should be classified as narratives, I follow Page (2010), who analyses the narrative character of Facebook status updates, in accepting that in the face of constantly changing character of modern communication, it is more accurate to talk about features of narrativity whose presence makes a text more or less narrative-like. I agree with Page (2010) that the episodic narrativity found in a variety of everyday stories told using electronic media (Facebook status updates, emails, tweets, etc.) suggests that the traditional understanding of what characterises a prototypical narrative may not be fully representative of the current narrative practice. Consequently, some research approaches originally intended for the analysis of narratives are likely to be applicable to the analysis of certain types of content in texting.

According to Deictic Shift Theory (DST)¹⁴, readers and authors shift their deictic centre from the real-world situation to an image of themselves at a location within the storyworld, i.e., a world as constructed through a narrative. Such a shift from an actual situation to a described situation has been termed a *deictic shift* (Duchan,

¹⁴Deictic Shift Theory was originally proposed for the analysis of the use of deixis in fictional narratives, but, as will become clear in the analysis part of this thesis, it is applicable for the analysis of texting as well.

Bruder, and Hewitt 1995). It results in people and objects in a particular narrative being more accessible to the comprehender and, in consequence, to potential *transportation*, defined as a phenomenological experience in which a reader's (or recipient's, more generally) mental processes are fully focused on the events occurring in the narrative¹⁵ (Green and Brock 2002), and the loss of self-awareness. Green and Brock's (2002) Transportation-Imagery Model can be applied to any kind of text that evokes measurable images, i.e., mental contents that possesses sensory qualities (Dadds, Bovbjerg, Redd, and Cutmore 1997). Transportation, then, represents the extent to which a reader becomes absorbed in constructing mental models, both situation models and storyworld models.

The story in a fictional narrative is, like all mental representations, partially a construction of the comprehender (reader or listener) but also based on text of the author/speaker. In contrast, the storyworld is mostly a mental construct of the reader/listener. In their interpretations, comprehenders can import knowledge of the everyday world and of other possible worlds into the current storyworld; this provides the listener/reader with the illusion of mentally inhabiting a fully specified and coherent world.

In narratives, authors usually distance themselves from the storyworld presented in their fiction and it is understandable (particularly in third-person narratives) that the author and the speaker are not equivalent. Therefore, it is unlikely that readers will interpret a given narrative from the perspective of a deictic centre located at the author's physical location (except in the case of oral narratives in which authors build the context of the story from their own perspective (Zubin and Hewitt 1995)). Rather, reacting to cues such as chapter headings which constitute natural boundaries in narratives (Segal 1995), they will associate with the story characters and be transferred into the storyworld, which they view in the same way as they would

¹⁵Concepts similar to transportation include *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi 1990), *absorption* (Tellegen and Atkinson 1974), and *experiential mode* (Epstein 2003).

be viewing the here and now of their physical environment. Such an interpretation is possible based on their knowledge of the world and prior experiences with deixis in real life and such shift is made possible by transferring the linguistic reference of deixis from the speech situation, and shifting it to the locations and characters of the storyworld (Zubin and Hewitt 1995).

The following chapters show that a similar process can take place in texting. There is, however, a significant difference between deictic shift into a storyworld and that occurring in text-messages. Firstly, the narrative storyworld is assumed to be distinct from that of the speaker/writer and sometimes fictional. In texting, messages are sent between two easily identifiable interactants who usually know each other. There is thus no automatic assumption that the world presented in text-messages is fictional and that it is likely to evoke imagery required for transportation (Green and Brock 2002). Another major difference consists in the number of possible locations of deictic centres in communication by means of texting and in narratives (cf. Subsection 3.2.4), with text-based mobile communication allowing for a wider range of possible reference frames and deictic centres.

Summary

This section has focused on the concept of place, space and presence in communication. It tackled the question of deixis, reference frame, and deictic shift into the storyworld in narratives. The following sections explore the notions of person and persona as well as aspects of physicality in discourse. The following chapters show how all of these theoretical concepts can be employed to better understand what is behind the communicative processes in texting.

Chapter 5

Establishing and negotiating deictic centre in text-messages

There is an important difference between landline calls and mobile phone calls in that in the case of the former, calls are made to a particular location (e.g., a home or an office) to which a particular landline number is linked whereas mobile phone calls (and SMS-messaging using mobile devices) are made to a particular device (or a particular sim card), whose location is not fixed. Laursen and Szymanski (2013) have found that location talk in mobile phone interactions may focus on both fixed location and being in transit and can be divided according to its form into reports and enquiries, the latter in either an ‘open’ format (e.g., Where are you?) or a ‘candidate’ format (e.g., Are you still at Union Street?). Through a choice of formulation, one communicates not only their location, but also the state of their knowledge about their communicative partner’s (previous, pre-agreed, or intended) location, as is the case when a ‘candidate’ format is used. The selected wording may communicate also the reason for asking, e.g., while micro-coordinating.

In the case of phone calls, one of the reasons why callers often find it necessary to establish location at the beginning of a call is the potentially intrusive character of

mobile phone calls. Text-messages, like letters and unlike phone calls, are meant to be retrieved or read at recipients' convenience¹ and, like letters, may or may not require a response. Therefore, discussing interactants' whereabouts cannot be explained by the sender's unwillingness to disturb the recipient, but must be motivated by other reasons. At the same time, while letters can take days or weeks to reach the recipient, text-messages are delivered almost instantaneously. Resulting from this is the fact that the current location of participants may be significant in communication pertaining to time and space, e.g., in the context of arranging meetings.

This chapter deals with expressing location and constructing places in text-messages, building and expanding on Laursen and Szymanski's (2013) research and providing a detailed analysis of linguistic tools employed by texters to construct stationary and non-stationary location (transit status). The chapter covers instances in which senders situate themselves in a particular location, be it physical or social (Subsection 5.1.1). I also refer to cases in which senders position themselves negatively through a reference to a place where they are not located (Subsection 5.1.3). Further, I discuss alignment of reference frames between remotely located participants (see Section 5.3) and texters' use of discursive tools to signal entering or leaving joint communicative space (Section 5.4).

Drawing on Lyons's (1977) analysis of the semantics of location and motion, Fillmore's (1975) discussion of deixis in verbs, as well as on Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000a, 2000b) analysis of motion verbs, I represent discussed phenomena in the form of equations and diagrams that help better illustrate the patterns encountered in text-messages. Prior to each, I define the terms employed, with maths conventions adopted for the purpose of this thesis listed in Appendix B.

¹Among some groups whose members frequently (or predominantly) communicate by text-messages there is often an assumption that an SMS-message is read immediately after being received (which, in turn, is expected to happen instantaneously after sending), which may lead to higher expectations in terms of response/reaction time and, relatedly, misunderstandings in communication. It also follows a no gap – no overlap model of turn-taking in face-to-face communication.

5.1 Location and deictic centre

In this section, I begin by outlining some of the possible ways in which spatial relations can be expressed, following which I compare them with ‘location talk’ in text-messages. Spatial relations are often expressed in English (and in Polish) by means of prepositional phrases, which can be headed by a preposition, a compound preposition cluster, or an implicit preposition (Yuhan and Shapiro 1995). These spatial proximity functions² relate abstract places to reference objects and are typically expressed in one of three ways: 1. by directional relations, such as *in front of*, *behind*, *to the left of*, 2. inclusion relations, such as *in*, *out of*, *on*, *between*, or *beside*, or 3. distance relations, such as *near to*, *away from* (Yuhan and Shapiro 1995, p.194).

Location can be represented as having or not having dimensionality (relevant to the communicated proposition). This relation is grammaticalised in English in the use of prepositions of place (Fillmore 1975; Lyons 1977), e.g., *on*, *in*, and *at* to express stationary location, *into*, *onto*, and *out of* to express motion (see Section 5.2). If the size and dimension of a location (Y) are irrelevant or negligible, the location of an entity (X) at that particular location is represented by the use of ‘at’. The whole spatial relation can then, following Lyons (1977), be symbolised as

$$\text{AT (X, Y)}$$

If the location that is to be represented has relevant dimensionality, prepositions ‘on’ and ‘in’ are used in English. The spatial relationship between the object and its location can then be symbolised as

$$\text{ON (X, Y)}$$

²Yuhan and Shapiro (1995) refer to the spectrum of spatial relations that natural language is equipped with as spatial proximity functions to account for the role they play in defining an abstract place as existing or present within the semantic vicinity of a ground object.

when Y is a line or a surface or, when Y is an enclosed area (Leech 1969, p.161ff)

IN (X, Y)

These spatial relations can be found in text-messages in the recipients' attempt to position themselves (geographically):

- (1) Do u want me dere babe. Im **in [borough]** right now
- (2) Sorry baby for not replyin or callin but i'v been **in hospital** all night and im still here. Those bastards got to my little cousin. Its time they pay baby. X
X
- (3) I didn't mean right now of course! Sorry! However much i want that...**in bed** now, not cheating but wanting you here x

As the examples show, participants or interactions can be located with reference to a place defined by fixed (or semi-fixed) boundaries (e.g., room, house, train, etc). In these cases phrases headed by 'in' are employed and senders' locations can be represented, respectively, as

IN (I, [borough])

IN (I, hospital)

IN (I, bed)

Example (1) includes the name of one of London's boroughs through which the sender provides the recipient with information about their whereabouts and at the same time draws attention to the fact that communication takes place between geographically distant interactants through the use of the deictic word *dere* [there] and the second

person singular pronoun *u* [you]³. The use of deictic expressions and establishing deictic centre as well as reference frames in text-messages will be discussed later in this section.

Location can be represented not only through mentioning place names or descriptions but also through references to *first-order entities*⁴ (cf. Lyons 1977, pp.442ff), i.e., physical objects or people in some (mental) world (Dik 1997, p.55). Dik (1997, p.129) emphasises that entities are not “things in reality” but “things in the mind” and presents a number of reasons to support his proposition. Firstly, we can refer to numerous things that do not exist in a physical form, e.g., objects and people that occur only in fiction, myths, or dreams. Secondly, we are only able to refer to things that exist in the “real world” to the extent that we have some mental representation of the referent. Finally, in relation to the previous reason, thanks to the representation of the “real things” in the mind, it is possible to talk about things without them being present or directly experienced.

While references to entities are common in establishing location in different types of communication, in the type that involves mobile devices, e.g., in the case of texting, they (entities) can either serve as geographical anchor or shift the focus of communicating location from geographic to social. This point is discussed in Subsection 5.1.1 below. References to entities mark location in spaces of irrelevant or negligible size and dimensionality. Such relations are grammaticalised in locative cases in many languages, including English. The identification of this location may be thought of as being encapsulated in the deictic adverb *here* so that ‘X is here’ means ‘X is AT here’ (Lyons 1977).

³See the discussion of pronouns to indicate proximal or distal positioning in Page (2012, p.153-161)

⁴Lyons (1977) defines second-order entities as “events, processes, states-of-affaires, etc. which are located in time and which, in English, are said to occur or take place, rather than to exist” and third-order entities include “abstract entities as propositions, which are outside space and time”. In his later work, (Lyons 1989) alters this distinction to include two separate dimensions with two types of entities in each: 1. extensional and intentional and 2. first- and second-order.

Understanding such reference in texting depends on mutual awareness of each other's reference frames (see Section 5.3) and assumptions concerning prior knowledge. Senders, just like interactants in non-mediated (face-to-face) contexts (Schegloff 1972), make decisions as to how to refer to places in order to be best understood. Such estimations are based on the context (see Subsection 3.2.4), prior text (Becker 1995), common ground (Stalnaker 1974; Clark 1994), and interactants' familiarity with each other (see also Subsection 3.1.1).

Thus, in texts, communicating location is rarely unambiguous to an outsider. Location talk in an individual text-message, like in a phone call (cf. Laursen and Szymanski 2013), is usually situated contextually with respect to an earlier communication, e.g., agreement to meet in a particular place. Similarly, successful interpretation of a stand-alone text often depends on familiarity of both interactants with each other's approximate location or pre-established general meeting place, as in example (4).

(4) Hi [name1], it's [name2]. You here yet? We're **by the barriers near the back**. I'm looking tall, so yer might spot me :)

While texters can sometimes employ names of towns and cities to verbally position themselves in a text-message or place descriptions based on a spatial referent, some messages include prepositional phrases involving the use of elements of the participants' in-group code, e.g., *kolo azzurry* 'next to azzurra' (see example (5) below) or *w lustrzarni* 'in lustrzarnia'⁵.

In such cases, entities, which may be stationary or otherwise, are related to places and such relation is realised indirectly in terms of the entity that it contains. Lyons (1977, p.693) considers this situation as tantamount to treating the entity as a "property of a place". This is not to say that entities are equivalent to places, but that they may be mentioned in order to indirectly identify spaces the said entities occupy. This pattern

⁵'Lustrzarnia' refers to 'the place with mirrors' (the Polish noun *lustro* means 'mirror') and featured in a text not directly quoted in the thesis, but referred to in one of the interviews.

can be represented as

BY (we, the barriers) \wedge AT (the barriers, here) \wedge AT (I, here)

Lyons (1977) does not discuss, or deem of importance, the [+/- stationary] character of location, a feature particularly significant in the case of mobile phone communication (sending text-messages and calling as well as the endophoric and exophoric story reception in the [murmur] project discussed in Page 2012⁶), where communication is directed to particular (mobile) devices as opposed to locations. Users who communicate throughout the day may mention their current location in order to coordinate activities and meetings (Laursen and Szymanski 2013). In example (4), both *the barriers* and *the back* are stationary and can serve as points of reference. The need to micro-coordinate, e.g., trying to find each other in Piccadilly Circus (to name one of the possible busy meeting locations), means that there may occur a need for a much less fixed point of reference. Texters can select an easily identifiable point that is relatively stationary at a particular moment in time, provided that they are both able to visually access the chosen reference or are aware of each other's approximate location at that time, as in example (5).

(5) Czekam **kolo** **Twojej macchina azurra**
I'm waiting next to your macchina azurra

Here the point of reference is the recipient's parked car, which was referred to, using a phrase belonging to the interactants' in-group language, as *macchina azurra*. The sender was able to assume that the recipient was aware of the car's location and therefore could select a location in the car's proximity as a reference point. At that point stationary, *macchina azurra* provided a geographical point of reference in a

⁶*Endophoric storyworlds* are created when a story is set in the same physical location as the narration, whereas *exophoric storyworlds* require a deictic shift from the context in which a story is told to the storyworld created through the narration (Herman 2010).

situation where the interactants' location was of importance. An up-to-date location status update is required especially between texters who are in motion (see Section 5.2) and in communication for which the purpose is micro-coordination (Ling and Yttri 2002).⁷

5.1.1 Social location

Where geographical or physical location is of no significance or interest, texters may choose to convey their *social location*. I use the term not in its established meaning as a person's place in society, usually related to, e.g., gender, race, and sexual orientation, but with reference to the distinction between place and space proposed by Harrison and Dourish (1996) and discussed in Section 4.1. The focus of *social location* is on an individual's current activity, which transforms physical "space" into social "place" (cf. Hymes' 1974 distinction between the physical setting and the social aspect or scene of communication). In such cases, similar to the concept of *-iknal* in Maya speakers' common-sense understanding of bodily space (cf. Hanks 2000, p.28), place constitutes a mobile field of action related to an agent and constructed by their social actions. The extent of such a field to the speaker is situationally variable and may have to be explicitly defined in a communicative situation. When interactants are separated, the *-iknal* of a participant is typically egocentric, whereas under face-to-face conditions, it usually includes each participant's communicative partner. Consequently, *-iknal* then denotes a joint interactive corporeal field influenced by reciprocal perspectives of interactants.

In examples (4) and (5) above, senders specify their location through reference to entities. In a similar vein, social location can be expressed with reference to people with whom one is currently spending time or interacting. In such, among other,

⁷This is not the case in landline phone calls or traditional forms of emailing, excluding mobile internet and push email, which can be read and written while in motion.

situations, senders simultaneously signal being at a (social) location distant from that of the recipient, emphasised additionally by the use of pronouns *I* and *u* and a specific reference to *ur place* [your place], which carries an exclusive meaning of a place distinct from that of the sender.

- (6) U no wat **im** so bored **wid my mates** babe. Im comin to ur place u can make me tea cuddle all nite den ill make u breakfast in bed sweetie. Wat u say sexy

Following (Lyons 1977, p.693), ‘im [...] wid my mates’ [I’m [...] with my mates] means ‘I am [...] at the place where my mates are.’ This reading answers the locative question ‘Where?’ but at the same time focuses mainly on social interaction and its effect (the sender being bored), rather than physical or geographical location. In a subsequent interview, the sender confirmed that he was at a physical location where his “mates” were, however, this reading cannot be inferred from the text itself and a similar message could have been sent if he had been, for example, on the phone, playing online computer games, or engaging in any other type of contact with them. Taking all of the above into consideration, the sender’s (social) location can be represented as:

$$\text{WITH}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, my mates}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{my mates, here}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, here})$$

Other examples of social location include those expressed through reference to physically co-present people, as in example (7):

- (7) Hmm. K. **Am out with my dad** at the mo so will call you in a bit

where social location is represented as:

$$\text{WITH}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, my dad}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{my dad, here}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, here})$$

or an ongoing event one is attending, as in example (8):

(8) Teaching over...**in training** now. Hope your ob⁸ went well? Xx

where social location is represented as:

$$\text{IN}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, training}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{training, here}) \wedge \text{AT}^{\text{socially}} (\text{I, here})$$

In these examples, the senders' geographical location is irrelevant. What is important is the fact they are engaged in an activity that usually makes them unavailable for the sender (for a discussion of the question of signalling availability or unavailability for conversation through entering and leaving joint communicative space see Section 5.4).

5.1.2 Location through actions

Section 4.1 mentioned the longstanding sociocultural role of postcards in creating and conveying images of places through photographs and descriptions. The fact that a postcard is sent constitutes in itself an act of conveying information about or images of a place or location. One of the multiple purposes texting serves is similar to that of a postcard. However, its place-creating/location-establishing purpose is not automatically inferrable from the mere act of sending or receiving a text-message. In this subsection, I discuss another strategy employed by texters to create places indirectly, namely that of conveying location through actions.

⁸[observation]

In the case of text-messages imitating postcards, as well as in other cases, location can be expressed through mentioning place names. Such reference can be straightforward, as in example (9), or expressed more elaborately, as in (10). In both cases, senders include a description of the evaluative character of the places in question, through which they express their stance towards the locations (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009) as well as follow the postcard-writing convention.

- (9) **Pozdrowienia ze** słonecznego **Brighton.** :-)
 Greetings from sunny Brighton. :-)
 ‘Greetings from sunny Brighton. :-)’

- (10) **Z Bieszczadzkich chaszczy...** tnac mgle leniwym
 From of Bieszczady Mountains thicket... cutting fog with lazy
 krokiem... **sle telefoxa** z buziakiem urodzinowym dla
 step... I’m sending telefox with kiss birthday for
 siostrzyczki! Pani Matka przekaze Panience, rajt? :)
 little sister! Ma’am will pass on to Miss, right? :)
 ‘From the thicket of Bieszczady mountains... cutting the fog with a lazy
 stroll... I’m sending a telefox⁹ with a birthday peck for the sister! You’ll tell
 the Young Lady, Ma’am, right? :)’

Alternatively, text-messages can carry a social aspect and refer to the sender’s current activity, rather than physical location, as in example (11):

- (11) **Pozdrowienia z meczu** kwalifikacyjnego w siatkowce kobiet :-)
 Greetings from match of group stage in volleyball women’s :-)
 Algieria vs Dominikana (a potem bedziemy ogladac Chiny
 Algieria vs the Dominican Republic (and then we will be watching China
 vs Korea Pld)
 vs South Korea)

‘Greetings from a group-stage match in women’s volleyball :-) Algeria vs the

⁹The word *telefox* is a made-up construction rooted in the interactants’ *prior text*, which was confirmed in an interview with the sender.

Dominican Republic (and then we'll be watching China vs South Korea)'

Information related to location in this type of messages is conveyed not through a direct statement, e.g., *Am with my dad*, as in example (7) or *in training*, as in example (8), but through identifying the physical origin of certain actions, e.g., greeting in examples (9) and (11), or sending a telefox in example (10).

5.1.3 Negative location

It has been said that texting often serves the purpose of micro-coordination, agreeing meeting points, and updating others on one's location status. While senders can specify their location in a direct way, they may also define what I call their **negative location**, i.e., **the place where they are NOT located** (e.g., *I'm not in the UK now*) or confirm their **negative location status** (e.g., in the form of a negative answer to the question *Are you there yet?*). Specifying one's current negative location or confirming negative location status is particularly relevant for micro-coordination and in the era of last-minute arrangements made possible by mobile communication. Through the deictic element *there* in example (12), the sender signals that the place he or she occupies at the moment of sending the message is not identical to the place referred to in the text-message which represents the recipient's whereabouts.

(12)

A: Hey darling. Am **in [pub]**. Come? :-) x

B: Sweeeeeeeetieeee! **I'm not there...** late notice :-(when are you out again? I want to see youuuu! Xxx

At the same time, the message is conveyed through the choice of the deictic word *there* over 'here', signalling distance.

In examples (13) and (14), senders imply that they are not located at the place in question through the use of the same deictic word, but in sentences using simple future forms, i.e., *(I) will be there*.

(13) I will be **there** at 7:30 because I have the stock take to complete

(14) Gonna hurry my lilly white ass up a bit and get a train that's a bit earlier so will be **there** at 7.45. Will prob get a bite to eat en route to save a bit of cash, thought I'd let you know so you can do likewise ;)

While, admittedly, the meaning of the word THERE is ambiguous in any situational context, in face-to-face interactions more clues are available to facilitate its interpretation. Its use by remotely located interactants, as is the case in texting, leads to an added interpretational difficulty, compared with that by co-located participants.

The meaning of this deictic (and consequently context-dependent) word is interpreted in opposition to another deictic word, HERE.

THERE \neq HERE

Taking this negative equation into account is not sufficient in determining the meaning of THERE. In the text-messages quoted above, for example, THERE can mean the recipient's location or some previously agreed upon third space, e.g. in example (13), *I will be there* can mean *I will be with you/at your place* or *I will be where we agreed I would be*. It is therefore vital to establish mutual understanding of each other's reference frames, a question I will discuss in Section 5.3, following the discussion of discursive rendering of motion in text-messages and relevant deictic centres in Section 5.2.

5.2 Motion and directionality

Texting is communication on the move, often serving the purpose of micro-coordination (Ling and Yttri 2002), e.g., making last-minute changes to meeting arrangements. It can be expected therefore that movement and motion will play an important role in texting and acknowledging their significance leads to the necessity to analyse the expression of motion in texting. This section begins with the discussion of the concept of motion and its relevant components, along with their definitions. In exploring the understanding of motion, I borrow Talmy’s terminology and classification of motion verbs (Talmy 1985). Further, an analysis of verbs of motion in texting is presented, followed by some conclusions.

Talmy defined a **motion event** as any situation “containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location” (Talmy 1985, p.60) and identified four basic semantic components of a motion event, which are listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Components of a motion event (based on Talmy 1985)

Component	Definition
Figure	the entity whose motion or location is at issue ¹⁰
Motion	the presence per se of motion or stationariness
Path	the path of motion or the stationary location of the Figure
Ground	the entity with respect to which the Figure’s Path is characterised, i.e. the point or frame of reference

¹⁰The “Figure” must, consequently, refer to a conceptually movable object.

Similarly, Fillmore (1975) distinguished the following elements in the description of motion: Source, Path, and Goal and noted that they are associated with particular prepositions and, as such, linked to object dimensionality (cf. Section 5.1).

Based on the syntactic constituents in a sentence in which the Path characteristically appeared, Talmy (1985) found that languages could be divided into “verb-framed” (those that characteristically expressed Path in the main verb) and “satellite-framed” (languages that expressed Path in the satellite)¹¹.

According to Talmy (2000b, p.53-56), the Path component can be subdivided into three parts, which can, but do not have to, co-occur: the Vector, the Conformation, and the Deictic. These are explained in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Parts of the Path component (based on Talmy 2000b)

Name of the part	Explanation
Vector	refers to the direction of motion of the Figure with respect to the Ground, which can be a source, a milestone or a goal; thus, Vector can denote motion from a source (e.g., move from), past or along a milestone (e.g., move along, via), and to or towards a goal (e.g., move to, towards)
Conformation	refers to the geometry of Grounds, which can be conceptualised as containers (e.g., move into, out of), surfaces (e.g., on), points (e.g., past), etc.
Deictic	refers to one of two member notions: 1. toward the speaker and 2. in direction other than toward the speaker

¹¹According to this classification, both English and Polish belong to the latter category.

Some verbs contain information about the Path in their lexical meaning, e.g., *enter*, which indicates not only the fact of movement, but also the Path *into an enclosure*, which means that the verb *enter* always implies the Path of motion *into an enclosure* and the existence of the enclosure itself. These verbs belong to the category of Path-conflating motion verbs. Deictic motion verbs, such as *come* and *go* are a particular case of such verbs, with clearly specified Path and Ground. To illustrate, the meaning of the deictic motion verbs *come* and *go* can be represented, respectively, as

COME

move towards the location of the speaker
 [Motion] [Vector] [Conformation] [Ground]

GO

move away from the location of the speaker
 [Motion] [Vector] [Conformation] [Ground]

In the above definitions, Vector and Conformation constitute the Path. Vector describes the direction of the movement whereas the Conformation specifies the spatial relationship of the Path to the Ground. The verb *come* in English implies the fact of arrival at the destination, unlike the verb *go*, which implies solely moving away from the speaker's location, but not reaching a destination. The use of deictic motion verbs can signal the speaker's (or, in this case, texter's) location and help establish deictic centre of interactions as well as adopted reference frame (see Section 5.3), as in example (15) below. This is particularly evident in the use of Change of Location (CoL) verbs, which denote a change in location and their lexical meaning contains a reference to a specified location¹², e.g, the verb ENTER implies the existence of a

¹²This does not have to be a specific physical location, but a point or frame of reference with respect to which location is established or defined.

final/target location and the verb LEAVE suggests the existence of an initial location (Sablayrolles 1995).

(15) Thank You very much. I have **come** all dis way and u r no were to be seen or heard. Goodnite babe. Im gona **go** home. Cheer up

In example (15), two separate movements are discussed. Firstly, the sender informs he has COME all this way, implying the existence of the initial (former) location L1 and his current location L2, at which the sender has arrived. Additionally, the sender informs the recipient about his plans to GO to (intended) location L3, which has not been reached yet.

At the same time, the three locations referred to in this text-message can be defined through the use of motion verbs and other linguistic clues present in the text. It can be inferred that:

- L1 = the location where the sender was before
- L2 = the target of the senders motion and the location where the recipient was expected to be
- L3 = (sender's) home

The relationship between the three locations referred to in example (15) is represented graphically in Figure 5.1.

Taking the above into consideration, movement patterns in example (15) can be represented as:

COME

(completed) move from L1 to L2
[Motion] [Path] [Ground] [Path] [Ground]

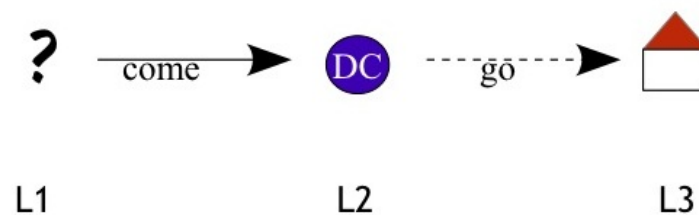


Figure 5.1: Deictic centre through the representation of completed and intended movement in example (15)

and

GO

(intended) move from L2 to L3
 [Motion] [Path] [Ground] [Path] [Ground]

The sender discursively places himself at a deictic centre located at his physical location through the choice of deictic motion verbs COME and GO.

A similar situation can be seen in the earlier example (6), discussed on page 134 and repeated below.

(6) U no wat im so bored wid my mates babe. Im **comin to ur place** u can make me tea cuddle all nite den ill make u breakfast in bed sweetie. Wat u say sexy

Spatial relation between the sender's location (*wid my mates*) and the recipient's assumed location *ur place* is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase *to ur place*. In this text the sender is originally located away from the recipient's place, at a social location L1 (*wid my mates*) and later (discursively) moves to a specific location L2 (*ur place*). The preposition *to* suggests that L2 is the goal of the sender's move. The speaker situates himself explicitly away from this space by using the deictic verb COME which suggests an offer of the movement towards the recipient's location.

Interestingly, through the use of the deictic verb COME, the sender at the same time treats the recipient's location as the deictic centre in reference to which he defines his location/movement. In this case the sender only signals that his target is location L2, which does not necessarily have to be located INSIDE L2 but only within its proximity¹³. The sender's discursive location in example (6) is not static. The sender might not be on the road yet and only making a suggestion, but discursively, through the use of the present progressive form of the verb (*I'm coming*), he is discursively on the move.

Although motion verbs can suggest that deictic centre is placed at the sender's location, the origo can also be shifted to a different location, e.g., a pre-established or pre-agreed target location, as in example (16), where the sender implies being in motion (cf. location talk in establishing another person's transit status during a phone call discussed in Laursen and Szymanski 2013) through the use of the phrase *We're on our way*).

(16) We're **on our way** 2 [borough],us, [nickname] & [name].are u **coming**?

The sender in (16) uses the deictic verb COME, which traditionally implies movement towards the speaker, to refer not to their current location or to their *-iknal* (see Subsection 5.1.1), but to their target location, i.e., [borough].

Placing motion on a temporal axis at the very time of producing a message can be signalled even more directly through the use of *just*, like in example (17).

(17) **Just gettin** home. Wat r u up to? Waitin for me to **come** to ur place? ;-)

Further examples of indicating deictic centre through expressing motion (e.g., through the use of other deictic verbs) can be found in other parts of this chapter, devoted to the analysis of other aspects of location in texting. What can, however, be seen

¹³The alternative situation would take place if the preposition used was INTO.

already from the few examples above is that texters face the necessity (or choice) of indicating location and deictic centre to establish better understanding in a communicative situation. Due to the fact that senders and recipients are most commonly remotely located, there exist multiple potential deictic centres and reference frames. The following section explores the issue of negotiation and alignment of reference frames between remotely located interactants. I discuss the choice of own reference frame, adoption of one's communicative partner's reference frame, and negotiation of reference frame in text-exchanges, leading to a mutually agreed one.

5.3 Reference frames alignment

As stated in Section 4.6, a correct interpretation of spatial information in any form of communication requires interactants to negotiate and agree a joint frame of reference. Complex in itself, such negotiation poses additional difficulties in the case of texting for a number of reasons. Subsection 3.2.4 showed the complex nature of context in electronically mediated communication, with interactants having multiple available contexts to consider and, consequently, a variety of contextual factors to refer to in constructing and interpreting messages. In addition to the number of reference frames available in face-to-face communication, in electronically mediated interactions, texters (along with those interacting in other electronically mediated contexts) can refer also to their mobile phone screen¹⁴ or a virtual space created for the purpose of mediated communication (see Section 5.4). Reference can also be made, directly or indirectly, to senders' and recipients' physical location as well as a third space, i.e., a place different from either of the interactants' locations¹⁵, as will be discussed

¹⁴An equivalent of mobile phone screen for texters can be a computer, tablet, or e-reader screen for users of other technologies.

¹⁵A similar situation occurs in a number of non-mediated and mediated forms of communication. Here, I refer to face-to-face communication as an example, which is probably most commonly used in opposition to electronically mediated communication.

in Section 5.4. A question arises as to the choice of reference frame that would ensure effective and efficient communication. The egocentric reference frame, intuitive and in most cases infallible in the canonical situation of utterance (cf. Section 4.5), carries a number of difficulties when employed in communication between remotely located participants as well as in communication in mediated environments (see also Subsection 3.2.4).

This section analyses texters' choice of reference frame in communication and discursive tools employed to signal this choice to their communicative partners. First, the choice of one's own reference frame is discussed in Subsection 5.3.1, followed by the choice of other than one's own reference frame in Subsection 5.3.2. Finally, in Subsection 5.3.3, I discuss negotiating and arriving at an agreement as to a reference frame.

5.3.1 Own reference frame

The choice of reference frame is culture-dependent. In European culture(s), among others, the primary reference frame is egocentric, i.e., having the speaker at its centre and orienting towards others and entities around them from their perspective. Adopting this frame means having the speaker always at the deictic centre, identifying as I, physically located at HERE and temporally at NOW, as in example (18).

(18) Hello! Have **arrived in [city]**- it's v nice! Going to **wander into town**, could you tell me what time to meet for the rehearsal? Will see you directly **there**:)

The sender of (18) refers, more or less directly, to four separate locations. The sender's current location is *[city]*, where he has just *arrived* after being at a different location. He informs the recipient of his intention to *wander*¹⁶ *into town*, with the town being

¹⁶The verb WANDER carries additional information about the manner of motion, the study of which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

the third (intended) location. Finally, a fourth location is implied through the use of the deictic *there* and is likely to refer to the location of the music/theatre rehearsal where the sender and the recipient are planning to meet. The location pattern in the text-message in question can therefore be represented as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{AT (I, [CITY])} \wedge ([\text{CITY}] = \text{L2}) \wedge (\text{L2} = \text{HERE}) &\implies \text{AT (I, here)} \\ \text{AT (I, here)} \wedge (\text{HERE} \neq \text{THERE}) &\implies \text{AT (I, NOT there)} \end{aligned}$$

At the same time, it can be inferred that:

- L1 = former location (NOT [CITY])
- L2 = current location/here ([CITY])
- L3 = next intended/target location (TOWN)
- L4 = final intended/target location (THERE)

Taking the above into consideration, movement patterns in example (18) can be represented as:

ARRIVE

(completed) move from L1 to L2
 [Motion] [Path] [Ground] [Path] [Ground]

WANDER

(intended) move from L2 to L3
 [Motion] [Path] [Ground] [Path] [Ground]

The sender discursively places himself at a deictic centre located at his physical location through the use of the deictic motion verb *arrive*, the intention to *wander into*

town, and the deictic adverb *there*. Since the sender's physical location in example (18) is of significance to the content of communication, the HERE is explicitly defined in the message. However, the need to define location applies also to situations where interactants negotiate joint focus on a particular location from two remotely located points of view, as in (19).

- (19) [name/form of address] thanks for staying back. I appreciate that. ok. 1st question is on resilience and explaining a situation where i feel pressurised. I can talk about store targets **here** right.

In a research interview, the sender explained that he sent the text-message in (19) while he was filling in a job application form with the aim of getting his friend's help with answering some of the questions. The agreement was that the sender would text the recipient the questions and the recipient would text back some suggestions. The final sentence of the message was intended to be read as a request for confirmation, i.e., *I can talk about store targets here, can't I?*

As stated in Section 4.6, face-to-face communication allows interactants to check that their partner's focus of attention is on the same visual field. Such a possibility does not exist in communication by means of text-messages. Here, attention of both the sender and the recipient is directed to the respective mobile phones, with the message constituting the link between them. Due to the character of texting, where messages do not have to be read at the same time as they are created or sent but can be read at the recipient's convenience, the joint focus on the content of the message may not be simultaneous. This temporal aspect, however, is of no relevance to the present research and, as such, will be disregarded here (but see Page (2012)).

In (19), the joint focus required by the sender consists in the sender's job application, and specifically the question being considered at the time. The desired focus of attention constitutes part of the sender's physical environment (the sender's HERE)

and is external to the message. As a result, while the sender, using his own egocentric reference frame, can refer to the question on the application form at which he is looking using a deictic marker indicating proximity, he recognises the need to define the referent for the recipient, according to whose egocentric reference frame the referent would naturally be defined using a deictic marker indicating distance, i.e.,

If:

- L_s = (physical) location of the sender
- L_r = (physical) location of the recipient
- L_f = (physical) location of the (required) focus of attention

Then:

SENDER'S EGOCENTRIC REFERENCE FRAME in ex (19)

$$\text{AT (I, here)} \wedge \text{AT (1st question, here)} \implies L_s = L_f$$

RECIPIENT'S EGOCENTRIC REFERENCE FRAME in ex (19)

$$\text{AT (I, here)} \wedge \text{AT (1st question, there)} \implies L_r \neq L_f$$

As a result:

$$(L_s = L_f) \wedge (L_r \neq L_f) \implies L_s \neq L_r$$

Consequently, there arises a need to define the deictic centre and frame of reference in the exchange. This is achieved by the sender through pre-defining the referent of HERE in the preceding sentence. Thanks to this, he can employ his own reference frame in a further part of the message with no danger of being misunderstood or his reference misinterpreted.

5.3.2 Deictic shift

The previous subsection discussed senders' use of their own reference frame in establishing deictic centre in text-messages. It was pointed out that senders are (or can be) aware of the fact that, as a result of their physical location being distinct from that of the recipient, the relevant reference frame and deictic centre may need to be specified in communication. In cases where it is not explicitly determined, senders remain aware of the possible communication breakdown following misinterpretation of an employed reference frame.

One of the ways in which this awareness is demonstrated is through the adoption of the communicative partner's egocentric reference frame, with the deictic centre at another person's location (or *-iknal*), which can be expressed explicitly or implied. Whether explicit or implicit, the reference frame and deictic centre need to be intelligible for both participants and both participants have to have corresponding assumptions as to each other's understanding of reference. In example (20), the reference frame is not explicitly established or agreed, but it is assumed to be clear to the recipient.

- (20) Babe Im **outside** were r u?
Babe I'm outside. Where are you?

The meaning of the word OUTSIDE can be represented as:

$$\text{OUTSIDE} \neq \text{INSIDE}$$

It implies the existence of an enclosed space (*inside*) in which the sender is not located. The location or character of this enclosed space is not evident from the text-message and, while the interview with the sender confirmed that the location referred to in (20) is outside the recipient's place, the multiple possible interpretations of the word *outside* render the sender's location unclear without additional explanation or context.

With reference to the deictic centre, Sablayrolles (1995) defined four zones of space, which can be applied to the analysis of (20): the inside (equivalent to the deictic centre), the external zone of contact, the outside of proximity, and the far away outside. *Outside* in (20) carries the meaning of ‘the outside of proximity’, i.e., it denotes a location that is proximate to the deictic centre, but distinct from it.

If:

- L_s = (physical) location of the sender
- L_r = (physical) location of the recipient = HERE

and

OUTSIDE \neq HERE

Then:

RECIPIENT’S EGOCENTRIC REFERENCE FRAME in ex (20)

↓

$AT(I, L_r) \wedge AT(I, \text{HERE}) \implies L_r = \text{HERE}$

SENDER’S EGOCENTRIC REFERENCE FRAME in ex (20)

↓

$L_r = \text{HERE} \wedge AT(I, \text{outside } L_r) \implies AT(I, \text{NOT here})$

It can be seen that in the above example, the sender adopted the recipient’s location as a deictic centre and the sender’s egocentric reference frame. The lack of explicit information or clues regarding the reference frame suggests that interactants have a mutual understanding of the appropriate reference frame. It could be based on prior communication where a meeting place had been agreed or an assumption, as in example (21).

(21) Can u **bring** some fudge tomorrw

Both the sender and the recipient in subsequent interviews confirmed that there was no prior communication or *prior text* that would have established the meaning of any deictic expressions or that would have established a reference frame for this communication. The use of the deictic verb BRING suggests that the sender locates their deictic centre at their physical location. An interview with the sender, however, made it clear that the location referred to was the sender's physical location at the time referred to in the text, i.e., *tomorrw* [tomorrow]. It was not, then, the sender's home (where they sent the text from), but their place of work (where both the sender and the recipient would meet the following day). It is also not explicitly a physical location, but rather a location marked by the presence of the sender himself, which I earlier dubbed *social location* (see Subsection 5.1.1). Understanding the message is dependent on both interactants adopting the same frame of reference, despite the fact that no reference was explicitly made as to where the recipient was to bring the fudge. The interactants relied on their most common joint deictic centre (and, consequently, reference frame) and based the understanding of the content on the assumption that the other interactant would adopt the same frame of reference.

In some cases, similar shifts are performed not in the direction of the recipient's location, be it physical or social, but to a non-material mental space distinct from the sender's current deictic centre. Such situations take place, for example, when recalling past events, or discussing imaginary locations. They may involve the construction of an alter persona, possibly an extension of the sender's and recipient's selves (see also Section 7.2) through which actions are performed, as in example (22).

(22) Slyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera a
I've heard that you were supposed to be at out hairdresser's and
jakos Cie **tu** nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?!
somehow you here not we see! Where in the world are you hag?!

<wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
<hit-3.SG with frying pan over hairstyle> ;)

‘I heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser’s but we can’t see you here somehow! Where are you, woman?! <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan> ;)’

The sender initially adopts their own reference frame, which is illustrated in their choice of the deictic marker of location *tu* [here] corresponding to their current physical location (L_s). It is clear from the content of the message that the recipient’s **physical location** (L_r) is not the same as that of the sender, i.e.,

PHYSICAL LOCATION

If:

- $physicalL_s = \text{HERE}$
- $physicalL_r = \text{NOT HERE}$

Then:

$$physicalL_r \neq physicalL_s$$

In the last section of the message, however, a deictic shift takes place from the sender’s physical location to an undefined location where the sender and the recipient are in physical proximity, which would facilitate the physical action of *hitting the recipient with a frying pan*. Since the sender and the recipient are remotely located at the time of texting, and since it is implied that the *hitting* is taking place at that very time, a deictic shift needs to be indicated discursively in the text-message. In order to achieve this, a separate **mental space** is created in which both interactants are discursively located in the same location. The deictic shift to this *virtual* mental space is signalled by the use of angle brackets around the part of the text referring

to the mental space in question¹⁷. Following the deictic shift to the imagined mental space, the interactants' **virtual location** can be represented as follows:

VIRTUAL LOCATION

If:

- $virtualL_s = \text{HERE}$
- $virtualL_r = \text{HERE}$

Then:

$$virtualL_r = virtualL_s$$

It is evident that for the purpose of communicating particular content, the sender brings the interactants together through the creation of a virtual location inhabited by both the sender and the recipient. At the same time, **alterae personae** of the sender and the recipient are created to represent the interactants in the virtually created interactive space. It is therefore between these alterae personae that (virtually) physical contact takes place. Section 7.2 offers a detailed explanation of the phenomenon briefly discussed here, while further cases of shifting one's location to a joint communicative space despite being remotely located are discussed in detail in Section 5.4.

This subsection was devoted to senders' choices of reference frames. Firstly, cases of the choice of the recipient's reference frame were discussed, followed by cases involving deictic shift to a virtual mental space, indicated discursively in text-messages. In the following section (Subsection 5.3.3), I analyse situations where mutual agreement as to the appropriate reference frame follows some negotiation.

¹⁷Other ways in which a shift to an alternative mental space can be indicated in language include phrases, such as "Can you imagine?" or conditional sentences.

5.3.3 Reference frame negotiation

The necessity to establish a mutually accepted reference frame and the process itself can be to a large extent conscious. At times it can be through a request for clarification as to the meaning of a deictic expression, or a discussion showing multiple reference frames used until a consensus is reached. An example of the latter can be seen in (23), where the sender adopts their own reference frame referring to a third space by the deictic word *there*. At the same time, through the use of the progressive aspect of the verb GO (as opposed to GET/ARRIVE/COME/etc.), the sender assumes that location referred to in (23) is distinct from the recipient's current deictic centre. This interaction took place between Sender A and Sender B, who were at the time remotely located. Sender A was on the way to an event which Sender B was supposed to attend as well.

(23) A: Czeszc [name]! :D let me know when you're going **there** please...will you?

B: We are **there** now

A: Linguistically, very interesting. I'm **coming**.

The original choice of reference frame is adopted by the sender of the second message in the exchange (Sender B) over their own egocentric one when he responds *We are there now*. Interestingly, this deictic choice is acknowledged and recognised as atypical by the sender of the original message (Sender A), which shows that interactants can be very aware of the referential difficulty in communication between remotely located participants (in this case in the form of texting, but found also in other forms of mobile interactions). The sender of the third message in the exchange (Sender A), consequently, employs the verb COME in the following message, marking the adoption of the reference frame egocentric for Sender B.

What has taken place in the above exchange is a **double deictic shift**. First, the sender of the second message in the exchange (Sender B) disregarded his natural,

egocentric reference frame, in accordance with which one's current location (see the use of the temporal marker NOW) is always HERE, in favour of his interactant's one, where the referential deictic term THERE is used from the deictic perspective of the sender of the first message, i.e. Sender A. After that, Sender A shifted his reference frame to that of his interactant in the third message in the exchange. This was achieved through the employment of the verb COME, which suggests *origo* at the other's location.

These examples have indicated the development of negotiation pattern in establishing mutually agreed reference frame in texting. In all such cases, interactants may need to abandon their naturally egocentric (relative) reference frame and adopt a "foreign" reference frame of their communicative partner, whether signalling this shift in their responses explicitly or implicitly, through correct understanding of deictic elements from the other's deictic perspective. Such shifts are often necessary to ensure successful communication between remotely located interactants.

5.4 Joint communicative space

Traditional understanding of space, originating in ancient philosophy, involves *being in* or *within* it. Plato claimed that everything, including human beings, has to have its location in space, which has led to assumptions as to the pre-existent nature of space, independent of action carried out in that space (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]). This claim is refuted by Lussault and Stock (2009), who argue for understanding space as constructed through actions and replacing its traditional understanding with the idea of space as constructed through practice (see also Section 4.1, which discusses, among other things, the distinction between *place* and *space* proposed by Harrison and Dourish (1996)).

In terms of virtual reality and the feeling of being there, to which the notion of

presence is directly related, research has concentrated mainly on technologically more advanced media in which real-life environments are re-created in a virtual world. Such environments employ sophisticated technologies to represent images, sounds and sometimes, e.g., in the case of sophisticated haptic technologies, other sensory information in a virtual world. However, as Reeves and Nass (1996) point out, it does not take virtual reality to create a sense that another person is present.

As is evident from the above discussion as well as earlier chapters of this thesis, space and place and their construction have been discussed in a variety of fields. What has not been achieved so far is an analysis of the discursive tools employed to create joint communicative spaces for texting interactions.¹⁸ In this section, I aim to verify the claim that remotely located texters create an explicit communicative space for their interactions. Detailed analysis of discursive content of text-messages in the sample will provide an answer as to whether joint communicative space is created as well as what discursive tools are employed in order to accomplish this task.

Kasesniemi (2003, p.26) pointed to the fact that the use of mobile phones (speaking on a mobile phone in her case) has led to a “conflicting situation” in which the communicator is simultaneously at two locations. Text-messages, despite their minimalist character, have been found to facilitate or even create connectedness as well as play a major role in creating the state of **‘connected’ presence** (Licoppe 2004), whereby interactants remain in the constant state of contact through the day e.g., by texting, instant messaging, or emailing. Content becomes secondary to contact established via the mere act of sending a (text-)message (cf. the notion of phatic communication discussed, for example, in Saville-Troike 2003), particularly in one-liners, i.e., short messages usually without a greeting or a sign-off (Rettie 2006). This focus on contact and the feeling of connectedness to a remotely located partner has been highlighted by a number of scholars working mainly in social sciences and communication studies

¹⁸My understanding of joint communicative space here is as a location of interactions, which is socially constructed and can be accessed from an experiential angle (cf. Harrison and Dourish 1996).

(cf. e.g., Laursen 2005; Ito and Okabe 2005a; Rettie 2006; Knaś 2006), who, however, focus mainly on social phenomena and rarely on detailed linguistic analysis. This section aims to provide an analysis of discursive tools employed by texters¹⁹ to achieve the sense of connectedness or joint presence in one communicative space.

In Section 4.2, reference was made to six types of presence recognised by Lombard and Ditton (1997) and the distinction between physical, social, and co-presence presented by Ijsselsteijn, Freeman, and de Ridder (2001, p.181). I argued that, although texting would be most likely classified as providing a sense of social presence, it does in fact facilitate creating co-presence in the same communicative space. While, as suggested by research in mobile and electronically mediated communication, establishing and maintaining contact is at the heart of texting, texters do seem to focus on creating virtual communicative environments (places) and establishing the feeling of being virtually located in a joint physical space with their communicative partners. One of the ways in which this is achieved is by verbally declaring one's presence in a common interactive space and availability for a communicative exchange, as in example (24).

(24) That's not fair I had someting 2do but now **Im back** and continuing our conversation. I deserve dat at least please baby gal. X x x x x X

(25) **Jestem**, ale Ty juz chyba spisz...
I am, but you already probably are sleeping...
'I'm here, but you're probably already asleep.'

The sender signals co-presence in example (24) by means of their presence in the same communicative space. This is realised by an explicit declaration *Im back* and a marker of mutuality in the form of a possessive adjective *our*.

In example (25), the sender declares their availability and at the same time expresses

¹⁹Although this thesis focuses on text-messages only, a similar analysis, with possible adjustments, can be conducted to establish what discursive tools are used in establishing the feeling of connectedness or co-presence in other forms of text-based mediated communication.

an assumption that the recipient might not be available. The form of address *Ty* ‘you’, with the second person singular of the verb *spisz* ‘(you) sleep’ on the one hand, and the use of a verb BE in the first person singular (*jestem*) in reference to the sender places both participants within the same communicative space. The verb form *jestem*, ‘I am’, is often used in Polish face-to-face communication by people who arrive in a place where such interaction takes place. The verb is not accompanied by any reference to a particular location, therefore it can be interpreted as a signal of availability for the addressee. Similar expressions found elsewhere in the sample include *meldowac sie*, ‘to report to somebody’, with its playful formality, e.g., *[nickname] melduje sie na stanowisku*, ‘[nickname] reporting from her position’.

It has been pointed out that the use of verbal expressions to mark entering shared communicative space serves at the same time to signal availability to undertake conversational exchange. In example (24) this readiness is indicated explicitly in the phrase *Im back and continuing our conversation*. This example clearly shows the relation between re-joining communicative space and continuing previously interrupted interaction, even though the said exchange takes place via text-messages and does not require participants to ‘be back’ in order to interact. The sender signals both the readiness to re-establish a conversation (social presence) and being back (physical presence), at the same time creating the feeling of co-presence.

Taking into account the near-synchronous character of texting, texters often rely on their messages being read immediately. In order to make sure that communication, if speed and immediacy are required, is not conducted in vain, senders can check the availability of recipients before sending content-rich messages. This can be achieved by either sending a greeting-only message, the recipient’s name followed by a question mark, a smiley face or a punctuation mark. Any type of text-nudge or summons can be involved, as in example (26), which consists of a communicative exchange between two people trying to co-ordinate their meeting place, and examples (27) and (28),

aimed at checking recipients' availability.

(26) A: Arghhhhh... grrrrr!

B: ??? Miaooow

A: Where r [you] meawing at me from?

(27) u awake??

(28) You online?

The transactional purpose of the exchange in example (26), i.e., establishing location for the purpose of coordinating joint actions, does not become evident to the recipient until the third message in the exchange, where the sender asks for the recipient's whereabouts. Prior to that, the purpose of communication was to establish contact and check the other person's availability to interact, as is the more explicit case in examples (27) and (28). Social presence is thereby established, but there is no mention of space or explicit enquiry about the recipient's being available, which makes this exchange different from examples (24) and (25). In the latter, not only social presence is established, but interactants are co-present in the same virtual communicative space.

Just as entering a shared communicative space can be marked textually by means of verbal expressions such as *I'm back*, *I'm here*, etc., leaving the same space is signalled in a similar way. Among expressions employed by texters there are *I'm off* and *Off I go*. In example (29), the sender seeks the recipient's understanding through direct form of address *you see* used to mark joint participation in the interaction. This mutuality is also underlined by the use of the inclusive pronoun *we* (i.e., the sender and the recipient) in a suggestion of continuing their conversation later.

(29) Enjoy! And oh god please not the jealousy thing, it's the worst! Shattered

from all the moving around and not sleeping, my dad's dying you see? Maybe we can chat later. **Off i go...**

The sender signals leaving the shared communicative space twice. First, he indirectly suggests temporarily terminating the ongoing exchange through the suggestion *Maybe we can chat later*. After that he explicitly informs that he is no longer available for conversation through the use of a present tense verb with ellipsis *Off I go...* which suggests that the action takes place at that moment.

In example (30), the sender suggests the termination of the interaction by saying that they might leave the common communicative space. This strategy serves a function opposite to the one marked by the verb *jestem* in example (25). Even though there is no direct reference to the recipient in this message, one can conclude that the sender uses it to inform the recipient that they consider the exchange finished. The fact that the sender wanted to mark the interaction as taking place in a joint communicative space is visible in their use of the verb ISC 'to go' to excuse him- or herself from the place of interaction.

- (30) Bosz jak mnie wszystko dzisiaj nerwi i sie psuje! **Ide**
Gosh how me everything today irritates and goes wrong! I'll go
chyba spac i plakac do wanny :(
probably to sleep and cry to bathtub :(
- 'Gosh everything today irritates me and goes wrong! I think I'll go to sleep
and cry in the bath :('

The context provides necessary information to conclude that no actual movement is intended and the verb is used metaphorically to describe the act of discontinuing the interaction, which can be compared to logging off in the case of chats or MUDs (del Teso-Craviotto 2004).

Summary

Examples in this section have highlighted that texters not only create what has been classified as social presence, but also “invite” the recipients to join the same virtual space where the interaction takes place, at the same time creating co-presence (Ijsselsteijn, Freeman, and de Ridder 2001; Ijsselsteijn and Riva 2003). Chapter 5 has discussed place and space construction in the text-only medium of SMS-messaging in relation to its encoding in language. Referring to its feature of portability, I have shown that texters not only define their physical location through explicit mention of place names and references to entities these places contain, but also transmit their social location, negative location, and negotiate a common reference frame, which can lead to a deictic shift to the other interactant’s deictic centre or virtual joint communicative space where texters act through discursively created *alterae personae*. I also showed that texters create, discursively enter, or leave joint virtual communicative spaces where interaction takes place.

