

**PARTICIPATION AS A TOOL FOR INTERACTIONAL WORK ON TWITTER:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL MEDIA ‘ENGAGEMENT’**

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This work approaches the concept of social media engagement through a lens of participation theory. Following the work of Goffman (1981) and others, this dissertation uses the concepts of the participation framework and the participant role to explore engagement as a function of participation in interaction. The purposes of this dissertation are three-fold: to model participant roles as they are built in interaction on Twitter, to discover the ways in which participation is established through the linguistic choices enacted by participants, and to demonstrate the role of the medium as an important factor influencing possibilities for participation. Using discourse analysis as a methodology, tweets from accounts associated with National Hockey League (NHL) organizations are analyzed for the linguistic resources that are used to reference interactional roles traditionally understood as “speaker” and “hearer”. In turn, the linguistic and discursive resources deployed in team tweets are used to reveal these speaker and hearer roles as more detailed and complex production and reception frameworks. The modal affordances of Twitter are also investigated as to their role in influencing the building of participation frameworks through talk, including unique linguistic forms that are available to Twitter users and possibilities for hiding or revealing participants through the Twitter screen.

The findings of this investigation reveal three primary models for production frameworks for NHL accounts: an Impersonal Model that eschews identification of the parties in production roles, an Interpersonal Model that highlights the individuals involved in the interaction, and a

Team Model that obscures the individual to focus on the team or organization as a primary participant. Additionally, a framework for understanding recipient audiences on Twitter is proposed, incorporating both actual and intended audiences. Consistent patterns in the language choices used to construct participatory identities for production and reception roles are demonstrated, highlighting the value of using linguistic data as a resource for investigations of participation. Finally, Twitter's modal affordances are shown to be an integral part of the ways that users enact participatory concepts, such as co-presence and address, revealing the importance of considering the role of the medium in participation studies.

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PREFACE

The study of participation has been taken up in many different fields of research over the years, from sociology and psychology to kinesiology and human-computer interaction. This dissertation finds its grounding in sociological understandings of participation, beginning with the foundational investigations into the topic by Hymes and Goffman and progressing through work more sociolinguistic in nature by Levinson, Irvine, and Goodwin. While many inquiries in the field have taken off from similar starting points, the approaches and terminologies used to discuss participation have changed over the years, and as such a few notes on the terminology used in this work are necessary here. As the terms for the primary concepts in this dissertation are pulled from a variety of sources, I make every effort to clearly define each term as it is introduced in this work and to acknowledge the theoretical framework from which it comes. Some terms, however, are quite similar in nature and are used interchangeably throughout this work; for example, the terms *participation framework* (Goffman 1981) and *structures of participation* (Irvine 1996) are both used to denote the complex relationships of all participants in an interaction to the talk that is produced. Additionally, I introduce several terms that build on existing concepts and terminology in order to avoid overlap in use with existing terms. For continuity in the use of *participation framework* for the structuring of the relationships of all participants in an interaction, I use the terms *production framework* and *reception framework* to discuss the structure of relationships to the talk on the production and reception sides,

respectively. The introduction of such terms is meant to reduce ambiguity, replacing Goffman's (1981) occasional use of the term *participation framework* to refer specifically to the collection of recipient roles, and Levinson's (1988) uses of the terms *production roles* and *reception roles* to refer to both individual roles and the arrangements of all roles on each side of the talk. Distinctions between similar terms from different works are made where necessary throughout the dissertation, in an effort to avoid confusion.

In addition to the rich history of work on participation, I owe thanks to many other sources of inspiration and encouragement, without which I could not have completed this dissertation. First, to my dissertation committee, for giving me both the freedom and guidance to pursue an interdisciplinary topic and for reminding me to return to the basics when I got in over my head. I am particularly grateful to my advisor, Scott Kiesling, for his patience and encouragement over the years, and for bringing my work to life in the Twitter world (hi there, @ervgoff!). I am also thankful for the many great professors that I have had along the way, especially David Mortensen and Pascual Masullo, whose classes I enjoyed so much.

Secondly, I could not have survived my grad school years without so many wonderful colleagues, both those in my department and those I have met in courses and at conferences over the years. From all of the great advice I received from those who came before me (particularly Maeve Eberhardt and Wendy Martelle) to the support of those that were in the trenches right along side me, I would not have made it without all of you. I owe special thanks to Lauren Collister, Kristopher Geda, Christina Schoux Casey, and Abdesalam Soudi for all of their insight and encouragement, and for all of the laughs and frustrations we have shared along the way.

Finally, I am so thankful for the support of my friends and family. Thank you to my friends, particularly those spread across the country, who were always there to help remind me

that there is life outside of grad school with marathon sessions of cheesy tv shows and late night Google Hangouts. And finally, to my parents, whose support and belief in me has always been unwavering, even when I have doubted myself.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

“New technologies bring with them new social and cultural practices.”
- Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (2011:xxxvi)

The advent of so-called “social media” has garnered much attention for the ability to connect people around the globe in conversation. For example, one can reconnect with high school friends or build more personal relationships with current colleagues on Facebook, interact with favorite celebrities or “regular Joes” with similar interests on Twitter, or watch videos from all over the world on YouTube. With the increased opportunities for connection in these new mediums have come new forms for communicating old ideas – for example, we can “like” something on Facebook to show approval, but also to simply show that we have received the message (i.e. indicating our status as “listeners” to the broadcasts of others). On Twitter we can send out a broadcast that could be received by any number of the many Twitter users, or we can create more personal “conversations” through the use of the linguistic form “@user”, notifying a particular user that our message is addressed to him or her directly. These new technologies may not always revolutionize the basic concepts of interactional communication, but they do bring with them new opportunities for connection, and with those opportunities come new communicative practices.

In addition to the ability of social media to connect individuals across the globe, these platforms are often touted as avenues for organizations to interact with their consumers in

ways they never have before. While organizations have often aimed to connect with consumers through one-way broadcasts such as television and radio advertisements, social media allow for a two-way channel of communication, giving consumers the opportunity to join or even start the conversation. This change has greatly affected interactions between organizations and consumers, including the ways that the roles of participants involved in the interaction are constructed, ratified, and organized throughout social media interactions. In this dissertation, I investigate such organization-consumer interactions in one particular social medium, Twitter, with a focus on the ways that sports organizations use Twitter to control and facilitate interactions in this medium. Based in a theory of participation as more than just a “speaker”-“hearer” dyad (Goffman 1981), this work looks at the ways that professional sports organizations construct their own identity in a multiplicity of roles as participants in interaction, as well as the ways that they build opportunities of involvement for other participants. Using National Hockey League (NHL) team organizations as a case study, I investigate the practices of these organizations in their use of Twitter to interact with consumers, detailing both the more common and the more innovative practices for displaying their own relationship to talk and to their fans/consumers as fellow participants.

In this introductory chapter, I introduce the reader to Twitter and address the use of Twitter as a communicative tool for organizations. In addition, I introduce key concepts that will be relevant to the investigation of this dissertation, namely engagement and participation, and explain the selection of NHL team organizations as the basis for this investigation. Finally, I lay out the progression of this work, providing an outline of the chapters to follow.

1.1 WHY TWITTER?

Twitter (www.Twitter.com), founded in 2006, represents a form of social media known as *micro-blogging*. Micro-blogging, like other forms of blogging, makes use of mostly open-access platforms to allow users to broadcast information online to anyone who chooses to view it. Twitter users post short broadcasts, known as “tweets”, which consist of 140 characters or fewer and appear in a collected feed on the user’s Twitter profile page, which can be viewed by any other Twitter user¹ (much like the collection of posts on a blog). In addition to posting their own broadcasts, Twitter users can choose to receive a feed made up of the broadcasts of other tweeters by “following” them. Once User A chooses to follow User B, User B’s tweets will appear in a feed that User A can read, along with User A’s own tweets. Note that a user’s feed (seen in Fig. 1, below) differs from the timeline of his own tweets, found on his Twitter profile page (seen in Fig. 2). The timeline on the user’s profile page contains only the tweets they have produced themselves (or reproduced from another user in the form of a “retweet”) and can be visited by any other Twitter user, regardless of whether or not that user is following them. A user’s feed is only seen by that user and contains the tweets of all of the users they have chosen to follow. While there are currently many different interfaces for using Twitter, most interfaces refresh the feed after a set amount of time, with new tweets appearing at the top, or allow the user to refresh the feed when they are ready. Unlike social networking sites such as Facebook,

¹ While it is possible for users to set their account to “private”, only allowing approved users to view their page, it is largely uncommon and does not apply to any of the accounts that will be discussed in this paper. Therefore, it will not be explored further here.

where one needs to have a reciprocal connection (a “friendship”) for information sharing², Twitter and other micro-blogging sites allow for non-reciprocal relationships – one user can

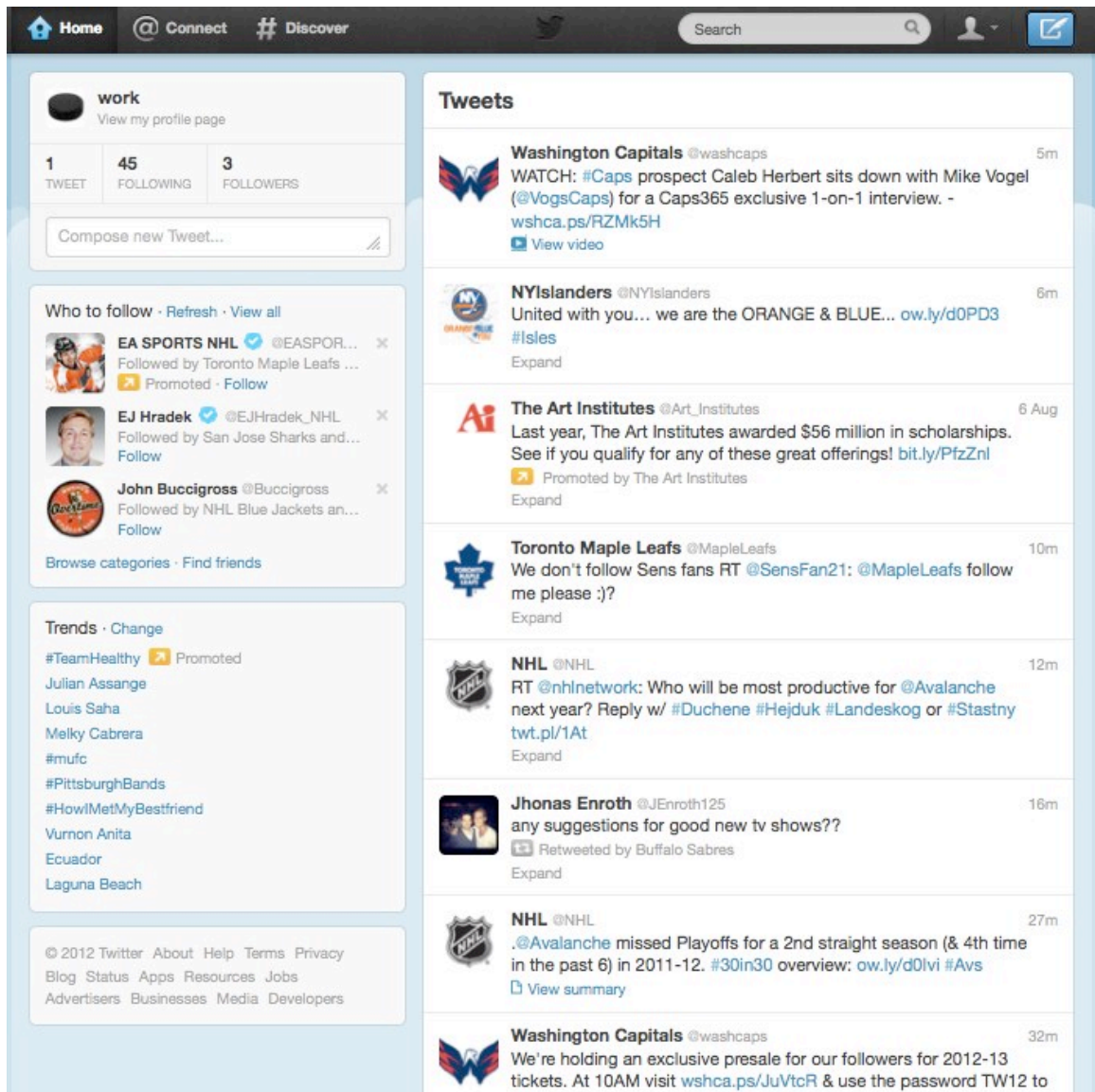


Figure 1. An example of a Twitter user’s feed, with tweets and retweets broadcast from the users they follow. This screen exemplifies the typical feed that appears when Twitter users log in to Twitter.com.

² Facebook has recently enabled companies and public figures, such as sports organizations to start fan pages, which users can “like” to follow their updates. This relationship, much like following on Twitter, allows for a non-reciprocal relationship where fans can follow an organization without that organization following them in return, as required by the “friend” function, which is most frequently used by individual accounts.



Figure 2. An example of a Twitter user's home profile page. This screen exemplifies the user's timeline, containing any tweets they have broadcast, which appears when their profile page is accessed through [Twitter.com/user](https://twitter.com/user) (in this example, [Twitter.com/NYIslanders](https://twitter.com/NYIslanders)).

follow the broadcasts of another without that user following in return. This system of following allows for the potential of a one-way flow of talk and information, where User A will receive the tweets produced by User B, whom he has chosen to follow, but User B, in return, may not be receiving the tweets produced by User A. (See Appendix A for Crystal's (2011) summary of other technological facets of Twitter.)

Twitter is the most highly used and highly visible micro-blogging site; as of April, 2011 Twitter had 7 million unique visitors per month with a monthly growth rate of 1382% (Thomas 2011; McGiboney 2009). According to Thomas (2011:115), “Technology gurus predict Twitter will surpass other social media outlets like Facebook... in the near future”. While Twitter has not yet surpassed Facebook in number of overall users, it does seem to have particularly strong appeal during large-scale live social and cultural events. For example, during the final three minutes of Super Bowl XLVI on February 5, 2012, users posted an average 10,000 tweets per second, peaking at 12,233 tweets per second during that period (Olivarez-Giles 2012). At the closing ceremonies of the 2012 Summer Olympics, a performance by popular 90s female pop group the Spice Girls topped the charts at approximately 116,000 tweets per minute³, despite not being broadcast live in the United States (Hume 2012). Although Twitter was primarily designed with mobile device usage in mind, it continues to be heavily accessed online using computers via the Twitter.com website, as well as many third-party platforms that can be used on computers and mobile devices alike (Lotan et al. 2011).

According to Ovadia (2009:204), “Twitter, at its core, provides access to conversations”. The ways in which people use Twitter can be quite varied, however, including seeking the attention of celebrities, sharing information, and keeping abreast of recent news (Lotan et al. 2011; Marwick and boyd 2010). While Twitter is often seen by non-users to be merely a collection of updates about certain topics (whether that topic be a user’s daily life or a more global topic like politically motivated riots), research has found that most Twitter users find the medium to be “more valuable than other media for connecting information to personal goals, for

³ The ceremony was viewed via tape-delay in the United States, and this statistic represents the number of tweets during the real-time performance in London, England several hours before the show was broadcast on television in the US. Twitter numbers for the delayed broadcast were not readily available at the time of this writing.

knowing what is on others' minds at this moment, and for prompting opportunistic conversations" (Dejin Zhao and Rosson 2009:251). Users are not just turning to Twitter to find out what is going on in the lives of others, but to use that information socially – to discover the minds of others in the moment and then engage them in conversation. This drive for social connection and interaction makes Twitter an interesting site for research into the work that is being done by its users to create interpersonal connections and communication.

In addition to the interactional goals of its users, new mediums of communication present new modal affordances for (and restrictions on) interaction (Kress 2009), and in this way social media discourse can be of interest to sociolinguists, as the affordances of the medium are taken up and manipulated by users in interaction. The restricted character length of the tweets can lead to many forms of shorthand, such as one of the more common methods for indicating that you are rebroadcasting the tweet of another user ("retweeting") with the notation "RT" before the text. In another example, users created the convention of "hashtagging", that is, putting a hashtag (#) before text to make it easier to search and to increase the field of users that is likely to see their tweet. This practice is often done with phrases that are connected into a single string of characters, such as the popular hashtag #firstworldproblems (first world problems), where users complain about something that would only be seen as a problem to someone living in a first world country, such as a wireless internet signal not being available at the coffee shop they are currently patronizing. The use of this hashtag allows their tweet to be seen by anyone else that searches this hashtag term, not only broadening the distribution of the tweet, but also saving characters by eliminating the spaces between words. In addition to their use in extended distribution, hashtag terms can be used to provide a form of metacommentary, with the hashtagged term suggesting a reason for (or commentary on) the tweet. With the

#firstworldproblems hashtag, users are often acknowledging the fact that they are aware that they are complaining about a problem that they are fortunate to have – the fact that the user lives in a society where one can expect coffee shops to provide free wireless Internet in the first place provides a situated context in which to understand their “problem”. Finally, hashtag terms also aid in the collection of “trending topics”, a list of the top 10 things that people are tweeting about at that time. By using the ‘first world problems’ hashtag, the term can trend as a single coherent unit, as opposed to the words *first*, *world*, and *problems* appearing separately in a trend list, not only making them a less clearly cohesive unit, but also impacting the potential for other users to find the tweet.

The broadcast abilities of the Twitter medium also make it an interesting ground for study, allowing for multiple formats of interaction. Much like the call-in talk shows studied by O’Keeffe (2006), Twitter provides opportunities for both one-to-many and one-to-one communication through the conventions of the medium. What can be seen as perhaps the most “basic” tweet is produced by a single user and then broadcast into the feeds of all of that user’s followers. Additionally, anyone that visits that tweeter’s home Twitter page will be able to see the tweet as well, even if they are not following that user. In such a tweet, a one-to-many broadcast style of communication can be seen, in which one user communicates with many other users in a single broadcast, without any additional manipulation of the Twitter interface by the tweeter. Alternatively, users can make use of certain functions built into the Twitter interface to reduce the scope of their audience. By using the @user notation at the beginning of a message, a tweeter can limit the distribution of their tweet. Such a tweet will be broadcast only in the feed of the user they have demarcated with the @user notation and the feeds of other users that follow both the account that has produced the tweet and the account at which they are tweeting. The

tweet is still publically available, and can still be found in the tweeter's home timeline, but it is not broadcast to all of their followers as a basic tweet would be, thereby limiting its distribution and likely audience. This function of Twitter allows for a narrowing of address from a one-to-many broadcast to a form of one-to-one direct address in a multi-participant platform (Honeycutt and Herring 2009). The manipulation of such functions of the Twitter interface by its users creates a wide range of possibilities for the arrangement of participants in interaction. This dissertation investigates the ways that the features of the medium and the ways that users take up these features impact the potential participation frameworks available for Twitter interaction.

1.1.1 Motivations for organizations to use social media

If Twitter provides individuals with opportunities for conversation and interaction, one might wonder if it holds the same appeal for organizations and their consumers. As Crispin Thurlow once rhetorically asked his audience during a plenary address, after a thorough reading of his milk carton at breakfast, "Why would I want to 'follow' my milk?" (2011). Thurlow's pondering gets at an important question for this dissertation – what benefits do Twitter interactions hold for organizations and consumers alike?

One of the primary opportunities that social media opens up for business and other organizations is the ability to increase participation in communication that they previously could not access. As Mangold and Faulds (2009) discuss, social media give access to three avenues of communication relevant to organizations: they enable companies to talk to their customers, they enable customers to talk to each other about companies, and they enable customers to talk to companies. The motivation for social media use, then, lies not just in having a new medium in which to broadcast to consumers, but in being part of the discussion that consumers are having

with each other about an organization, and in being able to respond to user-initiated communication. It is in these last two ways that social media offer new opportunities for organizations that previous media did not. While radio and television advertising, and even advertisements on Internet websites, have long offered the chance for organizations to reach consumers, they were often unable to take part in the conversation between consumers or to provide opportunities for consumers to have their say back to the organization. Communication has gone from being a one-way broadcast of information to being more like a multiparty conversation. It is important, then, for organizations to adjust to the new possibilities of having multiple participants in the conversation about their brand, as consumers tend to feel more engaged with both the product and the organization when they are able to contribute to the discussion, which in turn leads to increased brand loyalty (Mangold and Faulds 2009).

Additionally, it is important to consider what organizations can offer to the consumer via social media – that is, why would anyone want to follow their milk? As noted above, social media do not simply provide an avenue for broadcasting updates; they provide access to conversation as well, and this conversation can range over many different topics. In his book *Engage!*, Solis writes, “the evolution of new media is... inducing an incredible transformation in customer service, community relations, public relations (PR), and corporate communications” (2010:5). Social media allow consumers not only to know what their favorite companies are up to, but to contact them about service questions, to let them know about things they particularly like (or dislike) about a product or service, and to spread this conversation to other consumers, ensuring their favorite (or least favorite) brands receive some attention. One might, then, follow his milk not to get updates about the daily happenings at the milk company, but to find out more about the farm(s) that the milk comes from, to be notified of deals that can get him cheaper milk,

to notify the company about any issues with the milk, or to ask which local restaurants carry his favorite brand of milk. Through social media, consumers are able to have a hand in the conversation about the products and services they use, something that many consumers felt they lacked in Web 1.0 or non-Internet-related mediums (Mangold and Faulds 2009).

1.2 ENGAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Engagement. This buzzword is often touted as the primary benefit for organizations utilizing social media. If organizations and businesses want their social media use to be successful they must “engage” their audiences. Yet as prevalent as this concept has been for social media researchers and strategists alike, it is often difficult to find concise definitions of what exactly it is that equates to engagement between organizations and consumers. The terms “engagement” and “engage” are often thrown around without any further explanation, suggesting that their meaning is implicitly clear. And while engagement is often quantified numerically, through numbers of retweets or replies to a tweet for example, a qualitative description of the concept is lacking. Despite the fact that ‘engagement’ and ‘interaction’ are quite often the talking points of articles on how to use social media, it is rare to see the advice backed up by any discussion of interactional principles using a theoretical framework. At the heart of what the ‘how-to’ articles seem to be advocating are strategies for organizations to frame the relationships between the participants for the discourse they are involved in – both in the presentation of themselves as participants in the interaction, as well as in the opportunities for the involvement of others (usually consumers). It is in this management and framing of participants that the focus of this work’s investigation of engagement lies.

What does it mean for organizations to engage consumers via social media? Is it simply a matter of maximizing retweets, replies, likes, and shares, or can we delve into a more detailed account of what it means to be engaged in interaction? This paper looks to answer these questions by approaching engagement from the perspective of *participation*. As Goffman argued, “Talk is properly analysed... only in the context of the participation status of each person present in an encounter: ‘the study of behaviour while speaking and the study of behaviour of those who are present to each other but not engaged in talk cannot be analytically separated’” (Levinson 1988:162, citing Goffman 1964:62). Goffman’s work approaches the idea of participation in discourse with the concepts of *participation frameworks* and the *participation status*. For Goffman, participation status is “the relation of any one such member to [an] utterance”, while the participation framework is the relation “of all the persons in the gathering [to this utterance]... for that moment of speech” (137). In his definition of participation, Goffman highlights the relationship between the utterances that are produced in talk and the entities that are involved in the production or reception of this talk. This alignment of participants to an utterance is a key component of any interaction, as participation structures work to indicate stance towards the talk and other participants, as well as to create frames for how the interaction might proceed. In every message that is broadcast over a social media platform, organizations must make choices about the ways they represent their own participation in an interaction, as well as establishing roles for other participants, such as providing opportunities for others to continue the interaction.

Levinson (1988: 163) notes the tendency in linguistics and other disciplines to work within a framework of “unanalyzed concepts of the first and second person”. However, while a simple conception of these parties may work for analysis of one-on-one interactions, in which

the speaker is in a first person “I” role while the hearer is in a second person “you” role, the addition of more complex participants in an interaction shows that a deeper understanding of these roles in an interaction is necessary. As the practice of engagement relies on creating a connection between the first and second person entities in interaction, it is essential to understand the ways that first and second person parties are established in the talk. While the concepts of participation and participation frameworks will be elaborated in a review of relevant literature in Chapter 2, an example here can help to clarify this issue. In regards to the production of talk for an organizational Twitter account, the person(s) producing the talk (the tweeter(s)) must make choices about how to present themselves as participants. Are the tweets coming from “the organization” (that is, is the voice of the individual put aside in favor of the voice of the organization) or are they coming from a member of that organization (where the primary voice is that of the individual, as a representative of the organization)? Seemingly simple linguistic forms, such as personal pronouns, can subtly (or not-so-subtly) index these differences. Whether consumers are receiving messages from an “I” or a “we” (or even an inclusive or exclusive “we”) can affect the their understanding of the interaction, as well as the form and content of any further response that they might give (Wortham 1996).

In addition to constructing the identity of the producers of talk, tweeters also face the task of creating an identity for their audience. In her work on radio talk-show broadcasts O’Keeffe (2006) discusses the ways in which putting the speaker (and potentially the audience) at the center of the talk by using ‘us’, ‘me’, and ‘we’ terms versus identifying the audience or third parties through the use of ‘they’, ‘those’, ‘them’ can mark the ways the speakers view themselves in relation to other participants and to the ways in which all of these participants, speaker included, fit into the world of discourse they are creating. And pronouns are not the only

linguistic forms that speakers can use to organize participants – deictic references to location or time, directives and questions, and explicit references to the self or others as participants can all work to introduce or shift participants in relation to each other and the talk.

The goal of this dissertation is to identify the ways that participants and participant roles are established in the talk of organizations in their attempts to engage fans and consumers on Twitter. This includes a focus on the complexities introduced by multiparty participants, such as these large organizations, as well as the role of the medium itself in facilitating or complicating the presentation of these participants. Particular attention will be paid to situations in which participants can be hidden behind the Twitter screen, such as the masking of the individual writing for an organization's account in the aim of promoting the organizational voice. Following on Levinson's (1988) methodology of turning to observations of actual language use (particularly deictic systems) in order to determine categories of participation, this dissertation focuses on the linguistic forms that are used to establish relationships of participation on Twitter. This includes linguistics forms that can be used across mediums, such as the systems of deictic reference noted above in this section, as well as forms that are relatively unique to the Twitter medium, such as @user references, hashtag terms (in the form of #term), and retweets. By focusing on the language used by organizations on Twitter in the name of engagement, this work identifies their deconstructions of the first and second person roles, and in this way furthers the qualitative understanding of participation (and engagement) in interaction.

1.3 SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR CONSUMERS

1.3.1 Fan-team relationships

The concepts of engaging the consumer and allowing them to participate in the interaction are particularly relevant in the sports industry. Sports fan identification and involvement have been studied from many standpoints, including marketing and psychology, with one overarching theme always coming to the forefront – fans, as consumers, want to feel like they are part of the team (Sutton et al. 1997; Mael and Ashforth 1992; Lever 1983; Rooney 1974). The more a fan can connect with a team and feel involved, the more likely they are to overlook years of bad team performance and continue to spend their entertainment dollars on the team despite a lack of “on-field” success (Sutton et al. 1997).

Crawford (2003:234) highlights the important role that social interaction plays in “the induction and career progression of a sport supporter”. His study of fandom from the early stages of general interest through later stages of devotion suggests that fans become more involved and engaged in supporting their favorite team(s) primarily through social interaction, whether that be face-to-face interaction or “the use of mass media and consumer goods” (234). Through interaction and consumption of media and goods related to the team, fans are able to secure their identity as an affiliated member of the team community (McDonald, Milne, and Hong 2002). In a study of fan motivation for visiting team Websites and making use of online content, Seo and Green (2008) found interpersonal communication and fan expression to be more important than even the content of the site. While content was certainly important, the desire for interaction and community turned out to be even more significant. If the goal of a sports organization is to build fan loyalty (and with many studies showing that increases in fan loyalty equate to more dollars

spent on that team or sport, it seems fair to say that is a primary goal), satisfying the fan need for interaction is critical. Social media provide a platform for satisfying that need.

1.3.2 Social media as a part of sports fandom

The motivations for focusing on sports organizations in this dissertation stem from the increasingly central role that social media play in the communicative experience of sports fandom, and consumption of sport and entertainment more generally. As technology advances, sports organizations and their fans often find ways to put it to use, and as such the sports industry is one that has rapidly taken to the influx of social media (Gregory 2009). From fantasy sports leagues conducted online with any imaginable statistic at participants' fingertips to high definition (HD) and even three-dimensional (3D) broadcasting, the sports world has been active in taking up new means of making the game available to the fans in ways that they can feel closer to the action. With every new media advancement, the sports fan can be provided with more "up-to-the-minute information and a more detailed and personalized experience" (Rein, Kotler, and Shields 2006:70). While there are many opportunities to engage fans and encourage fan identification, social media sites provide a unique interactional arena for team organizations and their fans. Sports fans, always looking for ways to garner more information and to feel closer to their favorite teams and athletes, turn to media such as Twitter and Facebook not only for the latest news updates, but also for interaction (Sanderson and Kassing 2011). One motivation for sports team organizations using social media, then, is to connect with these fans in order to keep them involved as active sports consumers. As Rein et al. (2006:296) note, "Interacting with the fan, forming a personal relationship, and connecting on an emotional level are now key objectives of sports brands". This move towards a more personal fandom experience has

motivated more sports teams and leagues to engage the fan through social media, making them a particularly interesting subject for research into participation and engagement on Twitter. While team websites often only provide access to a more “bulletin board” style medium, with teams posting information but not often interacting directly with the fans, social media enable two-way interactions between teams and fans, both one-on-one and en masse. Never before have organizations had an opportunity to connect this immediately and intimately with fans and consumers. As team organizations look to become a piece of the sports fan’s online communicative puzzle, it is important to understand the ways that these organizations can manage the interactions that they take part in, both as participants themselves, and in framing participation for others.

1.3.3 The NHL on Twitter

The National Hockey League (NHL) has been at the forefront of adopting social media for interaction with fans. According to Michael DiLorenzo, the NHL’s former director of social media marketing and strategy, “NHL fans are the most tech-savvy among the major sports” and therefore “social media is right in their wheelhouse” (Leggio 2010). The NHL was the first of the four major U.S. sports leagues to have all of their teams actively utilizing an official team Twitter account. Not only was the NHL an early adopter of social media, including Twitter, but they have also been quick in adapting social media strategies to match up with the progressing trends. In data I collected in March 2011, the Colorado Avalanche account (@Avalanche) produced only 13 tweets in a one-week period during the regular season, all of which contained links to the team website and very brief descriptions of the content accessible through the links. Roughly one year later, the Avalanche account was significantly more active, producing 21

tweets in a single day on April 20, 2012, despite the regular season being over and their team not having made the playoffs. In addition to an increase in tweets, their interactional style changed as well, going from simply posting links with information on the team website to retweeting and responding to fans and encouraging fan-team interaction. This change in interactional strategy by the Avalanche is just one example that suggests that NHL teams are moving in the direction of increasing interaction with fans through social media.

With their newfound ability to access fans more directly, team organizations need to make choices about both the ways they present themselves as participants in discourse conducted over social media and the opportunities they provide there for fans and consumers to connect with the organization. An incident on Twitter following a National Hockey League (NHL) playoff game on April 12, 2012 between the Los Angeles Kings and the Vancouver Canucks highlights the potential choices that teams must make when they present themselves as participants in social media discourse. After defeating the Canucks in the first game of a playoff series, the Kings account (@LAKings) sent out a tweet to their followers saying, “To everyone in Canada outside of BC [British Columbia], you’re welcome”. The Kings have indicated that this tweet was meant to show the playful side of the Kings Twitter account, by suggesting that Canadians outside of British Columbia were rooting against the Canucks (Fitz-Gerald 2012). Many Twitter users, particularly Canucks fans, reacted strongly to this tweet as an inappropriate mocking of the Canucks organization and their fans, ultimately leading the Kings’ Vice President of Communications and Broadcasting to issue an apology for the tweet. As Harrison Mooney notes on the popular Yahoo! blog “Puck Daddy”, the problems that fans had with this tweet likely stemmed from the differences in the way the Kings and Canucks presented themselves on Twitter:

“I suspect that much of the shock and awe among Canucks fans and even fans in other Canadian hockey cities stems from what they've come to expect from *their* team's Twitter account, which embraces the word "official" and addresses the untold masses with professionalism and relative remove.

You'd never see something like this out of the Canucks' Twitter account because it isn't trying to drum up interest or attention; it's just trying to maintain the status quo. Heck, it avoids full-on Orwellian status simply because the Canucks' social media guru, Derek Jory, is talented enough to walk that fine line.

The Kings' account, on the other hand, is actively trying to engage -- and engage it did.”

(Mooney 2012)

Mooney suggests here that the ways these teams have managed their image via Twitter – the Canucks using an “official” register, looking to remain removed from the interaction, versus the Kings, who have taken a proactive approach to engaging and interacting with fans – led to the discrepancy in reception of the tweet. Notably, many hockey fans also responded positively to the approach by @LAKings, as the account gained 36,000 new followers in the coming weeks (Botta 2012). It is also interesting to note that many of the fans that seemed to take issue with the tweet were not part of the addressed audience of the tweet. While the tweet was addressed to “everyone in Canada outside of BC”, much of the engagement with the tweet instead came from Canucks fans, many of whom are located in British Columbia (although it can be argued that the tongue-in-cheek message was indeed meant for fans of the Canucks). In this one example it becomes clear not only that teams have options in the ways they present themselves in social media interaction, the ways that they define and ratify other participants in the interaction, and the types of involvement they encourage from these other participants, but also that the decisions these organizations make concerning these options affect the way that their message is interpreted.

1.4 GOALS OF THE DISSERTATION

As noted throughout this introduction, this dissertation addresses several lines of inquiry. While I hope that this work will ultimately have implications for research on social media, computer-mediated communication (CMC), and sports communication, its goals are primarily sociolinguistic in nature. As Levinson (1988:163) notes, the participant role is a central concept for linguistic inquiry, as participation is “at the heart of deixis” and “has a pervasive influence on many aspects of language structure and meaning”. He goes on to argue that it is through observation and analysis of language-in-use and deictic structures that we can illuminate the distinctions necessary to reveal a party’s understanding of the participation roles for the interactions in which they are a part. This dissertation, then, engages in an analysis of NHL organizational language use on Twitter in order to provide a qualitative understanding of the engagement of fans online through an identification of frameworks of participation. Through this process, this work also highlights the complexities that can be introduced into the understanding of the first person role of the speaker and second person role of the hearer for multiparty participants (e.g. organizations, diverse audiences), and the possibilities for manipulating these roles in organizational talk. Finally, the analyses in this work demonstrate the role of the medium itself, and the way that users manipulate that medium, in influencing resultant participation frameworks. Many features of the Twitter medium allow users to hide or highlight participants through their linguistic choices, and this paper argues for an analysis of participation that takes the medium into account.

The goals of this dissertation, then, can be laid out as follows:

- 1) To describe interactions that take place between organizations and their consumers on Twitter, with particular interest in the identification and organization of participants in these interactions. To this end, NHL teams are used as example organizations for this

study, due in part to the strong desire of sports fans to interact and communicate with their favorite teams.

- 2) To determine the linguistic forms and discursive strategies that are put to use in building participation structures, and to identify the interactional frames that are established by the linguistic choices that organizational accounts make.
- 3) To extend extant theories of participation to incorporate the role of the medium. More specifically, to answer the questions of how the medium impacts participation and how participants make use of the affordances of the medium to enact participation structures.

In this vein, Chapter 2 presents a theoretical grounding in the current research on participation in communication and the language of such participation. Additionally, Chapter 2 discusses the implications of structures of participation as a tool for framing interaction. In Chapter 3, I detail the methodology used for this study, including an introduction to the NHL team accounts that are observed, an explanation of how the analysis will proceed, and how the analysis hopes to answer the research questions. Following Chapter 3, the analysis is divided into two larger sections, beginning with Part I (comprised of Chapters 4-5), which focuses on the producers of talk, followed by Part II (comprised of Chapters 6-7), which focuses on participants on the receiving end of the talk. In Part I, Chapter 4 models the common production frameworks for NHL team organizations on Twitter, identifying the participants that organizations highlight in the interaction, how this is accomplished through linguistic choices, and the stances towards the interaction that are indicated by highlighting certain participants. Chapter 5 turns to additional producers of talk beyond the basic production structures and the ways that these new producers are represented in the talk. This chapter discusses questions such about how the words of others are represented in the talk, how these words are attributed to others, and how they affect the potential for interaction. Chapter 5 also considers the effects of the medium in introducing the talk of others into NHL Twitter use, considering the restrictions and allowances of the medium, including retweeting and multimodal means of sharing talk. Part II of the analysis begins with

Chapter 6, which focuses on the concepts of ratification and address in the Twitter medium. This chapter addresses questions of how recipients are ratified by producers of the talk, and what it means to be a ratified participant in a public medium. Additionally, Chapter 6 tackles concepts of address, discussing common means of addressing recipients, including the use of @mentions as a vocative form, the use of directives and questions in creating “next turn” opportunities, and whether face-to-face conventions of address, such as gaze, can be replaced in an online medium. Chapter 7 investigates the idea of co-presence, looking at its manifestations in an asynchronous online medium. This chapter also investigates mutual monitoring behavior between participants as a correlate of co-presence, and models examples of the participation frameworks created by NHL organizations as they participate in situation of mutual monitoring with fans. Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings in this dissertation and discusses the avenues opened by these findings for future research.

2.0 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

In this chapter, I review literature concerning participation in interaction, including both the roles that participants take in interaction and the larger structures of participation created through these individual roles, often referred to as participation frameworks (Goffman 1981). Additionally, I discuss work detailing the concepts of stance and framing, situating these concepts with regards to their relationship to participation and participation structures. Finally, I turn to works that address the influence of medium on discourse, including the concept of modal affordances, and the ways in which the medium in which talk occurs can affect the possibilities of participation.

2.1 GOFFMAN’S APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION: ADVANCING BEYOND A SPEAKER-HEARER DYAD

As Hymes (1972; 1974) notes in his discussion of ethnography of communication, there is a long tradition in studies of communication and interaction of using a dyadic construction of participation that focuses on a ‘speaker’ and a ‘hearer’ (see Searle 1969 for an example of work on speech act theory using this dyad). Hymes goes on to suggest that “the common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants” (1974:54). Goffman’s (1963, 1981) work on participation is commonly recognized as some of the earliest to move beyond the dyad, deconstructing the roles of “speaker” and

“hearer” into roles of participation that (he believed) more accurately reflected the work that participants were actually doing in the interaction.

For participants involved in production of speech, Goffman breaks down the idea of “speaker” into three statuses: *animator*, *author*, and *principal*.⁴ The animator is described as “the sounding box”, “an individual active in the role of utterance production” (226). This participant represents the person that produces the talk in its physical form, whether that be spoken, signed, written, etc. Goffman’s author is the participant who “scripts the lines” and is the “someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded”, that is, the one that composes the talk (226). Finally, the principal represents “the party to whose position the words attest... [or] whose position is established by the words that are spoken” (226). In many instances, these roles can be conflated in a single participant; however, there are also many cases in which these production roles are distributed across multiple participants. A classic example is that of the speechwriter – a participant that crafts the words (as an ‘author’) that will be spoken by (and often attributed to) another participant (in the role of ‘animator’ and likely ‘principal’).

Participants are, of course, also aligned to talk from the reception side. Goffman identifies both *ratified* and *unratified* participants, the status of whom is based on whether the producer of the talk is aware of the participants (in which case they are ratified) or not (in which case they are unratified) (226). Ratified participants can either be *addressed* or *unaddressed*. Addressed recipients are “the one[s] to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over his speaking role” (133). Unaddressed recipients are

⁴ Goffman also discusses the *figure* role, as the character depicted in the talk that talk can be attributed to, as in reported speech. He does not include the figure in his production format, however, and as the figure role often assumes with it the author and/or principal role, it will not be discussed further here.

“the rest of the ‘official hearers’, who may or may not be listening” (133). Unratified participants are broken down by their designs on hearing the talk: they can either be *overhearers* (“inadvertent”, “non-official listeners”) or *eavesdroppers* (participants who have “engineered” their opportunity to receive the talk) (132). Goffman also discusses the *imagined recipient*, a recipient of the talk that is physically removed from the interaction, but is (at least generically) known by the producers of the talk (138). Imagined recipients are perhaps most easily conceived of as television or radio audiences – broadcasters design their talk for this audience, but they are not available to provide immediate feedback in the interaction, and thus not considered to be participants within Goffman’s framework despite their influence on the talk.

2.1.1 Expanding the deconstructive approach

Following on Goffman’s deconstructive approach to participation roles, Levinson (1988) argues that Goffman’s deconstruction of the dyad does not go far enough. He suggests breaking down the roles of speaker and hearer even further with a matrix of features of participation, ultimately providing a framework consisting of 17 different roles for production and reception. For production roles, Levinson focuses on four primary features: whether or not the individual is involved in *transmission* of the message, whether or not the *motive* of the message can be attributed to an individual, whether or not the individual has a hand in creating the *form* of the message, and whether or not the individual is indeed a present *participant*, loosely defined as being present in some way for the interaction, including through technological means such as a telephone or computer-mediated channel (172). Levinson suggests that an “ordinary speaker” will maintain all of these characteristics (i.e. +participant, +transmission, +motive, +form), and that Goffman’s traditional roles can then be deconstructed within this framework: Goffman’s

animator need only be +participant, +transmission, the author need only be +form, and the principal need only be +motive (172). It is important to note here that Levinson does not require a +participant status for the author and principal roles, as their production work in the interaction can be done behind the scenes, without being present in the moment of interaction. Levinson's combination of features ultimately allows for 10 different production roles, 7 of which have participant status, as they are involved in the interaction as it takes place (see Levinson 1988:172 for a chart providing a more thorough description of each of these roles).

On the reception side of the talk, Levinson again relies on four primary features for his determination of recipient roles: whether or not the individual is *addressed*, whether or not an individual is a ratified *recipient* of the talk, whether or not the individual is a present *participant*, and finally whether or not the individual shares a *channel-link* for the talk (173). For Levinson, the "ordinary addressee" will have all of these characteristics. Levinson's concept of address remains consistent with Goffman's, in which the addressed participant is in some way (usually visually or verbally) notified that the talk is meant for them and that they are likely expected to take over the next turn in the interaction. The recipient of the talk for Levinson represents Goffman's idea of ratification; these are the individuals that are known to the speaker as possible (even probable) recipients of the talk. Again, participant status relates to the concept of presence in the interaction, where individuals are participants if they can take part in shaping the interaction as it takes place. Finally, the concept of the channel-link relates to the idea of transmission on the production side. An individual shares a channel-link if they have a means to receive the transmission of the talk. Here we can think of Goffman's overhearers, who are not addressed or ratified (for Levinson, -address, -recipient), but they do share a channel-link and are able to receive the talk even though it is not intended for them. Levinson's classifications allow

for 7 different roles of reception, 4 of which require participant status (again, see Levinson 1988:173 for a chart detailing these roles). Ultimately, Levinson's work reveals the deep complexity in understanding the roles of those participating in and shaping interaction, going far beyond the speaker-hearer dyad, particularly in specialized communication such as in institutional settings (222).

