

# Orality in Lifestyle Blogs Written by L1 and L2 Speakers of English: Four Case Studies





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## MASTER THESIS

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## Abstract

The present study explores the differences in Norwegian and English blog writers' use of rhetorical strategies in an informal writing style. The focus is on four lifestyle blogs, two which are written by speakers with English as their first language and two by speakers with English as their second language. The study addresses four features traditionally connected with oral communication: greetings and partings, intensifiers, interjections, and direct address. The study enquires into the frequency and types of oral features used in the blogs, as well as the role native language has in the choice and use of these features. The corpus collected for the study consists of 50 randomly selected blogposts from each of the four blogs.

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# 1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of how Norwegian and English blog writers differ in their use of rhetorical strategies when writing in an informal language. The focus will be on four lifestyle blogs, of which two are written by speakers who have English as their first language (L1) and the other two by speakers with English as their second language (L2). The study addresses especially the use of linguistic features traditionally connected with oral styles. Four such features have been selected for study: greetings and partings, intensifiers, interjections, and direct address and inclusion of reader. The study will enquire into the variation both in the frequency and types of oral features used in the blogs, as well as the role of native language in the choice and use of specific features.

Blogs, originally ‘weblogs’, may be described as regular record of personal thoughts, opinions and experiences that are written and published by private people (Puschmann 2013; Herring, Scheidt, Wright & Bonus 2005). Lifestyle blogs evolve around the bloggers themselves and their lives. They may be very similar to trend magazines, as many female lifestyle bloggers write about fashion, make-up, love, food, travel-and popular events. The difference is, however, that they are produced by “amateurs”, in the sense that they are not professional journalists or editors and were not hired by anyone to write a blog.

The blog functions as a computer-mediated platform where bloggers express themselves and receive feedback and comments from their readers. Since blogs evolve around the blogger’s personal life, and self-expression appears to be the main reason for blogging (Puschmann 2013), the language is often highly informal compared to other written texts. Informal writing creates a casual and relaxed environment, and as a result communication in blogs may be experienced by readers as conversational. This way of writing may be seen as a consequence of blogs being an evolved version of diary writing, directed towards an audience (Peterson 2011).

As many lifestyle blogs are written in English by non-native speakers, they provide promising material for the study of informality and non-native English on the Web. In recent years, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has given rise to an enormous wave of informal written communication, the conventions of which are still quite new, and which use many oral-like strategies (Chafe 1985; Hughes 1996). Blogs written in English by native and non-native writers, who might use different strategies, all contribute to the linguistic input for their readers, so that non-native speakers have, at least in principle, the same potential as

native speakers to contribute to the development of written English on the web (Crystal 2003; Mackenzie 2014). This makes blogs especially interesting material for the study of international English.

The present thesis focusses on informal features in blogs written by L1 and L2 speakers. Although there is no strict definition of “informality”, features that are usually considered characteristic of an informal writing style tend to be ones also associated with oral language (Heylighen 1999). Such features include contracted forms such as *isn't*, *gonna* and vocabulary choices, as well as features signaling personal involvement, such as address- and greeting terms, intensifiers and rhetorical questions/tags. While such forms generally signal oral or informal style, they vary greatly in terms of their stylistic effect and acceptability: forms such as *isn't*, and a great number of intensifiers are acceptable in most areas of writing, while ‘non-standard’ forms such as *ain't*, *gonna* and taboo words are not (Mackenzie 2014). By studying such features in the lifestyle blogs, the study will aim to identify some of the variation in informal writing habits within a single genre, and in particular address the question how L1 and L2 writing might differ in terms of their use of oral features.

The four lifestyle blogs studied were selected to provide as closely comparable material as possible. They are all written by female writers in their mid- or late twenties, who wish to have a platform where they can express themselves and inspire their readers. They all have numerous young female readers. The principle behind the selection was that the L1/L2 differences would be the only major difference between the blogs that should be relevant for their language. The study is based on 50 randomly selected blogposts from each of the four lifestyle blogs. The posts were selected from categories including posts about the bloggers everyday life, thoughts and travels.

The main research questions are to what extent the L1 and L2 blogs differ in their use of the oral features studied and to what extent the different bloggers are being informal and conversational when writing their blogposts. The assumption is that L2 speakers might have a more oral writing style than the L1 speakers, since they, as non-native speakers, may be expected to have a narrower experience of stylistic variation, in particular with regard to written styles. It is also assumed that they might have tendencies to translate from their L1 to the L2.

In order to provide the necessary context, Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the theoretical framework for this study. It covers the following areas: the concepts of informality and orality, computer-mediated communication (CMC), and second-language (L2) English writing. Chapter 3 provides a description of the four lifestyle blogs used as material and



describes the methodology of the linguistic study. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study, dealing with each linguistic feature in turn and presenting the findings for each blog individually, followed by a comparative summarizing discussion. Chapter 5 will then give summarizing discussion of the findings. This discussion will compare the L1 and L2 blogs and discuss to what extent they might reflect the native language of the writers. Finally, the broader implications of the findings will be discussed.

## 2 Theoretical Concepts

### 2.1 Styles of Linguistic Communication: Formal/Informal and Written/Spoken

#### 2.1.1 Formal and Informal Communication

There is no strict definition of formality and informality in language. However, *The Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* defines “formal speech” as “the type of speech used in situations when the speaker is very careful about pronunciation and choice of words and sentence structure” (Richard, Platt and Platt 1997: 144). Informality would then be the opposite of this: the language typical of situations where such care is not required or desirable. However, this definition is not necessarily helpful as it seems to suggest that informality is simply a matter of carelessness: rather, it may make more sense to relate formality to the kind of language seen as appropriate in a particular context. Informal language is often considered to be more flexible, direct, involved and interactive, but less informative (Heylighen 1999: 10). Informal writing- or speech-styles will react to interlocutors, events or other elements of the context, rather than being detached, impersonal and having an “objective” point of view (Heylighen 1999: 10). Features that are usually more frequent in formal style are nouns, adjectives, articles and prepositions, while pronouns, adverbs, verbs and interjections are more frequent in informal styles. Informal writing style may also include abbreviations and vocabulary choices, intensifiers, as well as features signaling personal involvement, such as using greeting terms and direct address.

All competent speakers tend to naturally make a distinction between formal and informal manners of expression. An example of formal speech might be the sentence read out by a judge at the end of a trial, while informal speech would be used in a conversation between friends and family. Formal speech is often used in official functions, and in debates and ceremonies; this does not, however, explain what formal language is, but rather what a formal situation is (Heylighen 1999: 2).

According to Labov (1972), the underlying assumption is that formal language is characterized by a special form or style, where the formal speaker tries to get as close as possible to the standard form and pronunciation of a written language. As the most fundamental part of producing language is to communicate and be understood by others, a “careful style” keeping close to a standard may be used to make sure that the message is not

misunderstood (Heylighen 1999: 3). Formal language will try to avoid ambiguity, by “stating the necessary references, assumptions, and background knowledge which would have remained tacit in an informal expression of the same meaning” (Heylighen 1999: 5)

It has also been suggested that an expression is formal when it can stand on its own, yet be precise, in a context (Heylighen 1993). This means that more formal messages have less chance to be misunderstood by others and will less likely accommodate to expressions meaning something different than those found in, for example, a dictionary. Formal speech will also require more time to be produced and understood, as has been typically the case with written communication. There is therefore an expectation that written language in general is more formal than spoken language. In contrast, informal speech is flexible, direct and involved (Heylighen 1999: 9). Expressions will change meaning depending on the context in which they are used, and informal style will be more subjective, less accurate and less informative. It is important to state that this, however, does not mean that informal language is careless: as with formal language, it is appropriate for particular contexts and reflects their needs.

### 2.1.2 Written and Spoken Communication

It has been traditionally held that written and spoken communication have fundamental differences in the way they are conveyed and recognized. Spoken communication is physically different from written as it takes place through a linear process, meaning that each word is uttered continuously and has to be processed in that order (Hughes 1996: 6). Also, speech cannot be preserved without the help of a secondary recording device, for example a tape-recorder. Hughes (1996) uses the ocean as a metaphor to explain speech as “mutable, shifting, and difficult to capture and define” (Hughes 1996: 6), making it a contrast to the metaphor of writing being a mountain. It has been suggested that spoken language is produced in *idea units*, meaning that it is a series of spurts being spontaneous and unplanned, containing the amount of information that a person can comfortably pay attention to and understand (Chafe 1985: 106). When a word is said, it cannot be taken back, changed or “deleted”, but it can be repeated or corrected.

Written language has traditionally been seen as fundamentally different from speech because of its permanence and planned nature. Hughes (1996) compares written language with a mountain, saying that they are both “permanent, clearly delineated and readily available for inspection” (Hughes 1996: 5). Hughes suggests that a written text by a

competent writer is often “well-ordered and punctuated, making use of correct grammar, paragraphs, headings, margins and more so that the text itself is coherent” (1996: 9). Chafe (1985: 105-107) suggests that writers seem to organize their material intuitively into idea units by using punctuation markers to show separation, or to show the same types of intonational and hesitational patterns seen spoken language.

The writer generally has more time to think about how to put the text together and is able to pack in as much information as possible into one text (Chafe 1985: 105-107). Even though our understanding of written words may change, the existence of the written texts allows us to see and read the same words several times on different occasions (Hughes 1996: 5-6). Writing has the potential to go through time existing in the same form, being exactly the same regardless of when a person reads it.

The writer can spend time on the production of the texts (Chafe 1985: 108), likewise the reader can go back and re-read parts of the text even in a different order, to make the text more understandable. Readers often have the luxury of more time to understand a text, and less pressure to respond immediately to what they have read. The relationship between reading and writing is, to some extent, independent as it does not happen under the same “dynamic and mutable circumstances of listening” (Hughes 1996: 9). Since the reader is usually not in the position to ask the writer what is being written, the writer must always consider, and provide the necessary tools for the reader to understand the text as a whole.

Listeners, on the other hand, are under constant pressure to understand what the speaker is saying quickly, and, in many cases, to be able to respond sufficiently. If the listener delays a reply or gives an inappropriate response, this may have significant consequences, and there are several factors that influence the conversation. However, as spoken communication typically takes place in a face-to-face situation, the shared context helps comprehension. Listeners can make sense of context-bound utterances such as “it is over there”, and if not, they are in a position to ask the speaker for clarification. In written texts, the clause must be contextualized, or expressed using full noun phrases or adverbial phrases.

This led Chafe (1985: 105) to characterize writing as a “slow, deliberate, editable process, whereas speaking is done on the fly”. It is also easier to see that communication is a two-way process involving active parts in spoken communication, rather than in written communication.

### 2.1.3 Formal/Informal Communication Correspondent to Written/Spoken Communication

The differences between written and spoken language may be argued to largely correspond with, and perhaps be the major factor behind, the concepts of formal and informal language. There are several similarities between formal and written language, as well as between informal and spoken language, in the sense that they share many of the same grammatical, lexical and discourse features; however, they are used and represented in different ways based on the form of communication and the setting in which they are used.