Both the creation of communicative spaces and representation of location are often accompanied by *descriptions*, which are aimed at providing more information and invoke more vivid images of the locations in question to the recipient. Detailed descriptions provided by texters in their messages often involve sensory cues usually received by the sense of hearing or the sense of touch, such as descriptions of sounds or texture. Through the implementation of media conventions (on the part of the sender) and the willingness to suspend disbelief as well as familiarity with media conventions used, their communication becomes more “realistic” in character. These instances will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Self-presentation: Person, persona and aspects of physicality in texts

With the popularisation of electronically mediated communication (EMC) the production of discourse enters new modalities and there appears a need to revisit established categories and revise definitions. Bearing in mind the character of electronic communication, with the remote location of interactants and its resulting lack of certain cues normally present in face-to-face (or even telephone) exchanges, representing ‘the invisible’ is one of the important challenges that EMC users are faced with. The question of which aspects of communication beyond text are salient enough for texters to represent in discourse is the focus of this chapter.

Whereas in face-to-face communication people can rely on all available verbal and nonverbal cues, the latter often being employed unconsciously, mediated communication requires that users create their representations consciously and purposefully. Some researchers (e.g., Hall 1996; Sutton 1999) claim that electronically mediated communication is bodiless and, as such, can liberate its users from stereotypes and prejudices related to class, gender, skin colour, or age (cf. Kendall 2002 and for an account of earlier studies concerned with disembodiment see Milne 2010). Sim-

ilarly, Meyrowitz (1985) argues that while in visual media speakers are physically represented, in print media one's physical self is completely absent. His claim, however, does not take into consideration discursive tools employed in textual mediated environments to mitigate this.

As electronic communication has gained popularity, users have developed discursive ways of representing themselves physically not only through verbal descriptions of themselves and a variety of behaviours characteristic of face-to-face interactions, but also through discursive enactment based on a number of conventions characteristic of the modality used. As a result of such enactment, discursive creations emerge that can be compared to bodies in face-to-face interactions (cf. del Teso-Craviotto 2004). Such *bodies* may be related to a physical person or *alterae personae* of technology users, who can simultaneously adopt a number of different personae and characteristics that may or may not bear resemblance to their offline selves and constitute imaginary characters (cf. Deuel 1996).

This chapter concentrates on the tools used by communicators to represent themselves in text-messages, with the main focus on self-definition (Section 6.1) and enacting physicality in terms of auditory (Section 6.2) and visual information (Section 6.3), as well as discursively performed actions (Section 6.4). The analysis leads to the conclusion involving the notion of *alterae personae* through which physicality is performed, whose detailed discussion is covered in Section 7.2. In each section, I present background information of theories relevant to my analysis and indicate similarities with other forms of electronically mediated communication. This approach not only helps set the context for the analysis, but it also shows how the analysis proposed here is relevant to the study of other modalities in mediated interactions.

Prior to the analysis, however, a distinction needs to be made between two forms in which multimodal expression, i.e., representation of information conveyed by multiple modes, such as, sound, image, texture, etc., projects itself in text-only environments

where multimodality in its traditional sense is impossible. To this end, I introduce the distinction between *descriptions* and *discursive enactment*.

Descriptions (e.g., of sensory experience) are traditionally associated with literary discourse, and, to construct evocative imagery and representations of sound in speech, they are often accompanied by such rhetorical tools as repetition and variation, rhythmic symphony, and systematic use of particular phonemes. These strategies of involvement (Tannen 1989) are of primary concern in the study of poetry and literary narrative but they can also be found in the language of spontaneous conversations, where dialogue, details, and images inspire participants to create and perceive sounds and scenes in their minds. They present the subject in a way that shapes the reader's or hearer's perception of it and evokes internal evaluation, i.e., they lead the reader or hearer to draw conclusions about what is being presented just as they would if they experienced these sounds and images in an unmediated form.

Discursive enactment, on the other hand, takes place when, rather than through descriptions, speakers refer to conventions established in discourse to **perform** actions and **imitate** sensory cues, e.g., duration or intensity of sounds. Discursive enactment is rooted in the concept of performatives (Austin 1962), where actions are performed through the linguistic act expressed by the verb in a particular utterance. As will become evident (cf. Section 6.4), discursive enactment does not follow the same social conventions as performatives to achieve the intended effect. They do, however, follow a number of rules, which will be referred to in the relevant sections of this chapter and discussed in detail in Subsection 7.3.1.

6.1 Names, nicknames, and categories

Section 6.1 concerns the use of names (or nicknames) and categories in creating self-representations in electronically mediated communication. The discussion covers both

creating one's own representation and categorisation by others, taking into account the role of participants in co-creating meanings in interactions. Next to such elements of non-verbal communication as, for instance, facial expressions, sounds, or gestures, texters use names in signatures and forms of address as a means of identification and self-definition (Section 6.1).

Names people carry have major significance both for their own personal identities and as identifiers in social interactions. Although in most cases one cannot choose their own name, a name has an enormous symbolic, psychological, and social significance. According to symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969), people act based on meaning they ascribe to things and actions through the act of naming or assigning labels, derived from social interactions and modified through interpretation. Human communication is to a large extent based on symbolic representations (cf. the Saussurean sign, with its dyadic relation between the signifier and the signified), rather than solely on features and characteristics themselves. Successful communication depends on participants' mutual understanding of the labels they assign to each other. Physical distance and time lag, both pertinent for texting, may change the perception of another person and lead to miscommunication. Therefore, it can be expected that texters would assign a degree of importance to names and forms of address in terms of self-definition.

Nicknames in mediated environments not only have meanings as nouns do, they also characterise their referent, drawing on various possible associations that they may invoke (cf. Bechar-Israeli 1995). This has been confirmed in research on chat conversation which suggests that in a majority of cases interactants create an image of each other based on associations that their nicknames carry (e.g., Panyamethekul and Herring 2003; Zelenkauskaite and Herring 2006) and in others where names, along with other identifying information, serve to establish author identity (e.g., Page 2012, pp.151-153).

Because of the absence of visible bodily cues of gender and other physical identity markers in mediated text-only environments, nicknames have been conceptualised as “a kind of substitute for the face and the body” in online environments (Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, and Tynes 2004, p.660). Alternatively, they may be seen not as substitutes but as constitutive of the self (Stommel 2008). Whereas in offline environments people’s appearances are connected to their names in creating social images, online names assume even greater significance. Online, it is the denotational and stereotypical features, along with well-known referents of names, that interdependently characterise participants. Often the only available piece of information about a user, they are a critical factor in determining a user’s relative attractiveness for other participants in chatrooms.

Names and nicknames play an important part as salient discourse features in EMC. Their role in certain virtual environments is analogous to that of gaze and body movements in face-to-face conversations involving several people (Crystal 2006), where one can single out the recipient of an utterance simply by making eye-contact. In chatrooms, where a number of conversational threads intertwine on the screen, the use of an addressee’s nickname at the beginning of one’s message serves the same purpose. The attention-attracting function of names and nicknames loses its importance in environments where communication is performed on a one-to-one basis, e.g., in Instant Messaging (IM), e-mails, and text-messages. In such environments, communication involves usually only two participants (but see, e.g., commercial uses of texting and sending group messages) and the channel of communication between a given pair of interactants is opened by the act of sending a message. The recipient is usually alerted to the incoming message by an aural and/or visual signal, e.g., a notifier selected on a mobile phone handset in the case of text-messages.

In texting, interactants usually know each other, which eliminates the necessity of defining oneself either in order to signal one’s identity or to attract the attention

of potential interactants. Senders are usually pre-defined in phone book entries in recipients' mobile devices and their names are automatically attached to incoming messages¹. Their identity is therefore attributed to them by recipients, as opposed to the self-defined identity of chatroom users.

Despite that, it would be a mistake to assume that names and self-definitions are completely irrelevant in texting. Depending on the function and purpose of text-messages (Wolańska 2008), senders may choose to provide recipients with self-definition in the form of a signature at the end of their messages. While the practice of signing one's text-messages, along with including greetings and farewells, has been found to be rather scarce by most researchers (e.g., Schmidt and Androutsopoulos 2004; Frehner 2008), its employment may be dictated by the sender's willingness to signal a particular identity that the recipient should assign to them at a given moment. As a result, the sender may in some situations be distancing themselves from the identity they anticipate will be pre-imposed by the recipient and, in effect, lead to the creation of a user's alter persona. In examples (31) through (34), the same sender signed their text-messages to the same recipient in four different ways.

(31) shopping later...me by myself or do you wanna join me...up to uuuuu...**[initial]**
:-*

(32) hi...dad has turned off water for now which will help. think plumber coming
on weds. all gd with me...hope your having fun! **nickname**² xx

(33) Hiya, am just going to have a quick beer or two with [name] in [pub] (whrre i
ran to) now from 7...so will go into shopping centre prior to that. If you fancy

¹In some older handsets, even if a person's name was saved in recipient's contacts, text-messages were signed by number only and not attached to the name under which a given phone number was saved in the recipient's phone. However, all new handsets associate phone numbers of senders with names to which they are attached in the phone's memory.

²This nickname was a short version of the sender's name, a feature which cannot be conveyed following the anonymisation process.

you are welcome to come too, depending on what youre doing...[initial1][initial2]³

xx

(34) hiya, hope ur doing well. if u get chance before 12.30 could you forward me snow worksheet? ta! [nickname]⁴ :-*

In an interview, the sender stated that his “normal” signature when texting this recipient, who was, incidentally, his partner, was [initial1], as this was the way the recipient often addressed the sender. In a more formal or business-like setting, the sender was likely to choose to sign his messages as [nickname] (example (32)), which he also used for texting his male friends. The signatures in example (33) and (34) were less common. The sender explained, “[initial1][initial2] is like [initial1]. Because I think it’s boring to always use the same signature.” Finally, the sender signed his messages using his nickname, as in example (34), for one of two reasons: 1. to show that he was in a particularly good and playful mood and wanted to be perceived in this “cute and playful” way by the recipient or 2. as a way of acknowledging the assigned persona, in response to having just been called this way by his partner.

This finding is in line with the claim that names and nicknames serve as denotational units and, one can argue, are *demeanor indexicals* (cf. Goffman 1956) which indicate a speaker’s desirability or undesirability in interactions. The importance of co-creation of one’s image by other participants, which was mentioned earlier in the chapter in the context of social interactionism, is evident also in Goffman’s observation that demeanor involves attributes derived from “interpretations others make of the way in which an individual handles himself during social intercourse” (Goffman 1956, p.489). Nicknames, as actor-focal emblems (Agha 2007, cf. Stommel 2009) which hold identity-ascribing features, constitute an important “identity peg” (Goffman 1963)

³Here the sender used the initials of both his first name and his middle name.

⁴This nickname, different from example (32), had a cute sound to it, which cannot be conveyed following the anonymisation process.

with which people associate their knowledge of a person⁵.

As is evident from the examples, texters can define themselves like chat-room users, even in communication with well-known interactants. In such cases, the self-definition bears a much more temporary character and can be seen as an update on the sender's current state of mind or identification. In a similar way, through forms of address, senders can assign personae to recipients, as in example (35).

(35) Hi...bit tired..my own fault though! Replied to mail...well done, **miss productivity!!! ;-)** :-*

The sender of the above message chose to address the recipient in a way that refers to an earlier communication in which the recipient texted about her productive day. Again, this form of address was reportedly time-sensitive and was only one of the ways in which the sender addressed this recipient, depending on the context and the sender's state of mind.

These examples show that through nicknames, texters signal a temporary identification and assign persona to themselves and their recipients that reflect their attitude, state of mind, and the context of interaction. The aim of such practice is to create an image of oneself or another person that would create a basis of further communication. The persona discursively created in such interactions can take the form of an *alter persona*, a phenomenon discussed in Section 7.2.

Self-definition through names, temporary identification, and assigning a persona to the recipient are but one way in which texters represent themselves discursively in their messages. Other aspects conveyed by senders include physical features, such as sound, movement, and facial expression. Texters (among users of other modalities of EMC) employ a variety of tools and strategies to represent themselves in elec-

⁵For an example of reading stereotypical personal attributes in nicknames see Stommel's (2008, 2009) analysis of how nicknames help construct identities, or selves, in Hungrig-Online, a German forum for people with eating disorders.

tronic environments and construct distinct mental spaces⁶. Using names, nicknames, and categories, as was discussed in this section, constitutes one of such ways. Its function as a self-representation tool links it to strategies discussed in the following sections, where the focus is on more physical aspects of self-presentation, covering discursive means employed to represent aspects of physicality, such as auditory and visual cues (Sections 6.2 and 6.3, respectively) as well as those employed to enact online behaviours (Section 6.4).

6.2 Audible persona: Phoneticons

The ‘real’ world, as opposed to a mediated one, is full of sounds: human voices (in discourse through prosody and paralinguistic features), surrounding environment (e.g., cars driving by, coins falling on the floor, keyboard tapping), etc. In face-to-face communication, even without understanding words, we are able to understand the overall tone of communication (Hymes 1974), making inferences from the tone of voice, its pitch, the pace of uttering words, and accompanying sounds, such as smacking one’s lips or hissing. Complete silence, understood as the absence of sound, is rare.

Prosody constitutes an important element in linguistic analyses of both interactional and monologic spoken productions. It includes a variety of features related to frequency, amplitude, and duration: intonation, change in loudness, stress, variations in vowel length, phrasing (utterance chunking by pausing and change in speed of delivery), and overall shifts in speech register (Gumperz 1982, p.100). The functions that prosody has been found to serve in communication include, among other things, emphasis, signalling attitude or stance, influencing effectiveness of persuasive texts, and making it possible to understand texts. Prosodic cues are based in conventionalised

⁶The notion of mental spaces and its relevance for the current project are presented in detail in Chapter 7, and especially in Section 7.2

patterns of usages (Gumperz 1982). For their interpretation users need to rely on the presence of the discourse context and the users' previous interactional experience.

Mediated environments are the opposite: apart from the sounds that accompany creating the message and possible vocal reactions to received messages, text displayed on the computer screen in text-only modes of EMC does not carry any sound. It carries meanings and attitudes through written verbalisations and it can convey a sender's stance towards a message or an ongoing situation (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009). Nevertheless, as I showed elsewhere, paralinguistic communication in a silent mediated context is still possible (Knaś 2009).

Auditory cues in text-only modalities of EMC have been regarded as relatively insignificant and have not been widely studied (but see, e.g., Coates 2010). The little analysis of prosodic features in EMC that exists concentrates mainly on interactions in chat rooms or other internet-based communicative modalities. Scholars mention the employment of punctuation to create pauses and indicate tempo (Werry 1996), representations of "laughter and other non-language sounds" (Herring 2001, p.617), "exclamations, snarls, barks, singing [and] the sound of racing cars" (Werry 1996, p.58), appropriation of pronunciation associated with familiarity (del Teso-Craviotto 2004), and approximation of the phonological value of specific sounds (Frehner 2008).

However, the analysis of these features has largely disregarded texting as an expressive modality. Text-messages are very simple in their format. They do not offer the possibility to single out parts of a text for the purpose of emphasis by means of colour, italics, bold face, or underlining. Instead, certain graphological means have been taken from other modalities of EMC (cf. Werry 1996) to emulate suprasegmental phonological features, such as emphasis (Frehner 2008). While texting is generally perceived as a mute form of communication, I argue that this characteristic only applies to its surface form, i.e., text-only form of communication⁷. The analysis of

⁷I acknowledge that texting may involve sound in the form of key-tapping and the sound of a

the content of text-messages shows that texting, despite being technologically monomodal, enables users to transfer auditory information visually through the use of “text-tools”, such as silences, fillers, and phoneticons (Knaś 2006, 2009), causing the emergence of a form of communication characterised by embedded multimodality (see Section 7.3).

While communicating, senders ascribe considerable importance to the tone of voice and the way of speaking, which is visible in the “text-tools” they employ in their text-messages, which I call **phoneticons** and define as **graphemic representations of voice qualities and sound imitations in writing** (Knaś 2006). They can be classified as instances of *enactment* (see the explanation of this notion earlier in Chapter 6) and are the only naturally textual type of aural content in electronically mediated communication and constitute written equivalents of paralinguistic signals, usually expressed through such conventions of inscription as non-standard spelling, repeated vowels to indicate prolonged sound in speech, or other type of emphasis, as in examples (40) and (42), or by the use of capital letters for emphasis or to represent a loud or angry voice, as in examples (36) and (37), which will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.1 Sound length and emphasis

Roman orthographies use italics, bolding, underlining, and capital letters for emphasis. Colour or font choice can serve similar functions. In the domain of text-only communication, research has often pointed to the use of repeated and capital letters to imitate prosody in speech, however, these reports are usually presented in the context of a wider discussion of untypical spelling in texting and are sometimes

ringtone or beep when a text-message is received in some phone settings. There is also a possibility of attaching a sound file to a mobile phone message, which can be retrieved by the recipient. However, these instances are irrelevant for the present study as they either concentrate on the production of a text-message or refer to MMS messages, rather than text-messages. Consequently, such cases are disregarded in this study.

dismissive of the texters' creative expression. Crystal (2006, p.37) refers to the "exaggerated use of spelling and punctuation, and the use of capitals, spacing, and special symbol for emphasis" as "somewhat desperate efforts to replace [prosody]". While, admittedly, the range of tools to express nuances of meaning in text-only communication is smaller than in face-to-face exchanges, it needs to be borne in mind that meanings communicated through texting are constructed and interpreted against the background of situational context and familiarity with one's communicative partner. As such, a capitalised (or unusually spelt) word may carry a range of different meanings, the only common trait being that it is marked as distinct from its surrounding text. This section considers the use of capital letters and repetition and discusses the function they serve in text-messages.

It is commonly believed that capitalisation is used for shouting in EMC. In (36), (37), and similar examples, senders are not representing shouting, but are manipulating textual resources available to them to express the intended intonation pattern against the rest of the sentence and add to the importance of the capitalised words in the message (cf. Bolinger 1989).

(36) Im playing with **MY** new phone ;)

(37) Tak wlasnie jest jak Ci nie powiedza ktoredy **DOKLADNIE**
 That's what happens if they don't tell you which way **EXACTLY**
 jedzie autobus, nie uscisla ze nie jedzie **DOKLADNIE** do
 takes the bus, don't specify that doesn't go **EXACTLY** to
 dworca, a ja nie znam w koncu **DOKLADNIE** [city-GEN:]))
 the station, and I don't know after all **EXACTLY** [city-GEN:]))

'That's what happens if they don't tell you which route the bus **EXACTLY** takes, if they don't specify that it doesn't go **EXACTLY** to the station, and, after all, I don't **EXACTLY** know [city-GEN:]))'

In an interview, the sender of (36) reported that he had used the capitalised *MY* for

contrastive emphasis as a response to the recipient's earlier hints that the phone he (the sender) referred to should be a gift for her (the recipient). In (37), the emphasis on the repeated word *DOKLADNIE* ("exactly") was intended to express the sender's frustration at the public transport in an unfamiliar city and the fact that she had been given only vague directions, not "exact" ones.

As is evident from the analysis of examples (38), (39), and (40), it would be a simplification to claim that repeated letters are used solely to express the duration of sounds.

(38) Dat is **soooooo** sweet..u must b so hapz gal..to ur wrkplc?..btw, I'll b arnd
urs by 8..kool?

(39) **Yipppppeeeeeee!!**

(40) Oh sorry i 4got thats cool silver woo get u with your **newwww** contract

Whereas repeating the letter 'o' in (38) and 'e' in (39) corresponds to the pronunciation of prolonged diphthongs or long vowel sounds, a different principle is followed in the case of the multiple 'p' in (39) and 'w' in (40). The fact that, as a plosive, [p] cannot be pronounced as a long sound suggests that texters do not use repeated letters just to represent the length of sounds in a text-only medium to compensate for its lack of prosody, but that mediated lengthening of sounds, although inspired by pronunciation in speech, is somewhat more creative and develops, to a certain degree, independently from spoken language.

In the above examples, repeated letters mark not just the length of sounds but also, or even rather, the intensity of the senders' emotions, be it happiness or excitement. One might argue that the level of repetition, i.e., the number of repeated letters, is directly proportional to the strength of expressed emotions. Crystal (2006), however, claims that it is more likely to be linked purely to the length of time a relevant key

is held down. This is undeniably device-dependent, as in the case of most of the new devices with touch screen pressing a key for a longer time makes available a wider selection of characters, rather than result in the appearance of multiple letters.

6.2.2 Imitating sounds and ways of speaking

Users exploit written language for expressive purposes and to reproduce paralinguistic features, but they also represent features of pronunciation associated with familiarity, with being funny, or silly through the use of colloquial phonetic processes, e.g., the phonetic features of the Andalusian Spanish dialect and childish pronunciation found by del Teso-Craviotto (2004) in Spanish dating chat rooms. In the analysed sample here, a similar tendency can be observed. Senders imitate the way of speaking or tone of voice characteristic of complaining, moaning, being drunk, childish, etc. In (41), the sender expresses remorse and apologises for offending the recipient.

(41) Im **sorwwy** (cute face) how did I offend & how can I make up?

Through the replacement of the second ‘r’ in the word ‘sorry’ with double ‘w’, the sender represents the phrase *Im sorwwy* as pronounced in an apologetic and baby-like way, placing him in an asymmetrical position with the recipient. In this case, double letters are not used to indicate prolonged sounds, but a “cute” way of speaking which, the sender hoped, will grant him forgiveness from the recipient and restore relationship equality. This function of creative spelling in (41) is further emphasised by the visual reference to the sender’s (*cute face*) (for the discussion of visual information in text-messages see Section 6.3).

Whereas in (41) the purpose of employing creative spelling may have been to ensure a more favourable result for the sender, in examples such as (42), the reason is completely different.

- (42) Bosh...wszyscy maja do mnie ostatnio pretensje, ze
 Gosh...everyone has to me recently complaints that
 sie nie odzywam. A ja niczym srednio inteligentna blondynka
 I don't keep in touch. And I, like average-intelligence blonde,
 rozkladam rece: “**alle o sssooo chozzzi?**”
 spread arms: “buttt about whattt goinnng?”
 ‘Gosh...everyone complains to me that I don't keep in touch. And I, like
 a blonde of average intelligence, spread my arms: “buttt whatttsss goinnn
 ooon?”’

The sender in (42) imitates the way of speaking stereotypically associated with dumb blondes through multiplying letters and replacing some letters with others. In standard Polish the sentence would read: “Ale o co chodzi?” Multiplication of the letter ‘l’ in the word ‘ale’, replacement of the ‘c’ in ‘co’ with an ‘s’ and the ‘dz’ in ‘chodzi’ with a ‘z’, as well as multiplying the ‘s’ and the ‘z’ serve the same communicative purpose, to represent visually the pronunciation of the sentence in question by a person who is either drunk or mentally slow. This reading is confirmed by the content of the message in which the sender compares herself to a ‘blonde of average intelligence’ (*srednio inteligentna blondynka*) and refers to being confused through the comment about spreading her arms (the equivalent of shrugging to express that you do not know the answer).

Research has found that EMC users employ Own Communication Management (OCM) markers which enable them to choose and change their message (cf. Knaś 2006, 2009). They serve as modality or attitudinal indicators, as markers of speaker-hearer intentions and relationships, and as instructions on how given utterances are to be processed. They are hesitation sounds that speakers employ to indicate uncertainty, attention or recognition, express agreement (Tannen 2002), or maintain control of a conversation while thinking of what to say next (cf. Żydek-Bednarczuk 1994; Maschler 1998). Among the OCM features found in her sample of Swedish text-messages, Hård af Segerstad (2005) mentions “eh”, “öh”, and “hmm”, not usually spelt

out in writing (Hård af Segerstad 2002). OCM markers function similarly in English, Polish, and Finnish text-messages (Knaś 2006). All of these findings contribute to intra- and cross-cultural research into discourse markers.

Another paralinguistic element, described as by far the most common face-saving strategy in dating chatrooms, is laughter (del Teso-Craviotto 2006). It is expressed through onomatopoeia, e.g., “ja”, “he”, “hahaha”, “es es es”, “hihi”, as described in earlier research (e.g., del Teso-Craviotto 2006; Frehner 2008; Knaś 2006, 2009), emoticons (graphic representations of facial expressions, such as :-)) or x-D), or acronyms (e.g. “lol” for “laughing out loud”, or “lmao” for “laughing my ass off”). An abundance of lists of other ways of expressing laughter, both in English and in other languages, can be found on the Internet, along with long lists of abbreviations and emoticons. Most are based on pronunciation, e.g., the use of ‘555’ to indicate laughter in Thai (‘5’ is pronounced as ‘ha’ in Thai, so ‘555’ can be read as ‘hahaha’) or ‘wkwkwkwk’ in Indonesian⁸. Although my sample does not include messages in languages other than English, Polish, and Finnish (a few), I have gathered some anecdotal evidence of these forms (Hall-Brindle 2013, pers. comm.).

Apart from laughter, there are also phoneticons in the form of representations of sounds accompanying actions, which are employed for communicative purposes in face-to-face interactions, such as kisses (“mwah”, “cmok”), clearing one’s throat (“ekhm”), and sighing (“eh”). Other examples include purring, as in example (43), and swallowing, as in example (44).

(43) I will. **Grrrr** on your neck x

(44) Cheers!!! **gulp**:)

⁸For a more comprehensive list see, e.g., <http://voxy.com/blog/index.php/2012/04/laughter-internet-languages> and a long list of various texting abbreviations can be found, for example, on http://www.webopedia.com/quick_ref/textmessageabbreviations.asp. Both websites were accessed in April 2013.

The interpretation of some of the examples is only possible based on the context and insider knowledge of the interactants' in-group language. Both senders of the above messages found this way of expressing actions "more real" and "more believable" as well as playful. In neither case, as the interviews revealed, did the action actually take place in the sender's offline environment. They both claimed to have adopted a playful frame (cf. Goffman 1974). Through representations of sounds, senders refer to actions that these sounds accompany. In both messages, this strategy is used to refer to actions the senders want to be seen as performing through their text-messages (compare with the notion of *enactment*, discussed earlier in this chapter). Other examples in which senders represent themselves through actions (not only through sounds accompanying them) are discussed in Section 6.4.

From another perspective, Frehner (2008) finds that texters commonly approximate the phonological value of specific sounds, e.g., /th/ to /d/ as in words such as "dis" and "den", which I also found in my sample (see examples (45) and (46)).

- (45) No rest 4 the wicked, just going out 2 hav a meal **wid** my family. Speak 2 u later, hope all is well with u. Take care
- (46) Kool..hw did it go?..yeh, she was tellin me **dat der** was a lot of info **dat** was irrelevant to **d** assignment plus some of the info wasn't related to **d** question..bt she gave me a better understanding in hw to redo it anyways..so **dat** was good..

Like Frehner (2008), whose English language sample consists of text-messages collected at various universities and schools in England and Scotland, I have also found that British users replace the word-final shwa with /a/, as in examples (47) and (48).

- (47) **Wateva!**

- (48) Dats were ur wrong babe. Trust me. Im gonna win u **ova** n ill make u so happy. Ill show u my wild side da lion will come out and sexy [recipient's nickname] will run2me. Lol. :-)

Interestingly, the use of phonetic appropriation of spelling is not consistent in text-messages by a single user. The sender of (46) used approximated spelling /d/ of the sound [th] in most words where it was possible, but she did leave one instance of the regular spelling *the* in her message (see underlined part of example (46)). The senders of (47) and (48) also sent text-messages (49) and (50), respectively, in which no replacement of the word-final shwa with /a/ occurs.

- (49) Well im on a late. So saturday wnt b to bad **after** all

- (50) Dat is not true i was seein my aunt in hospital every day before she passed away. Im sorry for that. Do u want me to win u **over**? Its not a game. Im offended.

Employment of such phonetic appropriations cannot be seen as user-specific, but rather based on situation and communication needs. The choice whether to use standard or appropriated spelling can depend on a range of factors, such as the need for brevity and speed quoted in a number of earlier research devoted to the language of texting (e.g., Frehner 2008; Thurlow 2003) but also willingness to identify with a particular (type of) person, group of people, or attitude. This was confirmed in an interview with the sender of (47) and (49), who stated that in the case of (47) he was responding to a cheeky text and therefore wanted to “sound cool, man!”.

Similarly, the tone of messages (48) and (50) is different, with (48) being much more playful and (50) referring to a serious event. Although in an interview the sender of (48) and (50) did not report that his choice - and meaning - of spelling had been deliberate, the content of these two messages suggests a completely different state of

mind and communicative intent of the sender in these two instances, which is likely to have influenced the choice of spelling. The sender of (46) was also not sure why she did not approximate the phonetic value of the [th] sound in the underlined part of the example. She noted, however, that she normally does because that is what is expected in texting and because it is much quicker to type.

Another pseudo-phonetic spelling that Frehner finds in her British sample is the representation of th-fronting, i.e., the replacement of dental fricatives [th] and [d] by labiodental fricatives [f] and [v] in words such as “think”, “with”, and “nothing”. This feature is very rare in my sample. In all the English text-messages, there were only two that contained the replacement of [th] with [f] (examples (51) and (52)) and none in which the replacement with [v] occurred.

(51) Not **somfing** u wanna hear on m'day!

(52) Actualy it's more bronze and ppl pay 2 have it done lol. Glad 2 hear u like me for personality which says alot about u. Boyband? **Nufink** like dat. How many ppl did u show it 2? I look dif now prob wont recognise me. Im temted 2 cal u 2 listen ure luvly voice again

Although these appropriations of spelling are often attributed to the need for brevity and speed in texting, one cannot exclude, at least in some cases, the possibility that such spelling represents a conscious expressive choice of a sender as well as their own dialect norms, for example, with the Multicultural London English variety, as in example (52)⁹. This strategy, as Werry (1996) found for IRC conversations, may result from users' willingness to mimic speech of a particular discourse community. It can also be related to the fact that in an electronic text, speakers' words are depersonalised

⁹The consonant features of Multicultural London English (MLE) that Cheshire et al (2008) mention, which could be relevant for the present study, include H-dropping (a feature traditionally associated with London English, but found to be becoming less common among your speakers), K-backing, DH-stopping (traditionally found in Cockney English), and TH-fronting (a feature much more common in younger speakers).

and stripped of their acoustic qualities. What seems certain is that the creative use of unconventional spelling resulting from these strategies constitutes a proof of users' ability to co-opt technology to meet their communicative needs (Herring 2001), rather than of poor spelling and decline in linguistic standards (cf. Crystal 2008). One can go as far as to claim, after Werry (1996), that users' tendency to produce auditory effects in writing resembles that of some 18th century writers, who endeavoured to produce written language that captured distinctive tones and patterns of intonation (see also the use of language to evoke closeness in the epistolary tradition discussed in Milne 2010).

Using phoneticons, senders enact auditory information available in multimodal real-life exchanges. Through their employment they enhance the feeling of playfulness and create the illusion of intimacy. Some of the conventions used for reproducing voice features, such as onomatopoeic words, capital letters to express higher volume, or repetition of letters to express longer sounds, are found in other written media (e.g., movie scripts and comic books), while others, such as acronyms, are mostly found in EMC. To enhance the feeling of playfulness and to create the illusion of intimacy in dating chats, users reproduce a very casual pronunciation in typed messages.

6.2.3 Inaudible persona: Silence

Silence is an indispensable part of linguistic communication (Rokoszowa 1999; Handke 2002)¹⁰. Miller, commenting on a definition according to which silence is the “state or condition when nothing is audible; absence of all sound or noise; complete quietness or stillness; noiselessness” (Miller 1993, p.10), states that the term silence “refers to communication, or rather, non-communication, irrelevance, a non-message” (Miller 1993, p.112). It has been shown by a number of researchers (e.g., Bauman 1974,

¹⁰For a discussion on how silence should be defined and whether, and in what form, it is at all possible, see, e.g., Miller 1993 and Rokoszowa 1999.

1983; Philips 1983; Miller 1993; Jaworski 1993, 2000; Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985; Rokoszowa 1999; Agyekum 2002), however, that silence can bear communicative meaning and determine the character of interactions in the same way as words or paralinguistic content and therefore should not be disregarded in analyses of communication (e.g., Jaworski 2000). In this section, I follow from a preliminary analysis of the expression of silence in text-messages (Knaś 2009) to provide a detailed account of ways in which senders construct their inaudible persona in text-messages.

Communicatively, silence was initially considered to be a sign of unfriendliness and bad character and its suspension was treated as “the first act to establish links of fellowship” (Malinowski 1923, p.314). Similarly, Laver (1981, p.301) refers to “the potential hostility of silence”. However, depending on the context in which a particular instance of silence occurs and its length, silence can have the following functions: creating intimacy, organizing an utterance, signalling hesitation or lack of knowledge, and following local norms (Handke 2002). Silence is also used to organise and define relations between interactants; it helps to express meanings which cannot be expressed by means of words (Żydek-Bednarczuk 1994; Rokoszowa 1999); and sometimes serves as a politeness strategy, e.g., ‘formulaic silences’, like ‘small talk’, are used as a routine response to face-threatening acts (Jaworski 2000). Thus, refraining from speaking should not be interpreted directly as unwillingness to speak or to reveal information. According to Rokoszowa (1999), even in non-delivering a verbal message, remaining silent, or providing only partial information (Handke 2002), one conveys meaning and stance about the exchange (Jaffe 2009). Silence, understood as “absence of something that we expect to hear on a given occasion, when we assume it is ‘there’ but remains unsaid” (Jaworski 2000, p.113), is a way of conveying meaning that the recipient (or hearer) is expected to understand from the context.

Silence is traditionally accepted as a feature of spoken communication and thus its occurrence in writing has rarely been discussed. One of the very few examples is

the analysis of pauses between a letter and a response treated as silence in written communication (Schmitz 1994). Long pauses often result from the need to construct a message, in this case a letter, so that it carries the intended meaning in the recipient's different situational and temporal contexts. This understanding can also be relevant to the study of text-messages, as they can be functionally compared to letters. Expressing silence in EMC has not been widely studied. It appears that it has been regarded as nonexistent or relatively insignificant in this modality. Werry (1996) briefly mentions the employment of punctuation in IRC (Internet Relay Chat), pointing out that periods and hyphens are employed there to create pauses and indicate tempo. However, there is virtually no mention of silence (or prosodic features) in communication by means of text-messages (but see Laursen 2005).

In the remaining part of this section, I discuss three of the ways in which silence is represented in text-messages in the sample: the use of ellipsis, spaces, and verbal descriptions. Although not found in either the British or the Polish sample, anecdotal evidence suggests that the use of full stops within sentences, for example, after each word, may be spreading in electronic communication as well. This use indicates pauses of emphatic nature (Cotter 2013, pers. comm.).

ELLIPSIS (TRAILING DOTS)

Silence in written formats is most commonly represented by means of punctuation through ellipses "...", e.g., in examples (53) and (54), and - less frequently - dashes " —".

(53) me off today...

In example (53), the sender responds to a question whether he's working the following day. In an interview, the sender stated that he was unsure about the reason for this question and the trailing dots he used in his response were to signal that he was now

waiting for an explanation or suggestion from the recipient. It was therefore a signal that he had stopped talking but did not see the conversation as finished. In this context, then, the function of trailing dots can be compared to the silence that opens a turn and awaits an interlocutor's response. In this sense, it represents the question "Why?" or a meaningful look of expectation.

It is worth noting at this stage that trailing dots have been found to be the most frequently used "e-mailism" (Petrie 2000, quoted by Colley, Todd et al. 2004), i.e., a stylistic feature common in e-mails but absent or rare in writing (Colley and Todd 2002). Although, admittedly, not many studies analyse their use, trailing dots are reported to often leave suggestions and questions open-ended and add to the informality of a text (Mallon and Oppenheim 2002).

The content of the message in example (54) suggests that it is a response to the recipient's earlier report about something negative that happened to them, probably a disappointment with another person or lack of support from an unidentified source. In face-to-face communication, a supportive response could, for example, consist of a hug, warm tone of voice, or a caring facial expression. In texting, these are unavailable (but see Section 6.4 for the discussion of performing actions through discourse in text-messages). Despite that, the sender manages to convey supportive response to the recipient.

(54) Ehh... jak pech to pech! Przykro mi strasznie! I jak to
Ehh... if bad luck then bad luck! I'm sorry horribly! And as
mowia... umiesz liczyc, licz na siebie... znowu
they say... you know how to count, count on yourself... again
sie sprawdza...
proves correct...

'Ehh...bad luck! I'm really sorry! And as they say...If you know how to count,
count on yourself...proves correct again...'

Example (54) illustrates the variety of strategies used to convey emotional support

and emotionality in general. The sender begins with a sigh-imitating *Ehh* followed by trailing dots, which sets the tone of the whole message. What is more, in the example, trailing dots are used multiple times, which adds to the emotional character of the message conveyed. In interviews, senders of such text-messages confirm that trailing dots in these instances often represent their loss for words resulting, for example, from gratitude or compassion, as is evident in (54). Similar examples can be found also in (55) and (56).

(55) Running 5-10 mins late. Sorry.....

(56) Dude... ur rubbish man! No party without u! Mwah x

SPACES

Silence can be expressed also in a more innovative way in the form of unexpectedly large spaces between words, as in (57), incomplete words, as in (58), and verbal descriptions, as in (59). Text-message (57) was sent as a thank you for a farewell gift from colleagues, which, reportedly, touched the sender and made him feel emotional.

(57) Guys,
thank you!
Ill be in touch!

Through composing his message in three separate lines the sender wanted to make it sound more like he was speaking to them, as if uttered in parts with short silences between them reflecting the fact that he was making a sincere point in person.

As an asynchronous form of communication, texting allows for editing and careful planning of the content. Silence, therefore, is not an involuntary result of strong emotions that leave us speechless for a time. In texting, it is a result of a choice made by senders who want to illustrate their attitude to the situation or subject

under discussion. It can be, like in the above examples, their loss for words, approximating in-person sincerity, or, as in example (58) a reluctance to complete a word or phrase. Incomplete words include those used to express uncomfortable or socially unacceptable phrases, as in (58).

(58) Aha! Masz ojca z daleko posunieta skl... :) Jeszcze raz dzieki,
 Aha! You have father with far reaching scl... :) Once again thanks,
 Coreczko!!!
 Daughter!!!

‘Aha! You have a father suffering from advanced scl... :) Thank you once again, Daughter!!!’

In example (58), silence is expressed by means of ellipses and refers to the partially disclosed phrase *daleko posunięta skleroza* (“advanced sclerosis”). It replaces the second part of the word *skleroza* (“sclerosis”), which can be seen as embarrassing for the sender. Situations where part of a word is replaced by silence are common in the case of fixed phrases and popular sayings, where the recipient can be expected to interpret the intended meaning based on common knowledge or in-group language.

VERBAL DESCRIPTIONS

The final discursive tool employed to express silence in text-messages is the use of verbal descriptions, as in (59).

(59) Moi!! I co — Twój Brat kupuje te beemwice;))?) [...] z
 Moi!! And so — Your Brother is getting that BMW;))?) [...] from
 moich glosNIKow plynie wlasnie Bella! O, poprawka — Belle
 my speakers floating currently Bella! Oh, correction — Belle
 Francaise;)) **O... Patrick. Chwila przerwy i zadumy;))** CDN
 Francaise;)) Oh... Patrick. A moment for a break and reverie;)) TBC

‘Moi!! So — is Your Brother getting that BMW;))?) [...] there is Bella floating from my speakers! Oh, actually — Belle Francaise;)) Oh... Patrick.

A moment for a break and reverie;)) TBC'

Instead of conveying silence by means of punctuation, the author of example (59) uses a four-word noun phrase: The recipient discursively witnesses and shares a solemn moment of the sender's delight with the music and is even virtually left to experience "a moment for a break and reverie" (*Chwila przerwy i zadumy*). The noun phrase through which silence is expressed here (*Chwila przerwy i zadumy*) is preceded by an instance of an exclamation and trailing dots (*Oh...*) and the name of a singer¹¹ (*Patrick*), which highlights the silence-constructing (rather than describing) function of the phrase in question. Aural information in (59) is presented through the sender's perception of it and is therefore internally evaluative as well as explicitly expressive. This strategy is available to interactants thanks to a shared understanding of phrases and associations, which they build as a result of prior knowledge and common ground (Clark 1994).

Consequently, in both (58) and (59), in order to achieve the correct reading of a message mutual understanding, often based on in-group codes, needs to be activated. Similar familiarity with one's communicative partner, social conventions, and modality conventions is a prerequisite of correct interpretation of visual cues in text-only modalities, which is discussed in Section 6.3.

6.3 Visual persona: Emoticons

Just like aural cues in chatrooms, visual ones serve to emphasize the physical dimension of online interactions and blur the line between offline and online bodies (del Teso-Craviotto 2004). The most common type of visual cues in EMC are representations of facial expressions which take the form of emoticons. They constitute

¹¹The sender confirmed that the name *Patrick* referred to the French singer Patrick Fiori, who played the role of Phoebus in the musical "Notre Dame de Paris" and recorded the successful song "Belle" with Daniel Lavoie and Garou.

a series of printable characters employed to convey senders' attitudes to their messages. They are typed in sequence on a single line and almost all of them are read sideways (Crystal 2006). The most popular emoticons include :-), ;-), and :-(. There are numerous reported varieties and idiosyncratic differences among users, some of which are related to keyboard layout (e.g., the use of 'equals' sign instead of a colon to represent eyes, preferred by some Scandinavian EMC users) or established conventions (e.g., Spanish preference for emoticons which can be read by bending one's head to the right), e.g., (: representing a smiling face. Cultural differences in reading emotions from facial expressions can also influence the form of emoticons. Studies (Jack, Blais, Scheepers, Schyns, and Caldara 2009) have shown that, although facial expressions are widely considered to be the cross-cultural universal in communicating emotions, people from different parts of the world "read" emotions from different features of their interactant's face. Western observers focus on the whole facial area equally, whereas Eastern observers concentrate their gaze primarily on the eye area. This finding has been linked to the case of Japanese EMC, in which, unlike Western emoticons, they occur in a horizontal form, e.g., ^_^ for a pleased expression, (^ ^)/ / to mean 'applause' or m(_ _)m representing a bowing person to mean "I'm sorry" (each *m* is a hand, and the (_ _) is a person's head with the eyes cast downwards) (Miller 2011). What is more, users employ a variety of pictograms representing not only facial expressions but also more complex entities, e.g., a waif or a kitten (Baron 2008).

Despite the vast expressive possibilities offered by these emoticon banks, studies (Thurlow 2003; Crystal 2006; Baron 2008; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008) have found that emoticons are not especially frequent in either texting or other modalities of electronically mediated communication. Additionally, the use of emoticons is limited to a few of the most popular ones, with other smileys occurring only occasionally (e.g., Thurlow 2003; Crystal 2006; Baron 2008). My sample contains numerous examples

of basic emoticons, such as :), :-), ;-), and :(, as in (60) and (61).

(60) It was. They replaced it with a black one:-(did [name] not tell u?

(61) Lol. Had insurance with my bank in the end;-)

It is evident that some senders are generally more likely to include emoticons in their text-messages than others. In text-messages donated by a single sender, there can be emoticons in almost every message or no emoticons at all. However, this can result from the senders' choice of text-messages to share with the researcher and research of a wider sample of messages would need to be collected in order to verify this claim.

Originally limited to a few basic smileys, emoticon banks have quickly expanded into long lists of imaginative representations of a wide array of facial expressions, cartoon characters (e.g., representations of the Simpson family quoted in Crystal 2008), and other referents, such as fixed phrases, famous quotes, actions, etc. (e.g., Sanderson 1993). Occasionally, other emoticons are used, as in examples (62) and (63).

(62) Oh man am so tired. Didn't go sleep til 2.. what a dick man ;(

(63) **B-**) i would have loved to. Jus gimme da address n next time i will Hunny trust me. Knock knock lol but who will cook? **B-**)

One of the senders, a London-born respondent of Indian background, regularly employed the Japanese style of emoticons in his messages, which can be seen in examples (64) and (65).

(64) -_- I'll see what I can do. You utter bell end!

(65) Sleep tight, don't dream about FROMAGE FRAIS! Don't dream about the man of your dreams drowning in FROMAGE FRAIS, and you have to eat it all to save him! ^ _ ^

In an interview, the sender revealed that he was interested in and frequently read *manga*, i.e., comics created by Japanese writers or originally published in Japan, and watched *anime*, Japanese animated films and TV series¹². He claimed to have explored and learnt Japanese emoticons in order to display this interest and to be seen as “awesome”. Additionally, it became clear that this sender’s friends actively encouraged this unusual (in his peer group) way of expressing emotions through acknowledging and commenting on them as well as claiming that “these cute emoticons look just like [him]”.

It could be expected that Japanese-style emoticons were not always familiar to the recipients of his messages, which was hesitantly confirmed by the sender in an interview. This, however, did not matter to the sender as the most important thing for him was that the emoticon was recognised as a facial expression which “must have been playful as it was represented using [Japanese pictograms]”. This lack of concern about clarity in expressing particular emotions is in line with the view that emoticons do not need the referential precision shown in the long lists that have become available because smileys are always juxtaposed with words and function in relation to their textual surround (Shortis 2007). Indeed, individual emoticons allow for a number of readings (Crystal 2006), which can only be disambiguated by referring to the remaining part of a message or communicative context. Moreover, just like the common expression ‘lol’, which stands for ‘laugh out loud’ or ‘lots of love’, emoticons are nowadays used not only to signal a speaker’s attitude but also as a backchannel device, a means of acknowledgement, a tool to cover one’s true emotions or mitigate sensitive content (Knaś 2006; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008).

Even though facial expressions are usually represented by means of emoticons, some senders seem not to find them expressive enough and add descriptions. As evidenced

¹²Both *anime* and *manga* have a wide audience among people of all ages in Japan and in the Western world. Its themes include romance, drama, mystery and suspense, history, business, and adult themes.

in (41) (discussed on page 176), not only descriptions of visual information can be expressed verbally. In situations involving the deployment of enactment indicators, such as parentheses, combined with limiting the expression of visual information (facial expression) to noun phrases, e.g., (*cute face*), verbalisations function as enactment. Interestingly, in example (66), visual information is represented as both enactment and description which reinforce each other.

(66) Lol, now u no how it feels. **(I have big grin on my face) :-)** how was pizza. Im now also eating. Rice and chicken my dad made it's luvly. U must try 1day ppl luv his cooking it's honestly superb. Wat u doing trouble?

A variation of such verbalised enactment of emoticons can be found in examples (66) and (67). In (66), preceding an emoticon which serves as enactment, there is a description of the sender's facial expression (*I have big grin on my face*), which was enclosed in brackets, whereas in (67) the sender chooses to follow a basic emoticon with an explanation (*thats a smiley face*), both of these enclosed in brackets.

(67) Wkd :) **(thats a smiley face)**

This form of presenting visual information resembles stage directions, i.e., implicit voices of authors of plays which provide cues to the theatrical and dramatic effects of the scenes they control and are an important vehicle of meaning in early theatre (McJannet 1999; Dessen 2009). The convention for stage directions in plays is to print them in italics, which would not be possible in text-messages. Instead, texters employ enactment conventions in the form of angle brackets or other delimiters (cf. Subsection 7.3.1) to represent visual information of this type.

It is impossible to say what formatting texters would have employed to represent visual information or other types of content aimed as self-presentation had a wider range been available. The variety of text-tools currently used for this purpose can be seen in

the range of examples throughout this thesis. Despite the fact that texters have not agreed on one convention expressing sensory information in self-presentation, a set of rules that govern it can be identified. These rules are discussed in detail in Subsection 7.3.1. The use of sets of ASCII symbols to represent facial expressions and entities is not the only way of expressing physicality that spoken discourse facilitates. Equally important for self-presentation are gestures, movements and actions, and their representations in verbal discourse itself. The following section will explore the discursive practices related to self-presentation through actions taken by communicators.

6.4 Active persona: Expressing the self through actions

Just as particular social effects in communication can be achieved by means of contextualisation cues and paralinguistic features, discourse also enables users to perform actions, for example, through the use of performative utterances whose “force” is interpreted depending on particular features of their context (Austin 1962). The most recognisable type of performative utterances perform actions named by the first verb in the sentence (e.g., I promise to take a taxi home). Austin notes that such explicit performatives are less ambiguous than implicit types, which he describes as sentences that can be expanded in such a way so that they express explicit performatives. Both of these types should be distinguished from non-performative utterances (e.g., I’m baking a cake), which describe actions independent of the linguistic act. For them to work, performatives have to satisfy the social conventions related to these acts, which Austin refers to as “felicity conditions”. He points out that there must exist an accepted conventional procedure involving uttering certain words by certain persons in certain situations, which has a certain conventional effect (Austin 1975, pp.25-38). With the advent of new modalities of communication, the definition of performatives

proposed by Austin and his followers has become insufficient. The need to revisit established understanding and application of the term “performative” is addressed in the following section, supported by evidence found in text-messages.

6.4.1 Mediated performatives

In EMC, communicative conventions combined with technological affordances and intermodal transfer (cf. Section 7.5) mean that actions can be performed by means of any linguistic token that has been agreed to bear performative associations. Conventions characteristic of various modalities of EMC make it possible to virtually (and visually) enact certain behaviours through the use of particular symbols or discourse conventions (see the notion of *grammar of embedded multimodality* presented in Chapter 7). I argue that a new category of performatives needs to be recognised in EMC. These **mediated performatives** are not limited to actions performed by uttering one of a limited set of verbs by a particular person in a formal situation required by felicity conditions (e.g., “I declare...” or “I hereby name...”), but they are directly related to the concept of discursive enactment in mediated environments, as described earlier in this chapter (Section 6.1). They represent **actions performed by the sender’s and/or recipient’s alter persona** (see Section 7.2) **in a discursively created mental space and affecting both participants**. These do not directly correspond to the actions performed by the sender in their current physical location and reported to the recipient, e.g. “Having a quick beer” or “Im going 2 the pub 2 watch football”, but rather refer to actions that are supposed to be visualised by the recipient, as in example (68).

- (68) Z pastelowego spaceru z koncertowka Zeppelinow o zmierzchaniu
From pastel walk with Zeppelin’s concert record at twilight
sie klaniam werbalnie na nowy numerek.
I’m bowing verbally to new number.

‘From a walk in pastel hues with the Zeppelin’s concert record at twilight I’m bowing verbally to your new phone number.’

In this example, the sender performs a “verbal bow” in the direction of the recipient, which serves the function of a jokingly polite greeting. What is interesting is the amount of visual information and the abundance of detail in descriptive renditions of visual information in this, and similar, text-messages. Despite their short form, text-messages allow for the development of descriptive language in the representation of visual information, as in example (68), where the sender includes a poetic description of visual (“pastel hues”, “twilight”) and auditory (“Zeppelin’s concert record”) information. The highly descriptive and poetic style that can be found in some text-messages places them alongside literary narratives. Thanks to all the sensory information, recipients can get immersed in the message and imagine the environment described in the message.

Verbalisations of actions do not have to be direct. Lexical representations may also allude to certain actions either through associations or discourse form employed, which build on prior, shared understanding (cf. Stalnaker 1974; Fillmore 1975; Clark 1994; Becker 1995). In the case of enactment expressed indirectly there exists the danger of these verbalisations being misunderstood or not understandable altogether. In example (69), the sender employs a nonexistent Polish word *beznic*, which is creatively constructed from two Polish words: *bez* (“without”) and *nic* (“nothing”).

(69) Yyy... **Za beznic;**!
Err... For beznic;!
‘Err...To beznic;!’

The phrase *za beznic* follows toast discourse form in Polish. In a follow-up interview the sender of the above message confirmed that this phrase constituted a common symbolic toast raised with the recipient whenever the two interactants went out. By

sending the above message, the sender, who was at the time in a pub, discursively drank “to beznic” with the recipient.

Verbs in imperative mode referring to actions which involve both the sender and the recipient are employed to increase, when remotely located, the feeling of co-presence in a joint communicative space and mutuality of sensory experience. This strategy is common in messages of flirtatious or erotic nature, e.g., (70).

(70) Well **cuddle in my arms, kiss my chest, put one leg over me...**

In example (70), the sender, despite being remotely located, instructs the recipient to (virtually) perform actions that involve both him and the recipient. Both the sender and the recipient confirmed in subsequent interviews that through this type of message, either through references to past experiences or imagination, they were able to evoke images of the actions in question and imagine the sensory cues that they would expect to accompany these actions in real life.

These *mediated performatives* (see also the notion of *kineticons* in Knaś 2006 and in Subsection 6.4.2) do not follow a single grammatical or syntactic pattern but rather are characteristic of a given modality with the potential for inter-modal transfer. Just as Austin’s felicity conditions need to be met so that performatives are successful in speech, modality conventions need to be followed in order for mediated performatives to be successfully communicated in EMC (see also participants’ roles in creating meaning in Section 3.2.2). Conventions used involve the use of certain grammatical forms as well as **text-category indicators** (Nunberg 1990), i.e., **sets of printable characters which are employed to represent enactment**, for example, hugs can be represented in chatrooms by means of parentheses around a user’s screen name (del Teso-Craviotto 2004). Another convention commonly found in virtual worlds, chatrooms, and IRC involves the use of verbal glosses of gestures and movements characteristic of face-to-face communication. The convention here is to enclose a given

action in asterisks (Werry 1996) or angle brackets (del Teso-Craviotto 2004; Crystal 2006). In IRC, which he analyses, Werry (1996, p.60) finds textual representations, or symbolic enactment, of “[h]ugs, kisses, offers of coffee, yawns, shaking hands, and the popping of champagne.” Similarly, Crystal (2006, p.42) mentions the use of such kinesic effects as <smirk> and <laugh>.