2.1.2 Considerations beyond deconstruction of roles

While Levinson furthers Goffman's approach to participation by breaking down participant roles to establish their essential functions, others have suggested that defining participant roles with any such deconstructive approach results in an analysis that is too static and does not effectively consider the role of context in participation. Irvine theorizes that the best approach to understanding participation structures in talk includes "retain[ing] a quite simple set of primary participant roles (Speaker, Addressee, and third parties present and absent), while deriving more subtle types from a notion of intersecting frames and dialogic relations" (1996:136). For Irvine, the establishment of participant roles for each utterance or turn, then, should be determined in conjunction with a participant's footing with regards to the other participants and to the interaction itself, taking the context of the situation into account. While Irvine acknowledges that Levinson's model of participation does indeed help to clarify the participation framework for certain encounters, her argument against such models hearkens back to Hymes's argument against the dyad, as she notes that no matter how fine-grained they get, these deconstructive approaches will continue to specify "sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants" (1996:134, reiterating Hymes 1974). With this in mind, Irvine encourages studies of participation to focus on "a special nexus of grammar, pragmatic relations, emergent

stretches of talk, and context (social, cultural, and diachronic)” (1996:132). She suggests that mapping “the process by which participation structures are constructed, imagined, and socially distributed” is just as important for understanding participation as pinpointing the roles in which participants end up (136). To provide an understanding of participation structures, then, one cannot just snap a picture, freezing participants in their roles at a particular moment of the talk, but instead must tell the story of how their actions and social understandings allowed them to arrive at that moment in the interaction. Goodwin and Goodwin (2004:225) continue this line of analysis, suggesting that Goffman’s approach to participation “take[s] the form of a typology, a set of static categories. No resources are offered for investigating how participation might be organized through dynamic, interactively organized practices”. Their criticism argues that participation does not rely on static roles, but is constructed in an interactive process, with both producers and recipients taking an active role in the ultimate arrangement. Goodwin (2007a) also suggests approaching participation from the perspective of *embodied action*, noting that “talk in progress is understood through the way in which it is tied to emerging courses of action”, including actions such as directing gaze, focusing attention, and orienting to speaking turns. This approach brings two important points to the front: first, in order to understand participation, analysis cannot simply rely on a participant’s relationship to producing or receiving the talk, but their relationship towards others in the interaction and the actions and adjustments that occur during the interaction must be considered. Secondly, the alignment of participants at any moment of an interaction is both establishing participation structures for future moments in the interaction, as well as being influenced by the potential in these future moments. Picture a speaker that fears that he is losing the attention of his audience. This speaker will likely attempt to avoid this fate by adjusting his talk in the current moment of speech, both adapting to the signs

of participation from the audience as the talk emerges and taking steps to avoid presumed issues of (in)attention of the audience as the talk continues.

In considering participation, this dissertation is not meant to argue for the universality of the models of participation that is presents, but instead intends to show: a) the complexities that can be introduced into understandings of participation by the medium and multi-party organizational participants, and b) the ways that studies of language-in-use can help us to understand these complexities. In this vein, I make use of the concepts and terminology put forward by Goffman and Levinson, while continuing to build an understanding of participation that considers the role of context (including, here, the influences of the medium of the talk). Additionally, following the Goodwins, this work acknowledges the active role of recipients of the talk in establishing and manipulating participation structures, and accounts for recipient actions as they are performed in the Twitter medium. Finally, this work embraces the idea of participation as an ongoing construction, and follows in the practice of investigating the larger patterns of participation across the talk produced for a Twitter account, as well as the participant roles and frameworks established in particular instances of talk.

2.2 INTERACTIONAL STANCE AND FRAMING

As noted by Irvine (1996), knowledge about the frames participants have for an interaction as well as their interpersonal and dialogic relationships is essential for presenting a complete picture of the participant structures for that interaction. And while the assignment of participant roles can describe an individual's relationship to an utterance or stretch of talk, understanding participation structures and the manipulation of – and expectations for – participant roles also

illuminate a participant's relationship with other participants involved in the interaction and their relationship to the talk itself. To that end, this section discusses the concepts of stance and framing as they will be utilized in this dissertation.

Dubois (2007:163) defines stance as “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others) and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field”. It is this positioning and alignment of subjects that is central to this project. When actors establish participation frameworks in their talk, they are not only indicating alignment with (or distance from) the content of that stretch of talk, but also their evaluation of the interaction and their alignment to the other participants. Through their linguistic choices, NHL teams, for example, are positioning both themselves and others as subjects in an interaction, creating participation frameworks that reveal their stance towards their own role in the interaction as well as their stance towards the involvement of others. Walton and Jaffe (2011:200) note in their work on commentary on the online blog “Stuff White People Like” that stance alignments can be accomplished “both directly/explicitly and indirectly/implicitly”. Participants do not need to directly state their role in an interaction, and as Goodwin (2007) notes, they often indicate their role through actions expressing focus of attention. In face-to-face interaction, for example, recipients of talk may indicate their participation status (and thus their stance towards the speaker and the interaction) through their gaze or body positioning. We might picture an engaged recipient as one that has her body turned towards the speaker, with her gaze directed towards the speaker as well. If this recipient then becomes bored with the interaction or wishes to take her own turn in the interaction, she can again indicate this stance change either directly or indirectly;

the recipient might actually say “I’d like to comment on that” or open her mouth to indicate interest in speaking. Alternatively, to indicate a stance of disinterest, she can direct her gaze away from the speaker or change body posture. These indications of stance, particularly those of interest and involvement, are highly relevant to understanding the resulting participation structures. Not only can a change in participation structures become noticeable in the moment, for example when our producers do not have an attentive recipient (imagine directives or questions directed to a recipient that are met with silence), but the structures can also change as the interaction proceeds, with the speaker adapting their talk to accommodate the stances broadcast back to them from their recipients. (Imagine here a story-teller continuing to go into greater detail with more vivid dramatization as his story progresses when met with nods of encouragement versus the teller that ends the story abruptly when recognizing signs of his audience’s lack of involvement.) These norms of indicating stance are themselves highly contextual – for some, prolonged and direct gaze will work to indicate aggression instead of interest, while interruptions can work to indicate involvement as opposed to disinterest. Stance, and the cues that indicate stances, then, rely on context and knowledge of cultural practice in order to be interpreted properly by recipients, and to this end, this dissertation investigates stances and their linguistic cues as they are specific to both the interactional context of Twitter and the broader context of interaction between sports organizations and fans.

In addition to the stances that producers and recipients indicate towards each other and towards the talk, the frames they establish for how the interaction might proceed will influence both their interpretation of the proceedings and their role within them. In fact, Gumperz notes that a prerequisite for conversational involvement is an understanding by the participants of the speech activity in which they believe themselves to be participating (Gumperz 1982; as cited in

Tannen 1993). Sociolinguistic work on framing finds its origin in Bateson's (1954) work observing otters and monkeys at play, where communicative moves by the animals needed to be conveyed and understood as play in order to avoid interpretations of hostility. Goffman (1986:10) pulls from Bateson's work in his definition of the term "frames" as "definitions of a situation [that] are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them". Our frames, or definitions of a situation, then, are both built from and work to determine our involvement in interactions. Frames are built from our participation in or observation of social situations, and then work to influence our understanding of the situation for not only the current event, but also events that we categorize in a similar way in the future. Returning to Bateson's work, animals must decide whether to respond to an attack or enjoy an action as play based on their frame for the interaction – if they have been given a cue that a seemingly hostile action is meant to be interpreted as play, they can participate accordingly; if they do not pick up on this frame, their actions will instead reflect a response more appropriate for a situation in which they are being attacked or threatened. As both Goffman (1981) and later, Tannen (1993) note, frames for interpersonal interaction are often revealed (and thus discovered) through linguistic cues. In this vein, "discourse analysis can provide insight into the linguistic means by which frames are created in interaction" (Tannen 1993:4). This dissertation builds from this notion, investigating the use of linguistic forms (such as pronouns, hashtags, and @replies) in building frames for participation in organizational interaction on Twitter. The following sections in Section 2.2 explore previous work investigating the ways that discourse can be used to reveal participants' stances and frames for interaction.

2.2.1 Aligning the self as a participant through displays of stance

As Goodwin (1999:177) writes, “*participation* refers to the actions demonstrating forms of involvement by parties within evolving structures of talk”. This view of participation argues that participation is not a given (when one person begins to speak, that does not automatically make the others “hearers” if they choose not to pay attention), but something that participants must actively perform. In addition to deciding whether or not to speak or to listen, participants also perform stances towards participating in the interaction, and it is the job of studies of participation to discover both the ways that participants align themselves to the talk and other participants and the linguistic and embodied performances with which they do so.

Much work has been dedicated to revealing the ways in which those on both the production and reception sides demonstrate stances to align or distance themselves from a segment of talk, with reporting the speech of others operating as a prime example. In his work on voicing, Keane (1999:271) notes the importance of understanding “the complexity and manipulability of participation roles, by which persons can take on a wide range of possible alignments towards the words being used in any given context, e.g., claiming authorship versus merely reporting another’s words”. The example of direct versus indirect quotation can begin to demonstrate this complexity. When speakers choose to use the form of direct quotation in their speech, they are assigning authorship of the talk to another source (the original speaker), whether it is true that they are accurately reporting that source’s words or not. By the use of indirect quotation, however, authorship of the talk is ambiguously split between the current speaker and the person they are indirectly quoting. Hill and Zepeda’s (1992) work on the distribution of responsibility in talk illustrates the intricacy of participation structures, showing that by scaffolding different levels of authorship into their talk, speakers can create and manipulate

many different roles and frameworks to align themselves with or distance themselves from the stances put forward in an utterance. Both Keane (1999) and Besnier (1992) cite intonation and voice quality as just two examples of the many speech features that speakers can manipulate to inject their own evaluations into an utterance, even when reporting the words of another participant. In many ways, speakers can choose whether to simply align themselves as the animator of reported speech (authored by and attributed to another participant) or to claim some level of principalship for themselves as well through constructing multiple voices for the talk (as also argued in Bakhtin's (1934a) discussion of the concept of 'heteroglossia').

Displays of stance by the hearer are equally important, and as Goodwin and Goodwin (2004:222) note, "When we foreground participation as an analytic concept, we focus on the interactive work that hearers as well as speakers engage in." Recipients, then, are also actively displaying alignment and participation throughout a stretch of talk, and, as discussed above, speakers respond in turn by adjusting their talk in regards to the displays of their recipients. Jones (2009:20) discusses this phenomenon as a "relationship of mutual monitoring" with the idea of perception (and the perception of being perceived) as central to the concept of participation. Jones argues that primary concern of interaction is that of being perceived by others – without perception on the part of our recipients, communication cannot be achieved. Through mutual monitoring, then, the actions of recipients in aligning themselves to the stretch of talk they are receiving will (hopefully) be reflected in the actions of the speaker going forward. Goodwin (2007a) illustrates this concept of mutual monitoring and the active role of the hearer in positioning himself as a participant in his work on interactivity in the organization of activities. He provides the example of a father helping his sick child with her homework, where the father frequently shifts his attention from the homework sheet to the child's face in order to

see if the child is paying attention to and understanding him. Presumably because the child is sick, she is not performing the expected acts of engagement as a listener, and therefore the father must constantly redirect his gaze to ensure that the mutual monitoring is still taking place. When the child does provide signs of engagement and comprehension, the father can maintain visual attention on the homework sheet to continue to move the activity forward. Ultimately, it is only through the child's performance of aligning herself as an active recipient that this activity can progress.

While this type of mid-utterance adjustment through mutual monitoring may not be possible for the practice of tweeting, as participants are rarely able to garner feedback from a Twitter audience mid-tweet, the concept of designing talk for those who will receive it and adjusting future communication after receiving feedback from recipients is still relevant. Duranti and Goodwin (1992) posit that all communication displays signs of being produced with the recipients (or assumed recipients) in mind. As such, presentations of one's self as a producer of the talk and the resultant stances that are indicated must be viewed with the recipients of such communication in mind. Bell (1991) refers to this concept as "audience design", in which all talk is thought to be designed for either a real or imagined audience. An example of audience design and mutual monitoring on Twitter can be seen in the construction of interaction for team accounts. Going back to the Los Angeles Kings example from Chapter 1, their controversial tweet ("To everyone in Canada outside BC, you're welcome") is clearly designed with a certain audience in mind. First, it assumes that many followers of the Los Angeles Kings account (the most likely audience for the tweet) are fans of the team that will be happy that the Kings have defeated the Vancouver Canucks and will enjoy the teasing stance in the tweet. The tweet also holds in it the assumption that Twitter users outside of the Los Angeles area (and more

specifically, in Canada) will receive the tweet, as it is playfully addressed to these users. The backlash that followed the tweet suggests that the tweet was not designed for (or did not hold in mind) an audience that would not see the tweet to have a friendly, joking stance, and instead would take offense to the tweet as abrasive or incendiary. By failing to consider this audience (or at least failing to design the tweet with this audience in mind), the Los Angeles Kings organization was ultimately led to apologize for the tweet, illustrating a form of mutual monitoring by acknowledging the reactions of others. It is clear from this example that talk can indicate the perceived audience in both the address form, the style, and the content of a tweet, and such examples of audience design are considered in this work when discussing the stances and participation frameworks enacted through tweeting.

2.2.2 Framing and participation

In addition to indicating stance and alignment with other participants, by taking up certain roles in the interaction, participants can also provide frames for how they think the interaction should proceed and where they expect other participants to line up in the participation framework. Goodwin argues that it is by shifting the focus from “the *structure* of speech activities to forms of *social organization* made possible through talk” that “we can begin to investigate the interactive process through which members of a social group come to view the world through a similar lens” (1999:178). Irvine (1996) again turns to reported speech to illustrate this concept. When a speaker uses the 1st person singular pronoun form “I”, we most often expect that form to be self-referential. However, once a speaker has established a frame of reporting speech, recipients can now understand this deictic to refer to another individual, as in Irvine’s example “He said ‘I am going’”, where we can understand the “I” to be co-referenced with “he”, as

opposed to the speaker. It is this framing of the event as reported speech (through the active realignment of participants by the speaker) that allows the hearer to shift her understanding of this deictic form. Wortham (1996) also suggests that frames for participation can be revealed through an analysis of deictic shifters, or referential terms for which the referent can shift depending on the context (as with “I” in the example above). He uses the process of “deictic mapping”, in which all deictic references in a stretch of talk are mapped out and analyzed as to which participants are centered as 1st or 2nd person references in the discourse and which are established as being 3rd person entities. He argues that “deictics systematically index aspects of the context, and these forms often sketch the framework of the interactional event”. This can again be seen in the ways that organizations present themselves on Twitter. Do they present the “team” identity as the principal participant in the interaction? Or do they present individuals working for the organization as the main subjects of interaction, for example identifying the person that runs their Twitter account and speaking as “I” instead of “we”? Is the team itself distinguished from the individual(s) running the account with the use of “they”? The choice of deictics used by these team accounts works to establish stances on the part of the producers, as well as frames for the interaction itself.

O’Keeffe (2006) nicely illustrates the role of framing in her discussion of participation structures in radio talk shows. She suggests four different potential structures of participation: one in which the host addresses the audience with no opportunity for response from the audience, another in which the host and the audience interact (e.g. where the host will take calls from the listening audience), a third in which the host interacts with interviewees (for the benefit of an audience, but without their immediate feedback), and a fourth in which the interviewee directly addresses (and perhaps interacts with) an audience without intervention from the host. O’Keeffe

notes that we may see all of these alignments within one episode of a radio show, and that it is often the job of the host to set the frame for the current structure through their talk. For example, after a lengthy monologue, a host might say something like “Now, let’s hear what you think. We’ll take your calls after this word from our sponsors.” indicating that the frame will be shifting from structure one to structure two. The establishment of frames for the interaction by both the team organizations and their Twitter followers is central to this dissertation and the role of such framing through participation structures is investigated.

2.3 THE ROLE OF MEDIUM IN SHAPING DISCOURSE AND PARTICIPATION

As this dissertation investigates interaction on Twitter, it is important to consider the role of the medium itself and the ways that users take up this medium in order to participate in an interaction. As Rowe and Wyss (2009:1) write, “It can now be said with confidence that the particular characteristics, features, and uses of [a] medium strongly affect the nature and, usually, the resultant form of the communication.” Scollon (1998:6) continues along this line in his discussion of mediated discourse analysis, noting that “the focus is upon finding a common basis in social interaction for analysing the ways in which mediational means from languages to microphones, literacy to computers, news stories to telephone calls are appropriated by participants in social scenes in undertaking mediated action.” For Scollon, then, all discourse is mediated in some way, and therefore discourse studies should make an effort to understand the ways that participants make use of the medium in which they are interacting. As Jones (2011:322) notes, “different kinds of tools make different kinds of thoughts or actions either more or less possible, [and as such] *mediation* has a profound effect on limiting and focusing

human activity”. It is necessary, then, for studies of participation to investigate the ways that a medium allows for certain forms of participation, as well as users’ understandings and adaptations of these affordances of the medium.

The Twitter medium (discussed in more detail in Section 1.1 above and in Appendix A) is generally considered to be a form of computer-mediated communication. While there are many issues in determining what exactly it means for communication to be “computer-mediated” (for example, do mobile devices such as smart phones and tablets count as “computers” in this sense?), this dissertation takes up Flanagin et al.’s (2002:88) definition, where computer-mediated communication is “taken here to mean largely text-based electronic interaction conducted across space and time”. These components of the Twitter medium – being largely based in text, being accessed through some electronic means, and allowing for communication across time and space – are integral factors in the use of Twitter as a medium for communicating. These facets of computer-mediated communication are discussed in this dissertation, along with features specific to Twitter, as modal affordances that influence interaction in this medium.

2.3.1 Affordances of a medium

In the ongoing debate of technological determinism (the idea that technologies themselves determine the ways that people can make use of them) versus social constructivist conceptions of technology (the idea that technological artifacts are social in both their construction and use), one thing becomes clear: technologies have *affordances* or “possibilities that they offer for action” (concept by Gibson 1979; as defined by Hutchby 2001:447). Pulling on Gibson’s concept of affordances, Hutchby (Hutchby 2001) argues that “affordances are functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an

object. In this way, technologies can be understood as artefacts [sic] which may be both shaped by and shaping of the practices humans use in interaction with, around and through them.” For Hutchby, the affordances of a technology create frames for how people will potentially use that technology; the affordances do not *determine* what users will do, but instead shape the understanding of the ways that the technology *can* be used (and in this way shape the resultant use). Baym (2010:44) continues this argument, noting that “the consequences of technologies arise from a mix of ‘affordances’ – the social capabilities technological qualities enable – and the unexpected and emergent ways that people make use of those affordances”.

This concept of technological affordances, then, is of use in understanding the ways that users take up a medium for communication and interaction. Berglund defines the concept of *modal affordance*: “options for interaction that the environment provides for the participants residing in it, and especially those options that are acted upon by the individual “ (2009:187). More simply, a modal affordance is a way in which a particular mode allows one to express and represent communication (Kress 2009). Just one example of a modal affordance of Twitter is that it is largely text-based⁵. Messages are produced and received as written text to be read on an electronic screen, and as Androutsopoulos (2011:279) notes “in contemporary Web 2.0 environments language comes integrated in visually organized environments... and meaning is constructed through the interplay of language and other semiotic means”. Users should not expect, then, that they will be able to use voice intonation to convey or interpret meaning in a message, but must find other means of doing so within a visually organized mode (e.g.

⁵ It should be noted that Twitter, like much computer-mediated communication, is not limited to the single mode of written text. Users choose avatar images (or are assigned one depicting an egg) and many Twitter interfaces allow users to see small versions of pictures or videos that can be attached to a tweet through hyperlink. While this paper will not explicitly focus on the multimodal affordances of Twitter, as this could be a dissertation topic all on its own, the use of multiple modalities, such as the inclusion of hyperlinks and images, will be discussed when relevant to the concept of participation.

emoticons, expressive punctuation, etc.) Additionally, one of the most notable affordances of Twitter is that each message is limited to 140 characters. Users must find ways to express their message within this limitation or find ways around it, potentially using other mediums (for example the website “TwitLonger.com” which provides users with the opportunity to make their tweets longer, but all text over 140 must be accessed through a hyperlink at the end of the tweet, taking the reader outside of the Twitter medium and into the TwitLonger website interface). Awareness of the modal affordances of Twitter allows for an understanding of the process by which practices become standardized by users that have taken up that medium. The actions (and interactions) that users make regular practice of during use of that medium arise from and are framed by the possibilities afforded by the medium, and the acceptance of such practices by the community of users ultimately depends on context and dynamics of the discourse. Gershon (2010:9-10) illustrates this view of social media use in her study of break-up norms on Facebook and other electronic mediums, noting that it is not the “fact of newness” of a medium that results in changes in the way people communicate, but the “ways in which people understand and experience the newness of technology” that influences their interactions. In the same vein, in light of their colleague’s study that revealed that participants routinely categorized instant messaging and phone conversation as ‘face-to-face communication’, Boczowski and Orlikowski suggested that “the participants, far from being ‘in error’ [were] engaged in a practical recategorization of media use to reflect their current and emerging communicative practices” (2004:359). Users of communicative technologies, including social media, are not just categorizing them as “new media”, but finding new ways to relate them to their “old” means of communication, and it is important to consider the ways in which users adapt to the affordances of a medium in an analysis of participation.

2.3.2 Affordances and participation

As noted by Hutchby (2001:448), the affordances of a medium can be *functional* (“in the sense that they are enabling, as well as constraining, factors in a given organism’s attempt to engage in some activity”) or *relational* (pertaining to “the way that affordances of an object may be different for one species than another”). Mediums, then, may have functional affordances – things they prevent or enable users to do – that users never make use of or feel constrained by. Alternatively some users may find relational affordances – affordances of the medium that may not be relevant for other users.

In addition to considering the affordances of the medium, it is important to also consider the goals of the developers of that medium, and their role in influencing possible participation in that medium. The founders and developers of Twitter have expressed great interest in morphing the affordances of Twitter to reflect the practices of its users and improve the user experience (Stone 2009; Costolo 2010). On the company’s blog, the founders of the company have identified Twitter as being a great way to obtain and share information and “discover what’s new in your world” (Williams 2010). To this end, changes or additions to the affordances Twitter medium often revolve around ease of sharing or accessing information. One such example, discussed further in Chapter 5 of this paper, is the act of ‘retweeting’. Initially, Twitter had no specific functional affordance built into the medium in order to share tweets produced by other users. Tweeters instead found ways to indicate that they were sharing text produced by others by making use of the affordances at the time, for example denoting text they had copied from another user with an ‘RT’ notation followed by the user’s Twitter name (e.g. @user) and the retweeted text. In 2009, Twitter developers announced the introduction of a new affordance into the medium – a feature that would reproduce tweets from other users’ timelines with the click of

a button (Stone 2009). Their goals in aiding the ease of sharing information however did not mesh entirely with the ways that users viewed their retweeting practices. This new functional affordance did not allow users to add their own commentary to the tweet, preventing them from indicating whether they agreed or disagreed with the text they were retweeting, for example. Many users, then, took up the new functional affordance for retweeting when they did not wish to express their own commentary, retaining the user-generated practice of using the ‘RT’ notation to allow them to add comments to make their own relationship to the retweeted text clear. This example shows that while the Twitter company may wish to reflect the things that users are already doing on Twitter when they make changes, their goals may not always match those of their users. In this way, the goals of those in charge of making changes to the Twitter interface can influence participation in the medium by introducing affordances that will likely change the ways that users interact in the medium. In regards to the role that the affordances of a medium play in building participation structures, then, it is important to look not just at the functional affordances present in the medium, but in the ways that users actually take up these affordances and the uses they find for them.

This paper builds on previous studies that have focused on the ways that both the functional and relational affordances of a medium can frame components of participation in interaction in that medium. As noted above in Section 2.2.2, O’Keefe (2006) reveals the complexity of participation structures in live call-in radio talk shows, including how turn-taking in the talk is managed by participants and how relationships between speaker and audience are established through the possibilities presented by the multiple mediums involved. Myers (2010) investigates Goffman’s traditional participant roles in Internet blogging, focusing on a key functional affordance in that many of the gestural contextualization cues are no longer available

to the person producing the talk. While a participant in face-to-face interaction can address another participant by simply looking in their direction, this is not possible in blogging or most other forms of written, visually organized communication. Address must then be conducted in other ways by the users, including singling out participants by name or by making references to a larger audience, often by use of personal pronouns. Several studies have considered issues of addressivity and audience on Twitter, including the potential for Twitter as a medium for collaboration (Honeycutt and Herring 2009), power differentials and the openness of access in celebrity-fan interaction (Marwick and boyd 2011), and patterns in athletes' use of Twitter, where the predominant form of the tweets was that of a direct response with an "@ mention" to address a particular user that has asked a question (Pegoraro 2010). The work in this dissertation continues in the trend of investigating the role of the mediated context in the establishment of participation.

2.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided background on approaches to participation, outlining Goffman's seminal approach to participation in interaction, as well as detailing Levinson's efforts in furthering a decompositional approach to participation roles. Additionally, this chapter presents additional elements of interaction to be considered, including context and embodied action, in the discussion on participation. As previously noted, this dissertation will work with a concept of participation using terminology and theoretical frameworks laid out by Goffman, while incorporating Irvine's considerations of context and Goodwin and Goodwin's consideration of active and evolving participation roles. This chapter also discussed the role of stance and framing

in interaction, with particular attention to the ways that participants enact stances and create interactional frames with structures of participation in their talk. Finally, this chapter brought in the concept of modal affordances, and the role of the medium in both influencing and framing participation. Following on this discussion of the theoretical concepts essential to this analysis, I turn now in Chapter 3 to the details of the data and methodology that are employed in this study.

3.0 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I conduct a discourse analysis of tweets collected from NHL team accounts to dissect the ways that they build and utilize participation frameworks in their interactions with fans and consumers. Section 3.1 lays out the specific research questions guiding the investigation and reviews the methodological approach for use in this analysis. Section 3.2 details the collection of data and introduces the reader to the team accounts selected for observation. Finally, section 3.3 outlines the discourse features and linguistic forms that are of particular interest to this work.

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND ANALYSIS

As Grant et al. note (2004:9), “Approaches to the study of organizational discourse that focus on language in use seek to provide a detailed examination of talk and texts as instances of social practice.” In that vein, this dissertation examines talk on Twitter as a means of performing the social practice of ‘engagement’ by organizations as they interact with their consumers and fans. As such, the analysis for this dissertation is focused in a methodology known as Discourse Analysis (DA). DA emphasizes discourse as a site for the production of speakers’ versions of the world, including larger societal structures, specific events, and inner psychological views of the world (Potter 1997). The DA approach to sociolinguistic study treats discourse as “not simply a

neutral device of imparting meaning”, but acknowledges that “people seek to accomplish things when they talk or when they write” (Bryman 2012). As this dissertation looks to address the ways that Twitter users manipulate different arrangements of participation in their talk, DA allows for an in-depth look into the linguistic resources being used by tweeters to accomplish their interactional goals.

DA approaches sociolinguistic research with a qualitative methodology. As Bryman writes, "Discourse analysts resist the idea of codifying their practices and indeed argue that such a codification is probably impossible. Instead, they prefer to see their style of research as an 'analytic mentality' and as 'a craft skill, more like bike riding or chicken sexing than following the recipe for a mild chicken rogan josh'" (2012:530; quoting Potter 1997:147–148). In approaching this research with such an analytic mentality, it is important to clarify the questions that a DA investigation hopes to answer. As Potter notes, researchers using DA focus on asking three basic questions:

- 1) What is this discourse doing?,
 - 2) How is this discourse constructed to make this happen?, and
 - 3) What resources are available to perform this activity?
- (2004:609)

These questions serve well to accomplish the goals of this dissertation (laid out above in section 1.4), and as such this study applies these three questions to the management of participation in interaction between NHL teams and their fans on Twitter. Along the line of inquiry of DA’s first question, I investigate how participants align themselves in the interaction through their discourse, with attention to alignment both in relation to other participants and to the talk. Additionally, I focus on both the linguistic forms and the organization of discourse in order to address question 2, or how the discourse is constructed by the team accounts to achieve the resulting participation frameworks. Finally in pursuit of an answer to question 3, I look at the

influence of the affordances of the specific medium in question, Twitter, in order to investigate both the unique resources available for construction of participation in the medium, as well as those resources that might be common across mediums, including face-to-face conversation and other written forms of communication. This investigation of the Twitter medium includes a look at both the functional affordances of the medium (i.e. the ways in which the medium itself provides resources for or limits the interaction) and the relational affordances (i.e. the ways that users take up the functional affordances provided in the medium).

In order to investigate these research questions, the basic unit of analysis for this dissertation will be the “tweet”, the 140-character message that is broadcast from a user’s home Twitter page into the timelines of the user’s followers. As this research investigates social media discourse, it is important to note that the focus here will be on talk as it is put to use in this medium. As Boczkowski and Orlikowski explain:

A practice view of new media and organizational discourse might focus on two distinct aspects of discourse: *discourse with new media*, or how everyday communication practices are enacted with new media, and *discourse about new media*, or the rhetorical construction of new media in recurrent discourse. (2004:367)

This work is focused in describing discourse *with* new media, that is, how communication practices between NHL organizations and fans are enacted in language transmitted via Twitter. The analysis will be focused primarily in these 140-character bits of talk. While discourse *about* new media likely has much to add to the conversation in defining engagement and dissecting participant relationships on Twitter, it does not fall within the scope of this work and as such is discussed only as it helps to shed light on a particular aspect of language use in this study.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

The linguistic data for this study was collected from the Twitter accounts of eight NHL teams. These eight teams were selected based on observation of all 30 NHL teams in a pilot study (Draucker 2011), as well as personal observation as an NHL fan using Twitter. Determination for inclusion in this study focused on selecting teams utilizing a multitude of different approaches to participation and interaction, including teams that actively operate more than one Twitter account identified as official accounts on the team website. Additionally, these teams were chosen to represent locations across the United States to avoid over-generalizations based on particular regional styles⁶. Data were collected using the DiscoverText program (Texifter LLC 2009) over a two-week period from March 19 through April 2, 2012. The eight teams studied for this project run a combined total of 16 Twitter accounts. The teams and accounts are as follows:

Buffalo Sabres – The Buffalo Sabres are an Eastern Conference team located in upstate New York. They operate one team account, **@BuffaloSabres**.

Colorado Avalanche – The Colorado Avalanche are a Western Conference team located in Denver, Colorado, operating one team account, **@Avalanche**. In the last year, the team's account has become significantly more active in a social media push that started with one of its stars, Matt Duchene, turning to Twitter with his own personal account to garner more interest in the team.

Columbus Blue Jackets – The Columbus Blue Jackets are a Western Conference team located in central Ohio. The team operates one account, **@BlueJacketsNHL**.

Florida Panthers – The Florida Panthers are an Eastern Conference team, playing in Miami, Florida. They operate multiple accounts, including the main team account **@FLAPanthers**, a mascot account **@StanleyCPanther**, an account for the team ice

⁶ Canadian team accounts were not used for this study, as hockey is seen to hold a much difference place in the Canadian sporting culture than in the United States. In my previous research, Canadian teams were seen to have very active accounts, and while they provide an interesting grounds for research, they are not included in this study to avoid an inadvertent skewing of results due to hockey's place in the cultural sporting hierarchy.

dancers **@PantherDancers**, and an account run the by team president **@PanthersYormark**.

New York Islanders – The New York Islanders are an Eastern Conference team located in Long Island, New York. They operate one team account, **@NYIslanders**.

Pittsburgh Penguins – The Pittsburgh Penguins are an Eastern Conference team located in southwestern Pennsylvania. They operate three official accounts, including the primary team account **@pghpenguins**, an account for “insider” information **@PensInsideScoop**, and an account run by the Public Relations staff, **@PensPRLady**.

San Jose Sharks – The San Jose Sharks are a Western Conference team located in northern California. They operate two official accounts, **@SanJoseSharks** and an account for game updates **@SharksInGame**.

St. Louis Blues – The St. Louis Blues are a Western Conference team located in Missouri. They operate three accounts, including the main team account **@StLouisBlues**, a mascot account, **@LouieSTLBlues**, and an alumni players account, **@BluesAlumni**.

For more information about these accounts, including their number of followers, see Appendix B. Information about the number of tweets collected from each account for this study can be seen in Appendix C.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

While the research methods within the field of DA are somewhat varied, this work takes up those approaches that focus on the identification of “the general resources that are used to construct discourse and enable performance of particular actions” (Potter and Wetherell 2004). In answering the research questions for this dissertation, this analysis focuses on identifying the linguistic resources used in the Twitter medium to enable particular views of participation. While there are many facets of talk that can work to build participation frameworks and indicate stances, the discourse features listed below are of particular interest to this study and form the grounds for this analysis.

References to “speaker”. The ways that teams refer to themselves in their talk is perhaps the most obvious place to start when looking at the ways that teams manage their identity as participants. This includes not only references to the team, but also the employee(s) that operate the account. Whether teams choose to forefront the organization as the producer of talk (e.g. “That information can be found on *our* website”), to highlight an individual producer of the talk (e.g. “*I* will get you that information right away”), to present the team as a “3rd person” participant (e.g. “*They* have posted that information on *the team* site.”), or to make no mention of the producer of the talk at all (e.g. “That information can be found here: (link to team website)”) is key to understanding the way they present themselves as participants in the talk. This category includes an analysis of 1st person pronouns (“I” vs. “we”) versus 3rd person pronouns as they refer to the team or producers of talk. Additionally, the use of inclusive and exclusive “we” is analyzed.

References to “hearer”. The ways that teams view the audience of their tweets and set them up in the talk can have an effect on the possibilities for further interaction. The use of direct address (e.g. “Hey fans!”) or references to the readers of the tweet (e.g. “Our fans are the best in hockey!”) can encourage interaction, while talk dominated by a lack of such reference may set up a frame of one-way communication. Here I include the use of 2nd person pronouns in the analysis, as well as deictics and other references that work to include or exclude participants in the audience of the tweet (Wortham 1996; O’Keeffe 2006).

First pair parts. Directives (e.g. “Watch this spin-o-rama shootout move from last night’s game”) and questions (e.g. “Who will score the first goal tonight?”) function as the first part of an adjacency pair, calling for some further action from the addressed audience, whether that be in the form of a verbal response to a question or an action of some kind in response to the

directive (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). These and other first pair parts act to encourage interaction as they require a reciprocal action, even without overt reference to an addressee. First pair part use is investigated for both type of response required for the exchange. For example, do questions look for a tweeted response from fans? Or are users asked to click on a link by way of response? The type of response required by questions and directives sheds light on the interactional style of the team accounts. Included in this discussion is the use of hypertext links to websites, photos, and videos that seek to engage the audience by encouraging them to click the link for more multimodal interaction.

Deictics of time and place. In addition to direct references to the audience, specific references to time and location can work to ratify or privilege certain members in the interaction. References to time and place (e.g. “It is loud here in the arena tonight.”) can identify a specific intended audience (in this example, likely those not currently in the arena, as they would already know this information) and exclude others, moving them to a status of unratified or unaddressed recipients.

Team or sport-specific lingo. Jargon that is specific to a group of fans can also work to ratify specific parts of the audience. For example, hockey players often refer to the act of scoring in the top corners of the net as “going top cheddar”. Phrases such as this that are used by team accounts can work to privilege hockey fans that are more highly involved in the hockey culture within an interaction.

Reponses. Responses to other-initiated interaction can take multiple forms on Twitter. One means of response is to respond directly to the user who initiated the interaction by beginning the tweet with that user’s username, in the form of @username. This type of response limits the broadcast of the tweet, as only users who follow both the tweeting account and the

account that is being responded to will see the tweet in their feeds. While this form of response is certainly not private (it can still be found in the timeline of the account that sent the tweet by anyone who looks there), it demonstrates an attempt to focus on the user that is being responded to as the primary audience for the tweet. Alternately, the team account can cast a wider net when responding, by placing the @username somewhere within the text instead of at the beginning of the tweet. This option allows all followers of the account to see the response in their timelines, in ratification of a larger audience. This form of response can often be accomplished by simply placing a period or other single punctuation character before the @username notation, and is often used for requests for information that others may also be interested in (for example what television station a game will appear on). Finally, a team can choose to retweet the tweet that they are responding to (in the “comment on RT” format, discussed below) and add text before the RT notation so that all followers can now see not only the response, but the original question as well. General strategies employed by team accounts, as well as specific exchange structures for other-initiated interaction are investigated in this study in regards to their use in mutual monitoring practices.

@mentions. @mentions refer to mentions of a user in the text of a tweet (by the notation @username) that is not in response to an other-initiated interaction. These mentions of other users notify that user that they have been mentioned in a tweet and can often be used by teams to mention other members of the team organization, such as players that have Twitter accounts (e.g. “That last goal was @PlayerX’s 40th goal of the year!”). @mentions can be used as a form of address, thanks to the notification that is sent upon their use, or as simply a way of including others in an interaction. The use of these @mentions by teams is investigated for their use as a means of address, as well as a way to bring new participants into an interaction.

Retweets. The term ‘retweet’ can refer to several different actions, the two most popular of which will be investigated in this paper. When user A wants to retweet user B he can a) click the “retweet” option built into the Twitter interface, which will rebroadcast user B’s tweet in its full original format or b) copy text from a tweet produced by user A, paste it into a new tweet and indicate that it is a retweet with the commonly accepted orthographic notation “RT” before the reproduced text. In the first case, the original tweet cannot be modified – it is simply reproduced in its original form, with no additional content added and shows up in user A’s timeline as if it has simply been taken out of user B’s timeline and added to user A’s. In the second case, user A can add a comment on the retweet, and can modify the retweeted text, either to save space to adhere to the 140-character limit or because they only want to broadcast part of the original content. Both of these types of retweeting have implications for participation frameworks, particularly on the production side, and are investigated here for their use in both aligning and distancing the retweeting account from the retweeted text.

Hashtags. Hashtag terms (in the form #hashtag) can be used on Twitter to both encourage interaction and to open up a new audience for receiving tweets containing the hashtag term. While tweets produced by an account are broadcast in the feeds of their followers, anyone searching for a hashtag term used in a tweet will also see the tweet as part of the search feed for that term. Hashtag terms are quite popular among NHL team accounts, with over 53% of tweets (2,264 of 4,266) in the pilot study for this dissertation using at least one hashtag term (Draucker 2011), compared to an average of only 24% of tweets containing hashtag terms in a study of 320 brand accounts on Twitter (van Seijen 2012). These hashtags also allow followers of the team account to reproduce this form in their own tweets to join in on a broader conversation that may reach many more users than just their own followers. The hashtag, then, can act as a means of

ratification, by widening the pool of Twitter users that are likely to come across a tweet, even if they are not following a particular account, and can encourage other users to join in an interaction by tagging their own tweets with the hashtag. Additionally, hashtag terms are investigated in their use as metacommentary, functioning as a form of emotive language that highlights the producer(s) of the talk.

In the chapters that follow, the data are analyzed for these linguistic and discursive features as put to use by the team accounts in managing the presentation participants in the discourse, as well as their management of the talk as a means of interaction. Evidence is presented from teams that take myriad approaches to interaction and engagement, from those concentrating on one-way interaction by acting simply as a non-personalized broadcaster of information, to those strongly encouraging two-way interaction with responses, retweets, presentation of the producers of talk as personal entities, and even those running multiple accounts for the organization with different interactional strategies. In the forthcoming chapters, Part I (Chapters 4-5) of the analysis focuses on the construction of producers of the talk in tweets, while Part II (Chapters 6-7) focuses on the construction of the receiving audience of the talk.

ANALYSIS I. PRODUCTION PARTICIPANTS: ANALYZING ARRANGEMENTS OF PRODUCERS OF TALK AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE INTERACTION

In analysis of the participation of NHL team organizations in Twitter interaction, I begin by looking at the representation of producers of talk for official team accounts. Part I of this dissertation's analysis delves into four research questions centered on this theme: 1) who are the participants in the production of tweets for these accounts, 2) how are these participants represented and revealed in the talk, 3) how are any basic production frameworks modified and does this change anything for the interaction, and finally, 4) what role does the medium play in influencing and communicating these structures? In Chapter 4, I address questions 1 and 2, laying out the three most common participation structures found in the data for this study. This chapter also details the linguistic cues used to establish and maintain these structures, and discusses the stances established through each of these three alignments of participants, along with the resultant frames for the interaction. In Chapter 5, I consider question 3, looking at examples extending beyond the more common frameworks, focusing on the addition of new participants and the implications of adding new voices to the predominant production frameworks used by an account. I again turn here to question 2, looking at the different ways these accounts can represent the talk of others. Both Chapters 4 and 5 address question 4, discussing the role of the Twitter medium as it influences both the building and the communication of participation structures.

4.0 BASIC PRODUCTION ROLES AND FRAMEWORKS IN ORGANIZATIONAL TWEETING

As noted previously, Twitter and other social media sites are often seen as potential sites of engagement, offering organizations a medium in which they can interact with their consumers. More traditional forms of media, such as television advertising, offer only one-way channels of broadcast, where organizations can send a message to their consumer but not vice versa. Social media, conversely, open up the channels for two-way communication, even allowing for one-to-one interaction between organizations and their fans and consumers. One important component of the concept of engagement is the way that organizations present themselves and their employees as participants in an interaction. While Twitter is often viewed as a one-to-many form of broadcasting, there are many different ways to configure participants in the interaction, and by utilizing different participant structures organizations can create varying frames for such interaction. This chapter begins the investigation into these potential structures of participation with a look at the basic alignments of participants in production roles for talk produced for NHL team Twitter accounts. Section 4.1 proposes three models of production to capture the alignments of participants that emerge from the data. Section 4.2 then follows with an investigation of the primary linguistic cues used in each of these three participation structures, with act to signal these structures for the recipient. Finally, Section 4.3 discusses the stances

established by each of the models, and the frames that they denote for Twitter interaction between team organizations and their fans.

4.1 MODELING PRODUCTION ROLES FOR TEAM ORGANIZATION TWEETS

In order to provide models for understanding the alignment of participants in production roles for the NHL team Twitter accounts analyzed in this study, I return to Goffman's (1981) concepts of animator, author, and principal. As Twitter is a form of electronically-mediated communication, the animator role will be used here to refer to the participants that physically create the talk, most likely via typing (whether on a mobile device, such as a cell phone or tablet, or on a laptop or desktop computer). Both the author and principal roles maintain much the same sense as used by Goffman, with the author functioning as the composer of the talk that makes up a tweet and the principal functioning as the party whose position is represented by the talk. Additionally, drawing on Levinson's (1988) concept of transmission of talk, I suggest the role of *broadcaster*, or a 'followable' entity that makes talk available to recipients, for the Twitter medium. For Levinson, the "relayer" role, which makes the talk physically available to recipients, subsumes a role of broadcasting the information as well as that of animating the talk. In electronic mediums, these roles cannot always be assigned to the same person or group. While the identity of the broadcaster may be the same as the animator for tweeters using their own identity, for the NHL teams and other organizations, a clear distinction can be made between the person that is animating the text of the tweets and the party that makes the tweets accessible to the followers. By and large, Twitter users are not choosing to follow the individual that is animating and authoring the tweets for team accounts – in many cases of such organizational accounts,

Table 1. Production roles as defined in this work (following table from Levinson 1988:169 summarizing Goffman’s 1981 production format).