Hughes' (1996) study of writing and speech suggests that features of the spoken mode may generally be assumed to form the opposite of the features of the written mode: where the spoken mode has tendencies of ellipsis and abbreviations of verbs, the written mode shows full phrases and clauses with little abbreviations or ellipsis (Hughes 1996:33). Lexis in the spoken mode has a tendency for being more generalized and use a simpler vocabulary, while writing tends to use complex vocabulary and abstract terms (Hughes 1996: 33-34). Finally, in spoken discourse there is a high incidence of markers of interpersonal dynamics such as tag-questions, discourse markers, interruptions and unfinished clauses, while in written discourse there are few markers of interpersonal or personally-oriented discourse (Hughes 1996: 33-34).

As formal language has generally been modelled on standard written language, it follows that the features typical of the spoken mode have generally been seen as "informal". For the most part, it therefore makes sense to equate formal language with the "careful style" identified by earlier scholars as typical of writing and informal language as that typical of casual spoken conversations. It should, however, be noted that these distinctions essentially reflect specific written and spoken genres and were not fully representative of writing and speech in general even before the arrival computer-mediated communication.

## 2.2 Computer-Mediated Communication

### 2.2.1 Definitions and Uses

Computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) is defined as communication that takes place between humans with the use of computers (Herring 1996: 1; Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic 2004: 26). Human-to-human interaction with the use of Internet has taken the study of communication by storm, and it represents a new evolving field which began attracting

attention only about 25 years ago (Georgeakopoulos 2003: 93 Herring 2012: 1). CMC has established itself as a place next to other forms of mediated communication, such as the telephone and television, and it is “hardly an exaggeration to claim that CMC has truly revolutionized social interaction” (Georgeakopoulos 2003: 93).

There are several forms of CMC, including both spoken and written communication. The focus of this thesis will be on text-based CMC: interaction made by the means of writing (Herring 1996: 1). This typically consists of typing a message on the keyboard of one computer, which is read by another person on their computer screen, either immediately or at a later point. The use of CMC has led to important changes in the uses of writing, most notably because it allows for communication in ‘real time’, with immediate feedback. In the 1980s it was still natural to refer to conversations as by definition spoken (Herring 2010). Herring, however, states that conversation does not necessarily need to be restricted to spoken modality, but that it might rather be defined as an exchange of messages between two or more people, where the messages that follow “bear at least minimal relevance to those that preceded or are otherwise intended as responses” (Herring 2010: 4).

The most recent and popular CMC modes include text messaging on mobile phones, instant messaging, and weblogs – all of which are textual, and are used to create a dialogue between two or more persons. The communication that takes place is rather different from what takes place in a traditional dialogue, in the sense of an oral conversation between two or more people; however, it is important to note that textual CMC as a whole has become one of the fastest and most popular ways to communicate within the last 20 years, and the dialogues it produces represent everyday human communication just as much as spoken conversations do. Georgeakopoulos further establishes that CMC is recognized as combining qualities that are typically associated with spoken conversations, for example immediacy and informality, with characteristics of written language, for example the lack of visual cues and the physical absence of addressee (Georgeakopoulos 2003: 94).

A fundamental part of CMC is having access to a smartphone or a computer which makes it possible to be connected and available at any hour: being online is a central feature of the use of CMC. As a result, writing has taken over traditionally “spoken functions”, and even in casual parlance, users of the Internet refer to textual exchanges as conversations, using verbs as “talked”, “said” and “heard” rather than “typed”, “wrote” or “read” (Herring 2010: 2).

### 2.2.2 “Netspeak” – Computer-Mediated Language

As textual CMC has evolved to become one of the fastest and most popular ways to communicate, it has had considerable effects on writing styles, and as a result of this, language purists worry that CMC is “corrupting the grammar of their language” (Herring 2012: 1). There is a popular conception that language used on the Internet is a “new language” being distinct, homogenous and unreadable for anyone being “offline” (Thurlow et al. 2004: 118-128). This new language is often referred to as “netspeak”, defined as a language “displaying features that are unique to the Internet [...] arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global, and interactive” (Crystal 2001: 18). Other labels that have been used in casual parlance include ‘electronic language’ and “Webslang” (Androutsopoulos 2006: 420).

There are, however, three key issues, identified by Herring (1996) that make it problematic to define a specific kind of language as the language of CMC, or “netspeak”. Firstly, there are numerous features to take into consideration, such as emoticons and acronyms, the combination of written and spoken features, and differences between synchronous and asynchronous modes. Secondly, there is an “interplay of technological, social and contextual factors” (Androutsopoulos 2006: 421) which shapes the language practices of CMC. Thirdly, social interaction on the Internet has a wide range of linguistic variabilities making it difficult to point out what exactly the language of CMC is (Herring 1996; Crystal 2001; Androutsopoulos 2006).

While spoken language includes phonology, morphology and syntax, in CMC, as generally in writing, phonology is replaced by typography and orthography. Grammar in CMC varies considerably, with features of both written and spoken usage, as electronic language has not had the time to establish “rules” that can be applicable for “netspeak” in general. Herring (2007: 7) sees this as a result of CMC being exhibited in various patterns according to technological and situational contexts.

Typography in CMC typically includes the use of the non-alphabetic keyboard symbols, such as numbers, punctuation marks and special symbols (such as \$, &, # and @). It also includes the use of non-standard capitalization, emoticons or sequences of keyboard characters that imitate facial expressions. Crystal (2001) claims that the use of emoticons is one of the defining typographical characteristics of language on the Internet. Other typographic characteristics include repeated punctuation, substitution of numbers or letters for

words or parts of words, and words being replaced by non-alphabetic symbols based on their graphic resemblance (Herring 2012: 2).

Another defining characteristic of computer-mediated language is non-standard orthography. This generally includes abbreviations, non-standard spellings, phonetically-motivated letter substitutions, spellings that imitate casual or dialectal pronunciations, eye dialect and spellings that represent prosody or non-linguistic sounds (Herring 2012: 3). Such practices are sometimes thought to be misspellings or errors; however, they are rarely unintentional when used in text-based CMC. Some of these characteristics save keystrokes, and others represent speech in writing, one of the key points of the oral writing style found in CMC.

Morphology in “netspeak” is not often mentioned when discussing “netspeak”. However, morphological features may include new productive word formatives and the outcomes of word formation processes such as clipping, blending, acronyms, neologisms, semantic shift and conversion from one part of speech to another (Herring 2012: 4). These processes are not necessarily unique to CMC, but they have been used extensively on the Internet, which has resulted in new words making their entrance in English dictionaries. Lastly, syntax is sometimes described as fragmented in computer-mediated language. This is because parts of the grammatical structures typical of writing may be omitted, just as in informal speech, so that messages might not include complete grammatical clauses. This is especially found in CMC characterized by informal messages, found in chats, text- and instant-messages, as well as in blogging.

“Netspeak” may be divided into several groups with distinct features associated with the different modes of communication. For instance, there are differences between the language used in e-mails and the language used in chatrooms. Language in e-mails is often characterized by organization into elements such as headers, greetings, signatures and responsive quotations, as well as linguistic variety that may have stylistic significance, for example in the case of spelling variation (Crystal 2001: 94-122). Similarly, language in chatrooms focuses on “curious mixture of informal letter and essay” (Crystal 2001: 148) having a conversational style with a non-standard use which is considered typical for instant chat messages. A common distinction used to categorize varieties of digital communication, is between synchronous CMC, including e-chat and instant messages, and asynchronous CMC, including mailing lists, newsgroups and discussion boards.

With the range of features and varieties that characterizes “netspeak”, researchers have found it difficult to define exactly what computer-mediated language and “netspeak” consists



of, and which of the characteristics are the most central ones. The appearance of these features also differs from one CMC community to another, and according to the different and changing modes of CMC. This makes it difficult to define what exactly “netspeak” and Internet language is. It is, however, established that much computer-mediated language shows tendencies to use an informal and oral written style.

### 2.2.3 Blog as a Form of CMC

A *blog*, contraction of *web log/weblog*, is a “form of online publishing, communication, and expression” (Puschmann 2013: 82) that emerged in the late 1990s and may be considered a major new medium used to communicate. A blog is a “frequently updated website, typically run by a private individual, and consists of personal entries arranged in a chronological order” (*OED Online*; Puschmann 2013: 82). The origin of blogs seems to be the practice of sharing links on the Internet, and the earliest definitions of what established a blog were “based on dated entries containing links, commentary, and thoughts on a personal website” (Blood 2000: 1; Puschmann 2013: 84). However, the function of sharing links has now been integrated with for example hyperlinks, ads, pictures, video- and audio clips, as these can easily be embedded in blogposts.

Blogs have been divided into three categories: filter blogs, personal journals and notebooks (Blood 2002; Herring et al. 2005). The content of filter blogs is external to the blogger, while the content of personal journals is about the blogger’s activities and internal states (similar to diary writing); notebooks, finally, may contain both external and internal content, and are often distinguished by longer, focused essays (Blood 2000: 3; Herring et al. 2005: 145).

Personal journals, including lifestyle blogs, tend to be distinct and different from the others in the sense that they have a more social and public writing style, calling for more interaction and participation than other written media such as newspapers or magazines (Peterson 2011: 2). Writers often make a point of frequently giving their readers something new to read, as well as allowing readers to post comments to entries. Blogs also share characteristics with other genres that are author-centric, such as diaries and personal letters. As a result, this form of CMC has often been conceptualized as “a digital extension of informal conversation and oral traditions” (Peterson 2011: 1).

Even though the function and features of blogs have changed over the time, there are certain characteristics that remain unchanged. Blogs are often maintained by individuals

rather than institutions or companies, and blogposts often have an informal oral writing style (Peterson 2011, Puschmann 2013). Blogging has become a global phenomenon reaching across languages and communities. Moreover, as blogging software such as LiveJournal, Bloggers and WordPress has become easier to use and manage, the number of bloggers continues to increase (Herring et al. 2005: 142). Blogs seem to have become a well-known and thoroughly international genre of CMC (Puschmann 2013: 102), even with the emergence of newer platforms used for personal publishing, such as Facebook statuses or tweets.

Bloggers may become famous and can often be seen as authorities, for example in fashion. Most bloggers start off as ordinary people blogging for fun, but by appealing to the right audience and attracting sponsorships, they can become well-known in their field of blogging. This can further lead to career opportunities, and for many bloggers this has opened up possibilities to become journalists in magazines, self-biography authors, influencers, and designers having their own collection of, for example, shoes, jewelry or handbags.

#### 2.2.4 How to Write a Successful Blog

The popularity of blogs has given rise to several articles and books, both online and in-store, which give guidelines and advice on how to run a successful blog and how to write the “perfect” blogpost, regardless of the blog’s purpose. These articles and books provide tips to amateur bloggers regarding several aspects of a blog, such as how to appeal to a specific audience, how to get more readers, how to use pictures and other media to attract readers, and also how to get sponsors and how to earn money on blogging. Three pieces of advice, in particular, seem to appear frequently and set the standard for good blogging.

First of all, not all blogs will appeal to everyone on the Internet. There are several external and internal blogs to read, for example food blogs, educational blogs, lifestyle blogs and tech-blogs. All of these are addressed to a specific audience, whether they are interested in a recipe for biscuits or in the features of the new Canon camera. It is therefore a vital point of blogging to know who the readers are, why they are reading the blog and therefore also greet them in that manner. Whether the greeting is casual or professional, the writer should be sure to choose words that work with the style and purpose of the blog. A greeting can help the blogger set the “tone, style, and [...] sense of creativity or humor” (Humbert 2017: 6).