In MUDs, chatrooms, and instant messaging environments (e.g., ICQ¹³ and Gadu-Gadu¹⁴) certain commands can produce pre-programmed graphical images, including actions represented virtually (e.g., Deuel 1996; Werry 1996; Kendall 2002). This strategy, which accompanies verbal exchanges in virtual environments, can be compared to stage directions in plays (cf. Section 6.3). Finally, there are certain more complex actions whose animated representation can be obtained through the use of certain words enclosed in asterisks (e.g., *chuckle*).

While employing these devices one needs to bear in mind that conventions can vary between various modalities of EMC and different sets of actions can be pre-programmed for animated representations in various modalities. An example of such differences can be found in Facebook’s chat where most basic emoticons occur in the conversation window in the form of non-animated pictures but enclosing words in asterisks results in their appearance in bolded form in the conversation window. Some modalities allow users to pre-program animations and pictures that can receive any set of symbols as their trigger. Such a situation is possible, for example, in internet communicator MSN, where users can add any chosen animation or picture to their catalogue and assign any set of letters, numbers or punctuation marks to trigger their occurrence in

¹³First Internet-wide instant messaging programme which allows for multi-user chat with a wide range of emoticons, offline message sending, file transfer, sending greeting cards and playing online games. Newer versions allow for voice- and video chat and sending free SMS messages. ICQ has lost its popularity in Britain and in the USA but remains popular in Eastern Europe and Russia (Giles 15 July, 2010).

¹⁴Gadu-Gadu, commonly known as GG, is the most popular IM client in Poland, whose features include chat, status updates, file sharing, sending SMS-messages through a computer, and VoIP. It includes a wide range of pre-programmed emoticons that users can embed in their messages either through selecting them from the emoticon bank or through typing a set of characters that results in a particular emoticon being displayed in the conversation window.

the conversation at any given moment (for examples, see Section 7.5).

Crystal recognises that these features of EMC developed as a means of avoiding misunderstanding and ambiguities in communication online, where “written language is made to carry the burden of speech” (Crystal 2006, p.42). He believes, however, that language employed in electronic communication lacks “any true ability” to convey meaning through reference to kinesic and proxemic information. It is a surprising statement from Crystal, who is in principle an enthusiastic supporter of communication by new media and its developing linguistic standards. New forms of communication require not so much a whole new methodological approach but altering existing models and methodologies so that they account for affordances and constraints of new communicative modalities. It is far too early to draw conclusions about the inability of EMC to express extra-linguistic meanings, such as those conveyed in face-to-face interactions by means of nonverbal and paralinguistic cues. They may not occur in a form similar to those found in spoken interactions, but, as this dissertation shows, they are characterised by powerful expressive force and are seen as such by EMC users.

6.4.2 Kineticons

In this section, I concentrate on discursive enactment and mediated performatives, which create the impression of actions being performed as virtually perceivable by recipients of text-messages. Instances where senders provide *unmediated* descriptions of their actions (e.g., reports of informative character, such as “I’m waiting for curry”, “Going to work now”, etc.) are disregarded as they cannot be classified as mediated performatives. Example (71) represents the use of symbols to create an impression of perceivable actions.

- (71) To be reviewed again in march ***sigh*** same for everyone — even [name1] and [name2], though no real doubt with theirs

Enclosing a word in asterisks removes its syntactic and grammatical function within a sentence and adds a performative meaning to it. It is intended as more realistic than a verbal description of the sender's state of mind and it encourages the recipient to form an internal evaluation based on the available nonverbal cues.

Enactment appropriates the conventions characteristic of two-way conversations through the Polish internet communicator Gadu-Gadu, where enclosing certain verbs in angle brackets causes the occurrence of an animated icon in the conversation window. Here, enactment is additionally realised by the use of verbs in third-person singular, a convention stemming directly from the communicator. A similar strategy can be found in example (22), discussed in Subsection 5.3.2 (page 152) from a different perspective, and quoted again here for the ease of reference.

- (22) Slyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera a
 I've heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's and
 jakos Cie tu nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?!
 somehow you here not we see! Where in the world are you hag?!
 <wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
 <hit-3.SG with frying pan over hairstyle> ;)

'I heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's but we can't see you here somehow! Where are you, woman?! <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan> ;)'

The sender of the above message employs a creative appropriation of the phrase <*bije*> [Eng. hit-3.SG], used in Gadu-Gadu to obtain an animated picture of one creature hitting another one on the head with a hammer. In a subsequent interview, the sender reported that both she and the recipient were frequent users of Gadu-Gadu and the sender was certain that compliance with Gadu-Gadu conventions would evoke

associations with the animation being referred to in the recipient's mind.

Although examples of self-presentation tools are present across the analysed sample, irrespective of the sender's nationality and language in which messages were constructed, there is a noticeable difference in the way in which texters express paralinguistic information¹⁵, e.g., whereas Polish senders tend to use angle brackets to express discursive enactment, English senders prefer to use asterisks. The reason for this seems to be that the texters in those two groups are familiar with different modalities of EMC and there occurs an inter-modal transfer between modalities, an issue which will be explored in Section 7.5.

Chapter 6 focused on the representation of non-verbal aspects of communication in a text-only form. I highlighted the existence of two broad types of such representation: descriptions and discursive enactment. The discussion of self-representation started with the analysis of forms of address, names, and nicknames chosen by texters to refer to themselves or the recipients depending on the present interactional context. The choice of such reference helps texters define and characterise themselves as well as identify their perception of the recipient at that particular moment. The importance of the present moment and the image that interactants create of their physical selves and their communicative partners was highlighted in Sections 6.2 through 6.4. Texters were found to use phoneticons to imitate such phonetic features as sound length, emphasis, and particular ways of speaking as well as represent silence. They also use a range of emoticons and descriptions of their facial expressions. Finally, texters represent physical actions through the use of kineticons and mediated performatives. There are apparent differences between texters in the two analysed samples, which are likely to reflect familiarity with different sets of conventions, a subject worth investigating further in future research.

¹⁵A systematic analysis of the differences falls outside the scope of this thesis. Here, I just draw attention to the fact that such differences exist and suggest (Section 7.5) a possible reason, leaving a detailed analysis to be explored in further research.

Chapter 7

Theoretical considerations: Moving beyond the obvious

Chapters 5 and 6 have covered spatial and physical aspects represented discursively by texters. I have argued that instances of enactment of actions and behaviours and the creation of virtual communicative spaces lead to the need for a new approach to the analysis of texting that would recognise phenomena beyond the surface linguistic curiosities of abbreviated spelling and atypical punctuation on the one hand, and the functional application of texting for maintaining contact throughout the day and some purely transactional uses on the other. This chapter highlights insights from previous chapters and suggests that reading and analysing text-messages should not differ from reading and analysis of other text-only forms of communication, such as written narratives, for which we have a wealth of past research. It also points to the shaping of an emergent set of presentation rules for encoding multimodal meanings, another research domain ripe for further exploration. This chapter shows that texting offers much wider expressive possibilities than those often assumed in current research. It will become evident that it is necessary to adopt an interdisciplinary approach in order to fully grasp the expressive power of texts conveyed by means of mobile devices.

In Section 7.1, drawing on the analysis of place and location in text-messages presented in Chapter 5, I discuss the creation of the texting equivalent of a storyworld, a feature previously recognised and discussed in the context of narratives (Zubin and Hewitt 1995), but found also in other expressive forms, such as paintings (see e.g., Clyde 2003). In discussing narrative, I draw on Page (2012), who analyses narrativity in Facebook status updates. She compares them to a genre which Georgakopoulou (2007) calls *small stories* and describes as open-ended and fluid, occurring “in the small moments of talk” (Page 2012, p.426). I follow Page (2012) in accepting that some forms of narratives, especially the small everyday narratives transmitted by electronic media, may display only some of the features traditionally identified as characterising narratives (Labov and Waletzky 1967). Page argues that, rather than being dismissed as ephemeral and fragmentary, status updates should be treated as a fertile territory for the analysis of new ways in which temporality and sequence are constructed in everyday small narratives. In the present chapter, referring to the analysis presented in the earlier part of this thesis, I propose a further advancement to this approach through the analysis of text-messages as containing narrative features, with discursively constructed characters located and acting within a discursively created storyworld.

In Section 7.2, building on the analysis presented in Chapter 6, I draw on the concept of *mental spaces* (Fauconnier 1985) and the Identification Principle (Nunberg 1978) to account for the creation of and communication through *alterae personae* in text-messages, representing these relationships in a visual form. Further, in Section 7.3, I refer back to the work on multimodal communication (see Section 3.4) and employ the notion of *text-category indicators* (Nunberg 1990) to systematise the rules governing the form of embedded multimodality in text-messages, a concept which I discuss in detail in Section 7.3. I observe that multimodality in EMC, and specifically in texting, is expressed in a systematic manner and I conclude that this “grammar” of

embedded multimodality (Subsection 7.3.1) is a user-initiated ongoing attempt to standardise the expression of multimodality in EMC. Finally, referring to intermodal transfer in Section 7.5, I discuss some of the potential routes that particular instances of embedded multimodality may have taken to appear in text-messages. Throughout the chapter, I take examples analysed earlier in the thesis as a point of reference in order to illustrate the phenomena under discussion from a more theoretical perspective than that which was applied in Chapters 5 and 6.

7.1 Storyworld and narrativity

Thus far, I have discussed the use of motion to establish location and the use of physicality enactment to imply the existence of bodies, which require for their existence a particular space in which they are physically located. Further, Section 4.7 referred to the deictic shift into created storyworlds in fictional narratives, which constitute mental constructs of the reader/listener and are influenced by their understanding and knowledge of the physical (real) world. I argued that, providing that they are willing to suspend disbelief, texters can be transported to a discursively created interactive space and enact communicative exchanges.

STORYWORLD

The analysis presented in Chapters 5 and 6 shows that texters construct imagined locations and joint communicative spaces which facilitate more realistic exchanges. Actions that take place in these locations are seen as enacted, rather than described, and are reported to be experienced more vividly than descriptions. Texters may to some extent “lose themselves” in their texting interactions, smile to their mobile phone screens, and/or even report the feeling of arousal (as in the case of sexting) as a result of communicating with their remotely located partner. It can be concluded

that texters experience a certain level of **situatedness**, defined as **the predicament of being in a world** (Rank and Petta 2005), in the discourse-based realm of an SMS-equivalent of a storyworld, which they create through the choice of prepositions, verbs of motion, and deixis (see also Schiffrin 2009a, who shows that narratives can evoke the nexus of place, time, and identity, rather than just experience in time). In these worlds, communicators exist as discursive bodies (see Section 7.2) and move from place to place, their direction reflected in the choice of verbs of motion (Section 5.2). In this constant flow (Breslow 2013), texters adopt different deictic centres and reference frames through their choice of discourse (cf. Sections 4.5 and 5.2) which enables deictic shift similar to that described in narratives.

In accordance with the Deictic Shift model, fictional narration results in readers imagining deictic fields as lifted from their physical locations and shifted into storyworlds, which are created and experienced according to the linguistic make-up of texts. Consequently, the world created in the process fits the words used to describe it, following a world-to-word *direction of fit* (Searle 1983). Thanks to such linguistic elements as, e.g., deictic pronouns and verbs (including tenses and aspects)¹, readers are able to experience transportation into and move within the unfolding fictional world (Galbraith 1995). Both in fictional narratives and in text-messages, a storyworld is established based on these clues and their interpretation by a particular reader/recipient. Its establishment is necessary for the existence and representation of and sequences of events, characteristic of narrative discourse.

¹Another important factor required for a reader to experience transportation is a certain mindset, which has been described in earlier research as “willingness to suspend disbelief”. It assumes natural human scepticism when dealing with mediated content. It is difficult to say whether disbelief in such situations needs to be suspended and whether such suspension is a conscious decision. It is possible that no such (semi-)conscious suspension is necessary and, especially as societies become more digitalised and digitally literate, that *disbelief* is not the default approach to mediated input. Franks (2013, pers. comm.) prefers to refer to the “willingness to believe” instead.

EVENT SEQUENCE

In its Labovian understanding, a narrative involves retelling past events in such a way that the order of clauses which recount the event are in the same order as the original events and includes at least one temporal juncture (Labov and Waletzky 1967). As observed by Schiffrin (2009a, 2009b) and evident from the recent studies of narratives (e.g., Georgakopoulou 2007; Montoro 2010; Gibbons 2010; Hutcheon and Hutcheon 2010; Ensslin 2010; Page 2012), the scope of narrative analysis has been widening in the recent years, leading to a development in the approach to narrative analysis and revisiting established models. It has been proposed, for example, that narrative discourse can be activated in a text (for an explication of the notion of *text* see Subsection 3.2.1) on the basis of genre-related considerations, such as those listed by Baldry and Thibault (2006, p.14). For example, scenes in cartoons, contrary to appearances, can represent not a single moment in time, but a sequence of events which can be deduced from the visual information available. The cartoon participants who take part in this sequence of events must maintain their identity from one event to another in the sequence, despite the fact that the transition between events entails a change in event participants. A single text-message can, similarly, imply not only a single event or state, but a whole sequence of events or states. Sequential relationships are established based on indications of time and location within a storyworld.

Section 5.2 discussed examples of text-messages in which location is established through reference to motion. Motion in these examples is inseparable from and dependent on the existence of a world within which it occurs. It can be the physical world around texters who micro-coordinate, or a mentally created world, e.g., in the context of creating joint communicative space between remotely located participants. In example (15), discussed in Section 5.2 and repeated below, reference is made to three locations within the real world and movement (completed and intended) between these locations.

- (15) Thank You very much. I have **come** all dis way and u r no were to be seen or heard. Goodnite babe. Im gona **go** home. Cheer up

Through the choice of linguistic resources, the sender identifies a certain sequence of events, some of them already completed and some intended. Admittedly, the sequence of events in conventional narratives is usually represented with simple past tense or historical present while here its construction is achieved using more varied tense forms. The sender employs the verb COME in present perfect tense to indicate a completed action whose results are evident at the time of texting. Through the use of *I have come* the sender implies that he was at a different location, i.e., NOT HERE, before and subsequently, after having been on the way, is currently at his deictic centre, i.e., HERE (see Section 4.5 and Chapter 5 for the discussion of the notion of deictic centre and Section 5.2 specifically for the discussion on the establishment of deictic centre through the use of motion verbs). At the same time, the recipient is *no were to be seen or heard* ‘nowhere to be seen or heard’ at the sender’s physical and temporal deictic centre. The sender indicates a plan to go home, expressed through the use of *Im gona go* ‘I’m going to go’. Although the use of GOING TO marks a current intention, it gives the reader a window into the sender’s future action, which will constitute a further element in this narrative sequence of events. The reconstructed sequence of events entails continuity of participant roles (sender and recipient) throughout the narrative sequence and a change in one of the participants, namely a change in the sender’s location. The sequence of events can be represented as follows:

1. Time 1: sender is at NOT HERE
2. Time 2: sender is on his way
3. Time 3: sender is at HERE; recipient is at NOT HERE
4. Time 4: (intended) sender is going home

The level of narrative event structure needs to be distinguished from the level of what is actually represented in the text. In a visual form of expression, e.g., a cartoon, this distinction corresponds to the difference between discourse (participants, actions, events, timeline, and movement) and visual grammar (shapes, vectors, and changes of features or states). In text-only modalities, both of these levels are expressed in written language. An analysis of narrative event structure in example (15) can be conducted and is presented in Table 7.1. The table shows the particular phases of the narrative event in (15), identifies participants and actions performed by them, and provides linguistic evidence from the analysed example. I employ abbreviated forms to refer to the sender (S), recipient (R), and deictic centre (DC).

Table 7.1: Narrative structure in (15)

	Phase	Participants	Action	Evidence
1	[implicit/past] S is at an unspecified distant location.	S R (absent)	S stationary, located AT NOT HERE	<i>all dis way...</i> quantifier <i>all</i> for a large amount or quantity
2	[implicit/past] S is on his way to the venue of meeting with R. He is travelling a long distance.	S	S in motion, directional vector towards DC, implying arrival; R at DC (sender's mental space)	<i>I have come all dis way...</i> Present Perfect of COME for recently completed action with evident consequences; proximity to DC through <i>dis</i>

3	Having arrived, S is located at DC. R is absent, which makes S upset and leads him to the intention to go home.; R not at DC	S R (absent)	S stationary at DC; R at NOT HERE	<i>...u r no were to be seen or heard.</i> <i>Thank You very much.</i> correctly spelt sentence with capitalised <i>You</i> for marked pronunciation with emphasis on the personal pronoun
4	[intended/future] S is on his way home.	S	S (intended) in motion	<i>Im gona go home.</i> GOING TO for intentions; GO directional vector away from DC and towards <i>home</i> , not implying arrival

As is evident from the table, text-messages can contain features of narratives in their sequential organisation of events, the presence of actions and participants and a change in one or more of the participants. The situation may be more complex when multiple participants are involved, as in example (22) discussed earlier and repeated below.

- (22) Słyszalam że miałas byc u naszego fryzjera a
 I've heard that you were supposed to be at out hairdresser's and
 jakos Cie tu nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?!
 somehow you here not we see! Where in the world are you hag?!
 <wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
 <hit-3.SG with frying pan over hairstyle> ;)

'I heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's but we can't see

you here somehow! Where are you, woman?! <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan> ;)'

The sequence of events in (22) can be represented as follows:

1. Time 1: (implied/past) sender receives information
2. Time 2: sender at her hairdresser's with another person; recipient at NOT HERE
3. Time 3: (enacted virtually) sender hits recipient with a frying pan

In explaining the narrative sequence in (22), which is presented in Table 7.2, in addition to the abbreviations used in Table 7.1, reference is made to an unspecified informant (UI), who can but does not have to be the recipient (R). Reference is made also to another individual (AI), who is different from the recipient and who accompanies the sender at the hairdresser's. The table includes information about the narrative phases represented in the text-message in question, participants and actions taken by them. Discursive evidence from the analysed text-message is provided.

The event which constitutes the first phase is implied in the analysed text-message, rather than stated explicitly. The context suggests that the sender had received information about the recipient's plan to join her (the sender) at her hairdresser's. The second phase is temporarily anchored in the present, i.e., the time when the text-message was sent. It is clear that the recipient is not present at the physical location where the sender expected them to be (her hairdresser's). The final phase is enacted in a discursively created communicative space (cf. Healey, White, Eshghi, Reeves, and Light 2008) and involves an enactment of a physical action. The sender employs graphical means to indicate a shift into the discursively constructed communicative space.

Table 7.2: Narrative structure in (22)

	Phase	Participants	Action	Evidence
1	[implicit/past] S receives information from an unspecified informant (possibly R) that R will be at S's hairdresser's later.	S UI	S receives information from UI	<i>Slyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera</i> 'I've heard you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's.' perfective form of the verb SŁYSZEĆ for accomplished actions
2	S is at her hairdresser's (DC) with an unspecified person (not R). R is not at the S's hairdresser's, which makes S dissatisfied.	S AI	S with AI stationary at HERE, R at NOT HERE in motion, directional vector towards DC, implying arrival; R at DC (sender's mental space)	<i>...mialas byc... a jakos Cie tu nie widzimy.</i> 'You were supposed to be... and we can't see you here somehow.' content expressing the difference between the expected ('you were supposed to be') and the factual ('we can't see you'); indicator of confusion and annoyance ('somehow')

3	[enacted discursively/present] S is hitting R with a frying pan.	S' R' (see Section 7.2 for a detailed analysis of participants in a virtual enactment)	S stationary at DC; R at NOT HERE	< <i>wali patelnia po fryzurze</i> > ' <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan>' angle brackets for a deictic shift to another (virtual) mental space (see Section 7.2); present tense for actions happening at the moment
---	--	--	--	--

Similar to example (15), this text-message carries information about the existence of narrative events spread over a timescale. The sender refers to having been given information which, verified at the time of composing the message, does not prove correct. Participants in (22) additionally shift their location to a joint communicative space (cf. Subsection 5.3.2), leading to the creation of an alternative (imagined) reality similar to a narrative storyworld.

If we are to accept that storyworlds are created for the purpose of communication through text-messages, one can expect that the world will be inhabited by storyworld characters or personae constructed through a similar deictic shift of the deictic *I* to its storyworld counterpart. The following section deals with the question of creating alterae personae in the text-message equivalent of a storyworld.

7.2 Alterae personae

In interpersonal interactions people constantly display characteristics of self and expect other people to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. According to Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach, interactants use verbal and nonverbal communication to portray themselves in a good light and enforce societal expectations. People are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes they appear to possess. Language, among other means, serves to construct an image that corresponds to its real-life referent. The notion of *pragmatic function* (Nunberg 1978) helps to explain this phenomenon. Pragmatic function serves to establish a link between a referent and a referee², and the use of language, including names, definite descriptions, and pronouns, facilitates shifts between these corresponding entities. Following from this, a concrete entity³ (e.g., person, object, etc.) will differ from its corresponding mental representation. Correspondence between a concrete entity and its equivalent is established based on the *Identification Principle* (Nunberg 1978), according to which if two objects (A and B) are linked by a pragmatic function (F), a description of one of them, the trigger (A), can be used to identify its counterpart, the target (B), i.e.,

$$B = F(A)$$

The relationship between these objects can be represented graphically as in Figure 7.2. Fauconnier (1985) gives an example of such a relationship: *In reality, the girl with brown eyes has blue eyes*. The description *the girl with brown eyes* refers to a visual representation of a person, who in reality has blue eyes. Fauconnier (1985) shows that the direction of reference in this and other similar examples is signalled by the

²Reference applies not only to the link between real-life objects, like in the case of personal pronouns directly referring to people, but also to mental images, the latter being of interest here.

³I refer to the concept of concrete entity tentatively while recognising the difficulty of defining it and establishing the character of the self for any individual, taking into consideration the fact that people constantly assume different identities.

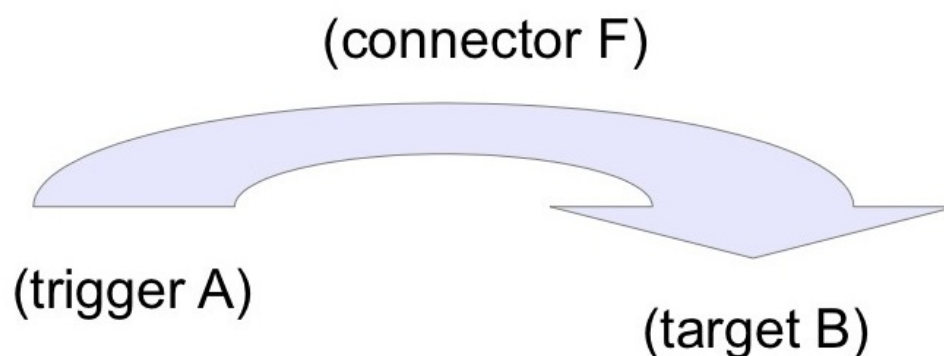


Figure 7.1: Link through pragmatic function

adverbial *In reality*. The Identification Principle allows the target (the real girl) to be identified through the description of the trigger (the image) by means of a connector that maps the image onto reality. What complicates the situation even more is the fact that it is possible for speakers themselves to be mistaken about facts they report, e.g., the girl referred to above may, in fact, have grey eyes which seemed blue to the speaker. Consequently, there appears a need to consider facts reported by speakers as mental representations themselves. The links between these representations therefore become links between two (or more) distinct mental representations.

As is evident from these points, connections are established between entities in what Fauconnier (1985, p.16) refers to as *mental spaces* and describes as “constructs distinct from linguistic structures but built up in any discourse according to guidelines provided by the linguistic expressions”. Mental spaces function as entirely distinct from each other and can be established by *space-builders*, i.e., certain linguistic expressions, such as prepositional phrases (e.g., *in John’s mind*), adverbs (e.g., *probably*), connectives (*if...then...*), or subject-verb combinations (*Mary hopes...*). He notes that space-builders will always establish mental spaces as included in their *parent spaces*,

although this inclusion does not have to be expressed explicitly⁴. Mental spaces, created by space-builders, must be connected to their parent spaces by means of connectors that link *triggers* and *targets* in these spaces (see Figure 7.2).

In this scenario element x_1 belonging to mental space M has its counterpart x_2 in mental space M' .

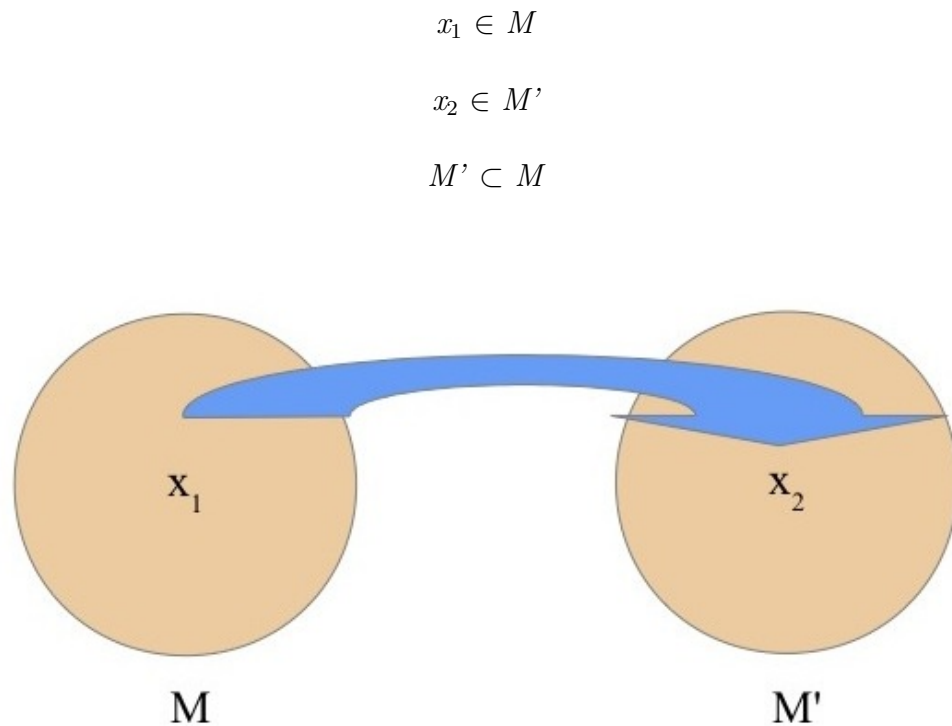


Figure 7.2: Connectors and counterparts in mental spaces

Conceptual separation of a user and their alter persona and the existence of multiple mental spaces may occur also in electronically mediated communication, with its use of increasingly complex technologies and, as in the case of texting, remotely located participants. Representation can be realised here in one of two main ways: visual and textual. The visual dimension of representations, which falls outside the direct scope of this thesis and therefore it will not be analysed in detail, includes, e.g.,

⁴Some examples of explicit and implicit embedding can be found in Fauconnier (1985).

2D- or 3D-avatars in computer games and virtual environments and icons in internet forums⁵.

On the other hand, textual electronic environments enable the use of textual representation. In her analysis of chatroom interaction, del Teso-Craviotto (2004) finds that one should distinguish between offline bodies of users and their discursively created virtual representations. She claims that references to oneself, self-descriptions, and references to actions performed by interactants bring their material bodies to the foreground in chatroom interactions, while screen names and the presence of alterae personae can be seen as a proof that virtual bodies are detached from the people they represent.

I argue that in cases where reference is made to an imagined body or identity it should be treated as an example of a user's alter persona (virtual/online body) through which a texter interacts, and which is situated in a *mental space* distinct from reality or the originating mental space, which, as discussed earlier in this section, is tantamount to the speaker's point of view. The sender's reality⁶ in text-messages is established through context, e.g., in example (22) discussed earlier (see page 152) and repeated below, the sender refers to their location as 'at our hairdresser's' through the deictic word 'here'. It is evident from the content of the text-message that the location of the recipient is distinct from 'at our hairdresser's' (see *a jakos Cie tu nie widzimy*), and, consequently, distinct from that of the sender.

- (22) Słyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera a
I've heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's and
jakos Cie tu nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?!
somehow you here not we see! Where in the world are you hag?!

⁵For a discussion of the employment of autonomous avatars in electronic communication and their expressiveness see, e.g., Cassell and Vilhjálmsón (1999).

⁶For the sake of simplicity, in this thesis, I refer to the originating mental space of the speaker as *reality*, bearing in mind that it may differ from it. This distinction is, however, irrelevant for the current study. What is of importance is that communicators create distinct communicative spaces and mental counterparts of themselves or other elements/entities in their reality linked by means of a conceptual connector.

<wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
 <hit-3.SG with frying pan over hairstyle> ;)

‘I heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser’s but we can’t see you here somehow! Where are you, woman?! <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan> ;)’

Despite the fact that the interactants are not located in each other’s immediate vicinity, the final part of the message suggests that a physical action of hitting is taking place in real time and space (for a detailed discussion of actions performed discursively in text-messages see Section 6.4). The action of hitting must therefore be conducted in a space distinct from reality (M), in a separate mental space (M’). It is performed not by the sender (S) and the recipient (R) themselves, but by their counterparts (S’ and R’, respectively) constructed in mental space (M’) (see Figure 7.3). Therefore, the following ensues:

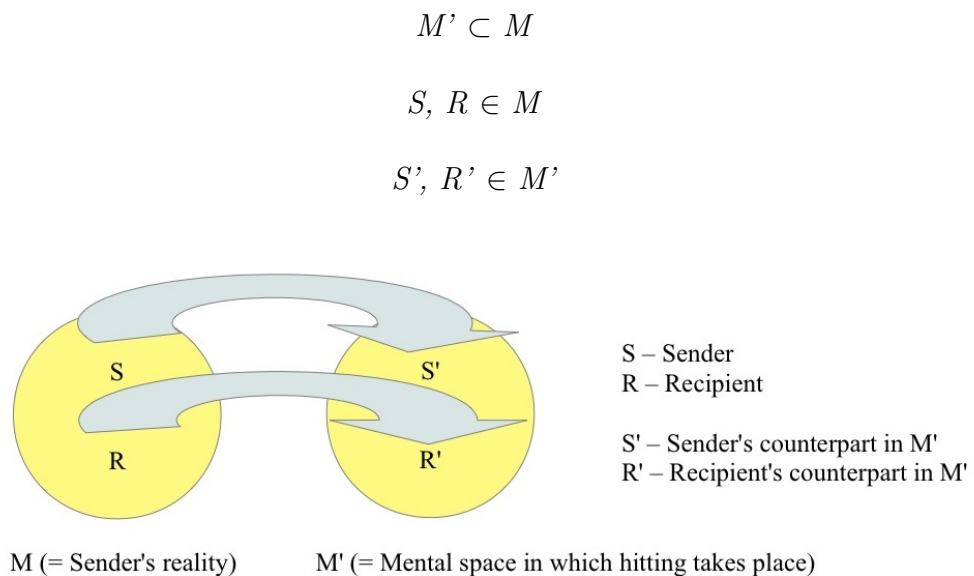


Figure 7.3: Mental spaces in example (22)

Following Fauconnier (1985)’s transcription conventions, the action in example (22) will be represented as:

wali (S', R')

where the action (*wali* - 'hit-3.SG') is performed by the sender's alter persona (S') on the recipient's alter persona (R'), which is being reported as close to the interactants' perceptions of their communicative partners. The sender of (22) reported she had in her mind the image of herself playfully hitting the recipient who was trying to avoid repeated blows while smiling. The text-message, she claimed, worked based on the assumption that the recipient, like the sender herself, adopts the play frame in reading the message. No thought was given to the possible reason for the recipient's lateness and resulting annoyance which the recipient may have felt if she/he had encountered some serious delays on the public transport, for example.

The question remains as to how mental spaces are created and/or a shift from one to another is indicated in electronically mediated communication. Fauconnier (1985) lists the types of linguistic expressions used to construct new mental spaces. These can, equally, create mental spaces in textual electronic environments, as in example (72).

(72) **If i was** a dog, i would roll over for you :)

In this example, the use of *If* combined with the past tense of the verb BE in the first clause (second conditional sentence type) along with the use of *would* + verb in the second clause indicate the creation of a hypothetical mental space.

Apart from these linguistic tools, there are a number of additional ones, characteristic of EMC, which serve this purpose and are not (or not usually) employed in non-mediated contexts. In example (22), interaction taking place in an alternative mental space (M') is enclosed in angle brackets, which clearly indicate the beginning and end of interaction through the sender's and recipient's counterparts (S' and R' in space M'). As such, this exchange is separate from interactions taking place in the sender's reality (M).

This is not the only type of text-based text that evokes the existence of a certain mental space, embodiment, or experience of sensory cues through discourse. Similar cases can be found, for example, in letters (Milne 2010) and literature. Events expressed verbally are necessarily experienced in a particular space and by an entity (whether real or imagined), as is the case of the “book that bleeds” (Gibbons 2010), in which the existence of a paper cut presupposes the existence of its experiencer.

First Pain

Then Knowledge: a paper cut.

(Tomasula and Farrell 2002, p.9-10)

In this multimodal novel, the author reaches for visual tools, such as lines expressing movement and the choice of font, to create the effect of embodiment, with the reader intended to envision themselves as the experiencer of the “first pain” and the situation mimicking that of real-life where the paper cuts initially cause pain which is later followed by the realisation of its cause. In texting, choice of font, colour, or graphic elements are not possible⁷. Similar results have to be achieved through the employment and adaptation of discourse strategies.

As pointed out by Gibbons (2010), in the book that bleeds, embodiment is achieved linguistically through the “deviant” grammar (i.e., the lack of agent) employed. The present research has shown that there exists a text-only equivalent of this print multimodal form in the form of specific EMC conventions which can be found in the sample. This form of expression, whose features are discussed in detail in Subsection 7.3.1, implies the existence of experiencers (bodies) and places where experience takes place. Following from this, it can be seen that text-only interactions induce the creation of alternative personae capable of multimodal interactions in a technologically mono-modal forms of communication. The following section contains a discussion

⁷There is a possibility of creating simple images using ASCII symbols. The range of symbols and possible combinations is, however, very limited and does not encourage free artistic expression.

of the phenomenon of **multimodal** expression in text-only communication and the explication of the concept of *embedded multimodality*.

7.3 Embedded multimodality in text-messages

Based on the analysis presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I argue that the underlying assumption that texting is a restricted form of communication, which is rooted mainly in folk linguistics, is far too simplistic and, in effect, incorrect. Even though mono-modal on the surface, texting demonstrates largely multimodal possibilities when subjected to closer analysis of its linguistic content, as demonstrated in Chapter 6 and Section 7.2.

As noted earlier (see Chapter 1), scholars working within the multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) framework recognise that all discourse is multimodal and that language in use is “always and inevitably constructed across multiple modes of communication” (Scollon and Levine 2004, p.2). It includes speech and gesture but also such contextual phenomena as physical spaces in which discursive actions take place as well as the design and typography of the documents within which written texts are presented.

Van Leeuwen (2004) notes that just as speech genres combine language and action, written genres combine language, image, and graphics in an integrated whole. Multimodal discourse analysis focuses on media that employ a variety of presentational modes, e.g., text, layout, and font as well as images (Norris 2004, p.45), which cannot be found in texting, and their influence on the dynamics of face-to-face interactions into which they are incorporated. Multimodal discourse analysts also recognise the importance of written text in interaction and treat the communicative mode of print as multimodal in itself in that it includes “language, the medium, the typography, and the content, when it is incorporated into the interactions” (Norris 2004, p.44). Tex-

ting offers very limited possibilities when it comes to typography within a message. Mobile phone owners can select font type and size to be displayed on their phone, but this affects only text viewed on their mobile device. Therefore, typography and font choice cannot be used for meaning-making. What is possible, however, is the use of ASCII symbols according to certain conventions to achieve multimodal meanings. Consequently, one can treat the medium of texting not as purely mono-modal, but as *multimodal within a single (surface) umbrella mode*. I refer to this phenomenon as **embedded multimodality** and define it as **the use of discursive tools inherent in the primary mode in order to perform multimodal communication within a technologically mono-modal medium**.

Just like in the case of progression from spoken to written language discussed in Bateman 2011, multimodal elements in texting also follow a process of *substrate transformation*. Phoneticons (cf. Section 6.2) originate as an auditory substrate. Following the intention to transfer information present in the auditory form through written medium and taking into account modality affordances, a visual representation of the auditory information is created. At this stage, the auditory element can take a variety of different forms, e.g., in texting it can further develop into either a description or an instance of enactment. A texter can decide to follow EMC conventions for enactment to create a phoneticon. A phoneticon has now a number of independent components. Its material component consists of visual representation of the original auditory substrate, framed by the employed text-category indicators to identify all constituents of the single coherent unit. Text-category indicators, which follow the rules of grammar of embedded multimodality (cf. Subsection 7.3.1), transform more basic lexically-organised semiotic resources into grammatically-organised semiotic modes. At the same time, enacted phoneticons have their intended auditory component which draws on users' background knowledge, *prior text*, familiarity with modality conventions which allows for making a connection between a real world

sound and its textual representation (as described in Section 7.2), and openness to being transported into a texting equivalent of a storyworld where the sound represented by a phoneticon will be heard. The process of substrate transformation for phoneticons is presented in Figure 7.4.

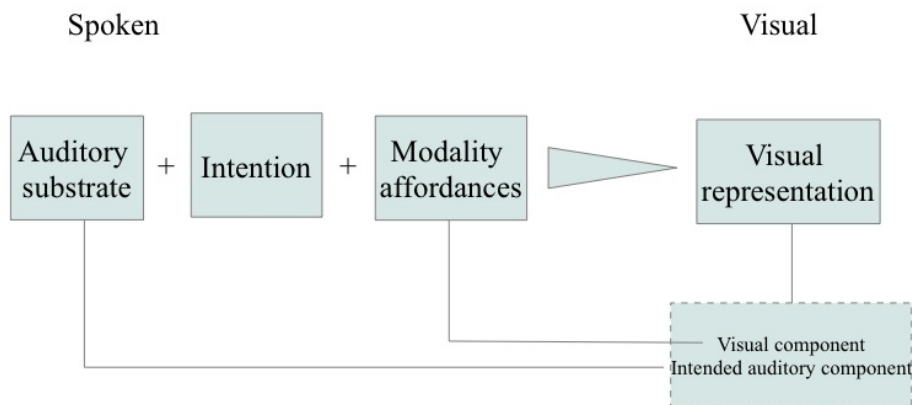


Figure 7.4: Substrate transformation: Phoneticons.

A similar transformation process takes place in the case of the enactment of actions. Kineticons (cf. Section 6.4) begin as physical actions in the non-mediated (electronically) world, which in themselves can include a visual, auditory, and haptic components (e.g., hitting someone with a metal object, as in example (22), is accompanied by the sound of banging and the sensation of pain). If there occurs an intention to transfer the information retrievable from its physical form into the medium of writing, a textual (visual) representation is created, taking into account modality affordances. Here again, the action can take a number of forms (description or enactment). If an appropriate set of EMC conventions is followed, the action in question is represented in the form of a kineticon, which consists of a number of independent components. The form of the material component (visual representation) follows the rules of the grammar of embedded multimodality in that a particular set of text-category indicators is used to demarcate the initial and final point of the single coherent unit

(cf. Subsection 7.3.1), and it activates the texter’s background knowledge in order to evoke a more vivid image of the action. The process of substrate transformation for kineticons is presented in Figure 7.5.

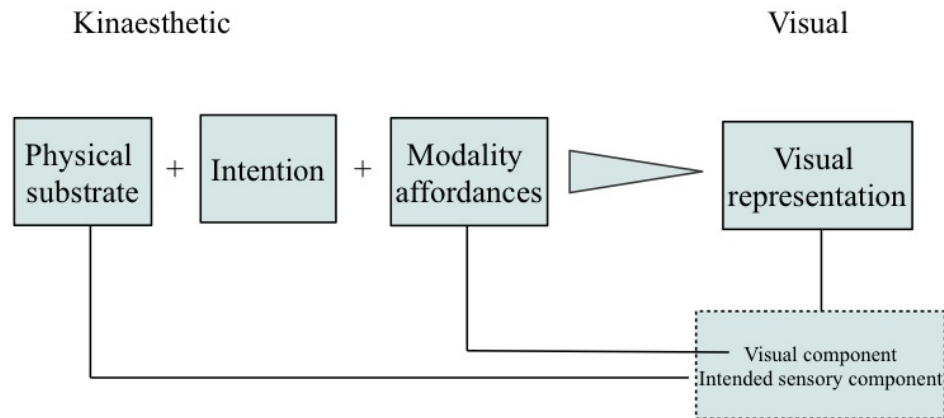


Figure 7.5: Substrate transformation: Kineticons.

The difference between phoneticons and kineticons on the one hand, and emoticons on the other, is that, while the earlier use more symbolic forms of representation, the latter are sometimes expressed using words (which correspond to symbols) and sometimes using more iconic forms (e.g., *smileys* resemble smiling faces). Apart from this added decision-making level, where a texter needs to decide on the appropriate output form, emoticons follow the same substrate-conversion principle as phoneticons and kineticons. Their final form, visual representation, also follows a set of representation principles which function based on the same principles. The process of substrate transformation for emoticons can be illustrated as in Figure 7.6.

As can be seen, the multimodality of the offline world is transported into the discursively created storyworld in text-messages, resulting in the actions being performed and sensory information experienced by discursively created personae in a discursively created world. This phenomenon of multimodal expression within a (technologically

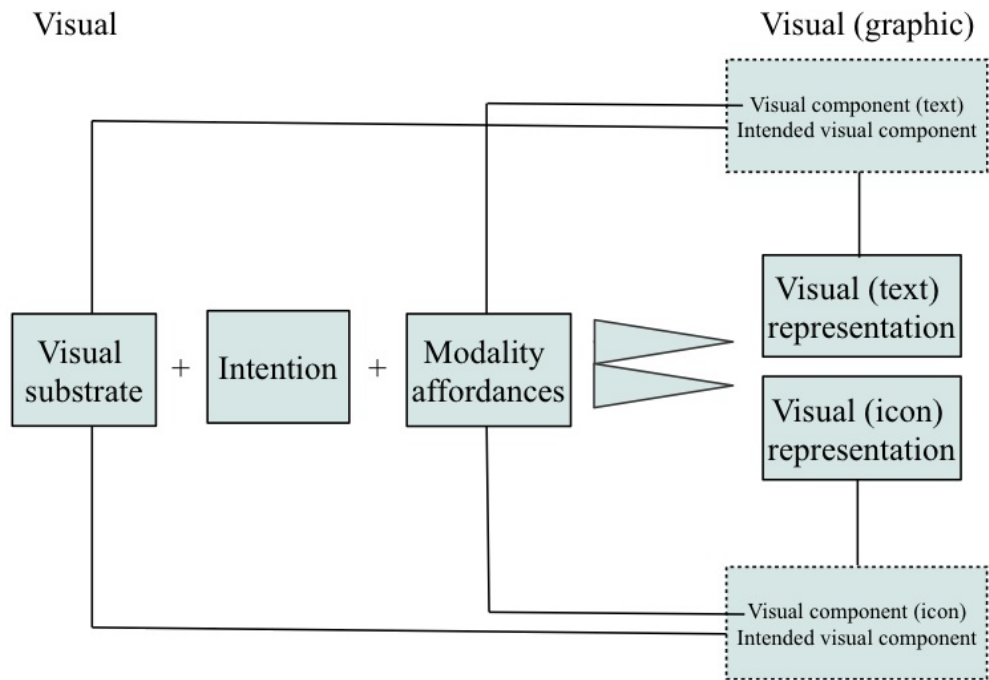


Figure 7.6: Substrate transformation: Emoticons.

monomodal) text-only modality is governed by a set of presentation rules, which are discussed in Subsection 7.3.1.

7.3.1 Grammar of embedded multimodality

According to its popular non-linguistic, prescriptivist understanding, *grammar* consists of a set of rules “imposed on usage from outside, for example, by some authority on correctness” (Milroy and Milroy 1999, p.60). One of the most often referred to conceptions of grammar in linguistics is Chomsky’s *universal grammar*, according to which all languages have a common structural basis. On the other hand, there is also the notion of *emergent grammar*, a functional approach to the study of syntax, according to which grammatical and syntactic structure emerge during language use (Hopper 1987). In this thesis, I define **grammar** as a **system of rules inherent**

in a language or code (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1999) and see it as an emergent phenomenon (cf. Hopper 1987). As shown in Section 7.3, there is a set of rules which texters follow in substrate transformation from the sensory experience of the (offline) world to a storyworld of a text-message. This subsection explores these rules in detail in an attempt to define a grammar for embedded multimodality.

Nunberg (1990), in his discussion of punctuation, notes that contrastive approaches to its analysis result in treating punctuation as a “device for transcribing certain of the prosodic and pausal features of speech” (Nunberg 1990, p.11) whose role is to represent visually those of the features of spoken language which cannot be easily registered on paper. This device is, additionally, very restricted and imperfect, which manifests itself, for example, in the fact that punctuation allows a far more limited range of marks than there are intonation patterns.

Texting, as a technologically mono-modal (text-only) form of communication, allows for the use of punctuation as part of a wider range of printable ASCII characters⁸, which can be employed to aid understanding (like in any other type of written text), but also in a non-standard creative way to convey sensory information, e.g., in the form of ASCII art, where users compose images pieced together using solely printable ASCII characters. ASCII art is not a novelty, however, it is time-consuming to create and requires effort and at least some artistic or design skills. Furthermore, due to the varying screen size in mobile devices, ASCII art spread over a few input lines, can lose its form while being transported from one device to another.

In the earlier data chapters, a number of conventions were highlighted that texters employ in their communication of multimodal content instead of e.g., font, colour, size, and layout, all of which were identified by Nunberg (1990) as meaning-making tools but are not available to texters. In order to theorise this phenomenon, I refer

⁸ASCII, or American Standard Code for Information Interchange, is a scheme for encoding characters that represent text in computers and other devices which use text. ASCII includes printing characters, such as letters, digits, punctuation marks, and a few miscellaneous symbols, and non-printing characters, which control text- and space-processing, e.g., backspace, tab, and delete.

to the notion of **text-category indicators** introduced by Nunberg (1990) (see also Subsection 3.4.1). He employs this term to refer to graphical devices which in written texts fulfil one of three functions: 1. delimit one or both ends of an element of a particular type (**delimiters**), 2. separate two elements of the same type (**separators**), or 3. typographically distinguish an element of a particular type from its surroundings (**distinguishers**). Formally, indicators can be realised by distinct characters (e.g., standard punctuation marks), font-, face- case- and size- alternations (e.g., the use of italics), and by the use of “null” elements (e.g., spacing) to separate text elements (e.g., words and lines). Graphical properties of text-category indicators cannot serve as the sole basis for their classification. The same device can be used for various purposes and serve multiple functions, depending additionally on the particular genre (and modality) in question (Nunberg 1990).

The class of text-category indicators can be extended indefinitely to include a number of genre-specific devices used to mark off categories in running natural-language texts of various sorts, such as the section and chapter headings of a book, or the salutation of a letter. These in turn interact in various ways with a rich set of cross-indexing devices, such as footnotes and paragraph numbers, as well as with the various devices used in other (“non-running”) text-genres such as diagrams, lists and tables. (Nunberg 1990, p.18)

As is evident, the range, availability, and applicability of text-category indicators are dependent on the type and function of the text (and, thus, modality) under consideration. In texting, the font, its size, and colour are pre-set⁹ and texters have to find alternative ways of expressing multimodal content in their messages. It is possible, for

⁹Newer handsets allow for altering these features, but only as a whole handset preference, rather than a formatting choice within a message. These features, even if set on the sender’s phone, are not transmitted with a message. Instead, content received on a mobile phone is displayed in the format set by the recipient.

example, to encode or indicate this type of content using a range of available ASCII characters and, in most newer handsets, pre-installed emoticons. Consequently, text-category indicators relevant for the encoding and analysis of embedded multimodality in text-messages are those formally realised by *distinct characters* (e.g., asterisks and angle brackets in the representation of actions) and *case-alternations* (capitalisation of phoneticons). Text-category indicators function as *enactment indicators* (cf. Chapter 6) in text-messages (delimiters and distinguishers) and need to follow a set of presentation rules to be successfully communicated in EMC, just like social and propositional conditions need to be met so that performatives are successful in speech (cf. Section 6.4).

These presentation rules determine the choice of the graphical form of indicators and the way in which they mark elements as belonging to particular categories. Nunberg (1990) proposes that syntactic types be associated with particular indicator features and functional types based on a set of *indicator feature assignment* (IFA) rules. These context-free linearisation rules associate text-categories (e.g., a parenthetical) with one or more indicator-types (e.g., left or right delimiters) and further with a particular indicator feature (e.g., “[+left paren]”), leading to the following general schema for representing these rules:

$$category\text{-}type ((indicator\text{-}type, [feature])\dots)^{10}$$

The interpretation of the rules is based on the association of each function type of a particular graphical representation and each type of indicator with a particular way of applying this feature to the text. One of the examples Nunberg (1990) gives to illustrate its functioning is the IFA (indicator feature assignment) for text-sentences, which takes the following form:

¹⁰Nunberg (1990, p.53) proposes an abbreviated version of this schema, i.e., $C ((I, F)\dots)$ where C is the name of a category-type, I is the name of an indicator-type, and F is a feature specification.

sentence ((left delimiter [+cap]) (right delimiter [+period]))

The feature *[+cap]* (capitalisation) will be realised here by the graphical form of a capital letter and the indicator type *left delimiter* will ensure that the said feature is assigned to the leftmost constituent of the text or phrase in question. Similarly, the feature *[+period]* will be graphically realised by a full stop (.) which the indicator type *right delimiter* will assign to the rightmost constituent of the text or phrase.

Delimiters and distinguishers in the analysed sample were found to follow a set of similar rules. Example (22), which is re-quoted here for the ease of reference, illustrates the employment of presentation rules well.

- (22) Slyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera a
I've heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's and
jakos Cie tu nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?!
somehow you here not we see! Where in the world are you hag?!
<wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
<hit-3.SG with frying pan over hairstyle> ;)

'I heard that you were supposed to be at our hairdresser's but we can't see you here somehow! Where are you, woman?! <hits the hairstyle with a frying pan> ;)'

As discussed in Section 6.4, angle brackets are used to indicate enactment. Here, I propose the following IFA rule for its encoding and interpretation:

*Kineticon/Enactment*¹¹ ((left delimiter, [+left angle bracket])(right delimiter, [+right angle bracket]))

The feature type associated with *kineticon/enactment* is realised graphically by means of right and left angle brackets. A general rule associated with the indicator-type *left*

¹¹In IFA rules constructed for the analysis of texting, the form used is accompanied by its function in text-messages, separated by a forward slash (/). For example, in (22) the employed *kineticon* serves as an indicator of enactment, hence *Kineticon/Enactment*.

delimiter will ensure that the feature [+left angle bracket] is passed down to the leftmost constituent of the phrase and results in the insertion of the character < before it. At the same time, the general rule associated with the indicator-type *right delimiter* will ensure that the feature [+right angle bracket] is passed down to the rightmost constituent of the phrase and results in the insertion of the character > after it. Both angle brackets and parentheticals, to which a similar rule applies, are always paired, i.e., occur before and after phrases indicating enactment (kineticons). They are also symmetrical, i.e., the opening indicator before the phrase describing action is realised by a different character than the closing one after it.

The second type of feature associated with kineticon/enactment is realised through the use of asterisks. Here again, a general rule associated with the indicator-type *left delimiter* will ensure that the feature [+asterisk] is passed down to the leftmost constituent of the phrase and results in the insertion of the character * before it. Similarly, the general rule associated with the indicator-type *right delimiter* will pass the feature [+asterisk] to the rightmost constituent of the phrase and results in the insertion of the character * after it, as in (71), discussed earlier on page 198 and repeated below.

(71) To be reviewed again in march ***sigh*** same for everyone — even [name1] and [name2], though no real doubt with theirs

In (71), the proposed IFA can be represented as:

Kineticon/Enactment ((left delimiter, [+asterisk])(right delimiter, [+asterisk]))

Delimiters in the form of asterisks and underscores (the latter are employed by a few texters to indicate emphasis), while they have to be paired, are not symmetrical, i.e., the right and left delimiters are alike in terms of form.

Whether represented through the use of asterisks or angle brackets, kineticons are associated with the indicator type *delimiter*, whereas phoneticons, which represent emphatic pronunciation or sentence stress, are realised through indicator type *distinguisher* (capitalisation), which is evident in example (37), discussed earlier on page 174 and repeated here.

- (37) Tak wlasnie jest jak Ci nie powiedza ktoredy **DOKLADNIE**
 That's what happens if they don't tell you which way EXACTLY
 jedzie autobus, nie uscisla ze nie jedzie **DOKLADNIE** do
 takes the bus, don't specify that doesn't go EXACTLY to
 dworca, a ja nie znam w koncu **DOKLADNIE** [city-GEN:]))
 the station, and I don't know after all EXACTLY [city-GEN:]))
 'That's what happens if they don't tell you which route the bus EXACTLY
 takes, if they don't specify that it doesn't go EXACTLY to the station, and,
 after all, I don't EXACTLY know [city-GEN:]))'

In this example, the use of phoneticons to represent marked pronunciation follows a presentation rule which can be expressed as:

Phoneticon/emph. (distinguisher, [+cap])

Just as in the case of delimiters, there is a general rule associated with the indicator type *distinguisher*, which determines how the feature *[+cap]* is assigned, i.e., that the feature realised as *[+cap]* is passed to all individual characters of a given expression. The feature of capitalisation for expressing marked (emphatic) speech is not rooted in pronunciation itself, but rather based on conventions that can be seen across media, e.g., in comic books. As suggested earlier (see Section 6.2), other types of phoneticons imitate speech through multiplying letters (not only, as would be expected, vowels, but also consonants, a feature which shows that there is no direct correspondence between prolonged speech and its textual rendering) and atypical spelling. Similarly, the rules discussed above account for only a part of all instances of enactment of other

aspects of embedded multimodality. Some other types are rooted in the tradition of performatives, for example.