<i>Production roles</i>		
1	<i>animator</i>	the participant that physically creates the talk, most likely through typing
2	<i>broadcaster</i>	the “followable” participant that makes talk available to recipients
3	<i>author</i>	the participant that composes the talk
4	<i>principal</i>	the participant whose position is represented in the talk

followers may not even know who that person is. Instead, it is by following the *team* that they become recipients of the talk produced by this potentially unknown animator and author, and thus it is the team that is (in part) responsible for transmission of the talk. Table 1 lays out these four production roles as they will be used in this chapter. (For a more detailed discussion of the distinction of the broadcaster role from other production roles, see Draucker 2011.)

In this section, I model the three basic frameworks of participants in production roles in the team accounts observed for this study. These models identify the participants in production roles for NHL accounts and illustrate their relationship to the talk produced for the account. While more complete models that include recipients of talk will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, I focus here on the arrangement of producers in order to look more closely at the participatory identities that these accounts create for themselves. Because Twitter is a primarily text-based medium in which talk is communicated through a computer or mobile screen, it becomes possible to obscure the participant that fills many of these production roles. This is an option that may not always be present in other mediums, such as face-to-face communication, in which the animator is often observable through both sound and sight. Even interactions mediated by a telephone can provide the opportunity for recognition of voice in ascertaining the identity of an animator. Interaction that takes place via Twitter, however, does not provide the usual cues to identifying with whom exactly one is interacting. As Jones (2009) notes, “Computer screens

have a dual function – they allow us to project information onto them, but they also allow us to hide information behind them. These ‘involvement screens’ (Goffman 1963) are extremely versatile, allowing us not only to selectively include or exclude participants from situations, but to partially include or exclude participants by selecting which modes of communication we wish to make available.” Thanks to the “involvement screens” of the Twitter medium, organizational accounts can choose which production participants to highlight in an interaction and which to keep hidden behind the screen. When an individual’s name is not present on the account, as is often the case with team accounts, recipients must rely on cues in the talk itself, such as deictic references or emotive language, to identify the participants. This potential for obscuring certain participants plays a role in all three of the models of production to be discussed in this section.

4.1.1 Production Framework #1: The Impersonal Model

One of the more common alignments of production roles found in the data is in fact one in which the production roles of animator, author, and principal are left ambiguous for the recipient, with only the broadcaster role being clearly assigned to the team organization. This production framework is employed by three of the team accounts observed in this study: the San Jose Sharks (@SanJoseSharks), the St. Louis Blues (@StLouisBlues), and the Colorado Avalanche (@Avalanche). In this participation structure, no mention is made of the person or entity that is animating or authoring the tweets, and as such an identity to assign to these participant roles remains unrecoverable from the talk. With no ability to identify an animator or author, and with the organizational identity often being referenced in the third person, the assignment of principalship also becomes complicated, as there is often no clear party to which the positions in the talk can be assigned. The lack of clear reference to any participants in the production of the

talk for this structure has led me to term this the “Impersonal Model”. The model for this alignment of production participants is laid out in Figure 3, below.

The solid lines in Figure 3 indicate the parts of the structure that are recoverable from the talk, while the dashed lines indicate those parts of the structure that are less clear. While it is

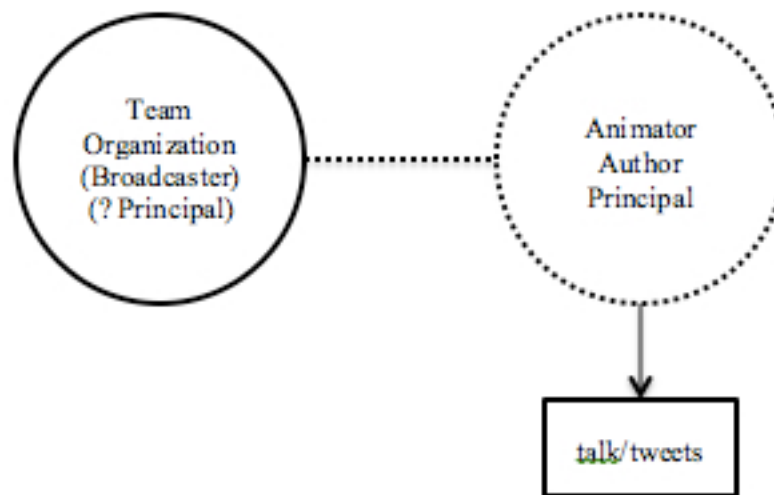


Figure 3. The Impersonal Model of production roles for team accounts.

obvious that some person (or multiple people) must be composing the talk for the tweets, as well as physically typing them and sending them out using the account, there is no reference to this person in the talk. Even the most basic 1st person deictic pronoun references to an animator or author are absent. The team itself is clearly referenced throughout the tweets produced by the account as well as the account name itself; however, the team is most frequently referenced in the 3rd person, whether through direct usage of the team name (e.g. “the Sharks” or “#SJSharks”) or the use of pronouns such as “they” and “their”. Therefore while the team organizations are clearly referenced and recoverable throughout the tweets produced by these accounts, they do not have a clear link to the production roles for the tweets, and act only in the role of transmission to recipients (in the role of a broadcaster, as recipients must seek out @SanJoseSharks, for

example, to receive the tweets). The production roles of animator and author must then be assigned to a non-specific entity that is unrecoverable from the talk.

As no individuals are identified in the animator or author roles for the tweets, the principal role – the party responsible for the talk – also remains unclear. As the animator/author of the talk cannot be identified, his or her link to the organization is also somewhat unclear and never directly referenced. While it can be assumed that the team employs this person in some capacity (whether as a social media intern or in a larger media relations role), the relationship in regards to participation status in the interaction is never made explicit. It is left up to the recipient, then, to decide to what degree this animator/author speaks for the team and thus how the principalship of the talk should be distributed. The team organization is likely to be held accountable for any controversial positions taken in the tweets, as they are the entity responsible for broadcasting the talk; perhaps because of this, controversial opinions in team tweets are few and far between. Additionally, it is not always clear that a team is meant to be interpreted as the principal for the more mundane positions taken up in tweets. The following examples from @StLouisBlues illustrate this ambiguity in assignment of the principal role in this model:

4.1) Tweet 1:

StLouisBlues: The #stlblues are happy to have clinched a playoff spot, but their sights are set on bigger goals come playoff time. <link to article on team website>

5:06pm CDT– 20 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

StLouisBlues: The Blues fell 5-2 to Columbus on Saturday, just their fifth regulation loss at Scottrade Center this season. More at stlouisblues.com

9:43pm CDT – 31 Mar 2012

In both tweets, the Blues team is first identified by name (through the use of the hashtag term “#stlblues” in tweet 1 and as “The Blues” in tweet 2), and then referred to in the 3rd person with the use of “their”. These 3rd person references clearly separate the team organization from

animator and author roles, but can a designation be made as to whose position is attested in the tweets? In the first tweet in Example 4.1, it can be argued that through its role as the figure of the tweet, the Blues team also becomes the principal, as the talk clearly reports the team's position on making the playoffs (and not the position of the author/animator). However, in the second tweet in Example 4.1, it becomes more difficult to place the team in the role of the principal. Here, the unnamed animator/author of the tweet is simply passing along information about the team's recent loss, and there is no clear position that can be assigned to the team. In this case, the principal role points back to the animator/author, as any position that can be attested in this tweet would seemingly be theirs. It seems most prudent then, to designate the principal role to the same unnamed entity as the animator/author in this model of production structures when the role is otherwise unassigned in the talk. Because the animator, author, and principal roles all come together in this unnamed entity, the talk is most likely to be attributed back to this entity (perhaps before being attributed to the team as a broadcaster), hence the placement of the "talk/tweets" box in the model.

4.1.2 Production Framework #2: The Interpersonal Model

A second participant alignment found in the data, which I have called the "Interpersonal Model", is a framework in which an individual (or group of individuals) responsible for producing the tweets for the team accounts makes himself (or herself) readily recoverable in the talk. In this alignment, taken up by the Florida Panthers (@FlaPanthers), and at times by the Columbus Blue

Jackets (@BlueJacketsNHL) and the Buffalo Sabres (@BuffaloSabres)⁷, the team continues to be referred to as a third person entity. Yet unlike the Impersonal Model, in the Interpersonal Model, the animator and author of the tweets can be brought to the forefront in the talk through the use of 1st person pronouns or electronic-style “signatures” on the tweets (e.g. “--^ks” at the end of many @BuffaloSabres tweets to indicate that the tweet has been produced by the team’s

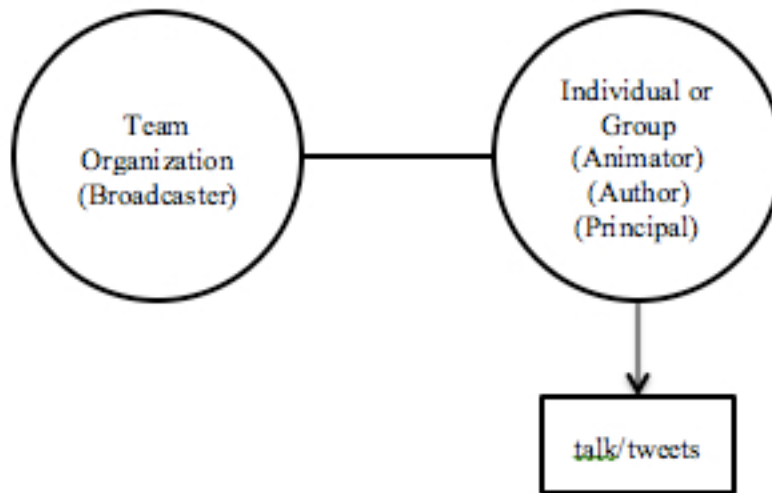


Figure 4. The Interpersonal Model of production roles for team accounts.

Manager of New Media, Kevin Snow). Figure 4, above, illustrates the participant framework for this Interpersonal Model. In this model, all lines are solid, because all participants (and their connections to the talk) are recoverable from the talk produced in the tweets. In tweets that display this alignment for production, the person or people doing the tweeting clearly establish this Interpersonal Model. In this model, all lines are solid, because all participants (and their connections to the talk) are recoverable from the talk produced in the tweets. In tweets that

⁷ The Buffalo Sabres and Columbus Blue Jackets alternate between use of the Interpersonal Model and the Team Model (4.1.3). The Sabres’ use of multiple production frameworks will be discussed further in Section 4.3

themselves as the animator, author, and principal of the talk, while the team is set up as a third party to which the individual or group doing the tweeting is tied.

Example 4.2, from the @FlaPanthers account, illustrates the alignment of participants in the Interpersonal Model:

4.2) FlaPanthers: It's not that we want the #FlaPanthers to keep taking penalties,
but their PK is dominating tonight #fourforfour
7:41pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

Here, the Panthers team is identified with the hashtag term “#FlaPanthers” and the 3rd person pronoun “their”, while the tweeters are identified with the 1st person pronoun “we”. The distinction between the use of 1st and 3rd person pronouns here makes it clear that the “we” does not extend to the Panthers team, but instead reflects the group of individuals running the account. The production roles of animator, author, and principal can easily be assigned to this group and separated from “the #FlaPanthers”, and thus the talk can be attributed back to them.

4.1.3 Production Framework #3: The Team Model

The final alignment of participants in production roles found in the data is represented in the “Team Model”, as used by the New York Islanders (@NYIslanders) and the Pittsburgh Penguins (@pghpenguins), and at times by the Buffalo Sabres (@BuffaloSabres) and Columbus Blue Jackets (@BlueJacketsNHL). In this model, seen in Figure 5, the team takes center stage, and is often referred to with a collective “we”, setting up the team as an active participant in the interaction taking place on Twitter. Like with the Impersonal Model, these accounts rarely make distinct or explicit reference to the person or group that is animating and authoring the talk for the tweets. However, unlike the Impersonal Model, in which the team is established as a 3rd

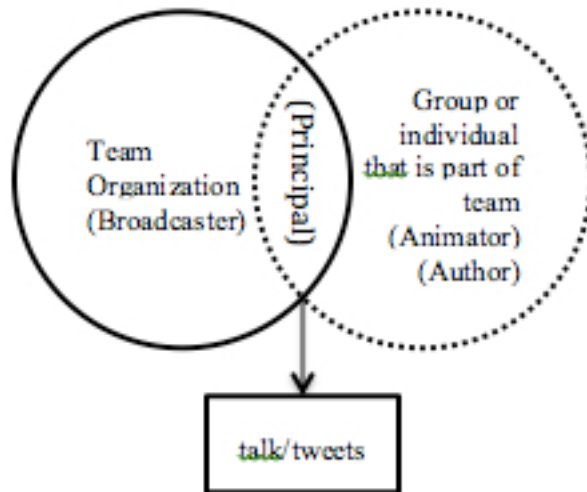


Figure 5. The Team Model of production roles for team accounts

person figure, in the Team Model, the team is given 1st person status and the unnamed animator and author are established as part of the team. As a result, the team (of which the animator/author is a part) can be recognized as the principal of the talk.

The tweet in Example 4.3 from @NYIslanders nicely illustrates the difference between the Team Model and the two previous models of production:

4.3) NYIslanders: If you're cheering us on in Toronto tomorrow night, we want to know it. @us and add the #Isles tag so other fans know, too.
10:35pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

In this example, “us” and “we” are used to refer to both the Islanders team as well as the group/person running the account. This contrasts with Example 4.2, in which “we” is used to refer to those operating the Florida Panthers Twitter account and “their” is used to identify the team. In the Interpersonal Model, the operators of the account set themselves up in the production roles of animator, author, and principal. In the Team Model, however, the unspecified animator/author shares the principal role with the team itself. As a result, the tweets produced for

the account have the feeling of coming more directly from this collective team entity, as illustrated in Figure 5.

4.1.4 Production framework summary

In the sections above, I have laid out models for the three basic alignments of participants in production roles found in use by the NHL team accounts used for this study: the Impersonal Model, the Interpersonal Model, and the Team Model. Table 2, below, summarizes the production roles assigned to the primary participants in each of these models. The Impersonal Model makes use of the affordances of the medium to obscure participants behind a screen, resulting in the traditional participant roles remaining unassigned to a specific person or entity. Only the broadcaster role can be clearly designated to the team, as the team name appears in the username for these accounts. In the Interpersonal Model, the individual or group that is responsible for animating and authoring the tweets for the account can be distinguished from the team, often by use of third person reference to the team and 1st person reference to the tweeters.

Table 2. Production roles for participants in each of the three models of the production frameworks for NHL team Twitter accounts. Question mark (?) represents roles that are not explicitly referenced in the talk and must be assumed through context; (X) represents roles that are clearly established in the talk; empty boxes represent roles that cannot be assigned to that party under that model without specific language causing a shift in the production framework.

	Impersonal Model		Interpersonal Model		Team Model	
	Individual/ Group	Team/ Organization	Individual/ Group	Team/ Organization	Individual/ Group	Team/ Organization
Animator	?		X		?	?
Author	?		X		?	?
Principal	?	?	X		X	X
Broadcaster		X		X		X

Although these individuals may not always be known by name to the followers of the account, their presence as distinct persons with an identity that is separate from that of the team is referenced throughout the tweets they produce, allowing the roles of animator, author, and principal to be assigned to them. Finally, the Team Model puts the focus on the team organization as a participant in the interaction. While it can be assumed that some individual must be animating and authoring the tweets, this person is not distinguished from the team as an entity, and thus the principal role can be shared by this individual and the team. In both the Individual and Team Models for these organizational accounts, the broadcaster role can also be assigned to the team. (Examples of team-associated accounts that contrast the team-as-broadcaster example will be discussed in Section 4.3, below, as well as in Chapter 5.)

4.2 LINGUISTICS MARKERS OF PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTION ROLES

This section focuses on the use of linguistic forms that work as indicators of the frameworks for production roles in organizational tweeting. Following on O’Keeffe’s (2006) line of investigation into the creation of participatory identities in radio call-in talk shows, I distinguish here between language that places participants at the center of an interaction, and language that places participants outside of a central role, particularly in regards to responsibility for the talk.

4.2.1 Self-referential language

As noted in Section 4.1, self-referential language, including 1st person pronouns, signatures on tweets, and reflexive uses of the @username form, plays a hand in establishing production

frameworks. In this section, I analyze the use of these self-referential language forms and their role in situating the team organization and other participants involved in the production of the talk within the production framework.

4.2.1.1 First person singular pronouns

The use and distribution of the 1st person pronouns *I* and *we* are primary markers of participants that are being highlighted in the discourse as parties responsible for the talk. In particular, the use of the singular pronoun “I” (also “me” or “my”) can work to create a distinction between the individual and the team, as seen in the examples from the Columbus Blue Jackets team account (@BlueJacketsNHL) in Example 4.4:

4.4) Tweet 1:

BlueJacketsNHL: @User I will check Wednesday.
7:51pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

BlueJacketsNHL: I’m at Brother’s Bar & Grill w/ (list of other Twitter usernames) <Foursquare link>
7:18pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

In general, the use of 1st person singular pronouns is quite rare in team accounts, with only two accounts making use of them (@BlueJacketsNHL and @pghpenguins) and even for those accounts only several such references appear. Example 4.4 provides examples of typical situations in which 1st person singular pronouns are used. In the first tweet, the Blue Jackets account is responding to a Twitter user that has sent a question to the account, to which the person operating the account responds that he will personally find out the requested information. Although the animator/author for this account tends to use plural pronouns when making a first person references in more basic tweets, in replies to questions or requests from Twitter users, he does occasionally use “I” to indicate personal responsibility (distinct from a collective team or

group responsibility) for the task or information provided. As seen in the second tweet in Example 4.4, the animator/author for this account will also use the 1st person pronoun when indicating his personal location, as in this tweet about a check-in (via the location-based service Foursquare) at a team sponsored event. Instead of noting that there is a team presence at the event (e.g. “We are at...” or “The Blue Jackets are at...”), he chooses here to indicate his presence individually, despite using the team account for the broadcast of this information.

The overall lack of 1st person singular pronoun usage becomes notable when compared with team-associated accounts that are meant to represent individuals, such as the St. Louis Blues’ mascot account @LouieSTLBlues. While this account is listed as an official team account on the Blues’ website, it is clearly meant to represent the musings of Louie, the team’s mascot, and one strong indication of this is the use of 1st person singular pronouns throughout the talk produced for the account. In 87 original tweets collected during the observation period from the @LouieSTLBlues account, 42 of these tweets (nearly 50%) contained at least one use of “I”, “me”, or “my”. In contrast, the Blue Jackets account used these forms in only 3 tweets (of 442 collected). While both the Blue’s mascot account and the Blue Jackets’ team account follow the Interpersonal Model described above, with the animator, author, and principal roles being distinct from the team entity, the focus on the individual through use of the singular pronoun forms is much more overt in the mascot account than the team account, displaying a general avoidance of focusing on a specific individual for team accounts.

4.2.1.2 Digital signatures

Another means of indicating an individual producer in organizational tweets is that of the digital “signature”. This so-called signature identifies a specific person that is claiming the animator, author, and principal roles for that tweet. Because of the limited character counts

available in tweets, these signatures often take the form of the initials of the individual, preceded by one or more non-alphanumeric character (such as “^” or “-”) to delineate the signature from the rest of the text in the tweet. These signatures can be used to establish the Interpersonal Model when tweeting from a team-named account, as seen in the examples by @BuffaloSabres and @PensInsideScoop, respectively:

4.5) BuffaloSabres: Who is on the ice at today’s morning skate in Tampa? Well since you asked... 3/6/57/81, 8/19/29/55/63/78/82, 1 --^ks
11:42am EDT – 19 Mar 2012

4.6) PensInsideScoop: “@User #unansweredquestions what does SK mean?”
Signifies who’s tweeting. SK = Sam Kasan, MC = Michelle Crechiolo –SK
8:23pm EDT – 30 Mar 2012

In Example 4.5, Kevin Snow uses the signature “--^ks” to indicate that he is responsible for this information, updating fans on the players (listed by position and number) that are attending the morning skate on game day. Example 4.6 responds to a user that is unfamiliar with this signature form and has asked for an explanation of its meaning. Here, Sam Kasan explains this linguistic form, indicating his role in the explanation with the signature “-SK”. The use of these signature forms allows recipients of the talk to not only be clear that they are interacting with an individual person (as first person singular pronouns do), but which specific person they are interacting with. The Buffalo Sabres team account and the Pittsburgh Penguins “Inside Scoop” account are the only two accounts in this data to make use of this form, which again suggests an avoidance of highlighting the individual for team accounts.

4.2.1.3 First person plural pronouns

In addition to the use of 1st person singular pronouns and digital signatures that allow for the identification of an individual behind the team account tweets, the use of both exclusive and inclusive 1st person plural pronouns (“we”, “us”, “our”) can work to develop the identity of the

entity that is the primary producer for the account. With these plural pronouns, references to the team and the producers of the talk can either be complimentary or contrasting, either including the team entity as a producer or distancing the team as a third party. The tweets in Example 4.7 from the New York Islanders account use the pronoun “we” to represent the team organization as a 1st person participant in the interactions:

4.7) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: Wonder what songs we play in the Coliseum during a game?
Here's @spotify playlist “Heard at the Coliseum” <link to Spotify music
playlist> #Isles
1:15pm EDT – 23 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: There you go. Show them who we are! RT @User:
@NYIslanders hanging with the boys in Tampa #letsgoislanders <link to
User's picture>
7:27pm EDT – 24 Mar 2012

In tweet 1 of Example 4.7, “we” is used to refer to the organization. It is unlikely that the person(s) that are running the Twitter account are also selecting and playing the music at the Islanders games⁸, so the use of the 1st person plural pronoun here works to identify the organization more broadly. While some person must still be working as the animator and author of the tweet, the talk can be attributed to the organization as part of the “we” in the principal role. Similarly in the second tweet, a Twitter user has tweeted at the Islanders account to share with them a picture of “the boys” in Tampa dressed in Islanders gear before the game. The Islanders account has retweeted this user's tweet (as signified by the “RT” notation) with the proposed comment “There you go. Show them who we are!” In this comment, it is clear that the “we” again refers to the team organization, as the picture shared by the user is in support of the team,

⁸ Evidence of this assertion can be found in a similar Columbus Blue Jackets tweet, in which the Blue Jackets account clearly identifies a separate individual that is in charge of the in-game music: “Ever want to know the name of a song that's being played @NationwideArena during a #CBJ game? @CBJ_DJ tweets the songs as he plays them.”

not just the group running the @NYIslanders account. The choice of “we” here again works to highlight the team in the interaction, allowing the fan that has sent in the picture to feel like he is interacting with the team itself, as opposed to simply sharing a picture with a person who works for them. The use of this “we” that is inclusive of the identity of the team organization can be used to establish the Team Model framework.

While the use of the 1st person plural pronoun in these examples highlights the team as a participant, it can also be used in contrasting references to distance the team from a 1st person role in the interaction, with “we” referring to a (often non-specific) group of people that operates the team’s Twitter account. This use of “we” is often used to establish the Interpersonal Model in the absence of 1st person singular pronoun or individual signature usage. Example 4.8 from @FlaPanthers provides instances of a “we” that does not include the team organization:

4.8) Tweet 1:

FlaPanthers: Yes, sorry we missed that. We’ll get updates after #FlaPanthers practice. RT @User @FlaPanthers no bergy either?
11:12am EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

FlaPanthers: #FlaPanthers keep winning, we’ll keep giving you a look at the official post-game notes <link to team website> #cantstopnow
10:22pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

In these two tweets (as well as Example 4.2 from this chapter), the contrast of reference to the Panthers team (through the hashtagged form “#FlaPanthers”) and the group of people running the account (through the 1st person pronoun “we”) establishes the team as outside of the animator, author, and principal roles for the account. These examples establish a framework in which users are not interacting with the team organization as a whole, but with a small group working for them by running the account – a group that will post game notes when the *team* wins and has to wait for updates about the *team* until after they are done practicing. Accounts using

this strategy still fall into what I have called the Interpersonal Model, as the identity for those running the account is separated from that of “the team”, despite the fact that this identity will be a group identity for the active production roles, as opposed to that of a single individual.

4.2.1.4 Use of the form @username for self-reference

Examples of reference to the team through the use of the name of the team Twitter account (in the form “@username”) can also be found in the data as forms of self-referential language. In Example 4.9 from the @BuffaloSabres account, this form is used as a descriptor for identifying the team players:

4.9) BuffaloSabres: Any one of the @BuffaloSabres players!
“@NHLonNBCSports: If I had the chance to hang out with an @NHL player
for the day it would be ____.”
2:25pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Here, the Sabres account is responding to a prompt from the NHL on NBC Sports account (@NHLonNBCSports) about which NHL player fans would like to spend the day with. The @username form here is clearly meant to refer to the team organization (as the players play for the team) and not simply the group behind the Twitter account. As one of the primary purposes for using the @username form is to notify users that they have been mentioned or responded to in a tweet (which would be seemingly unnecessary in a tweet produced by the same account that is identified in the @username form), the use of this form here seems to function as a way to highlight the connection between the team organization and the Twitter account that represents it. In this way, the use of the @username form functions much like the use of the “we” form that is inclusive of the team organization, acting to include the organization as a participant in the production of the talk.

In Example 4.10 from @pghpenguins, however, the @username form can be found to function as a reference to the account identity itself, and not the broader team identity:

4.10) pghpenguins: Students: Want to be part of the team behind @pghpenguins?
Learn about dual internship with #Pens & @BayerBMSLLC <link to
internship advertisement>
4:31pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Upon reading the information at the link that is provided in the tweet, it becomes evident that the internship is with the team that runs the Penguins Twitter account, not the team in a larger organizational sense. The internship is focused in new media, and provides the intern with the opportunity to work first with the new media staff for the Penguins organization and then with the new media staff at Bayer MaterialScience LLC. Here, then, the @username form can be used to function more like the “we” form that is exclusive of the team identity, turning the focus on the team Twitter account and the group of people that operate it.

4.2.2 Third party language

I now turn to the use of 3rd person pronouns, hashtag terms, and @username forms as they function in tweets to establish the team entity as a third party, distancing it from production roles. These forms are common in tweets by accounts using the Impersonal Model (often without any form of self-referential language) and the Interpersonal Model (here with some 1st person reference to the individual or group running the account).

4.2.2.1 Third person plural pronouns

Perhaps the easiest way for teams to be distanced from a 1st person position is through the use of 3rd person plural pronouns (“they”, “them”, “their”). These pronouns place the team

outside of the production roles (other than the broadcaster role) for these tweets, setting them up instead as a topic of discussion. In Example 4.11, the Florida Panthers account uses the pronoun “them” to separate the players of the team from the person who is tweeting:

4.11) FlaPanthers: Safe to say, the #FlaPanthers weren’t big fans of Snow White growing up. Watch them fail horribly in this #AskTheCats <link to video on team website>
1:20pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

Here the team is first referenced through the hashtag term #FlaPanthers, then identified as “them” and referenced as “the Cats” in the hashtag “#AskTheCats”. While it could be argued that “them” is used in this tweet to refer to the players as individuals, not their collectivity as a team, Example 4.2 and both tweets in Example 4.8 above all provide evidence of a distinction being made between “them” (the Florida Panthers) and “us” (the group of people running the Twitter account).

3rd person plural pronouns can also be used to remove the team from production roles even when those roles are left empty, as in the Impersonal Model. Example 4.12 comes from the account for the Colorado Avalanche:

4.12) Avalanche: What does this game mean to the #Avs? They sit in seventh, but just one point ahead of ninth-place Phoenix! <link to standings on NHL website> #GoAvsGo
7:59pm MDT – 22 Mar 2012

In this tweet, “they” is not used to describe just the players, but the team as a collective. The team organization sits in seventh place in the standings, and by choosing to represent the team with “they” here (instead of “we”), the team is removed from the production roles, being talked about instead of doing the talking.

4.2.2.2 Team name forms

Another way of distinguishing the team from the producers of the talk is through the use of the team name in a variety of forms. Often tweets will contain a reference to the team through either their home location (e.g. “Let’s go Buffalo!”), the team nickname (e.g. “Check out the photos from the Sabres trip to Florida”), or simply a generic reference to “the team” (e.g. “Nathan Gerbe just joined the team on the ice”). In each of these examples from @BuffaloSabres, the reference to the team through location, nickname, or generic reference establishes the team as a third party, again removing them from any production roles and identifying them as a topic of discussion.

One of the most popular ways of naming the team throughout all of the accounts observed for this study is through the use of hashtag terms that include all or part of the team name (e.g. #SJSharks for the San Jose Sharks or #Avs for the Colorado Avalanche). As seen in Example 4.1 above (“The #stlblues are happy to have clinched a playoff spot, but their sights are set on bigger goals come playoff time”), the hashtag term works as a reference to the team that can function in much the same way as any other use of the team name. In that example, the hashtag term “#stlblues” sets up the team once again as a third party, a topic of discussion. This form of presenting the team name in a tweet is likely used so frequently because it can function not only as a reference to the team, but provide participatory opportunities for recipients of the tweet as well. By using the team name in hashtag form, the person tweeting produces a form that can be easily searched in the Twitter interface to provide tweets containing that hashtag form by all Twitter users. This form can then be used by others so that their tweets will join the conversation, per se, opening up the audience of their own tweets. While any word or phrase can be searched using Twitter, the hashtag forms often provide a simpler means of accessing tweets

that are focused on the same subject, as well as saving character space, a feature that is valued in medium that limits characters to 140 per tweet. As an example, if a user were to search for “sharks” in order to find tweets referencing the San Jose Sharks, they would also likely turn up many results that pertain to the animal and not to the hockey team, making it more difficult to follow the stream of discussion about their team. Users could search for “San Jose Sharks”, however by using the full team name in every tweet, the team account (and others that are tweeting about the team) would be using a large percentage of their character allotment. By using #SJSharks, the team account can save characters for what might be seen as more important information, as well as eliminating from a search tweets that are about shark topics that are not related to hockey (for example, the popular hashtag #sharkweek, used in reference to the week-long run of shows dedicated to sharks, broadcast by the Discovery Channel). The use of the hashtag reference then can serve the purpose of referencing the team as an other on the production side of the talk, while still focusing on engagement by encouraging participation from recipients of the talk, as well as expanding the potential audience of the tweets. (The hashtag’s potential engagement benefits for the reception of the talk are discussed further in Chapter 6.)

Finally, the use of the “@username” form is a common way for accounts that are associated with the team but not the primary team account to reference the team. Example 4.13 shows the @PensPRLady account (run by Jennifer Bullano, the Pittsburgh Penguins’ head of Public Relations) mentioning the team organization through use of its Twitter handle:

4.13) PensPRLady: #Pens fans be sure to vote for #MarcAndreFleury or
@malkin71_ to get a @pghpenguins player on the cover of NHL13!
12:57pm EDT – 29 Mar 2012

By use of the @username form to reference the team, Bullano is able not only to make readers of the tweet aware of the official Penguins account (if they were not already), but also to send a

notification to the operators of the @pghpenguins account to let them know that they have been mentioned in her tweet (in case they would like to retweet the information to distribute it to a larger audience, for example). This form of reference works to place the team in both a topic role, as a party being discussed in the tweet, as well as a recipient role.

4.3 PRODUCING FRAMES FOR INTERACTION

Having presented three models for the production frameworks in use by the team accounts and the primary linguistic markers that serve to build these frameworks, I turn now to a discussion of the interactional frames that result from their use. I focus here not on the ways that these accounts address their audiences (which will be developed further in Part II of the analysis), but on the identities that producers create for themselves as participants in the interaction. Through the following examples, I demonstrate the participatory identities that are indexed through the use of each model and the implications of those identities for interaction and fan engagement.

4.3.1 The San Jose Sharks accounts as examples of the Impersonal Model

The San Jose Sharks website lists two accounts officially associated with the team: their primary account, @SanJoseSharks, and an account that provides game updates, @SharksInGame. Both of these accounts make use of the Impersonal Model for their production framework, setting the Sharks up in a third party role, with a party for the assignment of the animator, author, and principal roles largely unrecoverable in their tweets. Additionally, both accounts tend to stick to talk that is informational in nature, leaving talk that is more emotive or focused on the

producer behind. While these accounts have differing strategies for addressing and ratifying the audiences of their tweets, they establish similar frameworks for producing participants.

The syntax of the tweets produced for the @SharksInGame account illustrates an extreme version of the Impersonal Model, in which the tweets follow the same format every time, with no affective language to speak of. Example 4.14 displays the format of every tweet produced for this account during the time period in which the data was collected:

4.14) SharksInGame: SJS 0 at ANA 1 | 2ND 9:22 | G: 9 A: 77, 63
8:15pm PDT – 28 Mar 2012

This tweet updates followers on the current score of the game, the time of the game when the most recent score occurred, and the numbers of the players involved in the scoring of the goal (both the scorer and those who provided assists on the goal). The only changes to the format of these tweets are to indicate whether the goal was scored on a power play (“PPG” replaces “G” in the scoring information) or while shorthanded (“SHG” replacing “G”). For this account, not only is any participant producing the tweets unrecoverable from the talk, but it is easy to imagine that the each tweet could be produced by some computer program that has been written to send out an update when the score of the game changes. These tweets lack any form of engaging language and suggest that no conversational interaction will take place through this account. @SharksInGame establishes a frame for a one-way distribution of purely statistical information.

Contrast Example 4.14 with another tweet about the same game event, this time from the @SanJoseSharks account:

4.15) SanJoseSharks: Bobby Ryan makes it 1-0 Ducks after driving the net and redirecting the centering feed. 10:23 left in the 2nd period. #SJSharks
8:29pm PDT – 28 Mar 2012

In this example, the primary purpose of the tweet is still informational – the Sharks account is providing an update about the recent change in the score of the game – and there is still no

indication as to who is producing the talk. The language of this tweet, however, is much less formulaic; while still providing the key information (the current score, the time of the game, and the goal scorer), this language used here suggests that there is indeed some person writing a quick game summary and that this tweet was not computer-generated, as seems possible in Example 4.14. Example 4.15 provides some evaluation of the play, providing additional details (“driving the net”, “redirecting the centering feed”) that would not show up on a score sheet. These extra details allow the primary team account to move away from the extreme impersonal nature of the game update account. Throughout the @SanJoseSharks account the language remains informational; however, the contrast between the two Sharks accounts allows us to see the difference between a purely informational frame and an informational approach that also seeks to provide more insight into the experience.

While team accounts like the @SanJoseSharks do work to give fans a more human observation and presentation of the information they are providing, from a production standpoint they are still relatively impersonal and ultimately unlikely to address the fan desire to achieve a “part of the team” feeling through the use of this framework. Because this electronically-mediated form of communication allows for organizations to hide or mask participants, the lack of reference to anyone involved in production of the tweets by teams using the Impersonal Model largely works to distance the producers from the interaction. This establishes a framework in which each tweet functions as a one-way broadcast, seemingly not meant to be part of a continued engaging interaction with fans. Accounts using the Impersonal Model, then, allow for a range from potentially no person being involved in the day-to-day maintenance of participating in the production of tweets for the account (e.g. if someone has written a program to update the @SharksInGame account, they would not need to reproduce their involvement for every tweet)

to a person that is providing their own insight for followers, but not presenting themselves as a participant seeking further interaction. At the lowest-involvement end of this scale, opportunities for engagement (such as those discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this dissertation) are absent and seemingly discouraged. It is clear that the @SharksInGame account is not purposed for interpersonal interaction. At the other end of this scale, the *possibility* for interaction is left open, although it is difficult to see interaction as being *encouraged* from the production side alone. Through the removal of the team and any other individuals from participatory roles in production of the talk, accounts using the Impersonal Model as a production framework address the fan need for information, but likely do not address any desire for involvement and inclusion.

4.3.2 The Florida Panthers accounts as varying examples of the Interpersonal Model

The website of the Florida Panthers lists four official accounts: the primary team account (@FlaPanthers), a mascot account (@StanleyCPanther)⁹, an account for the team's ice dancers (@PanthersDancers), and the account of team president Michael Yormark (@PanthersYormark). All of these accounts use a version of what I have called the Interpersonal Model, from the individual account of Michael Yormark, which is associated with the team but clearly establishes Yormark as the producer of talk for the account, to the primary team account, which represents the organization but uses language that establishes the team as a third party with a small group acting as the producers of the talk.

Accounts using the Interpersonal Model set up a frame for interactional involvement in which the individuals that produce tweets for the accounts are highlighted as participants. While

⁹ The team mascot account, although seemingly making use of the Interpersonal Model, produced only two tweets during the observation period, and thus will not be discussed further here due to lack of data.

the tweets in accounts following the Impersonal Model tended to focus on informational content, Interpersonal Model tweets often vacillate between informational content and more emotive content. As Peterson (2011:4) found with his research on blogging, “the orientation toward the addresser is emphasized” with emotive language that was “immediate, intimate, and honest”. Following Jakobson’s (1960) model of speech functions, emotive content tends to place the focus on what he calls the “addresser” or producer of talk. Such language can be seen in a game update from the @FlaPanthers account in Example 4.16:

4.16) FlaPanthers: We told you Kopecky was a beast tonight. He now has two assists, but he’s impressed with hustle and defensive pressure.
7:10pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

Much like Example 4.15, from the @SanJoseSharks account, Example 4.16 includes detailed information about the game play that could not be gained from a simple stat line. In addition to this information, the @FlaPanthers account also includes the 1st person pronoun “we” and a personal assessment of Kopecky’s game play (in saying that he “was a beast” and “he’s impressed”). This language serves to highlight the producers of the tweet, and while it may be unknown to the recipients exactly which person(s) are included in this “we”, it is clear that there is a personal element to this game update.

While not every tweet by the @FlaPanthers account contains pronouns or other evidence pointing directly to the producers of the talk, the theme of personalized information runs throughout the data. Tweet 1 in Example 4.17 below shows the use of the hashtag form “#ofcourse” (“of course”), working as a metacommentary form of evaluative assessment on an update about the goaltender making a save in overtime. In a similar vein, instead of simply providing information that it is a player’s birthday, the second tweet in Example 4.17 wishes the player a happy birthday and goes on to assess the player’s strength with a hypothetical anecdote:

4.17) Tweet 1:

FlaPanthers: Jose Theodore gets run over in OT, but he makes the save.
#ofcourse
7:30pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

FlaPanthers: Happy birthday to #FlaPanthers Krys Barch! If the guys got you
a red pinata, go easy – not many folks can match your power.
9:45am EDT – 26 Mar 2012

These examples continue the theme of focusing on the emotive content of the tweets along with the informational. The use of the hashtag form in tweet 1 of Example 4.17 allows the tweeter to set the text “of course” following the “#” apart from the other text, much in the way text in parentheses might allow a producer to distinguish an elaborative comment from other text in other mediums. This highlights the individual’s (or group’s) participation in presenting information by distancing the team from a 1st person role (as in tweet 2 of Example 4.17, through the use of “#FlaPanthers” instead of “our”) while providing metacommentary and personal assessment. This language helps to give a personal voice to the interaction (even if it is a non-specific one), emphasizing the people that are involved in the production of the talk, along with the information they are presenting. In this way, the Interpersonal Model can promote further interaction, giving the audience of the tweets the feeling that they are hearing the information directly from another person instead of distancing the individual from the interaction as seen in the Impersonal Model. This sets up a frame for higher levels of interpersonal engagement by suggesting that there is indeed a person or group behind the tweets with which to engage.

The accounts associated with the Florida Panthers organization illustrate several different versions of the Interpersonal Model. As discussed above, the primary team account (@FlaPanthers) presents an unnamed group of people as its voice, and while this group is highlighted as being distinct from the team, it is rarely clear exactly which member of this group

is acting as the animator and author of the tweets. Additionally, through the use of plural pronoun reference, the group of tweeters most often assumes the principal role, as opposed to the member of that group that is individually animating (and likely authoring) the talk. Finally, in this version of the Interpersonal Model, it is the organization itself that maintains the broadcaster role, and while the language of the tweets separates the group behind the account and the team as different parties, it is quite likely that the tweets can still be seen (and discussed by others) as coming from the Florida Panthers.

In contrast, the Panthers Ice Dancers account (@PanthersDancers) also acts as a representative of the team, but here the identity of the account is very clearly that of a specific group within the larger organization. The Panthers Dancers group becomes the broadcaster of the tweets, distancing the organization at large from production for the talk. The language in tweets by the account again works to highlight a distinction between the team organization as a whole and this particular group within the organization. The account frequently makes reference to the Panthers team as “your Cats” and uses “we” to reference the Panthers Dancers group (e.g. “Practice was canceled tonight & we played laser tag instead.”). In this version of the Interpersonal Model, we again see a group presented as the producer of talk for the interaction, although for this account the women in the group are more identifiable than in the group behind the team account, as there is information about the members of the Panthers Dancers team on the Panthers website. This account allows fans to interact directly with a specific group within the organization, increasing the organization’s opportunities for engagement, without diluting the more team-focused information presented in the primary team feed. A separate account for the ice dancers also allows fans that want to interact with the ice dancers to do so more directly and

feel like they have access to a part of the organization that would likely not be represented in the primary team account.

Team President Michael Yormark's account (@PanthersYormark) allows for yet another opportunity for fans to experience interpersonal interaction with a specific member of the organization. Yormark's account establishes him as the primary participant for all four production roles, while the username for the account continues to identify him as a member of the Panthers organization (and thus set the account up as not being a purely personal account). This version of the Interpersonal Model then makes it quite clear that Yormark is the animator and author of the tweets and is the person with whom one is interacting if they choose to interact with the account. However, by attaching the Panthers name to the broadcasting role and listing the account on the Panthers website, while Yormark maintains primary principalship for the tweets, he shares this responsibility for the talk as a representative member of the organization. For example, during a playoff series between the Florida Panthers and the New Jersey Devils in 2012, Yormark took to Twitter, blaming Devils fans for throwing plastic rats on the ice at a game in Florida and delaying the progress of the game. Devils fans then began to respond to Yormark through Twitter, with one young woman tweeting that "@PanthersYormark is making an ass of himself and the organization". Yormark's tweet (and his subsequent response mocking the woman for not having many Twitter followers) set off a firestorm of anger aimed primarily at Yormark, but also at the Panthers organization (Politi 2012). Fans were obviously aware that the evaluations came from Yormark himself, but this did not stop them from including the Panthers organization as a being responsible for the statements, as part of the group that Yormark was "making an ass of". This incident shows that even though Yormark's account is established as an

individual one, available for increasing interpersonal interaction (for better or worse)¹⁰, it is still seen as a representative of the organization.

Ultimately these three accounts associated with the Florida Panthers organization demonstrate three different levels of interaction using the Interpersonal Model: an individual account, allowing one-on-one interaction with a representative for the team; an account for a specific group within the organization, allowing interaction with a group that represents a specific aspect of the organization; and an account that represents the team organization as a whole, but presents a small group of individuals as the voice of the interaction. The use of the Interpersonal Model here places emphasis on the producer as a potential interlocutor, encouraging one-on-one (or small-group-to-one) interaction and engagement. This focus on interpersonal engagement may result in a sacrifice in giving fans a “part of the team” feeling as they remove the team from the center of the interaction, acting as a representative of the team and not the team itself.