Secondly, it is frequently stressed that compelling titles and introductions are the key to get readers to continue reading a blogpost. Studies show that 80% will read the headline copy, but only 20% will read the rest of the post (Morrow, 2016: 1, Lee 2014: 4). It is

therefore important to make titles and introductions appealing, as well as to make sure that the blogposts provide the information expected of the title. Readers seem to absorb the three first words and the three last words in a title (Lee 2014: 4), and even though few titles are longer than six words, the writer should always be aware of the word count. The post itself should also have an introduction that “hooks” the readers to the content. This advice does not only apply for personal bloggers, but also for companies using blogs as marketing tools.

Thirdly, the perfect blogpost consists of both text and pictures, all within reasonable limits. Visual content is essential as a reader often “remembers photos 6 times easier than text [...] not only will people enjoy reading your blog more if you include beautiful photos, they’re more likely to remember it too” (Lee 2014: 23). Using pictures in a blogpost also provides “air and space” so that the content of the blogpost might be easier to read, compared to a post filled with many words. Not only are pictures essential, but subtitles make posts scannable, which in turn is important as not many people will take the time to read everything in a blogpost. Subtitles and pictures both have the function of dividing the post yet providing the reader with the essentials of the post.

Several of the guidelines on how to write the perfect blogpost include other key points as well; however, the main advice on which all of the guidelines focus, is not to “forget to be yourself when writing a blog”: “let your voice (not your proficiency in English language) shine through when writing” (Lockhart 2012: 4) so that you “turn your visitor into readers every time” (Humbert 2017: 6). This general piece of advice very clearly reflects the expectation that a blog consists of personal communication, which in turn may result in blogs having an informal and oral writing style.

### 2.2.5 “Feminizing” the Internet

Blogs, together with other forms of social media, have contributed to the increasing number of people being online. Past studies of gender and digital technology have shown that men usually form the majority of new technology users; however, when it comes to blogging, women are more likely to not only create them, but to also not to abandon them (Stavrositu & Shyam Sunder 2012: 369). There is also a pattern of “personal and emotional” writing by female rather than male bloggers, and this has often been considered a result of diary writing being as a mainly feminine genre, while scientific writing has traditionally been claimed to be a masculine genre (Scheler et al. 2005: 192; Herring & Paolillo 2006: 440). Studies regarding gender and the genre analysis of blogs have claimed that women are more interpersonally

involved, while men are more informative in their communicative orientation. This can also be a result of women being more likely to write personal blogs, while filter blogs are mainly written by men (Herring & Paolillo 2006: 440; Pedersen & Macafee 2007: 1457).

The increasing number of female bloggers and their personal journal blogs on the Internet has also resulted in significant differences between the language used by men and women in CMC. Most research on text-based communication on the Internet shows gender differences similar to the differences observed in spoken discourse, which include women being more “polite, supportive and emotionally expressive, and less verbose than men” (Herring & Paolillo 2006: 442). In blogs, and especially personal journals, women’s writing tends to be less formal than in blogs written by men. This is often a result of female bloggers discussing their personal lives, being more inclusive and expressive, which in turn is reflected in their content and writing style. Social media, and personal blogs as a genre in particular, have therefore been considered to “feminize” the Internet, making it natural for female writers to establish and express themselves online.

### 2.3 L1 and L2 Writing – Similar or Different?

Traditionally, there has been an assumption that L1 and L2 writing are fundamentally identical or at least very similar. There is some evidence supporting this view, as they both “employ a recursive composing process, involving planning, writing and revising, to develop their ideas and find the appropriate rhetorical and linguistic means to express them” (Silva 1993: 657). Berman (1994: 29) points out that “many learners transfer their writing skills between languages, and their success in doing so is assisted by the grammatical proficiency in the target language”. Berman’s research suggests that learners transfer their writing skills from their L1 (in this case Icelandic) to L2 (English), and that the transfer depends on their grammatical proficiency in L2. Furthermore, Matsumoto’s research (1995) indicated that professional EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learners used similar strategies to those used by native English speakers when writing. He suggests that “there must exist something fundamentally common to any act of writing, regardless of the language [...] that helps writers to meet the goal of producing effective and cohesive writing (1995: 25).

However, in Silva’s (1993) study examining L1 and L2 writing, he found that writers who were asked to perform in L1 and L2, spent more time and attention producing material in L2 than in L1. He also noted that “L2 writing is strategically, rhetorically and linguistically

different in important ways from L1 writing” (Silva 1993: 669). The content generation in L2 was more difficult and less successful. The findings of Silva’s research also suggest that, in general, L2 writing is distinct from, simpler and less effective, than L1 writing. Even though the process of producing a written text is to some extent similar, it is clear that L2 composing is more constrained, more difficult and less effective. L2 writers’ texts were less fluent, consisting of fewer words, they were less accurate with more errors, and less effective with a lower holistic score. Their texts also showed distinct patterns of argumentation and narration (Silva 1993: 668).

In addition, even if writing processes in L1 and L2 are similar, the linguistic characteristics of the texts produced will differ, both because of differences of proficiency and because of systematic differences between native and non-native varieties of a language. It has been suggested that language evolves differently in settings where most people are native speakers than in settings where most are non-native speakers (Crystal 2003: 147). It is possible to identify several types of changes taking place, and these can be carried over from L1 to L2 writing.

For example, many EFL speakers differ in their use of verb complementation patterns compared to those of ENL (English as a Native Language). A significant difference is that EFL-speakers overgeneralize the use of the *to*-infinitive as a complement in place of verbs that functions as nouns. Many EFL speakers will use the *to*-infinitive where the majority of ENL would not, as in *forget to do* instead of *forget doing*, or *chances to win* instead of *chance of winning* (Mackenzie 2014: 62). Other grammatical features that are characteristics of varieties of EFL, include the interchangeable use of *who* and *which*, the use of *isn’t it?* as a universal tag question, and the extended use of certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do*, *have*, *make*, *put* and *take* (Mackenzie 2014: 63). Furthermore, Mauranen (2012: 191-192) identifies a syntactic pattern in ELF writing (found in spoken ENL, but not in written language) which is highlighting or foregrounding the topic by ‘fronting’. ‘Fronting’ meaning that the writer places the element of focus in the beginning of the sentence, giving it prominence, and following it with a pronoun, for example in *these differences they are important*, or *this report we will do later* (Mackenzie 2014:63). Apart from such grammatical differences, EFL speakers also tend to transfer stylistic and lexical features from their native language, in particular non-integrated features such as interjections.

Accordingly, even though it has been suggested that L1 and L2 writing share similarities and suggesting that there exists a protentional for L2 speakers to reach a level of early proficiency being close to the level of L1 (Drew 2003: 352), both teacher’ intuitions and

empirical studies suggest that there are also differences that the foreign language teacher needs to address when teaching EFL learners (Hyland 2003: 31). Among these are writing and learning issues such as different linguistic proficiencies, learning experiences, sense of audience and writer, preferences when organizing texts, writing process (Hyland 2003: 31). There is much research indicating significant differences in L1 and L2 writing, especially in grammatical and lexical issues (Crystal 2003: 147). Although with the home environment being the most significant factor for influencing writing development, there are considerably skills that are required of the foreign language teacher to “coordinate the growth of oral and written skills simultaneously among early learners” (Drew 2003: 353). One could argue that as proficiency in a language improves, the writer will perform better in L2 and as a result produce better text. Thus, if writers are proficient in their L2, with substantial knowledge about structure, rhetorical features and other characteristics of good writing in their L2, and have experience of writing in L1, there will be an expectation of transferring skills, not translating. People should in theory be able to apply “the skills and knowledge that they have acquired in their first language writing to their L2 writing” (Berman 1994: 30). This does, however, only apply to the writing process, not the language, as the great majority of L2 speakers do not produce language that is identical to that of L1 speakers, in writing or in speech.

In particular, the differences found in EFL and ENL writing styles indicate that EFL learners often carry over different styles of both written and spoken communication from their L1 to their L2. At the moment, most English writing is presumably L2 writing, especially on the Internet, and including blogs. As informal genres of textual CMC have an enormous range in terms of readership and appeal, it is likely that the characteristics of L2 writing, as well as the informal styles of CMC, will have a considerable influence on written English in times to come.

## 3 Material and Methodology

### 3.1 Four Different, yet Similar, Lifestyle Blogs

Lifestyle blogs may be defined as blogs evolving around the bloggers themselves and their lives, with particular focus on topics such as fashion, beauty, travels and food. In content, and often in visual form, they may be similar to trend magazines such as “Vogue”, “Cosmopolitan” and “Glamour”. However, they differ from these in that blogs are written by “amateurs”, in the sense that the writers are not professional journalists or editors and were not hired by someone to write a blog. However, successful lifestyle bloggers are commonly paid by sponsors and advertisers for buying and recommending their products. In addition to magazine-style articles, lifestyle blogs also contain personal posts related to the bloggers’ life. The blog then functions as a CMC platform where bloggers can not only express themselves and inspire readers, but also get feedback/comments from their readers. The focus of this study will be on four lifestyle blogs, all written by female bloggers. Two of the blogs, [www.whatoliviadid.com](http://www.whatoliviadid.com) and [www.wishwishwish.net](http://www.wishwishwish.net) are based in the UK and written by bloggers who have English as their L1. The other two blogs, [www.cathinthecity.com](http://www.cathinthecity.com) and [www.veethaa.com](http://www.veethaa.com), are based in Norway and the UK respectively, and are written by bloggers with a wholly or partly Norwegian background and with English as their L2. All four bloggers are in their mid- or late-twenties and have been blogging for more than three years.

These particular blogs were chosen as materials as they provide a good comparison between native and non-native speakers of English: apart from this difference, the four blogs are very similar in content and purpose and are written by women of approximately the same age. All these blogs have several young readers, which means that their writing style may to some extent influence the language of young people, both L1 and L2 speakers, and is therefore of particular interest for the present study. The blogs will be briefly described in what follows.