7.4 Standardisation

Even though at this stage there is no clear and exclusive one-to-one relation between text-category indicators and their functions, the present research indicates that the presentation rules that do exist are consistently followed, which leads to the conclusion that texters have developed a *grammar of embedded multimodality*. (I employ the term *grammar of embedded multimodality* as an appropriation of Van Leeuwen’s (2001) notion of *grammar of multimodality*, which would provide a common methodology and metalanguage for the analysis of all semiotic modes as they occur in multimodal texts.) This user-initiated process can be seen as an attempt at a *bottom-up standardisation* of the expression of enactment in text-messages. Milroy and Milroy (1999) discuss the process of standardisation in language (or implementation of a standard variety, as they prefer to call it), which results from the need for uniformity “felt by influential portions of society at a given time” (Milroy and Milroy 1999, p.22), and identify a number of stages, as illustrated in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Language standardisation (Milroy and Milroy 1999)

No.	Stage
1	<i>selection</i> of a variety as standard
2	selected variety is <i>accepted</i> by influential people
3	language variety is <i>diffused</i> socially and geographically

No.	Stage
4	standard variety is <i>maintained</i> (elaboration of function, gaining prestige, teaching and instruction, codification)

A closer look at the development of the conventions used in electronically mediated communication, especially those I refer to as *enactment*, shows a process similar to that described by Milroy and Milroy (1999). Some of these conventions originate in programming codes, e.g., the use of angle brackets. These codes were *selected* and *accepted* by original users, programmers and early computer enthusiasts for the expression of extra-linguistic content. It was later *diffused* and adopted by a wide range of technology users, including young people. The code is now being used in a much wider range of contexts (elaboration of function) and has even been codified in a range of emoticon glossaries¹² and dictionaries of netspeak¹³. The process of standardisation is ongoing both in the case of the English language and in the case of the expression of embedded multimodality. The clear stages that can be identified in this ongoing process are presented in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Development of grammar of embedded multimodality

No.	Stage
1	<i>selection</i> of a code by early computer programmers
2	selected code is <i>accepted</i> by computer users

¹²The glossaries available online include the searchable emoticons database at <http://pc.net/emoticons/>, but also those available for a range of audiences who might be seen as struggling with this new form of young expression”, e.g., Glossary of Internet Acronyms and Emoticons on a teachers’ portal available at <https://www.teachervision.com/internet/vocabulary/16392.html>.

¹³A few of the available ones are: Slang Dictionary - Text Slang, Internet Slang, & Abbreviations A guide to everyday acronyms and obscure abbreviations available at <http://www.noslang.com/dictionary/> and Netlingo available at <http://www.netlingo.com/>.

No.	Stage
3	the use of selected code is <i>diffused</i> socially and geographically to EMC users
4	the use of the code is <i>maintained</i> (elaboration of function - <i>embedded multimodality</i> , gaining prestige as insiders' code, codification in emoticon glossaries and netspeak dictionaries)

It is worth noting that the vast number of emoticons and abbreviations included in EMC glossaries is rarely drawn from by users. After the original stage of experimenting with the affordances of the modality of texting, users have retained a small percentage of all the emoticons and non-standard forms. These few forms, it can be expected, will be maintained in electronically mediated communication long term in the form that follows the user-initiated rules of grammar of mediated communication. At the present stage, this conclusion can be treated only as tentative and more research is needed to determine the exact character and extent of the emerging rules. A question remains as to the origin of some of the indicators of embedded multimodality that texters employ. The following section includes a small case study of communication between a group of people which led to the development of a new way of expressing multimodal content in text-messages through inter-modal transfer of conventions.

7.5 Inter-modal transfer/Discursive intertextuality: case study

In Subsection 6.4.1, it was mentioned that there is a range of encryption conventions used in chatrooms to represent actions, such as parentheses, angle brackets, and asterisks. In this section, I trace the origins of instances of embedded multimodality in two texting exchanges between a group of three people (including the author of this thesis) on a language course. This group and its interactions are particularly interesting for the study of potential inter-modal transfer of embedded modality tools as the fact that the members did not know each other prior to the course allows us to trace the development of their interaction patterns and particular group dynamics from the start.

In 2009, I joined an internet-based Finnish language course taught by a 20-year-old Finnish male. I was joined by a 29-year-old Canadian woman. Lessons lasted 1.5 hours and were conducted solely through the textual medium of MSN Instant Messenger. No photographs were exchanged and no spoken interactions took place, despite the availability of VoIP (voice over IP) options, such as Skype. As the course progressed, interactions in the group turned from fairly formal, focused, and task-based into friendly chats, with a frequent use of banter and jokes. Emoticons were also used with increasing frequency. Two unusual animated emoticons were often used to indicate teasing. They were not included in the standard set of MSN emoticons, but had been downloaded and installed by the Finn and later adopted by the rest of the group. They both represented raising eyebrows. Just like typing a colon followed by a bracket can in some environments produce an animated smiley face, typing *brows* or ****) in the MSN conversation window resulted in the appearance of an animated face which repeatedly raised its eyebrows. The difference between the two brow-raising faces was in the impression on the animated face. The one triggered by *brows* seemed

quite friendly and nice, whereas the one triggered by **) looked, as the group agreed, “like a dirty old man”.

After the completion of the course, the group members kept in touch for about a year, talking not only about the subject of the course, but mainly about unrelated matters. Their communication also moved to other (still only written) media, including text-messaging, email, and Facebook. The example below illustrates two of the exchanges between group members from this post-language-course period.

(73)

A: Sowwwyy, yes im in [city] now! Watching a movie with [name1] **brows**

B: I know you’re only doing this coz I’ve been telling you about [name2]! ***brows***

(74)

A: You can text me any time you want **) olen nyt bussissa menossa [city1]¹⁴!
We had -4c in [city2] at 7 this morning :o

B: Awww! I think I would have understood the last sentence suomeksi¹⁵ too! :p
when are you going to be bussissa [city3]¹⁶? **)

Extracts of texting exchanges presented in examples (73) and (74) clearly illustrate the transfer of the features from their initial preferred communicative mode (MSN) to text-messages. Whereas in MSN the use of this set of characters results in the occurrence of an actual animated icon in the conversation window, there is no such result in communication by email or texting. Nonetheless, the interactants in subsequent interviews reported using the same symbols in their texts to evoke associations

¹⁴I’m now on the bus on my way to [city1]

¹⁵in Finnish

¹⁶on the bus to [city3]

and images related to their prior MSN communication. Interestingly, despite the fact that the MSN convention to which both messages in (73) refer does not require enclosing the word *brows* in asterisks, sender B chooses to appropriate the convention, referring most likely to another form of EMC with which he is familiar (chatroom interactions) and which associates enactment with the use of asterisks. As mentioned earlier, the use of conventions in electronically mediated communication is context- and situation-dependent, for example, different animated emoticons can be made available in various modalities. MSN allows its users to define their own shortcuts that result in particular animations being displayed in the conversation window. Therefore, any analysis has to always take into account the situational context and modality affordances of the type of communication studied.

In Chapter 7 I have extended the theoretical discussion, highlighting data from earlier chapters, and considered text-messages as an expressively rich form of communication, where, through the use of various discourse strategies, senders create their (and sometimes their communicative partners') *alterae personae* and conduct interactions in a discursively constructed *texting equivalent of a storyworld*. It was shown that texters' virtual counterparts have the ability to interact multimodally in this technologically mono-modal modality, a phenomenon which I termed *embedded multimodality*. I have also discussed some user-initiated rules of embedded multimodality. Finally, I showed a possible route that instances of embedded multimodality may take to appear in texting through the analysis of an instance of inter-modal transfer of multimodal discourse behaviour from an Instant Messenger (MSN) prior context into texting.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and implications for further research

The main objective of this study was to advance the understanding of texting as a communicative modality characterised by a range of expressive possibilities. I argued that modality affordances (rather than constraints) not only do not impede but can facilitate creative self-presentation in terms of enacting interactants' physicality and constructing interactive spaces in text-messages. Although the findings presented in this thesis are based on an analysis of SMS-messages, they are largely relevant to the analysis of other forms of text-based communication performed by means of mobile devices (e.g., mobile chats and instant messaging). Some of the phenomena identified in this thesis for texting can also be found in non-textual communication via mobile devices, e.g., mobile phone calls or social media use.

In order to achieve this aim, it was necessary to situate texting in a wider context of interpersonal and mediated communication, to which I devoted Chapter 1. In this chapter, I presented the definition and features of text-messages and some of the facts that make texting a particularly interesting type of communication. I discussed the history of texting and its popularity in the context of personal and institutional

communication. I also mentioned up-to-date scholarly interest in texting and its limitations. I identified three main objectives that the thesis was aiming to meet: methodological, empirical, and theoretical.

The data for analysis and comparison, as well as the adopted methodology, were discussed in Chapter 2, in which I outlined the collection method, data choice, questions related to storing and handling data, and addressed some ethical considerations that arose while dealing with such personal material. I explained what measures had been taken to ensure that respondents' privacy was protected. I also identified and addressed some of the limitations of the approach, e.g., the composition of the sample resulting from the senders being able to choose which messages to give for analysis and the possibility of errors in transcription in some cases.

The theoretical approaches adopted in the thesis are discussed in Chapter 3, which elaborates on theories that have informed this study, including studies in linguistics, but also media and communication studies. I situate texting within a more general framework of interpersonal communication and electronically mediated communication, and identify some of the factors that influence the way meaning is constructed, conveyed, and interpreted, such as communicative intent, the process of coding and decoding, the presence of a context or multiple contexts, the role of the audience, and modality characteristics, for example, the availability of feedback. In this chapter, I also proposed the notion of *transmitted context* to distinguish between situational context and context transmitted between remotely located interactants, as well as introduced some theoretical concepts salient for the focus on multimodal and mediated aspects of texting.

Chapter 4 was devoted to introducing and developing the notions of *space* and *place*, with a particular focus on their applicability to electronically mediated communication. It discussed linguistic means which serve to create places and spaces, and addressed the notion of *presence*, i.e., the sensation of being located in a virtually

created environment, which led to the discussion of establishing *deictic centres* and *reference frames* in interpersonal communication, and its subsequent application to texting.

As communication between remotely located interactants, texting has been seen to pose particular challenges in the way it enables users to define their location and negotiate a common reference frame, to which I devoted Chapter 5. I proposed that texters represent three types of locations: *social location*, *location through actions*, and *negative location*, and that they employ discursive means, such as deictic verbs COME, GO, or BRING, and other deictic words, e.g., *here*, *there*, *this* and *that*, etc. to position themselves with reference to their communicative partners and other points of reference. It was also shown that texters discursively indicate motion and directionality and display an awareness of their partners' reference frame in the process of reference frame negotiation and alignment. I also discussed the construction of *joint communicative spaces* in which texters can conduct interactions, creating the feeling of "being there". The focus was on the discursive tools employed to achieve this, rather than the sole act of sending messages, which can be seen as opening a channel of communication and signalling availability for interactions in itself. I identified a number of strategies which texters employ, such as signalling entering and leaving a joint communicative space and testing their communicative partner's availability for communication prior to sending more transactional text-messages.

The discussion in Chapter 6 concentrated on the representation of physicality in the discourse of text-messages. I distinguished between two types of such representation: *descriptions* and *discursive enactment*, with the latter referring to using modality conventions to imitate and perform sensory cues in writing. The question of self-representation was covered beginning with the analysis of names, nicknames, and forms of address, which texters choose to convey their identification and the image of the recipient they want to highlight or refer to at that particular moment. I contin-

ued with the discussion of the discursive means that texters use to convey non-verbal features and refer to their physical selves. I discussed the salience of representations of auditory features, such as sound duration and emphasis, textual imitation of ways of speaking and sounds (e.g, swallowing), and expressing silence. Further, I commented on the ways in which texters render visual information in their text-messages, mentioning not only the often-discussed emoticons, but also descriptions of facial expressions, and some unusual cases which indicate texters' attitude to emoticons and awareness of possible interpretational difficulties they may cause. Finally, I introduced the concept of *mediated performatives*, comparing it with the well established Austenian notion of *performatives*, and showed its relevance for the expression of actions in a textual form. I further theorised *enactment* and proposed the following terms to employ in its elaboration: *phoneticon* to refer to the discursive enactment of sound, *emoticon* to refer to the visual representation of facial features, and *kineticon* to refer to a textual representation of enactment of actions.

The analysis presented in Chapters 5 and 6 was expanded upon from different theoretical angles in Chapter 7, which highlighted some of the features of the data and established texting as a rich expressive modality. It was found that users create a texting equivalent of what has been described as a *storyworld* in narrative studies and place themselves and their communicative partner within this world. Referring to the concept of *mental spaces*, I found that texters communicate through discursively created *alterae personae* which inhabit *joint communicative spaces* which correspond to the narrative storyworlds. I proposed that texting should be classified as mono-modal only on the surface (technologically mono-modal) and that it should be analysed by scholars as representing what I call *embedded multimodality*. The rules governing embedded multimodality in text-messages were systematised based on the concept of *text-category indicators* (Nunberg 1990) and identified as a user-initiated ongoing attempt to standardise the expression of multimodality in EMC. I pointed to the fact

that it is too early, if not outright incorrect, to label text-only electronically mediated communication as unable to convey extra-linguistic meanings, such as those expressed by means of nonverbal and paralinguistic cues. Even though expressed in a different way, and based on usage conventions, as this dissertation shows, they are seen as highly expressive by EMC users.

While this PhD study as a whole has obvious limitations, as detailed in Chapter 2 (sample composition, the possibility of transcription errors, and interpretational difficulties related to the personal character of text-messages) it is original in several respects. Firstly, as I argued, the research of the language of text-messaging has usually, with notable (although rare) exceptions discussed in the thesis, been restricted to its unusual spelling and interpersonal functions. The present study has been informed by a much wider range of methodologies and theoretical linguistic approaches, giving it an interdisciplinary perspective, which is needed in order to fully understand the expressive potential of text-based electronically mediated communication. The approach pioneered here paves the way for further research into texting and other text-only forms of electronically mediated mobile communication which recognises this type of communication not as restricted, but as rich in expressive possibilities, with writing constituting an umbrella mode that encompasses and represents a number of other communicative modes.

Secondly, this thesis advances our understanding of the expression of location and motion in language, which in mobile communication has to take into account the existence of multiple possible deictic centres and reference frames. Such an approach has not been adapted to the analysis of text-based mobile communication and scholarly interest in the expression of location in mobile phone interactions has emerged only recently (in the analysis of mobile phone voice conversations, Laursen and Szymanski 2013). This study identifies types of locations expressed by texters and signals the

phenomenon of reference frame negotiation between texters.

Additionally, this study aimed to model the rules governing the use of discursive tools and EMC conventions to represent physicality in text-only form. Although some of such phenomena have been identified in earlier research, no attempt has been made, to the best of my knowledge, at identifying the rules of what I termed *embedded multimodality*. This research is therefore also innovative in its attempt to identify and discuss the grammar of multimodal expression within a technologically monomodal medium. In this study, I draw on examples from more than one language and culture to ensure that the observed phenomenon is not language- or culture-specific. Since a full comparison was beyond the scope of this research, this area constitutes a ripe ground for further investigation.

New forms of communication require not so much a whole new methodological approach but altering existing models and methodologies so that they account for affordances and constraints of new communicative modalities, which this thesis aimed to emphasise. Such an open-minded interdisciplinary approach unveils findings contrary to Crystal's (2006, p.42) belief that text-based electronically mediated communication does not possess the "true ability" to convey meaning through reference to kinesic and proxemic information.

As the use and research of locative media expand, the role of location and physicality can be expected to continue evolving. This thesis has shown that in order to develop an increasingly comprehensive understanding of these phenomena, we need to analyse the way people manipulate and co-opt technology and adapt available tools to meet their communicative needs. By taking this perspective, it is possible to extend the analysis (and understanding) not only to the discourse in the many ways it can be manifested, but also the mechanisms and processes involved in the construction of interactive spaces and personae which fulfil specific communicative and expressive goals.

8.1 Directions for further research

There are several potential directions for further research which emerged from this study. Firstly, since texting represents a simple, technologically mono-modal form of communication, the framework of embedded multimodality could be applied to more complex types of electronically mediated communication. Further research is needed to identify ways in which embedded multimodality is expressed in other forms of mediated interactions.

As Page (2012, pp. 77-79) found for the use of nonverbal displays of affective style in Facebook status updates, a sociolinguistic and variationist approach to identified phenomena could shed some light on gender and age differences in the features identified here in text-based communication, especially the question of location and reference frame negotiation. A diachronic analysis would be needed to trace the development of discursive tools for the construction of location and texting storyworlds and to compare emerging patterns with those based on gender differences (or other variables) in the adoption of emotive language.

Finally, in order to better understand which particular tools evoke the feeling of presence and involvement, a neurolinguistic or cognitive study which would test respondents' reactions to different tokens and constructions is needed. Taking into account Khateb, Pegna, Michel, Landis, and Annoni's (2002, p.211) claim that "brain regions engaged during verbal and pictorial recognition are different", a study of brain function and recognition of text-based *enacted* content is needed to establish its impact on recipients' reading experience. This need is particularly vital in the context of text-based electronically mediated communication due to the fact that, as this thesis has shown, this form of communication fosters the employment of discursive tools which constitute a cross between *descriptions* (or any other non-EMC-convention-based content) and *enactment*.

The interdisciplinary approach developed in this thesis paves the way for further research into texting (and other forms of text-based EMC conducted through mobile devices) which could allow for a better understanding of self-expression in written form in a variety of contexts, for example, short written narratives or text-based counselling, which is already being employed by organisations such as Childline and Samaritans, where counsellors rely mainly on their intuitions. The findings of this inter-disciplinary study of self-positioning and self-presentation will help promote the understanding of texting as a mode of communication which offers extensive expressive possibilities in these and other environments.

Appendix A

Forms



Consent form

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: "**Text-messages sent by Londoners**"
Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee Ref: 13

- Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organizing the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.
- *I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.*
- *I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.*

Participant's Statement:

I _____ agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Statement:

I, Agnieszka Knaś, confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Figure A.1: Consent form signed by respondents

Text-messages sent by Londoners - Questionnaire

My name is Agnieszka Knaś and I am a PhD student at the Department of Linguistics at Queen Mary, University of London. The following questionnaire is part of a study which aims to analyse the use of language in text-messages sent by Londoners. Your answers will make a vital contribution to this study. There are no right or wrong answers; I am only interested in your personal experiences with texting. That is why it is important that you fill the questionnaire in yourself, so that your answers reflect your own point of view. Your answers are anonymous and all the information you provide will be treated with full confidence. It is crucial for the study that you are as accurate as possible, especially in copying text-messages. All identifying information (e.g., names, numbers, place names) will be replaced by pseudonyms to make it impossible for anyone to identify you or the people you mention. If you have any questions, you can contact me by email (a.knas@qmul.ac.uk).

About yourself

1. How old are you? _____ years

2. Sex: M F

3. Where were you born? (Indicate the city and the country if not the UK)

4. What is your mother tongue? (i.e., the language you speak at home)

English other (specify): _____

5. What other languages do you speak fluently?

6. How many close friends do you have? _____

Figure A.2: Questionnaire (p.1)

7. How would you describe your identity? Tick all answers that apply to you.

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____
- Information Refused

If you selected more than one answer, rate the three most important ones by putting numbers next to the descriptions (1 = the most important; 2 = the second most important; 3 = the third most important, etc.).

About texting

8. How many text-messages do you send on average every week?

- 0-10
- 11-25
- 26-50
- >50

9. People text for a variety of reasons. Below is a list of most common reasons for sending a text-message. **What are the main reasons you text your friends?** Tick all reasons that apply to you. If you recall sending messages for any other reason that is not mentioned in the list below, make a note of it under the category "Other".

- to give practical details or ask for information
- to ask for personal favours
- to coordinate shopping and other household expeditions
- to plan social arrangements (going out together for the evening, going to the cinema, etc.)
- to send friendly greetings or tell the recipient that you think about them
- to apologise, express words of support and thanks
- to express love, intimacy and affection
- to express explicit sexual overtones
- to forward chain messages (i.e., jokes, word-plays, etc. passed from one texter to another)
- other: _____

Figure A.3: Questionnaire (p.2)

10. How many different people do you contact by text-messages on a regular basis (at least three times a week)? _____ people

11. How many of the people that you text on a regular basis would you describe as belonging to the same identity that you marked as yours in Question 7 (If you selected more than one identity, consider only the one that you marked with number "1").

- 0-20%
- 21-40%
- 41-60%
- 61-80%
- 80-100%

12. Please provide 10 text-messages that you sent to your friends (you should be able to find copies in the "Sent messages" folder in your mobile phone). If you do not have 10 messages stored in your phone, please provide at least five. It is vital that you copy the messages exactly as they were sent, keep the original spelling (even if it is atypical or incorrect), all smileys/emoticons (e.g., :, xD, etc.), do not change or alter anything.

Text-message 1:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

- a male (M)
- a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.4: Questionnaire (p.3)

Text-message 2:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

a male (M)

a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.5: Questionnaire (p.4)

Text-message 3:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

- a male (M)
- a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.6: Questionnaire (p.5)

Text-message 4:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

a male (M)

a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.7: Questionnaire (p.6)

Text-message 5:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

- a male (M)
a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.8: Questionnaire (p.7)

Text-message 6:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

a male (M)

a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.9: Questionnaire (p.8)

Text-message 7:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

a male (M)

a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.10: Questionnaire (p.9)

Text-message 8:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

a male (M)

a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.11: Questionnaire (p.10)

Text-message 9:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

- a male (M)
a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

Figure A.12: Questionnaire (p.11)

Text-message 10:

I sent this message to (tick the correct box):

- a male (M)
a female (F)

of the following origin:

- Londoner
- White
- Black or Black British - Caribbean
- Black or Black British - African
- Other Black background
- Asian or Asian British - Indian
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
- Mixed - White and Black African
- Mixed - White and Asian
- Other Mixed background
- Other Ethnic background _____

About the questionnaire

13. Were all the questions and words in this questionnaire understandable?

- Yes No

If you answered “No”, please explain which questions or words were not understandable.

Figure A.13: Questionnaire (p.12)

14. Were there any questions or words that seemed ambiguous or confusing in this questionnaire?

Yes No

If you answered "Yes", please explain which questions or words seemed ambiguous.

15. Were all the instructions in this questionnaire clear?

Yes No

If you answered "No", please explain which instructions were not clear.

Finally:

16. Can I contact you in case I need some clarification or if I need to ask you some additional questions?

Yes No

17. What is your e-mail address? _____

18. What is your telephone number? _____

Thank you for your help!

Agnieszka Knaś

Figure A.14: Questionnaire (p.13)

Appendix B

Transcript and Maths Conventions

3 = third person

DC = deictic centre

GEN = genitive case

L_s = location of the sender

L_r = location of the recipient

L_f = location of the focus of attention

SG = singular

X (in Section 5.1) = entity whose location is being established

Y (in Section 5.1) = location of entity

Appendix C

Text-messages sample

1. -- I'll see what I can do. You utter bell end!
2. I will piss on said banner
3. I'm free Wednesday evening!
4. Seeing as my bb isn't working properly. I'll just say the following via text:
Gung Hei Fat Choi, or is it, Sun Nean Fai Lok, o Xi Nain Kuai Le or Gong Xi Fa Cai? Either way. Happy New Year! Hope you get bare red envelopes! Man I hope my research was right.
5. Wasn't easy trying to get the spellings right, had to go online on my n95 and switch between the web and text, plus I'm super tired. Can't wait to hit the bed.
6. No fucking idea, something about reservations not being valid for this journey. Everyone was like "meh".
7. Sleep tight, don't dream about FROMAGE FRAIS! Don't dream about the man of your dreams drowning in FROMAGE FRAIS, and you have to eat it all to save him! ^_^
8. Holy shit! This room is win!
9. BULLSHIT LIES!
10. lolz new movie confirmed!

11. What time are you going to be there?
12. What time we meeting up?
13. What you doing now?
14. I will be there at 7:30 because I have the stock take to complete
15. What time are you going to drop the language off to my house.
16. I running abit late today
17. Wat going on tonight and what have you got plan them ?
18. Why are the company you work for is so unfair.
19. wat u upto?
20. babes me busy at work
21. where r u??wanna go movie
22. no probs will do ur early tomr
23. hope u feel better hun!!!!
24. wats for dinner???
25. me off today...
26. can u book the tickets pls..
27. meet you at station at qtr past
28. miss you..muah!!!!
29. Sorry for the late reply – been a bit tied up today. I don't think I'll be able to meet you tonight. Things are a bit busy at home. Will let you know if that changes though x
30. Call me when you finish work x
31. Is everyone dressing up for tomorrow night?! I don't have the energy...!
32. Hey love, I know - haven't seen you in ages. What are you up to this Saturday?
xx

33. Gonna leave in 20 mins. Will call you x
34. Sorry I missed your call hun! Sick again :(Call me back when you can x
35. WHAT?! Hahaha! Details! I need details!
36. I'll go if y'all go...depending on the time... :-)
37. Thank you :) That was sweet x
38. Hey love, we're picking you up in 45 mins x
39. My gosh,that's such terrible news,I'm so so sorry. I haven't said anything to [name] and won't bring it up. Poor poor her,I'll keep her in my thoughts xx
40. Hi, am well and had a lovely fun weekend thanks! Great abt 28th,it's in the diary:) looking fwd indeed! Nite nite, speak soon xx
41. I did get a bus but had to wait half an hour! Hope you had better luck and home safe. Lovely to see you- looking fwd to Thurs xx
42. The meeting on 8th is in the morning,so they said please book them on that evening flight on the 8th from Gatwick (the last flight of the day). Cheers:)
43. I literally laughed out loud! It will have to be done!xx
44. Improvising no prob for me! Will email you both now- I have 3 email addresses for [name] so I hope one of them gets through!:) Yippee!xx
45. Not too long at all,but I'm actually staying at a hotel in town tonight! Could meet later in town if you fancy? I also have dinner plans with a friend but you're more than welcome to join. xx
46. Yippee! I will aim for 3.35. Mum is coming too. See you soon xx
47. Hello! Have arrived in [city]- it's v nice! Going to wander into town,could you tell me what time to meet for the rehearsal? Will see you directly there:)
48. That's hilarious! I'm glad he made the effort. Great to see you and looking fwd to Mon. Thanks for arranging tonight xx
49. B: Hey darling. Am in [pub]. Come? :-) x
A: Sweeeeeeeetieeee! I'm not there... late notice :-(when are you out again? I want to see youuuuu! Xxx

50. B: Hey sweets, ehere r u? I'm almost done X
 A: At Hammersmith tube station. Why don't you meet me on the platform and we'll continue together?
 B: Ok...but still have to pay for food..Will be another ten mins or so. Are u ok to wait? If u prefer to go...u can. Also found a quicker route from the hammersmith and city line route... :)
 A: I'm happy to wait, wanted to have a look in a shop or two. Where are you btw?
 B: Ok. Still at college. [restaurant]. Go shops n I'll call when I'm leaving. X
 A: Sounds good! X
 A: How's it looking darling? X
 B: Just with [name1] and [name2]....i got the job! :) Leaving in a min...u?
 A: Yaaaaayyyyyyyy!!! Sooo happy for you! You can tell me all about it! I'm at Hammersmith in Paperchase. Where shall I meet you?
 B: Let's meet outside Hammersmith...the city n circle Lin
 A: Ok.
51. Aww...that sounds lovely :) Thank you for the invite my lovely. Might see you later at work. Xxxx
52. Hey my darling! Hope you feel better? I've also been under the weather since I got back...was hoping I'd see you on Friday...but on Monday for sure and yes I am right next to your desk my lovely :) get well soon xxxxx
53. My darling, do you mind if I use your laptop? I still don't have one and the one in the office is ancient and i can't print from it!!! Let me know. Thanks xxx
54. Thanks again for such a lovely lunch and a great afternoon. Hope you guys enjoyed the rest of the evening. Mwah xxx
55. Good news :) [name] has agreed to take on the class starting this Thursday and I will take her E3 class on instead. Phew. Hope that'll be okay :) thanks again for your support :) xxxx
56. Shut up bitch.com
57. Thurs hopefully! She wil put it in pigeon holes!
58. No she hasnt marked dem yet!
59. Not somfing u wanna hear on m'day!

60. inner peace – i'm passing this txt on 2u because it worked 4me. I have found inner peace. The way 2do this is 2finish the things u start. I looked around the house this morning & i saw all the things i had failed 2finish. So i finished them... The vodka, the bailey's, some rose wine, the ice cream, crisps & the valium. U have no fucking idea how peaceful i feel now! Please pass this on 2 anyone u think might need a bit of peace in their life!
61. I got 3 words 4 u : mad,mad,mad!
62. U ok [name]?
63. Okey dokey!
64. W r u ?
65. Y i need it! Otherwise tel [name] 2 give me hers!
66. Not sure mate. Got a lot of work on at the mo. I'll try and put in an appearance cos it's you
67. Yes indeed. There used to be a good one in lee green a few years back. Not sure if it's still on but there are others
68. Accepting help has many important benefits. It decreases your isolation and lets you become part of a support community. It allows you to save energy for other activities ie karaoke which will lift your mood. Allows others to feel wanted and needed. You will learn humility and trust
69. I'm not an ophthalmologist. I'm an optometry student. It might be worth getting some if you can't see well. This is difficult to asses via sms text message
70. Good show. "email me, cos i don't have access to the internet" lol
71. Boredom: an emotional state experienced during periods of lack of activity or when individuals are uninterested in the activities surrounding them. Boredoms: a noise rock band from Osaka, Japan. Formed officially in 1986
72. Maybe a sherry and admire your singing
73. Think the plan is to meet at 8.30 at bond st tube
74. Yeah. I just wish he could be more honest! Its not like we're gonna be upset that he changed his mind or whatever happened. Anyway I'm not gonna hold anything against him

75. You are growing. I'll be in touch about fri
76. hi how you doing, is Sunday still ok?
77. do u wanna tlk? Or w8 till tomorrow??
78. Got it correct b...just pending
79. u still neva explaind the email??
80. u awake??
81. wht u on this weekend?
82. did i? thought it was Thursday. My bad...was just seeing if 12pm was ok...I come in peace. Lol?
83. not lng b4 ny baby...shod b alright still!!
84. manz lookin 4a lift 2 da airport ina cuple wks. Cn u hook it up??
85. slumdog is a big film...didn't think it wod b al dat bt it waz decent. Wht u saying bout it?
86. Kool..c u den..
87. Dat is soooooo sweet..u must b so hapz gal..to ur wrkplc?..btw, I'll b arnd urs by 8..kool?
88. Sup?
89. Kool..hw did it go?..yeh, she was tellin me dat der was a lof of info dat was irrelevant to d assignment plus some of the info wasn't related to d question..bt she gave me a better understanding in hw to redo it anyways..so dat was good..
90. Lol..lol..I love d way dat ur still trying..haha..;)
91. Hey baby..dnt hav me hands3..wont get hme til afta 12..in south nw..cal u soon..nite babyboi..x
92. I'm in o2 atm..what u doin der?
93. O2..is der anywhre diff we can go?..if ur gna ask me whre I dnt knw...-p..
94. Woman..am I seein u 2nte..or u gna be spendin d evening wth lover boi?
95. U know..stop pretendin..iv got witness..ur such a cow..

96. Yup
97. Timber frame
98. 700
99. Merry Xmas
100. You too !
101. Hey just heard ur msg... im in the office tomorrow so we can chat! x
102. Hey mami, on the plane now almost missed my flight! :) love u xx
103. Hi wwhere r u? call me please
104. Hey, ma nishma? Did u get there ok? How's the place?
105. Hey, where r u? Got on the train yet?
106. Hey, did [name] sing the single we got on the cd in the gig last night?
107. Hey sorry we are slightly late but will be with you in 10 mins or less x
108. Cool! Hope things are looking better
109. We'll get there prob. by 7 and have a drink and maybe have some food later x
110. Really? What r u doing there? I should be home after 6... x
111. Tak dziekuje. Ja jestem dobry dobrze.
112. Ja danke. Ich bin woll an den Zug.
113. Hei. Having a quick beer. What time is my last train?
114. Hi. Are you coming to the post grad thing?
115. I'm going ahead. Don't leave me making smalltalk
116. Hi. I can't get to uni today. Doing the washing up instead! X
117. No trains. X
118. Ok, thanks for the message. I was expecting that to be the case. See you on Friday
119. Wha happen?

120. Hi. Definitely try to pop in. We're having a very civilized time and have sparkling wine in your honour.
121. What time are you picking me up. X
122. Well pick me about 7 and we can get something to eat first yer X X
123. [name] what are you going to wear tonight because I aint got a clue its to cold for dresses aint it xx
124. no because I am going to sleep now because I am knackered [name]. What are you going to do tomorrow.
125. Im sure I will be coming out Just got to see what the girls are up to aint it. x
126. Hello Hello love yer I been alright what bout you im just bored indoors. waiting for my chinese Im starving. Xx
127. Come round mine then if you want but dont make it no silly times. like really late
128. Hi! At [borough]. Home shortly. Give me a shout if you want a ride. I love you.
129. Hi [name]. Thanks for your messageh. I'm away this weekend but will give you a call next week. Hope all is well. [initial]x
130. I love you! Mwahhh!
131. Hey! How did it go?
132. Hows your day going? Drama? I love you!
133. No that's fine. Planning on getting through client list quickly so not too late a night. See you then.
134. Finishing at 6.30 latest. You? I love you!
135. Any news? I love you!
136. Good luck. You'll be great. I love you!
137. Running 5-10 mins late. Sorry.....
138. Can i eat the won tons that are in the freezer?

139. Would only save us £1 to book online after booking fee... So may as well just get full price tickets when we get there
140. Hmm. K. Am out with my dad at the mo so will call you in a bit
141. Happy birthday, hope you are doing something nice to celebrate...
142. Yes of course, c u then
143. Nah, don't care ;) but well done i guess!x
144. Just sent them on so you have 2 now :)
145. 11am, friday 13th, office tbc
146. Did you need me at the meeting tomorrow?
147. Ok, have fun! x
148. U know u said that we should have a night at a comedy club? There's a place in Leicester sq called the 99 club that you can get into for a fiver. What do u reckon?
149. Tottenham tickets £42.10
150. Was it u responsible for the snowman in Parliament sq?
151. I can c what u mean about Chelsea. Am at [tubest] and it is packed
152. What games do u miss?
153. Yeah, nothing spectacular but it's been nice. No biggie on the film. Would only have been me and thee. Let's just play it by ear. Let me know fri if you can make it at all, then if you can we can check out a few cinemas, and go for a drink instead if they're all sold out. How's that sound? ;)
154. Yup, noticed that one and removed forthwith
155. Hi mum, thanks for letting me know. Please do keep the boots, I may use them for hiking at some point.
156. Yup. Hopefully it'll precipitate a freefall. I reckon they'll get Harry Redknapp in.
157. Ta very much for the offer, but I'm meeting [name1] for a drink as he's in town from [city]. Hope [name2] shows. Good game so far?

158. Hi [name], thanks for the heads up. Will try and make it in as have a couple of meetings and hopefully service will be regulated by the time I get to [borough]. Will let you know if I have difficulties
159. Easy, how's tricks? All well i hope? You happy with hiddink? I'm sure he'll be able to shore up your leaking ship. Unfortunately ;)
160. Yeah, i was surprised they got rid of him so quick. Couldn't give a monkey's about england friendlies neither. Nor the competitive matches, come to think of it ;) glad all's good with you. Nothing much new here - which is fine by me :) see you saturday week!
161. Gonna hurry my lilly white ass up a bit and get a train that's a bit earlier so will be there at 7.45. Will prob get a bite to eat en route to save a bit of cash, thought I'd let you know so you can do likewise ;)
162. Hi [name1], it's [name2]. You here yet? We're by the barriers near the back. I'm looking tall, so yer might spot me :)
163. Go 2 [tubest],exit 1.turn left down [street1].3rd turn on right cald [street2].walk 2 end.turn left then right up [street3] then call us...gd luck!
164. No probs from wednesday.i need monday and tuesday 2 wrk for a deadline..
165. Hi [name1]. if you u still want 2 come tomorrow morning thats fine. text me back 2 let me know..[name2]
166. Thanks!just sortd it out.false alarm again. pls let me know if it happens again, [name]
167. £1 = €1.04.new interest rates next wk, but dunno when...
168. On the bus..txt me wen u get the plane.have a great time, will miss you.love u xx
169. Hi [name1], can we do something nxt wkend instead. got a deadline 4 something on tues, and [name2] in [country] anyway. how was ur date?wil u see him again?[nickname] x
170. You online?
171. We're on our way 2 [borough],us, [nickname] & [name].are u coming?
172. Hi.can u divert the fones 2 [name]'s mobile after all..thanks.

173. Still up for tonight? [pub] at 700, or 630?
174. Just tried ringing. Hope all's well. Is thurs ok or is tonight better?? X
175. Did you get my email? Are you seeing your grandson today?
176. Dear mummy and daddy, uncle [name1] and auntie [name2] think they may pop round on Thursday evening... How does that sound? Shout if any other day is easier!
177. Cheers dude, drink sounds good (particularly given Arsenal's current league position). One evening next week??
178. Yo. Just got missed call from last night. How's it going? How's [name]? Speak later?
179. The card samples have arrived! Haven't opened them though...
180. At the airport. Other flights delayed but hopefully ours ok. Speak tonight? X[initial]
181. What's the score?
182. Sunnier today so we went walking in the snow in the Atlas Mountains! Back Tues. X
183. Hey, hope ur ok. We got the puppy, he's is too cute! Will show pics.. Lunch next week? xx
184. Hey hun, thanks again. If ur out nx week, I'll shout u a beer xx
185. Dude... ur rubbish man! No party without u! Mwah x
186. Yo birds, I have put our names down for da guestlist. Woop should be a gud night. Can't wait. I'll bell ya later xx
187. Oh man am so tired. Didn't go sleep til 2.. what a dick man ;(
188. Thanks babe xx
189. I am on the train. Sori am not waiting I can pick u up from somewhere x
190. Hey, I miss u!! Very quiet without ya. Yes everythin ok, no big drama's!! How's u? Am sooo jealous- u lucky cow!

191. Yes but wil have to go at 8. That's ok as ned to go out, plus what do u want for ur din dins? Mwah xxx
192. Hahahaha tooooo funny! Wil def have to have another night like that again. Too much jokes- I nearly peed myself on the way home.. Wat next weekend- ur crazy! Lol ;)
193. Hello! Hope ur weekend good. Looking 4ward 2 c u 2mw [initial]x
194. Get ready to catch the bouquet! Have a fun day! Oh lots to tell you ;-) [initial]x
195. HAPPY BIRTHDAY [NAME]! Have a fun day hun [initial]x
196. Eow! Wish [name] luck frm me. I'll come up 2 c u in May if OK with u. R u renting the house? [initial]x
197. Hello! Hows ur Friday? I've done nothing :-) [initial]x
198. Hello Darling! I'm good thanks. Had a busy few wks. I presented at student conf in N'cstl & Ling conf in Frankfurt. Both were gr8 but I'm exhausted! Off to Florida on Thur with mum 4 2 wks. How r u both? [initial]x
199. Hello! How r u? I'm just waiting for train back 2 Ldn. I'm so tired! Looking 4wrđ 2 a day at home 2mw! Will be on msn l8r [initial]x
200. Hello! Pls let me know if u get this so I know it's working :-) [initial]x
201. Thank u :-) [initial]x
202. Yes we r here. Just having a drink then 2 security. I printed handouts but 4got hotel info! A blackberry wud b useful :-) At T5& it's OK. Quite busy [initial]x
203. [nickname] can you give me a call please. Thanks [name]
204. [name] would've had two hundred pounds in high street vouchers if only he had used my mobile tariff checker would've scored 98 Not 88
205. I know your not feeling great and i do feel guilty doing this to you but you got eighty percent solve score. Have a nice day.
206. It was the 5th
207. Guys please make sure scores are sent today
208. Can you believe your customer came back and said you said she can return her contract from last night! What a weirdo!

209. Sorry forgot to add, have a nice holiday!
210. Obviously!
211. [nickname] can you call me once you have recovered from let lag. Thanx.
212. Guys,
thank you!
Ill be in touch!
213. No not at all it was a nice thing to do! Thanks again!
214. Good morning [nickname] i think [name] might call in sick today and i really need you to get in to store on time as im expecting today to be really busy. Whats the earliest you can get in?
215. Ill call you later on if thats ok. Speak then.
216. [nickname] sorry didnt realise it was so late will call tomorrow.
217. Yeah thats sounds like a good idea.
218. Thats why i said go get another one see you should always listen to me!
219. Thanks for the text [name]! I was wondering what happened to you. Ill try and pay you a visit shortly! As far as job hunting goes I'm still in the process but hope to have an answer by the end of this month.
220. Hi [name] any chance you can cover Merton today? I could really do with some cover. Let of know. Thanks.
221. Hello trouble, u always's ask difficult questions hey. Hm let me c. 8800 smart, sexy,reliable, strong and expensive(lol) as 4 u not b'ing at work,well :-(i dont no it's going 2 b hard. But im only doing half day. 3-6 and then beer bust. Im working sat,sun. So wat phone would u b? Reply bak 2 my phone Pls as im using up all my sistes txt bcos she has so many left. [nickname]
222. I was going 2 say lg chocolate or p990. I hope that doesntmeans u dont like me:-(lol. Um u tel me wat it worth 4 the pleasure of ure company. Im doing overtime that's y it's only 3-6. U said dinner was not enough so I'l throw in a movie?
223. Hey trouble I havnt got reception. U can txt me on this no. My sis has gone out and left me the phone. Wat colour is ure hair.

224. I have 3 and orange, also tmobile but dont really use it as it's pay as u go. And u? Wat do u think of my voice?
225. I told u already u have a luvly voice. U didnt tel me wat network? Do have a pic?
226. Hey trouble i guess ure sleeping, sweet dreams. Im gonna send u pic while I stil have this phone. Txt me 2morow on my phone. Goodnite
227. Morning trouble or should i say afternoon. Just got up, did u get the pic? R u going 2 send me 1? ;) [nickname]
228. Hey princess, glad u got home safe:-) thats y i cld but u cut me of:-(Im stil sober.keeping promise made 2 u. So who do u stay with?
229. Lol, that's just another capricon feature. U like 2 ask q but dont like 2 answer hey [animated-icon-shrugging] i live in [borough], y r u planing on visiting lol.
230. Ure alway's welcum 2 visit trouble. Im not very photogenic so dat's y i said dont show.dont like ppl lookin at my pic. U can send me yours and il forgive u. Wat did they say, b honest.
231. Lol, ure so cute [animated-icon-cheeky-wink] i no ure sexy anyway as all [nationality] girls r sexy. Wat r u worrid about. I like u 4 ure voice and ure beautiful personality. Not sure if boyband thing is compliment or not. As 4 co coment hmm not sure. If im honest not sure sum ppl like ppl with dark skin. Although im more like yellow skin lol. How do u feel about it?
232. Actualy it's more bronze and ppl pay 2 have it done lol. Glad 2 hear u like me for personality which says alot about u. Boyband? Nufink like dat. How many ppl did u show it 2? I look dif now prob wont recognise me. Im temted 2 cal u 2 listen ure luvly voice again
233. So am i temting [animated-icon-guy-handing-over-flowers-and-blowing-a-kiss] lol. I no u have beautiful but complicated personality. My older sis is also [zodiak]. Wen in may is ure bday? And wen do I get 2 listen 2 ure luvly voice again. Although i must admit i luv txt'ng and emailing u 4 sum reason.
234. 19th, good thing i have lots of patience. Im slowy figuring u out. Wat u only using me 4 ll :- (u eat, txt me after
235. Hey princess, im home now and stayed sober like promised. U luv ure pizza just like me, lol we do quite a bit in common.name day's explain? So ure is 2day's

after my bday. Wen wud mine b? Wat i figure out about u well dat's 4 me 2 know and u 2 find out?

236. Lol, now u no how it feels. (I have big grin on my face) :-) how was pizza. Im now also eating. Rice and chicken my dad made it's luvly. U must try 1day ppl luv his cooking it's honestly superb. Wat u doing trouble?
237. Wo im sorry 2 hear that, glad 2 hear ure ok. I swear my 1st answer was choc and exactly wat u said 2 go with it. Sumtimes we do think alike. I go sleep late. If u wana go sleep thats cool. Im 5'10&1/2 u?
238. I dont mind cooking or washing but dont like 2 hoover or iron. Wel i was born in england which makes me english, but my dad was from [country1] and [country2] and my mum [nationality1]. So im quite mixed. Ppl used 2 think i was [nationality2] wen i was younger my sis looks very medertrainian shes very pretty 2 pretty infact. We cant go out 2gether as i dont like it men try it. I used b able 2 speak malay and thai up2 about wen i was 14 but lost touch with most
239. Family I can speak fluent punjabi and used 2 learn french & spanish in school. Um as 4 calin u 2morow i thought u liked my voice anyway? I'l have 2 think about teling u. :-)
240. Goodmorning sleepy, im of 2 work now and wont have this phone. So txt on any of other phones. Keep dreaming 4 now :-)
241. Thank u trouble:-) yeah had a gudnite. Got home at 5am very tired, am at work now. I like my tea milky,withsugur u? And how was ure nite?
242. Hey trouble! Told u were a flirt. So did u go 2 the back with him? Just got home, wat do i get 4 keepin u company?
243. So wat u trying 2 say if there was u would hey. Hmm, r u trying 2 make me jelous hey,lol. At least u had an easy day. It's always a plesure with u :-) but is it not same 4 u?
244. That makes a change, lol, ;-)
245. Lol, :-) not all my q. Cant freinds do favours 4 freinds? Wat q as i feel bad u have 2 travel longway on ure own.
246. Lol, u 1st did u miss and um no um ok maybe a litle :-)

247. Ok im sorry :(do u forgive me? And yes i enjoy txt'ing u :-)
248. U said u cdnt talk?
249. Walking, so will go the back way and go to my office. Come there. I'll message you when I'm in.
250. Have a great time [name]! Enjoy enjoy enjoy! :-)
251. Sorry, I can call you back in a bit if you'll be awake?
252. There in 5 x
253. Nope. No mention at all. Strange hey? Are they going ahead? X
254. OK.
255. Buon viaggio!
256. Home in next twenty mins
257. No, I'm not. Thanks.
258. Cool. On my way.
259. Hmm, r u sure it wasnt ure bf? Is ure flatmate not polish? U r a mystery? About ure q, yes I have internet.
260. 2 c if u got home ok and listen 2 ure luvly voice.
261. Hey princess i can call u anytime u want :-) weather it b 33sec or 33mins! Wen r u planing on going 4 walk? Now is late and very dark 4 beutifull girl like u 2 walk on your own. [animated-icon-wondering]
262. Glad u got home safe flirt(trouble). Was worried wen u said u were lost. Already told u that ure always welcum 2 speak with me. I enjoyed talking 2 u 2day and that beutifull voice of ures. [animated-icon-tongue-sticking-out]
263. Um i think this time u sounded best 2 me. As we spoke 4 longer and we were not working with customers 2 worry about, so could speak freely.
264. Im already dreaming of it [animated-icon-guy-handing-over-flowers-and-blowing-a-kiss] email is, [email]
265. Hey princess hello, hope ure having a goodday at work. And thnx 4 the gudnite txt. I slept like a baby.

266. Trust u 2 call wen im not there [animated-icon-wailing] im just relaxing, im feeling lazy. I just made a masive lunch, english breakfast. Sausage, bacon, eggs, beans, toast and fishfingers. Im so stuffed! Even though i had fishfingers i really hate fish. Once in while is ok. Wat time u fin 2day cookie? And wat r u having?
267. Wat ever u want? Pizza, cookies? But u have 2 cum and get it?
268. Hey trouble sorry i missed ure call. I was just playing sum poker. Hope ure txt is working. Txt or call meif ure still up. Hope u had a nice evening. Sweetdreams x
269. Hey princess i no ure prob sleeping but im so happy i just won £300 at poker. [animated-icon-jumping-with-joy] U must b my lucky charm. Txt or call me on my phone 2morow. Sweetdreams x
270. Yes im at home, i thought u were sleeping. Sorry if i woke u up. Babe 4 u i will b up,especialy as i cant hear ure beutifull voice 4 a week [animated-icon-wailing] txt or call me on my phones 2morow
271. Lol, im sorry but i cant help but giggle a litle, hehe. Im only teasing babes :-)
so wat team do u support?
272. I have that same reaction 2 all girls who like football, but im not sexist [animated-icon-laughing] r u taking the mick out of me and my team? Chelski who i asume maybe u support r losing hehe. 1-0 after 5mins already!
273. Im soooo sorrrry [animated-icon-consoling-a-crying-person] we can talk about football. Im thinking u like liverpool? I really hope not, as i hate them alot!
274. Does that mean u like liverpool bcos i can forgive u as ure so special :-)
does that mean u dont want updates?
275. I no im watching it. Its changed 2nd yellow was 4 lampard so cole the bastard only has 1
276. Im sorwwy(cute face) how did i offend & how can i make up?
277. I was only playing, i will buy u sum cookies :-)
278. It's 1-1 good match. Is my time not enough? Im making another sacrafice by missing football?

279. Ure going 2morow :-(so it's a small sacrafice 2 make! As long as it's not arsenal playing, LOL!
280. Ok i wont tell u, lol. Y r u not going 2 miss me?
281. 2-2. And ofcourse i will miss u ;-(and im always honest! Riddles? Hmm? And u? B honest! I can handle it.
282. U didnt answer?
283. Who's taking in riddles now? And ure voice is unforgettable [animated-icon-guy-handing-over-flowers-and-blowing-a-kiss]
284. Lol, yes trouble! U should have been a politician, lol
285. But hopefully the answer 2 this riddle was yes? :-)
286. Yes u never answered directly? And u will c if im around?
287. Hmm fair enough, i c ure point. So then maybe I shouldnt call u 2 c weather or not u miss not talking or txting? Just a thought. So have u fin yet?
288. Hey im only messing around. Im not b'ing serious, dont want u geting wrong idea! Im not pscho, lol!
289. Hey trouble i no were only freinds and im just playing around b'ing a "flirt" and hope u dont percieve as anything else. Sorry if i gave wrong impression!
290. Read wat u sent and then read my reply carfully. And if u stil dont understand I'l tel u!
291. I didnt mean anything by wat i said about u not missing me. And did not want u 2 think im b'ing obsesive or anything like that. I enjoy ure company and ure newfound freindship and didnt want u 2 get wrong idea i was b'ing 2 fwd or 2 strong. We may have just misunderstood each other. That is wat i was trying 2 explain. Sorry if i upset u.
292. R u still talking 2 me?
293. Ok i just changed my chips round. Have a good trip and enjoy ure holiday:-) sweetdreams x
294. Hi princess glad u got there safe, dont No about ure "dodgey" freind,lol as 4 seing plnd u will have 2 show me 1day? I just woke up.

295. Hey trouble, just watching tv. My neck is hurting :-(as 4 pl Ofcourse i mean it :-)
296. Ok i will take u up on that wen we no each other better nxt yr. I think i slept akwardly or it was the cold, and yes id like a massage. R u going 2 b going online?
297. Im going 2 have a shower and sumthing 2 eat. Can u survive without me 4 a while?
298. Hi trouble! Hope u didnt think forgot about cheeky [nickname]! I had.prob with internet b4. Just fin watching football...how has ure day been?
299. Lol, how sweet! And i went 2 the shop in the cold 2 get credit. This is my.pay as go.
300. Yes, im just watching tv. And u?
301. Yes pls, hmm and how reliable r u?
302. Just in general. Ure so serious, chill out :-) x
303. Lol, maybe? I thought we would b even?
304. Does it matter? Nosey! :-) and how about my sacrafices!
305. I told u 3 r mine! And u free 2 think wat u like about me. Trust cums wid time.
306. Ah so i c u have learnt 2 chill :-) and i no mobile world is cheaper.
307. Ali g as borak, have u ever seen? Wat r u doing?
308. Not really :-) wat is it?
309. No its just 1 of the things i figured, u being an inteligent lady and all. My b is low wat time u up till.
310. Just in general. An hour,
311. Im nocturnal! Goodnite dont let the bed bugs bite x
312. sorry didnt do intentinally. So y dont u elaborate? Wat do u want 2 talk about? Unless u want 2 sleep?

313. U sounded more “chirpy” lol. I dont no? U just sounded happy 2 speak 2 me for once. Dont read 2 much in 2 it. So y dont u feel like sleeping? R u nocturnal aswel, lol.
314. Hey cheeky! Im at home now in bed. I tried calling u on my way home. Ure prob sleeping? Just thought id say goodnite. So goodnite x
315. Hey trouble! Im sick :-(and my neck is killing:-(ive been in bed allday. And the worst thing is, i havnt seen pic as the internet does not work:-(
316. Baby with ure sexy voice, i wud def feel better. Im gonna have a shower 2 help, want 2 join me, lol. Can u call me in 30mins?
317. Mm sounds nice can i join u;-) im busy rite now i wil txt u wen im at home.
318. Hi trouble, im ready 2 join u if the ofer is still open? A warm shower with u is wat my shoulder and neck need! ;-) I didnt go work 2day, was ill. Some of wich was self inflicted. So how r u?
319. Oh yeah? Hm i will keep that in mind nxt time. So wat would it involve?
320. Hm, wel we will just have 2 wait and see. So wat r u up 2?
321. And y should u only b asking? And u should b used 2 the cold, do u want me 2 warm u up? I was playing poker.
322. I lost :-(and i was out celebrating after winning football yesterday. My neck and shoulder still hurt a bit. I need a good massage from sum good hands. And yes im warm. . . anything else detective?
323. Hm, so has my claim been accepted? R u ready 2 fulfil? Wen can i pick up? Lol!
324. Hm not fair, u went back on your promise. I will submit my appeal 2morow. If accepted how long will i have 2 wait? Im of 2 sleep now as im in enough trouble at work as it is. I'l talk 2 u 2morow. Sweetdreams xx
325. Only if u plan on waking me in person ;-) otherwise i'l b fine. Thnx anyway, and i will appeal 2morow, Txt me on my phone. Goodnite xx
326. Hi i have no txt msg left so i had 2 wait 2 get this phone. Im ok and wat happend 2 u 2 make u so “chirpy”?