4.3.3 Mixing models: Buffalo Sabres and Pittsburgh Penguins

While the San Jose Sharks tailor their accounts to an informative approach through the Impersonal Model and the Florida Panthers emphasize personal interaction through the Interpersonal Model, some team organizations make use of more than one production model. This section focuses on the Buffalo Sabres, who mix models within a single team account, and

¹⁰ Ultimately, Yormark did apologize to the young woman for his mocking reply, flying her to Florida for game 7 in the series between the Devils and the Panthers and inviting her to sit in his personal suite at the game (Wyshynski 2012).

the Pittsburgh Penguins, who use multiple models across three different accounts associated with the team.

The Sabres, with only one official account associated with the team (@BuffaloSabres), make use of both the Interpersonal Model and Team Model of production. The majority of the tweets from the Sabres follow the Team Model, including the team organization in first person references and obscuring the person or group running the Twitter account. Tweets such as those in Example 4.18 are typical of the language used for this account:

4.18) Tweet 1:

BuffaloSabres: We are underway at @FirstNiagaraCtr! #sabreschat
7:08pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

BuffaloSabres: We'll skate four aside for 0:43. Vanek to the box for slashing.
2:01 left in regulation.
9:26pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

Both of these tweets provide game updates for a Sabres game against the Montreal Canadiens, with the Sabres being represented in the first person, establishing the team as the principal of the talk. In contrast with the language that places the team in a third-party position (such as in Example 4.1 and 4.2 at the beginning of this chapter), these tweets include the team organization as a participant. The language here suggests a more direct interaction with the team itself, and in fact nearly all responses to fan inquiries from the @BuffaloSabres account use this inclusive “we” in their interaction (as in, “we will look into that”, compared to “I will check Wednesday” in Example 4.4 from @BlueJackets). Obscuring the person in the animator/author roles for these tweets and highlighting the team as the producer of the talk establishes a frame for direct access between the fan and their favorite team, although it may diminish the feeling of personal interaction set up by the Interpersonal Model.

While the predominant production model for the Sabres account is that of the Team Model, it also shifts to the Interpersonal Model at times, when Manager of New Media Kevin Snow tweets for the account. This shift is always marked with Snow's digital signature, "--^ks", at the end of his tweets. Language referencing the team also marks this shift, as Snow often uses "the team" or "Buffalo" instead of "we". Through Snow's signature and removal of the team from a central production role, he takes over the primary principal role for the talk in these tweets and gives a face to the animator/author role that is not present when using the Team model.

These alternating models in the Sabres account allow for interesting possibilities for engagement. When the Team Model is used, it frames the interaction as an opportunity for fans to feel as if they are hearing from and interacting with the team organization. The introduction of Snow (and the Interpersonal Model) can be used to increase the feeling of more personal interaction. Snow represents himself as someone with insider knowledge of the team, often providing updates on player injuries, line-up changes or pairings, and quotes from the team's coach. Fans might then see Snow as someone they can approach for team information, giving them the opportunity to interact with "--^ks" directly to inquire about specific information or opinions¹¹. By mixing these two models (and making a clear distinction between them with the language forms that are used), the @BuffaloSabres account can address the fan needs for both interpersonal interaction and direct access to the team organization.

¹¹ A Twitter search over a one-week period for collocations of "@BuffaloSabres" and "ks" revealed only a few fan tweets that used "ks" as an address term (and several others that used "Kevin") in directing their tweets to Snow's attention. However, it is difficult to determine how many other fans also attempted to interact with Snow during that period without directly addressing him, as tweets produced by Snow received many responses to the team account with no clear address terms during that time period.

The Pittsburgh Penguins take a similar approach, using the Team Model in their primary team account (@pghpenguins) and the Interpersonal Model with their two other official accounts (@PensInsideScoop and @PensPRLady). Like the Sabres account, @pghpenguins often refers to the organization as “we”, concealing the individual behind the animator/author roles. Additionally, this account will respond to fans that express their love for the Penguins via Twitter, as seen in Example 4.19:

4.19) Tweet from a fan: I LOVE THE @pghpenguins
21 Mar 2012 (time not available)

pghpenguins: @User Love you back! Thanks for the support.
12:22pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

The @PensInsideScoop account works in a similar way to Snow’s role for the Sabres, with tweeters Sam Kasan and Michelle Crechiolo signing all of the tweets they write for this account (with the exception of in-game goal announcements, which take the form of “GOAL!!! (Player)”) and providing “insider” information about line-ups, injuries, and other evaluation of the team. For this account, interactional responses continue the use of the digital signatures. This sets up a clear distinction between the models used for @pghpenguins and @PensInsideScoop, as fans can be clear that they are interacting with a specific individual with the @PensInsideScoop account and not “the team” as in Example 4.19. The @PensPRLady account, run by Jennifer Bullano, also uses the Interpersonal Model. Although Bullano does not use a signature on the tweets for this account, her name is listed as the name on the account and she frequently uses I/me/my forms in her tweets. The @PensPRLady account is focused specifically on public relations information for the organization and the players, and Bullano most often tweets in promotion of the team/players or about upcoming media appearances by the players. By separating these three accounts, the team may be better able to avoid confusing overlap in

addressing the fans' needs for both team access and interpersonal interaction – fans that want to interact with the team can do so through the @pghpenguins account, while fans that seek interaction with and opinions from individuals with specific areas of team knowledge can turn to the other two accounts. Through the account separation, the interactional frames may be more clearly delineated for the fans than in the Sabres approach of mixing the models within a single account.

4.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have presented three models of production based on the common alignments of participants producing tweets for NHL team Twitter accounts. The Impersonal Model represents an obfuscation of the participant(s) in the animator, author, and principal roles, and sets up the team as a topic of the talk as opposed to an active participant in the interaction. The language found in tweets by teams using this model tends to focus on informational content, with little to no first-person forms of reference and third-person references to the players and the organization. The Impersonal Model frames interaction between teams and fans on Twitter as informative in nature, establishing the accounts (and therefore the producers of talk for the accounts) as providers of information about the team, burying their interactional potential. The Interpersonal Model brings the participants in production roles to the forefront, highlighting their interactive potential as interlocutors while continuing to place the organization in a third-party role. Accounts fitting the Interpersonal Model make frequent use of reference to the individual or group tweeting for the account, including both “I” and “we” forms that distinguish the producers from the team (represented as “they”) and digital signatures. These accounts also tend to balance

informational and emotive language, again highlighting the producers in the talk. The use of this model provides a frame in which recipients can expect to read personal opinions in addition to factual information and to potentially be able to have one-on-one interactions with the people that are tweeting. Finally, the Team Model highlights the organization as a 1st person entity within the talk, setting up the organization itself as a participant. Self-referential language is almost always found in the form of 1st person plural pronouns that include the team in their scope, with the individual or group doing the tweeting blending into that team identity. Like the Interpersonal Model, the Team Model also tends to mix emotive language with informational language, but in this case the emotive language points back to this inclusive “we” as opposed to individual opinion. The Team Model works to frame interaction as occurring between the fan and the team, and while interpersonal interaction may be lost in this model, it can work to address the need for fans to feel like they are in direct contact with the team they support.

Having presented these three models to illustrate the basic production frameworks established in team organizational Twitter accounts, I turn next in Chapter 5 to the ways that teams elaborate production structures – introducing new participants as producers of talk and shifting the frameworks to represent the talk of others. Additionally, it is important to note that these models of participation are not complete without the implications that arise from the language used in constructing audiences for the reception of tweets. While I have focused here on the participatory identities that are created by NHL teams in regards to those producing talk for the accounts, I follow up in Chapter 6 with a discussion of the models of reception for tweets from organizational accounts. Finally in Chapter 7, I look several examples of production models as they are combined with varying models of reception, and discuss the implications of engagement for these participation frameworks as a whole.

5.0 EXPANDING PRODUCTION: ADDING PARTICIPANTS AND REPRESENTING THE TALK OF OTHERS

This chapter considers ways of representing the talk of additional participants beyond the basic models of production presented in Chapter 4. I look at the ways that the organizational accounts incorporate and present the words of others in their talk on Twitter and the effects of these additional participants on meeting the interactional wants of sports fans. In representing the talk of others, we often find that as the animator of the tweets introduces a new party, this new party will assume the author and principal roles (to varying degrees depending on the faithfulness and form of the representation). However, Irvine's (1996) work on Wolof insult poems shows that understanding the representation of the words of others in new contexts requires more than simply shifting production roles to other parties. Her analysis demonstrates the complexity of participation that can arise when reporting speech from earlier interactions, and how an awareness of both the original and the reported speech context is required in order to truly understand one's alignment to the talk. She argues that in the Wolof insult poem ritual (in which a bride's co-wives sponsor an event where a Griot woman will deliver poems that insult the new bride), it is the presumption of a previous speech event (in which the sponsoring co-wives meet with the Griot woman to compose the poems for the ritual) that allows recipients to recognize the co-wives as the (co-)authors and principals of the talk, despite the Griot woman's role as the performer of the ritual. This layered understanding of multiple speech events is required for

assessing each participant's alignment to the talk, and in this chapter I consider the role of this layering of production frameworks, in assessing the effect of introducing the talk of others into these organizational accounts.

In addition to considering previous contexts in understanding the alignment of production roles for reported speech, it is important to consider the form of reporting. The ways that other voices are represented in the talk can influence the degree to which these participants are perceived as part of the interaction, as well as the ways in which the talk is meant to be interpreted. As Besnier (1992:162) writes:

According to Bakhtin and his followers, the use of direct quotes reflects a concern for the integrity and authenticity of the quoted message (Voloshinov, 1929[1978]). Direct quotation is characteristic of a *linear style*, in which the author of the quote and its reporter are kept maximally distinct from each other. Indirect quotes, in contrast, are characteristic of a *pictorial style*. The indirect quote merges with the ongoing discourse, thus allowing for greater manipulation of the meaning and interpretation of the quote. The interplay of voices in reported speech is an instance of the “heteroglossia” that Bakhtin and his followers claim permeates all social discourse. ... The choice of a quoting strategy indexes how reporters wish their audiences to feel about the meaning and significance of the quote.

This “interplay of voices” that Besnier discusses can be utilized by NHL accounts to add new voices to the talk or change the dynamic of the interaction. For example, team accounts that generally use the Impersonal Model might use reported speech to introduce a more personal voice in some tweets. Additionally, the introduction of new voices can affect the degree to which fans feel they have access to specific members of the team (such as the coaches and players whose speech is reproduced for the account). As Androutsopoulos (2011:294) notes, “Web 2.0 environments open a range of possibilities for heteroglossic ‘hot spots’, but their exploitation ultimately depends on institutional and situational context and discourse dynamics.” As such, I discuss the different strategies for representing the talk of others in tweets and the

effects that these strategies have for framing the interaction in conjunction with the basic models of production that permeate each account. Finally, I consider the use of different modes of representation as strategies for introducing the talk of others, including written text, video, and audio representations.

5.1 QUOTATION AND REPORTED SPEECH

One way of introducing new voices into talk is through the use of quotation (in this case presenting previously spoken or written talk in written form on Twitter), either in direct or indirect forms. Quoting other voices can allow team Twitter accounts to address several needs of the sports fan: quotes from coaches and players can provide a face to attribute the talk to and give fans a direct line of access to “insider” information, while representing the voice of the fan can heighten the feeling of engagement with the audience. This section discusses the sources of talk that are commonly quoted by team Twitter accounts and the different forms of quotation that are found in the data.

5.1.1 Direct and indirect quotation of players and coaches

Like the Wolof insult rituals studied by Irvine, the reproduction of talk from team coaches and players presumes a previous (or perhaps even concurrent) speech event, usually in the form of a press conference or media scrum. In the initial speech event, the coach or player in question is likely speaking to at least several reporters and other media personnel that are asking questions to prompt and direct the talk from the coach/player. These speech events often either occur at the

player's stall in the locker room, with reporters circling around the player with some video-or-audio-recording device in hand, or in a large room in which the coach or player will be at a podium or table in the front of the room, with a microphone, with the media members seated facing him. In this setting, the coach or player will generally assume all production roles for his talk, with the media members as the immediate recipients of the talk and an imagined audience to whom the event (or portions of it) will be rebroadcast in some form.

A common way for this initial speech event to be reproduced on Twitter is through quotation. Example 5.1 illustrates a typical example of a direct quotation form from a coach as reproduced by @SanJoseSharks:

5.1) SanJoseSharks: McLellan: "We've got to continue to play well and put points in the bank and that leadership will be important in the next six games."
11:03pm PDT – 27 Mar 2012

This quotation reflects part of a response from head coach Todd McLellan to a question about the performance of the team's leaders in the game that night. McLellan is identified by name at the beginning of the tweet, followed by a statement placed in quotation marks, which suggest that the quotation is a direct one with the words representing the original words spoken by McLellan. Here McLellan's spoken words are reproduced in written form, being animated by some unknown person and broadcast by the Sharks Twitter account. Through an understanding of the initial speech event, in which McLellan can be seen as the sole producer of the talk and the media (including the person reproducing the speech for the Twitter account) can be understood to be in ratified recipient roles, the words in the quote can be understood to be McLellan's, for which he is the author¹² and the principal. Due to the character restriction of tweets, only a

¹² While it is possible for coaches (and other team representatives) to read statements that are prepared by someone else, in most press conferences and media scrums they are responding to the media's questions in real time and thus unlikely to respond with talk that was previously authored by another party.

portion of McLellan's talk can be reproduced in this tweet, with the initial portion of the statement being found in a separate tweet. Returning to Besnier's discussion of Bakhtin, above, this usage of the direct quotation form allows the animator of the tweet to maintain maximal distance from the talk, focusing in on McLellan as a participant. Additionally, it allows recipients of the tweet to feel more directly connected to the original speech event. While the event is obviously mediated by the Twitter format (with speech being converted to text, which may need to be broken up over multiple tweets due to the character limit, creating some discontinuity), a presumably faithful representation of McLellan's words suggests that it is only the technological medium that is filtering the experience and that the animator does not play a role in reinterpreting the event. This may not be the case, of course, as Tannen (1986) argues that much so-called "reported speech" is actually constructed by the animator (through false memory or planned change), but our understanding of press conferences and the use of direct quotation forms at least present the illusion that the animator has not altered the original speaker's talk.

Conversely, the animator of the quote can put him or herself into more of a central role through the use of indirect quotation. In Example 5.2 from @PensInsideScoop, Penguins goalie Brent Johnson is indirectly quoted by Michelle Crechiolo, one of the tweeters for the Inside Scoop account:

5.2) PensInsideScoop: #Pens Johnson said he's taking it one day at a time. As soon as the pain goes away 100 percent he'll be ready to get back in there. – MC
12:26pm EDT – 23 Mar 2012

Here, Crechiolo distances Johnson's role as a producer through the use of the 3rd person pronoun "he" and indirect quotation of his words, and identifies her own role as the animator of the tweet with the signature form "-MC". Due to the indirect quotation style, it is unclear to what extent the words in the tweet are faithful to Johnson's original words, blurring the involvement of

Johnson and Crechiolo as authors of the talk. It is possible that the only thing that has been changed from Johnson's original statement is the pronoun form, converting 1st person pronouns to 3rd person forms. However, it is equally possible that Crechiolo is simply summarizing a statement from Johnson and has in fact authored most of these words herself. By merging the talk from Johnson with the regular format of talk for the account (as opposed to making it clearly distinct with a direct quotation form), Crechiolo suppresses Johnson's participation and works to blur his involvement in the author and principal roles to some degree, in turn highlighting her own participation in the interaction.

The inclusion of talk from coaches and players in the organizational Twitter feeds can serve both informational and interpersonal functions. Quotes, whether direct or indirect, from parties that are seen to be members of the "team" itself (i.e. the individuals involved in the daily sporting activities, such as the players and coaches) work to provide the type of information that fans tend to seek (e.g. information about a player's injury status in Example 5.2) while also establishing a form of contact with these seemingly key members of the organization. Forms of direct quotation put a focus on the players and coaches in production roles, while also distancing the regular producers for the account. This can have different effects on the frame for the interaction depending on the basic model of production that is primarily used by the account, as shown in Tables 3-5, below. Table 3 illustrates how the @SanJoseSharks account, which regularly makes use of the Impersonal Model, can benefit from the addition of direct forms of quotation by giving a face to the author and principal roles that is usually missing from the account. Because the author and principal are usually obscured by the talk in this model, the identification of a speaker in these roles increases the assignment of a personal voice associated with the talk, ultimately increasing the feeling of interpersonal interaction. Shown in Table 4, the

Table 3. Production roles for the Impersonal Model in three types of tweets – basic tweets, tweets that make use of direct quotation forms, and tweets that make use of indirect quotation forms. Here, the Impersonal Model is represented by @SanJoseSharks. For Tables 3-5, (?) represents participants roles that are not explicitly referenced in the talk but may be assigned to that party; (X) represents participants that are clearly referenced in the talk; empty boxes represent roles that cannot be assigned to that party without further manipulation of that framework.

	Basic tweet		Tweet with direct quotation form			Tweet with indirect quotation form		
	Tweeter	@SanJose Sharks	Tweeter	Quoted Source	@SanJose Sharks	Tweeter	Quoted Source	@SanJose Sharks
Animator	?		?			?		
Author	?			X		?	X	
Principal	?	?		X		?	X	
Broadcaster		X			X			X

Table 4. Production roles for the Interpersonal Model in three types of tweets – basic tweets, tweets that make use of direct quotation forms, and tweets that make use of indirect quotation forms. Here, the Interpersonal Model is represented by @PensInsideScoop.

	Basic tweet		Tweet with direct quotation form			Tweet with indirect quotation form		
	MC	@Pens Inside Scoop	MC	Quoted Source	@Pens Inside Scoop	MC	Quoted Source	@Pens Inside Scoop
Animator	X		X			X		
Author	X			X		X	X	
Principal	X			X		?	X	
Broadcaster		X			X			X

Table 5. Production roles for the Team Model in three types of tweets – basic tweets, tweets that make use of direct quotation forms, and tweets that make use of indirect quotation forms. Here, the Team Model is represented by @NYIslanders.

	Basic tweet		Tweet with direct quotation form			Tweet with indirect quotation form		
	Tweeter	@NY Islanders	Tweeter	Quoted Source	@NY Islanders	Tweeter	Quoted Source	@NY Islanders
Animator	?		?			?		
Author	?			X		?	X	
Principal	X	X		X			X	?
Broadcaster		X			X			X

Interpersonal Model, which already makes use of personal and emotive language that places a focus on the addressee, direct quotes from the players and coaches can distance the regular producer of the talk and create a feeling of direct access – one where the information comes directly from the team, as opposed to the usual intermediary running the account. Talk from

coaches and players represented in direct quotation form, then, create a connection to the team that may not otherwise be present for the account, adding an insider feel where it may be absent. Interestingly, accounts following the Team Model by and large did not make use of direct quotation of coaches and players. Very few direct quotations were used by these accounts, and nearly all of them were found in tweets that also contained a link to a website, blog, or video, and as such worked as more of an introduction to the linked material (discussed further in Section 5.2, below). As seen in Table 5, the use of both direct and indirect quotation forms reassigns the principal role from the team account to the quoted source. The overall lack of direct quotation forms by the Team Model accounts, then, might suggest that the highlight of individual voices works against the goal of presenting the team as a collective entity.

Indirect quotation of coaches and players can provide the inside information that fans seek while retaining the voice of the regular producers for the account. This approach might be useful for accounts following the Interpersonal Model, as it does not distance the regular producers of the tweets in the same way that direct quotes might (as shown in Table 4). Because the participant that is animating the talk is present for the production of the tweet (while the quoted source is likely not), keeping this animator at the center of the interaction can create a frame where further interaction is possible. While fans and other recipients of the talk on Twitter may not be able to directly interact with the players and coaches that are being quoted, they may be able to continue the interaction with the tweeter that is involved in the production of the indirect quotation. For example, as Crechiolo identifies herself as a producer of the talk in Example 5.2, readers of the tweet are able to ask her for more information about Johnson's injury or ask her opinion on the severity of the injury or the impact of Johnson missing playing time. These Twitter followers would likely not be able to ask Johnson these questions (or his opinions)

directly, at least not through this Twitter account, but by clearly placing herself in a production role for the talk, Crechiolo establishes a frame in which she may be available for further interaction. If she had removed herself from the author and principal roles, through the use of direct quotation and removing her signature from the tweet, her stance might instead suggest that further interaction based on the content of this tweet is not possible (or at least not favored). For Team Model accounts, indirect quotation can work to maintain the team identity through the quotes, with the voices of the players and coaches enmeshed with the team voice. However, like direct quotations, indirect player/coach quotations were largely absent from Team Model accounts. It is difficult to say whether or not the producers for these accounts see a benefit from presenting the players and coaches in this way. Also interesting is the fact that no indirect forms were found for player and coach quotations in tweets by teams using the Impersonal Model. This absence of indirect quotation form, especially as juxtaposed to the common use of direct quotations and other forms of reproduction of talk such as retweeting and multimodal reproduction (discussed below), again camouflages the voice of a primary individual tweeter for the account. As shown in Table 3, while direct quotes work to add voices to the talk for these accounts, indirect quotes would place some focus back on the voice of an author that is otherwise obscured in the talk. The desire to avoid putting a focus on this participant's voice may help to explain any preferences for the use of direct forms of quotation over indirect forms in the Impersonal Model.

5.1.2 Quoting other sources

One account in this study, @SanJoseSharks, also represented the voice of the fan in quotation form, as illustrated in Example 5.3, below. The Sharks account asked fans to create headlines for

their game wrap-ups on the website and reproduces the headline they have chosen on their Twitter account:

5.3) SanJoseSharks: Headline – “@User: Sharks bear down on Bruins”
sjsharks.com
11:15pm PDT – 23 Mar 2012

The winning fan headline is represented as a direct quote, with the fan’s username at the beginning of the quoted text followed by the headline that the fan submitted. The quote is additionally set off by the form “Headline – “ to provide context for the quote, and ends with the address for the homepage of the Sharks team website, where the headlined article can presumably be found for some limited amount of time (the homepages of NHL team websites tend to showcase the four or five most recent stories written for the site). The language of this tweet frames the context of using the fan voice in a very specific way – the fan voice is being represented in the limited context of having produced a headline for a story about the game as requested by the team account. The @SanJoseSharks account chooses only to rebroadcast fan reactions to their own prompt, and do not use the quotation form to rebroadcast fan-initiated interaction. This format allows the Sharks account to rigidly control the context in which the fan voice is represented, and maintain their use of the Impersonal Model in the presentation of the tweet.

This practice of quoting headlines produced by fans is similar to the more popular practice of retweeting fans (discussed in greater detail in Section 5.3), but is marked by several key differences. When fans are retweeted, the form of the original tweet is by and large reproduced as a faithful representation by the team account. In the case of the Sharks account quoting fan headlines, the quoted material is taken out of the context of the original fan tweet. Fans are required to use the hashtag #SJSharks in their tweets in order for their headline to be

considered in the contest, and many fans format their tweets in the form of a reply, using @SanJoseSharks at the beginning of the tweet. These features are removed from the quoted form of the tweet, distancing the quoted material from its original context as a tweet. In this way, @SanJoseSharks engages fans through the use of the headline quote, giving them a feeling of involvement, but regulates the manner in which this voice is presented, maintaining the more Impersonal Model of the account. (See section 7.2.4 for more discussion of the Sharks' headline contest as a practice of mutual monitoring.)

Several of the accounts in the data also reproduced quotes from popular movies or historical figures. These quotes were all presented as direct forms of quotation through the use of quotation marks to indicate that the speech belonged to another source, although attribution to the original source was not always included. The use of popular source material, while introducing a new voice to the interaction, seems to function primarily in one of two ways: to acknowledge "in-group" members that recognize the source of the quotes, or to inspire an emotive reaction from recipients of the talk, often in connection with an event or experience.

Example 5.4 from @PensInsideScoop demonstrates the first of these functions:

5.4) PensInsideScoop: @User "Roads? Where we're going we don't need roads"
-SK
2:36pm EDT - 24 Mar 2012

In this tweet, Sam Kasan (identified by the "-SK" signature), responds to a journalist that has jokingly asked about the condition of the roads after a snowfall in Ottawa, where the Penguins were travelling for an away game. Instead of answering the question seriously, Kasan responds with a popular quote from the movie *Back to the Future*, not noting the source material in his tweet. As with the direct quotes used by players and coaches, this quote allows recipients of the tweet to reconstruct the original context of the quote in order to add humor to the situation.

However, unlike the quotes taken from press conferences and clearly attributed to the player or coach that uttered them, this example requires that recipients are already familiar with this movie (and perhaps even more specifically, familiar with the context in which this quote is used in the movie) to understand the humorous nature of the response. Recipients of the tweet that are not familiar with the quote are likely to miss the relevance or meaning of the quote in this context, effectively removing them from the intended audience of the tweet. In that way, the primary effect of this type of quotation is to ratify a particular circle of the receiving audience of the tweet. While production roles are again shared over several speech events (with a screenwriter originally authoring the words, which are attributed to a movie character as the principal, and in this use animated by a Penguins employee and broadcast by the Pens Inside Scoop account), the use of this quote without identification of the original source divides the audience into those who get the reference, and can thus reconstruct the original context of the quote, and those who do not know the quote and are left wondering who exactly it is that is being quoted and why.

Example 5.5 from @SanJoseSharks, on the other hand, illustrates a different function of quotation of popular source material:

5.5) SanJoseSharks: “You make a living by what you get, but you make a life by what you give.” –Churchill quote from Sharks Foundation event <link to picture from event>
3:26pm PDT – 23 Mar 2012

Here, the source of the quote (Winston Churchill) is identified, not requiring prior knowledge on the part of the recipients to identify the quote. The use of the quoted material in connection with the event held by the Sharks charity foundation works much like quotes from press conferences with coaches and players to reconstruct a previous speech event for the audience. Instead of describing the event in his or her own words, the animator here relies on the Churchill quotation to capture the spirit of the event for those reading the tweet. It is also interesting to note that the

quote is identified as being a “Churchill quote from the Sharks Foundation event”. In this way, the animator of the tweet is not aiming to reconstruct the original context in which Churchill spoke these words¹³, but instead is reconstructing (and thus providing access to) the context in which the quote was used at the Sharks Foundation event. The inclusion of a picture of the event reinforces this reconstruction.

5.2 MULTIMODAL AND MULTIMEDIA REPRODUCTION OF VOICES

In addition to direct and indirect quotation as a way to introduce new voices to team tweets, an even more commonly used practice by team-associated accounts is the use of multiple modes and mediums to represent the talk of others. Links to blogs and articles on the team website provide a way to reproduce such talk in written form in a medium that does not hold the character restrictions of tweeting. Video and audio platforms allow for modalities beyond the basic written form of a tweet, reproducing the sights and sounds of the context of the original talk. In this section, I discuss the use of these additional mediums in representing the talk of others, as they create a separation between the voice of the Twitter account and the voice of other parties (which may or may not be related to the organization), while providing the “insider” access that fans crave by giving them a more faithful representation of the original context of the talk. Additionally, I discuss the ways that the addition of these mediums requires more active

¹³ In fact, there is seemingly no evidence that Churchill ever spoke these words, and it is believed that the quote has been falsely attributed to him (The Churchill Center and Museum at the Churchill War Rooms 2012).

involvement or orientation on the part of recipients, as they must perform an action (such as clicking on a link) to receive talk in this form.

5.2.1 Links to written communication outside of Twitter

Often included with direct quotation forms, particularly from players or coaches, are links to the team website that connect to a longer article or blog. These links are usually a shortened form of a Web address (to fit within the restricted character limit of Twitter) that are hyperlinked to allow recipients to click on the link to be directed outside of the Twitter interface to a webpage containing a longer form of written communication. Example 5.6 from @StLouisBlues provides a typical example of a tweet containing a quote and a link, while Figure 6 illustrates the resultant webpage that users will arrive at upon clicking the link.

5.6) StLouisBlues: Colaiacovo: “There’s no better place to play (than St. Louis)...the fans get into it and bring you into the game.” bit.ly/GUkDBW
10:38am CDT – 28 Mar 2012

Here, part of Blues’ defenseman Carlo Colaiacovo’s talk is reproduced as a direct quote in the tweet, with a link to a story about the game referenced in the quote. As can be seen in Figure 6, the story on the Blues’ website includes a longer version of Colaiacovo’s quoted speech, which could not be fully included in a single tweet due to the character limit. In this way, the Blues Twitter account is able to incorporate not only Colaiacovo’s voice into the tweet, but also provide access to the voice of Chris Pinkert, the author of the story. Because the Blues Twitter account generally uses the Impersonal Model, it is unclear whether or not Chris Pinkert is animator of the tweet in Example 5.6 or any other for the account; however, it is clear that the story is attributed to him through the byline at the beginning of the Web post, and as such his



Blues Have Record-Setting Night

New record for home wins, goalie shutouts highlight 3-0 win vs. Nashville

Tuesday, 03.27.2012 / 9:30 PM / St Louis Blues - News

By Chris Pinkert - St. Louis Blues

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Another game.

Another record-setting night.

With [Tuesday's 3-0 win vs. Nashville](#), the Blues have set a new franchise record for home wins in one season with 30. The previous record was set during the 1980-81 season, when the Blues went 29-7-4 at the St. Louis Arena on Oakland Avenue.

After Tuesday's game, the Blues are 30-4-4 at Scottrade Center and still have three home games remaining.

"I can tell you as a player, there's no better place to play (than St. Louis)," said defenseman [Carlo Colaiacovo](#). "In games where it seems like things just aren't going well and you need a little pick me up, the fans get into it and they bring you right into the game."

"Every fan of a team is passionate, but here, they think of it as a party. They're out there cheering and having a great time. You feel it when you're out there."

Figure 6. A screenshot of a story on the St. Louis Blues' website, as linked in the tweet in Example 5.6.

voice can be incorporated into the fan experience through the linking of the team website medium in the tweet. While fans presumably cannot participate in two-way interaction with Pinkert (or Colaiacovo) through Twitter, the introduction of the additional medium allows the Blues to incorporate a personal voice without breaking the Impersonal Model of the account.

Another common use for linking to more long-form writing is the introduction of the analyst voice. Twitter's character limit makes it difficult for those with in-depth knowledge of the game to provide analysis for fans that may not be as familiar with the inner workings of each play (or highly-knowledgeable fans that may just want another opinion). In order to bring this

type of analysis to fans on Twitter, teams often use tweets to link to either articles on the team website or the blog of the analyst, as demonstrated in Example 5.7:

5.7) FlaPanthers: #FlaPanthers TV analyst Bill Lindsay drops the gloves in today's #RapidFire ow.ly/9LXYZ
3:01pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

In this example, unlike Example 5.6, there is no reproduction of Bill Lindsay's voice in the text of the tweet. Instead, he is introduced in the tweet by the regular producer of the talk, and the talk for which Lindsay is the animator, author, and principal can be found at the linked website. In this way, Lindsay's voice is not represented in the language of the tweet, but is presented as a voice that is being shared with followers of the account in a different medium. With this practice, the basic production frameworks used by the account are not altered.

As noted above, the inclusion of links requires active orientation to the talk on the part of Twitter users, particularly in the case of Example 5.7, where Lindsay is introduced but his words are not represented in any way in the tweet. In order to be recipients of any of Lindsay's talk or the extended version of Colaiacovo's talk in Example 5.6, Twitter users must perform the action of clicking on the link and momentarily leaving the Twitter medium. In this way, team accounts are broadcasting *access* to these other voices and not broadcasting the new voices themselves as producers of talk in the tweets. This requires that recipients of the tweet take further action to become recipients of the talk of others. That is, while team Twitter accounts can introduce the voices of others through these links, the voices cannot actually be "heard" by Twitter followers unless the followers actively direct their attention to the talk outside of the Twitter medium (in addition to the normally required action of reading a tweet). By using links to longer forms of written communication, then, teams take the chance that the talk will not be received at all by

their Twitter followers, but reward fans that do engage in furthering the interaction with more material than could be fit into a single tweet or even series of tweets.

5.2.2 Multimodal resources for reproducing talk

Another option available to teams is the use of audio and video reproduction of the talk of others, again through hyperlinks that lead to a video/audio sharing website, in most cases run by the team's website. Most common for reproducing the talk of players, coaches, analysts, and team media representatives (such as in-arena entertainers or reporters for the team website), the use of audio and video in sharing the talk of others addresses several issues introduced by the Twitter medium. For one, audio and video clips can address the length restrictions of Twitter, much like the written forms like articles and blogs. While perhaps only one quote or part of a quote can be represented in a single tweet, a tweet containing a link can capture the entire length of a media scrum, press conference, or even radio and video shows providing analysis about the team. Additionally, the use of video and audio reproductions can provide a more faithful representation of the talk. As Squires (2011) notes in her discussion of the representation of text messages on television news programs, when talk is reproduced in different mediums it becomes a heteroglossic recontextualization of the original material. She argues that in these recontextualizations for a new medium, both content and features of the form of the message can be omitted, added, or altered, and that the "confluence of features reproduced or altered from the original message serves to portray multiple voices" (5). Instead of reanimating spoken words in text form for Twitter or other long-form written mediums, the audio-visual formats allow the person tweeting for the team account to avoid some of the omission and alteration of speech features for the text-based medium. This allows the original speaker to remain in the animator,

author, and principal roles for the shared stretch of talk. While even audio and video representations are not fully faithful to the original context (for example, the visual field is restricted in video content to include only the frame that the camera operator has chosen to capture), much of the re-voicing that Squires discusses can be muted. Much like forms of direct quotation, this helps to provide distance between the broadcaster and the original speaker, allowing the words to be even more clearly attributed to the original speaker than in the translation of direct quotation from a spoken to a written form.

The use of video and audio formats also allows for a reproduction of more of the context surrounding the original source of the talk, giving listeners or viewers an even better understanding of this context. Video and audio are both more likely to capture the talk on both sides of the interaction in press conferences and interviews (as they are not as restricted by length like tweets). Many times, when the talk of players and coaches is reproduced in direct and indirect quotation form in tweets, the reader of the tweet may not have access to the question that the speaker was asked before producing the quoted speech. Being able to hear the original question in addition to the talk reproduced in a quote can provide context for the quoted material. Additionally, the video format can give viewers a better understanding of what and whom the speaker is orienting to while they are speaking and where their attention is directed. This awareness of attention can help viewers to reconstruct the participation frameworks of the original speech event that is being shared, potentially letting them distinguish addressed recipients from other ratified audience members. In Figure 7, screenshots from a video interview with Penguins player Evgeni Malkin shows how his orientation and visual attention changes throughout the interview. Although the camera remains on Malkin throughout the interview, and therefore viewers may not be able to see the person or object on which Malkin is focusing his

gaze, they can get a better understanding of how the speaker distributes his attention in addressing the questions that are directed to him, giving viewers a better understanding of the context and shifting participation structures in the original event.

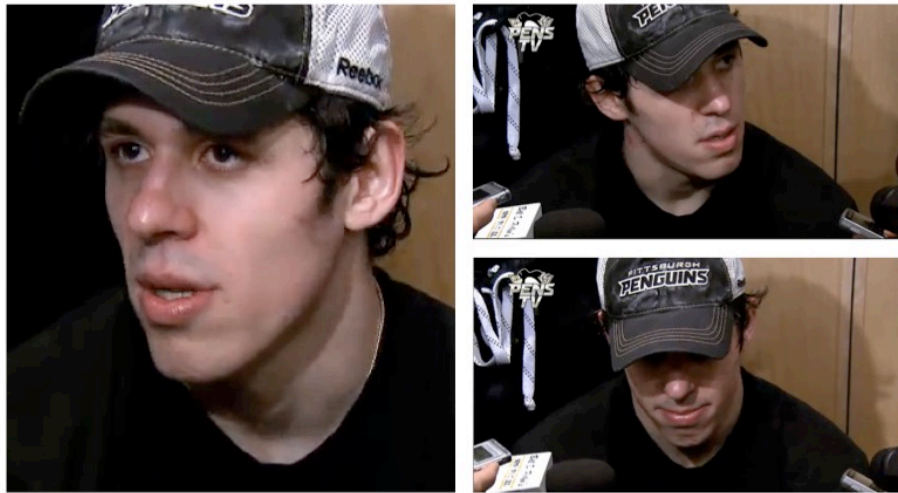


Figure 7. A series of screenshots from a video interview of Penguins player Evgeni Malkin (link to video found in Example 5.9, below) displaying his changes in orientation and visual attention while answering questions during the interview.

Finally, video and audio formats can capture other details of spoken talk that are not as easily captured in text: prosody, gestures, facial expressions, disfluencies, accented speech, etc. All of these features that can be lost in a text reproduction can help provide listeners and viewers with a more detailed understanding of the speech in its original context, often providing cues to the speaker's stance that are not available in written form. While video and audio can of course be edited or framed to provide only certain details, these formats will usually capture more detail than text reproductions of speech. One such example can be seen in these two tweets from @PensInsideScoop and @pghpenguins, respectively:

5.8) PensInsideScoop: Malkin on if he can catch Stamkos in goals: "Why not? I might not catch him, but I want to score 50 goals. It's my dream." #Pens
10:25pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

5.9) pghpenguins: #71 on if he can catch Stamkos in goals: “Why not? I might not catch him but I want to score 50. It’s my dream” Listen: bit.ly/GTboBs
9:20am EDT – 23 Mar 2012

Both of these tweets capture part of a quote from Evgeni Malkin, who has been both criticized and adored by hockey fans and media alike for his strong Russian accent and (according to some) slowly developing grasp of English. The video (provided through a link in Example 5.9)



Figure 8. A series of screenshots from a video interview of Penguins player Evgeni Malkin, showing his facial expression and gestures as he begins to respond to a question about catching Steven Stamkos in the goal-scoring race.

shows Malkin first laughing and partially covering his face and does not meet the questioner’s gaze when asked a question about the possibility of catching another player (Steven Stamkos) in the NHL goal scoring race, as seen in Figure 8. He has been behind Stamkos throughout the season in goal scoring, and would need several exceptionally high-scoring games to catch up. Malkin then proceeds to answer, “Oh it’s hard, he’s good player, and he not score last I know 4 games, but he’s maybe bad luck, but he’s sniper and {in breath} I have chance but not big

chance but why not? And just... if not catch him, but I want score 50 goals it's my {nod} pretty dream.” While the quoted speech in both of Example 5.8 and 5.9 is represented as a direct quotation, in fact it is not, as it does not capture Malkin’s disfluencies in answering the original question, which add a great deal of context to the answer. Both Malkin’s physical response and his full answer to the question display modesty and a respect for Stamkos that is not evident in the tweeted form of the quotes. The erasure (term used in the sense of Irvine and Gal 2000 and Squires 2011) of these features through the recontextualization of Malkin’s speech as written text in the tweets works to moderate Malkin’s own voice, and although he is still the principal of the talk, the voices of the person(s) reanimating and reauthoring the talk push their way to the forefront, ultimately changing the tone of the message to one of confidence and assertion. By providing video the @pghpenguins account gives fans access to a much more detailed version of Malkin’s interview, containing multiple modalities to reproduce more of the original context, while the @PensInsideScoop account provides only the heteroglossic text version of a small, somewhat altered part of Malkin’s quote. While links to video and audio formats again require extra action on the part of the recipient, the action in this case allows recipients to put themselves much closer to the original speech event, not only addressing the fan need for “insider” access, but also putting them close to the original voicing of the talk. It is perhaps because of this ability to reproduce more of the context and detail of the original speech event that video and audio links are shared by nearly every team account in this study.

5.3 RETWEETING

One way of sharing the talk of others that is specific to the Twitter medium is through the act of retweeting. The term “retweeting” refers to the rebroadcasting of tweets of other Twitter users in one’s own timeline. Retweeting is much like sharing the talk of others in quotation form, but it is specifically utilized for talk that was initially produced and distributed on Twitter. This form of sharing the talk of others is extremely common – every account in this study, with the exception of @SharksInGame, used some form of retweeting.

While Twitter initially had no way of retweeting built in to its interface, users developed a system of using the notation “RT” (for ReTweet) for the purpose of rebroadcasting other’s tweets. In 2009, however, Twitter incorporated a retweeting function into its interface, where user A could simply rebroadcast user B’s tweet whole-form (which will be referred to here as the Preserving RT, following Collister and Draucker 2013). In Preserving RTs, the original tweet cannot be modified – it is simply reproduced in its original form, with no additional content added and shows up in user A’s timeline, as if it has simply been taken out of user B’s timeline and pasted in user A’s. This is indicated by the inclusion of user B’s name and avatar along with the text, as well as the information that it has been retweeted by user A at the top of the tweet. Figure 9, below, shows a comparison of a retweet and a regular tweet by the Pittsburgh Penguins account (@pghpenguins). In the retweet, originally produced by @PensPRLady, the tweet is reproduced exactly as in its original form, with the exception of the small text beside the tweeter’s name showing a set of boxed arrows (to indicate a retweet) and the information “by pghpenguins”, indicating which account has broadcast the retweet. Below this retweet is an



Figure 9. Two tweets captured from <http://www.Twitter.com/pghpenguins> on October 3, 2011. The top tweet illustrates a retweet of @PensPRLady by @pghpenguins, created by using the retweet function built into the Twitter interface, while the second tweet illustrates a regular tweet produced by @pghpenguins.

example of a regular tweet made by the @pghpenguins account, showing their avatar and username, making the distinction between the account’s original content and their Preserving RTs clear.

The original user-generated form of retweeting (referred to here as the Adapting RT, again following Collister and Draucker 2013) is still in frequent use as well. The most common form of the Adapting RT finds user A indicating that he or she is reproducing text from user B by marking it off with the capital letters “RT” followed by the username of the original tweeter and the retweeted text. In this case, the text from the original tweet can be modified and the user A can add their own original text, often placed before the “RT” notation and retweeted material. As can be seen from Figure 10, in this method of retweeting the avatar and username of the user performing the retweet appear in the timeline, just as it would for regular tweets produced by this user. This creates an obvious contrast with the Preserving RT, which reproduces both the avatar and username of the original tweeter. In this way, the Adapting RT can emphasize the retweeting account to a greater extent, drawing more attention to its role as a broadcaster. If readers are not paying close attention, they may miss the indication of the rebroadcasting role in Preserving RTs,



Figure 10. Two tweets captured from <http://www.Twitter.com/MapleLeafs> on October 1, 2011. The top tweet illustrates a regular tweet produced by @MapleLeafs, while the second tweet illustrates a retweet of @HennyTweets by @MapleLeafs created by using the common orthographic feature “RT” before the retweeted text.

but Adapting RTs highlight the retweeter in that role. Several different versions of the Adapting RT are in common use, including a form that uses quotation marks around the retweeted material instead of the RT notation (which can be distinguished from direct quotation forms only in the reproduction of the tweeter’s username and other contextual information). Despite their differing forms, all Adapting RT styles share the common features of looking like a normal tweet in the retweeter’s timeline (in that they contain the retweeter’s avatar and username) and text that can be adapted or modified from its original version. Both the Preserving and Adapting RT forms are still in frequent use by the team and individual accounts in this data, and their implications for production frameworks are discussed below.