### 3.1.1 *What Olivia Did* by Olivia Purvis



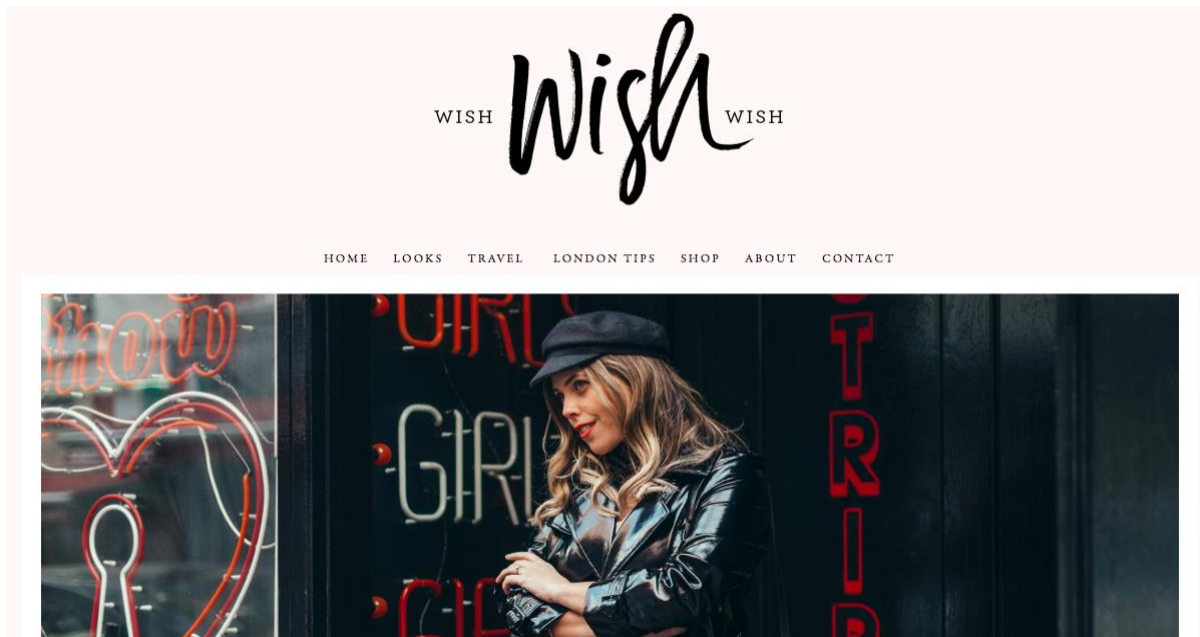
Print screen from the Web: 10.03.2018

*What Olivia Did* is run by the 24-year-old Olivia Purvis, living and writing from her home in London, England. She started her blog in 2010 after learning that Blogger, a website where you can sign up to create a blog for free, was the only social website allowed on the school computers. The blog grew into an outlet for everything from personal style, travel, food, music and beauty to interviews with inspiring women she admires. The blog has since extended into her full-time career, and “a hub for all things adventure, advice and discovery too”. Purvis has won several awards, her blog rising from “Best New Fashion Blog” at the 2011 Cosmopolitan Blog Awards to “Best Established Fashion Blog” by 2013.

Purvis’ blog has a feminine, dusty pink layout with pictures related to the blogpost on the front page. She has listed the different categories readers can search through for specific posts and includes a search engine that readers may use to search up a particular posts or posts including something specific. The categories she divides her posts in are ‘style’, ‘beauty’, ‘lifestyle’ and ‘travel’. She also has a specific page for information about herself, one for videos from her own YouTube channel and a shop-page where she curates her “favorite finds from emerging independent designers, the high-street and an occasional high-end splurge”. The icon on the right-side corner takes the reader straight to her Facebook page, Twitter page, Instagram account, Pinterest page, Bloglovin’ page and her YouTube channel.



### 3.1.2 *Wish Wish Wish* by Carrie Santana da Silva

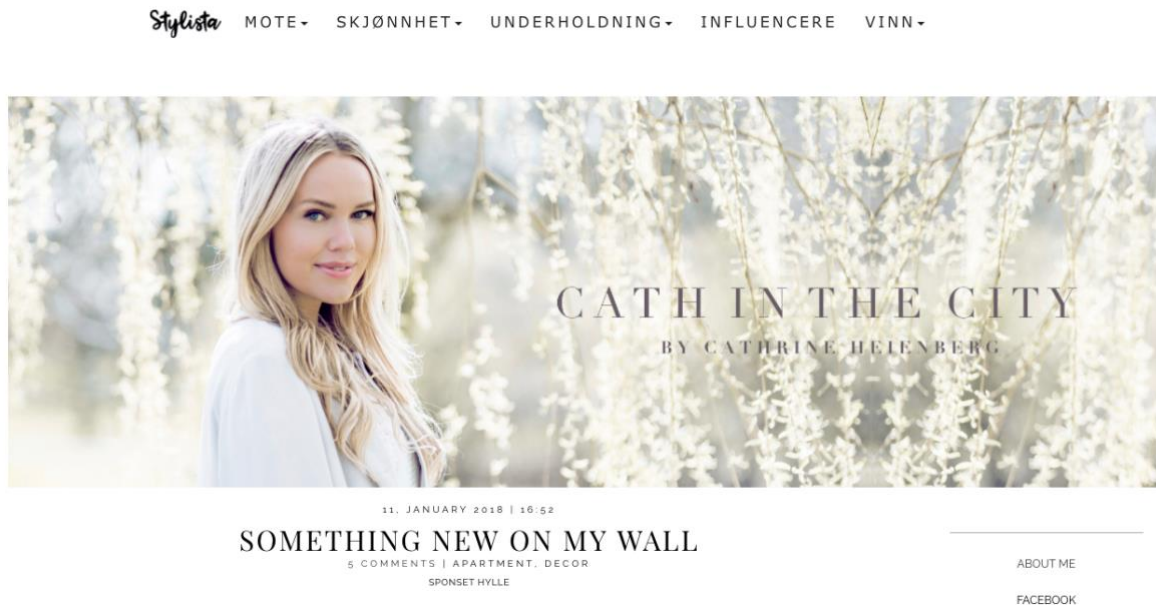


Print screen from the Web: 10.03.2018

*Wish Wish Wish* is written by Carrie Santana da Silva, a 27-year-old blogger from London, UK. She started blogging at Livejournal 10 years ago as a geeky 17-year-old, and since then, her blog has grown to be one of the leading fashion and lifestyle blogs in the UK. She writes about everything from fashion and food, to London and cities across the world. Between blogging, she worked as a community coordinator for ASOS Marketplace. She has also worked with several brands across the globe, as well as being featured in international publications.

She has a feminine, dusty pink layout on her blog with three heading photos regularly changing, and by clicking on each photo the reader is taken to its corresponding blogpost. At first glance, it seems like she only operates with the categories 'looks', 'travel' and 'London tips'. However, when scrolling further down, we can spot the heading 'categories' where she has listed up more categories such as 'beauty', 'everything else', 'food', 'home', 'inspiration', 'London tips', 'looks', 'trips and travel', and 'wedding'. She also has a specific page called shop with her wish list of items she wants to purchase, one for information about herself, and another with contact information and a contact form so that readers can "drop her a line if they have a question, fancy a chat or wants to work with her or her blog". She also has a line of icons which takes the reader directly to her Instagram account, Facebook page, Twitter page, YouTube channel, an E-mail and lastly her Bloglovin' page. Above this line of icons, she has a search engine the readers can use to search up particular posts on her blog.

### 3.1.3 *Cath in the City* by Cathrine Heienberg

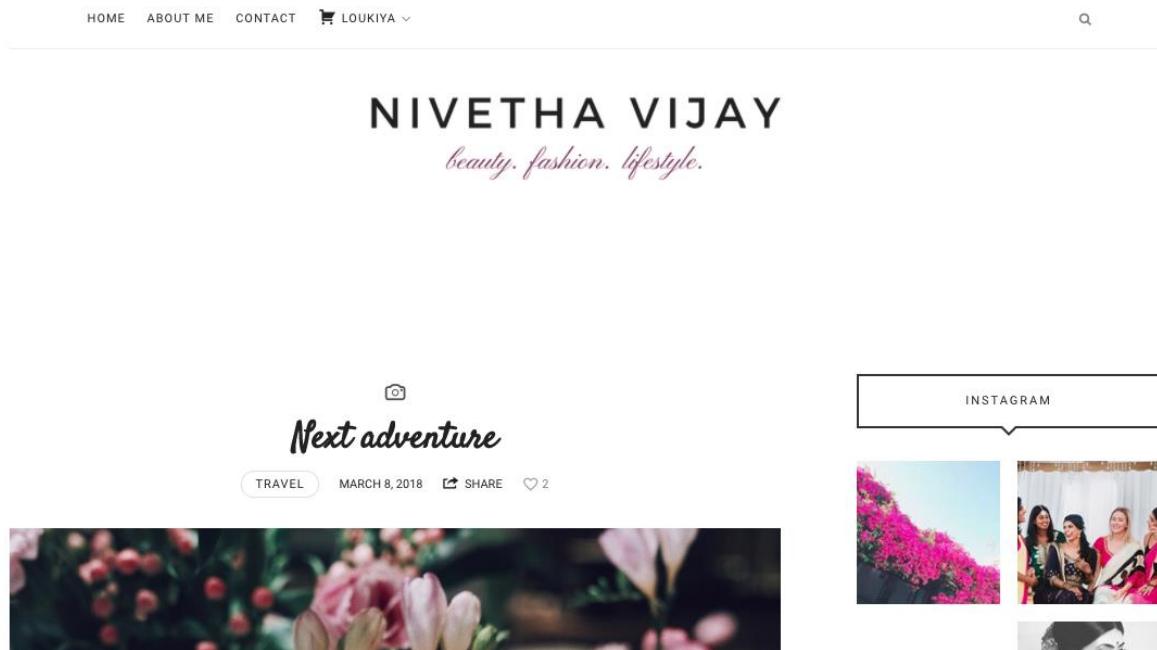


Print screen from the Web: 10.03.2018

*Cath in the City* is run by Cathrine Heienberg, a 28-year old Norwegian blogging from her home in Bergen, Norway. After finishing her last year at upper secondary school in Bergen, she moved to New York for two months, and this is where her blog was born. She has now been blogging full-time about fashion, beauty, travels and her way of living for over six years. Aside from blogging full-time, she is an influencer for *Stylista.no* – a commercial website focusing on fashion, beauty, inspiration and shopping for females between 15-30 years. She is also working as Head of Social Media form some clothing stores in Bergen while taking her BA in Media and Interaction Design. She has also been a guest designer for the bag brand MOO, been a fashion director for the UN, and in 2015 she published her first book *Selvskryt – Bli din egen heiagjeng!* [Boasting – Become Your Own Cheerleader!]

Heienberg's blog has a white and clean layout with a picture of herself and the name of the blog in the header photo. As she is an influencer for *Stylista.no*, the categories above her header photo take the reader directly to Stylista's webpage. She does, however, have her own categories listed up on the right side when scrolling down, the categories she operates with are 'apartment', 'beauty', 'Eirin & Cath', 'everyday life', 'fashion', 'food and drink', 'my book', 'New York', 'thoughts', 'trips & tricks', 'travel' and 'thoughts'. Above the list of categories, she has a search engine, and three specific pages where the reader can find information about her, how to contact her and about her book. She also has direct links to her Facebook page and Instagram account.

### 3.1.4 *Veethaa* by Nivetha Vijay



Print screen from the Web: 10.03.2018

*Veethaa* is written by Nivetha Vijay, a 25-year-old. She was born in Sri Lanka and raised in Norway and is currently living in London, England. Her blog deals with of fashion, interior, travels and her personal life. Besides being a blogger, in 2016, she launched her own online boutique, *Loukiya*, specializing in South Asian trendy ethnic fashion for both genders. She is also involved in different fashion projects in the Tamil community, both as a model and a designer, not only in England but also in other European countries.

Vijay also has a clean and white layout for her blog. On the top of the page, the reader can find pages containing information about herself and how to contact her, a home button taking the reader back to the front-page of the blog, a direct link to her online boutique, and a search engine on the right-side corner. Other than that, she has a direct link to her Instagram account with her six newest photos appearing on the blog. She does not have a list of categories that the reader can find like the other bloggers, but her blogposts are divided into categories which can be seen right under the title of the blogpost. The categories she operates with are ‘celebration’, ‘inspiration’, ‘life’, ‘Loukiya’, ‘photoshoots’, ‘thoughts’, ‘travel’ and ‘weekend’

## 3.2 Methodology

The study will address the following rhetorical features: greetings and partings, intensifiers, interjections and direct address (outside greetings and partings). In Chapter 4, the findings for each feature will be presented in turn, arranged according to the blogs with comparative summarizing discussions. In Chapter 5, each individual blog will be discussed in terms of its stylistic and pragmatic characteristics, followed by a summarizing discussion of the findings. The study will then compare the L1 blogs (*What Olivia Did* and *Wish Wish Wish*) and the L2 blogs (*Cath in The City* and *Veethaa*) to each other and discuss to what extent they show differences that may be assumed to reflect the native language of the writers. Finally, the implications of the findings for the development and teaching of written English will be discussed.