327. So thats the reason ure so happy? Y r u going 2 court? I didnt go work:-(im a bad boy. I didnt get a personal wake up call. I thought u were going 2 cum in my room give me a massage and wake me up?
328. Welldone and a big congratulations! And i said i didnt need u 2 call me but u can wake me up in person ;-)
329. Hey trouble i have 2 give the phone back now. I'l probably go and watch a film with freinds. Have a nice evening and i'l txt u later xx
330. Hey trouble! How u feeling? Stil tired? Im exhausted, and had a terrible day at work. And 2 make it worse u were not in. Notorious deliveries? U must have me cofused with sum1 dodgy!
331. Mm that sounds good, i'd like 2 b that sum1, that's exactly wat i need aswel. I remember harry. Y not tell him 2 cast a spell and arrange that for us?
332. Hi trouble, wat r u up tp?
333. This is my no and i txt u b4 from it detective. Sorry i didnt reply b4 had a rough nite. So if we were 2 meet 2nite wen and where would it b?
334. Hmm ok, i must warn u i look terrible rite now. I havnt shaved or cut my hair or anything r u sure u want 2 b seen in public with such an ugly monster like me?
335. I thought u dont care for looks? Im at my dads house so i havnt got my stuff with me. And my sister has freinds over so i dont really want 2 go home. Have u fin yet?
336. Hey how r u? Still on the train?
337. Ofcourse im overcome with joy! :)
338. Hey listen can we make it 4 2morow instead? Im sorry its just going 2 b really late by the time we meet up and its absolutely freezing! R u working 2morow?
339. Im sorry but its late and cold. But if u really want 2 meet up we can. Wat have u got in mind 2 do?
340. Hey im sorry princess! But it does make sense dont u think? So wat have u in mind oterwise?
341. Ok im also on my way, c u soon xx

342. Hi trouble! How r u? Wat u up 2?
343. My days been ok. Had hair cut, shave sumthing 2 eat. It was my sis bday the other day so went 4 meal and stuff. Just out with freinds who came bak from holiday. At least u have 2morow 2 look fwd 2.?
344. More questions? Yes the 1 who lives with me. And her name is [name]. So y the mixed feelings?
345. Well u have a massage 2 give 4 one :) and ofcourse a dance aswell. Not 2 mention sum jpg.
346. I would luv that, but i cant call in sick and then come 2 the party. So u can save that 4 the end of the night?
347. So wat if i came now? Nxt day off is wendsday?
348. How about breakfast sunday? ;)
349. Im working sunday aswell. So after my massage 2morow nite, we can have breakfast?
350. Hm wel c. Im going sleep now so c u 2morow. Sweetdreams! X
351. Mmm u brought that huge smile 2 my face again :D in that case i have no objection! ;D
352. Ofcourse! Like rite now for example ;D and every other day constantly! But i dont have that option :-(so visual is the nxt best thing!
353. Ofcourse! How can i not? It's impossible not 2! And true u allways keep ur word! But wat hapend 2 my story with pictures??? ;D
354. Hey sweetness! Im going sleep now as i have an early start with work! So goodnite beutiful and i will speak 2 u 2morow xx
355. In a gentelmanly fashion ofcourse! :-) i wasnt really planning on doing anything. But i must confess i would really like 2 c u again! And I cant think of any1 better 2 celebrate it with!
356. Havnt ckd yet, u'l b 1st 2 no,lol.:-) Cred low!
357. Hi, u must think im so rude, Im sorry 4 not replying. I no i deserved 2 b punished and will let u decide ;-) My mins fin quick and i didnt want 2 go over.

358. Hi 2 u aswel. And wats with the lingo these days?
359. So y do asian dudes crack u up?
360. Im sure its just not asians. Its a man think lol. So wat u up 2 tonite? It's freezing!!!
361. True, so wen r we gona have sum fun? ;-)Lol, im xhausted! Got bak 6 in da mornin, bit of wild nite. Maybe mellow out depends if theres any where 2 go.
362. Not gona have fun anymore?:(yeah i no im boring dats y i need sum excitement rite now lol. Um...[pub]? Where is that? Or am i supposed 2 no already?
363. Ah ok. well there r quite a few pubs with that name in the area. Um wat would u get? Hmm...wat do u want?
364. Hi princess, another crap day at work! Met freinds after work and had a nice drink. How was ur day? Did u go shopping?
365. Thats nice 2 no thnx. So did u buy anything sexy?
366. Oh yeah, so maybe u will have 2 show me one day? :)
367. Thats no fun :(at least i was honest, lol
368. About wat?
369. And Y is that?
370. ???? LikE???
371. Txt mE pls
372. Y ask me then? If i could talk i would have said. Im at beer bust and its very noisy. Anything else? I allways explain my self and u dont. Its very frustrating
373. Ok fair enough, I no it was nothing bad. U dont have 2 tell me anything anyway. Ive just got 2 my freinds house, wat u doing?
374. Ok i dont no if i should offer 2 hug or u mite take it wrong way?
375. Glad 2 hear it :-) so wat did u buy?
376. Wen r u thinking about collecting?

377. Ah sorry trouble, but 2morow im booked. But we can do it 4 wen we r both free. That way i can make sure i will b there defently and on time, giving u my full at
378. Wen we agree the time and date, i promise i will adhere:-) i will let u no on monday. Do i also get my claim?
379. Well, i do every other sat and 1 sun a month. But with shift swaps it's hard 2 keep track. And i want 2 give my full attention! :-)
380. No im sure. I def want 2 keep:-)
381. And wat does the ll cum with?
382. Lol, ok im intrested in the complete. So would u care 2 elaborate on my cover?
383. Lol, ok i like the sound of that. I accept! I just got in2 my bed now, im going 2 sleep now. Goodnite princess! Hope u sleep like a baby xx
384. O i will, i promise! Goodnite, sweetdreams xxx
385. Hi trouble, how r u?
386. Hm, so so. Just got 2 freinds and about 2 watch a film. So wat trouble u up 2 this time?
387. Nothing 2 drastic, just sumthing i cant explain in txt. But every thing is ok. I was just odering pizza, watching borat(alig)movie., wat u up 2?
388. Hi, sorry i fell asleep yesterday. I got really drunk. How has ur day been?
389. Yes i woke up rough. But they say best thing 4 a hangover is another drink. I feel better after eating. Im going 2 the pub 2 watch football. Wat r u up 2?
390. Just celebrating winning the group and qualifying 2 nxt stage. Im in good mood, 'chirpy' lol. Wat u up 2?
391. Hey just had an idea, c'ing as were both off 2morow y not meet up. I can dn with a massage, lol.
392. About 6-7? And do i get my massage?
393. Yes im sure, lol. So wat do u think? We can meet in [borough]? Maybe eat, watch a film, or go for a quiet drink? Or do all the above, lol.

394. I just woke up, didnt find my things. I wish u a speedy recovery, I wouldnt say no 2 jumping in ur bed ;-)) but now u r misleading me? Get well soon! X
395. Hmm, stop being a tease, trouble. I think u need a hot bath, with me in it ;-)) im just watching football.
396. Ofcourse, how can i refuse!
397. No I have'nt, u can choose. R u feeling any better? Is there enough space in ur bed 4 me?
398. I dont mind single bed, nice and cosey. At least ur condition is improving. Wat time r u in court 2morow?
399. My jury service is in jan. Just make sure u rest, hopefully u will feel better. Im sure u can keep me cool! Am i still covered 4 assisted liquid damage? ;-)) lol. Im free on tuesday, not sure wat otherdays yet.
400. Hi how u feeling 2day? I hope ur much better. Goodluck in court.
401. Hmm, that does'nt sound very good. I think u should go 2 the doctor!
402. Y not get sumthing from chemist. R u still going 2 court? I hope u make a speedy recovery! Get well soon! X
403. Yes u deserve it, along with breakfast in bed. Yes im at work. All the best.
404. Wen u have fully recoverd, so u better get well quick :-)) r u home yet?
405. Im good princess! I will kiss u all over if that helps. Im ready and waiting?
406. Yes im sure i can cope! After all im sure ur worth it? R u feeling any better? Do u still require me 2 join u? Is there still place 4 me in ur bed? Im ready and waiting?
407. Hmm im sure that can b arranged. Glad u r feeling better. So would u like me 2 join u? And pamper u?
408. Lol, thats a shame, as im feeling very lonely in my hotel room alone. Shame u had 2 b ill. But then again im sure u dont mind room service and lying in bed allday? Maybe if ur fit enough 2morow?

409. A real touch would help better! Im staying in a hotel 4 a few days until i move
 sumwhere else temperely. Ive moved from my sisters a cple of days ago, pls dont
 ask me 2 explain rite now. If u feeling any better 2morow ur welcome 2 keep
 me company. Nothing physical required ur more then welcome 2 relax with me
 and sleep allday and recover!
410. No rest 4 the wicked, just going out 2 hav a meal wid my family. Speak 2 u
 later, hope all is well with u. Take care
411. Not sure yet, got a mates bday on the 9th. Y do u need sum1 2 wrap ribbens
 around u? ;-)
412. Hmm so wat is the house speciality? ;-)
413. Wat only wen ur drunk? And wat were u thinking? ;-)
414. Teaching over...it training now. Hope your ob went well? Xx
415. Hi...bit tired..my own fault though! Replied to mail...well done, miss produc-
 tivity!!! ;-)* :-*
416. shopping later...me by myself or do you wanna join me...up to uuuuu...[initial]
 :-*
417. hi...dad has turned off water for now which will help. think plumber coming on
 weds. all gd with me...hope your having fun! nickname xx
418. Hiya, am just going to have a quick beer or two with [name] in [pub] (whrre i
 ran to) now from 7...so will go into shopping centre prior to that. If you fancy
 you are welcome to come too, depending on what youre doing...[initial][initial]
 xx
419. hiya, hope ur doing well. if u get chance before 12.30 could you forward me
 snow worksheet? ta! [nickname] :-*
420. hi...outside now...left out of college...waiting there...[initial] xx
421. hi...i will come from [borough] now and pick u up...[initial] xxx
422. youre a trooper...[college] will be lucky to have u. will share my cigar with
 [petname]... ;-)* xxx ** hug **
423. Nooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo!!!! :-)

424. I would pick u up...but had a perla... [animated-icon-blushing] spaghetti bol on the way...[initial] xxx
425. ok...on lunch now...hardly any sts this morn..very dossy! Starbucks on site now open :-O xxx
426. Bless you! No, don't think so. It's just like that right now. I'm sorry it's the same with you. But it will all be over soon enough eh?! [initial] x
427. Sad to say I AM really stressed! Can't wait for all the Delta stuff to finish! How are things with you? [initial] x
428. Honey, only just finished class. Am not stating tonight so can't give you a lift. Sorry ;-(see you soon. [initial] x
429. Will you be ready at 9? [initial] x
430. Hi [name1], sorry cant do tomorrow as have,s full on day with [name2]'s brother, wife etc. Maybe I can catch up with you next week sometime. [initial]xx
431. Hi honey just thought I would let you know that on Sunday I made Lorraine Pascale's big fat tipsy trifle. It looked stunned and tasted lovely! Hope you are okay and enjoying summer school/ When do you finish? [initial] x.
432. Okay, not to worry. Shame you can't be here but hope you have a lovely weekend too. See you soon, [initial] x
433. On the way home now. Already stayed too long! Have a lovely weekend. [initial] x
434. [name1], can we have a chat (well I'll whisper) about [name2] today? Thanks [initial] x
435. Hi [name1], I seem to be coming dwin with the. Flu. Lost voice, headache, the shakes, can't keep warm but boiling to touch. Hoping I might 'feel better later and maybe come in for DELTA as. Stressing about it already. Am un bed dosing myself up with pills and fluids. Hopefully I can! Please say sorry to our lovely little class. I'll see them thurs. Also, can you ask [name2] to call me after class please? Ta [initial] x
436. Ohh u skanky ho hahahaha u got a pakie boyfriend hahahaha and yes on my way 2 work i want full updates all day what time did u get home the outhur night

437. Ooo babe b carefull i dont think [name] wil b happy evern if u r just having a harmles flert r u havent met this guy he could have 3 eyes & coverd in hairy moles
438. No proper ill cant evern c my chick couse im contages i dont want 2 pass it on so stuck on sofa on my own. Can u get me [name] numb pls x
439. Im back 2mor babe need 2 c u aswell been on my own 4 last week the [borough] branch has been back dated 4 operning wher u working 2mor when will i c u
440. I cant do wends babe what about fri wher r u im so upset aswel thay made [name1] go & wile i was away i miss him but i have spook 2 him im back 2 [name2] and [initial][initial]
441. U in work 2day can u tell me what time the old putney opens pls
442. Thanx babe i went new putney closed
443. So now having 2 wait outside old putney 4 [name] 2 tern up been here since 8.40 like a tit
444. I know ther just operning old putney now
445. Iv only got that 1 i didnt know u had anouther so what deal what phone
446. Oh sorry i 4got thats cool silver woo get u with your newwww contract
447. Go outside the st get any bus 2 [borough1] and then get [bus1] or [bus2] bus 2 [borough2] get of at the cinamar & head up [street] faceing macdonalds
448. Or get train 2 [trainst] and do a right out staion then walk down 3 mins walk
449. If u go [borough] do a right outside Down on the left is a cpw its not that 1 stay on the right hand side of the st and just walk down 2 macdonalds we open 9.30
450. No he is fine hes just a wardo he asks questions that a trainee would ask his a shy guy keeps himself 2 himself we r in the shop all day & he might talk 4 times
451. Wel he is a bit of a nob like that but he dont tell me shit he leaves me alone & he aint ther 2mor its just u and me
452. Ok 9.30 goodnight
453. Waiting on bus wont b long c if [name] is ther if not wait in macdonalds its cold

454. Im here
455. Babe can u give me 02s number pls
456. Cheers babe
457. I didnt know he wants 2 cut hrs hes a wanker anyway. Most days i work now its me & the boss all day no convestaion or i work with new kid i end up doing 2 jobs
458. Yep just sell dont do fuck all its ok in [name]s store couse he can teach u but anywher else just do what makes u money & nothing else
459. We still on 4 2night
460. Ok text [name] and let me know
461. 6 at the shop
462. Just got your text dont make sense
463. Oh i getch thay came the smorning but the city link bag was inside out strange ?
464. Sack them all and hire us :O
465. Friday film and a bite x :)
466. I did all that when i startid & i run stores on my own when we didnt have managers bv i relized u dont get no thanx nothing so now i dont evern do anything i will tell managers that i cant do 2nd faulty banking order stock or anything im just ther 2 sell end of the day
467. Merry christmas. Hope its a good 1 x x x .love ya x x
468. Pls babe urgent. Need O2 direct number
469. Nah sorry but i didn't see a charger but i will look for it tomorrow and put it aside for y
470. Sorry to get back to you so late. I can't work all day tomorrow. I need to leave work at one. Is that ok?
471. Sorry my phone was upstairs charging, I'll try back later cos [name] just turned up

472. Its in the fulham end u idiot y did u think it would be in the stoke end
473. U haven't talked to [name] he aint coming in food poisoning
474. Sorry about that bro I was knocked out, I'll link up with u when u get back, have a good time!
475. Ez I'm sittin in your yard lol that's why I couldn't say anything but it is out of order. Bit of a one way street thing going on
476. She def ain't coming back or u found some kinda freak who loves that shit! Lol
477. Working Friday nite but will be up quite early, what's best for u?
478. Sorry bout the late reply, when u text I was actually thinking bout yah lol was listening to some jump up and it reminded me of fabric! Hope all is well?
479. Maybe you should swap with [name] and come onto nights, a good change of scenery
480. Just in [borough] will be back for 12.30, [name1] and [name2] r coming round for the Liverpool match.
481. A: [name], save me!
B: From?
A: From all the madness
B: Ummmm *saves*
A: ^ _ ^
482. A: Heya...are you gonna be at [college] tomorrow? I might be struggling to get there today and was wondering whether it wouldn't be easier to move [name1] to tmrrow 1pm?
B: i'm here tomorrow as well. see what she says x x
A: I emailed her...txted [name2] also but haven't heard back from him...
A: [name1] is not there tomorrow so you go ahead and do it and I'll try to make it and if I don't then I will come tomorrow and will bribe you into cascading all the info to me...I hope that's ok. Xxxx
B: that's excellent. Incidentally, i am massively pro your use of cascade! i'm gonna start spreading that one! x x
483. B: i'm having an absolute transport nightmare. i'll be there asap x
A: The fair starts at 9.30. I'm just getting to uni. Are we supposed to be there much earlier? Or meet in the lab and go together?

B: no only five minutes before. let's just meet in the [room]. the stand should be already set up x

A: Cool stuff! See you there!

B: gah! everything that could've gone wrong on this journey has done so. be there in five x

A: Can't wait! Need an energetic soul to wake me up! Xx

484. B: hey you. i thought text was understandably the most appropriate way to wish you happy birthday! am i in your corpus now?! sto lat, [initial] x x

A: Hey, [initial]. Thanks so much. I hope you're coming to [name]'s...haven't seen you for ages! X

485. A: Can't remember whether you're around this week...are you coming to the talk tomorrow? X

B: not totally sure. but i'm around all they. when you coming in? x x

A: Meeting [name] between 4 and 5. I can finally go out after the talk. It would be great to have some fun together again! X

B: yeah definitely though i can't do the evening. boo. i want to see you x x

A: A date then ;-) I will come during the day... Will try to make it as early as possible.

B: good girl. i finish teachin at two x

A: See you then... then xx

486. A: Hon. I hope life looks a bit better now...and hope your meeting went well xx

B: hey. yeah it was ok though still a tad stressed. but fuck it eh?! so we meetin up when i'm back from [country] next week? x

487. A: Heya! Are you coming to [name]'s book launch tonight?

B: indeedy! X

A: Shall we meet at the station and go together? I don't know where it is at all though... X

B: we're all goin from the ling lab. we'll prob be at [tubest] at about six fifteen x

A: I'll try to meet you there then :-) see ya! X

488. A: Hey hey! How was your trip. Talk? Would you fancy a czechoslovak meal + booze in West Hampstead this Friday? I'm going with my work people...x

B: hey you. i won't be able to do it tonight as i've been laid low with gastric flu the last few days. sorry hun x x

A: Oh no!! Get better soon! It must be dreadful Xx

B: i'm on the mend now but still in bed with the cold sweats and feelin a little shaky! x x

489. B: Any plans after work?

A: Today?

B: Yes

A: Not for now...

B: Long day at work, home alone later. Finish at 9? Free from 8-11 ish

A: You missed all your personal pronouns :p I finished at 4, been chatting to [name1] since so still at college. How comes you're Home Alone?

B: Wow long chat :-) wonder many questions got asked in all that time! [name2] baby sitting. Could meet you both in [pub] if you'd prefer

A: Yeh, him and me can't get enough ;-) He's gone now though :p and it was him asking! Could meet you there. So 8, was it?

B: Yes. 8. There. Ok.

B: Many people in pub? You could come here instead?

A: :D

A: In pub - no one I know. It's freeeeezing!

B: Need warming up? Shall i come to pub? Ir u want to come here? Free now

A: Sure need warming up! Are you making spaghetti a la [name]? :p

B: I'm making tea a la kettle and maybe soup a la microwave. Tempted?

A: Lol sounds great! Come down and collect me - I wouldn't know how to get from in front of the building to your place anyway.

B: Ok., will be down in a min

490. Running late. Again. Bloody students! Please apologise to others :-)

491. A: What time are you going to [pub]? Any pre-drinking drinks planned? I've just realised I have only a vague idea where the place actually is >_> eh well...

B: Sorry for not getting back to you ealier. Dying phone. Wasn't sure if i'd make it back in time. Just home now. Will be out in hald hour or so

492. A: Congratulations! I knew it though - I had a dream *blush* is that indefinitely? Sooo happy for you! xx

B: To be reviewed again in march *sigh* same for everyone - even [name1] and [name2], though no real doubt with theirs

A: Talking about job security, eh? Something tells me you don't need to worry too much either...but we do (egoistically) hope that you're on a look out for a managerial position in [college1]. Btw have you read "We need to talk about

Kevin” or “December” These two books came to mind when I saw your book-case...

B: ...about kevin - yes, but i don't know december. Yes, a PAM job at [college1] would be very nice - though unlikely for a while unfortunately

A: I'll bring you December from home. *mental note to self* it might fit into your “curious incident” slot. I know it's tough with PAM @ [college1] but hopefully sth will come up before you settle in with the [college2] crowd more than with us...

493. A: I thought you'd fofrget about the keys etc and was already thinking of a suitable punishment! ;) What's the ransom for Rudolph...?

B: My sore head this morning was punishment enough i think! Rudolph's getting restless. Haven't harmed him yet though... Yet :-@

A: Haha! My head wasn't affected. I've just spilt the beans to E3 that you're coming...leave Rudolph alone! I'm willing to pay dearly for his wellbeing...

B: What's the plan with E3? I really can't remember much :-/ oops!

A: We're going with them to [pub] and you made me invite you to come along :) do you really not remember much?? Then I need to tell you everything! Poor me!

B: Ok., what time? I really can't remember inviting myself.

A: Asap. I'll tell you everything. Prepare to blush :D

B: Ok. i'm on my way. Should be there at 7

494. A: Arghhhhh...grrrrr!

B: ??? Miaooow

A: Where r [you] meaowing at me from?

495. A: Jutro drinki w [college]?

B: Tak! In the evening wipisz muszyny or whatever.

A: Musimy wypic. Tak. To o ktorej godzinie w [college]?

B: Co? Po angielsku to raz, pazałsta

A: What time are we meeting at [college] then?

B: Something like 5.15 at [room]. But I probably can't stay long or get too drunk. This information is to facilitate your planning.

A: Whyyy? We haven't gotten you drunk for a while! I treat “probably” as the word of most importance in your txt. Oh and also on 30th - plan ahead.

B: Ha! Poniewasz [name]'s parents are over this week, so it would be kind of super-rude. But i'm penciling in 30th as a ‘blow-out’.

496. A: Czesc [name]! :D let me know when you're going there please...will you?
 B: We are there now
 A: Linguistically, very interesting. I'm coming.
497. A: Wow!! I want to read! What is it about? Tell me all!! Sano mulle!
 B: It's about english. I can send it to you sometime. It's in finnish though..
 But you'll understand :p
 A: Send it then!! Yay!
498. B: How's you and the weather? It's finally summerish here :p 24c now and
 should be around 26-27 on the weekend
 A: It's been shit here...and I've not had time for anything either. Can't wait
 for the summer. Real summer that is!
499. B: I'm trying to read for an exam :/ it's 28c outside and quite humid
 A: And I'm wearing a skirt and heels and I can't stand it any more!! :(
500. B: I heard about your super cold weather lol. 28c today and 31c for tomorrow
 :p argh i need a nice summer job but can't find any :/
 A: Come to [city1]! I'll employ you! Or I'll come to [city2] or a bit...would you
 put me up? :)
 B: Maybe :p depends on the benefits **)
 A: Ahhh now you're talking!! (lk)
501. A: Sometimes I feel like txtng you at this hour...I hope you have your phone
 off and I don't wake you up. But anyway. You're being thought of at 2am!
 brows
- B: You can text me any time you want **) olen nyt bussissa menossa [city1-
 GEN]! We had -4c in [city2] at 7 this morning :o
 A: Awww! I think I would have undestood the last sentence suomeksi too! :p
 when are you going to be bussissa [city3-GEN]? **)
 B: I think so too but i wanted it in english ;p mmmm bussissa [city3-GEN]...would
 take more than 5 hours from [city2] to [city1]
 A: Me suggests plane! C'mon. Let's meet!
 B: PV wouldnt like your idea... :p listening to dhoom dhoom by tata young.
 Youtube it (live in bangkok), its a fun song!
 A: I'll wait till you're out. :) youtubed it. -> getting slightly concerned about
 your taste :p
 B: Muahahaha my taste is perfect! Ok. let me recommend sth else... Bao bei
 by deserts chang and passion by utada hikaru.

502. A: Do you realise you sent me 162 txts on Sat night?? That's madness :D as for getting home safe - I'm a cat, I always fall on all 4 paws (meaning I'm always fine)
B: Did you have time to count the msgs? Lol. I dnt knw. Was it too less by the way? Else next Saturday i'll try to break that record. :D
B: Like a cat? Lol. Well watched catwoman yesterday. By saying so, now i can realised how wild u r. :D :P
A: Shush you!! :p
B: Haha
B: Ur gun, i just pulled the trigger n now u telling me to bag it. Yo girl.
B: U still in bed yeah?
A: Nope!!
B: Ok. So where r u? I'll be @work in a around 10 mins. U starting late yeah.
A: Ironing :) and going to uni soon. Teaching 3-9pm...
B: Ok. then. Will see you this afternoon if you come to [cafe] before going to teach. Take good care of urself n have a splendid Monday. <Wild cat> :P
503. [nickname] is there any chance you can cover our branch today.[name] called in sick and it was only me and her today.
504. Hello darling how are you.yeah still using both phones.how you been.whats up?
505. Thank you chicken. You're so precious!
506. Was off yesterday and I'm off sick today!
507. Will be there shortly. Still struggling a bit. I'll definately be there within the hour. So sorry chick. Has it been mad busy
508. Nite. Loser! Tee hee. See you sat.
509. Ah, well done chick. Forget [nickname], he's not worth the calories it'd burn to bitch about him. How come you're in [postcode]? If I'd known I would've met u 4 lunch.
510. I'm meeting my friend [name] now. You'll have to let me know when you're back at [postcode] and we'll link. I'm not setting foot back in ww2 til may 4th. I hate HIM!
511. Not as far as I remember. Friday should be cool. I leave on Sat morning so as long as I'm all packed it's jiggy coz I'll be in [borough].

512. It's cake time.
513. I knew it! I think I need cake for that...
514. [nickname]'s on my bus.
515. Hey chick, you working tomorrow?
516. You working today chick?
517. Don't you think that [name] looks a bit like Davina McCall?
518. Madness. Utter madness. So much to do right now. Already have homework and the day's not over yet. Yikes! Will call when I'm out.
519. If i go to work and start poking my tongue at HIM, He'll only start crying and tell the teacher on me. Is it worth it? HELL YEAH!
520. I have a pink tongue. What more does he want? There's just no pleasing some people!!!
521. I'd rather set fire to my left boob.
522. Are you free to talk?
523. What?
524. Nice to chat to u! Take care. [name]
525. Be careful or i will accept your generous offer ha ha
526. Yeah you will. I'll show up in your store soon and take you to get drunk :)
527. Well i promise and keep mine! Getting drunk will take time, but of course we'll start off sober! Y have many offered? R u so irresistible? : p
528. It is yr voice actually, u seduced me with it! I will judge how wonderful u r when i get a photo ha ha! :)
529. U should b on stage or tv ha ha! I'll just send u a pic then if that's better for u:)
530. So did i pass the test earlier on the phone?! Am i as good as u ha ha :) pic coming up, all very decent x
531. I know u r decent and pure and lovely. But embarrassed

532. That's right, but seeing as u never said, i'll have to take yr word for it! It's fun flirting with u tho. Thanks : p
533. I was being professional ha ha! Pic now sent, so u tell me how old :)
534. Two pics to gmail. Fingers crossed u fall in love ha ha
535. Hi tough cookie! Hope u had a good weekend. I'm full of curiosity about u :)
536. I don't know what u will do. Preferably both, ha ha! What's the other job?! Isn't one enough or don't u like free time?! :)
537. Wow, that sounds good! What languages? Let me know your next gig n i'll come listen to yr foxy voice ha ha :)
538. I'm sure i would if u were there! I could do french n italian as well as spanish n catalan :) let's do business! X
539. Oh, didn't even know i had a wife n kids! Sorry to hear u worked, but doesn't that mean u get time off in the week? This is my work phone n i leave it here at weekends, cookie! Will u reply to my email?! : p
540. We can't b experts in everything! So how do these lessons work? Do we do immersion and elope to buenos aires?! : p
541. Ok! Let's move to cape town. I'll teach u to surf as well, ha ha x
542. U teach me then, [nickname]! I'll protect u from the animals. But who'll protect me from u and yr sensual seduction!?! : p
543. I get the feeling that you're not sushi at all, just the opposite. Let me prove it : p
544. U just seem too switched on and passionate. Maybe it's a defence mechanism! But it's intriguing : p
545. Only need to defend yourself from yourself ha ha! Hopefully you're hungry if you're such a maneater. I could be pretty tasty : p
546. Had to b professional! Starving?! Why?? Can i join the queue to be munched on by you then? : p
547. Glad to hear it! What r yr plans for the day? Coming to visit me?! Will save time for u of course. How come i'm only fourth?! U r such a tease x

548. What plans [nickname]? I'm willing to wait for the other three to disappear. U sound like u r worth it x
549. Sounds interesting! What topic n which uni? I did my mba a couple of years ago n i think i'm all done now. Don't bother tellin bf. Just let me know when my time has come lol :)
550. I'd go for b'beck. Fascinating topic! Pls use me as guinea pig ha ha! I worked for the british council for a long time and have some good contacts there if u need. Where's my pic, maneater?!
551. Not sure i believe that one, pirahna! Can i have one of u? : p
552. Gladly accept yr invitation! Use yr phone :) if i tell u, i'll have to kill u, lol x
553. I know where u work :) send me a pic, there's yr deal! I was based in [city], [nickname]...
554. That was my second job! Send me a fresh pic now with your phone please ms [surname]! I can just ask for u in store anyhow but u r safe with me x
555. Deal my dear. Just curious and don't like feeling blind :) looking forward to it and thanks x
556. I don't care, teaser, lol:)
557. Much better now! Crystal! Won't nag any more :)
558. Sure! I was [job] In my late [age]. Why?! Checking if i'm suitable enough for u to dump the other three ha ha
559. Happy to b of service. No, it wasn't worth it, pure girl :)
560. No, only u ha ha! Did global mba. Have a look at www.onemba.org while i lived in [country] and [city]
561. Lots of places but plenty of time! U may never know my true identity lol x
562. Ok will call u tomorrow x
563. Will do what i can, i was born to serve ha ha
564. Of course! Enjoy being locked up with nutters, sounds just like my job! Any vacancies for me?!

565. I wish i could justify a pa but i'm too efficient. Will keep u in mind for other stuff tho! I wanna use my lang skills to interpret!
566. Weekend was awesome thanks. Lots me sun n surf n booze! In meetings all day and tomorrow but promise to call u this week x
567. Hi [name] how are things? Hope this term has been tolerable so far :) Are you coming Monday? Hope to see you then (and this Fri in [pub]?). Take care [initial]xx
568. Sorry I had to go! MUST catch up soon. [initial]x
569. You were quiet today! Drinks later in week? [initial]x
570. Oh that's VERY early! Don't u have any days when you finish at 5ish? [initial]x
571. On train from [tubest1] to [tubest2] now. Sorry! [initial]x
572. Sounds like you need to keep hold of this one :) x
573. Hmmmm.....definitely keep! X
574. Maby thanks for apples: safely collected! Crumble making today! Love [initial1] and [initial2] xx
575. Sorry feeling completely knackered and now going home :(Would like to meet up soon though! [initial]x
576. I am honoured! No problem at all! [initial]x
577. U free for a call this aftie, maneater?! Xx
578. I don't have to do anything. What grounds did you have? Flirtatious talk? :)
579. You don't know. I'm not. Wouldn't like it the other way round. So there. Are you the jealous and possessive type? :)
580. Of course not, she's old enough to be my mum, is huge and worst of all, aggressive and nasty. It's about thinking of you and knowing i can't be close. What do you think i am, some kind of playboy?!
581. Don't remind me of your gyrating body, it's too much. No, don't look, wait for me to come and rescue you x
582. I feel the same. Come up on the next train and i'll spoil you all night x

583. I would if i were there. Currently stuck on train with my boss on way to another castle ha ha. Be good, sexy x
584. I think i have a brain. And that that brain thinks it wants to see you. You would turn me on. You do. Love your voice. Exciting x
585. You're such a tease not answering. It's sexy x x
586. Mmmm, ninety minutes of joy. Thank you. I like what i hear babe x x
587. Glad to be just mildly interesting :) i really don't know what happened or why. I think cos you told me you had a man...
588. You should just have some fun and relax ha ha x
589. Sure did miss, was thinking about you, wondering what it's like to be with you x
590. And don't forget to think of me as the water in the shower, all over you, hot and soothing. I won't be late or drink too much. You'll get yr kisses, tigress x
591. Ooh, such a teaser! Gives me nice thoughts! Just got home actually, off out to meet [name], old friend from [city]. Enjoy the shower, think of me x x
592. Wasn't accusing, it's a compliment and it's refreshing to feel that combination, unusual. Just accept it, [nickname]!
593. I'm single [nickname], things change ;). Let's talk whenever you like. If you can't sleep, you know i'll be available to chat to x
594. Er, the source is you babe! Don't you remember telling me? What are you up to tonight? X
595. Babe, no power games are for losers, tempers for idiots. Just got back from dinner. I want to see you! Night night x x
596. Good night baby x
597. You're funny and have a sexy voice. Lovely talking to you x
598. No horny side, no day ha ha. Very busy, will call you go a while if that's ok. Looking forward to seeing and touching you, yes x
599. I've been waiting months ha ha

600. Do you mean am i gonna wait for the next phase? Will it be a few months? I need to feel you tactile before that i think! X
601. You sounded very sane to me! Shame i missed the tactile you, will you go thru one of those phases again soon do you think?! Back late tonight, yes. Why?! :)
x
602. I want to do all those things cos you're exciting and fun and turn me on. Have a lovely day x
603. Very much! Smiling cos i know you like what you're reading too. Let's not start on my imagination, you're a lady x
604. Sounds perfect hon, just make sure you're rested enough to stay up all night, i'm in a tactile tiger mood. Grrr! X
605. It's an empty carriage, i can do what i want, sweetie. Did i persuade you to feast on me? Or is it fish and chips? I'm starting to go crazy about you, why weren't you eating? X
606. Don't generalise sweetie, i'm like no other. Symptoms include lack of concentration, thoughts of you, curiosity, intrigue, excitement :) enjoying it all. I could be all yours. Is that what you want? If so, why? X
607. Sure you get a cuddle! I didn't hear, honestly! X
608. Hi [nickname], all fine thanks love, just lots to catch up on. Hope you're happy and having fun! Will be in touch tomorrow x
609. Hey, it's [nickname]! Sorry, been really busy with family. Thanks for call, will try and call later. Have a good evening x
610. Ask her what, exactly? :)
611. That's probably why i'd want to! Cute and cuddly and sexy! :* x
612. Oh yes i know that love. That means we might have to actually meet then hey?! Maybe later it will have an impact. :) x
613. This is real life babes. I am. Do you mind? X
614. Irl? What's that? :*

615. Morning! No idea who he is or what he's done! Ways of tasting include using my tongue on different parts of sexy you and generally just experiencing what it's like to feel you, touch you x
616. Good night, sexy. I want to taste you in every way x
617. I can take it all. Bring it on. But be sexy about it x
618. Does it? I'm learning then. And i love that. Over caring? No such thing x
619. I know babe, but i have to be a rock for them. Everyone has to in thru this some time. Thank you for the caring touch x
620. Just a phase of life i have to deal with, love. I have to. No choice hey? I'd like a cuddle tho, that's what bears are for :) x
621. You're yummy! i already sat with my arm round my dad beffore he went to bed for you and i'm breathless thinking of being entwined with you, sexy x
622. I'm breathless! What do you mean my promise is important to you? Why? What yummy stuff did you have in mind? X
623. Yummy! X
624. I'm wondering about you of course, what you're like in person. I'm intrigued, curious, excited. I'll call you now x
625. Hmm, so now we are breathlessly entwined? Love it! Very evocative! Just on the train to my folks and thinking of you x
626. The the?! Amazing, i love them! Give it to me baby, overload my senses x
627. Lovely to hear your sexy voice. Lovely. Shame we couldn't meet, even quickly! My word is 'breathless' do i win the prize?! X
628. Enjoy your day honey. What does [nickname] mean? Maybe we can talk later x
629. Morning angel. Hope you're feeling good! It's cold but sunny and beautiful. Speak later x
630. Yes! Everywhere!
631. Well cuddle in my arms. Kiss my chest. Put one leg over me...

632. I didn't mean right now of course! Sorry! However much i want that...in bed now, not cheating but wanting you here x
633. As many as possible. Love water. Have shoes ha ha! X
634. Just in babe. Going for quick shower. No comment :) x
635. We lived together til about two months ago. She went to live with a friend, i went to live downstairs. We split cos she drank too much and was abusive physically and mentally. Life's too short for that so i hid to end it. There are lots of what ifs and buts, but they don't help. And that's only my side anyway. Is that ok? X
636. Where else would i sleep baby?! No, i didn't live here with her x
637. No missy. Went from [tubest], mostly overland, nearly home now. Want my bed x
638. Bring them on, part of your passion x
639. Not at all giving up, that's not me. And something you must know is that i never get bored. I love the thoughts and wouldn't change that or you, all too precious. Like it lots! X
640. I will. Grrrr on your neck x
641. Just off to yoga. Let's be in touch later x
642. Wow! Where did that come from?! Sounds amazing! Sexy! Exciting! What have i done to deserve that? Is that the dormant you coming out to play? How do you know you'd want to do that to me? What if you don't fancy me?! X
643. Baby! Just on my way back from town, so pretty dry, but cold and wanting one of your multiple cuddles. What's the hidden desire all about?! Interesting! X
644. Well, i need to sleep, do a few things round the house, get some stuff for the party etc. I'll try kidnap u tomorrow for ten mins or so x
645. My dad's been a bit ill this morning babe, i won't be able to make it, i'm sorry...
646. Thanks babe, but he won't get better actually. Will call you later, hope you're havin a nice day x
647. Don't get what was so cheeky and what i must not say again. Pls clarify miss x

648. We met them for lunch, but they've gone now, flight at six. Off to see my ex now, have a few things to talk about and it's easier face to face. Hope you're not working too hard! X
649. Should be ok., we're adults. No resentment, life's too short for that! X
650. Hey! Meeting will probs go on til quite late, just going for drinks and food and a chat, so going home after that. Shattered from the weekend! How bout you?
651. Enjoy! And oh god please not the jealousy thing, it's the worst! Shattered from all the moving around and not sleeping, my dad's dying you see? Maybe we can chat later. Off i go...
652. I fancy you, your voice is sexy x
653. Hey, really sorry. Amazing day at work, straight to marketing party, have hardly been at my desk. Will call you tom. Hope you're ok. x
654. Ah so you like playing with balls ha ha. No, today was total shit, only had a few mins in inbox. Will check tomorrow x
655. Party in [borough], call tomorrow x
656. Sorry, was naughty and didn't come home. On way to work, call you later, doctor.
657. Thanks for the pics!
658. Thanks for all your help today angel, much appreciated. Sorry, had to run to my parents' place, but looking forward to seeing you tom. Have a lovely evening
x x
659. Good news then. Could'nt make it 4 1830 to central so we are gonna meet in the week b4 he goes to [city].
660. Good idea. I'm not worried. I know i'll see him b4 he goes.
661. You need to sort me out with a much better deal
662. I have high need and expectation and needs what i am getting
663. Means i want know to know what do you got to offer in this deal would very much like to know

664. Dont be shattered just ment you have more to offer and i would like to find out what it is.
665. Hope you got home ok. So what you up to
666. How you doin what you up to tonight
667. What you up to
668. Ohhhhh wow. Tht must of been nice. Dont leave me [nickname] :(
669. Lol. I KNEW IT. When i last went there, there were some new peopl working. i wish this hol was 3wks now.
670. Im bac tuesday. Did u miss me :P
671. The sky. U good
672. [nickname] its me. Hello
673. Yeah. I did. Thts outta order
674. Lmao. Be quiet. Heard about [name]. Now tht was v.funny
675. Ohhhhhhh. Not good, not good at all. Lol
676. Hav now :)
677. Soz didnt get all the txt
678. Omg. So what does tht mean for us all
679. Wat. So where is [name]
680. Lol. No u was gonna tell me about the nu [job]
681. Remember me
682. In tomorrw. Tell me now
683. Ok whts hew like
684. Ok thts fine thnk u
685. Can u bring some fudge tomorrw
686. [nickname]...

687. Congratulations to u. Seriously. I'm glad for you.
688. [nickname] how was the interview
689. Wateva!
690. I need u in at 845am [nickname]. Gonna have to inform [name]
691. Ok. Ill look at it tomorrw
692. Ok. Lemme check it out tomorrw
693. When is your nxt day off?
694. Huh. Lol. What do u mean. Explain. Damn u really have been watching the rota
695. U lost me [nickname]. U on a late tomorrow
696. U said u swapped with [name]. U mean the day u was working or the shift.
697. Ohhhh seeeeeee is [name] not in tomorrow. Hows he keeping
698. Hmmm a lil. Feel fresh tho. What new procedures now
699. What the fuck. Ohhhh my good. Ur having a laugh now [nickname]!! What promptd tht now. So the key aint enough. Lol
700. My god, my god. Dont it ever stop. Well im glad i werent in for that then.
701. Oh ok. My god. What am i gonna do. Will i survive. I enjoyd these past two weeks. Missd the usual peeps but the constant [name] emails n shit. Boyyyyy. I aint missd tht
702. What team am i in
703. [nickname] thanks for staying back. I appreciate that. ok. 1st question is on resillience and explaining a situation where i feel pressurised. I can talk about store targets here right.
704. Wkd :) (thats a smiley face)
705. Omg. Cant i take my time? (Question mark) lemme answer the 1st. Damn
706. Cool. I will. U on msn

707. Dont worry bout sat. Could tell u was a bit upset. Dont let it get to u tho.
Yeah i am working tomorrow. Im working a late tho. Can stay in bed longer
+ only 4 people closing
708. Well im on a late. So saturday wnt b to bad after all
709. To say the least
710. Yipppppeeeeeee!!
711. Ru working today
712. Hold on babe. Just on the phone
713. Who said our friendship ended. We just wirk hours which dont use to see each
other on occasions
714. Well it was like u was saying the friendship we have is gone even tho its hard
to tlk with your schedule
715. Your right...ok. can i suggest a new beginning in the new year...???
716. No it aint...thnks for the hug
717. Stuck in traffic gonna be 5 min late
718. Ok cool, as long you give them a hand with the vm in the evening
719. Dont forget 8.30 start
720. Do early tomorrow and [name] will do you late shift
721. Hi, i was in [city] when u called so only just listened to ur voicemail! Hope
everything is ok now. Will catch up with u anyway
722. I hear congrats are in order!! U got accepted for your PHD!! Well done...
723. Does it mean ur leaving us??
724. We will talk
725. I take it that is [name]? Had my phone stolen so lost numbers... I do have a
proper printer
726. Lol. Had insurance with my bank in the end;-)
727. It was. They replaced it with a black one:- (did [name] not tell u?

728. A couple of weeks ago... I was quite lucky because i had most of my numbers and photos backed up and didnt realise i was insured!
729. U have to back it up tonight now that u have said that!
730. Lol. No worries.
731. Yeah sure, [name1] [phone1]. [name2] [phone2]. X
732. Hey sorry 2 text so late but i need a massive favour could u do my late tomorrow and i do ur early. My parents are going [city] n need to be home early. If you could text me back thanks. Sorry again.... If not may you text me [name]s no.
733. Hey babe could you text me [name]'s number please. X
734. Sorry to disturb u dear would u know who is workin today like [name1] or [name2]
735. I would love to take rest but guess need to be back trust me in these 3 weeks its the only place i would be goin so yep cant wait not sure how wel i am...anyways dear wil speak to u when i c u..
736. Hopin to right now me covered in warm clothes but hopin to cope [name]
737. Understood last one itsef babes take rest now
738. I jus wanted to know this week dear but tx wil make sense of it lol hope to c u soon
739. I am not that gr8 but should try this week lemme know my rota pls
740. Babes i hav no idea wat i am goin to be like next week but would help if i am back that week dear
741. Ok. Kewl... We might be havin asm visit today so keep me updated as to ur whereabouts pls
742. Same here babes
743. Everythin good
744. Kewl i wil...
745. I'm covered in concrete and wood dust. On day off. Wot was your thought?
746. Come c me;-)

747. A friend has space. So wot was ure thought?
748. I'm curious, would it involve dining out some exquisit food and wine onto a club and after.....?
749. No answer?
750. Depends wot drugs do u mean
751. Im currently watching prison break. Ill take coke and smoke sum weed why u got sum? And wot was ure thought?
752. That sounds intriguing :-) care to share?Hmm i dunno, wot would u like?
753. Just go 4 it i wont mind.
754. Umm holding each other entwined feeling each other breathe
755. Just confused me more tell me just spit it out
756. U drew me
757. Didnt know u were into it. Why the secrecy though
758. Nah i wudnt have thought that. Im flatered to be honest
759. Well yeh it adds to ure mystery
760. How much does a taxi cost from work to home?
761. What is a lot
762. I would like to have our branch night out on Friday this week. There will be a compulsory meeting before hand with all must attend. I don't like things dragging on so it will be short and sweet. I don't know yet what we are doing but we can discuss this at the meeting. I suggest watching 300 at IMAX with a bite to eat afterwards. Let me know what your thoughts are...
763. Thanks for today guys, I know it was a long day and not very interesting but I'm very appreciative of your efforts! I want to arrange a branch night out soon so if you guys could suggest something so we can make a date and time...
764. What are you on guys? There is someone from merton coming to collect a N95 on orange so please do a bsl if y
765. Do you have keys for the shop?

766. Well what time would you get to southside after the case. I really need you in today...
767. Ok. Let me know when you arrive
768. Where you?
769. Thanks
770. How are we doing? Are you guys all pushing for that €80 incentive?
771. Cool . Thanks. Did you see my incentive?
772. Not bad thanks. Who is this?
773. Im waiting to appeal and i have started studying and looking for another job but something not as time consuming as my education has to now take preference. Yeah give me a call when you get back and we can chat. Thanks for the text...[name]
774. Not so good [name]. I was dismissed from [company]. We will have to catch up when you get back. Glad to hear you are having a good holiday.
775. Cool.
776. Cool. Thanks
777. Brilliant
778. Whats the update?
779. No worries. Its my day off and [name] is sick so there are just three of you. Have a good day though
780. I dont drink baby :-)) but trust me last nite was mad. Wat did u do? Had a customer who was screaming and shouting bout dere talktalk. Man i i hate talktalk babe
781. Went central2 c da fireworks&was at a club but i got so bored but couldn't leave cuz all da roads were blocked til late.Sud ave gone2bed lik u.wat u com u on?xx
782. Im on ten. We close at 5. Long man. Oh my God dat talktalk customer is back. Lets c wat she wants now. Prim rose? I know dat place cool. One sec babe.

783. Trust me im gona enjoy dis day off. Work is so dead init. So u trust me to hate ur number than babe?dis is my other number. [name]
784. Hi babe jus drove past ur store. We should meet one day. Take care darlin. X
x x
785. Hello [nickname] darling! Sorry for that stupid email jus sum fool at work funny though babe his name is [name] lol. So wen we meetin for a drink and dat? ;-)
786. Hi babe. Just thought i'd let u know dat its all starts from 2morrow. Ur a tough cookie but i still wana c if i can have a bite. Lol have a nice nite. X x x
X
787. Ah but u c i will. U may tink no way now but its makes it more excitin for me. No way babe jus gettin ready to go out now.Gonna go bar wid few mates and u? X x
788. Hi babe!I'm fine thanks!I was jus bout to text u!I jus saw my auntie!she not so good her liver is really bad!my mood is beta now u txt me!x x x x x x x x x x
x!
789. Well my dad i cant fit it all in text's!i can email u monday wen im back. I need to get out of this country n take u wid me init. Lol x x x x
790. Can u believe my dad jus came to my room started an argument punched me twice n all i could do was laugh n text my sweet [name]. Sorry2disturb u hunny. Gudnitexxx
791. Dat wud be very very nice hunny. Its life i suppose babe. Im gonna take u away wid me den? We'l go south of france or italy babe? Im goin4a drive clear my headx
792. It was very nice speakin to u. U sound so so sexy. ;-) i wont give up unless u want me to but i dont tink u do baby. Have a nice evenin hunny x x x x x x
793. Baby wat r ur bad thoughts? Wats wrong
794. Do u want me dere babe. Im in [borough] right now
795. Im gonna go sleep late babe. Wat bout u? Dont u have work sexy
796. Nah sexy 4u i make exception!ill cuddle u all nite promise u'll fall right to sleep in my arms hunny. Wana talk in bit sweetie

797. jus made me smile sexy.Babe ill call u in bit i jus leavin a burger bar sweetie.So i amaze u?cool baby im smilin2much. Thank u, u can hear my voice anytime babe
798. U no wat im so bored wid my mates babe. Im comin to ur place u can make me tea cuddle all nite den ill make u breakfast in bed sweetie. Wat u say sexy
799. My sweet sexy [nickname] were r u darling?
800. :\$ im at home baby wantin to talk to u but wondered if dat was o.k? Jus let me no o.k sweetie. Mobile world man? Y is dis Hunny?
801. Lovely i love talkin to u. It is because its da simplist sim to sell. Ill call u in bout ten mins o.k? Ur so sweet n cute ;-)
802. No Hunny i do mean it promise. I tink ur lovely. Ur voice is so smooth n sexy!
803. Oh really :-) i love bein hunted baby! Cuz i love huntin aswell. ;-)
804. Distrustful??? Babe u can trust me i wouldn't do anyting bad to u eva babe. Wat do u seek in a man?
805. I c? Lol so u want me to catch u den sweet [nickname]? ;-) x x
806. U prob tinkin dat i have forgotten my promise init babe? Do u want to talk 2nite? I want fall asleep dis time i'l tell u before hand o.k?
807. Ahh of course i will! Wats happened sexy i dont like seein my sweet [nickname] upset! ;-) :-D smile my baby!
808. I'll c u if u want i'll make u happy Hunny in any way u want jus say da word sweetie :-D ;-)
809. Lol very very good sexy noting can get Past u sweetie ;-)
810. U tell me? I was jus bein a gentleman helpin my sweet [nickname] ;-) i guess she doesnt want my help init? Oh my days im hurt lol B-)
811. Just gettin home. Wat r u up to? Waitin for me to come to ur place? ;-)
812. Sexy [nickname] were r u? Sweetie i couldnt ring last nite cuz i got arrested wit my cousins ova his car. Its a really long story but im sorry babe ;-)
813. Girl movie? Good good! Well he was speedin n we had a cricket bat in da boot n dere didnt believe us so they took us in. Miss me babe?i sure miss u babe

814. Dont say dat babe i dont wana be in prison. U can visit me anyway. I was at work but my [nickname] wasn't dere to email me. Im very upset baby:\$
815. Yeah babe at 5in da mornin. U can visit anytime babe :-) im nicely in bed. Wana join me and watch a film? :-D
816. B-) i would have loved to. Jus gimme da address n next time i will Hunny trust me. Knock knock lol but who will cook? B-)
817. Yeah but i didnt remember it im waitin for u 2give it to me babe? :-D ill cook all u want me to baby anyting. Wen u back at work?i miss u angel :-D
818. My [nickname] were r u? I miss u sweetie :\$ do u miss me baby? Im so tired dad kept me all dis time n all i wanted is to talk2u :-D
819. Darlin were r u?Need u rite now!had a fite wid my best mate n i feel really upset. dont really do dis i normally keep it 2myself but i no u'l make me smile :-)
820. Its weird because u need cheerin up and so do i. I feel bad for not doin dat for you babe :-(im sorry sweet heart. Forgive me ;-)x x u gave me kisses how sweet
821. Oh really?:-D i will baby give me ten mins. Wat number is dis
822. Do u miss me baby? :-) i jus playin pool wid my mates. I sorted it out wid my mate we said sorry 2each other. Thanks for bein dere sweetie :-D
823. So u didnt text me baby!i take u dont wanna c me den. I really would like 2c u babe. Spend sum quality time2gether b4saturday. ;-) :-D
824. [nickname] my sweet baby. It was lovely seein u :-D u r beautiful. U r a true diamond n very rare my darlin. Sorry i couldnt stay longer wud love2next time if u wantx
825. Babe im jus drivin. Im not much of a texter baby im so so sorry but ill call u wen eva u lik. Ill call u wen i'v stopped drivin o.k? :-D
826. Sorry baby for not replyin or callin but i'v been in hospital all night and im still here. Those bastards got to my little cousin. Its time they pay baby. X X
827. Were is my sweet sweet [nickname]? She does not want to talk2me anymore? Is my sexy [nickname] at work today?:-)

828. So ur not going to talk2me anymore? Dats not fair sexy i miss u so much n u dont wana be here for me now?:-(my cousin is out now and im meetin them 2norm. X X
829. Baby i havent forgotten u i jus got home and my sisters came round wid there kids jus talkin wid them ill be wid u as soon as possible. Wats wrong im worried:-(
830. Babe Im outside were r u?
831. Thank You very much. I have come all dis way and u r no were to be seen or heard. Goodnite babe. Im gona go home. Cheer up
832. Baby i wont be able to make it cuz i have to go home 1st get changed and den go mosque. Sorry sexy. Ill call u afta have fun 2nite angel. X x x x x x
833. Good mornin sexy how are you today?
834. Baby im havin very very warm thoughts about you rite now :\$ and ur long legs r amazin!:-) ur so so sexy! Wen eva u wana switch all show u a wild night :-D :\$
835. My darlin i shall call u in da evenin o.k. Im jus little busy wid my dad sexy o.k. Havin warm thoughts of u baby mwah mwah mwah x x x x x x x x
836. Good mornin to you sexy how r u?im sorry i couldnt call last nite my dad was givin me a lecture and it was long trust me. I hope ur o.k im at work sexy!miss uxx
837. Nah my baby i dont wear da green hat but ill wear dat4u if u like?ur [nickname1] is waitin 4u my beautiful [nickname2]. Ur [nickname1] wants u now baby. Do u want ur [nickname1]? Mwah mwah
838. Dat is so so so sweet my darlin!wat would u like ur [nickname] to do to u? Hug u kiss u softly?:-). Jus let him know sweetie!do u miss me? X x x x x X
839. Hello my sexy baby!u on wat i feel like showin u a wild nite wat u say
840. [nickname] baby dont say dis please. Wen r u goin? Ill speak2u dont worry i miss ur voice.
841. U can call me anytime. Im not workin no. Gotta give my car to da garage. Gonna have shower 1st. Oh baby im gonna miss u. U gonna miss me?