5.3.1 Production frameworks for retweeting

Like direct quotation, Preserving RTs provide maximal distance between the retweeting party and the original source of the talk. In fact, much like sharing video and audio reproductions of talk, the retweeter does not need to reanimate the original source when using the Preserving RT

form, taking over only the transmission of the tweet to a new audience. Also like other forms of sharing talk that do not require animation, readers of the Preserving RT are aware that a more faithful representation of the original tweet is being reproduced, as the retweeter cannot alter the text of the tweet in any way (for example, to correct errors or shorten the tweet). For the Preserving RT, then, the original tweeter can be assigned the roles of animator, author, and principal, while the retweeting account takes over only the broadcasting role.

Adapting RTs establish a more complicated framework, however. Recall the Adapting RT example in Figure 10. Here, the broadcaster role is clear: the retweeter (@MapleLeafs) takes over the role of broadcaster, as is particularly obvious in this format, which shows both the @MapleLeafs username and avatar at the beginning of the tweet. The animator role is not as clear as it may seem however. Any new comments added to the tweet by the retweeting user are being animated by that user (in Figure 10 the “Update from Henny” text), but in the text that is following the “RT” notation the degree of animation is somewhat ambiguous. While Preserving RTs do not give the option for editing – and no additional handling of the text falls to the retweeter – in Adapting RTs there are decisions available to the retweeter in presenting the text and therefore some animation may take place by the retweeter. Figure 11, below, illustrates the original tweet that is being retweeted in Adapting RT form by @MapleLeafs in Figure 10, above. Authored by Paul Hendrick (a reporter for Leafs TV, a Toronto Maple Leafs enterprise) and broadcast by @HennyTweets, this tweet is a bit different than the text as seen in the retweeted form. In the retweet, @HennyTweets text is represented as “Ron Wilson is hopeful that Connolly and Bozak will be ready for the opener” with the hashtags #Leafs and #NHL added at the end of the text with nothing to clarify whether they were part of the original tweet or not.



Figure 11. Tweet taken from <http://www.Twitter.com/HennyTweets> on October 1, 2011, showing the original version of the tweet from @HennyTweets that is retweeted in Adapting RT form by the @MapleLeafs account. The retweeted form is seen in Figure 10.

With capitalization changes as well as editing to the text, it becomes clear that not only is there transfer of the text from the original tweet into the retweet, but at least some degree of animation and authorship by the retweeter occurring as well to create these differences. Adapting RTs, then, give the retweeter access to shared roles of animation and authorship that Preserving RTs do not. However, without access to the original tweet, recipients of the retweet are unlikely to know that any reanimation or reauthoring has occurred. Because the “RT” notation suggests that the text after it will be faithful to the original, this text is still attributed to @HennyTweets as the principal, with readers likely to unknowingly assign the author and animator roles only to Paul Hendrick. In most instances of retweeting, this may not matter much to the readers. Here, the content of the tweet in Figure 11 and its representation in Figure 10 do not drastically differ (although the differences do suggest an ideological value placed on standard capitalization conventions by the tweeter for the Leafs account). As Collister and Draucker (2013) demonstrate, though, it is possible to alter the original tweet beyond recognition, to remove the original tweeter’s Twitter username from the tweet leaving it unclear who the text should be attributed to, or even to completely fabricate new tweets that are attributed to others through use of the Adapting RT format. In these ways, the Adapting RT format blurs the lines of production, and while it is generally perceived to be a form of direct quotation, it often may not be.

One way that team organizations and other Twitter users have addressed this issue is through the use of the notation “MT”, replacing “RT” in Adapting RTs where the original tweet has been modified. The pair of Adapting RTs in Example 5.10, from @NYIslanders, compare the use of the RT notation and the MT notation:

5.10) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: RT@User @NHLonNBCSports: If I had the chance to hang out with an @NHL player for a day it would be John Tavares. A true player.
#Isles
2:27pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: MT @msgnetworks: Hey #Isles fans, we hear a #NYPlaysHere ad will be running in tomorrow’s Newsday...snap a shot & play along! #isles
1:35pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

In the first tweet in Example 5.10, the Islanders account has used an Adapting RT to rebroadcast a fan’s response to a query from @NHLonNBCSports asking which players fans would like to hang out with for a day. Here the tweet is represented with the “RT” notation, presumably used here to indicate that the retweeted form does not alter the form of the original tweet¹⁴. The Islanders account then places this fan in the roles of animator, author, and principal, and takes over only the role of rebroadcasting the fan’s tweet for other Isles fans to see. In tweet 2 of Example 5.10, however, they switch to the use of the “MT” notation to indicate that they have modified @msgnetworks tweet from its original text, “Hey @NYIslanders fans, we hear a #NYPlaysHere ad will be running in tomorrow’s Newsday...don’t forget to snap a shot & play along! #isles”. While readers of the modified tweet would not know what has been changed without looking up the original tweet, the “MT” notation does let them know that the retweeter has played the role of animator and author to some degree for the retweeted text. Like the tweets

¹⁴ A search for the original tweet using Twitter’s search function came up empty, so this faithfulness is not verifiable.

in Figure 10 and 11, the changes are minimal here, but regular use of the “MT” notation in juxtaposition with the “RT” notation can help fans and other followers to know when Adapting-style RTs faithfully represent the original or when changes to the text (and thus to the production frameworks for the text) have been made.

5.3.2 Displays of alignment and distance for retweets

One advantage of using the Adapting RT form over the Preserving RT form is the possibility of adding a comment about the retweeted material, whereas with Preserving RTs, no additional material can be added. As Hill and Zepeda (1992:198) note, reproductions of the talk of others can function “to ‘distribute’ the question of responsibility away from [the person reproducing the talk], who, as she reconstructs the reports, can be seen as no more than an ‘animator’, the puppeteer with minimal moral exposure”. In the case of Preserving RTs, the retweeter can be seen as no more than the broadcaster of the talk, thus distancing the retweeter from responsibility for the talk. In turn, the preserving retweeter’s stance towards the talk is left somewhat unclear. In the Preserving RT form, the tweet can be seen as the talk of someone else, and while the retweeter obviously sees the talk as worthy of rebroadcasting, the degree to which they align with the stances taken in the talk is left unanswered.

The Adapting RT, on the other hand, allows the retweeter to not only alter the original tweet (taking out anything that they may not feel is worthy of rebroadcasting), but it gives them room to add their own stance towards the talk¹⁵. This Adapting RT from @FlaPanthers provides

¹⁵ It is not necessary for Twitter users to add a comment before an Adapting RT, and Adapting RTs with no changes and no comments can be understood to display the same types of alignment as Preserving RTs

an example of a retweet in which the Panthers account distances itself from the retweeted material to some degree:

5.11) FlaPanthers: Thanks? #wethink RT @User it's official... @FlaPanthers twitter is the sassiest, it has just outstripped columbus for sassy-pants tweets.
4:30pm EDT – 1 Apr 2012

Here, in addition to retweeting the tweet from a fan of the team's Twitter account, the @FlaPanthers also add the comment "Thanks? #wethink". Had the account used the Preserving RT form, the retweet may have been interpreted as a simple acknowledgement of the original tweet, or even an acceptance of being named the "sassiest" NHL team account. Instead, by adding a comment to the Adapting RT form, the Panthers account is able to show some hesitancy in being deemed "sassy", allowing them to distance themselves from the talk they are retweeting through the question mark after "Thanks" and the hashtag "#wethink", which provides metacommentary on the retweet and its preposed comment. @FlaPanthers also uses the Adapting RT form to emphasize their alignment with the things they retweet:

5.12) FlaPanthers: Us too! (any leftover hope goes to Buffalo, hockey gods) RT @User I really hope the @FlaPanthers beat Montreal on the Habs ice tonight!
8:19pm EDT – 27 Mar 2012

In Example 5.12, the Panthers account displays enthusiastic agreement with the retweeted material through the comment "Us too!" and adds the sentiment that they want Buffalo to win as well (which will help the Panthers in the playoff standings). While most followers would have likely assumed agreement had @FlaPanthers used the Preserving RT form for this retweet (since presumably the team Twitter account would want the team to win), the use of the Adapting RT form allows them to accentuate that display of agreement. In Example 5.13, the preposed

in this discussion, with simply more focus on the retweeter in their role as the broadcaster in the Adapting RT form.

comment is used to mitigate their agreement with the original tweeter's claim that Panthers player Scottie Upshall is "hustling tonight".

5.13) FlaPanthers: Lots of Cats are, but yes, he has some jump! RT @User
@ScottieUpshall hustling tonight #FlaPanthers #Habs
8:18pm EDT – 27 Mar 2012

A Preserving RT of this material would indicate that the team thought the material was worth rebroadcasting, suggesting a stance of agreement with this fan's assessment. Instead, through the Adapting RT, the Panthers account can explain that while they agree with the assessment that Upshall is working hard in that game, they also think that many of the other players are as well. By allowing the retweeter to display their own stances to the retweeted material, that Adapting RT again provides the opportunity to highlight the participation of the retweeter in ways that the Preserving RT does not.

5.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed the ways that new and different voices can be introduced and intertwined with the primary voices represented in the basic team organization account models. Through many and varied forms of reproduction, organizational accounts can introduce or provide access to the voices of players, coaches, analysts, team representatives, fans, and other popular culture sources in their interactions on Twitter. While all forms of reproducing of talk are heteroglossic in some way, different forms of reproduction can help to sharpen or blur the lines in the assignment of production roles. Direct quotation forms, from reanimating spoken talk to written form to reproducing talk with video footage to Preserving RTs, help to distance the (re)animating or broadcasting voices from the talk, while highlighting the quoted producer,

particularly in the author and principal roles. Indirect quotation forms, such as modified retweets (MTs) and written paraphrases of spoken talk, work to intermix the voices, often leaving the degree to which the author and animator roles should be assigned to each party unclear. Additionally, some forms of direct quotation can be used to misrepresent talk as being faithful to the original source, hiding the influence of the tweeting party on the animator and author roles. As discussed in sections 5.2.2 and 5.3, both quotation marks around text and the “RT” notation in Adapting RTs can be used to indicate that talk is being reproduced in its original form (restrictions of the medium notwithstanding), when in fact, it has been modified.

Additionally, the varied forms of reproducing talk allow for different abilities for the rebroadcaster to indicate their stance towards the reproduced content. As more direct forms of reproduction maintain the status of the original producer as the principal for the talk, it can be unclear as to the rebroadcaster’s (or reanimator’s) stance towards it. More indirect forms allow for comments or choices in wording that can help to indicate the rebroadcaster’s stance towards the talk, but reintroduce the problems of erasure and confusion of role assignment. The two retweeting forms discussed in this chapter help to illustrate this difference. Preserving RTs allow the broadcaster to maintain a faithful representation of the original tweet, but assume with them a neutral or agreeable stance towards the content in the tweet without other context or affordances to indicate otherwise. Adapting RTs, however, provide the possibility to include an indication of the broadcaster’s stance to the retweeted text, but do not ensure a faithful representation of this text, as tweeters may omit or modify the text.

Finally, the length restrictions and text-based nature of Twitter can also result in issues of erasure, from erasing voices entirely from some stretch of talk to erasing features that help to contextualize the talk. Many team accounts address these affordances of the medium by linking

to material outside of Twitter, such as blogs and articles on the team website, which help to address length restrictions, or multimodal platforms such as video and audio hosting sites that allow them to reproduce spoken and visual cues in the talk. These means of reproducing talk do not shift the production frameworks for the interaction on Twitter and provide more faithful representations of the original speech event; however, these external media require active reception by fans on Twitter, as they must choose to click the link and be redirected outside the medium in order to receive the talk. Ultimately, teams must balance their concerns about which participants they wish to highlight, the level of faithfulness they wish to represent, and restrictions of the medium(s) in providing access to the talk when making decisions about the forms of reproduction that they will choose.

ANALYSIS II: MANAGING RECEPTION

Having focused above on the production identities established by NHL team accounts in their use of Twitter, I turn now to an analysis of the ways in which these organizations manage the reception of their talk. Part II of this work focuses on analytic concepts of reception and addresses the ways that NHL accounts design their talk for different audiences in this medium. The research questions that drive these next few chapters are as follows: 1) how do NHL teams design their talk for recipients on Twitter, 2) how does this talk work to organize audiences into roles of reception, 3) how must some of the basic concepts of reception be reinterpreted for a public online medium, and finally, 4) how can an understanding of these concepts of reception can further our understanding of engagement with fans on Twitter? In Chapter 6, I consider the ways that these NHL accounts build and structure audiences for their talk, analyzing Goffman's (1981) conceptualizations of ratification and address in this primarily text-based, public, online medium of communication. This chapter investigates the language of ratification and address, and the ways that teams design their talk to manage and acknowledge different audiences. Following the models of production in Chapter 4 above, I conclude this chapter with a model for reception frameworks, noting the roles of both real and intended recipients. Chapter 7 investigates current understandings of co-presence and displays of mutual monitoring, looking at the ways that team accounts create opportunities for recipients to actively display their attention to the talk, as well as the ways that they engage audiences through displays of their own

reception of the talk of others. In section 7.2, I provide models of interaction that combine varying production and reception frameworks and discuss their implications for engagement and interaction.

6.0 BUILDING RECEPTION FRAMEWORKS

In addition to constructing talk to manage the identities of the producers of that talk, all talk is designed with certain recipients in mind as well (Bell 1984; Duranti and Charles Goodwin 1992; Scollon 1998). Through the design of talk for intended recipients, the producers of the talk can begin to build reception frameworks, organizing recipients into roles with differing relationships to the talk. While Twitter, at its most basic, is designed as a one-to-many means of broadcasting talk publicly, interactional work can be done to alter the shape and size of the audience for which each tweet is intended. Through an understanding of concepts such as Goffman's (1981:132–133) *ratification* and *address*, NHL teams and other producers of talk on Twitter can identify specific groups within a broader audience and engage with those groups more directly. In this chapter, I investigate the ways that NHL accounts build frameworks for reception in their talk, and the ways that different frameworks alter stances of engagement towards the audience(s) of their tweets. Section 6.1 discusses the concept of a ratified audience in a public medium, investigating what it means for a recipient to be ratified and the language forms used to accomplish this ratification. In this section I also ask what becomes of Goffman's *unratified* recipients, namely whether or not the roles of *over-hearers* and *eavesdroppers* still apply in a public medium (132). In Section 6.2, I explore the concept of address, looking at replacements for visual means of address, such as gaze, in this text-based medium. I also consider what can constitute a “next turn” in interactions between organizations and readers of their tweets, and the

ways that team accounts manage turning over those subsequent parts of the interaction to recipients.

6.1 RATIFICATION

For Goffman, the concept of *ratification* relates to a producer's awareness and acknowledgement of recipients of the communication. In his discussion of ratified participants, Goffman (1981:131) writes:

The process of auditing what a speaker says and following the gist of his remarks – hearing in the communication-system sense – is from the start to be distinguished from the social slot in which this activity occurs, namely official status as a ratified participant in the encounter. For plainly, we might not be listening when indeed we have a ratified social place in the talk, and this in spite of normative expectations on the part of the speaker. Correspondingly, it is evident that when we are not an official participant in the encounter, we might still be following the talk closely...

While Goffman does not provide a precise definition of ratification here, two key components of the concept are highlighted: 1) physically receiving the talk and being a ratified participant are distinguished in Goffman's classification, and 2) ratification is a social status assigned by the producer of the talk. Physically receiving a tweet, then, is not sufficient to make one a ratified or "official" recipient of the talk, but instead this ratification must come from the producer of the talk acknowledging a recipient status for that participant. A common example in face-to-face communication is that of two or more people talking on a public bus. While many people on the bus may be able to hear the conversation that the group is having, the only ratified recipients are those that are "official" recipients, i.e. those recipients that the speaker is currently acknowledging to be part of the interaction.

Levinson (1988:174) breaks the concept of ratification down a bit further, into *recipientship*, which he notes as relating to “who a message is *for*”, and being a *participant*, which he identifies as having “something to do with what Goffman calls a ‘ratified role’ in the proceedings”. For Levinson, individuals that are +recipient are targeted to hear the talk in some way (i.e. the talk is designed for them), while those that are +participant need only to share the channel of interaction and be acknowledged by the producer of talk as a potential participant. Levinson (1966) uses the following example (originally from Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1978:29) to illustrate this distinction:

<i>Sharon</i>	You didn’ come tuh talk tuh Karen?
<i>Mark</i>	No, Karen- Karen’ I’re having a fight, (0.4) after she went out with Keith an’ not with (me)
<i>Ruthie</i>	Hah hah hah hah
<i>Karen</i>	Wul, Mark, you never asked me out

While Goffman’s framework allows us to distinguish between ratified recipients that the speaker knows are will hear the exchange (Ruthie and Karen) and the specifically addressed recipient (Sharon), Levinson’s framework allows us to make a three-way distinction. For Mark’s talk in this example, he identifies Sharon as the addressed recipient (+address, +recipient, +participant), as Mark is clearly taking up the second pair part of the question she has asked him. Levinson suggests that while Karen does not fit into the role of addressed recipient (address will be discussed in more detail in section 6.2, below), the talk is seemingly designed for her giving her a status that Levinson calls the indirect target (-address, +recipient, +participant). Additionally, Levinson allows us to distinguish Ruthie from either of these roles, noting that she represents an audience to the exchange, as the talk is not designed for her (-address, -recipient, +participant). Finally, we could imagine a hearer whose presence is unknown to Mark (for example someone

standing nearby the spot where the conversation is taking place) that would hold an unratiſed role in the interaction (-address, -recipient, -participant).

The question that I ask here, then, is how these concepts relate to talk and interaction between producers and recipients in a public forum. Because tweets are publically available to anyone with a Twitter account, producers of the talk for team accounts will be aware that the audience that can read and interact with a tweet is an indefinite set of potential Twitter users. As Warner (2002) notes in his work on defining publics, “To address a public, we don’t go around saying the same thing to all these people. We say it in a venue of indefinite address, and hope that people will find themselves in it.” This suggests that when broadcasting talk in a public forum, ratification is accomplished by designing talk that allows the target audience to “find themselves in it”. In this public medium, then, it would seem that ratified recipients are most closely reflected in the member of the bus conversation that gets the inside joke, recipients that can find something in the talk that seems to be designed for them (i.e. those that are +recipient, +participant). This understanding of ratification in a public medium is taken up in this work, and a ratified participant will be seen to have the following characteristics: 1) the participant has access to receive the talk and 2) the talk is designed for the recipient to find him/herself in it in some way. I save a more detailed examination of this first characteristic for Chapter 7, in which I take up an discussion of co-presence and shared channel-links. For now, I take the first characteristic to be broadly met for any user with access to a Twitter account. The rest of Section 6.1 is dedicated to an analysis of the second characteristic of ratification presented here. Section 6.1.1 looks at the language commonly used by the NHL team accounts as it is designed for certain audiences. In 6.1.2, I consider the implications for engagement and the frames for

interaction established through ratification. Finally, 6.1.3 considers Goffman's unratified roles of the over-hearer and the eavesdropper, and looks at their place as recipients of public talk.

6.1.1 The language of ratification

While anyone with a Twitter account can potentially come across the tweets produced by NHL teams, it is clear from the language used in these tweets that they are designed with specific audiences in mind. As Marwick and boyd (2010:115) note, "While potentially anyone can read or view a digital artifact, we need a more specific conception of audience than 'anyone' to choose the language, cultural referents, style, and so on that comprise online identity presentation". Myers (2010:77) notes that "bloggers create an audience-in-the-text that may not be the same as their actual audience", and in the same way tweeters paint a picture of their intended audience in the ways that they design their talk. While there are a potentially unlimited number of ways that teams might ratify different audiences, in this section, I focus on some of the most common language choices that reveal the audiences teams look to ratify.

6.1.1.1 Topic

Perhaps the first means of ratifying an audience for NHL accounts on Twitter is through a narrowing of topic for the talk. By and large, NHL teams accounts talk about hockey, with a focus on or skew towards the team they represent. This selection of topic works to ratify participants that are looking for information related to the sporting activities of the team organization. Teams that have multiple official accounts illustrate how a further narrowing within this topic can work to ratify different audiences. For example, the St. Louis Blues organization operates both a team account (@StLouisBlues) and a mascot account

(@LouieSTLBlues). The Blues team account focuses on providing information about the team, including information about player transactions and details about hockey events such as practices and games. The mascot account, meanwhile, provides information from the perspective of the mascot, including his activities and involvement in supporting the team as a part of the organization. While both accounts address the general topics of hockey and the Blues organization, their approaches to these topics are designed quite differently, allowing them to appeal to different audiences. As an example, the two accounts displayed quite different approaches to tweeting about a Blues game on March 25, 2012. The @StLouisBlues account posted two tweets before the game, commenting on the time and location of the game, as well as the return of an injured player. They posted no tweets during the game, with three tweets following the game, all providing information about statistical accomplishments players had achieved during the game (such as one player setting a new personal career high for goals scored in a season). The @LouieSTLBlues account, on the other hand, retweeted several Blues fans displaying their excitement prior to the game, posted excited reactions from the mascot himself during the game when the Blues scored goals or made saves, and held public conversations about the game with mascots from other NHL teams. Both accounts address the game event as a general topic, but their more specific focuses in addressing the progress of the team throughout the game day allow them to appeal to (and thus ratify) different audiences. In this way, the @StLouisBlues account ratifies recipients that are primarily interested in obtaining information about the team, while the @LouieSTLBlues account ratifies audiences that are more interested in the act of cheering and rooting on the team than garnering information.

A similar split in topic and style exists between the Pittsburgh Penguins accounts @pghpenguins, @PensInsideScoop, and @PensPRLady, indicating that these accounts work to

ratify differing (although likely overlapping) audiences. While all three accounts have a general focus on the Penguins team, their choice of topic and the language they use to present those topics work to ratify different audiences. The @pghpenguins account often focuses on major news updates about the team, as well as ways for fans to display their loyalty to the team, through fan contests and opportunities to participate in events related to the team, such as autograph signings or sales at the team store. The @PensInsideScoop account, in contrast, focuses primarily on the experiences of the tweeters for the account (who also do most of the writing for the team website) in providing information about the team. While they rarely touch on the topic of fan contests or merchandise sales, they instead look to engage fans from a different perspective, often detailing the process of writing for the account or website, as seen in this series of tweets from writer Michelle Crechiolo in Example 6.1:

6.1) Tweet 1:

PensInsideScoop: Since we're playing Nashville ("Music City"), I want to start the game blog with some country. What's your favorite country song? Help! –MC
3:31pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

PensInsideScoop: Wow. So many great responses from you guys to my question about what country music song to play in the blog. You guys are awesome :) –MC
6:15pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

PensInsideScoop: All of the country music suggestions were awesome! See which song was chosen by visiting the in-game blog: <link to team website> #Pens –MC
6:41pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

These tweets only distantly relate to the Penguins team, and instead involve fans in the process of writing about the team for the blog, a topic not covered by the @pghpenguins account. In this way, fans can still get information about the Penguins team from the @PensInsideScoop account,

but often the focus is on the day-to-day experiences of the writers, ratifying a group of fans who might be more interested in this “insider” experience than in participating in fan contests. Additionally, the @PensPRLady account provides information about the Penguins team primarily from a public relations standpoint. This account rarely provides any game updates or breaking news, but instead focuses on the topic of media appearances by the Penguins personnel, letting fans know about interviews with players or coaches that will appear on television, radio, or written media outlets. While the talk for these three accounts is publically available to all Twitter users, the Penguins are able to allow different audiences to find the account (or accounts) that appeal to them by focusing on different topics that are (sometimes only loosely) related to the Penguins team.

6.1.1.2 Jargon and specialized conventions

In addition to focusing on specific topics, team accounts can ratify certain audiences through the use of jargon and specialized information. Technical terms like “hooking”, “slashing”, and “icing” and abbreviations like PP (power play), PK (penalty kill), and SHG (short-handed goal) are used frequently throughout the data, suggesting that team accounts expect the people reading their tweets to have at least some familiarity with the terminology of the game, and that these tweets are not designed with a more introductory audience in mind. These accounts also often make reference to both the players and the team itself by nickname only (e.g. “Jags” for player Jaromir Jagr or “the Bolts” in reference to the Tampa Bay Lightning), designing the tweets for fans and readers that follow the team and sport closely enough to know the referents of these nicknames. These references can range from those familiar to the broader hockey community to team-specific jargon, or even locally relevant references. In Example 6.2, the Florida Panthers account, @FlaPanthers, responds to a fan tweet about unique

pronunciations of player names used by a local radio broadcaster, where “Kuleekov” and “Gaw-awch” are used to represent the mispronunciations of the names Dmitry Kulikov and Marcel Goc.

6.2) FlaPanthers: Not Gaw-awch? #shhh #welovewqam RT @user @FlaPanthers
That Kuleekov fellow. He'll tie it.
8:37pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

In this tweet, the intended audience needs to not only be familiar with the team's players, but also with this radio broadcaster's work in order to make sense of the tweet. Much like the *Back to the Future* quote from Example 5.4 in the previous chapter, this use of specialized reference enables the Panthers account to ratify a very specific portion of what is likely to be a larger receiving audience with this tweet.

In addition to the use of jargon, nicknames, and specialized references, teams can ratify audiences through their use of conventions for conveying information within Twitter's 140-character limit. Example 6.3 illustrates a common practice by the Pittsburgh Penguins @PensInsideScoop account of detailing the “lines” of players that will take their shifts together by listing their jersey numbers, with dashes to indicate the ties between offensive lines or defensive pairings. In Example 6.4, however, @PensInsideScoop simply lists the jersey numbers of players that attended a practice, without the connecting dashes between them.

6.3) PensInsideScoop: Lines: 14-71-18 26-87-9 24-11-48 45-12-27 25-46-15. D-pairs: 37-7 5-47 44-4. More in the #Pens Report: <link to team website> -SK
11:26am EDT – 28 Mar 2012

6.4) PensInsideScoop: #Pens at morning skate: 15 24 25 27 14 46 48 12 87 9 11 5
37 47 2 44 39 1 29 -SK
11:34am EDT – 29 Mar 2012

6.5) PensInsideScoop: @user Those aren't lines. They didn't skate lines. Those are just the guys that skated. Few did only off ice work -SK
5:00pm EDT – 29 Mar 2012

Assuming that readers of their account would be familiar with their typical format for detailing line combinations, it seems that the tweeter, SK, expected readers to realize that Example 6.4 simply provided a list of players and not their line combinations. The response to a fan question, though, in Example 6.5, shows that at least for one user, that was not the case. This user, expecting that a list of numbers would indicate line combinations, did not understand the distinction between the two conventions used by @PensInsideScoop, and thus misinterpreted the information. In this way, team accounts are able to both ratify and exclude certain audiences, providing or prohibiting access to the information in their tweets through the use of these specialized conventions.

6.1.1.3 References to time and place

Another means of ratifying certain audiences for a tweet is through the use of time and place references. Through such references, teams can ratify members of their audience who can share in that time or space, and many team accounts include tweets that are specifically intended for a local and/or immediate audience. Example 6.6 from @pghpenguins illustrates an instance in which both time and place are relevant for further engagement:

6.6) pghpenguins: Double trending! “Super Duper” and “Dupuis” now trending in #Pittsburgh. <link to photo of trending terms at that time in Pittsburgh>
9:32pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

While all fans reading the tweet at any time on Twitter could take in the information that these terms were trending (in reference to Penguins player Pascal Dupuis after scoring a goal to put the Penguins up 8-4 over the Winnipeg Jets), only fans that were also on Twitter at that time and located in the Pittsburgh area (and allow the Twitter interface they are using to track their location) could contribute to the local trend themselves by using those terms in their own tweets. For the purposes of engaging fans in the trend, then, only this subset of fans is ratified as

potential participants, with those reading it later or outside of the Pittsburgh area unable to join in¹⁶. Example 6.7 from @FlaPanthers also demonstrates the use time and place references to ratify a specific audience on Twitter:

6.7) FlaPanthers: Bid on tonight's #FlaPanthers game jerseys (and come down to the ice and get them autographed post game) at the main entrance (Sec. 132).
4:46pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

While this tweet does not specifically address any portion of the audience, it becomes clear that it is only relevant for fans that are at the Panthers game, as one needs to be physically present at the event in order to bid on the jerseys. Much like the restricted participatory audience ratified in Example 6.6, the tweet in Example 6.7 works engage only those fans attending the game (although this may not be clear to readers of the tweet until they reach the final clause “at the main entrance”, as presumably without this place information the bidding could be taking place on Twitter).

In addition to ratifying fans that are at local events or in the team's home market, place references can be used to ratify other groups within an audience as well. In a tweet inviting fans to “upload a photo of the BlueNote around the world”, the @StLouisBlues account uses place not to construct an audience that is in a specific place, but one that shares the act of displaying their loyalty to the Blues while traveling or living outside St. Louis. In Example 6.8, @BuffaloSabres uses a multimodal construction of place to broaden their ratified audience:

6.8) BuffaloSabres: The #sabresroadcrew is all sent up [sic] at Grand Central in D.C. and ready for the party! #beatthecaps <links to photos on Instagram>
5:46pm EDT – 26 Mar 2012

¹⁶ While fans in other locations could also use the terms in their tweets to attempt to get them to trend in their location or nationally and globally, they would not be able to participate in keeping the trend going in the Pittsburgh area, which is what the Penguins account is monitoring in this tweet.

Through both words and pictures, this tweet allows the Sabres to share the experience of a party for fans at an away game (in Washington, D.C.). Instead of focusing on fans that are present and able to share in the experience, as the tweets in Example 6.6 and 6.7 do, this tweet is designed for those that are *not* in attendance at the party. This tweet contrasts with other tweets from @BuffaloSabres at that time that directly address fans that are able to attend the party in D.C., inviting those fans to participate by uploading their own photos of the event and alerting them that the team's coach will be signing autographs during the event. The contrast between those tweets and Example 6.8 shows the shift in focus on a particular audience, ratifying those in attendance in one sample of tweets, while ratifying and engaging fans that could not attend in others.

6.1.1.4 Spanning information across tweets

Another common practice by team accounts is to continue information across multiple tweets, which assumes that the audience will have access to (and read all of) the connected tweets. The following two tweets from the Colorado Avalanche (@Avalanche) in Example 6.9 demonstrate this practice:

6.9) Tweet 1:

Avalanche: MUELLS FOR MASTERTON: The CO. Professional Hockey Writers Association chapter nominates Peter Mueller for the Bill Masterton Memorial Trophy
3:51pm MDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

Avalanche: It is awarded annually to the player who “best exemplifies the qualities of perseverance, sportsmanship, and dedication to hockey.”
3:53pm MDT – 19 Mar 2012

The first tweet in Example 6.9 can stand on its own, passing along information about Avalanche play Peter Mueller's nomination for the Masterton Award. The second tweet in Example 6.9,

however, requires a reading of the first tweet to provide an anaphoric referent for the pronoun “it”. While it might seem safe to assume that readers of the second tweet will have also seen the first tweet if they are following the Avalanche account, this may not always be the case. Tweets can become separated in a user’s feed if they follow many people and the connection between the two tweets might be lost. Alternatively, the first tweet might be missed in hurried reading or if the user only directs their attention to Twitter in time for the second tweet. Additionally, Twitter users may not come across the tweet by following the Avalanche account; if the second tweet is retweeted by another user, for example, readers of the retweet will not have ready access to the first tweet without doing more work to search for the context needed for the second tweet. If the first tweet is retweeted without the second, the reader may not even realize that there is a second tweet explicating the first. Information that spans multiple tweets, then, serves to ratify Twitter users that have access to (and have directed their attention to) both tweets, leaving users that miss the first tweet to scramble for context.¹⁷

6.1.1.5 Personal pronouns

Mirroring the importance of personal pronoun choice in building production frameworks, personal pronoun use can also have an effect in connecting with audiences on social media. “Pronouns can be used to include as well as exclude,” O’Keeffe (2006:97) notes, pulling on the work of Horton and Wohl (1979), and “in media interactions, inclusive pronoun choices... can help create and sustain the illusion of an interpersonal relationship between strangers”. Like the

¹⁷ Some Twitter users have taken up the practice of tagging talk that spans more than one tweet with the hashtag term #myprevioustweet or #mylasttweet in any successive tweets, or using a notation such as (1/2), (2/2), etc. to indicate a tweet’s place in a chain of tweets to help readers note that additional context is needed. I found no instances of this practice in this data, however, despite the frequent practice of distributing talk across several tweets.

media interactions that O’Keeffe describes, NHL teams can use interpersonal pronouns in their tweets to create a sense of “pseudo-intimacy” between strangers – here, the fans and the tweeters for team accounts – ratifying fans by allowing them to see themselves reflected in the talk (2006:90). The contrast in language announcing the start of play at the beginning of a game or period in Examples 6.10 and 6.11, from @BlueJacketsNHL and @Avalanche, respectively, illustrates the use of the inclusive pronoun “we” to create a sense of connection with the fans:

6.10) BlueJacketsNHL: START OF THE THIRD PERIOD: #RedWings 6, #CBJ
0
9:27pm EDT – 26 Mar 2012

6.11) Avalanche: We are under way in San Jose! #GoAvsGo! #BELIEVE
8:38pm MDT – 26 Mar 2012

While the “we” in Example 6.11 might be interpreted as a reference to the Avalanche team, it can also be interpreted as an inclusive reference for fans watching the game. In support of this second, fan-inclusive interpretation is the fact that the @Avalanche account only uses the pronoun “we” in contexts that could allow fans to be included in the interpretation (e.g. “We’re seven minutes into the game” or “We’re headed to overtime”), while referring to the Avalanche team itself by name (e.g. “#Avs heading to the box again” or “#Avs back on the power play with 13:37 remaining in regulation”). In comparison to other @Avalanche tweets, the use of the 1st person plural pronouns in Example 6.11 creates an interpersonal connection, ratifying fans as a part of the game event, contrasting the tweet in Example 6.10 that provides similar information but with language that does not readily encourage fans to identify themselves in the talk.

In addition to inclusive 1st person plural pronouns, O’Keeffe argues that the use of 2nd person pronouns also work to create an interpersonal connection, again allowing the audience to feel like the talk is meant for them. While the pronoun “you” is often used as a means of address (and will be discussed as such in section 6.2, below), its various forms can also be sprinkled into

the discourse as a means of ratifying readers that identify as fans. References to players with phrases such as “your captain” or “your Calder candidate” and references to the team as “your team” or “your [team nickname]” work to pull readers into talk that is otherwise largely informational.

6.1.1.6 Hashtag terms

Another tool for ratification on Twitter is the use of hashtag terms. Hashtag terms can work to increase the distribution of a tweet, as well as denoting topics covered in the tweet that may grab the interest of readers. Many of the examples seen thus far in this dissertation have included hashtag terms, such as the use of “#RedWings” and “#CBJ” in Example 6.10 in the previous section. Marwick and boyd (2010) found that users that wanted to increase their audience used more hashtag terms to help interested followers find their tweets. By using the hashtag terms for the team names when reporting the score, @BlueJacketsNHL are similarly able to increase the audience of their tweet, as it will now appear in any searches for the term #RedWings, which the Detroit Red Wings team uses to promote their team. Through the use of this term, the likelihood of Red Wings fans becoming recipients of the tweet is raised, as they may be unlikely to be following the Blue Jackets account unless they are also interested in the Blue Jackets team or league news more generally. This use of hashtag terms, then, ratifies users that may not already be following an account by broadening the spectrum of users that will come across the tweet and letting this broadened pool of users know that there may be something of interest to them in the tweet. Note that hashtags that perform a function of metacommentary on the tweet may not always work in the same way to expand an audience. These uses of hashtags may work to expand the audience if they are in popular use, such as the #firstworldproblems hashtag discussed in Chapter 1. As this hashtag is widely used, it can be used both to expand an

audience and to provide a comment on the content of the tweet. Other hashtag uses, however, may have less popularity, and can be included in a tweet simply as a way to provide commentary on the content of the tweet without the additional benefit of expanding the audience. One such example comes from Example 5.11, in Chapter 5, in which the Florida Panthers account tweeted “Thanks? #wethink” as the preposed comment on an Adapting RT. The “#wethink” hashtag here is likely not included to increase the audience, but to set the hashtagged material apart from the other content in the tweet, allowing the tweeter to make a snarky comment on the retweeted material.

Another popular practice for sports teams and fans is that of following team hashtag terms during a game or other event, in a practice known as “live-tweeting”¹⁸. Much like the use of the #RedWings hashtag term, the Blue Jackets’ use of a hashtag term to refer to their own team – #CBJ – allows the tweet to become part of a larger conversation about the team, as anyone following this hashtag will now see this tweet in their search feed, regardless of whether or not they follow @BlueJacketsNHL. Additionally, this allows fans to leave (or divert their attention from) the primary feed of users that they follow and follow only a feed of tweets that contains a certain hashtag while the team is playing. For users that follow many accounts that tweet about many different topics, this hashtag search allows them to focus their attention on tweets that pertain to the game and the team they are interested in, blocking out other topics for the time that they are involved in the live-tweeting practice. If the @BlueJacketsNHL account were not to use the hashtag term in their tweets, they would not appear in the feed containing the search term, and therefore they could potentially lose part of their interested audience, including those users that do follow their account. Through the use of the hashtag terms, they are able to

¹⁸ Live-tweeting is not unique to sports fans or sporting events, and is a common practice during many events, such as awards shows and space shuttle launches.

ratify this portion of their audience and bring them into the pool of potential recipients for these tweets. (Hashtag terms also work to create “next turn” opportunities, which are discussed further in Section 6.2.)

6.1.2 Ratification and engagement

Having discussed the most common examples of the language ratification in NHL account tweets, I return now to the definition of ratification used in this dissertation. The examples discussed to this point have all focused on such implicit forms of ratification, in which the recipient has a hand in determining their status as a ratified participant (as opposed to forms of direct and specific address as a means of ratification, which will be discussed below). Recall that the second characteristic of this definition requires that the talk be designed for the recipient to find him or herself in it in some way. This requirement addresses Goodwin’s (1986) concerns of viewing recipients as static points on a graph – while the primary action still belongs to the producer (in designing the talk for the ratified recipient), this understanding of ratification also allows for agency on the part of the recipient, in finding their own connection to the talk. Because much of the talk on Twitter, particularly that of these NHL organizations, is available to a broad public audience, a ratified audience will be fluid in shape and size as readers identify with or reject a tweet. As they allow fans to do the work of finding themselves in the talk on Twitter, teams can give different subsets of fans the opportunity to engage with each tweet. Because of the need for readers to find something in the tweet that speaks to them, repeated appeals to both an extremely general or overly specified audience may allow fans to tune-out and disengage.

Consistent ratification of an overly general audience could cause fans to lose interest in the talk produced by an account. In Example 6.12, the @Avalanche account provides a update during a game between the Avalanche and the Phoenix Coyotes:

6.12) Avalanche: Coyotes get their third goal of the game with 3:05 remaining in the second period.
9:29pm MDT – 22 Mar 2012

Out of the context of other tweets from the @Avalanche account, the language of this tweet does little to ratify fans of the team. In fact, this tweet provides information about a game with a seemingly neutral stance and does not include language that might allow Avalanche fans to find something in the tweet that is meant specifically for them, other than the temporal reference implied by the present tense verb, working to ratify an audience following the game in real time. If the purpose of such a tweet is purely informational, this may not be problematic, and over the course of a collection of tweets from an account, it is unlikely to matter if a small percentage of the tweets do not specifically ratify the fan base. However, over time, consistent use of language ratifying a generic audience might create a frame for the account as an impersonal broadcast and could turn fans away to seek engagement with their favorite team from other sources.

Conversely, consider the following tweets from @StLouisBlues in Example 6.13:

6.13) Tweet 1:

StLouisBlues: Due to last night's shutout, all fans 21 & over with a stub from the game can get \$5 off a purchase at Dirt Cheap today <link to information about the discount>
10:25am CDT – 28 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

StLouisBlues: I-64 will be closed in IL from the I-55/70/64 split to Route 111 this weekend, affecting fans coming to tonight's game: <link to information about the closure>
12:53pm CDT – 31 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

StLouisBlues: All fans in attendance at tomorrow's 7 p.m. game vs. Columbus will receive a 2011-2012 team poster courtesy of Fry-Wagner. #stlblues
11:01am CDT – 30 Mar 2012

These three tweets ratify a very specific section of the team's fan base – fans in the St. Louis area that have or will attend one of the games that they discuss. While these tweets are helpful or informative to fans that are able to attend the games, it is likely that many Twitter users that will read these tweets are not able to be in attendance. These tweets then work to engage only a small subset of the fan base, and continued ratification of *only* this group of fans would create a very specific frame for the account, likely working to push other fans away, if they are consistently unable to find any reflection of themselves in the talk. The disparity in the amount of followers between general team accounts and specialized accounts may reflect this scenario. As one example, the @SharksInGame account is very specific in topic, only tweeting stat lines during San Jose Sharks games, ratifying only those fans that are looking solely for scoring information about the game. The @SanJoseSharks account, on the other hand, tweets about games, as well as news updates, fan contests, pictures and videos of the players, and more. The @SanJoseSharks account then is able to offer a much more diverse range of topics to Sharks fans and ratify many different (although likely overlapping) audiences. In turn, as of August 28th, 2012, the @SanJoseSharks account had nearly 10 times the number of followers that the @SharksInGame account had, with 98,922 followers and 10,763 followers, respectively, even though the @SharksInGame account tweets more frequently than the @SanJoseSharks account. In fact, for all organizations studied in this dissertation, accounts that presented a more narrow focus had significantly fewer followers than the primary accounts, which covered a wider range of topics. (See Appendix A for more specific numbers detailing this disparity in followers.) While ratification of specific groups might, then, allow those fans to become more engaged with certain

tweets, it can also work to push more casual fans away and ultimately result in a smaller audience if a team continues to design talk for only that audience over time¹⁹.

All of this suggests that the most engaging Twitter accounts are ones that are able to allow the largest audience to find something to connect with in their tweets. However, as the previous examples illustrate, this is likely not best accomplished by appealing to broad or generic audiences, but instead through balancing the audiences that are ratified throughout the tweets produced by the account. Tweets such as those in Example 6.13 that only engage a particular segment of a public audience can work for a team account, as long as they are intermixed with tweets that ratify other segments or larger portions of their intended audience.

6.1.3 Over-hearers and eavesdroppers on Twitter?

In his consideration of ratified and unratified participants, Goffman also discusses the roles of “over-hearers” and “eavesdroppers” (1981:132). For Goffman, these are the unratified participants that come across talk, and whether their participation is “inadvertent” (over-hearers) or “engineered” (eavesdroppers) can be significant in regards to their potential effect on the course of an interaction. Eavesdroppers are likely to have designs on influencing or re-appropriating the talk, as they have purposely put themselves in a position to be a recipient of the talk, often without the speaker’s awareness. Over-hearers, on the other hand, are less likely to have specific plans for the interaction, as their involvement is seen to be unintentional, although

¹⁹ It is also likely that primary team accounts tend to have more followers because it is these accounts that will show up in search results for the team’s Twitter account. It seems then that more “devoted” or “hard-core” fans might be the ones to follow the additional accounts, as a result of both awareness of the accounts and the content provided by the accounts. However, all accounts in this study were listed on the team websites and most of the primary team accounts in this study often mentioned their other accounts, as @pghpenguins and @SanJoseSharks did before every game their team played, so it is not unlikely that even the more casual members of the fan base could eventually come across these additional accounts.

they certainly may still influence the interaction nonetheless. The conception of these recipients as unratiſed participants relies on a lack of awareness or acknowledgement of these recipients on the part of the producer of talk. Goffman (1981:132) also notes that “these adventitious participants... should be considered the rule, not the exception”, by which he means that it is most common for talk to take place in a venue in which it is possible for unintended recipients to receive the physical signals of the talk even if they are not recognized in the social situation surrounding the interaction.