The study is based on 50 randomly selected blogposts from each lifestyle blogger. Since all four bloggers operate with different categories, the selected blogposts were chosen from categories that resembled each other: the areas chosen were everyday life, thoughts and travels. The blogposts were then picked from the archives in the relevant categories and selected randomly, in the sense that the posts were not read in advance nor selected according to specific criteria. The rhetorical features were then identified within the samples already selected and may therefore be seen as representative of each blogger. This makes it possible to compare and determine the extent to which the different bloggers are using the different features, and which particular forms they use.

The L1 sample blogposts contain a greater amount of words than the L2 blogs. This will to some extent affect the data collected in the study as the longer texts may be expected to contain larger numbers of the rhetorical features; the differences will be taken into account when discussing the findings. They will only affect features that occur frequently throughout the texts, such as interjections, rather than features such as greetings and partings, which appear only once in each blog. The samples of blogposts, including titles, had a total word count of:

- *What Olivia Did* by Olivia Purvis: 36 905 words
- *Wish Wish Wish* by Carrie Santana da Silva: 22 640 words
- *Cath in the City* by Cathrine Heienberg: 15 087 words
- *Veethaa* by Nivetha Vijay: 8 704 words

The rhetorical features discussed in this study were identified early in the process of selecting lifestyle blogs for the study. It was clear from a superficial reading that all four blogs, and many others, make use of these features, all of which are connected with oral styles; it also seemed that there might be a significant difference between the L1 and L2 blogs in the use of these features. There were many other features that could have been interesting to study, for example the use of rhetorical questions; four features were, however, deemed to be a suitable number for a study of this scope.

The features collected for the study presented some problems of definition, as some of them overlapped and needed clarification, for example in the chapter about intensifiers. In the L1 blogs, the intensifiers were generally easy to identify; however, the L2 blogs, especially Heienberg's blogposts (*Cath in the City*), showed an extensive use of swearwords and taboo words, some of which were used as intensifiers and others as interjections; at the same time, dealing with swearwords/taboo words as a group of their own also seemed to make sense, and a discussion dealing with them especially was therefore added.

## 4 Findings

### 4.1. Greetings and Partings

Both oral and written forms of greetings and partings are important as well as frequent in everyday social interactions all over the world. Appropriate greeting behavior is crucial when establishing and maintaining social identity and interpersonal relationships (Wei 2010; Hallajian 2013). In oral discourse, openings such as greetings, salutations and forms of address may be defined as “the act or instances of welcoming or saluting [a person] on meeting” (Collins English Dictionary), while closings are a base for further encounters when parting after a meeting.

Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory has been used as the basis for much work on the functions and use of greetings and partings. Their theory is based on the idea that there are different kinds of *face*, face being the emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects others to recognize (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61; Wei 2010: 58). The theory distinguishes between positive face, the desire a person has for a positive self-image that is approved by others, and negative face, a person’s wants for freedom of action and freedom from imposition (Brown and Levinson 1987: 62; Bublitz, Sbisà & Turner 2013). When being confronted by a face-threatening act, people will take action to defend their face, therefore maintaining the face of others is crucial for maintaining one’s own face and, consequently, for good communication.

Both greetings and partings are politeness markers, as they are “oriented towards the needs of the addressee’s face as well as they pay attention to the recipient” (Hallajian 2013: 86-87). To satisfy these needs, Brown and Levinson suggest that speakers and writers compose their utterances to show either negative or positive politeness. As an example, greetings such as ‘Hello!’, ‘Good morning!’ and ‘How are you?’ are used to maintain or enhance the listener’s or reader’s positive face, all depending on the relationship between the participants and the social setting they are in. These examples are some of many routine expressions used in social greeting.

Because of its often highly social nature, politeness markers have come to play an important role in CMC. Even though Brown and Levinson’s theory is primarily based on oral communication, it may be useful for the study of greetings and partings in written communication, for example in emails and letter writing. Several recent studies have been

carried out on email communication at universities, and findings suggest that emails from students very often contain greetings that are perceived as impolite by the addressee (see e.g. Bjørge 2007; Savic 2018). This is often a result of there being no exemplary format, instruction or etiquette available for students to follow. Greeting and partings in emails, as in oral communication, are important for maintaining a polite, respectful and professional social identity and relationship (Hallajian 2013); however, generally accepted conventions have taken long to develop.

Firth (1972) has pointed out that greetings and partings should not be treated as spontaneous emotional reactions, but that they in fact are highly conventionalized and follow patterned routines. They can be argued to be “tools of polite behavior and their use is guided by polite norm” (Wei 2010: 57). Greetings and partings are therefore important conversational routines in the negotiation of social relationships and they are constrained by common social factors.

Virtually all theoretical approaches to greetings and partings focus on oral communication, and it is therefore necessary to be aware of the different context when applying them to the study of greetings and partings in written media

Greetings and partings are found in several written media, for example the editorials of magazines, especially trend magazines or young people’s magazines, but hardly ever those of newspapers. The introduction often consists of a greeting to the reader, information about that particular issue and how it differs from previous ones, followed by parting phrase and signature from the magazine editor. This is used to construct a relationship between the magazine and the readers, often to suggest that the magazine is “made especially for you”. Even though these magazines provide one-sided communication (even though they may contain a “letters to the editor” page), the etiquette for editorials requires the illusion of a conversation signaled by greetings and partings; by seeing how common it is in trend magazines all over the world, one could assume that it is a vital part of maintaining the relationship and respect towards the reader.

Greetings and partings in blogs are, similarly, factors that maintain politeness and shows respect towards the addressee, here: the reader of the blog. These rhetorical features function as a means that the blogger can use to attract readers and followers. They have to some extent the same function as the greetings and partings found in magazines, since one could argue that blogs are basically one-sided communication, as comments from readers are not essential.

This section examines the distribution of greetings and partings in the four blogs. A single blog may generally be expected to include only one greeting or parting, each blog has here been identified as either containing these features or not; in addition, specific types of greetings/partings have been identified. For greetings, each blog post was classified into *greetings* or *no greetings*; in addition, greetings with the use of *address terms* such as ‘folks’, ‘beauties’ and ‘lovelies’ were identified.

The endings of blogposts have similarly been classified into *partings* and *no partings*; in addition, the following specific types of parting have been identified:

- partings including the use of *address terms*
- the use of ‘x’ to indicate a kiss
- the use of *emoticons* such as hearts: ♥♥♥,
- *questions* or *requests* that encourage the readers to answer or leave a comment in the comments box

The findings are presented and discussed for each blog in turn.

#### 4.1.1 Happy Sunday lovely people – *What Olivia Did*

Table 1 show that, out of 50 blogposts, Olivia Purvis greets her readers in four posts, of which only one includes an address term. She uses the following phrases:

1. Well hello and welcome to the shiny new What Olivia Did
2. Happy Sunday lovely people!
3. Bonjour! Salut!
4. Long time no speak!

92% of her posts do not include any form of greeting towards her readers. She goes straight to writing about the content of the blogpost.



<b>Table 1.</b>		
<b>Distribution of greetings in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Greetings	4	8%
Use of address terms	1	2%
No greeting	46	92%

Table 1: Distribution of greetings in whatoliviadid.com

When parting, Purvis ends all her blogposts with a simple ‘x’ (see Table 2). The use of ‘x’ has for generations-been common in Anglophone letter writing as an abbreviation for kisses. More recently, the ‘x’ has been coupled with ‘o’, standing for hugs and kisses, used in text messages and when chatting. At the same time, ten of her posts (20%) include questions or requests before her “kiss”, where she suggests that the reader either answer or leave a comment related to the content of the blogpost. The questions include the following:

1. Let me know if there’s anything else like this you’d like to see! x
2. Where do you like to get art and prints from? x
3. What do you do to get in the Christmas spirit? Do you have any traditions you pull out every Christmas Eve? I’d love to know – and also stay tuned for a couple more festive posts before the big day this week too! x
4. What are your hopes for the year ahead? x

<b>Table 2.</b>		
<b>Distribution of partings in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Partings	50	100%
Use of x	50	100%
Use of address terms	-	0%
Use of emoticons	-	0%
Questions or requests	10	20%
No parting	-	0%

Table 2: Distribution of partings in whatoliviadid.com

#### 4.1.2 Hey folks – *Wish Wish Wish*

Carrie Santana da Silva rarely greets her readers in her blogposts. Only 12% of the sample posts include greetings, and half of these address the reader. Out of the-six greetings, three indicate a holiday or weekend, while another, signals a major change to the blog. Therefore, it is possible to state that da Silva mainly greets her readers on special occasions. The six greetings are listed as follows:

1. Hi guys!
2. Hey folks!
3. Happy December everyone!
4. Happy Valentine’s day guys!
5. Welcome to the new *Wish Wish Wish!*
6. Happy weekend!

<b>Table 3.</b>		
<b>Distribution of greetings in wishwishwish.net</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Greetings	6	12%
Use of address terms	3	6%
No greeting	44	88%

Table 3: Distribution of greetings in wishwishwish.net

Out of the 50 blogposts, 33 (66%) had a closing. 16 of these ended with just a simple ‘x’ or a parting phrase including an ‘x’. Eight posts (16%) ended with questions or requests towards the readers. The partings include the following:

1. Have an amazing day tomorrow! x
2. Speak soon! x
3. Have a lovely evening! x
4. What are your steps for feeling super snug?
5. Please let me know if you’d like to see posts like this more often.
6. Wish me luck! I’ll be reporting back.

Table 4. Distribution of partings in wishwishwish.net		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Partings	33	66%
Use of x	16	33%
Use of address terms	-	0%
Use of emoticons	-	0%
Questions or requests	8	16%
No parting	17	34%

Table 4: Distribution of partings in wishwishwish.net

#### 4.1.3 Hi lovelies – *Cath in the City*

Unlike the L1 bloggers, Cathrine Heienberg greets her readers in 86% of her blogposts, of which 82% include an address term. The following greetings appear in her posts:

1. Hi [...] loves! (16x)
2. Hi [...] lovelies! (14x)
3. Hi sweetiepies! (x5)
4. Hi [...] babes! (x3)
5. Hi sweeties!
6. Good morning superstars!
7. Hi lovebugs, and happy Friday!
8. Oh hello, Friday and weekend!
9. A very late good morning from me today!

The most frequent address terms used are *loves*, *lovelies* and *sweetiepies*; however, Heienberg also addresses her readers as *babes*, *superstars*, *sweeties* and *lovebugs*. Her use of these address terms indicates that her blog appeals to and is intentionally written for female readers.