842. Oh really well i do tink about u everyday! U cant stop dat cause i really really do. :-) have a good holiday. Dont miss me too much! X x x x
843. Oh no baby is everyting o.k? Shall i come and keep u warm? I've had 3bad days at [company]. I really want to leave.
844. Hello my sexy [nickname]!i have eva wanted2give up on u at all. My aunt jus passed away n i've been sick4da past week wid ear n chest infection. Havent been2work babe
845. Oh my GOD darlin my so so so sorry. Dat phone did not have your number. Sorry baby. U sound very sexy y cant we speak. Baby im fine jus my auntie found out she has liver cancer. How warm r ur thoughts?
846. Sorry sexy but today has jus been hell. My dad is comin late now and those boy's stil haven't come to c me. They want to meet 2nite i hope but now im mad. Y dont your come here and make it all go away?;-) so we need to continue dis conversation of our's dont u tink. I do like u babe very much. :\$ take carexX
847. Jus tell me u dont miss me and i'll stop bothering u? I know u do sexy baby?
848. Sorry baby could u tell me the important question u wanted to ask. I could reply after cuz our computers wouldnt work long story. I have warm thoughts of u too
849. But i would stil like to know sweetie wat u would lik to talk bout? Pls would be helpful sexy! I would love2take u 4a coffee. Ill let u know wen. So tell mexxxx
850. I like 2know tings in advance dats all babe pls. Wats so difficult 2explain. Pls pls try my sweetheart. I would be so grateful angel. :-) x x x x
851. Baby ur keepin time and date? U wont be sexy pls give it a try i bet it will all come out once u start sayin it all babe. X x x x x x X
852. But ur memory of replyin to the full text is no good. I remember our date's they were lovely.
853. Of course not im always here for u. Wats up babe. U can tell me anyting at all sexy dont worry trust me. U owe me a cup of tea a movie n a hug. ;-) :-)
854. How can u say dat. Pls baby tell me. I bet u wont be let down. Atleast give me a chance n tell me. Dats not fair den sexy pls

855. Dats now fair i had someting 2do but now im back and continuing our conversation. I deserve dat atleast please baby gal. X x x x x X
856. Everyting i say 2 u i mean.I dont say tings jus because they sound rite i say them because i mean them.I like u i tink ur sweet n sexy.Da challenge is stil dere
857. No ur rite. I dont mean to steal at all. Im sorry because i was so sick im stil recovering from my ear infection n chest Dats y baby. Now pls tell me. Come on
858. Dat is not true i was seein my aunt in hospital every day before she passed away. Im sorry for that. Do u want me to win u over? Its not a game. Im offended.
859. I do want to i really do. I dont know if u want to be won over
860. Dats were ur wrong babe. Trust me. Im gonna win u ova n ill make u so happy. Ill show u my wild side da [nickname] will come out and sexy [nickname] will run2me. Lol. :-)
861. Not da wild side of men but da wild [nickname] side of me! Lol wouldn't u like dat baby?
862. Sorry sweetie. Dont worry ill be soft and gentle sexy baby and make u smile all nite angel. Yeah baby
863. Of course u wud baby but dont worry [nickname] will make it all go away!gentle sweet lovin dat u'l never wat me2go at all. Shall [nickname] come hug u n kiss u?
864. No baby im not. Sexy u relax o.k. Goodnite sweetdreams baby. Im here if u need me. Im all yours baby.
865. Hello beautiful. How r u. Im jus out wid few mates n wanted to say hello and make sure ur ok because i do care very much bout u baby. Take care hunny. Mwah x x
866. Good afternoon mam. Im fine thank u jus rushed off my feet at work. Y only 1day off? I cant wait4friday ill be off! Wen will i be gettin my LL trainin!Mwah Mwah
867. Hey baby dont walk around alone. Wats up? Is everyting o.k? Jus relax sexy get sum good sleep dream of me n wake up fresh 2norm. If u need sumting let me know x

868. Dont be silly. Wats wrong? O.k we wont do dat den. Ur not bothering me sexy dont be silly
869. Hey hey sexy calm down. Im not like dat. Who da hell spoke to u like dat?
870. Hey listen jus relax im here4u!u can tell me anyting. I told u im different. People lik dat r not worth it [name] baby. Jus calm down n get sum rest o.k.
871. Why is he doing dat? Wat have u done wrong? I really wish i could take u 4a coffee rite now. Il leave u 2it i dont want u gettin in2anymore trouble. Nite nite x
872. Tr never alone babe. Im always here. He shouldn't say dat at all but he's jus upset he wants the best 4u n doesn't want u gettin hurt or upset. Ask him dat babe
873. I told u b4 hunny its very hard4man as he has very strong feelings4u. U might not c it but he does. He does not want2loose u babe. Jus relax n talk2him.
874. Hello darling. Im going to watch a film with friends. Spiderman3. How r u? Im fine thank u. I have 4days off next week i was tinkin of takin u out?wat u say?xxx
875. Im with 2of my mates. I was tinkin of coffee n dat. Well u jus let me know o.k
876. U can have me all to yourself. Wat would u lik to do to me? Should i be worried? Lol. Wat would u lik to do?
877. Oh no pls pls pls pls tell me. I wana make my friends jealous. Tell me babe
878. Hello sexy how r u? Missing me? Im missing u darling. X x x X
879. End of da world? R u o.k sexy? I still miss u babe. U miss me sexy? Hey cheer up angel im still here4u
880. My auntie? Why wit whom?
881. Tell him not to dis-respect my auntie or ill have to show him why. Sorry its so rude but no way.
882. He still shouldnt say dat to u at all! He should respect ur feelings at any cost. U deserve beta babe. I need a hug now. U need one? X x x X
883. Lol baby because ur only allowed one per lead n i got mine. Its really nice i love dis phone. Wanna split it? I think u should give me 600 kisses dont u babe?xx

884. Its o.k i jus fully charged it so we'l find out very very soon. We can talk bout da kisses now. Another lead hmmm we shall c. 3numbers now oh man wat shall i do
885. Im texting u from da luna ur da 1st babe trust. My new number u can have as soon as its connected. Is dat fair? N95 is back in its box babe trust me. X x x x
886. Roses r red violets r blue da one gal i love is u!u brighten my day wit ur smile n ur sexy figure drive's me wild!needless to say u r an angel in every way!:-)
887. U didnt like my text? Have u stopped talkin to me? Dats not nice Hunny wat have i dont to deserve dis? X x x x
888. Good afternoon madame. Work was wicked today. Done over 100pounds today. Love life? Well im waitin for my [nickname]. How bout u? Work n love life good? X x
889. Hello my hunny how r u? Did u miss me? I've been off ill i started back today. Holiday was good but i was not too good! Did u miss me? Wanna give me a hug? X x
890. Darling i'll call u once i've opened my fast o.k and believe me i've done noting wrong babe. X x x x x
891. Sorry Hunny i didnt phone earlier jus had loads of family round. I need a hug from u sweetie. It will make it all better. Were are u living now? Miss me? X x x
892. Feel bad? Dont understand. Were is dat exactly? The town pls Hunny. Is it [borough]?Do u miss me sweetie? I really miss u sexy!oh my days your sexy voice!i love it
893. Oh my days how can i forget the sweet dreamy sexy voice!i could listen to that for a lifetime wit u round my arm!dont u miss mine darlin? :-)
894. Goodevening baby. Loads me hugs to you to! And some kisses darling. I'm doing it tomorrow sweetheart. How are you?
895. Were do u wanna go darling? A date? Lovely but den do we get a kiss and hug after the date?

896. Its all done now i'm free and ready to explore. My month is done and now to go a little wild!u wanna join me or you can be that wild fire for me?
897. Dont worry darlin everything will be fine. I'm here for u always! Yes you are my wild fire!now we can be more wild init? X x x
898. Oh my days i'm really sorry babe. I'm jus wit few mates and cousins enjoyin the night. You should be here so i can hug u and give u a sweet kissx x x x
899. Of course i would never betray you darling! I'll speak to you later sexy. Jus have to drive now babe
900. Goodnite my sweetheart. Tell me ur next day off cause we have a date sexy. X x x x x
901. That sounds cool hunny. Wat is the competition? The kiss on the cheek sounds very nice. Wednesday night sounds wicked. Wat do u feel like doin?x x x x x x
902. I see darling. I tink it was the 10th march? That is very hard hunny but it must be near to dat?oh my days babe thats not fair.
903. Hello baby!i jus signed up to facebook and show u. 've added u babe n hope u accept me. Is my kiss stil due hunny?mwah x x x
904. Yeah babe all my cousins keep talkin bout it so i joined. U gonna accept me? U look very sexy on dere!u can c me everyday now?!lol n give me a kiss!xxxxxxxxx
905. I didnt know u had more. Oh man im gonna look in a bit babe. U comfortable in bed? Could i come and keep u company?x x x x x
906. Lol wat a shame we'll have to wait for naked pic's den wont we. If ur comfortable den goodnite sexy x x x x
907. Goodmorning hunny. I have my investigation today. Amazing u txt me in da morning before my meeting. U also have a lovely day darling. X x x x x wish me luck. Xx
908. Hello my sweetheart. I have been dismissed. [name] did it. He said he would like me to appeal but i wont. I feel let down by dis company. How is my beautiful?
909. But i feel let down by the system. I only got sacked because everyone had to get sacked. [name] wants me2appeal but i dont tink so. I have applied for

[company] a big company for accessories n phones. U mite of heard of dem. More money n a better future for myself. How ave u been sweetheart. Miss me? X x

910. Of course i will darling. Wat would u like? I'l be back end of next week babe. Miss me? Jus needed a long holiday. X x x x

911. Hello darling. Im in [country] at the moment. I got here today babe. Dont say tings lik that darling everything will be fine trust me x x x x

Polish text-messages

1. [name-NOM] chyba pojde na ten clubbing;-)oczywiscie Ciebie nie moze zabraknac! Spotkajmy sie we dwie 20.30 kolo McDonalda na [trainst-INSTR] i dolaczymy w [park-LOC] do ekipy!
2. [name-NOM] robisz cos jutro? Chyba potrzebuje pogadac.
3. O ktorej mialabys ewentualnie czas?
4. Moi!! I co - Twój Brat kupuje te beemwice;))? Spora jak na 'samochod miejski', ale jaki szpan! Suniesz taka bryka, a wszyscy sie gapca! Dziala podobnie jak - nie przymierzajac - pewne srebrne samochody;)) Z ta roznica, ze te srebrne to nieco nowsze zdaje sie... A ze w klimacie hopea nuoli sie u3muje swiadczy fakt, iz z moich glosNIKow plynie wlasnie Bella! O, poprawka - Belle Francaise;)) O...Patrick. Chwila przerwy i zadumy;)) CDN
5. Oj, dawno joosh moje uszeta nie slyszaly tej slicznej melodii... Dobrze, ze mam ja w kilku wersjach, to jeszcze troche sie pozachwycam;))
6. Ej,ale czemu nie chce wyslac,eee...:(Przeciez odbieram i wysylam fotki bez problemu!
7. To ja;)) Mam dobre info. A nawet lepsiejsze niz dobre;)) Wlasnie znalazlam te swoje 2 zeszyty z semesami. Mam 1596 przychodzacych i 1547 wychodzacych. Ale ze mnie agentka, taka korespondencje zapisac!!
8. [nickname-VOC]...Wyslesz mi mmska?Wiesz jakiego:).Z mbox nie idzie, bo zly format...
9. 'Przez port podczerwieni mozna wysylac i odbierac dane w rodzaju wizytowek i notatek kalendarza'-Nokia6610i,Instrukcja obslugi,page 89. Ani slowa o fotkach:((

10. Juz wiem czym smakuja SALMIAKKI!Rozgryzlam ten smak- ha;)!To przeciez syrop na bol gardla!Moze nie TUSSIPECT,ale jakis inszy...
11. Wiesz...Jak dzwonisz/puszczasz gluche,to: a)wyswietla mi sie korona, b)slychac fajowy polifoniczny dzwonek!A to oznaki przynaleznosci do waskiego grona VIPow;)
12. :-) to bylo fajowe :-) akustycznie i po krolewsku
13. Pocwiczymy jutro z irDA,ok?
14. Slyszalam ze mialas byc u naszego fryzjera a jakos Cie tu nie widzimy! Gdzes jest babo?! <wali patelnia po fryzurze> ;)
15. [nickname-NOM] to INTERPERSONAL POLITENESS AND POWER?
16. Dobra. Jestem znowu w busie.Jestem coraz blizej;-)
17. Jasne,ze jak przyjde,to bede:!)Jestem juz w [bus],ale musze z niego na mom wysiasc...
18. Nie padniesz z glodu do 10:30 :))?
19. [name-VOC] u mnie wszystko ok.Milego popoludnia:-)
20. Witam [name1-VOC]!Co slychac,jestes juz w Polsce?Pozdrawiam:-)[name2-NOM]
21. [petname-NOM]2
22. Moi! Wiem, ze nie lubisz wylewnych semesow, ale obiecuje, ze postaram sie strescic. Same zle wiadomosci:([nickname-NOM] ma jednak zlamana noge, zatem 5-6 tygodni w gipsie. Straci przez to prace:(A na dodatek nie przepracowala tych 72 (czy 75) godzin:(Strasznie sie martwi, ze jej nie wystawia zaswiadczenia o praktykach... Az mi jej naprawde szkoda...
23. [GG] - przepraszam, ze tak pozno pisze , ale zaraz jak wstalam dzis to polazlam na zajecia i oto jestem ... heh Mysza, fajnie Ci z ta [country-INSTR].
24. [name-NOM] [surname-NOM] odwolala jutrzejsze zajecia.
25. Es es es-to sie nazywa timing:))
26. Mozesz sie ucieszyc:)).[name-NOM] [surname-NOM] przyniesie Ci jutro te knizke. Ma ja xernieta...

27. Moi!O ktorej konczysz?I o ktorej mozesz byc w lustrzarni?W ministerstwie jakies posiedzenie,wiec juz wychodze.Kupie red bulla:)
28. To zart czy swieta prawda?I prosze ujawnij sie Moj Informatorze z imienia i nazwiska to moze Cie ozloce za tak dobre wiesci:) - nie mam numeru w komorce:)
29. DZIEKI!!!
30. Cudnie!Dzieki!Buzia.
31. Tak
32. Ja nie moze,wiec spotkajmy sie w czwartek
33. Juz jestem. Dziekuje za pozdrowienia. Wszystko na najlepszej drodze. [nickname-NOM] wie wszystko. Hej.
34. Odwiedzilismy tatusia z [name-INSTR] czuje sie dobrze rozmawia i siada na lozku jutro przenosza go na zwykla sale w szpitalu po tej operacji jest sie tydzien Pozdrawiam
35. Witam. Nie wiem czy Ci przekazywano, ze jestem w [city-LOC]. Zaraz mnie biora na operacje. Powodzenia.
36. Ej!A nie [street-NOM] [housesno]?[postcode] [city-NOM]?
37. Wlasnie przyjechalam do [city-GEN] i zdazyłam sie rozpalowac, do pracy wracam [date]. Mam super pogode duzo sniegu i swieci sloneczko. A co u tam u Ciebie? U mnie srednio dzisiaj zbiera mi sie na placz, jakos ciezko nam sie gdzie dogadac po tej przerwie.
38. Hej[name-NOM],takDawnoSieNieWidzialysmyAniNic,zeSieStrasznieZaTobaSte sknilam.TyPewnieW[country-LOC].zamarzasz,aZaTenSniegSMSnieDociera,aJa Fin.sieDzisUczyłam,kochamTENjezyk!:-*
39. Do 7 lutego trzeba dostarczyc swoje dane do sekretariatu [college-GEN], w zwiasku z ubezpieczeniem na czas praktyk w szkole. Podaj dalej!
40. Dziekuje Ci za zyczenia i za to ze jestes moja kochana coreczko :-)
41. Hej! Nie wiedzialam. Pozdrawiam i mam nadzieje ze wszystko pojdzie sprawnie i szybko. Daj znac jak juz sie obudzisz co i jak i jak sie czujesz! Powodzenia!

42. hej własnie czekam na bagaz. Poczekam na ciebie na hali przylotow gate1. Fajnie ze bedziesz:)
43. Hej! Ciesze sie ze wszystko poszlo jak nalezy. Ja juz jestem w Polsce. Przyjade za 2 tyg do [city-GEN] na weekend. Pewnie bedziesz w domu to porozmawiamy. Pozdrawiam.
44. Dostaje smsy z tego nru ale bez tresci.
45. Witam. Jestem juz z powrotem. Jak z wtorkiem? Widzimy sie, prawda? Z [name-INSTR] rowniez? Czy g. 19 panu pasuje? Pozdrawiam:)
46. Ok.
47. Witam panie [name-VOC]. Widzimy sie w ten wtorek o 7ej, prawda?
48. W prezencie Walentynkowym dostajesz kilka godzin snu. Jutro przychodzimy dopiero na ustne do [nickname-GEN]:)
49. Swieta prawda jakem... [name-NOM] [surname-NOM] :)))
50. Wlasnie skonczylam. Bede troche pozno moze sie nawet spoznie siadz przy drzwiach z redbullem plz
51. W dobrym momencie napisalas bo wlasnie sie zastanawialam czy jej nie xerzycznalazlam w czyteln:;) mam do jutra. Kiitti:)
52. ;(nie zdarzymy zjesc spokojnie. A zaspalas?:p przyjedziesz jak bedziesz:;) yyy czy moze bedziesz jak przyjedziesz?
53. Pisze mi ze ma problem z wyslaniem i ze trzeba przekonfigurowac. Ale zawsze wysylalo...to moze u Ciebie.
54. Skarbie!JestesDlaMnieBardzoWazny.NieChceZebysSieMartwilPrzezeMnie.ZawszeJestesmyRazem.KiedyPracujesz,kiedyOdpoczywasz.MysleOTobieCieplo.Calusy!ps.NieGniewamSie!
55. Zapraszam na kawke a jak masz ochotke to mozemy na pizze do pizza hut
56. Caly czas. Daj znac o ktorej mozesz:)
57. Raczej mam wszystko. W takim razie zobaczymy sie w czwartek, tylko napisz mi o ktorej. :)
58. Dzisiaj jest [surname-NOM] czy stylistyka?

59. Oj [name-VOC], [name-VOC]. Jutro do ciebie zadzwonie, to mi wytłuma-czysz o co chodzi z tym oprogramowaniem. Pozdr. DZIEKUJE!
60. Ktos mnie tu podejrzewa o nadpodejrzliwosc:> Zagadka: 1) piosenka Beatlesow z dzisiejszym wielkim swietem 2) utwor Elvisa o podejrzliwosci. Macham Ci.
61. Heh tez zabieram sie za cieply posilek :> ale Twój bez watpienia wykwiintniejszy. Smacznego! Swiat bywa uroczy czasem. Buziak. Kapitalnych snow indyczych!
62. Z pastelowego spaceru z koncertowka Zeppelinow o zmierzchaniu sie klaniam werbalnie na nowy numerek.
63. UruchomUslugeSmsZneta! Jade w piątek o 15:15 mozemy sie razem zabrac ale nie wiem czy cie to urzadza bo jade pociagiem
64. myslalem, ze spedzimy razem ten wieczor, ze zabiore Cie do kina... Dzieki
65. Pani [name-VOC], prosze jutro wziac taksowke do pracy i z powrotem na koszt firmy. Jak noga?
66. jednak nie pojechalam do [city-GEN] i niestety nie zobaczymy sie dzisiaj
67. Mam wrazenie,ze swiat o mnie zapomnial:(.Juz dawnopo 20,a telefon milczy... Jedynie [nickname-NOM] podtrzymuje we mnie wiare w komunikacje miedzy-ludzka...
68. [nickname-VOC] nie wpadne. Jestem w dolku. Niechce mi sie nawet ubrac. Dziekuje za chec pomocy.
69. [name-VOC] ale co sie dzieje? Moze moge jakos jednak pomoc? Moze ja wpadne? Co sie stalo?
70. Nic. Leze w lozku i mam smetne mysli. Musze sie zastanowic nad pewnymi sprawami.
71. Co chcesz?
72. Atlas...nie wiem gdzie jest
73. Chyba u Ciebie na polce kolo angielskiego
74. Tak, tak, tak, to pan Tik-Tak! No, scislej rzecz biorac, to raczej [nickname-NOM] nadaje ze stanowiska;)) Wrocilam. Malo z nudow nie umarlam. Myslalam, ze nie wydzierze. Wszystkie babki w wieku okolo 50tki - nic nie czaily,

mase pytan mialy, a jak facet nie zdazyl im odpowiedziec, to sie dziwily, ze ja im wyjasnialam tajNIKi exama. Ale najlepszy numer jest taki: uslyszawszy, ze ja z [college-GEN], stwierdzily co nastepuje 'a taka pani mloda!' Czujesz? Do kadry mnie zaliczyly - es es es;)) Spox, nie mam naszek kadrze nic do zarzucenia (no, poza [surname-INST] for example), ale zeby mnie do nich zaliczac??? Uno momento!

75. NoToJaMamNaDzisDworca.ZjawieSie2dopieroJutro.TyJoooshWpociaguSiedzisz? Ponoc[name-NOM]MnieScigalaPrzezCalyDzien-mozeMamJejZawiezTenProspektDoDomu,co?Niedoczekanie...
76. Witam [name-VOC]! Niestety od nowego semestru zmienil mi sie plan zajec:(czy nie mialabys nic przeciwko temu zebysmy spotykaly sie w piatki ok. 18? Pozdrawiam. [initial][initial].
77. A nie daloby sie w jakikolwiek inny dzien?
78. Nie bardzo. Jeszcze jest opcja zajec u mnie na [street-INST] we wt. 16:30 lub czw. tez u mnie (z uwagi ze nie zdaze dojechac z [borough-GEN])
79. To moze wstepnie umowmy sie na piatek na 18. Bo jak zacznie byc cieplo to ja na weekendy wyjezdzam na dzialke i moze wtedy bysmy przelozyly na inny dzien.
80. Chcielismy z tata bardzo Ciebie przeprosic, ale jutro nie mozemy sie spotkac. I ja i on jestesmy zajeci wieczorem. Przepraszamy. [name-NOM]
81. Czy moglabys mi jakos dac znac.chociazby sygnalem czy dostalas wczoraj sms odwolujacego zajecia w dniu dzisiejszym? [name-NOM]
82. Jasne. Sorki, odczytalam go w nocy i nie chcialam was budzic a dzis zapomnialam <blush> mam nadzieje ze do czwartku:)
83. Moi!Wlasnie wyszlam z pracy.Zaraz mam tramwaj,wiec bede w lustrzarni pewnie kolo 11:15
84. Widze, ze [nickname1-NOM] aie bawi w [nickaname2-ACC] i zaczyna pisac semesy krotkie inaczej;) Es es es;)) Yasssne, joosh zabieram sie za szukanie tych nazw. Licze na wene, bo posilki mam. A moze raczej dania deserowe? W kocu mowa o wafelkach... Ale Ty i tak pewnie nie chcesz, zebym Ci kilka podoslala laczami, cooo?
85. Text do [nickname-GEN] to TOPIC AND FACE?

86. Nie. Cos z gender and prestige speech
87. Szajse!Nie mam:(.Dupiato.O ktorej bedziesz na [college-LOC]? Bym luknela:)
88. Tak se wlasnie klepie klawiaturke mego foxika i co stwierdzam? Ze mianowicie 4 osoby nie zaliczaja na dzien dzisiejszy ustnych. A kto?? [surname1-NOM], [surname2-NOM] - one raz odpowiada i nadrobia straty, bo [nickname-NOM] im sporo punktow daje za kazdym razem. Ale ale... Pozostale osoby to... Ulubione kolezanki! Obie tym razem...
89. Moi!! Dostalyscie z [name-INSTR] przesykle;)) Mam tylko nadzieje, ze sie [name-NOM] za bardzo nie zdziwi ujrzawszy nadawce... Pomoc Ci szukac slowek do prospektu? Hmmm?
90. BabaMnieOchrzanila,zeCzytacNiePotrafieIz20robie22!Nieistotne,zeKasowNIK wyswietlilWlasnie22!Bo'kasowNIKiSieNieMyla'!SieWq...To,zeNoszeOkularyNieOznacza,zeSlepaJestem!OdwołaniaMiNieUznajaPrzezHistorieKarty.Fpizdoo o...
91. Niom,zawszeToCos;)
92. Mogiem?Mogiem;)?
93. Szur;)
94. Okaa;)
95. Hej [name-VOC]! Mam nadzieje ze dotarlas bez problemu:) pisze zeby przypomniec o tej gazetce o drzewkach i Finlandii. Pozdrawiam:)
96. Hej! O gazetce pamietam:) najwiecej jest tam o produkcji papieru. Odzdrawiam,milego i CU tomorrow, chyba,ze wracasz w pon.:)
97. [city1-NOM] pozdrawia [city2-ACC]:)!
98. [city2-NOM] odzdrawia [city1-ACC];)
99. Potrzebuje sie pilnie z Toba skontaktowac. Jesli to mozliwe napisz mi czy bedziesz dzis na wydziale i ew.o ktorej godzinie. Pozdrawiam. [name-NOM] [surname-NOM] (finski)
100. Nie bedzie mnie dzisiaj na wydziale, bede prawdopodobnie w pon na fin i we wt ok.13. A o co chodzi? [name-NOM] [initial].

101. Chcialam porozmawiac nt. Kursu z CIMO - Czy moj poziom jest wystarczajacy do kursu I? Jesli tak to potrzebowalabym Twoja opinie...a termin aplikacji jest do pon
102. Kurs I jest po 1roku nauki, wiec mysle, ze bylby odpowiedni. Nie moge Ci napisac opinii, bo nie mam uprawnien ani Cie nie uczylam. Moge dac Ci kontakt do [name-GEN]
103. Hmm wydawalo mi sie ze mozesz. Tam jest do wypelnienia taki kwestionariusz dot. umiejetnosci. To moze daj mi kontakt do [name-GEN] plz. Chyba ze byla to taka mila brunetka od ktorej dostalam Twój numer mowiaca po polsku z akcentem;)
104. Szczerze mowiac, nie wiem co to za brunetka i kim jestes. Opinie moze napisac tylko Twój nauczyciel finskiego. Wiec jesli to nie [name-NOM], to nie wiem kto
105. O ile pamietam spotykamy sie srednio raz w tygodniu w czwartek o 11:30 w Centrum Europy przy [street-GEN].Ja to ta dziewczyna ktora dalej od Ciebie siedzi.Kojarzysz?
106. Przepraszam, nie kojarze Was po nazwiskach, trzeba bylo tak od razu napisac, myslalam ze to ktos z uniwersytetu. Najlepiej zadzwon
107. Zadzwonie za 1.5 h po zajeciach.
108. Thx za gluchego. Byl gluchy, bo bez dzwieku - jesli nie liczyc kwakniecia kaczki na biurku;)... Chyba powinnaś mnie mianowac swoja asystentka, wiesz??? Jesli ktos ma do Ciebie jakis biznes, to najpierw do mnie sie z tym zgłasza... Prze-robione, sprawdzone;) Do konca marca mmsy w idei kosztuja 29 groszy, wiec lepiej sie dowiedz co jest nie tak z Twoim telefonem, zebys mogla odbierac rozne ciekawostki, efekty mojego ‘pisanie semesow’ for egzampel:))
109. Mam do Ciebie prosble-wez jutro [name-GEN] fragment projektu,okaa? Pisala od mnie i a)przeprosila za wczoraj, b)jesli nie bedzie this week na [college-LOC],to podskoczy do mnie nach Hause po ten text...
110. AtakWogole,toMamNaFoxie 63 megaWolnejPamieci.NiecoUbyloWciagu Dnia:(
111. EsEsEs...PrzyszlamDoDomciu,lapieZaTelefonMamy,aTam,wMmsachWyslanych ...PewneZdjecie!NoLadnie...AleItakNieWieJakTegoDokonala;))!WcianaTylko ‘wysluj’,aJaWchwilePozniejBylamWszoku;)).RozmawialamZ[nickname-INSTR] Opraktykach-martwiSie,zePracaJejNieZaliczy...

112. czesc [name-NOM]!sluchaj znalazlam ang wersje naszego projektu to jest projekt [company-GEN] [website] nie wiem tylko czy powiedziec to wszystkim lepiej bedzie jak zachowasz to dla siebie narazie i wykorzystasz w celu poprawienia wlasciwego slownictwa zeby znów nam nie uniewaznil zadania pozdrawiam [name-NOM] [initial].
113. Czesc [name-NOM]!Który fragment mam na [nickname-ACC]?Pozdrawiam [name-NOM]
114. Od pktu 2.4 ma str 4 włącznie z tytułem do końca pkt 3.1.2 do słów od obecnej. Prosiłabym do końca przyszłego tygodnia mailem na [email]. Dzieki!
115. Ozesh!GODZINA ZEMSTY!
116. Cooo?
117. No przeca Mel!
118. Es es es
119. :)) DZIAŁA!
120. Poszlas;-)))?
121. Nawet się nie spóźniłam,wiesz?To się nazywa timing;)!Dorwe Cię później w Ynternecie. Teraz jade na [street-ACC],może [name1-ACC] złapie... Upowiedziałam [name2-ACC],zeby w przypływie gorączki nie robiła tego tłumaczenia.Na pewno lubi mnie dzięki temu jeszcze bardziej...Ojejeje...
122. Wysyłasz z telefonu sms o treści internet na nr 102. Spoko. Powodzenia. Mam nadzieję że się uda z czymś nowym szybko.
123. Przypominam że termin tłumaczenia do [nickname-GEN] minal wczoraj...
124. Oops! Jutro przyjeżdżam do [city-GEN],czy mogę to wówczas dostarczyć? Pliz...
125. A mam jakieś inne wyjście?;) tylko pliz przeslij najszybciej jak się da bo przede mną jeszcze kupa roboty z tym a chce odesłać wszystkim do weryfikacji. pozdr:)
126. Okay.Dzieki! Pozdrawiam!
127. przepraszam nie mam Twojego nr. Z kim mam przyjemność? i... mam parę pytań. Ps. masz gadu?

128. cze [name-NOM]!! nie no, nie sposob Cie nie kojarzyc, tylko nr nie mialam.
moje gg to: [GG]
129. Niemozliwe ze pamietales... Zawsze aktualne:-)
130. Dzieki za wczoraj i sorry zb tak wyszlo. W sumie nawet normalnie nie pogadalismy. Moze jeszcze sie spotkamy innym razem na spokojnie...
131. Pasuje mi. Nie ma sprawy. Pozdr.
132. Jak je masz gotowe to daj [name-DAT],mamie,siostrze...komukolwiek...na dyskietce zeby wyslali z pracy.Zbieram sie za to w sobote a do tego potrzebuje wsje kawalki
133. Wlasnie wyslalam tłumaczenie
134. Kup Wyborcza.Jest duzo mieszkam do wynajecia.Ceny 800-900
135. slonce zostawilem u ciebie czapeczke i rekawiczki :(daloby rade jakos kiedys odebrac? p.s. siedze teraz w [library-LOC] o ile jestes w poblizu.
pozdrawiam
136. I pomyslec ze trzy tygodnie temu bylam szczesliwa, usmiechnieta, mialam watpliwosci ale bylo mi dobrze. A teraz zostalam sama. Wlasnie doszlam do takiego wniosku. Nie wiem czy Ci pisalam ze [name-NOM] zakonczyl ze mna znajomosc, wszystko jest zle.
137. Czesc!Troche zapomnialem co mam tłumaczyc do [nickname-GEN].Od 3.2.7. czy od 3.3. do 3.3.4 wlacznie.Czy 3.2.7. tez?? Pozdro!
138. Dzieki!Jestem zalamany i pognebiony tym tekstem.Wysle do niedzieli wieczorem. Czy cesja wierzytelnosci obowiazuje?Pozdro
139. Dzieki.Czyli nie tłumaczymy cesji. Pozdrawiam! Miss [surname-NOM]
140. Uf,skonczylam tłumaczenie, moze jest wyslac we wtorek,jak wreszcie wyjde z domu do netu! (przy okazji zdobede szlify z biblioteki). Pozdrawiam
141. [name-NOM] bede jutro na 9.Jesli Ci nie pasuje daj znac.[name-NOM] [surname-NOM]
142. Niestety nadal choruje i nie czuje sie lepiej,dzis dostane ten text,postaram sie go zrobic jak najszybciej ale nie mam slownika ekonom.! P.S.Dzieki za maila.

143. Jutro moze bede mial ten prospekt emisyjny po angielsku jesli to aktualne...
144. Nie mam kasy!
145. Dobrze,ze mam jeszcze pakiet semesow:!)Ale haphazard!Wypatrzyłam te knizke w ofercie,biore do raczek wlasnych,otwieram;))
146. A ja wlasnie zmierzam do...Siedzisz;)?Do [nickname-GEN] ide...
147. Ej,a bylas u lekarza?
148. Yhy.Czaje.Hope,ze po tych lekach bedzie lepsiej. A nalesnik smakowal;)?
149. Moze byc?Wlasnorecznie smazylam!Zadnego nie przypalilam...
150. Dzwonila do mnie [name-NOM] i dziekowala za mejla ze slowniczkiem, ktorego to ponoc ode mnie dostala;).Nie chciala uwierzyc,ze darczyncia byla [nickname-NOM]!
151. Moi![name-GEN]UrodzinySa.Jutro.CoPowieszNaMalaNiezapowiedzianaImprezkeNiedzielnegoPoludnia?[name-NOM]WspominalaOantologiiU2WempikuZaJakies60czy70zlMoglybysmyJejToKupicRazem
152. IcoZta[name1-INSTR]?ZdecydowalaSieCzyUdaloCiSieZalagodzieSytuacje?AjakZ[name2-INSTR]?GdzieMieszkaszTeraz?AiTakKiedysMusimySieJeszczeZdzwonic;)
153. Czesc [name-VOC]! Jak sie miewa moja siostrzyczka? Moze czas na jakies "poprawiny" jesli masz troche wolnego? Ja mam 2 tyg swobodniejsze z uwagi na praktyki. Daj znac
154. Nie ma mnie w poblizu. Mozesz wpasc po to.
155. [name-VOC], corko moja pierworodna. Oczywiscie zapraszamy - moze w przyszłym tygodniu? Tylko nie w poniedzialek.
156. To moze tjuzdej? Jestem wolna of 11 do 17 mniej wiecej. Ps. Szukam mieszkania znowu:(gdybys slyszala o rozsadnym 2pokojowym saj pliz znac.
157. Tue jest ok. Raczej nie powinno mi nic przeszkodzic. A o mieszkanie popytam.
158. To zesmy som umowione;) pozdrowka 4 OlofU :)
159. Ekhm ekhm. Tlumaczenia do [nickname-GEN] jak nie bylo tak nie ma.

160. Niemożliwe. Wysłałam je wczoraj wieczorem...
161. Rany,[name-NOM] przepraszam-będzie dziś popołudniu. Jeszcze raz sorry!!
162. Wszystkiego naj...:) prospekt jest załatwiony ale muszę po niego podjechać do kolegi bo to ma 400 stron.,:) w przyszłym tyg. się umowimy to Ci go dam. Pzdr.
163. Dzięki po dwakroć!:) a jak u Ciebie w tym dziwnym dniu? Wyleczony?
164. Wyleczony? Trochę znechęcony miałem 3 konferencje pod rząd i jeszcze wywiad i wszystko załatwiłem łącznie z autoryzacją ale 10 godzin w plecy ale takie życie :)
165. Hej! [nickname-VOC] kup dzem jeśli fancy:) pieczywko to też niegłupi pomysł,CU
166. Witam i milego dzionka życze :)
167. Dziękuję i wzajemnie Słoneczko :-)))
168. Cześć!Dostałaś mojego SMSa?Napisz mi, proszę pięknie,czy trzeba tłumaczyć CESJE, czy Tyja tłumaczysz, i ewentualnie na kiedy,bo już nic nie wiem! Pozdrawiam!
169. To daj mi, proszę, znac? Powodzenia w sprawdzaniu!
170. Wielkie dzięki! Jutro odbiorę i odesłę w niedzielę. Może [nickname-NOM] odpisze? Pozdrawiam!
171. Hmm ale mogłaś to tłumaczenie do [nickname-GEN] chociaż upodobnić do oryginału...;) on powycinał z tego prospektu parę kawalków, które Ty zawzięcie ‘tłumaczysz’ ;)))
172. A wydawało mi się..Coż,prześlij mi jeszcze raz moją wersję to ja pozmieniam.Przy okazji mogę ja też trochę popsuć;)Daj znac jak przesłesz!
173. Wszystkiego naj z okazji dnia kobiet. Dużo uśmiechu życze!
174. Dzięki! Pozdrawiam!
175. Wysłałam Ci poprawione tłumaczenie do [nickname-GEN]. Zerknij na poprawki i odesłaj proszę w miarę szybko. Dzięki. [nickname-NOM].
176. Czy można prosić o bliższe informacje dot.mieszkania? Pozdrawiam.

177. Hej!Ja na razie siedze nad prospektem po 5h nad spr kazdego tłum wiec fizycznie nie dam razy. Ponoc [nickname-NOM] mowil ze "radzi" tłumaczyc. Chyba napisze do niego wiecz.
178. Czy sa dla mnie przegrane kasy do EnglishFile2? Chcialam poinformowac ze widzialam ksiazke fce lang pract na [street-LOC] i ze od 2 mies nie ma tam herbaty.
179. TylkoMuJeszczePowiesz,zeStalSieBohateremOwejNotki!
180. Tjaaa...I wonder why:))
181. AjaSieZarazPorzygam.JestemPoCzterechGodzinachTELCa,aMamMiecJeszcze TeBabkeIndywidualnie.KolejneTrzyGodziny... Fryz...Hmm...NieByloZadnych Komentarzy,wiec: a)jestFajnie, b)jestTakBeznadziejnie,zeWszyscySieWstydzili Odezvac...
182. Lojalnie,tjaaa... :))
183. Me? No... Of course not! :)
184. A ja nie mam chwilowo dostepu do neta:(Sie fryzjeruje:)) A jak wroce,to sie pewnie zalamie...
185. Ej,ale zalam mnie chociaz fragmentem odp [name-GEN] [nickname-NOM]!Niech i fryzjerki maja ubaw;))
186. PrzepraszamBardzo,aleOdnoszeWrazenie,zeKogosTuPosralo.ItoDokumentnie. ShitToZaMaloPowiedziane!PrzeciezOnaTamTakichBzdurNasadzila,zePorazka !Biedny[nickname-NOM]ByPrzySprawdzaniuOsiwial!AonaJeszczeCieOchrzania, zePoprawkiWprowadzilas!AgdybysTak[nickname-DAT]DalaOrgWersje?
187. Boze,ale ja to puscilam z [company-GEN] maila, a znow jestem poza [city-INSTR].Co ja mam teraz zrobic..?
188. Sorki ze dopiero pisze. A kiedy wracasz? Wierze ze wyslalas. Wpadlo w czarna dziure:(i nikt nie ma dostepu do Twojego tłumaczenia? Pzdr.
189. Wszystkie opcje przemyslalam. Chip mam ze soba,wiec nie dostana sie do konta.Wracam w nd.Kurna,nie wiem,co robic..
190. Ale w ta nd.? Jesli tak to spox, jakos sobie poradze, najwyzej sprawdzę pozostałe wcześniej. Co Ty na to?

191. Tak, w te, tylko późnym wieczorem. Bardzo mnie to martwi... Na pewno sobie poradzisz?
192. Poradzę sobie:) wyslij jak wrócisz tylko upewnij się że dostałam:) ciesz się wyjazdem gdziekolwiek jesteś:)
193. Dzięki! Wyjazd z pracy.. ;-(
194. Witam, czy nasze fińskie spotkanie o 14.30 w holu [library-GEN] jest aktualne?
195. Totta kai:) te dwie wystraszone dziewczynki przed Kioskiem Ruchu to będziemy my;)
196. A ten gość w garniturze to będę ja. Nie przestraszcie się: to nie mój codzienny styl i to nie Wasza okoliczność ;)
197. A co mi tam! I tak robię dziś za wielbłąda, więc niech to będzie wielbłąd dwugarbny;))
198. Masz może jakąś kasetę (pre)intermediate, którą mogłabym pożyczyć do jutra? Yyy... Najchętniej z książki w pakiecie:)
199. Nie mam:(znaczy mam ale potrzebuję dziś na zajęcia.
200. Czyli fucktycznie nie masz:((.Dupiato...
201. Chcesz tę książkę? Mogę Ci ją podrzucić...
202. Gutt. Poźbedę się jednego pakunku;)). Mogę wpasować za jakieś 30 minut?
203. Będę mieć zajęcia... wiecnie pogadamy. Jak wolisz bo trochę chamsko ale nie mogę nawet Ciebie zaprosić:(
204. Czaję baze, czaję. To przesyłka jutro dostaniesz. A nawet więcej niż jedna:)
205. Niesamowita impreza, piwo sprzedaje:) jest super, pa!:)
206. Moja kochana Misiaczko nie martw się będzie dobrze
207. Słońce b potrzebuje pomocy kilku chwil przy komputerze czy dasz radę? Sprawa życiowa!
208. Daj znać jak tylko będziesz wolna dobrze? Jest mega kanał!
209. Wczoraj w nocy cudowne zapewnienia o miłości adzisz jak dzwonię to niemaczasu! [nickname-NOM] daj znać proszę!

210. Pracuje. Moze faktycznie nie ma czasu? Jakiej pomocy potrzebujesz?
211. Transportu zmusze [name-ACC] ale mvusze to jakos dowiedz moge o to prosic?
Zaplace oczywiscie
212. Jak masz i tak na to fundusze to nie lepiej wziac bagazowke i bedziesz mial wsjo
za jednym razem?
213. Nafundusze czekamdo pon daj znac czy mam na ciebie liczyc
214. Takim autem sie nie zabierzemy za 1razem chyba. Ale jak nie znajdziesz niczego
to ci przewioze. A gdzie ten [name-NOM] mieszka?
215. Niestety [borough-NOM] ale masz prezent o jakim ci sie nawet nie snilo o ktorej
mam byc gotowy?
216. Ej, to my sie nie na pl.Konstytucji ustawilysmy! Tu nie ma stopy Otylii :))
217. Moge spoznic sie kilka lub gora kilkanascie minut. Przepraszam- sila wyzsza.
Postaram sie byc jak najszybciej.
218. Kiedy sie mozemy Ciebie spodziewac?
219. Hej!CoUCiebie?PamietaszMozeOKtorej[surname-NOM]MaDzisDyzur?
Pozdrowienia!
220. Witam:) jak sie obudzisz to daj znac, bo nie mam jednych zajec i mozemy sie
spotkac juz o 8:30 jesli Ci pasuje:)
221. Dobrze,moze byc 8:30:)
222. Teraz to dopiero porazka-dostalam pusty plik:) wyslij jeszcze raz pliz:)
223. Dostalam wiad o "pustce". Jutro rano wysle. Ciekawe, co sie stalo, z [college-
GEN] slalam...
224. Hej!Przepraszam Cie najmocniej,ale znowu nam net nie dziala.Prawdo-
podobnie wiec odesle [nickname-ACC] dopiero jutro.Tez mnie to denerwuje..Pzdr
225. [name-VOC] nie moge w tym tyg.przyjade we wtorek na 15,30.Gdyby Tobie cos
sie zmienilo daj znac.Pa [name-NOM] [surname-VOC]
226. Ok, czyli widzimy sie dopiero 22 marca. Pozdrawiam!

227. [name-VOC],niestety zasypalo mnie i lece prosto z [country-GEN] do [city-GEN].Trudno,bede sie tłumaczyc, bo nic nie poradze. Pozdrawiam Cie cieplo![name-NOM]
228. Przylatuje w pn rano.Na zajeciach bede.Daj mi prosze znac,co mam Ci przywiezc z [city-GEN], za te wszystkie problemy... :(
229. Oki,zrobie co sie da. Jeszcze raz przepraszam... Calusy!
230. Zrobilbym to juz dawnoale padl mi net w domu.Przepraszam ze Cie nie poinformowalem.Jutro dostaniesz je na pewno!
231. Spox, nie ma sprawy. Myslalam ze zapomniales;)))
232. Czesc!Sciagnalem tekst,dzisiaj przejrze, jutro odesle.[nickname-NOM] sie nie odezwal?Myslalem, ze juz wystarczajaco uniepodobnilem...Pozdro!
233. Yo! Wyslalem [nickname-ACC].Potwierdz, prosze, odbior. POZDRO!
234. Wyslalem jeszcze raz. Moze teraz dojdzie?? Potwierdz, prosze. Pozdro!
235. Yo!Zapomnialem -nie mam GG.Czy musze przejrzec to moje poprawione tłumaczenie,bo wiem,ze Twoje uwagi sa w 100% trafne!A jesli musze to kiedy jest DEADLINE? Pzdr
236. RUsiur,(zeToAkuratOznakiMyslenia;)?JakbyCo,toMamNaFoxie.JeszczeDwieWersjeTegoKawalka.MozeCosZnichWybierzesz:)...
237. Okaa.WpadneDoDomciu,toZobaczeCoTamSieCzajaZaPoprawki.AleAle...Bylas BardziejUpierdliwaOd[nickname-GEN],czyCosOdeMnieZostawilas:))
238. Lorety!Joosh sie boje! ;)
239. Przeslalam Ci tłumaczenie z poprawkami. Zajrzyj prosze do niego jak najszybciej i odeslij do jutra. Pliz tym razem bez poslizgu bo przede mna jeszcze spr40stron
240. Jesli to nie problem to w tym tygodniu zrobilibysmy sobie wyjatkowo zajecia od 20ej, dobrze?
241. Czekalam 20 minut. To chyba przegiecie. Widac az tak Ci nie zalezalo. Pa.
242. Oczywiscie zajme miejsca i napisze gdzie, wiec bez obawy:))) pozdrawiam [nickname-NOM]

243. hihi, dziekuje! wydaje mi sie, ze jest troche za mocna, ale w sumie juz mam swoje lata i moge sobie na to pozwolic;d buzi!!!
244. Pani [name-VOC], od 5 dni choruje i jestem na antybiotyku takze mysle ze w tym tygodniu nie bede w stanie spotkac sie na zajeciach:(
245. Nie ma sprawy. Mam nadzieje ze szybko wrocisz do zdrowia. W koncu wiosna:)
246. Ja rano nie moge, czy Masz czas np.o 17.30?
247. MaszNewBook?NiePytamJaka,ale...Jaka?Jaka:)?IczemuSieDolujesz?NaCoCiTen Dol?OddajGoMi,dodamSwojIpowstanie...Gorka:)MnieDzienDzisiejszyTyshNie Rozbawil.No,pozaMomentami,kiedyStwierdzilam,zeMuszeSieLeczyc;)AleOtym ToCiWmejluNapisalam...
248. [name1-NOM],mama mowi,ze jest zwolniony ale jeszcze sprawdzi we wtorek. Buziaki i wesolych Swiat. [name2-NOM]
249. Moi!Pamietasz 'The Mouse That Roared' u [nickname-GEN]?Jest dzis o 18:30 na AleKino! :)
250. FCEpowiadasz...JaJakosNieZajrzalamDoRoboczychKnig.OgladanieFriendsow Przerywam.Jedynie,byPoczytacPratchetta;).MakowcaDzisNieJadlam,wiecNieMa GrozbyRozrzuceniaPoppySeedPoOkolicy;).AleWswietaToNieMusialMiSieNapat oczyc...
251. A na 13.30?
252. [name-VOC],przepraszam,pospieszylam sie,nie dam rady tak wczesnie. Wpadne do Ciebie o 15 to oddam Ci zalegle pieniadze,chyba ze Cie nie bedzie to zostawie je Twej wspollokatorce?Moge byc miedzy 15-17.30
253. Proponuje to przelozyc na inny weekend..Ja nie chce isc...[name-DAT] nic nie pisalam,niech sama podejmie decyzje nie chce jej sugerowac. Glupio z twoimi kol.wyszlo..
254. PrzyjdziemyNa 20:30 naSTACJEmetra(naZEWN.Wstrone kabat?)zDA LEJzobaczymy!Do jutra zatem!:>
255. Boze,mozna sie zaplakac uczac tak niemilosiernie niezdolne i do tego leniwe osoby jak moj dzisiejszy obiekt doswiadczen naukowych:).U Ciebie sie bede relaksowal

256. Droga reprezentantko nurtu [nickname]izmu, po swietach zrobilem sie ospaly i oczywiscie zle wycyrklowalem czas. Spoznie sie pare minut- wybacz
257. Ide na 12. Lustrzarnia
258. Bry.Gdyby Sie to interesowalo,to [surname1-NOM] powiedzial,ze mamy sie przeniesc na inne zajecia u [surname2-GEN].Nie zmieni [nickname-GEN]-koniec i kropka. A pindy w sekretariacie niech sie czochraja.Moga tez sie bujac na bambus banany prostowac!Tak zapracowane gapieniem sie w monitor,ze legitek nie podbijaja.
259. Zdrobnienie od tego psiego imienia to [petname].To chyba tłumaczy czemu nie chcialabym sie tak wabic...
260. To chyba nie musze...Sciagne sobie.Szkoda tych 15 gr.Lepiej je na semesy wydac;))
261. 20 groszy,tak,Geniuszu:)?To moze Ci xerne (yyy...kupie) jakis text,nawet 2 strony.Hmm;)?Masz spostrzegawczosc godna...Gdyby gliny Cid sprawdzily,to do tych 900 mandat bys musiala dolaczyc!Bosh...Po parku przy [college-LOC] biega pies,co sie wabi-uwaga!-[petname]!To ja juz wolalabym miec chyba na imie [nickname];)
262. Btw - jaka podwyzka za internet?
263. Yyy...A czy ja Ci przypadkiem nic nie wisze?Wiesz,te 5 zeta to juz 1/180ta tych 900 zeta;) Ubezpieczenie pewnie? Wymienmy sie dolami-moze sie zsumuja,a w konsekwencji zniosa?... No dobra.Dzis mnie wnerwia wszystko.Od metra (bo za glosno jezdzi),przez lafiryndy z sekretariatu (bo gapia sie w wygaszacze ekranu z Kubusiem Puchatkiem.Nie byla to raczej Fredzia),po pogodzie (pizdzi na wietrze).Ale dam Ci juz spokoj. Przygotuj posciel dla [nickname-GEN];)
264. Ale ale...What's up?Te swieta tak ma Ciebie dolujaco wplynely?Mnie doluje pogoda (o ile taka sliczna pogoda moze dolowac),bo zmusza do myslenia o rowerze,rolkach i innych fajnych rzeczach,na ktore nie mam czasu...Jestes w [city-LOC]?
265. Sory za obcesowe pytanie ale kiedy i jak jedziesz do [city-GEN];)
266. dzis rano samochodem sorry za rownie obcesowa odpowiedz
267. Tak. Pasuje nam.
268. Moglibysmy umowic sie na 12 jutro?

269. Jaki miałas aparat, ten skradziony?
270. Proponuje Ci CANON Power Shot 85 za niecałe 1000 zł w Media Markt. Znajdź sobie ewentualnie w internecie i daj znać, czy szukać dalej czy kupić. Pzdr
271. Efjusikej. Zajrzałam do menedżera urządzeń. On nawet nie widzi tej myszy tam. Ale...z klawiatury nawet wydrukować umiem. Ar ju praud?;)
272. Proud i mokry bo w wannie ;) kule to mogom być problem ja mam chyba stara mysz na inne gniazdo to spróbujemy
273. Hej:) powiedz czy pasowałoby Wam spotkać się jutro godzinę wcześniej czyli o 18?
274. Acha. To ja reflektuję jeśli możesz dla mnie kupić. Dzięki z góry.
275. Fucktycznie anbilwabul! Zwłaszcza teraz gdy jest takie zapotrzebowanie...
276. Jestem w [bus]. Wsiadam na przystanku [busst]. Bedziesz?
277. Mow!
278. Jestem, ale Ty już chyba spisz...
279. No bo już się zaczynałam martwić. Dobrej nocy!
280. Nie mam pojęcia co to za pliki...Znaczą czym to otworzyć
281. Chyba potrzebne mi dodatkowe korki...z trzymania się tematu podczas pisania wypracowań ;)
282. Dales się ponieść poranno-calodniowej nostalgii watykańskiej? Czy stąlosie może coś?
283. Niin...? (tłumaczenie: Rozwiniesz?)
284. Przypuszczam że nic przyjemnego i wiem że próba "pocieszenia" jest bez sensu. Natomiast posłucham chętnie. Zresztą już się chyba zorientowałaś...
285. Otoz...nie widac.Chyba bardzo się starasz zwalczyć te niechęć.Ja z kolei akceptuję to co dają, z buciarami się nie wpycham.Zatem problemów się nie spodziewaj:)
286. Zmiana planów... Coś mi wypadło i dziś nie będzie kawki;(to innym razem, ok?