How, then, do these unratiſed roles translate to Twitter, where tweets are known to be public and available for potential reception by anyone using the medium? Unlike a private correspondence that is intercepted by a third-party or conversations on a bus that are designed for a certain social group even though the speakers know that they might also be heard by others, tweets are broadcast with the understanding that they can potentially be received by anyone that might come across them. Most tweets, however, are read by a relatively miniscule portion of the Twitter population, and most tweeters will not know exactly who it is that comes across their tweets (Marwick and boyd 2010). With nearly all tweets then having what Marwick and boyd call an “imagined audience” (117), in which a tweeter is merely making a guess as to who might receive his or her tweet, is it still possible to separate roles of over-hearing and eavesdropping? Here it becomes useful to introduce the concept of the “networked audience”, which consists of “real and potential viewers for digital content... [that] are connected not only to the user, but to each other, creating an active, communicative network [in which] connections between individuals differ in strength and meaning” (129). Marwick and boyd note that “while the broadcast audience is a faceless mass, the networked audience is unidentified but contains familiar faces... it has the presumption of personal authenticity and connection” (129). For

Twitter, we might distinguish between the broadcast audience as a (real or imagined) set of all potential users that could come across a public tweet and the networked audience as the group of users that has indicated their intention to receive talk from a user by following their account, thus creating a networked connection between those users.

Through this distinction we can begin to see the role of over-hearers and eavesdroppers within this larger, non-networked, broadcast audience. With these unratiſed participants then, producers will be aware that they could have access to the public talk, but they are largely unaware of who these recipients might be because they have not expressed their intention to receive the talk by tying themselves into the networked audience. Twitter users that choose to follow an account indicate their desire to be a recipient of the talk produced by that account, and because Twitter allows users to see a list of their followers (and even receive notifications when they are followed by a new user) they will be aware of these followers and aware that much of the talk produced in their tweets could be received by them. However, Twitter users can also choose to attend to an account’s tweets by visiting that user’s homepage without opting to follow the user. In this scenario, we may see the recipient as an “eavesdropper”, purposefully seeking out the producer’s talk, but not giving the producer any indication that they are doing so. In the case of NHL accounts, the “eavesdroppers” may check a team’s timeline for specific news items, a particularly interesting video, or a controversial tweet, but not have the intention of receiving that account’s tweets on a regular basis. We might also view users that follow – but do not contribute to – a hashtag term to fit into this “eavesdropper” category. These users purposefully gain access to the tweet by searching for a hashtag term, but in no way indicate their reception of these tweets to other users. Eavesdropping on Twitter, then, represents a way of gaining access to talk without leaving a trace as part of a networked receiving audience. Because these tweets (and

the organizations themselves) are public, the “eavesdropper” is less likely to be seen as violating any social conventions, as they might be, for example, in listening in on what is thought to be a private face-to-face conversation between two individuals. These eavesdroppers do, however, avoid the “personal authenticity and connection” that Marwick and boyd discuss as a feature of the networked audience, and thus remove themselves from the possibility of more interpersonal interaction (without further action on their part) (2010:129).

In addition to an eavesdropping role, in which recipients purposefully design their own exposure to the talk, Twitter users can also find themselves in an “over-hearer” role. One way to conceive of an over-hearer on Twitter is as a user that comes across a tweet from someone they follow that was mistakenly directed to a misspelled or non-existent username. When this occurs (most often by accident), a tweet that was meant to be addressed to a specific user and only distributed to the feeds of users that follow both accounts will instead end up in the feeds of all of the followers of the tweeter. These “over-hearing” recipients will not have planned their reception of that particular tweet and while they do have a direct network connection to the tweeter, the fact that they do not share a direct connection with the intended addressee would have excluded them from the ratified audience of the tweet if the username had been entered properly. The over-hearer then becomes an inadvertent recipient of the tweet through the actions of the producer of the tweet.

6.2 ADDRESS

A correlate of ratification is the concept of address; as noted above, the category of ratified recipients for Goffman is broken down into *addressed* and *unaddressed* recipients (1981). Goffman identifies the addressed recipient in face-to-face interaction as “the one to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over the speaking role” (133). He continues this emphasis on the visual resources for address in noting that in multiparty conversation, “it will often be feasible for the current speaker to address his remarks to the circle as a whole, encompassing all his hearers in his glance,” and suggests that the distinction between addressed and unaddressed recipients is “often accomplished exclusively through visual cues” (133). Levinson’s (1988:174) conception of address closely mirrors Goffman’s, suggesting that recipients become [+address] when “the message picks out a recipient by means of a feature of address, including second-person forms, vocatives, gesture, gaze or a combination thereof”. Both Goffman and Levinson also note that in dyadic conversation, the sole ratified recipient necessarily also takes on the role of the addressed recipient, even in the absence of visual and auditory cues.

In this section, I discuss the cues of address used by organizational Twitter accounts in an online, public medium. Section 6.2.1 looks at the use of vocative forms by NHL accounts and discusses the functions of this linguistic form of address. In Section 6.2.2, I investigate the implications of turning over the next interactional role to the addressed recipient, looking at the types of actions that constitute a “next turn” in Twitter interaction. Finally, Section 6.2.3 considers the visual cues discussed by Goffman and Levinson and asks if teams can replace

seemingly essential cues such as gaze and gesture in a medium in which participants cannot see each other behind their screens during an interaction.

6.2.1 @mentions, vocatives, and other terms of address

Vocatives are perhaps the most direct linguistic means of determining an addressee for a strip of talk. As Leech (1999:108) notes, all vocatives share the general characteristic of “referring to the addressee of the utterance in which they occur”, yet he breaks the performance of vocatives down further into three specific functions: 1) alerting someone that he or she is being addressed, 2) distinguishing the intended addressee from other potential addressees, and 3) maintaining or acknowledging social relationships between the speaker and the addressee. In addition to pragmatic functions, Leech also identifies common semantic categories of vocatives, including endearments (*sweetie, darling*), family terms (*Mom, Daddy*), familiarizers (*dude, folks*), both familiarized and full first names (*Mike or Mikey, Michael*), title and surname (*Mr. Jones*), honorific titles (*Sir, Mr. President*), nicknames (*Sparky, Nealer*) and elaborated nominal structures (*those of you who are attending the game today*) (110-111). O’Keeffe (2006:101) adds impersonal vocatives to this list, as in the example “someone get that phone, will you!”.

Previous studies of vocative use suggest that both the medium of communication and features of the audience have an influence on the functions and types of vocatives that appear in the interaction. Leech (1999) found that in casual face-to-face conversation, vocatives were significantly more likely to appear in utterance-final position, indicating that they were performing the function of maintaining social relationships, as vocatives used for the purposes of attracting attention or distinguishing which recipient the talk is intended for are more likely to be near the beginning of an utterance. He also found that in situations where relationships were

clearly established (e.g. between a husband and wife in conversation), vocatives were not only less common, but when they were used, they were more likely to act as attention-getters than to maintain relationships. Jaworski and Galasinski (2000: 49) found that in the context of televised political debates, vocatives were most often used between the debaters not to draw attention, but to “define the interpersonal space between them”. Kiesling’s (2004) study of the term “dude” within an American all-male fraternity found that term most often appeared in utterance-initial or utterance-final position, performing a wide range of functions from working as an exclamation or discourse marker to indicating the interpersonal stances between its user and addressee. Specifically, the term was used to index a “cool solidarity”, in which users could ameliorate threats or make assertions of connection, affiliation, or agreement within “the small zone of ‘safe’ solidarity between camaraderie and intimacy” for straight males (291). In O’Keeffe’s (2006) study of the discourse of radio call-in talk shows, she notes that vocative forms were most often used to index relationships of either pseudo-intimacy or distance between the speaker and addressee in dyadic conversation, as in one-to-one interviews, and often involved first name or title forms. However, when more participants were potentially involved (such as when the host took calls from the audience) vocatives were more frequently used to manage turn distribution (identifying an intended addressee from other potential addressees) and titles were rarely used in these exchanges. Additionally, Myers (2010) found that vocatives were largely uncommon in blog posts (outside of constructed dialogue within the posts), but were quite common in the comment sections on blog posts, where commenters were found to frequently use names and nicknames to direct their comments to the appropriate addressees in a sea of potential recipients.

The most common vocatives used by NHL accounts in this study were impersonal vocatives, group vocatives, and @mentions (address of another Twitter user with the use of their

Twitter username preceded by the “@” symbol). @mentions were primarily used to address a single participant, often in response to a question or comment from that user. Through the modal affordances of Twitter, the use of the @mention as a vocative form can perform several functions. First, the @mention form acts as an attention-getter, as a notification is sent to the mentioned user to notify that user that he or she has been mentioned in a tweet. Additionally, when @mentions are used at the beginning of a tweet, they act to restrict the distribution of the tweet to only the feeds of the addressed user and users following both the tweeting account and the addressed user. While the tweet is still technically public (it will appear in the tweeter’s public home timeline), it is not broadcast with the same distribution as basic tweets, drastically reducing the audience of the tweet and working similarly to dyadic forms of communication, in which Levinson (1988) and Goffman (1981) note that the singularity of recipients functions as a form of address. @mentions that are used in non-initial position in a tweet, however, do not restrict the distribution of the tweet in this way. These tweets are distributed to the feeds of all followers of the tweeting account, and here the @mention vocative form performs the functions of gaining the attention of the addressee and distinguishing the addressee as the primary target of the talk even though it is being distributed to a wider audience. Compare the series of tweets in Example 6.14 to the one in 6.15, from @BlueJacketsNHL and @BuffaloSabres, respectively:

6.14) Tweet1:

BlueJacketsNHL: @<user1> We’ll likely have an update tomorrow.
8:25pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

BlueJacketsNHL: @<user2> We’ll likely know more tomorrow.
7:52pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

BlueJacketsNHL: @<user3> I will check Wednesday.
7:51pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

6.15) BuffaloSabres: .@<user> Sorry – all #Sabres practices on the road are not open to the public. Only on game days at home.
3:21pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

In Example 6.14, the Blue Jackets account has opted to answer similar questions from different users in tweets directed back to those users. Because there are no characters before the @mentions in these examples, the distribution of the tweets is restricted and it is unlikely that many of the Blue Jackets' followers will see each of these tweets, necessitating the reproduction of the answer in three separate tweets. Here, the @mention functions as a vocative that gains the attention of the addressee and sets up a pseudo-dyadic communication with that user. In Example 6.15, however, the @BuffaloSabres account has placed a single character (".") before the @mention, which allows the tweet to be distributed to the feeds of the entire following audience of the Sabres' account. Here, the @mention vocative gains the attention of the addressee without restricting the audience of the tweet, so that other followers that may have the same question will be more likely to see their response. The restricting use of the @mention in Example 6.14 may indicate a more interpersonal stance towards each individual fan – here, each of these fans that has asked a question of @BlueJacketsNHL receives a personal answer directed to them. The use of the @mention form in Example 6.15, while somewhat less personal, works to ratify a larger audience, and in this way may ratify more fans with the same question, whether those fans had voiced that question on Twitter or not.

Additionally, as @LouieSTLBlues' tweet in Example 6.16 illustrates, @mentions can be used to ratify recipients without directly addressing them:

6.16) LouieSTLBlues: hey, @TimEzellTV thanks for having me and @angellasharpe out to talk about the BLUES! We'll have a rematch of #hallwayhockey sometime soon!
10:25am CDT – 22 Mar 2012

Here, the first @mention (@TimEzellTV, television personality Tim Ezell) works as a typical vocative, performing the functions of getting his attention and singling him out as the addressed recipient of the talk even though it will be distributed to a wider audience. The second @mention in this tweet (@angellasharpe), however, does not work as a vocative. This @mention works to ratify television personality Angella Sharpe, by including her in the receiving audience of the tweet. While the @mention here indicates that the talk is designed for her in some way, it is clear that she is not the addressed recipient of the tweet. Similar to Levinson's example of Mark's conversation with Sharon, Karen, and Ruthie from section 6.1 of this chapter, teams can use @mentions in this way to divide their audiences into three segments: an addressed recipient (@TimEzellTV in Example 6.16), an unaddressed recipient for whom the talk is specifically designed (@angellasharpe), and ratified participants that are likely to receive the tweet, but cannot be specifically identified in the talk itself (the followers of @LouieSTLBlues). This practice is common among the accounts in this study, as NHL accounts often include usernames for the accounts of their sponsors, partners, or even players on the team notifying them that they are being mentioned in a tweet (and likely to encourage other users to follow these accounts).

While @mentions are primarily used to single out individual Twitter users, NHL accounts also often wish to address larger audiences. In these instances, impersonal or group vocatives are commonly used, including the 2nd person plural pronoun "you" and references to the team's fans as a group. The tweets in Examples 6.17 and 6.18, from @NYIslanders and @StLouisBlues, provide examples of such vocatives.

6.17) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: Heads up everyone... John Tavares is NOT on Twitter. #Isles
5:55pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: Happy Monday, #Isles Country. Were you in Montreal to see our SO win this weekend? Send us some pics and tell us about it in 140 or less.

8:53am EDT – 19 Mar 2012

6.18) Tweet 1:

StLouisBlues: Season Ticket Holders – Don't forget the early renewal deadline is Saturday, March 31. Renew early and save on Playoff tickets. #stlblues

4:18pm CDT – 29 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

StLouisBlues: Blues fans – it's time to grow one for the team. Join the Blues Beard-a-thon and help raise money for charity. <link to Beard-a-thon fundraiser homepage>

10:16am CDT – 29 Mar 2012

In the first tweet of Example 6.17, “everyone” works as an impersonal vocative largely with the function of garnering attention, particularly in conjunction with the phrase “heads up”. The vocative “#Isles Country” in the second tweet of Example 6.17 performs much the same role as the utterance-final vocatives discussed by Leech, establishing or maintaining a relationship with the audience as part of the nation of fans that support the team. (The use of “you” in the next sentence also works to ratify fans in creating this interpersonal stance.) The vocatives in Example 6.18, “Season Ticket Holders” and “Blues fans”, function to gain the attention of the appropriate audience, letting recipients of the tweet know whom the information pertains to before presenting that information.

In addition to their use as vocatives, some team accounts also frequently use the 2nd person plural pronoun as address terms within the regular grammar of a tweet. Leech (1999) notes that while vocatives function as a special type of address term, which often only loosely integrates into the syntax of the main clause, non-vocative terms of address can fall anywhere

within the syntax of a main clause. The following examples from @FlaPanthers illustrate the use of the pronoun “you” in a non-vocative address role:

6.19) Tweet 1:

FlaPanthers: We told you Kopecky was a beast tonight. He now has two assists, but he’s impressed with hustle and defensive pressure.
7:10pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

FlaPanthers: THANK YOU for helping us raise \$38K for the fight against pediatric cancer with yesterday’s jersey auction. Campbell’s was top bid at \$4,200
11:20am EDT – 26 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

FlaPanthers: In case you missed it, Mikael Samuelsson now has six points (3-3-6) in a four-game point streak. #FlaPanthers
9:06pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

Tweet 4:

FlaPanthers: We know you were waiting with bated breath... and Versteeg just confirmed it. #FlaPanthers #ShootoutRallyHelmet is 3-0. <link to story about the game>
12:33pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

In these tweets, @FlaPanthers highlight the recipients through the use of “you”, taking what could be primarily informational tweets and giving them what Jakobson (1960) terms a conative stance (that is, a focus on the addressee). By choosing language that allows recipients to see themselves as an addressee, the @FlaPanthers account is able to achieve a pseudo-intimate feeling for the tweets, allowing the fans to decide whether or not they identify as part of the addressed audience of the tweet.

6.2.2 Turning over the “speaking” role in Twitter interaction

In his discussion of addressed recipients, Goffman (1981:133) asserts that one of the features defining these recipients is that the current speaker “expects to turn over the speaking role” to

them. While this may not always be the case (e.g. when a vocative is used to get the attention of the addressed recipient, there is often no plan to turn over the speaking role at that time), the designation of the next turn in an interaction can often function as a form of address. However, as Crystal (2011:136) notes, “The notion of the conversational turn and its associated concepts (such as the adjacency pair)... has to be rethought to take account of the kinds of interaction observed in online [mediums].” In tweets that approximate a more one-to-one style of conversation, such as those in Example 6.14, above, it may be reasonable to expect the addressed user to draft a response similar to what we might expect to be the next spoken turn in face-to-face conversation. For example, these addressed recipients may respond with a tweet of thanks for the information or with further questions on the topic and even if they choose not to respond, it is likely understood that the floor is theirs if they would like to take it. However, in broadcasts that address a larger public audience, it is not practical to think that a coherent interaction can continue with every addressed recipient taking the equivalent of the next speaking turn in their tweets. Even if all of these addressed recipients did respond, it is unlikely that the original tweeter could continue the interaction with them beyond that response. For NHL teams and other organizations on Twitter, then, it becomes necessary to think about alternative options for the next turn in an interaction, beyond giving an opportunity for the next speaking role. In the next two sections, I first consider the interactional turns that the NHL accounts provide to their recipients within the confines of the Twitter medium, and then turn to options that lead recipients outside of the medium.

6.2.2.1 “Next turn” opportunities within Twitter

The most common practices by NHL teams in turning over the next production role on Twitter are to ask questions of or give directives to their audience. As Myers (2010:82) notes,

“Any utterance that isn’t a statement assumes there is someone else there to respond; a question calls for an answer, and a directive calls for an action.” Myers also suggests that questions can work to engage an audience, even when members of that audience do not actually take the next turn by making a response: “however uninterested one might be, it is hard not to project oneself into the role of responding” (82). NHL accounts use a range of question types, from more hypothetical questions, that work to address the audience without necessarily expecting a response, to those that invite fans to share their opinions or answer questions. The tweets from @NYIslanders in Example 6.20 display this range of questions.

6.20) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: There is a great collection of pictures in this month’s Frozen in Time. Which of them is your favorite #Isles moment? <link to pictures>
9:40pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: What do you want to see us make an @pinterest board of? We’d like to hear your suggestions.
9:10am EDT – 23 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

NYIslanders: Did you miss Evgeni Nabokov on @NHLHomeIce yesterday afternoon? No worries, here’s the interview. <link to video>
5:30pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

Tweet 4:

NYIslanders: Have you ever been a part of the #Isles live chat? Set an email reminder and check it out. <link to live chat website>
1:45pm EDT – 24 Mar 2012

In the first and second tweets in Example 6.20, @NYIslanders provides opportunities for fans to take over the next turns by asking questions that fans can respond to with their own tweets sharing their favorite moments and ideas for improving the Islanders Pinterest board. In tweets 3 and 4, however, it is likely that while the team is using questions as a way to address their audience, they do not expect them to respond with a tweet to these questions, but instead use the

questions to grab attention before inviting recipients to perform other actions, outside of the Twitter medium (these turn-types will be discussed further in 6.2.2.2, below).

In addition to question forms, many teams use directives and requests to garner a response within Twitter from fans. Example 6.21 from @NYIslanders and Example 6.22 from @pghpenguins show tweets that make use of this practice:

6.21) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: Let's hear from more #Isles fans... RT @nhlonnbcports: If I had the chance to hang out with an @NHL player for a day it would be _____.
4:20pm EDT – 19 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: @ us with your #Isles #1stGoal guesses with the correct player & period by 6:45. Check out the rules: <link to rules on team website>
4:35pm EDT – 29 Mar 2012

6.22) pghpenguins: Okay #Pens fans, time to tell us your #Pens3Stars
9:39pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

In these examples, the team accounts have directed fans to respond with their favorite players, the player they predict to score first in a game, and predictions of which players will be named the 3 stars of the game (the players judged by the media to have the best performances in that game). These directives request a tweeted response from fans, and in this way engage fans within the Twitter medium by using a first-pair part to invite fans to complete the second part of the pair.

In addition to inviting fans to respond directly to the tweeting account, many NHL accounts also encourage fans to take over the next production role by using hashtag terms in their own tweets. In this way, the turns that fans take will not only be directed back to the team, but can ratify a wider audience in their distribution. In Examples 6.23 and 6.24, @pghpenguins and @BuffaloSabres turn over subsequent roles to their addressed recipients by asking them to participate in the use of the hashtag.

6.23) Tweet 1:

pghpenguins: Hockey parents, does your kid deserve a #Pens
@New_Era_Caps for their hockey achievements? Tell us why & tag
#PensKidsCap for chance to win!
6:05pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

pghpenguins: Digital 411: @PensInsideScoop = play-by-play. @pghpenguins
= goals/period summary. Follow/use tags #Pens #Preds. Blog: <link to game
blog on team website>
7:07pm EDT – 22 Mar 2012

6.24) BuffaloSabres: Happy Game Day! Let's see those tunes! #SabreTunes

7:31am EDT – 21 Mar 2012

In Example 6.23, @pghpenguins addresses fans by directing them to use the hashtags #PensKidsCap and #Pens/#Preds. In Example 6.24, @BuffaloSabres asks fans to suggest songs for game day, and while they do not directly ask or direct fans to use the hashtag #SabresTunes, its use after the request to “see those tunes” suggests to fans that they should use this hashtag in their own tweets. Without the use of these hashtags in next turns taken by recipients, it is likely that other recipients that are participating will not see their contribution; for example, if fans only reply to the @BuffaloSabres tweet without using the hashtag, other fans that are monitoring the hashtag may not see their suggestions. If fans use the hashtag, however, they can expand the audience for their tweet and take part in a larger interaction. Additionally, the use of unique hashtag terms for contests, such as #PensKidsCap tweet 2 of Example 6.23, allows team accounts to easily find all contest entries among replies to their accounts, by searching only for replies that contain that term. In this way, teams can more easily access all entries in the contest and not risk missing entries among myriad replies and @mentions they may receive on other topics.

Finally, in addition to asking fans to participate by responding with tweets of their own, teams can engage their audience by asking them to use retweets as a next-turn opportunity.

While retweeting does not give recipients an opportunity to produce their own talk for the interaction, they instead take over the role of broadcasting the tweet, distributing it to a new audience. While Twitter users can retweet any public tweet without a request on behalf of the producer to do so, team accounts can also use requests for retweets as a way to engage fans by encouraging them to make use of that option. Example 6.25 from @SanJoseSharks provides an example of turning the interaction over to fans in this way:

6.25) SanJoseSharks: RT if you think @Danwinnik34's snipe should be @NHL goal of the night. Watch his first w/ the #SJSharks: <link to video of the goal>
10:52pm PDT – 23 Mar 2012

Here, instead of asking fans to voice their opinion about the best goal of the night by tweeting their own response, the @SanJoseSharks account asks fans to support their own choice through the action of retweeting. As fans take over this broadcasting role as the next turn in the interaction, they are able to show their agreement with this team's assessment of the goal. Some team accounts even incentivize this interaction by turning the retweeting action into a contest, rewarding one or more users who participate in this role with a prize related to the team or team sponsors.

6.2.2.2 “Next turns” outside of the Twitter medium

Many opportunities provided by NHL accounts allowing recipients to take over the next turn in an interaction require actions that take recipients outside of the Twitter medium. One way to do this is with hyperlinked material that recipients can click on to be redirected to material outside of Twitter²⁰. Teams can link their fans to a wide range of activities in other Internet

²⁰ Links can also be used to redirect users within the Twitter medium, for example linking directly to another tweet or another user's homepage. However, no examples of linking within the Twitter medium were found in the data for this dissertation.

mediums, from watching video or reading articles on the team website to sharing photos and experiences through social media such as Instagram, Pinterest, Tumblr, and Facebook. The

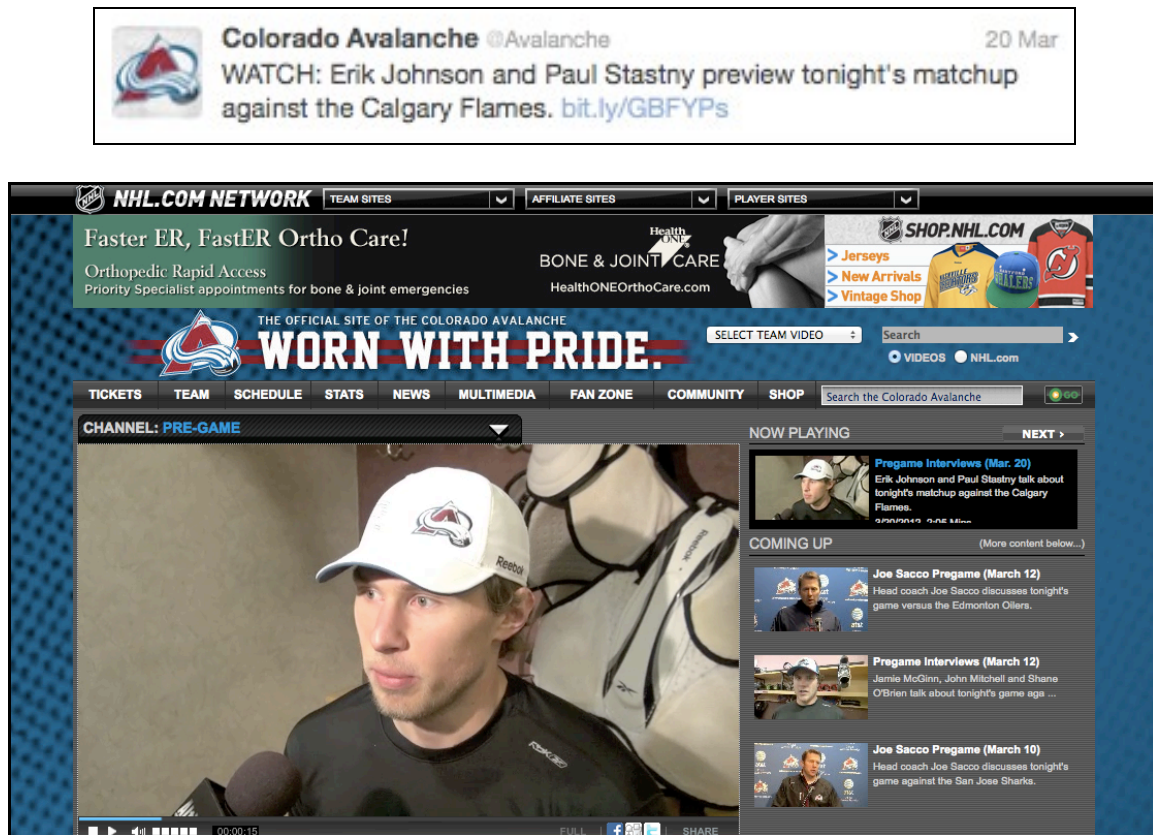


Figure 12. Above: A tweet from @Avalanche containing a hyperlink to a video on the team's website. Below: A screenshot of the website that fans are directed to upon clicking the hyperlink, allowing them to participate by watching the video discussed in the tweet.

@BlueJacketsNHL account even provided links for fans to vote for their favorite pets at sponsor Petland's website. Links are often accompanied in tweets by directives and questions, suggesting that it is not the form of address that has changed, but the type of turn that is opened up to the recipient. As seen in Figure 12, above, these directives can be quite short; @Avalanche simply uses the word "WATCH" to address recipients and invite them to perform the action of watching the linked video on the team website. Other tweets include other means of address, including vocative forms, 2nd person pronouns, or longer forms of directives, questions, and requests.

Next turn opportunities also often request that recipients go outside of computer-mediated forms of interaction entirely, asking fans to perform actions through text message or in the “physical” (as opposed to digital) world. The following tweets from @pghpenguins provide several examples of the types of turns presented to fans:

6.26) Tweet 1:

pghpenguins: Nothing says spring like friends, sun & a DJ. Get outside and get free stuff this Tuesday at #aestudentrush! <link to information about the student rush event>
3:59pm EDT – 23 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

pghpenguins: Stop by PensGear in @SouthSideWorks after work/school tomorrow to meet #Pens defenseman Deryk Engelland. He’s signing autographs from 5-6pm.
4:48pm EDT – 20 Mar 2012

Tweet 3:

pghpenguins: We have an auto’d Evgeni Malkin jersey to give away! Want to know how you can get your hands on it? Text PREDICT to 32623 by 5pm for details
3:50pm EDT – 25 Mar 2012

The first tweet in Example 6.26 provides several ways for recipients to further the interaction, both digital and physical. The tweet uses a directive to encourage fans to attend the student rush event that will be held that Tuesday, as well as including a link that recipients can visit to get more information about the rush and a hashtag term that recipients can use to further discuss their participation in the event (or to follow the participation of others). The second tweet uses a directive to inform recipients that an autograph session will be occurring the next day, again using conative language to address fans, fashioning a “next turn” opportunity in talk that is otherwise largely informational (i.e. the tweet could read “Deryk Engelland will be signing autographs tomorrow at Pens Gear in @SouthSideWorks from 5-6pm”). Finally, in the third tweet, @pghpenguins asks fans to turn to text messaging, requiring them to send a text message

to further the interaction that the Penguins account has initiated on Twitter. By asking fans to interact with the tweets through continued action that takes them outside of Twitter, teams are able to engage fans in a wide variety of mediums, spreading the engagement started on Twitter to many other areas of their lives.

6.2.3 Extra-linguistic cues of address on Twitter

Visual attention and physical gestures have consistently been identified as an important component of human communication, and as Goffman (1981) notes, gaze is one of the primary ways of communicating address to recipients. As such, reproductions of and replacements for gaze and physical gesture as a means of address have been a top concern for both users and designers of user interfaces in electronically-mediated communication (Maglio et al. 2000). Maglio et al's research showed that when technology users were given devices with many components to which they could give verbal commands, users often directed their gaze to the component of the device that they were addressing with the command. In an experiment aimed at determining the value of avatars that were not able to reproduce patterns of human gaze in communication, Garau et al. (2001) found that communication was most effective and preferred most by human participants when they used interfaces that included audio only as opposed to those with audio and visual representations of avatars with random gaze patterns. Quan-Haase (2009) found that the paucity of nonverbal cues in Instant Messaging (IM) exchanges led users to find other techniques to negotiate turn-taking, including using short, rapid turns in an attempt to hold the floor. Research on multimodal communication in the massively multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG) *World of Warcraft* found that, in addition to written and spoken communication to address others, more advanced players often used their avatars to make

gestural cues, such as stomping, to request joint attention and indicate that the next turn belonged to another user (Newon 2011).

The Twitter interface, however, does not share many of the visual affordances that other mediums provide in interaction. Following Daft and Lengel's (1984) Media Richness Theory, Twitter would be considered a lean medium for its abilities to communicate non-verbal information and its limited capacity for natural language use due to the character limits imposed by the medium (as opposed to so-called rich mediums, such as face-to-face or video chat communication). Twitter avatars are still photos that users cannot control to direct gaze or gesture on a tweet-by-tweet basis. In some ways, Twitter's notification system can act to replace these physical means of address. As with Preserving Retweets, Twitter designers added to the modal affordances of the interface in response to user conventions, adding a function in 2008 to allow users to elect to receive notifications when they receive an @mention from another user, as well as creating a feed of tweets, separate from the user's main feed, that only includes tweets in which they are mentioned. The notifications function as an additional means of alerting a recipient to the producer's desire to involve them in the talk, outside of the basic discourse within the tweet itself. Additionally, some Twitter interfaces, such as Tweetbot and Twitter for Mac, alter the appearance of a tweet in a user's feed if someone they follow has mentioned them in a tweet. Most tweets in Tweetbot, for example, have a white background behind black text. Tweets that contain @mentions of a user's own username, however, will appear in the user's feed with a light blue background, working to set them apart from tweets that do not contain an @mention of that user. The unique appearance of tweets with @mentions allows users to quickly identify tweets that are addressed to them in their feed. Many Twitter interfaces, including the website Twitter.com and the official Twitter apps for mobile devices, have not yet incorporated

such a change to tweets containing @mentions and rely solely on the notification system to provide extra-linguistic feedback to users as a form of address. Many tweeters also make use of emoticons, or sets of characters that are meant to display facial expressions as representations of emotion, and other character-based conventions to indicate non-verbal cues in their tweets (such as adding the “*” character before or after emphasized text or using capital letters to indicate anger or excitement). However, very few of these emoticons are designed to replicate interpersonal gaze as a means of address²¹, and instances of emoticon use or other alpha-numeric representations of gaze or gesture in talk produced by the NHL accounts in this study were quite rare and largely limited to expression of emotion (e.g. “:”) and “:D” to indicate that the speaker is smiling or happy). As Georgakopoulou (2011) noted in her work on participant alignments in email discourse, code and style switches were used to overcome the constraints on non-verbal signs of participation. Similarly, Twitter users must still largely rely on linguistic cues to express relationships of address to their recipients.

6.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has considered the concepts of ratification and address in interaction taking place in an online, public medium. Ratification has been defined here as designing talk for recipients so that they may find themselves in the talk in some way. This definition allows for an understanding of the ratified audience in two ways: 1) as the imagined audience that the producer

²¹ There are several emoticons that are designed to replicate the speaker’s gaze in some way, e.g. “*_*”, which can be used to indicate that the tweeter is looking at their audience (or a particular member of their audience) with a fixed stare, or “>.>” which can be used to indicate that the tweeter is looking around. Use of such emoticons is somewhat rare, however, and no uses of the “*_*” or similar emoticons appeared in the data.

has designed the talk for, and 2) the actual receiving audience of the tweet that is able to find themselves in the talk. The exact specifications of this second conception of the ratified audience are often unknown to producers, and thus it is only the imagined ratified audience that is recoverable in the talk itself. Unratified recipients in this medium, then, are those that come across the talk but fall outside of the imagined audience of the producer, often having no direct network connection to the producing account. Like Goffman's over-hearers, the over-hearing role for Twitter is assigned to recipients that come across the talk inadvertently, by no action of their own. Eavesdroppers are viewed as recipients who design their reception of the talk, but leave no trace for the producers in their reception. The public nature of Twitter also requires two understandings of the addressed recipient: 1) recipients that are addressed specifically, such as users that are mentioned in tweet with the use of an @username form or groups of Twitter users that are named in the tweet, and 2) recipients that are addressed through a generic means,

Table 6. Reception roles as defined in this work (following table from Levinson, 1988:169 summarizing Goffman's participation framework)

Reception roles

A: *ratified* : Twitter users that can find something in the talk that is designed for them

1 *addressed recipient*

- a. *specifically addressed recipient* : a recipient identified as individual or group targets of the talk (e.g. @mentions, group vocatives such as "Season ticket holders")
- b. *generically addressed recipient* : a recipient identified through broad or impersonal address forms (e.g. 2nd person plural "you", "everybody", open-ended next turn opportunities)

2 *unaddressed recipient* : recipients that are ratified, but not included in an address term or expected to take over the next turn (e.g. followers of both the producing and addressed account in @mention replies, users that identify themselves in the "we" of "we are underway")

B: *unratified*

- 1 *over-hearers* : recipients that come across the talk through the actions of others and may not share a direct network connection to the original producer of the tweet (e.g. access through misdirected or self-addressed tweets)
 - 2 *eavesdroppers* : recipients that come across talk by their own design and do not leave a trace in reception (e.g. visitors to the timeline of a user they do not follow)
-

including open-ended forms of address and impersonal address forms. Tweets that use specific address forms often mimic one-to-one or one-to-few forms of communication, while generic address forms are found in one-to-many broadcasts. Table 6 provides a summary of these reception roles.

Figure 13, below, provides a visual replication of these reception roles, mirroring the models of production frameworks found in Chapter 4. As with those models, solid lines are used here to indicate groups that are recoverable in the talk, while dashed lines are used to indicate

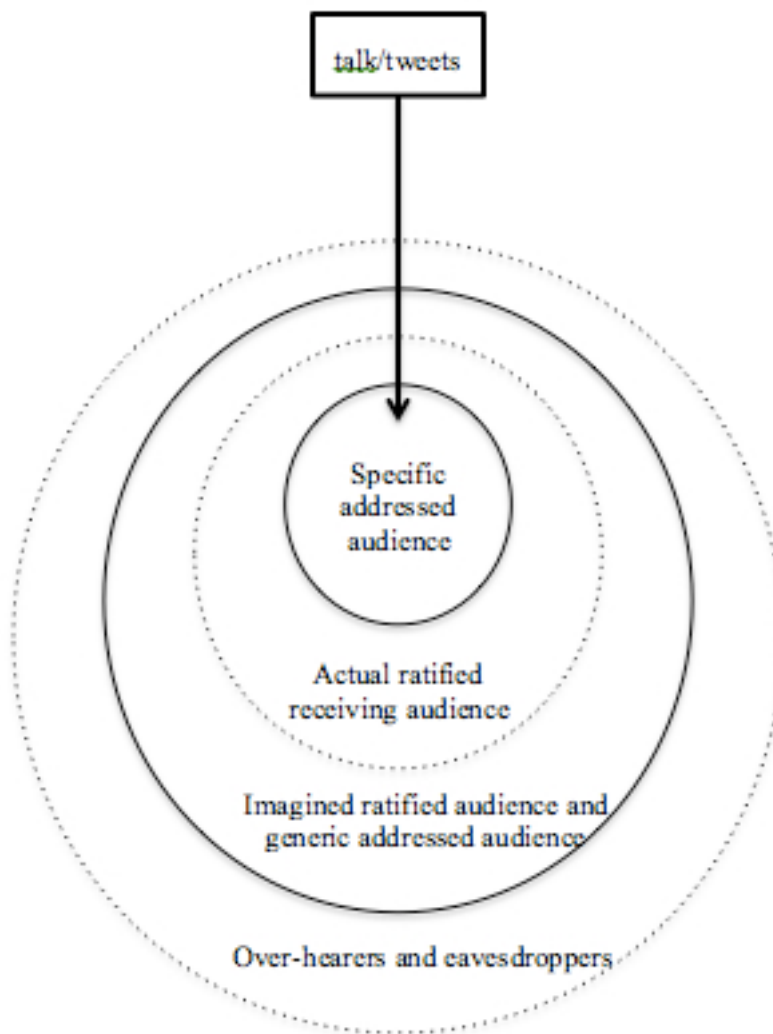


Figure 13. A model of reception roles for organizational talk on Twitter.

groups within the structure that are less clearly reflected in the language choices. This model represents the distance of the recipient roles from the target of the talk, with specific addressees being the most easily recoverable as targets of the talk. Moving outward, the actual receiving audience that is ratified by the producer is not recoverable from the talk, as it is unknown to the producer, however this group is arguably closer to the talk than the imagined ratified audience, as this group represents those ratified recipients that actually receive the talk. Continuing outward from the center, we find the imagined ratified audience and the generically addressed recipients. Because this group is held in the mind of the producer and seen in the design of the talk, their reference is recoverable. They remain farther away from the core of the receiving audience, though, because not all intended recipients will actually receive the talk in this public forum of address. Finally, we come to the group of unratified participants. They are found farthest from the target audience and indicated with a dashed line, as they are unintended recipients and thus the talk is not designed for them.

In constructing these roles in their talk, teams can manage reception frameworks with both explicit and more implicit forms of ratification and address. Specific forms of address, such as @mentions as vocatives, work to create feelings of interpersonal engagement for individuals and specific groups by explicitly focusing attention on those participants. More generic forms of address and ratification, including so-called “impersonal” vocatives and the use of personal pronouns such as inclusive “we” and “you”/”your”, also work explicitly to engage fans by highlighting situations of active reception, in which recipients of the talk can choose whether or not the terms apply to them. More implicit forms of ratification include topic selection, jargon and specialized conventions, and deictic references to time and place. While these strategies do not explicitly identify a ratified recipient, they work to include participants with interest in the

topic, knowledge of jargon and conventions, and shared references to time and place. Again these implicit forms of ratification work to engage fans, as they need to take an active role in placing themselves in the ratified audience by finding something that speaks to them in the talk. Following this discussion of the roles of reception and their reflections in the talk produced by NHL teams on Twitter, I turn now to Chapter 7 for a discussion of co-presence, shared channel-links, and means of mutual monitoring on Twitter.

7.0 RECEPTION AND PERCEPTION ON TWITTER

Jones suggests that perception – or more specifically, the “perception of having been perceived” (Ruesch and Bateson 1951:15)– is the “most basic component of communication” (2009:20). Both Jones and Ruesch and Bateson argue that for participants to feel as if they are involved in a communicative situation, it is not enough to produce talk and have that talk received, but these participants require “mutual recognition of having entered each other’s mutual perception” (Ruesch and Bateson 1951:15 as cited in Jones 2009). In terms of creating a communicative situation for fans on Twitter, then, organizations do not simply want to yell into a void; they need to create opportunities to monitor the perception of their own talk, as well as opportunities for those receiving the talk to know that they are being perceived in return. Many quantitative measures currently exist for monitoring consumer activity in response to an organization’s social media efforts, including tracking the number of clicks on a link and monitoring the number of followers of an account or retweets for a tweet produced by that account. While these numbers can provide a lot of information about the amount of attention a certain tweet or account receives, it tells one very little about the quality of the interaction and the perceived level of involvement of the consumers and fans as participants in the interaction. In this chapter, I discuss the ability to perceive the involvement of others by drawing on the concepts of co-presence within a channel of communication and the mutual monitoring of interacting participants. Section 7.1 discusses Goffman’s idea of co-presence as a requirement for a social situation (as

well as Levinson's concept of the shared a channel-link), discussing what it might mean to be "co-present" in an interaction in an asynchronous online medium. This section also discusses the distinctions between physical and social co-presence, and considers the need for both types of co-presence in accounting for all participants in an interaction. Section 7.2 then delves into examples of co-presence on Twitter, investigating the discourse strategies that NHL accounts employ in their tweets to create impressions of shared presence in the channel. This section incorporates Jones' (2009:20) discussion of "mutual monitoring" (term from Goffman 1959) in new media, examining the interplay of co-presence and mutual monitoring on Twitter by breaking down several examples of mutual monitoring practices used by NHL accounts and discussing the resultant participation frameworks created by these practices.

7.1 CO-PRESENCE

One of the most fundamental concerns for social interaction has centered on the idea that, in order to participate in a two-way communicative situation, individuals need a shared physical presence in a channel in which they can receive the talk of others and have their own talk received. As Baym (2010:2) notes, "the fundamental purpose of communication technologies from their ancient inception has been to allow people to exchange messages without being physically co-present" in the same physical space. The idea of "co-presence" as a necessary component for sharing a communicative link is long-standing, as described here by Scollon in his discussion of prototypical conversations (1998:27):

We understand conversations to be largely conducted by people who are face-to-face and whose attention is focused in real time towards the other participants. In many ways conversations are our prototype of social interaction as the common

concept implies that all of the participants will be co-present in the same physical as well as social space. By this latter notion I mean, as Goffman (1963; 1981) has pointed out, that while people may be together in the same physical space such as when they are standing waiting for a bus and while they may at the same time be talking, we would not consider it a conversation until we are fairly certain that they are in some way socially together and that their speaking is to each other.