<b>Table 5.</b>		
<b>Distribution of greetings in cathinthecity.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Greetings	43	86%
Use of address terms	41	82%
No greeting	7	14%

Table 5: Distribution of greetings in cathinthecity.com

When parting, Heienberg usually ends her posts with a general closing phrase, *lots of love*, a question or a request; partings are present in 86% of the posts. Only five of them, however, include an address term; here, she uses the terms *loves* (x2), *sweets* (x2) and *girlies* (x1). Six of her posts (12%) end with three heart emoticons signaling parting. The partings include the following examples:

1. Lots of love (x10)
2. ♥♥♥ (x6)
3. What are you guys up to today/these days? (x4)
4. Have an amazing day
5. Kisses and love from a very busy lady
6. Wishing you a fabulous Friday night!
7. Have you guys had a good holiday?
8. Are you guys enjoying the day?
9. See you soon/later/tomorrow
10. Stay tuned

<b>Table 6.</b>		
<b>Distribution of partings in cathinthecity.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Partings	43	86%
Use of address terms	5	10%
Use of emoticons	6	12%
Questions or requests	7	14%
No parting	7	14%

Table 6: Distribution of partings in cathinthecity.com

#### 4.1.4 Good morning my sweets –Veethaa

Nivetha Vijay, like Heienberg, greets her readers in 86% of her blogposts, and 44% of these include the use of an address term. Several of the phrases are used regularly to greet her readers; these are basically combinations of *hi* or *good morning* with the address terms *sweets*, *ladies*, *beauties*, *loves* or *lovelies*. Only 14% of her posts do not include a greeting. The greetings include the following:

1. Hi/hey loves! (x7)
2. Hi/hey lovelies! (x4)
3. Hi sweets! (x4)
4. Good morning my sweets! (x3)
5. Good morning ladies
6. Hey beauties
7. Happy Tuesday!
8. Happy weekend!

	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Greetings	43	86%
Use of address terms	22	44%
No greeting	7	14%

Table 7: Distribution of greetings in veethaa.com

When parting, Vijay use a standardized closing phrase after each blogpost: ‘Lots of love, Nivetha Vijay’. Apart from that, 74% of her posts include a question or request towards the reader. Only two of her partings (4%) address the reader, both in the same way. The partings include the following:

1. Have a blessed day, sweets! (x2)
2. Have a nice day!
3. That’s all for now. I will share more later
4. I wish you all a good week with strength and happiness

5. I will update later with more details
6. I will catch you all later!
7. How was your weekend?
8. Have you ever felt the same way?
9. What's your plan for Christmas and New Year's?
10. Have you been to Chennai before, and what's your experience?

<b>Table 8.</b>		
<b>Distribution of partings in veethaa.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Partings	50	100%
Use of address terms	2	4%
Use of emoticon	-	0%
Questions or requests	37	74%
No parting	-	0%

Table 8: Distribution of partings in veethaa.com

#### 4.1.5 Comparison of Greetings and Partings

The bloggers all differ in their use of greetings and partings; however, the most important differences are between the L1 and L2 writers. When introducing their blogposts, both L1 bloggers, Purvis and Santana da Silva, rarely make-use of greetings: they only appear, respectively, in 8% and 12% of the collected blogposts. Their greeting is often related to the weekend, a holiday or a special occasion, for example, both of them greet the reader in a post about the layout changes they had made on their blogs:

- “Well hello and welcome to the shiny new What Olivia Did”
- “Welcome to the new *Wish Wish Wish!*”

Furthermore, when greeting their readers with address terms, both L1 speakers use neutral terms such as ‘people’, ‘everyone’, ‘folks’ and ‘guys’. Contrary to these L1 blogs, both L2 bloggers, Heienberg and Vijay, make use of greetings more extensively, and use a very different style of address terms. For both blogs, a total of 86% of the posts collected included a greeting. In the blogposts where they greet their readers, Heienberg virtually always uses an address term, while Vijay uses address terms in about half of them. The most common

address terms used by both bloggers are ‘loves’, ‘lovelies’ and ‘sweets’. This implies that both L2 blogs are intentionally written for female readers. This is, of course, true of the content of all four blogs; however, the L1 blogs do not signal this as clearly in the beginning of their blogposts.

When it comes to partings, there are similarities and differences between all the bloggers. All four make to some extent use of parting phrases to end their blogposts; however, only Purvis and Vijay do this in all 50 of the sample blogposts. Both use a standard parting, occasionally combined with other phrases: Purvis has a simple ‘x’ and Vijay uses the set phrase ‘Lots of love, Nivetha Vijay’. Santana da Silva and Heienberg, on the other hand, have some blogposts without a closing phrase, respectively in 34% and 14% of their blogposts.

Ending blogposts with questions or requests addressed the reader is common for all blogs, even though the extent varies: Vijay uses this practice frequently, in 74% of the posts, while Heienberg only uses it in 14% of the blogposts. The questions asked by all bloggers are rather similar, as they all revolve around the content of the blogposts. They either ask about the well-being of the readers or what their plans are for the weekend or invite them to share particular experiences or customs. The requests are also similar in all four blogs, often requesting the reader for ‘good luck’s’ or to leave a comment on what more they would like to read about so they can customize their posts. The function of these questions and requests is to create an interaction between the writer and the reader. The writer makes sure that the readers are actively taking part in the blog, opening up for a two-way communication between the reader and the writer and helping the bloggers to establish a relationship with their readers.

Finally, three of the bloggers use ideographic signs in their partings. Both L1 speakers use the ‘x’ sign signaling ‘kisses’; the fact that neither of the L2 speakers do suggests that this parting sign, despite its CMS popularity, is still to a large extent a feature of Anglophone culture. On the other hand, Heienberg is the only one to use emoticons: her use of three heart emoticons ‘♥♥♥’ carries to some extent the same meaning as Purvis’ ‘x’, but is much more clearly a feature of CMC communication.

The data collected with regards to greetings and partings suggest that the L2 speakers use a more oral writing style, with both address terms and emoticons that suggests a ‘girly’ CMC culture, while the L1 speakers are more neutral and traditional in their expression.

## 4.2 Intensifiers and Taboo Words

Intensifiers are adverbs or adverbial phrases that strengthen or give force to the meaning of expressions and show emphasis. Words commonly used as intensifiers include *absolutely*, *completely*, *extremely*, *highly*, *rather*, *really*, *so*, *too*, *totally*, *utterly*, *very* and *at all* (*Cambridge Dictionary*). These words give force or emphasis to phrases or statements but have little semantic content of their own. For example, the word *extremely* has little meaning, but in the phrase “an extremely kind lady”, the word is used to intensify the lady’s kindness.

Swearwords and taboo words may be used as intensifiers and may carry an additional function to shock or give offence. A swearword is defined in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* as “[a] word used in profane swearing, a profane word”, while taboo words are defined as ‘an expression or topic considered to be offensive and therefore avoided or prohibited by society’. The use of swearwords and taboo words/expressions is most common when speaking, in particular in private but also in some public settings, in films, on television and on the radio. Swearwords and taboo expressions are used not only as intensifiers, but also when expressing strong feelings or wanting to threaten or be unpleasant to others; on the other hand, in specific communities, such expressions may also reinforce common identity. Some swearwords may be used in a range of grammatical functions; for example, the swearword *fuck* can be used as both an intensifier and a verb:

- An intensifier used in the phrase “he is fucking strong”, here to intensify someone’s strength
- A verb in the phrase “she fucked up on the exam”, here used as a replacement for the standard messing up or in the phrase “fuck off” to express that one wants someone to leave

Most swearing in English refers to religion or to parts of the body and bodily processes, especially those associated with sexual activity, or with using the toilet. The most common English swearwords that involve parts of the body are *fuck* (‘to have sexual intercourse’) and *shit* (‘excrement’). In this study no difference is made between swearwords or taboo words, and they are defined as words that are likely to be perceived as offensive or profanely indecent, at least by some speakers, when used in oral or written conversations.

Intensifiers are often argued to be a linguistic device used mainly by women. Lakoff (1973) argued that women are often denied access to power in society, and because of this, linguistic devices such as intensifiers, are used to assert and protect their social position. She claimed that women’s speech is recognized as uncertain, trivial, and that it lacks clarity and



force. Women also tend to be “more polite, supportive, emotionally expressive and less verbose than men” (Herring and Paolillo 2006: 4). It is therefore assumed that women have tendencies to use intensifiers to give more emphasis, impress their speakers and enhance the likelihood of being accepted. Wardhaugh (2016: 325) also argues that the extensive use of intensifiers might be a linguistic strategy for women to establish and maintain personal relationships, because intensifiers “mitigate the directness and strength of an assertion” (Leaper & Robnett 2011: 130). Also, since women are more emotionally-oriented than men, using intensifiers might be an attempt to express strong feelings and attitudes towards various topics.

All intensifiers found in the blog posts were collected, and the blog posts were then identified as containing intensifiers or not; in addition, the presence or absence of swear- and taboo words used as intensifiers was noted. The blog posts are accordingly classified into four groups: *intensifiers*, *swear- and taboo words*, *no intensifiers* and *no swear- and taboo words*.

#### 4.2.1 Pretty bloody cool – *What Olivia Did*

Olivia Purvis uses intensifiers frequently in the collected sample blogposts. All of her posts contain at least one intensifier. Two of these include intensifying swearwords or taboo words such as *fucking*, *damn*, *shit* and *hell*:

1. Not only is she **fucking** cool but she’s smart, articulate and”
2. someone who takes (**damn** tasty) risks with food, was right up my street.”
3. As well as watching endless [...] (maybe it’s because I’ve been in Paris, or wearing a **shit** tonne of slogan tees)
4. Not only is she creative as **hell**, cool, well dressed and original – but her videos

Table 9. Distribution of intensifiers including swear- and taboo words in whatoliviadid.com		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Intensifiers	50	100%
Swear- and taboo words	2	4%
No intensifiers	-	0%

No swear- and taboo words	48	96%
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Table 9: Distribution of intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in whatoliviadid.com

However, since the swearwords only appear in two of the fifty blogs, meaning that their use overall is restricted. She is the only blogger who uses the word *bloody* extensively as an intensifier. However, in this study, *bloody* has not been classified as an intensifying swearword or taboo word. This is because *bloody* is commonly used as an intensifier in British English and even though it has for a long time been tabooed, since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century the word has lost its taboo status and become a comparatively mild expletive or intensifier. The word *bloody* as an intensifier is seen in several of the sample blogposts, and appeared three times in one single blogpost:

Speaking of papers, this week I was astonishingly featured in the Evening Standard's 25 London Influencers to follow list, which was pretty **bloody** cool (along with some amazing bloggers too) and if you want to see another **bloody** cool thing – check out [...] I mentioned their podcast last week, [...] – the pair of them are **bloody** hysterical and I'm sure if you're after a smile this Sunday this'll do the job nicely. (Bold type added, <https://whatoliviadid.com/2017/05/sunday-duvet-reading-this-week-152017/>)

Table 10 lists intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words used in her blogposts. The examples followed are intensifiers:

1. two **extremely** talented people I've been following for the last five or so years
2. This year I picked up some **extra** festive jim jams in M&S
3. in my opinion would be the **most** beautiful gift
4. her photographs and looks are **absolutely** stunning and by far some of my favourite
5. that whole album is **truly** magical to me
6. has the power to do **so** much good in times of **so** much difficulty
7. something we both **really** love in the house
8. I've never been **very** good at winding down at the end of the yea

Table 10. Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in whatoliviadid.com		
Intensifying words	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Literally	1	1
Fucking	1	1
Hell	1	1
Extremely	2	2
Genuinely	1	2
Extra	3	3
Most	3	3
Shit	3	3
Damn	4	4
Absolutely	4	6
Incredibly	10	10
Too	9	10
Especially	9	13
Truly	6	13
Bloody	10	15
Totally	15	22
Very	24	38
Really	35	69
So	34	91

Table 10: Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in whatoliviadid.com

#### 4.2.2 Feeling super snug - *Wish Wish Wish*

Carrie Santana da Silva also has a frequent use of intensifiers: 96% (48) of the sample blogposts contained one or more intensifiers; however, only one of these included an intensifying swearword or taboo word. She also only once, in the same blogposts, used the formerly tabooed word *bloody* as an intensifier:

1. Konmari the **shit** out of my house and live more minimally.
2. Go to Disneyland at least two more times, 'cause I **bloody** love the place.