287. Pasuje mi oczywiscie:) zapraszam jak najbardziej! Pusc sygnal jak bedziesz jechac, zebym nigdzie nie wybyla;)
288. Jestem jeszcze na [street-LOC] bo jest korek jak diabli. Lejt 4 me
289. Mozesz przyjsc do mnid na uczelnie o 13:30. Bede miala chwile wtedy.
290. No, ok. To dokupie sama. Tja, cena podobna, roznisz tylko 1 zerem;) reszta pasi:) dzieki!
291. Ja nie wiem. Moze chcesz jeszcze sprobować.
292. Spoko, tylko tym razem Ci nie daruje i wlasnie postanowilam ze stopniowo zaczne odbieraz zaleglosci. A jak z mieszkaniem to nie wiem...nie chce nic sugerowac.
293. Witam po dlugiej przerwie:) ja juz jestem zdrowa i gotowa na zajecia:) wiec moze w czwartek? Dostosuje sie do miejsca i godziny.
294. Jesli to nie problem to wolalabym czwartek 16.
295. Oczywiscie:) dobranoc.
296. Pani [name-VOC] zgubilam gdzies adres,a nie pamietam numeru mieszkania
297. Przyjechalo mi sie juz teraz. Moge przyjsc, czy masz maseczke i walki we wlosach;)?Pusc tylko sygnal jesli se sopii.
298. Ale numer!W kerfurze nie ma ani jednego znicza!Ani sztuki!Jade dalej...
299. Nooo...Wlasnie dlatego.Wszystko wykupione.Podjade na cmentarz brodnowski,tam na pewno beda.Jak myslisz-ile sztuk kupic?
300. Es es es.Funny...Ja myslalam o opcji nr1
301. Musi Ci pasic,bo juz nie ma odwrotu.Kupilam 10 zoltych.Postawimy w kilku miejscach...
302. Ten aparat ma karte 32 MB. Karta dodatkowa to osobny temat.
303. Mamu tu tez swoje tlumy przy [landmark]. Zajmiemy sie tym po niedzieli. Pa
304. Spokojnie. Moze kupie, a moze znajde Cie taniej w STOLYCY.

305. helou moze dzwoniemy sie wieczorem i jakos umowimy? ja mam jutro wolne wiec moglibysmy zalatwic wszystkie rzeczy, w tym kompa, obiadek ;) itd. wieczorkiem bede siedzial na pewno w domu
306. Bravissimo@AjmPraldOfU,wiesz:)?ToOktorejBysByla?JaKonczePrace O19:30,wiecWcentrumieBedePo20...
307. Tja... To ja raczej wczesniej nie bede... Ale wait 4 me, pliz!
308. Jestem pod [college-INSTR].Mom
309. Hej![name-NOM],wez moje prace na pisem [nickname-LOC](albo liczbe pkt) i jakby dawal cos nowego to wez egzemplarz dla mnie z gory dzieki [name-NOM] [initial].
310. Hej [name-VOC]! Obilo mi sie o uszy,ze przygotowujesz prezentacje na [date]. Co konkretnie i na jaki adres trzeba przeslac, zeby sie zglosic?
311. [name1-VOC].Przesylasz na [email] .[name2-NOM] to nam wysylala,wiec to wszystko,co wiem.Chyba wystarczy.Pa
312. A To jestes juz w [city-LOC]? Jak sprawy?
313. Czy to jedna z chorob spolecznych?
314. Witam:) to moze u mnie na 16ta? Chyba ze w pt.u Ciebie na 16:30.
315. Zaden problem. Zapraszam zatem:)
316. Mam market leadera intermediate jesli ci jeszcze potrzebny
317. Yyy...Za beznic;)
318. Fcale,ale to fcble sie nie wstawilam,.Szanty spiewakismy:).Ede...Liceum to je kkimat!
319. Najlepszy motyw byl jak prosilan qmpla,zeby mi torbe podal.On na to 'jak powierz cos po elficku,to dostaniesz'.No i...Musia5 mi ja dac;)
320. Yo! Dzieki za wersje ostateczna! Wspolpraca z Toba to czysta przyjemnosc! Wesolych Swiat! [name-NOM]
321. Dostalam cynk,ze w dniach [date] w hotelu [hotel] obok Ciebie jest miedzynarodowa konferencja dla teacherow inglisza.Glowny temat-neuro-lingwistyczne programowanie uczniow.Moze bedzie cos o manipulowaniu:)? Chcesz strzegoly?

322. Niom...Ja nie wiem czy kolejny TELC ruszy,ale moglabym sie przejsc...Wyjrzyj za okno,przyłusz tramwaj 8 w strone [borough-GEN] i pomachaj.Drugi wagon postara sie odmachac;)
323. Przerazilas go?O,kurka!To co Ty zrobilas:)?Mnie sie ludzie ewentualnie boja,ale chyba jeszcze nikogo nie przerazilam.Chyba;))W kazdym razie nic mi o tym nie wiadomo...
324. No nie mow;))!A pamietasz: 'przeciez to brzmi jak bekanie!'?Wtedy nawet pojedynczych slow nie bylymy w stanie wyłowic,bo to bylo jak pijacki belkot.A teraz tutora przerazasz-es es es:))!
325. Nooo,ale go przeca uprzedzilas,ze [college-NOM] i zboczenie jezykowe:)! Moze [nickname-NOM] powinien sie rozejrzec za wieksza iloscia materialow,bo niedlugo mu zabraknie?Nie mial do tej pory tak wnikliwej uczennicy,nie?
326. Moi!MitŁ kuuluu?I jak tam [nickname1-NOM]-zagrzalas dla niego posciel:)?Tak sie wonder - kiedy [nickname2-NOM] nach Hauze jedzie?Ja juz dzis u taty bylam, porzadki swiateczne porobilam,a teraz [nickname3-NOM] grzeczne dziecko, jedzie dyrektorke z [company-GEN] pomeczyc:)) [btw-burak pewnie na mejla nie odpisal,huh?],po czym odda sie nastrojowi wesolemu,czasowi nad piwem spedzonemu:) To kiedy jedziesz?
327. Hej,[name-VOC]:) Kiedy wyruszasz do domku na swieta?Masz juz komplet zalogi na pokladzie,czy przydadza sie 2 balasty?;) Pozdrawiam!
328. Hej,[name-VOC]! Nasza homesickness zwyciezyla i jedziemy jutro Batorym;) Ale polecamy sie na przyszlosc;) Pozdrawiam i zycze udanych swiat!
329. [name1-NOM], przepraszam ze dopiero teraz. Jade jednak z [name2-INSTR] w piatek rano. Zycze Ci slonecznych i usmiechnietych Swiat :) [name3-NOM] [name4-NOM] i [nickname-NOM]
330. [nickname1-NOM] I [nickname2-NOM] USTALILI ZE JUTRO [nick-name1-NOM] MA Z [group1] A [nickname2-NOM] Z [group2]! PODAJ DALEJ
331. eee... pada:(((
332. ej, ale jakos nie przepadam za jazda w deszczu:(((
333. ja jestem na konnekcie!!!

334. Czesć [name-NOM], sorry że dopiero teraz ale byłam sobie podumać.. Nie ma problemu wpadajcie, bardzo chętnie kawę z Wami lykne :) Do zobaczenia
335. GASIMY SWIATLA W PIATEK O 21:37 NA 5 MINUT NIECH ZGASNIE NA CHWILE CALA POLSKA PROSZE PRZESLIJ TO DO SWO-ICH PRZYJACIOL
336. ZGASMY W PIATEK (DZIEN POGRZEBU)SWIATLA O 21.37 NA 5 MINUT! NIECH NA TA CHWILE ZGASNIE CALA POLSKA RAZEM Z NASZYM PAPIEZEM...PRZESLIJ TO DO WSZYSTICH ZNAJO-MYCH
337. Zgadnij kto wziadł do tego busa:)??
338. TakiJeden...SpiewaZawzecieInon-stopSieChwieje-aZadanieMaNieco Utrudnione,boSiedziNaPodwojnymSiedzeniu;).WlasnieDotarlamDo Pl.Pilsudskiego.MozeDoJutraDojadeDoDomu...
339. Zapomniałam napisać... Dojechałam:)
340. Jeszcze przesyłkę udostępnić:) Znasz jakiś program,który odtwarza pliki mov.?
341. Bo to ten filmik...Podesła,to sprawdzisz-może któryś z Twoich programów to odtworzy.
342. Wiem,że jest diabeł wcześniej,ale chciałam Ci dać znać.TelePol (vel NetiaBis) aie wydrukował:) Trzeba tylko strony ponumerować,bo nie wiem czemu-nie ma numerów:(
343. Mejl
344. Pani [name-VOC] czy byłaby możliwość spotkania się dopiero po świętach? Ja niestety mam “straszny” tydzień więc jeśli to nie problem to czy możemy tak zrobić?
345. Właśnie dostałam od [nickname-GEN] jej cesję...
346. zamierzam Ci wysłać coś specjalnego, więc jeśli możesz, to mejla sprawdź za chwilę
347. Mogę wpasć?
348. ma genialność nie zna granic;)) szkoda tylko, że ten prospekt znalazł się przez przypadek i to dopiero dziś...

349. bede lukac wNIKliwie w jego tresc, porownam z naszym zbiorowym dzielem...
350. o! namierzona;)) bingo!
351. moi!! mam dla [nickname-GEN] info. bo mi sie wlasnie przyluszczyl... pewien prospekt emisyjny w necie;))
352. znaczy sie jest to prospekt po angielski - dla scislosci...
353. wow!! jestem na trzeciej stronie prospektu:)) coraz blizej konca
354. Ok,niech wiec bedzie revoke (zamiast abrogation) i chartered auditor. Pozdrawiam
355. moi! tak se wlasnie [nickname1-NOM] pofinkala, ze podesle [nickname2-DAT] bardzo poznym wieczorkiem pewien dokument. Co [nickname2-NOM] na to? wyszlo tego 6 stron, ale muszta jeszcze co nieco sprawdzic, bo nie mam wszystkiego...
356. czesc [name-NOM]! czy w pon mamy pisemnego [nickname-ACC]?poz-drawiam
357. Es es es-likend wolny :) C A L Y !
358. kongratulejszynz... jakos sie wieczorem umowimy na jutro na popoludnie. teraz lece do pracy. Milego.
359. PlizPuscMiSygnalJakBedzieszWMieszkanuiu-chceZadzwoniciPorozmawiac.Pozdrawiam!
360. slonce sorry znowu mam prosbe: pamietasy o tzm allegro? moglibysmy kieyds to zalatwic z twoim bratem i w ogole? p.s. znasz kogos kto chce kota?? wczoraj mialem ze 3 telefony od niej :(
361. Hej! Jade do ciebie autobusem [bus] od centrum handlowego blue city
362. [nickname-VOC] jade teraz do reduty po buty. Jak bede wracac to do ciebie wpadne. Podaj mi tylko dokladny adres na wypadek jakby mi sie telefon rozladowal
363. a ja ci wyslalem mailika z zaproszeniem na obiado-kolacje a ciebie nie ma ;(((pracujesz? w niedziele? bo ja tez ;)
364. Hej [nickname-NOM]! Jesli zaproszenie jest aktualne to postaram sie wpsc wieczorem ale najpierw musze przygotowac sie do pracy, zrobic pranie itd. Daj znac czy ci pasuje

365. Słonce byłaby szansa zobaczyć się z tobą dzisiaj na 5 sek? Godzina dowolna ale to za dużo i za poważne na telefon
366. Dzięki dam sygnał jak będę gdzieś tam na schodach
367. Załatwiam też od razu ładowarkę i 4 akumulatory. OK? Chyba, że masz?
368. W takim razie to już sobie załatwisz sama, bo powinny być takie same. Kupuje CANON A 95 i kartę 512 MB. Masz 5 min na protest :)
369. 4 takie same. A95 to najnowszy model. Cena podobna. Zresztą, co to dla Ciebie!?! :)
370. OK. Hej
371. [nickname-NOM] co mam robić?? Powiedziała że chce wrócić do mnie i z powodu mnie a nie z powodu kota czy chaty muszę dać kosza tylko jak to zrobić?
372. Nie wiem chyba mi dobrze samemu przytulić się może do [petname-GEN] naprawdę chce żyć normalnie i bez nerwów kłotni p.s. Jeszcze raz dzięki za dzisiejszą pomoc!
373. Twarda jesteś ;) ale spokojnie podchodzę do tego naprawdę poważnie a co do sugerowania to mów! Ja słucham tylko Ciebie i zawsze dobrze mi radziłaś!
374. Jeśli masz czas godz 14-15 możesz się zapisać ze mną na konfe i degustację kuchni regionalnych na [square-LOC]
375. Halo? Gdzie jesteś? Udało Ci się? Mam nadzieję, że nie straciłaś za dużo czasu? Jesteś jeszcze? Może zostaw w szatni? Ja mam [nickname-ACC]]! Pozdro!
376. Ciesze się:) kasa to mój warunek no.1 i to jest jasne! W pon ma dać odpowiedź czy przyjmuje warunki szkoda myśleć że będę miał kasę na jutro ;) ps jesteś plotkarz;)
377. A wiesz chyba tak zrobię w formie testu bo jak znam życie to powie że już tam zapłaciła i nie ma i powiem wtedy sss
378. Czuję że coś nie zrobię i tak zrobię źle, Nie chce by ktoś znowu burzył mój świat i wystroj mieszkanek ;) z drugiej strony ta kasa. Może weźmę za pół roku z góry?
379. Była Teraz 1z Jej Warunków Byłoby Tobie Nie Plotkował Bo Wiesz Wszystko;) moje Oko i Kasie Musi Przemysleć Ale Widzę że Ta Kasa Ja Martwi miałaś mi napisać radosną nowinę!

380. Bardzo przepraszam, ale pomyliłam godziny i nie mogę przyjechać. Czy możemy jakos przesunąć zajęcia, nawet na dzisiaj na późniejszą godzinę? Jeszcze raz przepraszam, wiem że jestem nieodpowiedzialna.
381. Dobrze. Wstyd przyznać, ale po prostu myślałam, że są na 18.30 jak w piątek. Nic tylko się zastrzelic, prawda?
382. Albo odkochać... ;-) Spoko, jakos przeżyjemy. Kubusia przyniosę za tydzień w pt. :)
383. w piątek nie ma problemu ze spotykaniem się w piątek chwilę przed 15 na stałe. I tak jestem na [borough-LOC]:)
384. Dobrze czekam w piątek. Do zobaczenia!
385. [name1-NOM] jak możesz to daj książkę [name2-DAT], ona będzie u mnie po 18. Dzięki
386. Bosh jak mnie wszystko dzisiaj nerwi i się psuje! Ide chyba spać i płakać do wanny :(
387. Bo z rozpedu wysłałem na bramkę: Powiedz czy ja się w ogóle nadaję do życia z kims???
388. To powiedz co załatwiłaś może popr mi się humor ;) jajej pow żeok ale mam kilka warunków ona ze też ma! No chyba żart to komu w końcu na tym zależy?
389. Ryram ja to ma być tylko układ biznesowy ;) reszta splaywa po mnie wiesz że wanna i mam jeszcze pół czekolady na wieczór :) martwić będę się jutro
390. MamMegaBajerDoSprzedaniaMyszBezprzewodMiniaturkaWSrebrnymEtuiMozeReflektujeszTanio!
391. ApowaznieMowiacDajZnacCzyOdlozycCiMyszkeBoJakNieToMozePojadeZnia JutroNaGielde?p.s.mogeSieWprosicNaKolacje?wedlineMogeWziacTylkoNie MamPieczywa ;)
392. Przepraszam nie chciałem przeszkadzać nie musiałas przecież zaraz odpisywać
393. Może zdenerwowanie nie było dobrym słowem...Wydaje mi się że wszystko dzieje się w życiu z jakiegoś powodu i prowadzi do jakiegoś ostatecznego celu. Nawet jeśli odbieramy to jako złe, to prawdopodobnie ma w sobie jakieś dobre pierwiastki. A przynajmniej warto w to wierzyć...

394. Hmm...zdaje sie ze bede Ci dawac pakietami info na pismie, a potem robic "wejsciwki"...;)))
395. Z wrazenia... hmm:) dziekuje i Tobie rowniez zycze. Przede wszystkim wyciszenia, cieszenia sie sloncem, zoltymi kurczaczkami, ktore wlaza gdzie popadnie i krolnikami z klapnietym uchem. Pozytywnego myslenia. Ciepla. Czasem-niemyslenia. I wiosny wreszcie:)
396. Niestety w srody pracuje juz od 16:30 do 21na [borough-LOC].
397. To mi pasuje:) tylko jeszcze Ci potwierdze jak juz bede w [city-LOC] czy na pewno dojechalam. To do zobaczenia:)
398. Powinnam byc do ok. 15:30. Nie wiem czy [name-NOM] bedzie w domu. Jesli mialabys nie zdazyc to lepiej innym razem, po co masz na darmo jechac...
399. Nie ma sprawy. Mam nadzieje ze szybko wrocisz do zdrowia. W koncu wiosna:)
400. Napisz mi prosze jakie to byly daty mojego zastepstwa z gr p.[name-GEN] i jaki nr grupy. Dzieki.
401. 15 i 17 grupa nr 13
402. :) jade wlasnie do domku moze wpadniesz po antenke? ;)
403. Exam sie wlasnie konczy.Zostala jedna osoba,a potem...Nach Hause...
404. Kiedys te urzedasy stresowaly sie examem,ja...Powybieralam semesy i je teraz analizuje.Ale wiesz...To darowanie to nieglupi pomysl:)
405. A tymbark na dzis mowi mi tak 'glowa na kark'.Ale...Co jest z nia nie tak?
406. Za ok pol godz bede na [square-LOC] jak bys chciala moglbym cie odwiedzic na chwile?
407. Spoko to lecem ku tobie
408. ...powiedzial mis polizawszy morde i przyznawszy,ze...Czyli imieslow przysl. uprzedni-forma czysto literacka.Na wykladzie przysiadl Sie kolega i na nic dobre checi
409. No wlasnie jeszcze nie sa ulubienze ;),ale kto wie... Walcz! Zycie to walka ;).
410. Hejka, czy mozemy sie jutro nie spotykac, dzis mi pocieli dziaslo zeby wyrwac osemke i do tej pory mam opuchnieta cala buzie i nie moze mowic. Pozdrawiam

411. Nooo...To sie wyspie jeszcze:).To o 13
412. Bede. Wlasnie jestem w galerii. Chyba pojde z torbami:)
413. Maly empik, czyli palma?
414. Salve! Sorki, ze burcze Ci telefonem w trakcie zajec, ale doznalam naglego olsnienia. Spokojnie-zadna cegla nie spadla mi na glowe:) Chcialam zapytac czy masz moze cos elem i pre-int dla doroslych? Musze przygotowac cw spoza international express. Jesli masz cusik, co mozesz pozyczyc do pon, do wt gora, to plz bring do kina. Will be grateful:)
415. Bede ok 22.30 bo mi [bus] zwialo.
416. NieMogePrzybycCiePosluchacAleZyczeCiUdanegoWystapieniaPublicznego!
ICiekawychPytanOdSluchaczy;)
417. Eee...Niefajnie:(Zrobilam [nickname-ACC] i teraz moze sie jedynie opa-lac. Do kwestury nie mam po co isc:(
418. Aha, nie ma problemu ja od 15 jestem w czwartek w domu.
419. Dobrze mi pasuje czwartek, a o ktorej?
420. Mysle, ze tak, ale dopiero od godz. 18, bo wczesniej mam zajecia.
421. Hej[name1-NOM]!Sorry,zeTAK POZNO. O co chodzilo pani [surname1]
,boW KON NIE POGADALYSMY...Pozdrawiam:-) [name2-NOM]
[surname2-NOM]
422. Przepraszam za alarm!Ale na[street-LOC] tylko jedna osoba zna sie na kompie i wole zeby wiedziala kto maca kable w jej sprzecie...:)
423. A masz mozliwosc skeserowania ich?
424. [name-NOM] pamietasz o kartkach dla mnie?
425. Juz jade w dobrym kierunku. Jest jakas nadzieja...
426. Wsiadlem do zlego autobusu i zamiast na pl.[square-GEN] wyladowalem na [borough-GEN] :).Spokojnie, mi sie takie rzeczy zdarzaja :).Spoznie sie nie wiem ile...
427. Tak,to ten!

428. Juz to odkrylem!Sadystyczna strona mej osobowosci wie jak sie nad Toba znecac;).
A powaznie:zeby wszyscy byli tacy hopeless-swiat cieszylyby mnie bardziej. Do
Jutra
429. To swietnie-moze chociaz raz nie bede mial poczucia,ze wszystko,czego moglbym
Cie nauczyc Ty juz wiesz ;)
430. Przepraszam za moje cudowne zdecydowanie,ale cofam o co prosilem. Spotka-
jemy sie normalnie,o 12.
431. Mozemy sie jutro spotkac o 13 wyjatkowo? P.S.Praca swietna jak zwykle!
432. Habemus Papam. Joseph Ratzinger przyjal imie: Benedykt XVI. Ps-sory za
smsa
433. Daj adres to przyjde :) a wpadniesz na kolacje?;) nie mam 65 zl :(ale wlasnie
mozf zlapalem zlecenie na duza strone
434. Jak acrobat reader nie otwiera to albo sciagnij nowsza wersje albo plik jest
zepsuty. A ja jestem smutny bo mnie nikt nie lub;(
)
435. Tata jest w [city-LOC] a mi by bardziej pasowala 19 bo musze mame zabrac z
pracy. Ok?
436. Dzis spotykamy sie o 19 czy o 18? Z gory dziekuje za odpowiedz. [name-NOM]
437. Pojedziesz z reklamacja do tego mechanika? Ja mialam w cintku efekt dlawieoia
silnika jak byl uszkodzony termostat i tez nie mogli znalezc przyczyny
438. To przykre :(wez troche odpocznij poloz sie a zaproszenie na kolacje dla ciebie
jest aktualne 24 godz na dobe zawsze :)
439. 6! Dzieki za maila! Ale zycia mi nie ulatwil... Co to za prezentacja? Miss[surname-
NOM]
440. [name-NOM] super!Rewelacja!Dzieki ze o mnie pamietasz!Bede!See you!
441. Moi!Mozesz sie czuc pozdrowiona w [borough-GEN] k.Wawy.Dwa kolka mnie 2
doprowadzily;)
442. O prychnaniu napisalem ze szczegolna mysla o Tobie...
443. A [nickname-NOM]?
444. Masz ladowarke do Nokii?

445. Da sie zrobic...
446. Siurr...Kupie. Wstalas juz:)?
447. O ktorej godzinie sie jutro spotykamy na zajecia? Ja nie dam rady wczesniej niz 15:30.
448. mojTataUmarlwczorajWieczorem,proszeOmodlitwe
449. Dzieki!ToMiDzisWieleUlatwi.JaZnowDzisBedeNaTejPozniejszejGrupie.
Pozdrawiam!
450. Wielkie dzieki! Podam dalej. Pozdro!
451. To ja drukne z 7-8 kopii. I sie im rozda...
452. Bardzo dziekuje za wspaniala wiadomosc o poranku:)
453. Q!!Czuje sie juz zaproszona na te przyszloroczna konf:)
454. Jakoe bede musiala przezyc...;o)
455. 6! Wielkie dzieki!!! Do wtorku w takim razie. Pozdro!
456. Z dbalosci o moja rownowage emocjonalna nie bede pytal kim lub czym jest amstaf...
457. Dobrywieczor:) ja chcialam sie upewnic o ktorej sie jutro spotykamy?
458. Wlasnie wysylam pani Edmunda. Tylko czy moze mi pani podac swojego maila?
459. Klaniem!Chcialam Ci zyczyc good luck na prezentacji u [name-GEN]:).
460. Przepraszam,ale bylem zajety- widzialem sie z kims...Troche pozno,ale kina jeszcze czynne...
461. (z wpadaniem w mniej wymuszonych okolicznosciach)
462. Dobrze,powiem mu jutro skruszona. Przepraszam
463. Dobrze, ja czwartek i piatej jestem w domu chyba ze cos sie zmieni to sie odezwe.
Pozdrawiam.
464. Oj czy moglybysmy w czwartek albo piątek bo ja koncze o 15:30 ale w domu bede wieczorem.

465. Jestem w [city-LOC]. Padnieta. O ktorej wychodzisz z kapu? Bo ja o 19:20 na Centralce...
466. Nawet mi nie mow! Zimno mi przeraźliwie (kobiety tak maja)! Ja chce do cieplych krajow!!!
467. Anglia nie jest ciepla.
468. Chcesz mnie zniechecic? ;) a moze mnie na lotnisko odprowadzisz jutro? :D
469. Bede troche pozniej bo mi sie zeszlo...ale i tak zapraszam.
470. Dzieki za info. Wlasnie jade w szutelbusie. Chyba wpadne na ustne. Mam sporo opowiadania...
471. Dzieki Ci bardzo. Oby chcialo sie spelnic!
472. Dziekuje za zyczenia Czy juz jestes w Warszawie? Jesli tam to zadzwonie
473. Masz 5 z pisemnych
474. Ciesze sie, ze nareszcie zobaczylas to magiczne miasto! Dzieki za pozdrowienia.
475. Ja wlasnie wrocilam z zaglowek na ktorych bylam z [name-INSTR], super sie bawilam. A jak u Ciebie?
476. :)
477. No no prosze: Werona, Londyn... Mam nadzieje ze na [borough-ACC] tez znajdziesz czas :-) Ciumki
478. Mozesz mnie utopic,powiesic i pocwiartowac,ale...Nie pamietam tego slowa:((
479. “[nickname-VOC],stop it!” ;))
480. PRZEPRASZAM.ALE.DAJ.ZNAC.Czymoglbym.przelac.albo.spotkac.
sie.rano.jestem.w.[city-LOC]
481. Prosze o rzetelny komentarz!
482. Czekam kolo Twojej macchina azurra
483. Nie chce sie spoznic.Jestem juz na Powsinskiej.Pa
484. OK,postaram sie bardziej.Naiset ;))!

485. Cisza mnie usypia...Odpływam do krainy erotycznych epizodów i...
drapieżnych paznokci:)
486. Zadzwoń za trochę...
487. Wysyłam zaliczkę na poczet poniedziałkowych pusujów :*
488. Nie podoba mi się słowo "bywa".Wole "będzie" nagrodzona :)
489. Rozbrajasz mnie,Slonce:)
490. Mam nadzieję,że się nie obraziłaś.Nie miałem nic złego na myśli!To żart taki
był!
491. Nie lubię jak milczysz.
492. Jakie przeczucia co się sprawdzają?
493. 2 listy motywacyjne splodze:)
494. Skoro się oferujesz to niech będzie że zadzwonię ;p
495. Gdzie jest!?! Czekamy!
496. [name1-VOC]! Wtorek pasuje. Pozdrawiamy i czekamy! [name2-NOM].
497. Ale o kim mówisz? :)
498. Na którą masz budzik nastawiony? ;p
499. Teraz się powinnam zacząć zastanawiać co takiego zbroiłam że mi nie odpisujes!;p :D
500. Tak bo potrzebuje do zrobienia ocen.
501. Wybredny jak francuski piesek...:D we shall see what we shall see...:*
502. :) kurcze jak mogłam zapomnieć ;) takie magiczne imię...
503. Godziny robiłem sałatki i właśnie idę po dodatkowe składniki.Jak skrytykujesz,bede gryzł ;)!
504. Miła niespodzianka. A jaka to okazja,sorry? :)
505. Aha! Masz ojca z daleko posunięta skl..... :) Jeszcze raz dzięki, Coreczko!!!
506. Ja nic nie mówiłem!! Masz robić projekt! To bezwzględny nakaz!

507. Miałem być o 19. Szukałem legitymacji... Już wyjeżdżam właśnie!
508. Dyplomy są na Swiderkiej :)
509. A ty już w Polsce ze tęsknisz? Mnie też trochę źle bo [name-NOM] na Mazurach baluje
510. Przerwałem monotonię. Dzisiaj numeruję strony. Jutro będę dziurkował
511. Przyjedź dzisiaj do mnie! [nickname-VOC] szaleje! Poradź coś bo nie wiem co robić???
512. Full zalamka podpadłem dzisiaj [name-DAT] powiedz że to uratuje??
513. Jestem w domu o nic lepiej nie pytaj
514. Jestem z [name-INST] na ich koncercie będę ok 2 dzisiaj chce jej to powiedzieć!!
515. Jestem już w domu coś się stało??
516. Jutro jak będę ją holować :) ale ja nie wytrzymam! A mogłem się spóźnić i musiałaby zostać!
517. Masz SMS-a na bramce że jestem zakochany!
518. Żyjeś? Bo się zaczynam martwić o Ciebie :(
519. Jesteś w Polsce? Jak jesteś uchwytana proszę puść sygnał ok? Need advice
520. Doleciałaś? Wszystko w porządku?
521. Jakie zamachy? Qrcze, chyba jestem nie w temacie... Co się dzieje w Londynie?
522. Niewykluczone, że będę odwoływać loty...
523. Miałam iść na rower, ale oki:o) wybiore się kiedy indziej, to do zobaczenia!
524. :)). Ruszam!
525. Hej, możesz po mnie przyjechać na 17*49 na [trainst]? Z góry dzięki!!!
526. Możecie przyjechać razem i nawet może zostać jak etuio będzie Ci się podobało
527. Co to jest etuio? ;) długo
528. Jestem na radzie nadzorczej będzie jeszcze długo

529. [nickaname-VOC] udalo Ci sie z tym kompem? Bo [name-NOM] wlasnie jest w domu to moze cos na odleglosc zaradzic.
530. W zasadzie [name-NOM] cos tam niby wie ale akurat jest na pomiarach. Wiec chyba nie pomozemy :-)
531. Mala prosba: Czy mozesz byc tak blizej dziewiatej niz wpol do? Pozdr [name-NOM]
532. O ile pamietam mamy pojechac podpisywac razem.Umowilismy sie na 15.Kapiel wczoraj pomogla:)?
533. To chyba cytat z Emigrantow jesli sie nie myle?To sztuka o Polsce i Polskosci.Doskonala
534. He? Prosze o nastepne vihje!
535. Kubusia Puchatka?Mrozka?[surname-GEN];)?Moje wirtualne;)?Innych opcji nie przyjmuje;)?!
536. Rozumiem,ze meskie towarzystwo to zyrafa?
537. Milej lektury :p
538. Ale fart! Zlapalam ostatniego busa...
539. Powodzenia w tlumaczeniach!!!
540. Sorki,ze dopiero teraz,ok,znajde jaka kawiarenke i sobie siade-o 11 na dworcu. Papatki
541. No to po nas! Dzieki! Powodzenia! A masz adres do [surname-GEN]?
542. Nie sadze, ale sprawdzic to mozesz tylko jakims innym monitorem.
543. A Ty juz wiesz, jak to pisac?
544. Dzieki! Nic jeszcze nie ruszyłem, nie wiem jak... Obowiazkowo to trzeba wyslac do 22.09?
545. Czesc! Masz maila do [name-GEN]? Pozdro!
546. Ty! Dawaj na neta
547. [petname-NOM] umarl.Jade do [borough-GEN]

548. Cheers!!! gulp:)
549. Es es es - 2 razy bylam po bilety i mnie nie rozpoznali. Sztuka kamuflazu:))
550. No to mamy komplet:) ql
551. Dziekuje za zyczenia - oby sie spelnily!
552. Podpisalam umowe! :)
553. Mam! Mam 2 bilety!
554. qrde net mi padl:(
555. Ok pojdziemy polazic po plejadzie?
556. To jak bedzie z naszym spacerem?
557. Wyladowalismy. Wszystko gra. Tylko [name-NOM] sie pod moim plecakiem ugina ;p
558. Ano moge. Ale jak wam to nie na reke to moge sie nie pakowac. Tylko dajcie znac.
559. To wlasnie;)
560. Ogolnie c++. Ciesze sie ze dobrze ci poszlo! :)
561. Jasne. Przyjdz za godzine na neta to pogadamy. Ps. A nie mowilam!;)
562. Chyba wolalabym nie.
563. Zaraz dostaniesz waznego smsa!
564. Tak, slucham?... :)
565. Tak tato. Mysle ze jakos sobie poradze. Choc niewatpliwie przyjdzie mi to z wielkim trudem.
566. Jade bo dopiero od niej wyszlam
567. Ale...[bus1] tu nie jedzie! Tylko [bus2]! :D
568. Ok. Postaram sie to jakos sprawdzic bo az oczy i glowa bola.
569. Zapomnij:p

570. Weekend byl bardzo mily,choc moje uczucia dyskomfortu nie slabna...Jutro opowiesz o wkurwianiu
571. Kurs sredni Nbp 5.74 zl to sporo taniej niz szesc zl ktore placilas latem
572. Hello! Uczymy sie dzis? [name-NOM]
573. Zadzwonie z pracy
574. Juz wyjechalem.Bede prul.Tlumaczyc sie bede pozniej
575. A masz teraz window? Ja mam [nickname-ACC]... Zaraz bede. Wait
576. Mam dla Ciebie te ksiazki. Jestes jeszcze na dole?
577. Mam cos dla Cie. Wpadniesz na Luton?
578. Siostra, ja nie wiem co :) zrob mi moze niespodzianke :)
579. Reflektuje.Jestem strasznie zmeczony i spiacy.Do zobaczenia
580. Wyladowalem na [street-LOC].Kwestia zejścia na dol.Badz cierpliwa:)
581. No to 10.30 w takim razie.
582. Ekhm ekhm,to moze 12?Czy masz wtedy zajecia?
583. 11.30 Gdzies na [borough-LOC]?
584. Moge od 14
585. Ano. ;) zbieraj mi smsy finskie wciaz pliz! Mi aktualnie zimno.
586. To moze ok 14 lepiej bedzie. Gdyby jeszcze sie cos zmienialo to jestesmy w kontakcie.
587. No wiec wlasnie o to chodzi ze mam potem zajecia.
588. yhy.
589. Ano. Jak chcesz moze byc o 13.
590. Psze pani, i co Pani robi z weekendem?
591. A poza tym uwazam ze to bezczelnosc ze mnie obudziles w srodku nocy! :D
592. Jak bedziesz jechac wez te ponaranczowa knige elementary lg practice vince'a. Dzieki!

593. Wyjasniam:ponocCieZadziwilem,zszokowalem.CzlekZszokowanyReagujeRoznie: prycha,drapie,placze,wryrywaSobieWlosyZKlatkiPiersiowej,etc.JaMyslalem, ze zostane zdeptany
594. O!ToMamSieJeszczePojawicWCzwartek;)?NoTak,zostawilemUCiebieKsiazke! AleZdanieOMowieniuPoFinskuSugerujeCiaglosc;). Czyzbym zatem nie zostal wyklety i zdeptany;)?
595. Przez te wszystkie lata naszej znajomosci zawsze bylem zbyt poblazliwy,powiadasz ;)?Konstytucja po prostu zakazuje tortur oraz okrutnego traktowania-to dlatego
596. Wiem,zePoziomIntelektualny,moralny,kwalifikacjiCzyZwyklejLudzkiejPrzyzwoi tosciNaszychPoslowUragaPoczuciuDobregoSmaku,aleNieBylbymTakSurowyBy KazacIm czytac DU:)
597. Co do vappu,swietowanie polega glownie na zabawach na wolnym powietrzu,piciu napoju o nazwie simaa,co sie najczesciej konczy przejsciem na ciezsze paliwo. Czolem
598. ZwlaszczeWobecRzeczonejZazdrosciFinskiegoStwora-podlecZeMnie!NawetToMo znaNaciagnac,zeNiecnieWykorzystalemTweWczorajszeWatpliwosci.Ach,jakieMile Samobiczowanie;))
599. Oj.Briefly,niezbytLadneToBylo-chyba-wyjezdzacZTakimTekstem-nawetPodWplywemGoraczki;-)-wobecKogos,ktoBudujeZKimsPrzyszlosc.SzczytEgoizmu;nikczem naBezposredniosc;)
600. Za wczoraj nie dziekuj,bo to emanacja mojego egoizmu w swej czystej postaci byla.Czuje sie zle i slabo,ale kot mnie grzeje,wiec“jest nurt,choc ukryty dla oka”;
601. Hop hop! Chyba sie nie obrazilas, tchorzofretko ;)? Wybacz dociekliwosc-przyszlo mi do glowy mimochodem...
602. Glupia;))! Mi to nie przeszkadza-wrecz przeciwnie.Zastanawiam sie tylko nad tym paradoksem.Ale wszystko w porzadku!Jestem w poblizu...
603. JestemChoooorry!GoraczkaIPadamZWycienczenia.PodobnoFaceciSaZnacznieMniejOdporniNaBolDlategoWciazNarzekajaGdyCosImJest.Padlo na Ciebie-a ten sms ku chwale nauki:)
604. [nickaname-VOC]...dlaczego wlasnie przed chwila zobaczylam chlopaka, ktory mi sie podobal... z jego dziewczyna?! ;-(

605. SoryChybaOmylkowoWyslalemSmsaWidacZaDuzoOTobieMysle;)aTyCoTakUci chlasOstatnio?ZamiastButowKupilemSzczotkeAirFreshSzczotIpasteDoZebow OdrobinaLuksusuCo?;)
606. [nickname-VOC] czy masz jakies materialy na temat pisania pism urzedowych? Cokolwiek. Poziom sredni. Jakies ogolne formulki grzecznościowe. Kolezanka ma test w pracy.
607. Slonce nie przeszlabyś się ze mna jutro wybraż adidasy i miotle? A może daj nr stac tel wiesz że już nie dzwonię nocami ;)
608. Cała zabawa polega na tym, żeby zbaczac z tematu!Chodzi o to żeby się popisac tym co się umie a nie trzymac się kurczowo nici przewodniej.Smutny dzień jakis...
609. Boże,można się zaplakac uczac tak niemilosiernie niezdolne i do tego leniwe osoby jak mój dzisiejszy obiekt doswiadczen naukowych;).U Ciebie się bede relaksowal
610. Czy milczenie mam rozumiec jako brak dalszego zainteresowania, czy potrzebny jest czas do namyslu? Pytam,poniewaz to wymagaloby pewnej reorganizacji mojego planu
611. [name-NOM]! Zabijesz mnie0 zapomniałam dac [nickname-DAT] Twoje tłum! On się strasznie spoznil,a potem zapomniałam... Wybacz i zwal na mnie! Bedziesz dzisiaj ok. 12 na[college]
612. Skad!PoProstuPrzyzwyczailemSie,zeOtoczenieSieZeMnaZgadzaBezSzemrania-podobnoPrzedstawiamArgumentyIRozmawiamWSposobNieZnoszacySprzeciwu IZawszeBronieSieZawziecie.MozeDlategoWdziecznyKopWTylek,jakiZaserwowa lasToZaskoczenie,aleInteresujace:).OdpowiemJutro,poEgzaminie.OstatnioNapi salemListPolRokuTemu-na8stron
613. Pani [name-VOC] ja jutro bede w domu chwile po 14 tylko że o 16 mam dentyste.Zmiescimy się w tym przedziale czasowym?
614. Ach te flirty ;)... Nie zostalem może odpowiednio zachecony :). No ale już od czwartku problem będzie chyba rozwiązany :)?
615. Powinienem się więc starac bardziej... Skoros tak rozchwytywana, pokornie bede czekal w kolejce aż i mi cos skapnie ;)

616. Odezdziesz sie jak w swej blondynkowatosci doczekasz sie przeblysku intelektu i wymyslisz cos madrego ;)
617. Nie ma problemu, ogarnelam wiec da sie dojsc zarowno do koputera jak i do magnetofonu:) zatem do jutra!
618. Hej!Wlasnie net sie skiepscil,wiec to raczej na pewno cos ze switchem! Dobrze,ze jutro przychodzi do tego.Juz od dluzszej chwili nie ma pola-czenia.buzka-[nickname-NOM]
619. Tak to istny obled.Ze sloncem moze byc klopot,ale jesli masz jakies inne zyczenia,jestem w poblizu...
620. NiePytaj.HossaSieSkonczyla:)-slabiutko.LednoZdalem.FacetKazalMiPrzyjsc w czwartek znowu, ale chyba wolalbym miec 3 i sprawe z glowy.Dlaczego dzownie?Moge pomoc!
621. Nie zachwycilo Cie to,co ostatnio powiedzialem skoro sie od tamtej pory nie odzywasz?To meczacy i kiepski dzien-nie wiem czy odpisze dzis.Jak nie to za tydzien
622. Ooo...To relaksacje masz:))!Staram sie jak moge-znasz mnie,jestem mistrzynia upierdlivosti,a przy tym sluze przysrywaniem:)).Ja dzisiaj nie pracuje,p dyrektor przeniosla zajecia.Ale ale...Czeka juz na mnie opinia z praktyk.Nevermind,ze ich jeszcze nie skonczylam;))...
623. Jakos sie zorientowalam,ze [nickname-GEN] nietu...A prald jestem,ze ho ho! Naiwne pytanie-a zrobilas analize do [nickname-GEN]:))?
624. Kobieto-ja zdaje na filozofie i mam mowic na temat:)?!No co Ty?Pisalas o kinie,wiec mialem zamiar wpasc i wyciagnac Cie do kina,ale skoro test...
625. PrychaniaChetnieDoswiadcze.CzyJaPisalem,zeSpotkalemZNAJOMA,czyTy ZgrabnieWydedukowalasPlec?NoSkoroChodziOHonor...PokiCoJedzieszCzarowacAnglikow,wiecPoczekam
626. Nie az tak tajemniczo:).Mialem ochote kontunuowac mily wieczor-kont-rast dla paskudnego dnia.Wygrala jednak koncepcja kucia kapitalu dla przyszlej kariery-test;)
627. Chyba tak ale potwierdze. Nie wiem czy ze wzgledu na swieto nie bedziemy miec planow wyjazdowych.

628. Bosh...wszyscy maja do mnie ostatnio pretensje, ze sie nie odzywam. A ja niczym srednio inteligentna blondynka rozkladam rece: "alle o sssooo chozzzi?"
629. Nie wiem...Moze chce? Ale chyba jednak nie-to milo,ze odpoczniesz. Zaskakujaca propozycja (o ile powazna).A o ktorej?
630. Zarejestrowalam ten fakt. Polowe przeczytalam w [city-LOC], a druda przeczytam jak sie odkopie z zaleglosci koncowosemestralnych.
631. Z okazji urodzin duzo usmiechu i mnostwo slonca. Wolnego czasu i ciekawych zdarzen. Duzo radosci!
632. Imieninkowo zycze slonca w serduszku nawet jesli niebo kryja chmury, usmiechu wewnetrznego nawet jesli do oczu cisna sie lzy. I dobra dookola. Dobrych ludzi! :)
633. Wyslalem maila zaleglego.Przeczytasz jak znajdziesz czas-moze po powrocie.Mam nadzieje,ze jest milo i sle usmiech :)
634. Dobrze. Nie zapomnij psa we mgle ;) Pozdrowka z [square-GEN] gdzie slonce nie do zniesienia, piwo i strong man :)
635. Moje stanowcze zadanie relacji z wrazen po spotkaniu spotkalo sie z watpliwym entuzjazmem.Jestem oburzony ;)!
636. O tym zdjeciu mowilem powaznie!Takie symbole duzo znacza...Swojego Ci nie dam,bo jeszcze zrobiloby furore w Anglii i potem opedziec bym sie nie mogl ;))
637. PierwszyRazPoczulem:nieRozmawiajZNimDzis!DotadTakNieByloAleMysle,ze ToNasChwilowoOdSiebieOddali.BabciaWlasnieRzekla,zeMamSieTakNieAnga zowac,boNieWarto.Rozkoszne
638. Bateria zaraz padnie a wlasnie bawie sie w Sherlocka i szukam w dawnym mieszkaniu testamentu,ktory mama zgubila:).Zadzwonie za ok.2 godziny jak wroce i doladuje
639. To znaczy:tak rozumiem,nie nie rozumiem,odczep sie,pisz dalej,zadzwon, przyjedz,mysle o Tobie,zapomnialam o Tobie,wszystko w porzadku,jestem na ciebieWsciekla;)?
640. WybaczTeWylewnosci.NieZawszeJestMiLatwo.NajgorszeJestTo,zeOnNieBrzmi JakNiedojrzalyGlupiec,jakimChcialbymGoWidziec.WJegoSlowachWidujeSwoje MysliIToMnieMartwi

641. Tobie sie nie miesci w glowie jakie to dla mnie wazne.Zalezy mi na Tobie jak na nikim dotad.Dlatego boli mnie to,o czym mi opowiadasz.Dreczy mnie to
642. WlasnieZTymJestCiezko.Bardzo.ToZrozumiale?ChocTezTegoChce,nieDlatego NieMogeSieDoczekacSpotkaniaZToba.SerceMiPekaNaTakieWiesci.ChceOTym Slyszec-nieChceZebyTakBylo
643. Ciezko mi z tym czasem.Nie chce narzekac ani sie nad soba uzalac,ale to prawda. Chcesz mi powiedziec o czym byla mowa?
644. MamaTakNieUwazala.BardzoCieSzanujeIRozumieTeSyt.JestMadra!PlanNieak tualny?Mowilas,zeZamieszkasZEwa.AsekuracjaToJednoAPlanAktualny.ZeMna TakDlugoNieRozmawiasz;(
645. Takie teasowanie bywa nieznosne,ale ratuje sie tym,ze trozke juz Cie znam, a poza tym licze na Twoja szczerosc,ktora mnie dotad nie zawiodla!Dzis bronilem Cie:)
646. PazuryToPunktKulminacyjnyMoichErotycznychSnow;).Zakladam,zeMnieTeasuj eszIAkurat[name-GEN]BacSieNieMusze.EntuzjasmOpada:juzNieMowisz,zePojd zieszZPrzyjemnoscia;)
647. Pytam "z kim?" z ciekawosci czystej:). Chcesz ze mna pojechac obejrzec chatke i poznac jeszcze jedna straszna prawnicza biede? Codziennie nowe pazury- dziunia;)!
648. Przeprowadzam[name-ACC]WeWtorekO20.30.DobrzeByCieMiecPrzySobie,ale TyChybaWtedyPracujesz?WSrRanoMamOgladacMieszkanie,oKtoremPisalem. Pojedziesz?JakToCoOgladalyscie?
649. [name-NOM] proponuje mi mieszkanie wspolne z nim i jego2 kolegami. Pomysl niezly,ale mieszkanie malenkie,wiec bylby kolchoz.Trzeba tez zaplacic za wakacje. Zobaczymy
650. Pisze zeby rozwiac niepokoje;).Rozprawiamy o sytuacji rodzinnej [name-GEN], ktora bujna jest.Rozrywka jak przy ogladaniu brazylijskiego serialu...Teskanie!
651. Spisz,rozmawiasz z [name-INSTR],jestes zla albo nie masz nic do powie-dzenia. Opcja pierwsza bylaby najlepsza:).Wypij sie wreszcie.Dobranoc-odezwe sie jutro
652. Milo sprawiac ludziom radosc-widza mnie pierwszy raz od 3 miesiecy i to dla nich wiele znaczy.Spelniam role dobrego duszka

653. Urwalo mi sie na “mysle,ze ta...”.Do pelni szczescia bardzo daleko,wiec los moglby sie usmiechnac zyczliwiej.Nie mam zamiaru ustepowac,bez wzgledu na wszystko
654. Powiem jak przestane byc;).Choc do pelni szczescia wiele mi brakuje. Oczekujesz,ze sie usune jesli uznam,ze z Brytyjczykiem bedziesz szczesliwsza?
655. Doszlo!Skup sie na prezentacji bardziej niz ja na egzaminie!Mam nadzieje, ze nigdy nie wyslesz mi takiego maila jak [name-NOM] Tobie...
656. Nigdy nie zachowalbym sie tak (mailem) i Ty to wiesz.Poza tym musisz postarac sie bardziej zeby mnie zniechecic;).Ale nie probuj-nie warto. Potrafię być wytrwały
657. Dzizys!Obok jakas lokalna lumpiarnia wlasnie rozkreca biznes.Na pol wiochy lech cos,co chyba ma przyponac ‘Summer Nights’.Have mercy! Teraz ‘Coco Jumbo’!Aaaghh
658. BrakujeMiCie,chocWidzielismySiePareGodzinTemu.ZleWrozyNaLipco-wrzesien.SchopenhauerDotadNieKojarzyłMiSieZErystyka.AlePodobaMi SieTeoriaOSileWoli.JestAdekwatna:)
659. Niom,nie zostali uprzedzeni:).Stwierdzili tylko,ze beda musieli nieco przerobic forme i tresc exama-ojjj,so sorry:(!
660. SiegneDoPodrecznegoKataloguDan,ktoreMiWychodza.ZnajdzieSiePare.Rosnie ListaZobowiazan:obiad,teatr,smallTalk...Sprostam?MijamOjczyz-ne[name-GEN]-[city1-NOM].Zaraz[city2-NOM]
661. “KurczakWSosieCurry”byłZnakomity!MozeZdazeZRewanżemPrzedWakacjami. Poprosze[name-ACC]ZebyZrobilaCosPowalajacegoIPowiem,zeStekiZLososia WysiadaJaPrzy“mojej”kuchni;)
662. Znajac moja babcie,za 1h zacznie sie nieustanny 2-dniowy rytm wyznaczany jedzeniem.Ok.wieczora przestane sie moc ruszac.Mozesz sie schowac z kluskami;))
663. Ja nie bardzo lubie ludzi.Nie wierze im i nie ufam.Uwazam,ze nie warto. Rzadko bywam zaskakiwany.Wnosisz promyk nadziei w to wszystko.Juz samym tym ze jestes
664. W[city1-LOC]InwazjaPanowWDresachJadacychDo[city2-GEN]NaMecz.MiloObej rzecWPociaguPolicjantowZTarczamiOstrzegajacych,zeDalszaPodrozToRyzyko. ZaklopotanaTamnymiSlowami:)?

665. DotadNieSadzilem,zeWCzlowiekuMozeBycTyleCiepla,bezinteresownejTroski, WielkaDusza.ToNieslychaneWsrodDazenDoUpraszczania,materializmu.Jestem TymCalkiemUwiedziony:)
666. Okazuje sie,ze tlumaczenie bylo 2 razy dluzsze niz ja zrobilem i z jakiegos powodu nie doszlo w calosci :).Przed wyjazdem musze jeszcze sie z tym pomeczyc!
667. Z Bieszczadzkich chaszczy...tnac mgle leniwym krokiem...sle telefoxa z buzi-akiem urodzinowym dla siostrzyczki! Pani Matka przekaze Panience, rajt? :)
668. Czuje sie zdradzona :D ale przede wszystkim mocno zaniepokojona Twoim poczuciem estetyki... ;) :-*
669. Sprubuje Ci poprawic humor-nawet mam pomysl:!)Toivottavasti tykkää kun kutsun Sinua pikki mehiläiseksi:).
670. PikkuMehiläiseni,niePamietamDokladnie,oKtorejKonczyszZabawyZRodzicami, wiecDajZnacCobymWiedzialKiedySiePojawic!ChodźmyNa“greWstepna”-tytul Mylacy,nieJestSugestia:)
671. “Praga”BrzmiBardziejPejoratywne-gdyChceSiePodkreslicOrigin[borough-GEN];). Wnioskuje,zeCieszyCieToCoZalatwilem;)?ObledChybaZaCiezkiNaTwojNastroj. Katsotaan.Monelta?
672. WlasnieZalatwilemSobiePraktykeW Woj.SadzieAdministracyjnym!Kino:Sithowie, Obled,czyKarol?OKtorejMamBycNaPradze?JestemWNastrojuNaCzulosc(nie MylicZRozmigdaleniem)
673. [name-NOM] pytal czy kazalas mi zmywac podloge w Bieszczadach;). Powiedzia-lem,ze bulwersowaly Cie moje rzucane na podloge skarpetki...
674. [name-NOM] napisala,ze na pewno mnie pokochasz,a ja mam sie nie bronie przed miloscia;>.Jak moglas tak brutalnie odrzucic moja tkliwa propozycj nocna?! Phi;)!
675. [name-NOM] wlasnie wykasowala mi gg, usiadla do kompa i powiedziala ze kasuje. Nie ma sie do czego przyczepic to zaczela znowu jazde
676. To znaczy,ze nie chcesz mnie dzis widziec?W razie czego:w pisaniu pracy,etc. przeszkadzac nie bede.Mam nie przyjezdzac?
677. Juz po.Zupelnie inny niz myslalismy,ale dosc latwe-wyszedlem 1h45min przed czasem:).Decyzja o przyjsciu nalezy do Ciebie.Wieczorem francuski+hydraulik+

Mama,wiec bylbym 23-0.PoszlibysmyNormalnieSpac,tylkoBylbymBlisko.
JakChcesz.DajZnac.BrakMiCiebie...