Note here Scollon's distinction between sharing a physical and social space; in order for people to be perceived as participants in conversation (by both bystanders and participants involved in the interaction), they must share not only physical co-presence, but signs of mutual social interest as well. While technological advances require an update on what it means to share a physical space, the basic premise remains intact for electronically-mediated communication (EMC) (Jones 2009). For people to be involved together in an EMC interaction, they need to share a common means of physically perceiving each other's talk, as well as a perception of shared social presence. In the following sections, I investigate several approaches to co-presence and make suggestions for an understanding of co-presence in Twitter's asynchronous medium. In Section 7.1.1, I consider discussions of physical co-presence and the shared channel-link as a basis of co-presence. Section 7.1.2 then discusses the ties between physical co-presence and social co-presence, and introduces the concept of pseudo co-presence for asynchronous mediums.

7.1.1 Physical co-presence and channel-links

In his discussion of reception, Levinson (1988:174) asserts that being a participant in an interaction "presupposes *CHANNEL-LINKAGE* or ability to receive the message". Levinson's emphasis on channel-linkage is echoed in much of the literature on both participation and mediated communication. Malinowski (1923) presents the idea of "phatic communion", which

Jakobson (1960:355) describes as “messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works, to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention” and notes that messages with phatic content are not exceptions but norms in interaction, allowing participants to ascertain their shared presence with others in a channel. Scollon (1998:6) also highlights the importance and prevalence of communication that serves to establish or maintain contact, noting that “any instance of communication, that is social interaction, entails the same fundamental concerns for establishing the basis for the social interaction (the channel)”. Scollon suggests that before considering the topic of conversation, and even before establishing a social positioning of participants, interlocutors look to establish a shared channel, open for communicating and available to both (or all) participants. In face-to-face communication, this might be accomplished through something as simple as shared eye contact; in phone conversation, with both participants saying “Hello” to ascertain that there is someone at the other end of the line before continuing with the purpose for the call. Goffman, too, addresses the idea of the shared channel in discussion of face-to-face communication, noting that “persons must sense that they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing of others, and close enough to be perceived in this sensing of being perceived” (1963:chap. 2, para. 12).

How, then, do these ideas transfer to interaction in the Twitter medium? What does it mean for users to share a channel-link on Twitter, and how does sharing a channel-link relate to the concept of physical co-presence in an interaction? Perhaps most obviously, in order to share a channel-link for communication on Twitter, users need to have access to the Twitter medium itself. Users need a computer or other electronic device with access to the Internet, and some interface with which to access Twitter (whether through the website www.Twitter.com or an app

such as Tweetdeck). In addition to access to the Twitter medium, in order to participate in the channel, users must have (or have access to) a Twitter account. While people can look at a Twitter user's timeline of tweets without having their own Twitter account, they cannot respond to the tweets or give any indication that they have received the tweets, suggesting that in order to truly share a channel-link for Twitter interaction, a Twitter account is required. Following Zhao's taxonomy of co-presence, individuals with access to Twitter can then engage in what he calls "corporeal telecopresence", in which "two individuals are positioned outside the range of each other's naked sense perceptions, but within reach of an electronic communications network that both are logged on" (2003:447). Zhao distinguishes his idea of telecopresence from Minsky's (1980) "telepresence", in that telepresence does not require reciprocal perception. He provides the example of viewers that can be considered to be telepresent at a sporting event that they are watching on television (as they can perceive the physical environment in which the event takes place), while the people at the event do not share telepresence in the physical space of the television viewers because they do not have a reciprocal digital connection to that physical space (such as the viewer's living room or the sports bar where they are watching the game). This distinction is reminiscent of Goffman's (1981:138) discussion of the "imagined recipient", such as the viewing audience of a television talk show. Goffman notes that such recipients are not participants in an interaction because they are not co-present (i.e. the channel-link only goes in one direction). He distinguishes these imagined recipients viewing the show at home from those that are physically present in a live audience for the show by noting that "live witnesses are coparticipants in a social occasion, responsive to all the mutual stimulation that that provides; those who audit the talk by listening to their set can only vicariously join the station audience" (138). While talk is still designed for these imagined recipients, then, they cannot influence an

interaction as it is taking place because they are not “accessible, available, and subject to one another” (Goffman 1963:chap. 2, para. 24). Zhao and Goffman’s understandings of co-presence suggest that it is necessary for users to *share* access to a channel, giving those people that choose to look at Twitter feeds but not gain access through their own account the status of imagined recipients in Goffman’s terms (in Zhao’s terminology they would be telepresent, but not telecopresent with Twitter users, and in Levinson’s framework these recipients would be [–participant, –channel-link]).

It is important to note that the concept of “imagined recipients” as discussed here does not equate to that of the “imagined audience” as used by Marwick and boyd (2010) and discussed in Chapter 6 of this paper. Goffman’s imagined recipients are non-participant individuals that do not have shared access to the Twitter channel – while they may come across talk produced by other Twitter accounts, imagined recipients are unable to join the interaction as they have no means through which to become producers of their own communication within that channel. Marwick and boyd’s imagined audience, on the other hand, is a non-specific group of potential participants imagined by producers of talk that *do* function within the shared channel of interaction, and are able to respond with their own feedback and communication (whether they choose to or not). This distinction allows us to differentiate between Twitter users that are unknown to a producer, but do share a channel and can therefore respond and interact with their tweets (Marwick and boyd’s imagined audience), and individuals that are not Twitter users, that may come across the content of a tweet but not have the capability of providing feedback and indicating their reception within the Twitter channel (Goffman’s imagined recipients).

Having access to Twitter and a Twitter account, then, are necessary requirements for access to the channel and co-presence on Twitter, but are they sufficient? Here, it is useful to

turn to Scollon's (1998:29) "sites of engagement", or "the windows within which mediated discourse is operationalized as an instance of actual communication". Scollon cites the example of a newspaper story, which he suggests to be only a physical object, "a piece of paper with print on it", until someone engages with it by reading it (29). In the same way, electronic communications are no more than digital objects until other users engage with them by reading or viewing them (and perhaps subsequently sharing, responding, or otherwise acknowledging them in some way). Individual tweets, text messages, e-mails, Facebook posts, etc. then act as the sites of engagement, and as such, it is not until (one or many) users receive these broadcasts that co-presence in a channel can be established and the communication is shared.

Additionally, Zhao suggests that another necessary condition for co-presence is shared presence in the channel at the same time, noting that co-present communicative situations are those in which "instant two-way human interactions can take place", where he uses the term "instant" to mean "real-time or near real-time" and excludes diachronic communication (2003:445). Following Baron's (2004) categorization, Twitter is an asynchronous form of communication, meaning that participants do not need to receive messages as they are produced. Tweets can be received almost instantaneously, but they can also be received minutes, hours, days, or even months and years later. Following Zhao's understanding of co-presence, this would suggest that only users that are logged into Twitter at the same time, reading and producing tweets in a relatively synchronous time-frame, can be considered to be co-present, while users that access the medium at different times are not considered to share in telecopresence.

7.1.2 Social and pseudo co-presence

Following on Zhao's work, others have used differing and more subjective understanding of co-presence to dispute his binary interpretation. Campos-Castillo and Hitlin (2013:3) argue that co-presence is not defined by specific physical constraints of time and place, but that co-presence "is the *perception* of mutual entrainment between actors, where entrainment is a linear combination of the mutual synchronization of three components: attention, emotion, and behavior". In their understanding, co-presence is not binary (defined by participants being co-present or not), but is instead subjective and continuous, determined by the participants themselves and their individual conceptions of shared communication. This subjective conception of co-presence suggests that mediums can allow for higher or lower levels of perception of co-presence (or none at all). This model of co-presence accounts for many communicative situations that models with physical restrictions cannot; as one example, prayer to a deity often imparts (and, in fact, can require) strong feelings of co-presence for the person that is praying between himself and the deity (10). While there may be no tangible physical evidence of presence by the deity for the interaction, the sense of co-presence for the speaker enables him to continue the ritual, whereas a sense that the deity was not co-present may encourage the speaker to stop the prayer.

I return now to Scollon's discussion of co-presence in a social space, and its similarities to Campos-Castillo and Hitlin's (2013) understanding of co-presence as a subjective interpretation. Many of the cues of subjective co-presence mirror what Goffman (1963; 1971) and Scollon (1998) refer to as "tie-signs". As Scollon writes, "Our evidence for [knowing that participants are involved in a conversation] is a wide range of 'tie-signs' such as exchanging eye contact, attending to each other's gestures, ecological proximity – they position their bodies

close to each other with the fronts oriented towards each other” (27). Campos-Castillo and Hitlin’s (2013:9) conception of mutual entrainment relies many similar features, with mutual attention (in which speaker’s attend to each other, gestures and eye contact included when afforded by the medium), mutual emotion (often expressed through facial mimicry), and mutual behavior (mirroring of the body positions and motor activity between participants) being essential parts of the equation. Both social co-presence and subjective interpretations of co-presence, then, look to a shared sense of “being together” (as opposed to just simultaneously being in the same space) – often cued by reciprocated actions, gestures, facial expressions, and body positions – to define them.

Much of the discussion of social co-presence, then, relies on displays of what Goffman calls “mutual monitoring”, or communication of our perception of other social actors in an interaction (Jones 2009). Thurlow, Lengel, and Tomic (2004:48, as cited in Baym 2010) discuss social co-presence as the “level of interpersonal contact and feelings of intimacy experienced in communication”. As Meyrowitz notes, “when we find ourselves in a given setting we often unconsciously ask, ‘Who can see me, who can hear me?’ ‘Who can I see, who can I hear?’ The answers to the questions help us decide how to behave” (1985:39, as cited in Jones 2009). Without the usual physical cues available to participants in face-to-face interaction, participants in EMC must often rely on other affordances of the medium to develop ways to monitor the presence of others. Baym (2010:52) argues that “social presence is a psychological phenomenon regarding how interactants perceive one another, not a feature of a medium. However, the perception of social presence [can be] attributed to nonverbal cues enabled or disabled by mediation”. As noted above, one of the key components of a subjective understanding of co-presence is that of *mutual attention*, or “two actors reciprocally focused on one another”

(2013:9), which Campos-Castillo and Hitlin distinguish from joint attention, in which two actors share focused attention on a third object. In this way co-presence becomes more flexible, relying not on physical certainties, but on the impressions of the participants. For example, if one person were to send a text message to another and not receive any sort of response, that person would likely feel a low or even zero level of co-presence, as he or she would not know if they had the shared attention of their recipient. If these two individuals were in face-to-face communication, however, there may be cues to the recipient's participation (including gaze or gesture), even in the absence of a response, allowing the speaker to feel a higher degree of co-presence. Some text messaging mediums, such as Apple's iMessage, have taken this sense of co-presence into account in their most recent versions, now allowing senders of an iMessage to see if their message has yet been read by the recipient. This allows for a greater sense of social co-presence than messaging systems that do not include this feature, as the sender knows that the recipient has received their message and (at least momentarily) shared their attention with the sender.

Taking the variety of understandings of co-presence presented thus far into account, in this work, I maintain a distinction between physical co-presence, relating to physical presence in a channel of communication (including telecopresence aided by electronic mediums), and social co-presence, based in subjective displays and interpretations of co-involvement in an interaction within a channel. This distinction helps to account for recipients that are present in a channel at the time of an interaction, without subjective social links to the communication (e.g. eavesdroppers), which do not easily fit into more subjective frameworks due to the lack of perception of their involvement by other participants. Additionally, here, I introduce the concept of pseudo co-presence. I define pseudo co-presence as an asynchronous sharing of a channel of interaction, in which participants attend to a shared channel in order to conduct an interaction

with an understanding that presence in and attention to the channel may occur over time. Much as electronic mediums are able to help bridge the gap of physical distance between participants, they can also help to bridge temporal gaps in communication. Returning to Goffman's (1963:chap. 2, para. 24) understanding of co-presence as rendering participants "uniquely accessible, available, and subject to one another", participants that are pseudo co-present can be understood to be accessible and subject to one another, although perhaps available only after a period of time has passed. Going back to the example of texting, when someone sends a text message, they expect that they have access to the recipient in that channel, that – perhaps not immediately, but eventually – the recipient of the text message will receive the communication. In this way, the recipient is also subject to the sender. While the message may not require a response, the sender expects that when the recipient becomes aware of the text message, and has time, he or she will read the content of message. Not doing so will likely be seen as violating a social contract, suggesting that the recipient is still held subject to the sender despite the potential time lapse. The introduction of pseudo co-presence as a designation of the physical aspect of co-presence opens up the concept from a binary understanding (co-present or not co-present) to a more continuous understanding, mirroring social co-presence in this way.

"Co-presence" can then begin to be understood as an intersection of both physical and social perceptions of co-presence. Table 7 provides examples of participants and interactions categorized according to the characteristics of physical and social co-presence they display. Interactions with relatively high displays of social co-presence can have varying ranges of physical co-presence, and vice versa. For example, face-to-face conversation in which participants are facing each other and sharing gaze during the interaction would display high levels of both social and physical co-presence. Not only are the participants corporeally present

Table 7. Examples of participants or interactions according to their physical and social co-presence characteristics.

	High to medium social co-presence	Low (or no) social co-presence
High physical co-presence	Dyadic face-to-face conversation between two involved participants	Over-hearers and eavesdroppers of a conversation at a bus stop
Pseudo co-presence	Asynchronous communication between two participants via iMessage	Readers of a tweet from someone they follow on Twitter days after it has been tweeted
Low (or no) physical co-presence	Prayer or conversation with a deity	Someone using a newspaper to wrap fish (instead of reading the content) ²²

in the same space, but they are able to display many signs of involvement with each other in the interaction, both auditory and visual. Alternatively, an individual involved in an act of prayer to a deity might feel a strong sense of social co-presence, without signs of physical co-presence of another individual. This person might even display signs of social co-presence to other bystanders, through physical actions such as kneeling, bowing the head, and placing the hands together, as might be expected in Christian prayer (although it should be noted that these outward signs are not required for the individual that is praying to perceive a sense of social co-presence with the deity or spirit). Returning again to the example of text messaging through Apple's iMessage, we can see an example of relatively high social co-presence for an electronic medium, where texters direct their messages specifically to one another in a channel that is only open to the recipient(s) of the message, senders are provided with information about whether or not the recipient has read the message, and also receive a "... " notification when the recipient of a message is drafting a reply. The electronic medium allows the participants to carry on conversations in this medium asynchronously, requiring only pseudo physical co-presence, as

²² Example from Scollon (1998).

participants need access to the same channel of interaction, but do not need to be in the channel at the same time to perceive others and to perceive that they are being perceived.

In turn, each level of physical co-presence can involve relatively low to no sense of social co-presence for the participants. If the aforementioned face-to-face conversation were taking place at a bus stop, other individuals may share physical co-presence, and the ability to monitor the channel of communication (in this case, speech), but as unrecognized participants within the interaction, these individuals would likely feel low levels of social co-presence relative to the ratified participants in the conversation. Similarly, Twitter users who read tweets from other users hours or days after they are tweeted would share a pseudo co-presence in the channel with relatively low social co-presence, as they are likely part of a much larger audience of the tweets and expectations may be low for them to respond or interact with the tweet further (or even read the tweet) after that much time had passed (particularly if a tweet was not expressly directed to that user). As an example of a situation with no social co-presence and low (or no) physical co-presence, I borrow Scollon's (1998) example of a fishmonger using the local newspaper to wrap his fish for a sale. While the fishmonger could read the articles in the newspaper, he instead chooses to use the newspaper as a physical object with a different purpose, effectively avoiding any entrance into the channel of communication and not using any tie-signs that might indicate his involvement with the articles, such as opening the paper and focusing his gaze on a particular section, indicating his entrainment.

Turning attention back to Twitter, one example that helps to illustrate the potentially complicated interaction of physical and social co-presence, is that of one user "following" another, resulting in that user's tweets appearing in the feed that the following user sees upon visiting the Twitter homepage (or the homescreen of their Twitter app). Twitter, in its one-to-

many form, can produce quite a low sense of social co-presence for its users, even when many users are physically co-present in a channel at the same time and receiving tweets from other users. Unlike instant messaging systems, which often have affordances to indicate when a user is online and available or away from their computer, Twitter gives no indication as to which users may be online at any given time. Even if one user is producing tweets, it does not necessarily mean that they are reading the tweets of other users, and as such, it can often be unclear if or when others might become a recipient of a user's tweets. Additionally, the vast number of Twitter users, producing thousands of tweets every second, make it unlikely (if not impossible) for one user to read every tweet that appears in the channel. The act of "following" on the part of Twitter users, then, can help to heighten the perception of social co-presence. Following other users can function as a means of indicating mutual attention (or the desire for mutual attention) to the followed user by creating the sense that that follower will receive one's tweets. This creates a sense of social co-presence, but does not guarantee physical co-presence, as a user may not receive all (or any) of the tweets of the users they follow. When a user arrives at the interface with which she has chosen to access Twitter, only a limited amount of tweets appear in her feed. Most interfaces provide users with the most recent (approximately) 200 tweets from the users that they follow, and while users can choose to go back further through additional actions, most interfaces do institute a limit at some point. Unless users follow only a very few accounts (or access Twitter with high frequency), they are likely to miss at least some – and probably many – tweets, even from the users they follow. For interaction to occur (even in the simplest sense of a tweet being produced by one user and read by another), physical co-presence (or pseudo co-presence) needs to be (re-)established on a tweet-by-tweet basis. Following other users, then, can work to facilitate physical (pseudo) co-presence by allowing users to receive the tweets that

others produce. However, it might also create a sense of perceived social co-presence without any corresponding physical co-presence, acting as a tie-sign by allowing tweeters to imagine that their followers are receiving their tweets, even if they receive no other feedback to support this impression. In this way, following other users on Twitter helps to facilitate a shared (pseudo) co-presence in a channel by allowing users to have easier access to the tweets of other users, but it can also create a sense of social co-presence, leading tweeters to imagine the make-up of a potential audience that may not actually be receiving their tweets.

7.2 MUTUAL MONITORING AND LANGUAGE OF CO-PRESENCE

As noted above, a participant's perception of the involvement of others and his impressions of the extent to which his own participation is perceived can influence the way that an interaction proceeds. As Goodwin suggests, participation can be seen as "a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events" (2007b:24, as cited by Sidnell 2009). To this end, the language and discursive strategies that participants make use of in an interaction can influence the participation of others, as well as their feelings of involvement in the interaction. A form of address directed to a specific person might make that person more likely to respond than an open invitation to a wider audience. A display of reassurance during a friend's speaking turn can suggest to the friend that it is okay to keep the floor, whereas a display of disinterest or lack of attention may cause the speaker to end their turn abruptly. This section focuses on the language used and actions performed by NHL accounts (and their fans on Twitter) that allow each side to acknowledge

their entrainment with the other party. This focus includes phatic language that works to affirm physical (pseudo) co-presence, as well as displays of social co-presence through mutual monitoring that act to acknowledge the reception of talk by other participants in an interaction.

7.2.1 Phatic language – checking the channel

I return here to Malinowski (1923) and Jakobson's (1960) conceptions of language with a phatic purpose, or "are you listening?" type utterances. Such utterances perform a monitoring function, by maintaining or reassuring the speaker that their communications are being received and that the channel of communication is indeed open and shared. While tweets with a specific "are you listening?" message seem to be quite rare on Twitter (as compared, for example, to a phone call, where the well-known practice of a speaker reaffirming that they are still connected to a listener via cell phone prompted Verizon's series of commercials featuring the catch phrase "Can you hear me now?"), several team accounts did regularly produce tweets that served a primary purpose of giving recipients the chance to display their co-presence in a Twitter channel, letting the producing account know it was being perceived. The following tweets from @NYIslanders and @pghpenguins exemplify such tweets with a primary phatic function:

7.1) NYIslanders: Tweeting about tonight's Viewing Party at @JakesSteakhouse?
Be sure to use the #Isles and #IslesMeetup tags so we see them.
5:35pm EDT – 27 Mar 2012

7.2) pghpenguins: Roll call: Who's #aestudentrush-ing Tuesday? Respond with
#aestudentrush & you could win a Marc-Andre Fleury signed
@american_eagle hat!
4:52pm EDT – 23 Mar 2012

The tweet from the Islanders account in Example 7.1 serves a dual phatic function: it allows the tweeter(s) for @NYIslanders to know who is participating in the conversation about the viewing

party with them, and it suggests to those that use the hashtag in their own tweets that those tweets will be received by @NYIslanders as well. In Example 7.2, the Penguins account incentivizes their phatic tweet, asking followers to respond so they know that Twitter users are attending to their tweets about a Student Rush event, and in return entering the responders in a competition for a team related prize. These tweets function to verify physical co-presence (or pseudo co-presence) in the channel by asking for displays of involvement in the interaction.

As noted in Chapter 1, the ability to not just take part in conversations with fans, but also follow conversations that fans are having about the organization is often seen to be one of the primary benefits of social media. By encouraging fans to use hashtag terms, such monitoring of fan conversation becomes much easier for teams, as they simply have to search for the hashtag term to follow along. In addition, most NHL teams now offer a mobile app for cell phones, tablets, and other mobile devices. These apps, such as the Penguins mobile app seen in Figure 14, below, usually include a Twitter page for fans (with or without a Twitter account) to follow to see what other fans are tweeting about the team. The Twitter feed in the Penguins app is programmed to include any tweets that include the hashtags #Pens or #LetsGoPens. In this way, encouragement for fans to use hashtags not only allows teams to monitor the physical and social co-presence for specific tweets and activities, but it helps them to provide opportunities for fans to participate in conversations with each other about the team and allows the organization to follow these conversations. As Miller (2008:398) notes, “the drift from blogging, to social networking, to microblogging [saw] a shift from dialogue... to a situation where the maintenance of a network itself has become the primary focus”. Tweets with phatic language, including the encouragement of hashtag use, work to emphasize this network-maintenance as a focus for NHL accounts,

providing opportunities for fans and teams to reestablish connections in the channel, and help to affirm both physical and social co-presence.

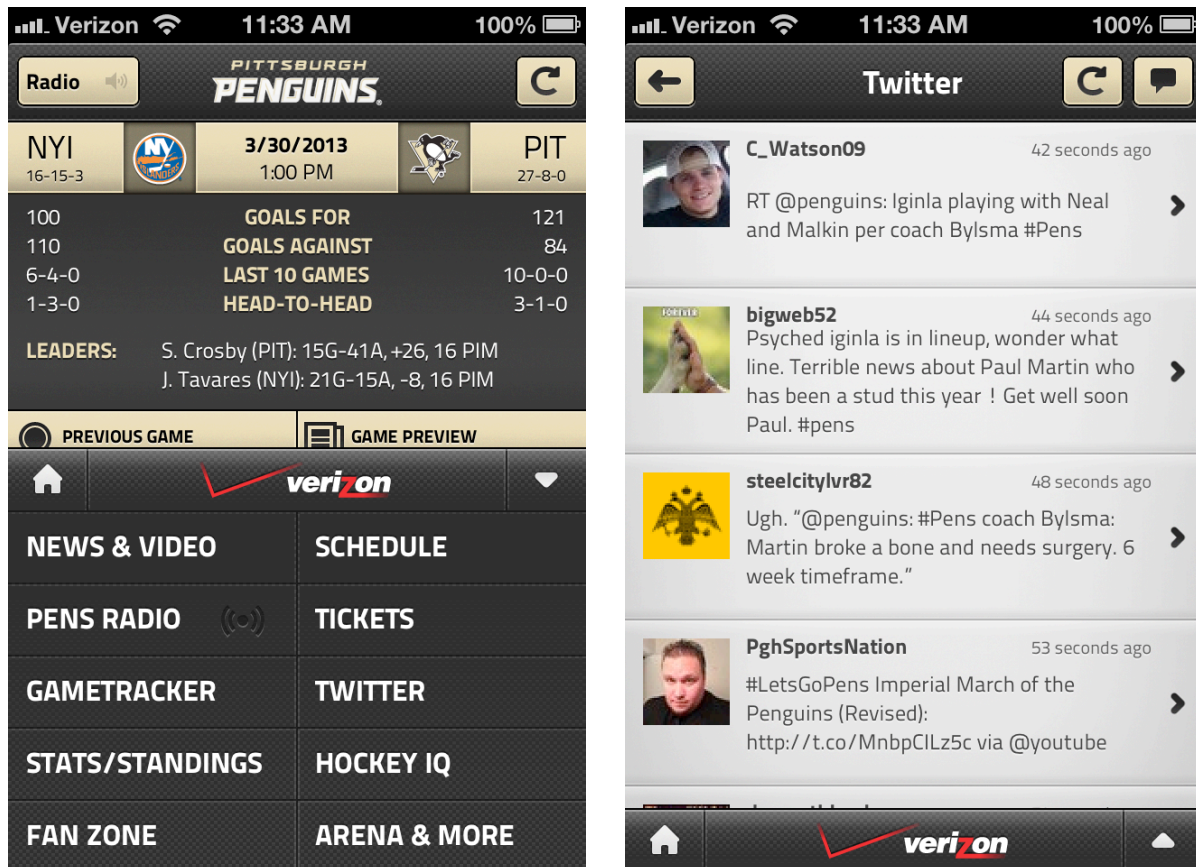


Figure 14. Screenshots of the Pittsburgh Penguins mobile app, showing the home menu with Twitter page option and the view of this Twitter page in the app with tweets including both the #Pens and #LetsGoPens hashtags.

7.2.2 Preserving Retweets and “favoriting” tweets

In addition to encouraging feedback from fans in order to monitor their physical and social co-presence through displays of attention to team tweets, many NHL accounts also performed actions that served the primary purpose of letting fans know that their tweets were being monitored as well, attempting to develop a sense of physical and social co-presence for fans.

Two ways of doing this without producing additional talk are through the use of the Preserving Retweet and the “favorite” function on Twitter. Similar to the “like” function on Facebook, favoriting tweets from another user provides a “form of affirmation, and can be used to acknowledge comments without an actual verbal response” (Isaac 2012). When a user favorites a tweet it shows up in a list of their favorites, which can be accessed through their Twitter profile, and a notification is sent to the original tweeter that the tweet has been favorited by that user. This function allows one user to demonstrate their attention to a tweet and presence in the channel without formulating a response. However, favoriting a tweet only broadcasts this attention with a limited distribution as other users need to actively seek out an account’s favorites list, since favorites do not appear in a user’s regular Twitter timeline. The accounts in this study used the “favorite” function to varying degrees over the lifespan of their Twitter accounts. As of March 19, 2013, @StLouisBlues and @pghpenguins had only ever favorited one and three tweets, respectively, while @BuffaloSabres had 78 favorited tweets and @NYIslanders topped the list at 330 favorited tweets.

Another way for NHL accounts to show fans that they are receiving their tweets without producing a verbal response is through the Preserving Retweet. Recall from Chapter 5 that this retweet form reproduces a tweet from another user whole-form in the retweeter’s timeline, distributing the tweet to a new audience, and the retweeting user cannot add any additional content to the tweet. The retweet by @LouieSTLBlues in Figure 15 provides an example of a Preserving Retweet functioning as a form of monitoring by the mascot account. Unlike favoriting



Figure 15. A Preserving Retweet of user @gleek_wisz by @LouieSTLBlues.

a tweet, the Preserving Retweet²³ allows a user to broadcast the tweet to a new audience. In this example, using a Preserving Retweet not only allows the original tweeter to know that her tweet has been received by @LouieSTLBlues, but it also broadens the ratified audience for reception of the tweet. Figure 16, below, illustrates the participation framework for this display of mutual entrainment. Sarah W. (gleek_wisz) is the animator, author, principal, and broadcaster for her original tweet to @LouieSTLBlues, who represents the specific addressed audience for that tweet. In the tweet, @gleek_wisz addresses @LouieSTLBlues specifically, asking for recognition of her tweet in the form of a retweet so that her daughter can know that the tweet has entered into Louie's field of attention. @LouieSTLBlues then takes over only the broadcaster role for the Preserving Retweet, distributing it to a new ratified audience, made up of @LouieSTLBlues' followers, while also affirming to @gleek_wisz that her tweet has been received and acknowledged by the mascot. By distributing this tweet to a wider audience, this form of acknowledgement may also work to suggest to other fans that Louie is receiving their tweets as well, as it creates a stance for the account as one that monitors incoming tweets. As many NHL accounts do not respond to such requests for retweets, once this stance is established for the @LouieSTLBlues account, it can potentially be applied to fan tweets beyond the one that has been retweeted, suggesting to fans that their tweets may be read by Louie even if they are not being acknowledged in the form of a retweet.

²³ Adapting Retweets with no additional comment or response can be used in the same way, with an emphasized focus on the broadcasting account, as that account's username and avatar are highlighted in the formatting of the Adapting Retweet form.

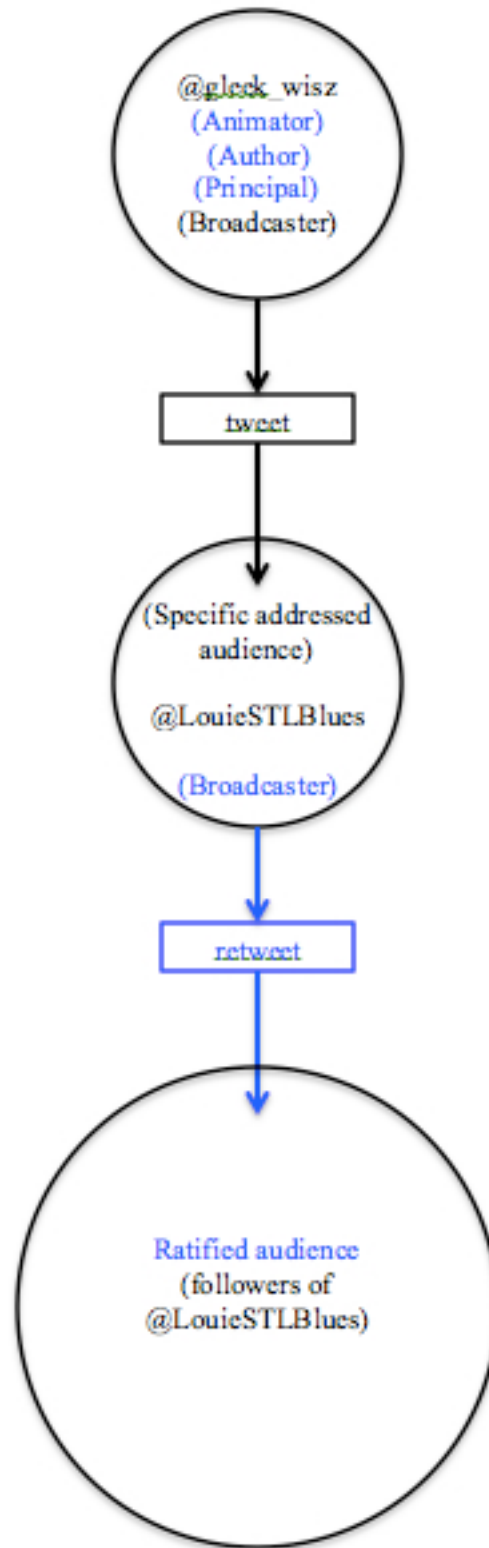


Figure 16. Participation framework for the Preserving Retweet found in Figure 15.

7.2.3 Responses and response tokens

While favorites and Preserving Retweets allow a Twitter user to display signs of monitoring interaction through non-verbal means, verbal actions are also available to users, in the form of response tweets, as well as backchanneling and response tokens on Adapting Retweets. As Quan-Haase (2009:41) notes, “Backchanneling is common in text-based CMC environments because they ‘heighten the interactivity of CMC by signaling listenership and encourage others to continue’ (Herring 1999:14). Providing text-based feedback is important because interlocutors lack nonverbal cues as well as spoken cues typical of FTF (face-to-face) discourse to show agreement and encouragement, such as, nodding, and saying ‘aha’.” Example 7.3 provides several tweets from @FlaPanthers that demonstrate response tokens as comments on Adapting RTs:

7.3) Tweet 1:

FlaPanthers: #ComebackCats RT @user @FlaPanthers I believe! RT if you do!!!! #goodvibes
8:52pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

FlaPanthers: And that, is how you #BelieveRED --> RT @user @FlaPanthers comeback cats. They’ve done it before. They’ll do it again.
8:47pm EDT – 21 Mar 2012

In these two tweets, the first portion of each tweet acts as a response token in reaction to fan tweets, which are replicated after the “RT” notation. O’Keeffe (2006:114) found that in symmetrical interactions of genuine intimacy and media interactions in which the presenter attempted to create a pseudo-intimacy with the audience, response tokens were common, and were not “seen as constituting turns and are not attempts by the addressee to take the floor” but as “signals to the speaker to continue”. The responses from the Panthers account in Example 7.3 can be viewed in a similar light, as the Panthers responses of “#ComebackCats” and “And that, is

how you #BelieveRED -->” here are not an attempt to take the floor, but a sign of acknowledgement to supportive fans, encouraging not just the fan being acknowledged, but all fans to continue in their efforts to cheer on the team. Through their use of the Adapting RT format, @FlaPanthers is able to both acknowledge the fans’ tweets and distribute those tweets to their followers, providing context for their response tokens. In this way, they are able to indicate that their comments before the RT notation are indeed a form of response to the original tweeters, as opposed to an independent attempt to spur on cheering from the fans. By using these response tokens with the Adapting RT format, @FlaPanthers can reaffirm the fan efforts to support the Panthers team that are already happening, while encouraging fans to continue making contributions. The use of the hashtag terms here also reinforces this encouragement, as they provide common hashtags for fans to use in their tweets, to enable fans to all become part of a more interactive effort to cheer on the team if they so choose.

In addition to adding response tokens or backchannel-style text to Adapting RTs, NHL accounts can display signs of mutual monitoring by providing longer responses to fan tweets, particularly those containing specific questions from fans. The following tweets from @NYIslanders provide examples of differing approaches to responding to fan tweets, with their resultant participation frameworks illustrated in Figures 17 and 18, respectively.

7.4) Tweet 1:

NYIslanders: @fan1 They did. But we killed the penalty. Casey didn’t seem to think it was boarding either.
8:26pm EDT – 27 Mar 2012

Tweet 2:

NYIslanders: Make sure you’re in orange and blue. RT @fan2 @NYIslanders I’m going to the #Isles game down here against the Panthers tomorrow night.
12:25pm EDT – 24 Mar 2012

In the first tweet of Example 7.4, @NYIslanders uses a direct response to @fan1, restricting the audience of the tweet, as only followers of both accounts will find the tweet in their feeds. This tweet provides a social tie-sign that frames the interaction as a dyadic one with @fan1 and does little to include any other fans in the interaction. Figure 17 displays the resultant participation framework for Tweet 1, with @fan1 in a role as the specific addressee of the response tweet, and the followers of both accounts acting as the ratified receiving audience (because the tweets will appear in their feeds), although there is little in the tweet to suggest that the talk is designed for this audience. In this way, the format of this response tweet restricts the opportunities for physical co-presence for many Twitter users, and displays tie-signs for social co-presence only to @fan1. In Tweet 2 of Example 7.4, however, @NYIslanders has responded to @fan2's announcement that he will be at the Islanders away game the following evening with a public response that any follower of the @NYIslanders account can see in their Twitter feed. The format of this tweet opens the channel to all of the @NYIslanders' followers and ratifies a larger audience. As shown in Figure 18, this response in the form of an Adapting Retweet performs two functions of monitoring the interaction. First, the text added before the retweeted text acts to specifically address @fan2, ratifying his contribution with a response of their own. Additionally, the entire tweet, including the retweeted text, is distributed to the followers of the @NYIslanders account, placing them in the ratified audience of the tweet and allowing these followers to see the display of mutual monitoring between the team account and this fan. In addition to these two functions, the Adapting RT form works to provide discourse context for readers that will not have already seen @fan2's original tweet, bringing them into the conversation (Severinson Eklundh 2010). Like the response tokens in Example 7.3, this response-as-Adapting RT establishes a pseudo-intimacy between the @NYIslanders account and the fan base, encouraging

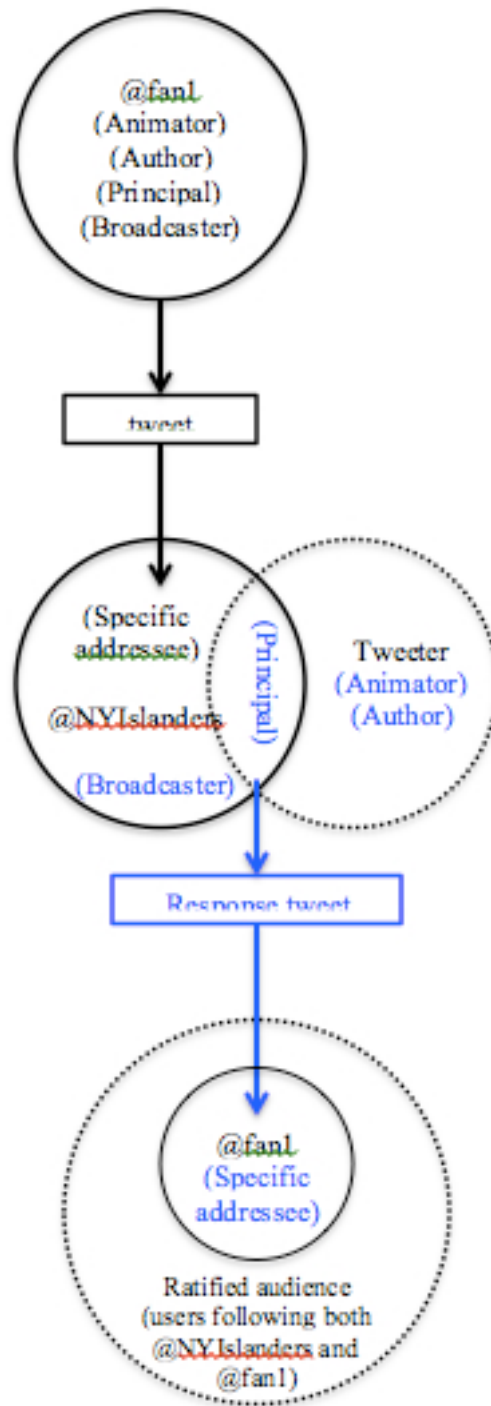


Figure 17. Participation framework for Example 7.4, Tweet 1.

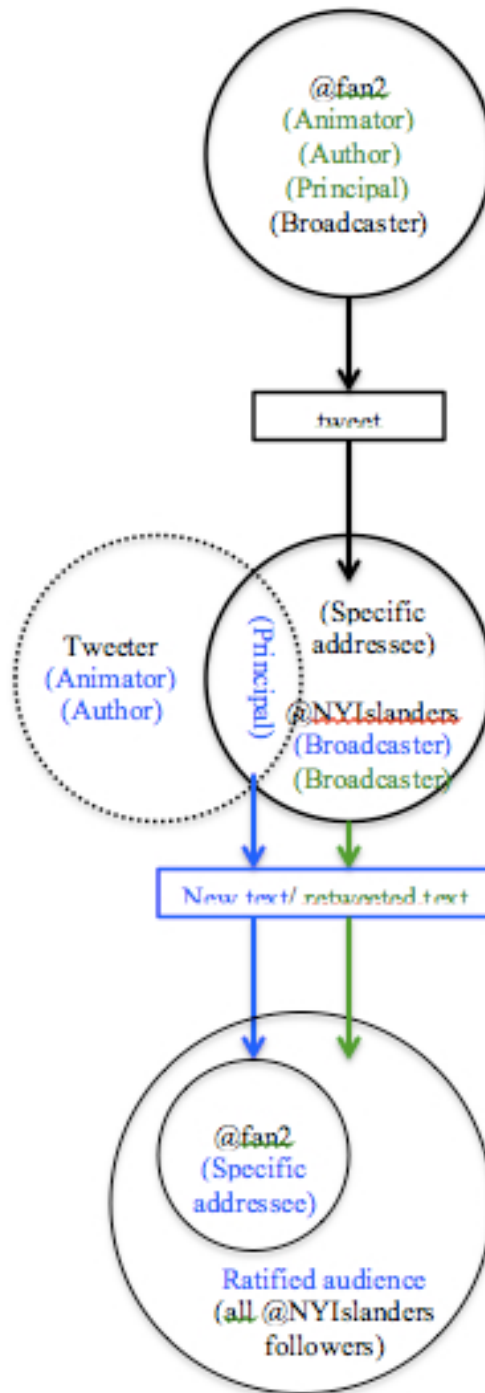


Figure 18. Participation framework for Example 7.4, Tweet 2.

fans to believe that their tweets directed towards the account will be received and perhaps also acknowledged in this way.