Her use of *bloody* is considerably lower than that of Purvis. It may also be noted that, apart from the use of intensifiers, only one of her 50 blogposts, included a swearword or taboo word:

1. But this month, **shit** got real, as they say

Table 11. Distribution of intensifiers including swear- and taboo words in wishwishwish.net		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Intensifiers	48	96%
Swear- and taboo words	1	2%
No intensifiers	2	4%
No swear- and taboo words	49	98%

Table 11: Distribution of intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in wishwishwish.net

Table 12 lists intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words found in the sample blogposts. The frequently used intensifiers are *so*, *very*, *really* and *too*, but the number of appearances is still lower than the other bloggers, except for Vijay (see section 4.2.4). This sample excerpt illustrates some of her frequently used intensifiers in one blogpost:

I looked into **so** many options – but they were all either **too** expensive or not quite the thing I was looking for [...] – they turned up **very** quickly, too! [...] tacking the letters with a few stitched would be **really** beneficial [...] I **absolutely** love anything personalized! (Bold type added, <http://wishwishwish.net/2016/04/diy-embroidered-bomber-jackets/>)

She also uses other intensifiers, but to a lesser extent:

1. I landed a **super** cool campaign with a dream brand
2. I think she is the **most** beautiful woman I've ever seen
3. I started by blog in 2008 when I had **a lot of extra** time on my hands around my college work
4. the Honeymoon has **finally** been booked
5. and **literally** jumped up and down on our bed at the Four Seasons
6. It was an **extremely** busy and very fulfilling year – the best of my life so far

7. being **totally** clean in a clean pair of pyjamas makes me **far** happier than it should!
8. I **absolutely** know what my body looks like, and I'm **completely** at ease with it

Table 12. Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in wishwishwish.net		
Intensifying words	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Bloody	1	1
Extra	2	2
Literally	2	2
Especially	2	2
Shit	2	2
Most	2	3
Completely	2	3
Extremely	5	5
Super	7	8
Finally	7	8
Absolutely	8	11
Totally	10	12
Too	21	25
Really	25	30
Very	26	31
So	23	41

Table 12: Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in wishwishwish.net

#### 4.2.3 So freakin' bad – *Cath in the City*

Cathrine Heienberg is the only blogger, out of the four, who frequently uses swearwords and taboo words, as well as other intensifiers. 98% of her blogposts include intensifiers and 44% include swearwords and taboo words. Table 13 shows that a great deal of her blogposts includes intensifiers, only one of the sample blogposts did not include an intensifier, while 28 of these did not include a swearword or taboo words.

Table 13. Distribution of intensifiers including swear- and taboo words in cathinthecity.com		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Intensifiers	49	98%
Swear- and taboo words	22	44%
No intensifiers	1	2%
No swear- and taboo words	28	56%

Table 13: Distribution of intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in cathinthecity.com

This extract from one of her blogposts, “Coffee and coding”, illustrates how Heienberg uses both intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words frequently in a single blogpost:

So I honestly don’t have words for how **extremely** stressful and intense these past weeks have been. I’m **completely** exhausted! With both blogging and being head of social media for Infinity, I already had **more than** enough on my plate. Add the beginning of a complicated and difficult Bachelor’s degree to that mix, and it’s all just **too** much! I’ve either studied or worked every second of the day since I started school, without **even** exaggerating. [...] My neck is **completely** locked, it’s **so** painful and it gives me **such** a bad headache. Oh my, I’m complaining **so** much in this post, hahah, sorry guys. So anyway, I looked like a total idiot and felt horrible, but I still had to go to school (everything is obligatory) and work, and today it’s also **pretty** bad. [...] I’m **so fucking** excited about it. I need it **so freakin’** bad. [...] I’m not gonna have my alarm clock on at 06.00AM, and I’m **most** definitely not gonna wear makeup or a bra. Oh – the joy! [...] I **freakin’** deserved it!! [...] I’ve worked on, and delivered, big collaborations that aren’t published yet, which have been **so** time consuming. (Bold type added, <http://www.cathinthecity.com/coffee-coding/>)

The word *freakin’*, like *frigging*, is a euphemism for *fucking* and will therefore be included as an intensifying swearword. In this extract, all the examples of *freakin’* function-as intensifiers relating to the topic of an impending break from work and studies.

Table 14 shows how specific intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words appear in terms of number of blogposts. The word *so* appears in 42 blogposts, 117 times, topping the list with being the most frequent used intensifier. Her second most used intensifier is *really*, appearing in 28 posts 41 times. She does however use several other intensifiers such as *extremely*, *crazy*, *incredibly*, *heavenly*, *totally*, *spectacularly*, *hysterically* and *truly* but not as frequently:

1. I’m **extremely** happy with my choice
2. Probably because the **crazy** hectic period is finally over
3. that will be so **incredibly** difficult

4. eaten my mom's **heavenly** dinners every night
5. make sure it wasn't a **totally** wrong decision before I shared everything
6. you can get a little glimpse of how **spectacularly** beautiful Norway is
7. It was actually **hysterically** funny
8. I'm **truly** happy, I go to bed every night with a good feeling inside

Compared to other intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words are less frequent; however, their appearance is much more common here than in the posts of the other bloggers. *Freakin'* is the most frequently used intensifying swearword, with a total of 14 times in 9 of the sample blogposts, *fucking* being the second most used intensifying swearword appearing 9 times in 7 blogposts. Other swearwords and taboo words used in her blogposts that can be classified as intensifiers are:

1. even though it can be frustrating **af** sometimes when I don't understand something immediately, haha (abbreviation for *as fuck*)
2. Well, first of all I've worked **my ass off** on a project about programming.
3. My weekend started with the hangover **from hell**, haha.
4. but the character playing Sophia annoyed **the heck** out of me with how rude and self-centered she was, haha.
5. Pretty **damn** great!

Heienberg uses swearwords and taboo words throughout her blogposts without a clear intensifying function. She is the only blogger who uses swearwords and taboo words to a large extent to show debasement of someone or something, or to express intense emotions:

1. My plans for the new year is to hopefully **kick ass** at school
2. I'm sorry if my writing **sucks** today by the way, I'm **so** tired!!
3. Especially since this fall is gonna be hectic **as fuck!**
4. Now I'm gonna try to **kick** the two-days hangover's **butt** with even more
5. Some people think it's all just **bullshit**, but I'm **very** open to it
6. So this week Imma relax **AF**, and try to update my blog a bit!
7. Tuesday: **Wtf**, my voice is completely gone, but I feel fine otherwise... (abbreviation for *what the fuck*)

<b>Table 14.</b>		
<b>Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in cathinthecity.com</b>		
<b>Intensifying words</b>	<b>Number of blogposts</b>	<b>Number of tokens</b>
Sucks	1	1
Truly	1	1
Bullshit	1	1
WTF	1	1
Heck	1	1
Hysterically	1	1
Spectacularly	1	1
AF	2	2
Kick ass/butt	2	2
Definitely	2	2
Literally	2	2
Hell	2	2
Totally	3	3
Completely	2	3
Crazy	3	4
Most	4	4
Heavenly	4	5
Especially	6	6
Absolutely	7	7
Fuck	5	7
Fucking	7	9
Incredibly	8	10
Extremely	10	13
Freakin'	9	14
Very	13	17
Too	13	17
Super	19	25
Really	28	41
So	42	117

Table 14: Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in cathinthecity.com



#### 4.2.4 I'm super grateful – Veethaa

Nivetha Vijay stands out as the blogger who uses intensifiers least commonly. She uses intensifiers in 66% of the sample blogposts, and never uses intensifying swearwords or taboo words. This extract from Vijay's blog illustrates how her most frequent intensifiers are used several times in a blogpost about a photoshoot in Denmark:

Finally, I'm in Oslo after a **very** successful shoot. Special thanks to Aishu Ram for flying me over and taking care of me. She is **very** talented and **super** sweet! Honestly, I didn't know what to expect as it was my first shoot in Scandinavia. But I was **very** pleased with yesterday's shoot and the team. [...] Jenna from Velvetdreams photography was **super** lovely and easy to work with. DigitalproDK joined us for the second look and did a great job. These boys are young and **very** talented. I'm **super** grateful and happy to have met these new faces. (Bold type added, <http://veethaa.com/denmark/>)

	Number of blogposts	Percentage of blogposts
Intensifiers	33	66%
Swear- and taboo words	-	0%
No intensifiers	17	34%
No swear- and taboo words	50	100%

Table X: Distribution of intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in veethaa.com

Her most frequent intensifiers are *very* and *super*. *Very* appeared 31 times in 19 blogposts, and *super* appeared 14 times in 12 posts. She also uses other intensifiers, but not as frequently:

1. I'm **truly** blessed to have a man like this in my life
2. and that you have an idea of lip enhancement **even** more
3. It was simple, modern and **most** important, it was clean
4. going to be a bit of **extra** fun
5. My mum is **really** smart
6. It was **incredibly** nice
7. I will **highly** recommend this beautiful place
8. my loved ones knows me **deeply** and that's more than enough

Table 16. Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in veethaa.com		
Intensifying words	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Actually	1	1
Deeply	1	1
Extra	1	1
Incredibly	1	1
Highly	2	2
Really	3	3
Truly	3	4
Absolutely	3	4
Even	6	6
So	8	9
Definitely	10	11
Most	9	11
Super	12	14
Very	19	31

Table 16: Intensifiers, swearwords and taboo words in veethaa.com

#### 4.2.5 Comparison of Intensifiers and Taboo Words

Three of the four bloggers show an extensive use of intensifiers: Purvis and Heienberg both with 98% and Santana da Silva with 96% of the posts containing intensifiers. -Vijay also uses intensifiers, but to a much lesser extent, with 34% of her blogposts containing no intensifiers at all. The most common intensifiers are largely shared. All four bloggers use the intensifiers *so*, *really* and *very*, often appearing several times in the same blogpost. Heienberg tops the list with *so* appearing 112 times, followed by Purvis using *really* 89 times and *very* 37 times.

Each blogger also has their own favorite intensifiers. Purvis' extensive use of the word *bloody* is notable: this mild expletive or intensifier, which is common in British English, appears 15 times in ten blogposts. While this figure is lower than that of the most frequent intensifiers, it may be considered relatively frequent, especially because none of the other bloggers (except Santana da Silva once) use this word. Purvis' uses this intensifier mainly to give force or emphasis to phrases or statements in a positive way:

- Lucy is a bloody good singer
- Now – let’s talk cards. Oh, I bloody love a card I do.
- We’ve discovered a plethora of bloody amazing brands and designers

*Bloody* mostly belongs to spoken styles and is generally used to emphasize words or phrases in oral communication: here it suggests an oral writing style.