678. To wpadnij poplaczemy sobie razem :(nie przejmuj sie on niedlugo do ciebie przyjedzie! A na pewno bedzie tez dzwonic
679. Cyklinujemy,zrywamyTapety,pzenosimyMeble.OniZyjaTylkoTym,aJaZyjeZupelnieInnymiSprawami.MatkaNawijaWciazORemoncie.MamWrazenie,zeNieInteresujeJejCoMamDoPowiezenia
680. Why not, mozemy tezpjsc na kolacje. It depends on you. Wyjezdzam w sobote. Mam czas od Sr do Pt od 3 do 7. At 7.30 I have dinner but I can skip it.
681. Czy juz czujesz sie lepiej? Co porabiasz czy poznalar jakies inne towarzystwo poza [name-INSTR] Dzwonilam do babci u niej wszystko dobrze Buziaczki
682. Ty to jestes ciekawska:)no jest taki jeden Francuz,[name-NOM],ktory ma [age] lat i pracuje w Tesco.Chyba bardzo sie polubilismy.Moj przyjazd jeszcze do konca nie jest pewny,a byc moze zatrzymam sie u niego na caly tydzien.Tak pytam jakby co,ale milo by bylo!
683. Trwa koncert J.M.Jarre'a z okazji rocznicy Solidarnosci.Gra "Mury"-swietna aranzacja!Troche blichtru i niepotrzebnego patosu,ale ogolnie swietne
684. Wstepnie powiedzialam,ze neta zgodnie z umowa chcemy od pazdzier-nika,wiec zalatwimy to jak on wroci z zagranicy.Bede w [city-LOC] 4-6 wrz. a potem od 11go.Pozdrowki
685. Hej!Gdzie jestes?Jeszcze w UK czy w kraju?Dzwonil landlord-nie moze namierzyc tej osiedlowej sieci,jesli chcemy neta od 14. to zostaje Aster bo gostek wyjezdza
686. Ale wtopa! Wpadnie jutro na obiad a ja mam swiatlo w lodowco i 6 zlotych! Ale skoro chce przyjechac i to do domu! To mnie kocha tak??
687. Qrr! Nie bylo klimatu awaria auta zostalo w [city-LOC] na chodniku wiec nie chcialem wyjdzdzac z tekstem o [company] pogadam jutro zalamka byla szansa zeby zostala
688. Hej jak mam jej to powiedziec? Kocham cie? Wyjdz za mnie? Cy jak? P.s. A fotke dostalas ostatnio?
689. Hej! Wlasnie wrocilam z wakacji i szukam kata. Ty tez czegos szukasz czy zostajesz z [name-INSTR] a moze z ukochanym?

690. Hello! Jestem w Londynie ale nie moge powiedziec ze ucze sie pilnie. Mam nadzieje ze dobrze spedza Pani czas i znalazla doskonala prace. Serdecznie pozdr
691. Hej!Mialas od [name-GEN] wiesci z [city-GEN]?Shock!:(Lecisz jutro?My mamy mieszkac 15 mins od [borough] [tube]...Sciski.[nickname-NOM].
692. Jade...Szukalem xero,ale nie znalazlem.Cosik glodnym,ale bedzie as soon as saavun:).O mojej czesci pogadamy... Bizoux
693. Chcialbym zadzwonic,bo Twoja mama lubi jak dzwonie a to bardzo mila kobieta ;).Jestes Ty-albo Ona;)-w domu?
694. [nickname-VOC], kiedy sie widzimy? Bo jak zwiejesz do tej [country-GEN] bez spotkania ze mna, to nie wiem co Ci zrobie!:) ja jestem dostepna!
695. No ja nie pytam,ale co [nickname-NOM] robi na [borough-LOC]:)? Na razie 12 km na liczniku-to malo:(Jeszcze ze 40 km i bedzie git!
696. Salve! Chcialysmy po Cie wpasc i wyciagnac na bajka,ale nie bylo azurry na parkingu:(To jedziemy po [name-GEN],moze jego da sie wyciagnac... Jak tam [nickname-NOM]-finito?
697. W pn mam caly wieczorTlumaczyc spotkanie finskich i polskich prawnikow. Niesamowity nawal tlumaczen.Musze poszukac stron z terminologia prawna.Jestes szczesliwa?
698. Droga KODM (Kobieto Odpowiednia dla Mnie), ciesze sie okrutnie,ze Cie zobacze. Za kazdym razem z tak samo pierwotnym entuzjazmem :D
699. A sms nadchodzi szybciej niz mozna pomyslec.Mam iscie nowatorskie spostrzezenie: dobrze mi sie z Toba rozmawia.O wszystkim!
700. Bo na jutro mamy bilety na Stinga i jezeli to nie bylby problem to chcielibysmy jakos u Ciebie przetrwac kawalek nocy...w niedziele rano musimy wrocic...
701. Halo?![name-NOM] dostalas mojego smsa?bo jak juz jestes w [city-LOC]?bo jak juz jestes to potrzebowalabym Twojej pomocy...
702. Zaraz oddzwonie. Tylko musze spytac sie dyrektora czy mnie zwolni a teraz rozmawia przez telefon

703. Hej!Znalazlam jakiegos internet providera z [street-GEN].1zl instalacja, 80zl switch,od 59zeta oplaty mies.Pakiet standard 69zl-do 384 kbps,5GB serwer,sa wieksze i mniejszy.Nie jest konieczna zgoda i obecność właściciela,umowa na uzytkownika.Powiedzialam,ze ew. pod koniec wrz. sie odezwiemy.Jak myslisz?:*
704. Sprawdz mi siostra ile mam czasu w katowicach do pociagu na pszczyne osob. Jade z Czestochowy tym o 14:35. Z gory dzieki!
705. Napisz mi w wiadomosci co sie stalo,bo przyznam,ze troche czuje sie dziwnie,zeby nie powiedziec,ze jak idiota;)
706. [name-NOM] tak sie ciesze ze jestes...zostawilam sobie tel.u mamy i dopiero teraz odpisuje.moze jakies piwko w pon.lub wt. ale tak ok 19?
707. Jezeli nie zmieni mi sie plan lekcji to bede wolna juz ok 13:30 ale obawiam sie ze plan ulegnie zmianie wiec dam znac. Pozdrowienia z [city-GEN]:) !
708. Przepraszam ze dopiero teraz odpisuje.Wyjazd jak najbardziej udany! Mysle ze mozemy sie spotkac 23 tylko o ktorej?
709. ToNiesamowitaIroniaLosu!BogToFacetZPoczuciemHumoru,stanowczn,boWPewnymSensie-chocNaInnymZupelnieSzczebLUczuc-ZnalazlemSieWTakiejSytJakTyZeMnaI[name-INSTR]2miesTemu
710. Windykacja to za malo! Ja potrzebuje kogos, kto bombe podlozy, stuknie kogos samochodem, potem palce po kawaleczku bedzie ucinal, oczy na zyweca wydlobie,...
711. Masz namiary na Kole i Kostie? Moze po znajomosci wyswiadcza mi mala przysluge, huh? Z rabacikiem, of kros...
712. Hej!Chyba wyslalam pustaka,nie?:)sorrki!Ja mam nadzieje,ze wreszcie poznam ten najwazniejszy element osobiscie;)spoksik jestem w [city-LOC] od11.Irlandia jest "???"
713. Hi!Jak zycie in Poland?Juz sie przywyklas?Trudno,prawda?Kiedy spo-dziewac sie Ciebie w Wawie?Pokazalam [name-DAT] foty z komory naszego new flat-porazilo!:)
714. No i stalo sie: Wczoraj o 22:55 urodzila sie nasza druga corka [name1-NOM] (3360 g; 51 cm) o ktorym to radosnym fakcie zawiadamiaja [name2-NOM] i [name3-NOM]

715. wyslałem ci mailem fotki i pytanko papa do milego uciekam do domu bo za godzinke mam... zadzwonic :DDD
716. Za kazda rezerwacje jest dodatkowo 6 euro opłaty manipulacyjnej wiec pomysl czy nie chcesz w obie strony. Podaj konkretny lot ktory chcesz. Pogadamy jutro?
717. No i jak pierwsze wrazenia? Wszystko ladnie-pieknie i wszystkie ochy i achy na wlasciwym miejscu? Mi zimno choc mam 2 swetry i jestem pod koldra...
718. Sorki ale bylam tak zalatana ze nawet nie odczytywalam sms tłumaczyłam dzis 11:30-12:30 i jeszcze jutro 15-16 i 18-18:30. Ale ubaw! :D
719. Jade w niedziele rano-chce byc na miejscu kolo poludnia ale jade z [city1-GEN],nie ma mnie w [city2-LOC] przygotowania?ja juz mam tego troche dosc ;)
720. Boze jakis ty malo domyslny. Pisalam ci kiedys ze ze nie bedziemy gadac godzinami bo tata jest i chce isc spac.
721. Wlasnie do mnie dzwonili ze nie wygrali przetargu wiec tym razem nici ale na przyszosc nas polecilam
722. Dokladnie!) po raz kolejny sie przekonuje,ze kiedy obowiazek myslenia zceduje na innych i zdaje sie na nich wychodze jak Zablocki., nie ma urlopu od myslenia;)
723. Tak wlasnie jest jak Ci nie powiedza ktoredy DOKLADNIE jedzie autobus,nie uscisla ze nie jedzie DOKLADNIE do dworca,a ja nie znam w koncu DOKLADNIE [city-GEN]:)))
724. Hej!Bede ok 11,mam nadzieje,ze bedziesz;),bo wystarczy mi obecnego koczowania na dworcu przez 2,5 h. ;))Pozdrowki z [city-GEN]
725. Wiesz co, dobrze ze jestem w domu...rodzice mnie uspokajaja,troche to pomoglo.Aczkolwiek bardzo stracilam zaufanie do ludzi. [surname-NOM] wlasnie sie pisze. A wracam jutro,na [college-LOC] bede ok 12.
726. Dzieki wielkie! Naprawde wmurowalo mnie jak przeczytalam mesy od [name-GEN]. Bylo juz pozno wiec jej odpisze dop rano.Przegiecie na calej linii!(thx and gd nt 2!
727. Hej!Mam nadzieje,ze jeszcze nie spisz:) dostalam od [name1-GEN] niepokojacego mesa w sprawie wyprowadzki [name2-GEN],mowila Ci? Moglabys mi

sprawdzic w necie powrotny pociag z [city1-GEN] do [city2-GEN] ok 14-15?
Dzieki!Nie spojrzalam na rozklad:(rozmwialas

728. Czcsc, mozemy zaczac 10.15? Nie wyrobie sie...[initial].
729. Moj kolega [name-NOM] napisal,ze finskie spedzanie swiat narodowych jest sztywne i nudne,ale takie swietowanie jaki narod:).Nie ma jak racjonalna opinia o sobie
730. Jest kolejne doswiadczenie-dyplomatyczne Przyjecie z Wieceelka pompa. Poniewaz prawie nikogo nie znalazem,wkrotce (czyli teraz) sie zmylem. Komentarz?Dobre jedzenie
731. Salve! [surname-NOM] z checia wyciagnela lapke po Twoje tlumaczenie. Bedzie miala lekture do podusi:)
732. Z logowaniem na egzamy mialem przeczucie-gdy na serwer weszlo jednoczesnie 6500 osob,wszystko sie zakisilo.Sprobuj za 2 godziny gdy juz nie bedzie miejsc;)
733. Dzisiaj przezyłem jeden z bardziej stresujacych dni mojego zycia... Pogadamy kiedyś może.Zadzwoń przed swietami
734. [name-NOM] reflektuje na pizze,wiec jesli sie uda - wez.Dzieki! Nie daj sie Rudolfowi i jego szajce;)) na Xmas Party,czyli enjoy na ile mozesz i cierpliwosc pozwala
735. Wiedzialem,ze cos smierdzi,dzis na to wpadlem;)).Prawde rzeklszy,wole nieco pozniej,bo-jak wiesz-zaczynam o 15,wiec nie chce miec takiego okna.Zanudzilbym sie;)
736. Odkrylem,zeWTymFilmieBylFalsz!NaPoczatkuOwGangZrabowalEuro.NastepnieVrinksaSkazaliNa7lat.TymczasemEuroWeszloW1999,wiecAlboToDzialoSieWPrzyszlosci,alboHanba;)
737. Dostalam od policji w [city1-LOC] postanowienie o umorzeniu dochodzenia przed wszczęciem i wpisaniu do rej przestępstw. Do czw mogę się odwołać. Policja [city2-NOM] na [date]
738. Boże słów mi brak! To jest poniżej jakiegokolwiek poziomu! Musimy jakos pogadać to jej obowiązek żeby kogos znaleźć!
739. Kiedy wracasz? Jak Ci idzie [surname-NOM]? Jak się czujesz? Coś nowego z [name-INSTR]? Ja mam nastrój na zakupy w celu poprawy humoru.

740. Nie wiedzialam ze planujesz remont przed swietami:) sprawdzte te funty. A po ile sa? Wlasnie ide dalej pracowac. Jeszcze 2 godz. Juz tesknie za pogaduchami!
741. 12 moze? Spotkajmy sie przy poczcie kolo petli i gdzies pojdziemy. Mam nadzieje ze wiesz jak wygladam bo ja Cie nie poznam. Ok?
742. Ehh...jak pech to pech! Przykro mi strasznie! I jak to mowia...umiesz liczyc, licz na siebie...znowu sie sprawdza...
743. Boo a myslalam ze sie spotkamy... Ja dzis ostro pisze! Mysle ze przebrnelam przez etap rozpozecia pisania i juz pojdzie. To kiedy zakupy? Wtorek?
744. Jednym slowem "Od wschodu do zachodu slonca" moze kiedyś sie uda to sciagne Cie do siebie na dzien , pogadamy i...poczytamy finskie smsy:D dobrej nocy i kiitos!!
745. Kurde nie bedzie mnie:(zajrzysz do tego papierniczego sama? Moze w czw rano sie spotkamy na moment?
746. :) ja mam aktualnie drugi tydzien wyjety z zyciorysu-goscia z [country-GEN] wiec zastoj ale napisalam juz kawalek czescie teoret...tez mialam to ze nie moglam sie zabrac...
747. W pon mam wolne od 10 chyba do 18 wiec chetnie. A Ty jak? W zasadzie ja wtorek tez mam zawalony. Moze jakos wytrzymam. Mam churchilla ;-)
748. Hej! Jestem. Dzis rano odwiozlam [name-ACC] na samolot. Jak zwykle prowadzilismy zbyt powazne rozmowy w nieodpowiednim czasie. Zle mi. Bedziesz dzis u nas?
749. Hmm. nie no spoko. Ale nie szkoda Ci tego wfu? Ja sie musze zabrac za cos ale na razie jestem jakby z innego swiata i jeszcze mam dola...
750. ...

References

- Adams, Paul C. 1992. Television as gathering place. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(1):117–135.
- Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Agyekum, Kofi. 2002. The communicative role of silence in akan. *Pragmatics* 12(1):31–51.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Androutsopoulos, Jannis. 2010. Localizing the global on the participatory web. In Nikolas Coupland, ed., *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, 203–231, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Austin, John Langshaw. 1962. *How to Do Things With Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, John Langshaw. 1975. *How to Do Things With Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin, Tx: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1986. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Austin, Tx: University of Texas Press.
- Baldry, Anthony and Thibault, Paul J. 2006. *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis: A multimedia toolkit and coursebook with associated on-line*

- course*. London/Oakville: Equinox.
- Banaś, Paweł. 2005. *Orbis pictus. Świat dawnej karty pocztowej*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Baron, Naomi. 2008. *Always On: Language in an Online and Mobile World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Barton, David and Lee, Carmen. 2013. *Language Online: Investigating Digital Texts and Practices*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Bateman, John A. 2011. The decomposability of semiotic modes. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 17–38, New York: Routledge.
- Bauman, Richard. 1974. Speaking in the light: The role of the Quaker minister. In Richard Bauman and Joel F. Sherzer, eds., *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, 144–160, London/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, Richard. 1983. *Let your words be few: symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Baym, Nancy K. 1995. The emergence of community in computer-mediated communication. In Steven G. Jones, ed., *Cybersociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*, 138–163, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Bechar-Israeli, Haya. 1995. FROM <Bonehead> TO <cLoNehEAd>: Nicknames, play and identity on internet relay chat. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 1:n.p.
- Becker, Alton L. 1995. *Beyond Translation: Essays toward a modern philology*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Bell, Allan. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13:145–204.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 1995. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2nd edition.

- Berry, Rodney and Wyse, Lonce. 2011. The music table revisited: Problems of changing levels of detail and abstraction in a tangible representation. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 76–94, New York: Routledge.
- Bhabha, Homi, ed. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1989. *Intonation and Its Uses: Melody in Grammar and Discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bordewijk, Jan L. and Kaam, Ben van. 1986. Towards a new classification of tele-information services. *Intermedia* 34:16–21.
- boyd, danah and Heer, Jeffrey. 2006. Profiles as conversation: Networked identity performance on friendster. In *Proceedings of the Hawai'i International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS-39), Persistent Conversation Track*, Kauai, HI: IEEE Computer Society.
- Breslow, Harris. 2013. When space and place begin to flow: The spatial envelope of portable place. Presented at 4th Global Conference: Space and Place. Oxford, 9-12 September 2013.
- Brewer, Johanna and Dourish, Paul. 2008. Storied spaces: Cultural accounts of mobility, technology, and environmental knowing. *International Journal of Human Computer Studies* 66(12):963–976.
- Briggs, Charles L. 1986. *Learning How to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buhler, Karl. 1934. *Sprachtheorie*. Jena: Fisher.
- Busselle, Rick and Bilandzic, Helena. 2008. Fictionality and perceived realism in experiencing stories: A model of narrative comprehension and engagement. *Communication Theory* 18:255–280.

- Campbell, Scott W. and Park, Yong Jin. 2014. Predictors of mobile sexting among teens: Toward a new explanatory framework. *Mobile Media & Communication* 2(1):20–39.
- Cassell, Justine and Vilhjálmsón, Hannes. 1999. Fully embodied conversational avatars: Making communicative behaviors autonomous. *Autonomous Agents and Multi-Agent Systems* 2:45–64.
- Cheshire, Jenny, Fox, Sue, Kerswill, Paul, and Torgersen, Eivind. 2008. Ethnicity, friendship network and social practices as the motor of dialect change: linguistic innovation in london. *Sociolinguistica* 22:1–23.
- Chib, Arul, Malik, Shelly, Aricat, Rajiv George, and Kadir, Siti Zubeidah. 2014. Migrant mothering and mobile phones: Negotiations of transnational identity. *Mobile Media & Communication* 2(1):73–93.
- Clampitt, Phillip G. 1991. *Communicating for Managerial Effectiveness*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1994. Discourse in production. In Morton A. Gernsbacher, ed., *Handbook of Psycholinguistics*, 985–1021, San Diego: Academic Press.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1996. *Using Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clyde, Jean Anne. 2003. Stepping inside the story world: The subtext strategy: A tool for connecting and comprehending. *The Reading Teacher* 57(2):150–160.
- Coates, Stephanie. 2010. The language of mobile phone novels: Japanese youth, media language and communicative practice. Presented at 18th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia. Adelaida, 5-8 July 2010.
- Colley, Ann and Todd, Zazie. 2002. Gender-linked differences in the style and content of e-mails to friends. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 21(4):380–392.

- Colley, Ann, Todd, Zazie, Bland, Matthew, Holmes, Michael, Khanom, Nuzibun, and Pike, Hannah. 2004. Style and content in e-mails and letters to male and female friends. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 23(3):369–378.
- Correll, Shelley J. 1995. The ethnography of an electronic bar: The lesbian cafe. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 24(3):270–298.
- Cotter, Colleen. 2010. *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cotter, Colleen. 2013. personal communication.
- Crystal, David. 2006. *Language and the Internet*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Crystal, David. 2008. *txtng: the gr8 db8*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. 1990. *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Cumming, Susanna and Ono, Tsuyoshi. 1997. Discourse and grammar. In Teun A. van Dijk, ed., *Discourse as Structure and Process*, 112–137, London: Sage.
- Curry, Michael R. 2002. Discursive displacement and the seminal ambiguity of space and place. In Leah Lievrouw and Sonia Livingstone, eds., *The Handbook of New Media*, 502–517, London: Sage Publications.
- Curtis, Pavel. 1992. Mudding: Social phenomena in text-based virtual realities. In *Proceedings of the 1992 Conference on Directions and Implications of Advanced Computing*, retrieved on February 7th, 2014 from <http://gel.msu.edu/classes/tc848/papers/curtis.mudding.social.phenomena.in.text0based.virtual.realities.pdf>.
- Dadds, Mark R., Bovbjerg, Dana H., Redd, William H., and Cutmore, Tim R. H. 1997. Imagery in classical conditioning. *Psychological Bulletin* 122:89–103.

- del Teso-Craviotto, Marisol. 2004. Virtually there: Creating physicality in dating chat rooms. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 48:73–82.
- del Teso-Craviotto, Marisol. 2006. Language and sexuality in Spanish and English dating chats. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(4):460–480.
- Dennett, Daniel C. 1978. *Brainstorms. Philosophical essays on mind and psychology*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Dessen, Alan C. 2009. Stage directions and the theatre historian. In Richard Dutton, ed., *A Handbook on Early Modern Theatre*, 513–527, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deuel, Nancy R. 1996. Our passionate response to virtual reality. In Susan C. Herring, ed., *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 129–146, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dezheng, Feng. 2011. Visual space and ideology: A critical cognitive analysis of spatial orientations in advertising. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 55–75, New York: Routledge.
- Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The structure of the clause*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2nd edition.
- Douglas, Mary. 1996 [1970]. *Natural symbols: Explorations in cosmology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson, ed., *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*, 139–182, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Duchan, Judith F., Bruder, Gail A., and Hewitt, Lynne E., eds. 1995. *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Dyer, Gillian. 1989. *Advertising as Communication*. London: Routledge.

- Ede, Lisa and Lunsford, Andrea. 1984. Audience addressed/audience invoked: The role of audience in composition theory and pedagogy. *College Composition and Communication* 35:155–171.
- Eisenlauer, Volker J. 2011. Multimodality and social action in ‘personal publishing’ texts: From german ‘poetry album’ to web 2.0 ‘social network sites’. In Kay L. O’Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 131–152, New York: Routledge.
- Ensslin, Astrid. 2010. Respiratory narrative: Multimodality and cybernetic corporeality in “physio-cybertext”. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 155–165, New York: Routledge.
- Epstein, Seymour. 2003. Cognitive-experiential self-theory of personality. In Theodore Millon and Melvin J. Lerner, eds., *Comprehensive Handbook of Psychology, Volume 5: Personality and Social Psychology*, 159–184, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons.
- Fairon, Cédric and Paumier, Sébastien. 2006. A translated corpus of 30,000 French SMS. In *Proceedings of Language Resources and Evaluation Conference*, Geneva.
- Fauconnier, Gilles. 1985. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of meaning construction in natural language*. Cambridge/London: The MIT Press.
- Ferrara, Kathleen, Brunner, Hans, and Whittemore, Greg. 1991. Interactive written discourse as an emergent register. *Written Communication* 8(1):8–34.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1975. *Santa Cruz lectures on deixis, 1971*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Firth, John R. 1957. *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Geraldine, Kaplan, Simon, and Mansfield, Tim. 1996. Physical spaces, virtual places and social worlds: a study of work in the virtual.

- In Mark S. Ackerman, Gary M. Olson, and Judith M. Olson, eds., *Proceedings of the ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work CSCW'96*, 334–343, Boston, MA: ACM.
- Franks, Anton. 2013. personal communication.
- Frehner, Carmen. 2008. *Email - SMS - MMS: The linguistic creativity of asynchronous discourse in the new media age*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Galbraith, Mary. 1995. Deictic shift theory and the poetics of involvement in narrative. In Judith F. Duchan, Gail A. Bruder, and Lynne E. Hewitt, eds., *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*, 19–59, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Garau, Maia, Slater, Mel, Bee, Simon, and Sasse, Martina Angela. 2001. The impact of eye gaze on communication using humanoid avatars. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 309–316.
- Garside, Juliette. 2014. OMG! Number of UK text messages falls for first time. *The Guardian*; January 13, 2014. Retrieved on January 31, 2014 from http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jan/13/number-text-messages-sent-britain-falls-first-time?CMP=fb_gu.
- Gee, James P. 1999. *An introduction to Discourse analysis: theory and method*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 2007. *Small Stories, Interaction and Identity*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gergen, Kenneth. 2002. The challenge of the absent presence. In James E. Katz and Mark A. Aakhus, eds., *Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, 227–241, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbons, Alison. 2010. “I contain multitudes”: Narrative multimodality and the book that bleeds. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 99–114, New York/London: Routledge.

- Gibson, James J. 1986. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Giles, Howard and Powesland, Peter F. 1975. *Speech style and social evaluation*. London/New York: Academic Press.
- Giles, Howard and Smith, Philip. 1979. Accommodation theory: Optimal levels of convergence. In Howard Giles and Robert N. St. Clair, eds., *Language and social psychology*, 45–65, Baltimore: University Park Press.
- Giles, Jim. 15 July, 2010. Russian spooks could claim web chat for themselves. *New Scientist Blog* Retrieved on March 27, 2013 from <http://www.newscientist.com/blogs/shortsharpscience/2010/07/russian-spooks-could-claim-web.html>.
- Goebel, Zane. 2011. Enregistering identity in Indonesian television serials. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 95–114, New York: Routledge.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. The nature of deference and demeanor. *American Anthropologist* 58:473–502.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin Books.
- Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: The Free Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1964. The neglected situation. *American Anthropologist* 66:133–136.
- Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2007. Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society* 18(1):53–73.
- Goodwin, Charles and Duranti, Alessandro. 1992. Rethinking context: An introduction. In Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, eds., *Rethinking*

- Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, 1–42, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graham, Stephen. 1998. The end of geography or the explosion of place? conceptualizing space, place and information technology. *Progress in Human Geography* 22(2):165–185.
- Green, Melanie C. and Brock, Timothy C. 2002. In the mind's eye: Transportation-imagery model of narrative persuasion. In Melanie C. Green, Jeffrey J. Strange, and Timothy C. Brock, eds., *Narrative impact: Social and cognitive foundations*, 315–342, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Grice, Herbert P. 1957. Meaning. *The Philosophical Review* 66:377–388.
- Grucza, Franciszek. 1989. O komunikacji międzyludzkiej - jej podstawach, środkach, rodzajach, płaszczyznach, składnikach i zewnętrznych uwarunkowaniach. In Waldemar Woźniakowski, ed., *Modele komunikacji międzyludzkiej. Materiały z XV Sympozjum zorganizowanego przez Instytut Lingwistyki Stosowanej UW*, 9–30, Łąck: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Gumperz, John. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hård af Segerstad, Ylva. 2002. *Use and Adaptation of Written Language to the Conditions of Computer-Mediated Communication*. Göteborg: Göteborg University.
- Hård af Segerstad, Ylva. 2005. Language in SMS – a socio-linguistic view. In Leysia Palen Richard Harper and Alex Taylor, eds., *The Inside Text: Social, Cultural and Design Perspectives on SMS*, 33–51, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Hall, K. 1996. Cyberfeminism. In Susan C. Herring, ed., *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 147–170, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hall, Stuart. 1980. Encoding/decoding. In Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Wills, eds., *Culture, Media, Language*, 128–138, London: Hutchinson.

- Hall-Brindle, Sarah. 2013. personal communication.
- Halliday, MAK and Hasan, R. 1985. *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Burwood, Vic.: Deaken University Press.
- Handke, Krystyna. 2002. Milczymy mówiąc. In Krystyna Handke, ed., *Semantyka Milczenia. Vol. 2*, 217–222, Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy.
- Hanks, William F. 1996. *Language and Communicative Practices*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hanks, William F. 2000. *Intertexts: Writings on language, utterance, and context*. Lanham/Boulder/New York/Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, inc.
- Hanks, William F. 2001. Indexicality. In Alessandro Duranti, ed., *Key Terms in Language and Culture*, 119–121, Malden/Oxford/Carlton: Blackwell.
- Harrison, Steve and Dourish, Paul. 1996. Re-placing space: the roles of place and space in collaborative systems. In *Proceedings of the ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work CSCW'96*, 67–76, Boston, MA: ACM.
- Healey, Patrick G. T., White, Graham, Eshghi, Arash, Reeves, Ahmad J., and Light, Ann. 2008. Communication spaces. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work* 17:169–193.
- Herman, David. 2010. Word-image/utterance-gesture: Case studies in multimodal storytelling. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 78–98, New York: Routledge.
- Herring, Susan. 2001. Computer-mediated discourse. In Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton, eds., *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 612–634, Oxford/Malden: Blackwell.

- Hopper, Paul. 1987. Emergent grammar. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 13:139–157.
- How, Yi Jue. 2004. Analysis of SMS efficiency. *Unpublished undergraduate thesis*, Department of Computer Science, School of Computing, National University of Singapore.
- Hutcheon, Michael and Hutcheon, Linda. 2010. Opera: Forever and always multimodal. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 65–77, New York: Routledge.
- Hymes, Dell. 1974. Ways of speaking. In Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds., *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, 433–452, London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ijsselsteijn, Wijnand and Riva, Giuseppe. 2003. Being there: The experience of presence in mediated environments. In Fabrizio Davide Giuseppe Riva and Wijnand Ijsselsteijn, eds., *Being There: Concepts, effects and measurement of user presence in synthetic environments*, 3–16, Amsterdam: Ios Press.
- Ijsselsteijn, Wijnand A., Freeman, Jonathan, and de Ridder, Huid. 2001. Presence: Where are we? *CyberPsychology & Behavior* 4(2):179–183.
- International Society for Presence Research. 2000. *The Concept of Presence: Explication Statement*. Retrieved on October 12, 2012 from <http://ispr.info/>.
- Ito, Mizuko and Okabe, Daisuke. 2005a. Intimate connections: Contextualizing Japanese youth and mobile messaging. In Richard Harper, Leysia Palen, and Alex Taylor, eds., *The Inside Text: Social, cultural and design perspectives on SMS*, 127–146, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Ito, Mizuko and Okabe, Daisuke. 2005b. Technosocial situations: Emergent structurings of mobile email use. In Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe, and Misa Matsuda, eds., *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian: Mobile Phones in Japanese Life*, 257–276, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jack, Rachael E., Blais, Caroline, Scheepers, Christoph, Schyns, Philippe G., and Caldara, Roberto. 2009. Cultural confusions show that facial expressions

- are not universal. *Current Biology* 19(18):1543–1548.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 2009. *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1960. Closing statements: Linguistics and poetics. In Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Style in Language*, 350–377, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Jaworski, Adam. 1993. *The Power of Silence: Social and Pragmatic Perspectives*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Jaworski, Adam. 2000. Silence and small talk. In J. Coupland, ed., *Small Talk*, 110–132, Harlow: Longman.
- Jewitt, Carey. 2009. Introduction: Handbook rationale, scope and structure. In Carey Jewitt, ed., *Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*, 1–7, London: Routledge.
- Jewitt, Carey. 2011. The changing pedagogic landscape of subject English in UK classrooms. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 184–201, New York: Routledge.
- Joinson, Adam N. 2001. Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication: The role of self-awareness and visual anonymity. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 31:177–192.
- Jones, Rodney H. 2004. The problem of context in computer-mediated communication. In Philip Levine and Ron Scollon, eds., *Discourse & technology: Multimodal discourse analysis*, 20–33, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Jones, Rodney H. 2008. The role of text in televideo cybersex. *Text and Talk* 28(4):453–473.
- Jones, Rodney H. and Norris, Sigrid. 2005. Discourse as action/discourse in action. In Sigrid Norris and Rodney H. Jones, eds., *Discourse in Action: Introducing mediated discourse analysis*, 3–14, London: Routledge.

- Kang, Sin-Hwa, Watt, James H., and Ala, Sasi Kanth. 2008. Communicators?' perceptions of social presence as a function of avatar realism in small display mobile communication devices. In *Proceedings of the 41st Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, Waikoloa, HI: IEEE Computer Society.
- Kaplan, Abraham. 1964. *The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Kasesniemi, Eija-Liisa. 2003. *Mobile Messages: Young People and a New Communication Culture*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Kasesniemi, Eija Lisa and Rautiainen, Pirjo. 2002. Mobile culture of children and teenagers in finland. In James E. Katz and Mark A. Aakhus, eds., *Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, 170–192, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katriel, Tamar. 1999. Rethinking the terms of social interaction. *Research on Language in Social Interaction* 32:95–101.
- Kendall, Lori. 2000. “OH NO! I’M A NERD!”: Hegemonic masculinity on an online forum. *Gender & Society* 14:256–274.
- Kendall, Lori. 2002. *Hanging Out in the Virtual Pub: Masculinities and Relationships Online*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Khateb, Asaid, Pegna, Alan J., Michel, Christoph M., Landis, Theodor, and Annoni, Jean-Marie. 2002. Dynamics of brain activation during an explicit word and image recognition task: An electrophysiological study. *Brain Topography* 14(3):197–213.
- Kielar, Barbara Z. 1988. *Tłumaczenie i koncepcje translatoryczne*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Knaś, Agnieszka. 2006. Bonding content and limited space: The analysis of text-messages sent by British, Polish and Finnish native speakers. *Unpub-*

lished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Applied Linguistics and Eastern-Slavic Philology, University of Warsaw.

- Knaś, Agnieszka. 2009. Read my voice: Expressing silence and sound in text-messages. *Networking Knowledge* 2:1–18.
- Kopomaa, Timo. 2005. The breakthrough of text messaging in Finland. In Richard Harper, Leysia Ann Palen, and Alex S. Taylor, eds., *The Inside Text: Social, cultural and design perspectives on SMS*, 147–159, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Kress, Gunther. 2009. What is mode? In Carey Jewitt, ed., *Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*, 54–66, London: Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther and Leeuwen, Theo Van. 1998. Front pages: (the critical) analysis of newspaper layout. In A. Bell and P. Garret, eds., *Approaches to Media Discourse*, 186–219, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kress, Gunther and Van Leeuwen, Theo. 1996. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther and Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Labov, William and Waletzky, Joshua. 1967. Narrative analysis. In J. Helm, ed., *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, 12–44, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Laursen, Ditte. 2005. Please reply! the replying norm in adolescent SMS communication. In Richard Harper, Leysia Palen, and Alex Taylor, eds., *The Inside Text: Social, cultural and design perspectives on SMS*, 53–73, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Laursen, Ditte and Szymanski, Margaret H. 2013. Where are you? Location talk in mobile phone conversations. *Mobile Media & Communication* 1(3):314–

- Laver, John. 1981. Linguistic routines and politeness in greeting and parting. In F. Coulmas, ed., *Conversational Routine*, 289–304, The Hague: Mouton.
- Le Guin, Ursula K. 1989. Science fiction and the future. In *Dancing at the Edge of the World: Thoughts on Words, Women, and Places*, 142–143, New York: Grove Press.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1969. Towards a semantic description of English. *Journal of Linguistics* 10(2):281–302.
- Leeuwen, Theo Van. 2011. The semiotics of decoration. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 115–127, New York: Routledge.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991 [1974]. *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell.
- Leshock, Marcus. 2013. Movies in the fifth dimension: Inside pix 5d cinema in schauburg. *WGN Television*; January 14. Retrieved on May 29, 2013 from <http://wgntv.com/2013/01/14/movies-in-the-fifth-dimension-inside-pix-5d-cinema-in-schauburg/>.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Licoppe, Christian. 2004. 'connected' presence: the emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22(1):135 – 156.
- Licoppe, Christian. 2012. Understanding mediated appearances and their proliferation: The case of the phone rings and the 'crisis of the summons'. *New Media & Society* 14(7):1073–1091.
- Ling, Richard. 2005. The socio-linguistics of SMS: An analysis of SMS use by a random sample of Norwegians. In Richard Ling and Per E. Pedersen, eds., *Mobile communications: Renegotiation of the social sphere*, 335–349,

London: Springer.

- Ling, Richard and Yttri, Birgitte. 2002. Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway. In James E. Katz and Mark A. Aakhus, eds., *Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, 139–169, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lombard, Matthew and Ditton, Theresa. 1997. At the heart of it all: The concept of presence. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 3(2):n.p., retrieved on June 10, 2013 from <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol3/issue2/lombard.html>.
- Low, Setha M. and Lawrence-Zúñiga, Denise. 2003. Locating culture. In Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 1–48, Malden/Oxford/Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lussault, Michel and Stock, Mathis. 2009. “Doing with space”: towards a pragmatics of space. *Social Geography Discussions* 5:1–23, retrieved on December 7, 2012 from <http://www.soc-geogr-discuss.net/5/1/2009/sgd-5-1-2009-print.pdf>.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics. Volume I and II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1989. Semantic ascent: A neglected aspect of syntactic typology. In D. G. Arnold, ed., *Essays on Grammatical Theory and Universal Grammar*, 153–186, London: Oxford University Press.
- MacKinnon, Richard C. 1995. Searching for the leviathan in usenet. In Steven G. Jones, ed., *Cybersociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*, 112–137, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Maier, Carmen Daniela. 2011. Knowledge communication in green corporate marketing: A multimodal discourse analysis of and *Ecomatination* video. In Kay L. O’Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 153–168, New York: Routledge.

- Makaro, Julita. 2010. Przeobrażenia w konstruowaniu wizerunku miasta na karcie pocztowej. Od nudnych pocztówek PRL do spektakularnych pocztówek współczesnych? In Piotr Francuz and Stanisław Jędrzejewski, eds., *Nowe media i komunikowanie wizualne*, 231–239, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Malinowski, Bronisław K. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, eds., *The meaning of meaning*, 146–152, London: Routledge & Kegan Pau.
- Mallon, Rebecca and Oppenheim, Charles. 2002. Style used in electronic mail. *Aslib Proceedings* 54(1):8–22, retrieved on 28 February 2013 from <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?issn=0001-253x&volume=54&issue=1&articleid=863940&show=pdf>.
- Marcoccia, Michael, Atifi, Hassan, and Gauducheu, Nadia. 2008. Text-centred versus multimodal analysis of instant messaging conversation. *Language@Internet* 5:n.p.
- Maschler, Yael. 1998. *Rotzè lishmoa kéta?* wanna hear something weird/funny [lit. ‘a segment’]?’ the discourse markers segmenting israeli hebrew talk-in-interaction. In A. H. Jucker and Y. Ziv, eds., *Discourse Markers: description and theory*, 13–60, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- McCarthy, Joseph F. and boyd, danah m. 2005. Digital backchannels in shared physical spaces: Experiences at an academic conference. Conference on Human Factors and Computing Systems CHI 2005.
- McJannet, Linda. 1999. *The Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions: The Evolution of a Theatrical Code*. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press.
- Meadows, Mark Stephen. 2008. *I, Avatar: The Culture and Consequences of Having a Second Life*. Berkeley, CA: New Riders.
- Mendoza-Denton, Norma. 1996. ‘Muy macha’: Gender and ideology in gang girls’ discourse about makeup. *Ethnos* 61(1-2):47–63.
- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 1985. *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Mihailidis, Paul. 2014. A tethered generation: Exploring the role of mobile phones in the daily life of young people. *Mobile Media & Communication* 2(1):58–72.
- Miller, Laura. 2011. Subversive script and novel graphs in Japanese girls' culture. *Language & Communication* 31:16–26.
- Miller, Wreford. 1993. Silence in the contemporary soundscape. *Unpublished Master's Thesis*, Department of Communications, Simon Fraser University.
- Milne, Esther. 2010. *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Milroy, James and Milroy, Lesley. 1999. *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English*. London/New York: Routledge, 3rd edition.
- Mitchell, William J. 1995. *City of bits: space, place and the infobahn*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Monk, Andrew. 2003. Common ground in electronically mediated communication: Clark's theory of language use. In John M. Carroll, ed., *HCI Models, Theories, and Frameworks: Toward a Multidisciplinary Science*, 265–289, San Francisco: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers.
- Montoro, Rocío. 2010. A multimodal approach to mind style: Semiotic metaphor vs. multimodal conceptual metaphor. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 31–49, New York/London: Routledge.
- Mortensen, C. David. 1972. *Communication: The Study of Human Communication*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Muskal, Michael. July 20, 2012. Questions, but few answers, in Colorado shooting; 12 dead, dozens hurt. *Los Angeles Times* Retrieved on October 12, 2012 from <http://www.latimes.com/>.
- Nakamura, Lisa. 2000. "Where do you want to go today?": Cybernetic tourism, the internet, and transnationality. In Lisa Nakamura Beth E. Kolko and

- Gilbert B. Rodman, eds., *Race in Cyberspace*, 15–26, New York and London: Routledge.
- Negroponte, Nicholas. 1995. *Being digital*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Norris, Sigrid. 2004. *Analyzing Multimodal Interaction: A methodological framework*. New York: Routledge.
- Nunberg, Geoffrey. 1978. *The Pragmatics of Reference*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Nunberg, Geoffrey. 1990. *The Linguistics of Punctuation*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Oatley, Keith. 2002. Emotions and the story worlds of fiction. In Melanie C. Green, Jeffrey J. Strange, and Timothy C. Brock, eds., *Narrative impact: Social and cognitive foundations*, 39–69, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- O'Halloran, Kay L. 2008. Systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis (SFMDA): Constructing ideational meaning using language and visual imagery. *Visual Communication* 7(4):443–475.
- O'Neill, John. 1985. *Five bodies: The shape of modern society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Ong, Walter J. 1975. The writer's audience is always a fiction. *PMLA* 90:9–21.
- O'Toole, Michael. 2011. Art vs. computer animation. In Kay L. O'Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 239–251, New York: Routledge.
- Page, Ruth. 2010. Re-examining narrativity: small stories in status updates. *Text & Talk* 30(4):423–444.
- Page, Ruth. 2012. *Stories and Social Media: Identities and Interaction*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Panyametheekul, Siriporn and Herring, Susan C. 2003. Gender and turn allocation in a Thai chat room. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 9(1):1–23.

- Pearce, Barnett. 2005. The coordinated management of meaning (CMM). In William B. Gudykunst, ed., *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*, 35–54, Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.
- Petrie, Helen. 2000. Writing in cyberspace: A study of the uses, style and content of email Retrieved on October 3, 2000, from <http://147.197.156.163/NetResearch/Reports/Email%20Study/InitialReport.htm>.
- Philips, Susan U. 1983. *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. New York: Longman.
- Pilkington, Ed and Williams, Matt. July 20, 2012. Colorado theater shooting: 12 shot dead during the dark knight rises screening. *The Guardian* Retrieved on October 12, 2012 from <http://www.theguardian.co.uk/>.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1986. Fieldwork in common places. In James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*, 27–50, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Puschmann, Cornelius. 2010. *The corporate blog as an emerging genre of computer-mediated communication: features, constraints, discourse situation*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Rank, Stefan and Petta, Paolo. 2005. Appraisal for a character-based storyworld. In Themis Panayiotopoulos, Jonathan Gratch, Ruth Aylett, Daniel Ballin, Patrick Olivier, and Thomas Rist, eds., *IVA 2005 - Intelligent Virtual Agents - 5th International Working Conference*, 495–496, Berling/Heidelberg/New York: Springer.
- Rebaza, Claudia. 2008. Online gestures: Icon use by fan communities on live-journal. In *Proceedings of the 41st Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, Waikoloa, HI: IEEE Computer Society.
- Reeves, Byron and Nass, Clifford. 1996. *The Media Equation: How People Treat Computers, Television, and New Media Like Real People and Places*. New York: CSLI Publications/Cambridge University Press.

- Reid, Elizabeth M. 1995. Virtual worlds: Culture and imagination. In Steven G. Jones, ed., *Cybersociety: Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*, 164–183, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Rettie, Ruth. 2006. How text messages create connectedness. *Receiver* 15, retrieved on November 2, 2012 from http://eprints.kingston.ac.uk/2092/1/Connectedness_s.pdf.
- Rheingold, Howard. 1993. *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Rokoszowa, Jolanta. 1999. *Język – Czas – Milczenie*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Oddziału PAN.
- Rommetveit, Ragnar. 1974. *On message structure: A framework for the study of language and communication*. London: Wiley.
- Rutherford, Jonathan. 1990. The third space: Interview with homi bhabha. In Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, 207–221, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Sablayrolles, Pierre. 1995. The semantics of motion. In *Proceedings of the seventh conference on European chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, EACL '95, 281–283, San Francisco, CA, USA: Morgan Kaufmann Publishers Inc.
- Sanderson, David. 1993. *Smileys*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly and Associates.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 3rd edition.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1972. Notes on a conversational practice: Formulating place. In D. N. Sudnow, ed., *Studies in Social Interaction*, 75–119, New York: Free Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Lock, Margaret M. 1987. The mindful body: A prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1(1):6–41.

- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 2009a. Crossing boundaries: The nexus of time, space, person, and place in narrative. *Language in Society* 38:421–445.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 2009b. Tales of transgression: Negotiating the moral order in oral narratives. *StoryWorlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies* 1:61–77.
- Schmidt, Gurly and Androutsopoulos, Jannis. 2004. löbbe döch. beziehungskommunikation mit SMS. *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 5:51–76.
- Schmitz, Ulrich. 1994. Eloquent silence. *L.A.U.D.* paper number 346.
- Schramm, Wilbur. 1954. How communication works. In Wilbur Schramm, ed., *The Process and Effects of Communication*, 3–26, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Scollon, Ron. 2001. *Mediated Discourse: The nexus of practice*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Scollon, Ron and Levine, Philip. 2004. Multimodal discourse analysis as the confluence of discourse and technology. In Philip Levine and Ron Scollon, eds., *Discourse & Technology: Multimodal discourse analysis*, 1–6, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole and J. L. Morgan, eds., *Syntax and Semantics, 3: Speech Acts*, 59–82, New York: Academic Press.
- Searle, John R. 1979. *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R. 1983. *Intentionality: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Segal, Erwin M. 1995. Narrative comprehension and the role of deictic shift theory. In Gail A. Bruder Judith F. Duchan and Lynne E. Hewitt, eds., *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*, 31–49, Hillsdale/Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, inc.
- Shannon, Claude E. and Weaver, Warren. 1949. *A Mathematical Model of Communication*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Shortis, Tim. 2007. Gr8 txtpeceptions: The creativity of text spelling. *English Drama Media* 21–26.
- Sindoni, Maria Grazia. 2013. *Spoken and Written Discourse in Online Interactions*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Smith, Aaron. 2011. Americans and text messaging. *The Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project* Retrieved on April 16, 2014 from <http://www.pewinternet.org/2011/09/19/americans-and-text-messaging/>.
- Spagnolli, Anna and Gamberini, Luciano. 2007. Interacting via SMS: Practices of social closeness and reciprocation. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46:343–364.
- Spilioti, Thiresia. 2007. Text-messages and social interaction: genre, norms, and sociability in greek SMS. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies; King's College University of London, London.
- Sproull, Lee and Kiesler, Sara. 1986. Reducing social context cues: Electronic-mail in organizational communication. *Management Science* 32:1492–1512.
- Squires, Lauren. 2010. Enreigstering internet language. *Language in Society* 32:457–492.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1974. Pragmatic presuppositions. In M. Munitz and P. Under, eds., *Semantics and philosophy*, 197–213, New York: New York University Press.
- Stevenson, Nick. 1995. *Understanding Media Cultures*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage.

- Stommel, Wyke. 2008. Mein Nick bin ich! Nicknames in a german forum on eating disorders. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13:141–162.
- Stommel, Wyke. 2009. *Entering an Online Support Group on Eating Disorders: A discourse analysis*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- Stone, Allucquere Rosanne. 1991. Will the real body please stand up? Boundary stories about virtual cultures. In Philip Levine and Ron Scollon, eds., *Cyberspace: First steps*, 81–118, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Subrahmanyam, Kaveri, Greenfield, Patricia M., and Tynes, Brendesha. 2004. Constructing sexuality and identity in an online teen chat room. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 25(6):651–666.
- Sutherland, John. 2002. Cn u txt? *The Guardian*; November 11. Retrieved on October 11, 2013 from <http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2002/nov/11/mobilephones2>.
- Sutton, Laurel A. 1999. All media are created equal. do-it-yourself identity in alternative publishing. In Mary Bucholtz, A.C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton, eds., *Reinventing Identities. The Gendered Self in Discourse*, 163–180, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tagg, Caroline. 2009. A corpus linguistics study of SMS text-messaging. Ph.D. thesis, Department of English, University of Birmingham, Birmingham.
- Tagg, Caroline. 2013. Scraping the barrel with a shower of social misfits: Everyday creativity in text messaging. *Applied Linguistics* 34(4):480–500.
- Tagliamonte, Sali A. and Denis, Derek. 2008. Linguistic ruin? LOL! instant messaging and teen language. *American Speech* 83:3–34.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1985. Lexicalization patterns: semantic structure in lexical forms. In Timothy Shopen, ed., *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, vol. 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, 57–149, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Talmy, Leonard. 1991. Path to realization: a typology of event conflation. In Christopher Johnson Laurel A. Sutton and Ruth Shields, eds., *Papers of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 480–520, Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000a. *Toward a cognitive semantics: Vol. I: Concept Structuring System*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000b. *Toward a cognitive semantics: Vol. II: Typology and process in concept structuring*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1989. *Talking Voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tannen, Deborah. 2002. *To nie tak! Jak style konwersacyjny kształtuje relacje z innymi*. Poznań: Zysk i S-ka.
- Tannen, Deborah. 2004. Interactional sociolinguistics. In Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier, and Peter Trudgill, eds., *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook*, 76–88, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Tannen, Deborah and Saville-Troike, Muriel (eds). 1985. *Perspectives on Silence*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Tanskanen, Sanna-Kaisa and Karhukorpi, Johanna. 2008. Concessive repair and negotiation of affiliation in e-mail discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40:1587–1600.
- Tellegen, Auke and Atkinson, Gilbert. 1974. Openness to absorbing and self-altering experiences (“absorption”), a trait related to hypnotic susceptibility. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 83:268–277.
- Thurlow, Crispin. 2003. Generation txt? the sociolinguistics of young people’s text-messaging. *Discourse Analysis Online* Retrieved on 3rd February 2013 from <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a3/thurlow2002003-01.html>.

- Thurlow, Crispin. 2007. Fabricating youth: New-media discourse and the technologization of young people. In Sally Johnson and Astrid Ensslin, eds., *Language in the Media: Representations, Identities, Ideologies*, 213–233, London: Continuum.
- Thurlow, Crispin and Poff, Michele. 2012. Text messaging. In D. Stein S. C. Herring and T. Virtanen, eds., *Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tomasula, Steve and Farrell, Stephen. 2002. *VAS: An Opera in Flatland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toolan, Michael. 2010. Electronic multimodal narratives and literary form. In Ruth Page, ed., *New Perspectives on Narrative and Multimodality*, 127–141, New York: Routledge.
- Tracy, Karen. 1998. Analyzing context: Framing the discussion. *Research on Language in Social Interaction* 31:1–28.
- Turner, Phil and Turner, Susan. 2006. Place, sense of place and presence. *Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments* 15:204–217.
- Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2004. Ten reasons why linguists should pay attention to visual communication. In Philip Levine and Ron Scollon, eds., *Discourse & Technology: Multimodal discourse analysis*, 7–19, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Walther, Joseph B. 1996. Computer-mediated communication: impersonal, interpersonal, and hyperpersonal interaction. *Communication Research* 23:3–43.
- Walther, Joseph B. 2007. Selective self-presentation in computer-mediated communication: Hyperpersonal dimensions of technology, language, and cognition. *Computers in Human Behaviour* 23:2538–2557.
- Waterworth, Eva L. and Waterworth, John A. 2001. Focus, locus, and sensus: The three dimensions of virtual experience. *CyberPsychology & Behavior* 4(2):203–213.

- Watson, Matthew E., Pickering, Martin J., and Branigan, Holly P. 2004. Alignment of reference frames in dialogue. In *Proceedings of the 26th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Wei, Ran. 2014. Texting, tweeting, and talking: Effects of smartphone use on engagement in civic discourse in China. *Mobile Media & Communication* 2(1):3–19.
- Weilenmann, Alexandra. 2003. “I can’t talk now, I’m in a fitting room”: Formulating availability and location in mobile phone conversations. *Environment and planning A, special issue on mobile technologies and space* 35(9):1589–1605, retrieved on December 7, 2012 from <http://web.mit.edu/bentley/www/mobile/papers/canttalk.pdf>.
- Weiser, Mark. 1991. The computer for the 21st century. *Scientific American* 265(3):94–104.
- Werry, Christopher C. 1996. Linguistic and interactional features of internet relay chat. In Susan C. Herring, ed., *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 47–63, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wertsch, James V. 1985. *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, James V. 1989. *Mind as Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiener, Morton and Mehrabian, Albert. 1968. *Language within language: Immediacy, a channel in verbal communication*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Wignell, Peter. 2011. Picture books for young children of different ages: The changing relationships between images and words. In Kay L. O’Halloran and Bradley A. Smith, eds., *Multimodal Studies: Exploring issues and domains*, 202–219, New York: Routledge.
- Wolańska, Ewa. 2008. Komunikacja językowa za pośrednictwem krótkiej wiadomości tekstowej (SMS). In Jerzy Podracki and Ewa Wolańska, eds., *Język w*

mediach elektronicznych, 113–130, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper.

Yuhan, Albert Hanyong and Shapiro, Stuart C. 1995. Computational representation of space. In Lynne E. Hewitt Judith F. Duchan, Gail A. Bruder, ed., *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*, 522, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zelenkauskaitė, Asta and Herring, Susan C. 2006. Gender encoding of typographical elements in lithuanian and croatian IRC. In F. Sudweeks and C. Ess, eds., *Proceedings of Cultural Attitudes Towards Technology and Culture 2006 (CATaC'06)*, n.p., Murdoch, Australia: Murdoch University Press, preprint retrieved on December 12, 2013 from <http://ella.slis.indiana.edu/herring/catac2006.pdf>.

Zimmerman, Don H. 1998. Identity, context and interaction. identities in talk. In Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, eds., *Identities in Talk*, 87–106, London: Sage.

Zubin, David A. and Hewitt, Lynne E. 1995. The deictic center: A theory of deixis in narrative. In Judith F. Duchan, Gail A. Bruder, and Lynne E. Hewitt, eds., *Deixis in Narrative: A Cognitive Science Perspective*, 129–158, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zwaan, Rolf A. 1999. The mental leap into imagined worlds. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 8(1):15–18.

Żydek-Bednarczuk, Urszula. 1994. *Struktura tekstu rozmowy potocznej*. Katowice: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.