7.2.4 Participatory contests

Another popular means of mutual monitoring by team accounts is through participatory contests. These contests allow for monitoring on both sides of the interaction, as they tend to be at least three-part interactions. While actions like favoriting, retweeting, and responding require only two-part structures, where an initial tweet is produced by either the organizational account or a fan and a subsequent action is taken to display attention to that tweet, participatory contests generally require an initial tweet from the organizational account, response tweets from fans, and at least one final acknowledgment tweet from the organizational account. As an example, Figure 19 and 20 illustrate the participation frameworks for the previously mentioned headline contest run by @SanJoseSharks, in which the Sharks team account asks users to come up with headlines for the website article about the most recent game. Figure 19 represents the basic framework for the initial tweet opening up the participatory contest, as seen in Example 7.5. Example 7.6 displays the tweet identifying the winner of the headline contest, including the reproduced excerpt from the winner's response (in quotation marks):

7.5) SanJoseSharks: Send in your headlines for the Sharks website. Use #SJSharks for a chance to be featured.
9:48pm PDT – 25 Mar 2012

7.6) SanJoseSharks: Headline from – “@user1: @SanJoseSharks down Dogs”
sjsharks.com
11:00pm PDT – 25 Mar 2012

The tweet in Example 7.5 follows the Impersonal Model for production generally used by the @SanJoseSharks account and addresses a broad, generic audience with a directive on how fans can participate in the contest. In Figure 20, the mutual monitoring process is illustrated,

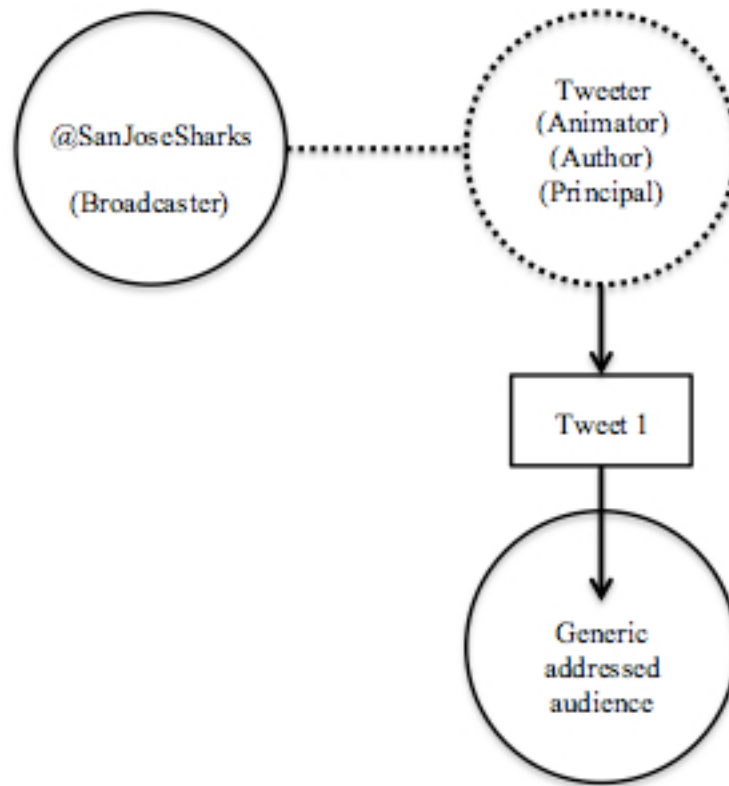


Figure 19. Participation framework for Example 7.5.

representing the responses coming back from members of the generic addressed audience of the tweet in Example 7.5, as well as the distribution of the tweet in Example 7.6. In Figure 20, @user1 and other respondents function as the animator, author, principal, and broadcaster of their response tweets, which are directed to @SanJoseSharks as the specific addressee. The individual tweeting for the @SanJoseSharks account then chooses a winner for the headline contest and produces a tweet to acknowledge this winner. In this way the Sharks team account acknowledges the general participation of all respondents with a specific acknowledgement to

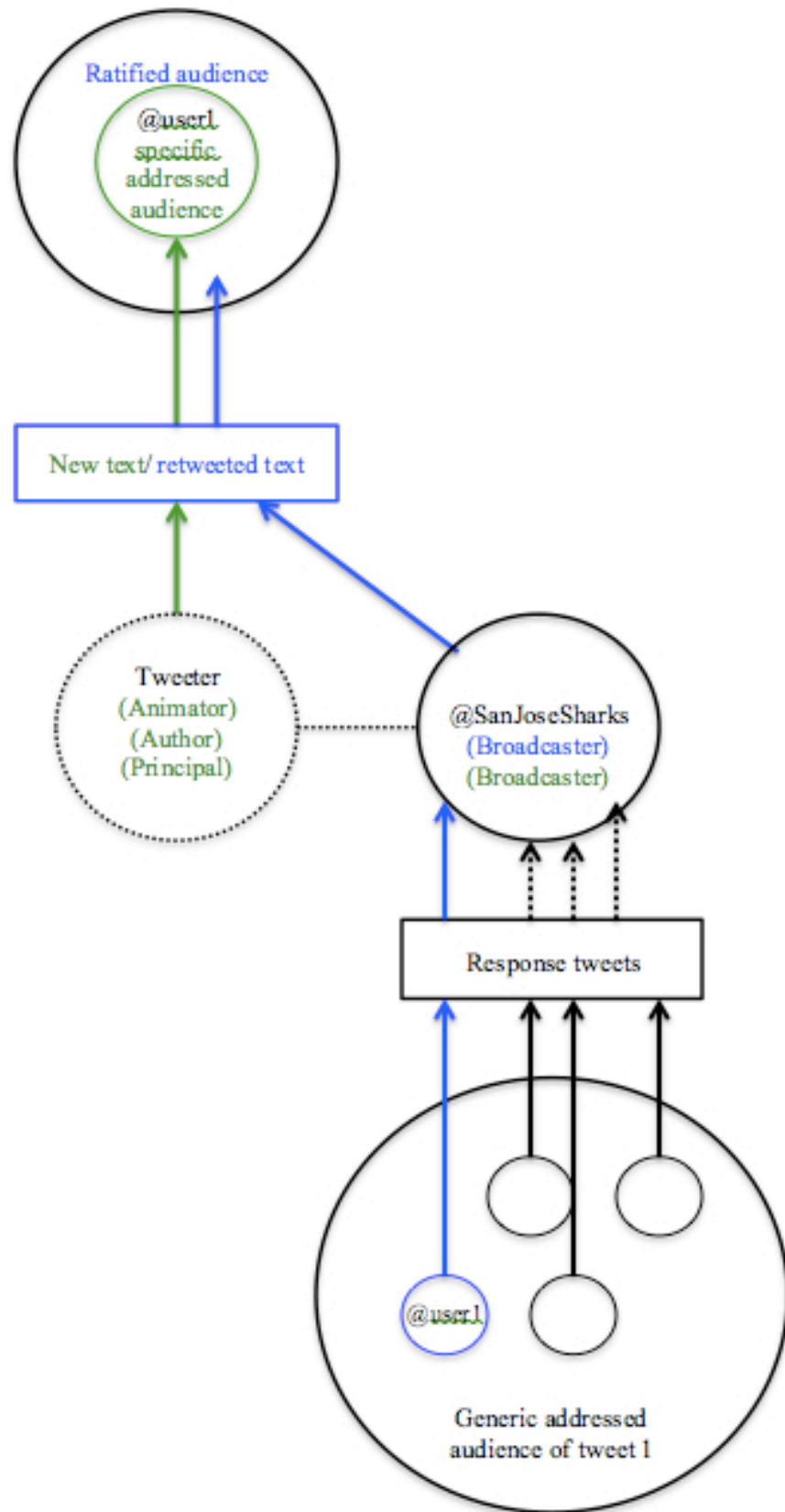


Figure 20. Participation framework for responses to Example 7.5 and the subsequent tweet in Example 7.6.

@user1. This is represented in the top part of Figure 20, where @user1 is identified as the specific addressee of the new text produced by the individual tweeting for @SanJoseSharks, and the participants of the contest (and other followers of the Sharks account) are part of the ratified audience for the entire tweet, including the reproduction of the winning headline. Ultimately, this three-part interaction allows the @SanJoseSharks account to display a desire for social co-presence with the fans by (generically) addressing their audience, inviting them into an interaction. In turn, interested fans can respond to the invitation to participate, acknowledging and affirming their social (and physical) co-presence for this interaction. Finally, the Sharks team account reaffirms their attention to the interaction by acknowledging the headline produced by one fan, suggesting their co-presence in reading through the tweets from other fans to select a winner. Note also that because this interaction is relatively time-restricted, it does not allow for the pseudo co-presence that the other means of monitoring might. While a tweet can be favorited or retweeted at any time, these participatory contests often require a relatively quick turn-around, and therefore participants need to be physically co-present on Twitter in real time to be involved as more than passive recipients of the tweets about the contest.

7.2.5 The role of mutual monitoring practices in establishing co-presence

In Section 7.2, I have discussed several examples of mutual monitoring practices used by NHL accounts. Returning to the understanding of co-presence used in this dissertation, these practices help the accounts that use them to increase a subjective sense of co-presence by both heightening perceptions of social co-presence and displaying signs of physical co-presence. As noted above, the use of phatic language by team accounts allows them to confirm physical (pseudo) co-presence, by asking fans to acknowledge the reception of their tweets, most often through the use

of a hashtag or a response to the tweet. Additionally, responses to a team account's tweet act as a tie sign between the fan and the team in dyadic interaction, while the use of a hashtag term opens up an interaction with many more fans (as well as the team), creating a sense of social co-presence for everyone using the hashtag term. The actions of favoriting and using the Preserving RT function also help to ascertain physical co-presence with the original tweeter; NHL accounts can use these functions to let fans know that they are receiving their tweets (and thus sharing a channel), while fans can use them to do the same in return for tweets by the NHL accounts. Preserving RTs provide an additional social function in distributing the tweet to others, displaying an attention to the tweets received by the account that helps to increase feelings of social co-presence through mutual entrainment. Responses (including response tokens) again display signs of physical co-presence by acknowledging the reception of a tweet. Responses can be used to create a form of interaction that mimics dyadic conversation by responding directly to a single user, with the username at the beginning of the tweet to reduce the distribution of the response. This creates a situation of one-to-one attention between the responding team account and the fan to whom they are responding (while others may read these tweets, they fall outside of the addressed, and often the ratified, audience for the tweet). Alternatively, responses broadcast to all of the account's followers (most commonly through the use of the Adapting RT style or by placing a single character before the username of the fan to whom they are responding) work to open up the interaction to others and invite further interaction while acknowledging the first contribution. Finally, participatory contests, as a type of invited interaction by the team, combines both team and fan efforts to confirm physical and social co-presence. Through these contests, teams are able to check for attention being paid to their tweet by inviting a response of some kind, while fans can understand that the team will read their tweets in response, suggesting

to all parties that they are currently involved in a shared channel of interaction. Additionally these participatory contests create an object of joint attention (the activities required by the contest) for fans, and in turn fans can display signs of co-presence through mutual attention to others involved in the activity, whether that attention be directed only to the team that started the contest (i.e. through a direct response to the team) or to other fans also participating in the contest (i.e. by using hashtags related to the contest). Ultimately, all of these practices work to create a heightened sense of involvement and co-presence, through affirmation of physical co-presence, increased feelings of social co-presence, or a combination of the two.

7.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the concepts of co-presence and perception as they relate to participation in interaction in Twitter's potentially asynchronous medium. I discuss co-presence here as a factor of both physical and social co-presence. Physical co-presence is defined by the ability of one participant to share a physical channel of communication with at least one other participant, including channels in which co-presence is bridged over space and time by technological means. While Zhao's (2003) understanding of telecopresence accounts for the bridging of space by technological means, his understanding does not allow for participants in asynchronous communication to be co-present in an interaction. Based on Goffman's (1963) understanding of co-present participants as those that are available, accessible, and subject to one another, I argue here that electronic mediums such as Twitter enable participants to meet these characteristics over both space *and* time, creating a pseudo co-presence (or a co-presence that is delayed over time) in a channel of communication. While participants may not be immediately

available to each other in these potentially asynchronous mediums, their channel of communication is left open when a tweet is broadcast, and in turn the tweet is available to others for a lasting period of time. As just one example, when one Twitter user mentions another user with the @mention form, the receiving user will be available, accessible, and subject to the original tweeter within the medium once he does receive the tweet. This dissertation, then, considers physical co-presence to be non-binary and allows for a more continuous understanding, with a sense of pseudo co-presence that may become lessened over time (i.e. the longer a tweet goes without being received by others, the less likely it is to be received due to Twitter's updating of feeds to show the most recent tweets).

In addition to physical co-presence, this dissertation makes use of the concept of subjective social co-presence. Social co-presence is defined by the perceptions of participants as to the levels of their own involvement and the involvement of others in a shared interaction. This subjective understanding of co-presence builds on the work of Campos-Castillo and Hitlin (2012), who identify co-presence as a sense of mutual entrainment between two or more parties. To this end, social co-presence is used here to reflect the levels of involvement that participants feel, both in regards to their own involvement in an interaction and the involvement of others with them. Social co-presence is also understood here to be a continuous understanding, and it is unique to each participant in an interaction.

The affordances of a medium are also important to understanding co-presence, as different technologies allow for different levels of physical access to participants, as well as different abilities to perceive social involvement. Communication and interaction via Twitter, as a medium that allows for relatively synchronous, as well as asynchronous interaction, can result in a wide range of perceptions of co-presence by its users. Twitter users that follow each other

and are using the medium at the same time, responding to each other's tweets might perceive high levels of social co-presence, as well as high-to-mid levels of physical co-presence (as the lack of visible perception of the physical body of other participants may diminish the perception of physical co-presence for some users as compared to face-to-face communication). Two participants who use the medium at different times and read each other's tweets but do not respond in any way are more likely to perceive low levels of social co-presence and share a relatively low degree of pseudo physical co-presence (being in the same channel, but at different times, with no clear indications of the other's physical presence). Due to the wide range of possibilities for co-presence, NHL Twitter accounts must find ways to present possibilities for mutual monitoring if they wish to engage fans through feelings of mutual entrainment. Practices such as favoriting, retweeting, and responding to fan tweets encourage fans to participate in (and initiate) interactions on Twitter, because these practices give fans the perception of being perceived. In turn, NHL accounts can provide opportunities for fans to display their own monitoring practices, through primarily phatic tweets (e.g. those "checking the channel" by specifically asking for fan responses in some way), encouragement of hashtag use, and participatory contests and activities. These practices all help to display or affirm degrees of physical co-presence as well as creating social tie-signs to indicate social co-presence.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS

8.1 SUMMARY

Given the recent interest in the ways that social media affect the possibilities of communication, this dissertation set out to investigate participation and participant roles as they were laid out in the language of NHL organizations in their use of the social media platform Twitter to interact with hockey fans. This dissertation had three main goals: to investigate the participation frameworks and complex understandings of participant roles established in interactions between NHL organizational accounts and their fans, to determine the linguistic forms and discursive strategies utilized in establishing these participation frameworks, and to incorporate the role of the Twitter medium in these understandings of participation, as its affordances influenced the possibilities for enacting these frameworks.

I found that NHL teams used three basic models of production, which I named the Impersonal Model, the Interpersonal Model, and the Team Model (summarized in Table 8, below). The Impersonal Model is characterized by the veiling of the participants in production roles, with no clear party to assign to the animator, author, and principal roles recoverable in the talk. Teams using this model made use of the medium's ability to hide participants behind the screen, distancing the person(s) tweeting for the account from the interaction. The lack of first person pronoun forms or references to the person tweeting for the account diminished

interpersonal connections (O’Keeffe 2006), while 3rd person references to the team itself worked to distance the team from the principal role for the talk. By and large, these accounts eschewed interpersonal interaction with fans in favor of presenting the account as a provider of information about their team of focus. This was mirrored in the characteristics of the language for accounts using this model, which was largely informational in nature and avoided emotive language and assertions of personal assessment or opinion.

The Interpersonal Model was used by these organizations to focus on the individuals or groups of individuals in production roles, with a separation in the talk between the tweeters (as animator, author, and principal) and the team (as broadcaster). With this model, teams avoided the potential of the medium to hide individual participants behind the screen, and instead overtly referenced the producers regularly in the talk. This was accomplished through the use of first person pronouns in reference to the tweeters, as well as digital signatures used by the tweeters for some accounts. For these accounts, the team was distanced from the production roles by the contrast of the first person references to the tweeters with third person references to team. This model allows teams to focus on the interpersonal possibilities for interaction in the medium, highlighting the involvement of the tweeters as individuals with opinions, emotions, and an interest in interacting directly with fans. Emotive language was common throughout the talk in these accounts, with personal assessments often being attached to informational content.

The Team Model continues this focus on interaction, albeit between the team (as a collective entity) and the fans, couching the individual tweeters within the team identity. In this model, the individual animating and authoring the tweets were again obscured in the talk, primarily through the use of the first person plural pronoun “we”, which was used in reference to the team and the tweeters collectively. Unlike the other models, teams were never referenced as

third parties and third person pronouns such as “they” or “their” were not used in discussion of the team. This helped to place a focus on the team as the principal (and broadcaster) of the talk and enveloped the tweeters as part of the team, establishing a frame in which fans could interact directly with the team. While both the Interpersonal Model and the Team Model allow NHL accounts to bring information to fans on Twitter, the production frameworks for these accounts created a stance in favor of two-way interaction in the medium (whether this interaction occurred

Table 8. A summary of the production frameworks and linguistic features of each model of production, as well as the stances or frames established for the accounts in their use of these models.

Production roles	Common linguistic features	Stances/frames
Impersonal Model		
<i>Animator</i> – not recoverable in talk <i>Author</i> – not recoverable in talk <i>Principal</i> – unclear/not recoverable in most tweets <i>Broadcaster</i> – team (e.g. @SJSharks) or team-affiliated group (e.g. @BluesAlumni)	-no first person forms or references to tweeter -team referenced through 3 rd person pronouns and team name forms -language tends to be more informational than emotive	Establishes account as primarily informational, not focused on interaction
Interpersonal Model		
<i>Animator</i> – specific individual or “we” exclusive of team <i>Author</i> – specific individual or “we” exclusive of team <i>Principal</i> – specific individual or “we” exclusive of team <i>Broadcaster</i> – team (e.g. @FlaPanthers), team-affiliated individual or group (e.g. @LouieSTLBlues or @PensInsideScoop)	-1 st person pronouns reference tweeters, not team -digital signatures may be used -team referenced through 3 rd person pronouns and team name forms -emotive language common	Interpersonal focus on tweeters for the account; fans are not interacting with “the team” but with the tweeters
Team Model		
<i>Animator</i> – not recoverable in talk <i>Author</i> – not recoverable in talk <i>Principal</i> – “we” inclusive of team and tweeters <i>Broadcaster</i> – team (e.g. @NYIslanders)	-1 st person plural forms reference both the team and the tweeters -team mentioned by name, but not 3 rd person pronouns -emotive language common	Focus on interaction with “the team”; individual presence of the tweeter(s) suppressed

between fans and individual tweeters or fans and the team), as opposed to the Impersonal Model, which mostly operated as a one-way broadcast, updating fans on team news.

Following the discussion of the basic models of production, I turned to the introduction of new voices into the talk, as teams commonly reproduced the talk of players, coaches, hockey analysts, and fans through their Twitter accounts. The primary areas of interest in reproducing the talk of others for this dissertation were the way that participants were shifted or highlighted within the production frameworks and the faithfulness of each form of representation to the original source of the reproduced talk. The heteroglossic nature of reproduced speech results in a multiplicity of voices being reflected in the talk, and the devices chosen to share the talk of others can place the focus on some participants over others. As such, the most common forms of reproducing talk found in the data and their effects on the production framework on Twitter are summarized in Table 9 and discussed further here. Direct forms of reproduction work to distance the broadcaster from the talk they are sharing, while placing a focus on the original producer in the roles of author and principal (Bakhtin 1934b). The role of animator can vary to some degree depending on the form of sharing on Twitter; the Preserving RT and sharing of video and audio links require no reanimation on the part of the party sharing the talk. In this way, the talk can remain quite faithful to the original and the overlap of voices is muted due to the lack of reanimation and little question of authorship. With the use of direct quotation forms (e.g. “He said, ‘I am going to X’”) or the Adapting RT form, the format allows the rebroadcaster to suggest that the reproduced speech is faithful to its original form, although changes can be made to Adapting RTs and in transforming speech to text. While direct quotation forms then suggest a distancing between the broadcaster and the original talk, as well as a faithfulness to the original source, in actuality they allow for more overlap of voices through the reanimation of speech into

text (as well as the potential – although obscured – sharing of authorship if the words of the original source are altered). While Adapting RTs do not need to be reanimated by the new broadcaster, the potential is there for them to do so, and many tweeters make changes to the retweeted text without any indication to recipients that they have done so. In this way, direct quotation forms and Adapting RTs suggest a distance between the broadcaster and the talk that may not be the reality.

In indirect forms of sharing the talk of others, such as indirect quotation (e.g. “he said that he was going to X”) and modified retweets (MTs), the overlapping voices often become indistinguishable, and the new broadcaster is highlighted in the talk along with the original producer. With these indirect forms, it is often unclear as to the degree to which the talk has been authored by either party, and as such the principalship of the talk can also become murky. With these forms, however, it is clear that the talk has been altered, so while the assignment of production roles may be in question, recipients will face the belief that the talk is unaltered as they might for direct quotation or Adapting RTs (although the degree to which it has been altered may not always be clear).

The affordances of the Twitter medium play a role in the choice of form for reproducing talk, particularly the length restriction of 140 characters per tweet and the text-based nature of Twitter. The length restriction, which could lead to quotation forms for longer stretches of talk being distributed across tweets often results in teams choosing to link to more long-form mediums, such as articles and blogs on the team website, which do not share the length restriction. Alternatively, teams can avoid the conversion of speech into written form through the sharing of audio and video links. Although these links do help to represent a more faithful version of the original source material, they also require recipients to leave the Twitter medium

and creates a distance in the interaction between the fan and the account for that stretch of talk, as the recipient becomes engaged outside of the medium and is no longer attending to the tweet.

Table 9. Forms of reproducing talk on Twitter, with their effects on production frameworks and the models of production in which they are most often used.

Reproduction form	Effects on production framework	Often used by
Direct forms of reproduction		
Direct quotation (e.g. “He said ‘I am going to X’”)	Distances tweeter and highlights original producer; requires reanimation from spoken to written form; implies faithful representation of content with original producer as author and principal (although changes can be made during reanimation)	Impersonal Model
Links to blogs and articles	Tweeter acts only as broadcaster, focus on original producer in animator, author, and principal roles; requires recipient to leave Twitter medium	Impersonal Model, Team Model
Links to video and audio	Tweeter acts only as broadcaster, focus on original producer in animator, author, and principal roles; allows for multimodal representations of the talk; requires recipient to leave Twitter medium	Team Model
Preserving Retweets	Tweeter acts only as broadcaster, focus on original producer in animator, author, and principal roles; stance of new broadcaster to the retweeted material is blurred	All models
Adapting Retweets	Implies that tweeter acts as only broadcaster, putting the focus on the original producer as animator, author, and principal; implies faithful representation (although format allows for reanimation and reauthoring); allows for additional comments as response or stance-indication	Interpersonal Model, Team Model
Indirect forms of reproduction		
Indirect quotation (e.g. “He said he was going to X”)	Blurs the roles of tweeter and original producer; original producer most often still assigned to principal role, but can be shared; extremely heteroglossic as voices overlap in authorship role; usually requires reanimation from speech to written form	Interpersonal Model
Modified retweets (MTs)	Blurs the roles of tweeter and original producer; original producer most often still assigned to principal role, but can be shared; extremely heteroglossic as voices overlap in authorship role; extent of reanimation often unclear	Team Model (specifically @NYIslanders)

Accounts using the Impersonal Model most commonly made use of the more direct forms of reproduction, including audio and video sharing, Preserving RTs, and direct quotation. Because this model already works to obscure the participants in production roles, these forms of reproducing helped to add a face or voice to the roles of production for the account instead of suppressing one. Interpersonal Model accounts made use of the indirect quotation form more than other accounts, which fit well with the highlighting of the tweeters in the talk throughout the account. These accounts also made frequent use of both Preserving and Adapting RTs, particularly retweeting fan tweets, again highlighting the focus on interaction with the fan. These accounts also used fewer links to audio, video, and long-form text-based websites reproducing talk from players and coaches. In this way, Interpersonal Model accounts maintained the focus on interaction via Twitter in the talk that they shared, as well as maintaining a focus on the tweeters at the center of the interaction. Accounts using the Team Model used the most links to videos and audio, highlighting the connection of the account to the players and coaches of the teams. Indirect quotation forms were quite rare for these accounts, again perhaps because of the obfuscation of the voice of the tweeter in production roles through the talk produced for the account.

As noted above, the Twitter medium can work to hide producers behind the screen, to be either displayed or concealed through language choices, and in turn these screens can also hide recipients from the producers of talk. The audience that a tweeter holds in mind often does not match up with the actual audience of their tweets, resulting in a separation between the actual audience that receives a tweet and the imagined audience that a producer envisions. If “the perception of being perceived” (Ruesch and Bateson 1951) is to be seen as an important part of an individual’s communicative experience, then the concept of active reception (Charles

Goodwin 1986) is essential to facilitating interaction on Twitter. This need for active reception is primarily seen in two ways on Twitter. First, because talk on Twitter is public and teams likely wish to reach the largest audience possible, ratification (and to a lesser degree, address) is often accomplished implicitly by producers, requiring the recipient to find him-or-herself in the talk in order to become a ratified recipient. Second, acts of mutual monitoring are often necessary to confirm physical co-presence in the channel of interaction and assert social co-presence through mutual entrainment. As the affordances of the Twitter medium do not facilitate nonverbal cues of interaction (Baym 2010), acknowledgment both *of* recipients and *by* recipients must often be accomplished verbally (although Twitter has been updated over time to incorporate new affordances reflecting user practices, for example with the Preserving RT function, the notifications sent to a user upon the mention of their username in a tweet, and the increased capabilities for searching hashtag terms). Below, I review the basic concepts of co-presence, ratification, and address as they are relevant to this dissertation, including the reception roles they establish and the linguistic forms and discursive strategies that are often used by NHL accounts in managing these recipients. (These strategies and their interactive functions are reviewed in Table 10.)

Twitter requires an understanding of co-presence that incorporates both a physical and a social element. Physical co-presence, as understood in this work, can be interpreted as the sharing a physical channel of communication, which can be bridged over space and time by technological means. While this facet of co-presence can be understood to have objective qualities (as participants either have access to a channel at some point in time or they do not), it can also be understood to be subjective, as participants in an interaction can feel more or less physically connected to other users within the channel. For example, some people feel a strong

sense of physical co-presence when sharing an electronic channel with others, while other people cannot shake a sense of separation as compared to face-to-face interaction (Gershon 2010). The Twitter medium can enable high-to-mid feelings of physical co-presence for participants that share the channel at the same time, as it opens a channel of interaction to those participants but does not hold the visual cues of co-presence that another electronic form, such as video chat, might. Additionally, the asynchronous capabilities of Twitter allow participants to share in a sense of pseudo co-presence, as they might enter a channel at different times, but still feel a sense of connection and accountability to other users despite this time gap. Because Twitter has no affordances built in to the medium to indicate the physical co-presence (or pseudo co-presence) of other users, Twitter users can also make use of social tie-signs (Goffman 1963) to indicate social co-presence through mutual entrainment (Campos-Castillo and Hitlin 2013) with other users. In this way, we can see co-presence as a conjunction of the physical and social; a user might be physically co-present with other users that he follows (as he might learn as they are both tweeting at the same time), but feel low levels of social co-presence if none of these other users are displaying any signs of attending to each other in their talk. NHL team accounts in this study displayed varying degrees of social co-presence through in their interactions with fans and other Twitter users. Some team accounts did little to display their attention to fan tweets and as such gave fans no indication that they might be sharing a two-way channel of interaction (i.e. these accounts may just produce tweets, but not read tweets directed back to them by fans). Other accounts, however, made use of a variety of features of Twitter, including responding to fan tweets in both direct reply form (placing an @username form at the beginning of a response) and in Adapting RT form (opening up the response to other followers of the account and providing context for the interaction), as well as using the Preserving RT and favoriting

functions to acknowledge fan tweets without further verbal response. These actions allowed teams to show fans that they were indeed co-present in a shared channel with fans, and even if only verifying their co-presence for a small portion of the tweets directed their way, these actions help teams to give off the impression that they are reading many more. In a similar vein, the NHL accounts made differing use of providing opportunities for fans to display their attention tweets from the team (or other parties affiliated with the organization). Accounts that showed more interest in interacting with the fans provided participatory contests, phatic language that asked fans to note their attention to certain tweets, and promoted and monitored hashtag use related to the team.

In addition to creating a sense of co-presence, teams can make use of varied practices of ratification and address in creating a situation of active reception for fans on Twitter. Returning to the definitions used in Chapter 6, ratified recipients are understood here as participants that have access to the talk (i.e. those that share physical co-presence in a channel at some point) and can find themselves in the design of the talk. The public nature of the medium enables any Twitter user to come across the tweets of any other user, and as such, team accounts can ratify audiences through the language used in their tweets, by designing those tweets for certain audiences (Bell 1991). The NHL accounts in this study worked to ratify audiences implicitly through their choice of topic (which narrows the audience that will find itself being interested in the tweets), the use of jargon and specialized conventions (which only allow fans that understand the conventions to access information in the tweets), and through tweets that were specific to a certain time or place (working to either ratify only fans that were co-present, either on Twitter or in a physical location, and often only at a certain time, or fans that were *not* co-present in a physical location, but detailing the event for them). Some accounts also used explicit means of

Table 10. Linguistic features and discursive strategies used by NHL teams to create a sense of co-presence, ratification, and address for participants in the absence of visual cues.

Explicit forms		
	Linguistic feature or discursive strategy	Interactive Function
co-presence	-phatic language	Checks channel for signs of physical and social co-presence
	-invitations to action (e.g. participatory contests, requests for RTs)	Engages fans with opportunities in which they know their talk is being monitored
	-retweets, favorites	Allows team to display their perception of fan tweets
	-responses and response tokens	Engage fans in conversation and/or displays perception of fan tweets
ratification	-personal pronouns, such as inclusive “we” and “you/your”	Create interpersonal feel for interaction; allow fans to include themselves in the ratified audience
address	-@mention vocatives	Alert users that they are in addressed audience; reduce size of ratified audience when used at the beginning of a tweet, creating a more dyadic interaction
	-group vocatives	Draw the attention of intended audience, allow users to identify themselves as an addressee if they fit into the group
	-impersonal or non-specific vocatives	Address a broad audience; allow most recipients to identify themselves as an addressee
	-first-pair parts of adjacency pairs, such as directives or questions	Engage fans with “next-turn” opportunities
Implicit forms		
	Linguistic feature or discursive strategy	Interactive Function
co-presence	-hashtags	Allow fans to follow and participate in conversation on a topic, even with other users they are not following; allows teams to monitor conversation about their brand
ratification	-topic selection	The topic or focus of the talk by an account allows fans to determine whether or not they can find something for them in the tweets
	-jargon and specialized conventions	Ratify audiences that are familiar with the terms or conventions used
	-shared time and place deictics/references	Ratify users who share the references and can participate in the physical space or time frame referenced
address	-“next-turn” opportunities without first-pair parts, such as hyperlinks accompanied by quotes or information instead of directives	Suggest to fans that an opportunity for furthering the interaction is available without explicitly directing or asking fans to participate

ratifying participants through personal pronoun use that could be inclusive of participants, such as “we” and “you/your”. Although explicitly ratifying the inclusion of other participants, the deictic nature of these pronouns again requires active reception on the part of readers of the tweet in identifying themselves in the pool of participants created by the pronoun use. Through these devices, teams design the talk for their imagined audience (called the “imagined ratified audience” here) that then becomes an actual ratified receiving audience, as participants come across and identify with the talk.

In addition to ratifying groups of participants, the NHL accounts made use of several means of creating an addressed audience. Addressed participants are understood in this work to be those to whom the producer addresses his attention (either specifically or generically) and who may be expected to take over the next interactional turn. Address is often accomplished explicitly on Twitter; one of the most common ways of addressing certain recipients is through the use of the @mention. While the @mention form can be used in other ways, its use as a vocative form at the beginning tweet acts to specifically indicate that a tweet is meant for that user and creates an interaction that more closely mirrors dyadic interaction. In addition to addressing specific users, NHL accounts also addressed both specific and generic groups of participants, using group vocatives (e.g. “Hey Season Ticket Holders”, “Good morning #Isles country”) or impersonal address terms (e.g. “We told you this would be a good game!”). Group vocatives were used to create larger, but still specific groups of addressed recipients (such as a team’s season ticket holders), much like the @mention vocatives; additionally, they could be used (along with impersonal address terms) to create a generic addressed audience, in which any Twitter user that identified themselves with the address terms could fit into the addressed audience, much like the ratified audiences discussed above. Another frequently utilized form of

explicit address was the use of the first-pair parts of commonly recognized adjacency pairs, such as directives and questions, which invited fans to take the next turn in the interaction. These first-pair parts were also often directed towards a largely generic group, allowing anyone who saw fit to take the next turn. Teams also implicitly addressed generic groups through the use of next-turn opportunities that were not accompanied by first-pair parts, such as hyperlinked material that suggested to users that they could further the interaction, even when no such directive to do so was present.

Ultimately, the descriptive analyses in this work are one step towards answering Levinson's (1988) call to understand the broader linguistic contribution of participant roles by analyzing language-in-use and linguistic structure. As Levinson (222) notes, "the concepts of participant role are fundamental to an understanding of the context dependence of meaning, and constitute the very foundations of pragmatics". This paper expands on earlier work detailing the participation of multi-party production and reception frameworks and allows for an analysis of the many possible faces of organizations as they are presented in interaction. The linguistic and discursive patterns found in this study provide further evidence of the complexity of first and second person roles in interaction, with multi-party entities in production and reception roles. The many options that organizations and other multi-party participants have for breaking down their own first person role and assigning second person roles to others in an interaction influences the future, context-dependent trajectory of that interaction, including the ways that other participants will view their own participation. The linguistic analysis here shows that references to parties in both production and reception roles are often not direct and simple, but can involve many different types of speech acts and deictic reference, which in turn drive the ways that the interaction will be understood by its participants.

Additionally, this work demonstrates that the medium of interaction, and the people involved in designing that medium, are an integral part of participation analyses and must be considered when discussing participant roles. The language choices made by the NHL organizational accounts in this study would have different effects in other mediums of communication. For example, use of the plural “you” as a form of address in face-to-face interaction will often select a distinct and definite group of users, while on Twitter it was often used a way to allow members of an imagined audience to identify themselves in the talk. Similarly, the practice of addressing other Twitter users through @mentions at the beginning of a message can have different implications on Facebook, in which the tagging of other users will result in a wider, as opposed to smaller, audience for distribution of the message. This dissertation shows, then, that even if the basic participant roles remain the same across mediums, the means of accessing and establishing these roles through linguistic choices is likely to differ.

8.2 IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this dissertation have implications for practical use in social media engagement, as well as for future research studies in sociolinguistics, sport communication, and computer-mediated interaction. The models of production and reception presented in this work are designed to clearly illustrate the participation frameworks that arise in interaction between NHL organizations and sports fans on Twitter. In detailing the commonly used models of participation and the language forms associated with them, I have produced a framework that can be utilized by individuals and organizations looking to engage others on social media, and by researchers that aim to understand interaction in electronically-mediated communication. The three models

of production discussed in Chapter 4 illustrate the different types of organizational producers found in use by NHL teams, providing social media users with templates to help design their participation and language to best fit their goals for shaping their own participatory identity. The reception models discussed in Chapter 6 and 7 can help tweeters understand the ways that their language choices alter the size and intimacy of their resultant audiences.

Putting together the production and reception frameworks, we can begin to understand engagement by NHL teams as a combination of the features of their talk in building these frameworks. The findings here show that teams making use of the Impersonal Model often lack the use of interpersonal and emotive language, but excel in providing information for fans. Teams that aim to present an informational identity, then, might make use of the features of production for the Impersonal Model, while still creating opportunities for engagement on the reception side through the use of mutual monitoring, such as trivia questions that involve fans in the presentation of the information. Alternatively, the Interpersonal Model of production allows teams to focus on interpersonal interaction and to create a (pseudo-)intimacy between fans and the tweeters for the account (O’Keeffe 2006). This model, however, showed a degree of distance in allowing the fan to form a direct connection with the team. To avoid this distancing while still focusing on interpersonal interaction, the use of direct forms of reproduction of the talk of players and coaches can help these accounts to increase the sense of direct access to the team, without jeopardizing a connection to the individual tweeters. The implications of the Team Model are that these accounts risk a lack of interpersonal quality, as the tweeters for the account are obscured in the talk, but in turn this model puts the focus on interacting with “the team”. Accounts using this model can avoid the trap of losing an interpersonal connection by focusing on that connection on the reception side, through the use of inclusive personal pronouns and

direct response or acknowledgement of fan tweets in the practice ratifying and addressing fans. No one feature or linguistic device discussed in this paper, then, is best for engaging fans, but it is through the grouping of these features that accounts can create their identity as a participant in Twitter interaction and design their talk to involve their fans to a greater or lesser degree. If a team decides that the purpose of a Twitter account is to get information out to fans as quickly as possible, they might best respond to fan questions in a format that lets all followers see the response to one instance of a certain question. If, however, the goal is to make sure that each fan feels like their voice is being heard, it might be worth it to the team to take the time to respond individually to each fan that has asked a version of that same question. In this way, the models of participation presented in this work can be used as a guideline by organizations looking to implement social media engagement practices.

Additionally, these models lay the groundwork for future qualitative research in social media engagement and participation, by providing a detailed and nuanced description of the participatory identities revealed in the language-in-use of NHL organizations. One of the goals of this dissertation was to open lines of inquiry into the ways that Twitter users make use of the participatory features of the medium and the ways that these uses are reflected in their linguistic practices. While the findings here speak to a very specific subset of Twitter users, further investigations into the participatory practices of other subsets of users will help to build a better overall understanding of the ways that users view and enact participation on Twitter, and in interaction more generally. This line of research has many benefits, from leading Twitter developers to discover new features that users may desire in the medium to furthering a broader understanding of the ways that the medium of interaction influences participation. As just one example, in this study I found that NHL accounts frequently spanned information across tweets,

creating a situation in which information may get lost in a user's feed as these tweets become separated (see Section 6.1.1.4 for more discussion of this phenomenon). Should this practice prove to be prevalent across many groups of users, it might be worthwhile for Twitter developers to incorporate a feature to allow chains of tweets to be connected in some way. While some users incorporate a system of indicating that they are spanning information across tweets, such as including a numbering system for the related tweets or using a hashtag to indicate that there was more information in the previous tweet, such tweets might result in a reduced or lost audience as the tweets become disconnected. By providing a clear and consistent way for users to link connected tweets, Twitter could change the possibilities for participation in interaction with these chains of tweets by making it easier for producers of tweets to ensure that an audience receives all of the information intended to be seen together. Such a change could help to improve possibilities for collaboration on Twitter, as well as making it easier for users to group thoughts on a single event during the practice of live-tweeting. In this way, studies of participation can be used to better understand user practices, and in turn improve and adjust the medium to more closely match these practices.

Another avenue for future research opened up by this dissertation is in the study of sports fans' (and other consumers') media ideologies for Twitter and other social media. Research into ideologies of use compounded with the research in this work that delves into current user practice would be beneficial for organizations in understanding of how they can best design their talk on social media to build participation frameworks that reach their interactional goals. Social media (and Twitter more specifically) are often described as a way for organizations to join in conversations with their fans, and while much research has been done of the demographics of users for different social media, queries into the ideologies that fans have about which social

media offer the most participatory opportunities and the types of interactions they expect to have with organizations in those media are still just scratching the surface. Clavio's (2012) work on new media use by college football fans has shown that official Twitter accounts for college football teams do not appear to generate as much fan interactivity as individual player accounts, despite an emphasis on interaction by official team accounts. This suggests that fans may be using the medium differently than these teams are expecting; providing opportunities for interaction, then, may not be enough without understanding how fans view these opportunities. This paper lays the groundwork for using theories of participation as a social media strategy for reaching fans, and with a greater understanding of the ways that fans view participation on social media, the findings here can provide organizations with a framework for implementing participation models and linguistic strategies to best address fan wants.

Another avenue for future research is the investigation of similar concepts of participation in other mediums. This work showed that the Twitter medium influenced the possibilities for building participation frameworks, both in the frameworks that could be built and in the linguistic resources that users had to build these frameworks. This finding suggests that research of similar interactional practices, such as organizations engaging fans and consumers, across multiple mediums would result in a better understanding of the affordances that each medium provides for interaction and the frameworks that could be built in each medium. For example, this study showed that it can often be difficult to create feelings of co-presence on Twitter without direct response to other users' tweets or use of the same hashtag. In comparison, other platforms, such as chat platforms on Facebook or Google, often provide an indication of whether or not other users are online, creating a sense of co-presence without requiring direct interaction. A study of the language and display of co-presence across multiple

platforms of electronically-mediated communication could allow researchers to compare and contrast the participatory affordances of each medium (and the ways that users take advantage of those affordances) in creating opportunities for displays of co-presence. Research into participation across mediums can help organizations (and other users) decide which of their interactional goals are appropriately matched with which social media platforms, and perhaps help them to more easily meet those goals. Such cross-medium research would also be beneficial to sociolinguists, providing a better understanding of the variation in the language of participation across mediums. An understanding of such variation would help researchers to identify differences in identity performance in varying social media.

Finally, this research suggests the use for further investigation into the representation of organizational voice on Twitter and other social media. Sports teams are somewhat unique in having a distinct entity that can be identified as the “team” (i.e. the players, coaches, and perhaps a few other key personnel involved in the on-field or on-ice activities of the team). This may account for the prevalence of reference to the team in the third person throughout many of the accounts studied here, and brings up the question of whether or not the models of production described in this dissertation can be applied more generally to organizational use of the medium. Replicating this study with other types of organizations would result in strengthening the models described in this study or open up new possibilities for representing the voices of an organization. Further investigation of this topic has implications for organizations looking to engage consumers, as well as for anthropological and linguistic investigation into organizational voice, social media design, and broader understandings of participation via computer-mediated interaction.

APPENDIX A

TWITTER'S CORE TECHNOLOGICAL FACETS

Summary of the core technological facets of Twitter as provided by Crystal (2011:38–39), following Herring's (2007) classification.

Synchronicity:	asynchronous, but time-source is in real time (<i>4 days ago</i>)
Granularity:	message-based (<i>tweets</i>)
Persistence:	currently 3,200 tweets using Twitter, but with an archive of all tweets planned
Length:	140 characters
Channels:	text, with an accompanying picture (author, logo, avatar)
Identity:	named, though often opaque (using nicknames, avatars)
Audience:	publicly accessible with optional restrictions
Adaptation:	forwarding (<i>retweets</i>), address shortening
Format:	new tweets at the top of the screen; messages embedded in a matrix of support information

APPENDIX B

NHL ACCOUNTS FOLLOWED IN THIS STUDY

Information about the National Hockey League team accounts followed for this study as of August 28, 2012.

Table 11. Accounts followed in this study.

Team Name	Username	Tweets	Following	Followers
<i>Buffalo Sabres</i>	BuffaloSabres	19,591	367	97,039
<i>Colorado Avalanche</i>	Avalanche	5,743	329	80,311
<i>Columbus Blue Jackets</i>	BlueJacketsNHL	16,938	298	58,021
<i>Florida Panthers</i>	FLAPanthers	11,998	729	53,640
	StanleyCPanther	665	62	954
	PantherDancers	579	226	346
	PanthersYormark	2,879	79	3,741
<i>New York Islanders</i>	NYIslanders	26,817	3,088	50,976
<i>Pittsburgh Penguins</i>	Penguins	14,751	105	252,632
	PensInsideScoop	8,580	257	21,677
	PensPRLady	978	303	11,512
<i>San Jose Sharks</i>	SanJoseSharks	4,718	126	98,922
	SharksInGame	5,678	1	10,763
<i>St. Louis Blues</i>	StLouisBlues	3,877	10,932	96,030
	LouieSTLBlues	2,983	290	5,540
	BluesAlumni	118	59	2,435

Key: Team Name = the name of the NHL team associated with the account; Username = the Twitter username for the account; Tweets = total number of tweets produced by the account since it was created; Following = the number of other users the account is following; Followers = the number of users following the account

APPENDIX C

NUMBER OF TWEETS COLLECTED BY ACCOUNT

Number of tweets collected for this study, by Twitter account.

Table 12. Number of tweets collected for this study.

Team Name	Username	Tweets
<i>Buffalo Sabres</i>	BuffaloSabres	707
<i>Colorado Avalanche</i>	Avalanche	222
<i>Columbus Blue Jackets</i>	BlueJacketsNHL	407
<i>Florida Panthers</i>	FLAPanthers	485
	StanleyCPanther	2
	PantherDancers	23
	PanthersYormark	69
<i>New York Islanders</i>	NYIslanders	594
<i>Pittsburgh Penguins</i>	pghpenguins ²⁴	356
	PensInsideScoop	498
	PensPRLady	29
<i>San Jose Sharks</i>	SanJoseSharks	206
	SharksInGame	36
<i>St. Louis Blues</i>	StLouisBlues	80
	LouieSTLBlues	80
	BluesAlumni	3

Key: Team Name = the name of the NHL team associated with the account; Username = the Twitter username for the account; Tweets = number of tweets collected for this study during a two week period between March 19 and April 2, 2012

²⁴ At the time the data was collected, the Pittsburgh Penguins account went by the username @pghpenguins. The username has since been changed to @Penguins.

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