Another interesting finding is, Heienberg’s use of swearwords and taboo words, which is much more extensive than that of the others. While Vijay does not use these at all, Purvis and Santana da Silva only use them very infrequently as intensifiers; Silva only once uses *shit* as a noun in a saying flagged as a set phrase with ‘as they say’. Heienberg’s use of swearwords makes her writing stylistically quite different from that of the others. While the use of swear- and taboo words is a device used in oral communication to express both strong positive and negative feelings, in writing it tends to surprise the readers, especially in a context where it might not be expected. Heienberg uses the words *freakin’* and *fucking* as intensifiers throughout her blogposts:

- I’m so fucking excited about it. I need it so freakin’ bad

She also uses other swear- and taboo words such as *kick ass/butt*, *fuck*, *sucks*, *bullshit*, *damn*, *hell* and abbreviations like AF and WTF, meaning *as fuck* and *what the fuck*:

- I’m sorry if my writing sucks today, I’m so tired!!
- Yep, it’s snowing. In April. What the actual fuck!!
- Some people think it’s all just bullshit, but I’m very open to it

There is in fact also a difference between the L2 speakers. Vijay, with a Tamil background, does not use swearwords at all. This might be a result of her coming from a different culture from Heienberg. The number of swearwords and taboo words used by Heienberg is significant because it can comment on two things: either, being an L2 speakers, she does not quite feel the strength of English swearwords, or this could be a result of her having a different writing style from both Vijay, and the L1 speakers.

The high frequency of intensifiers in the blogs might be seen to relate to the point that intensifiers have been considered a characteristic of female writing. However, the use of intensifiers, and in particular Purvis’ and Heienberg’s use of swear- and taboo words, also clearly reflects the oral style of lifestyle blogs.

### 4.3 Interjections

An interjection is a sound, word or expression occurring on its own, outside regular syntax, to express emotions or feelings. These words or “non-words” have been considered to be peripheral to language and have mostly been ignored as a word class in theoretical linguistic discourse. However, interjections constitute utterances in themselves and are found in all languages (Ameka 1992: 101). Interjections are generally considered to be related to speech, rather than writing, as they are emotional and spontaneous. When they do occur in written texts, it is often in quotations of direct speech; however, this is not necessarily the case every time.

As with greetings and partings, interjections are particularly likely to appear in written genres that are informal and involve some kind of personal communication, whether real or illusory. They are found to a great extent in written CMC such as in chatrooms, text messages and on blogs. While they are clearly indicative of oral styles, or even meant to mimic speech, Støle (2013: 60) has pointed out that interjections may have different functions in spoken conversations and in written language. They are generally used to express the writer’s emotions and feelings as they signal involvement, as well as mark the text as conversational and informal (Vasquez 2014). Someone who utters interjections such as *Grr!*, *Haha!* or *Wow!* may be expressing an immediate feeling of surprise/admiration, disgust and anger, but they are not describing their feelings as someone who would say: “I am angry”, “This is funny” or “That is amazing”. Some interjections, such as *wow*, indicates that there is made some expression of affect, but whether it is of positive or negative affect is not necessarily obvious right away. In the two examples below, *wow* can be used to express both a positive and negative feeling:

- We went out for dinner. And, *wow* the food was good!
- *Wow!* The movie was really bad, I almost feel asleep while watching it.

In naturally occurring conversations, there are other non-linguistic features that play a vital part such as facial expressions, gestures, pitch of voice and knowledge of topic and of the speakers. This understanding must be created by other means when interjections are used in writing. Interjections can therefore require more context to be interpreted as of something with positive or negative feeling. Furthermore, “interjections also lend a more informal, conversational tone to the review, thus contributing to involvement in discourse” (Vasquez 2014: 47). In written texts, interjections are often separated from the main clause by either a comma or an exclamation mark.

Goddard (2013) categorizes interjections into three groups: volitive, emotive and cognitive. Volitive interjections express direct messages, for example *Shh!* expressing that someone should be quiet. Emotive interjections express feelings such as disgust, fear and annoyance, for example the use of *yuck* to express that something is disgusting. Cognitive interjections, finally, express feelings that are related to one's cognition, or information known to the utterer, for example *Wow!* to express surprise or admiration. There is an overlap between the emotive and cognitive categories, as both convey feelings, but cognitive interjections may be seen as more clearly related to previously known or recently learned information (Goddard 2013).

On the other hand, Bloomfield (1933), and later Ameka (1992), divide interjections into two main groups: primary and secondary interjections. Primary interjections are words or "non-words" that function only as interjections and cannot be used in any other sense, for example *ouch*, *shh* or *oops*. Secondary interjections are words that are not only interjections, but also words with an independent semantic value that are used in other functions as well, for example *damn*, *heavens* and *hell*. These can also consist of multi-word phrases or interjectional phrases such as *oh dear*, *thank God* or *sup* (what's up), but they can also include single alarm words, such as *help*, and numerous swear and taboo words, such as *shit*. A characteristic of all interjections is, however, that they can stand on their own, for example it is possible to utter just an interjection like *oops* or *oh my God*.

In the further discussion on interjections, I shall follow Bloomfield and Ameka's categorization rather than Goddard's, mainly because the latter requires an interpretation of the writers' attitude and knowledge, something that is problematic with a small corpus. The results will be presented in tables, showing both the distribution of interjections in each blog and presenting a classification of the interjections.

#### 4.3.1 Huzzah! – *What Olivia Did*

In Olivia Purvis' blog, eighteen of the sample blogposts (32%) include at least one interjection, while 34 (68%) do not (see Table 17). Out of the eighteen blogposts, all include a primary interjection, while three of the posts include both primary and secondary interjections.

<b>Table 17.</b>		
<b>Distribution of interjections in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Interjections	18	36%
No interjections	32	64%

Table 17: Distribution of interjections in whatoliviadid.com

Table 18 shows the frequency of the interjections used in the blogposts, and their classification as primary or secondary interjections. There was a total of 27 tokens, and 9 types of interjections.

<b>Table 18.</b>		
<b>Interjections and their classification in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
Interjections	Number of tokens	Classification
Ahem	11	Primary
Oh/ooh	5	Primary
Oh my God	3	Secondary
Ah	2	Primary
Huh	2	Primary
Doh	1	Primary
Huzzah	1	Primary
Hooray	1	Primary
Ho ho ho	1	Primary

Table 18: Interjections and their classification in whatoliviadid.com

One specific primary interjection, *ahem*, appeared 11 times, making this the most frequently used interjection. *Ahem* represents the sound of a quiet cough or of clearing one's throat. It is often used in writing when signaling self-consciousness or admitting something slightly embarrassing. The following examples from the sample blogposts illustrate this use:

1. So today I thought I'd introduce you to the one stop (or, ahem, shop) wonder that I've been visiting endlessly since moving in
2. I know it's *usually* what's inside that counts, but, ahem, the British Girls cover had me at hello (and yes, the inside is *just* as good too)

3. I'm looking forward to donning the sequins and seeing in 2018 to a soundtrack of Wham! and, ahem, Little Mix...

She also uses other primary interjections such as *oh/oooh* expressing satisfaction, surprise and shock, *ah* used to express ~~that you~~ understanding, agreeing to or knowing something, also used to express happiness and pleasure, *huh* to ask for agreement, understanding or wanting someone to repeat themselves, *doh* expressing surprise at a stupid mistake made by oneself or others, *huzzah* expresses excitement and joy, *hooray* to express joy and finally *ho ho ho* which is the sound made when someone is laughing or pretending to laugh. The following examples illustrate the use of each of these interjections:

1. Now- let's talk cards. Oh I bloody love a card I do.
2. to hear about Simon and Lovefoxx's nu-rave-relationship (ah, hazy days) - I simply can't bare to part with them.
3. meaning I'm usually stuck watching the same ten minutes for days on end, before I finally see sense, doh!
4. and the records that they feel shaped them in some way- beautiful, huh?
5. And it certainly gives me a reason to finally tune in too! Huzzah!
6. The only upside to this of course means that when I do *finally* come around, I have about fifty episodes to indulge inn – hooray!
7. Moving house has certainly given me a good reason to clear the calendar and make special effort for those most special to me *Highly* recommend (ho ho ho)!

Except for these primary interjections, the secondary interjection *oh my God*, appears three times. This is used to express either excitement, anger or frustration:

1. Oh my god – WHAT A LISTEN. I cried, smiled, sang along and just fell even more in love with her altogether.
2. Oh my god THIS QUESTION. I had about 15 different musical phrases when I was a teen – going from punk pop, emo, screamo and metal to nu rave and indie.
3. The must-reads: Oh my god, SO MUCH WEBSITE LOVE THIS MONTH.

In all three of quotations, the phrase is used to express excitement. This can also be seen in her use of capital letters after the interjections because capital letters are often used to

illustrate screaming. When reading the interjections in context with the blogpost it furthermore underlines that the phrase is used to express excitement and joy, rather than anger and frustration.

#### 4.3.2 Wowee! – *Wish Wish Wish*

Just like Purvis, Carrie Santana da Silva has a total of eighteen blogposts (36%) that include interjections (Table 19). She has a total of 23 tokens, and 11 types of interjections.

<b>Table 19.</b>		
<b>Distribution of interjections in wishwishwish.net</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Interjections	18	36%
No interjections	32	64%

Table 19: Distribution of interjections in wishwishwish.net

The different types of interjections used in her blogposts are presented in Table 20. The most frequent interjection used by Santana da Silva is *oh*, appearing 6 times, mostly used to express surprise or shock, but also to express that something has been forgotten:

1. My answer was always “Oh...! We haven’t booked anything yet...”
2. It all went from “oh, you have ages!” to “wow, that’s so soon! Have you done XYZ”? and all of a sudden I’m feeling the pressure
3. Oh, as well as Alexis’ dog, Tiggy, who’ll you’ll be lucky enough to meet should you make the trip
4. Oh, and that YouTube thing I suppose...
5. Oh, and marry Miguel I suppose
6. Oh! And a thank you to Bluebird Creative for coming and helping me set up my tree!

*Oh*, is followed by *eh* (x4) to elicit response, *ah* (x3) to express understanding, agreeing or knowing something but also suggesting a deep breath and relaxation, and *wow* (x3) to express being surprised or impressed:



1. Time flies when you're having fun, eh?
2. Ahhh! This weekend went by like a total blur.
3. Wowee. Can you believe it's been that long?

She also uses other primary interjections such as *yum, ha, phew, haha, eek, um* and *hurrah*:

1. warmed apple compote and cinnamon sugar. Yum!
2. Those couple of days where we thought we could see a glimmer of spring. Ha!  
The thermals are now back
3. Phew, that was fun. I need to do these posts more often
4. Haha! Apologies if you were her for a fun, easy read
5. do my hair and makeup trials (eeeeek) and have several important meetings with our wedding planners, Como Branco
6. so do excuse the 'ums' and my inability to actually look at the camera!
7. Hurrah! A new chapter. I'm feeling very excited

Interjections	Number of tokens	Classification
Oh	6	Primary
Eh	4	Primary
Ah	3	Primary
Wow	2	Primary
Wowee	1	Primary
Yum	1	Primary
Ha	1	Primary
Phew	1	Primary
Haha	1	Primary
Eek	1	Primary
Um	1	Primary
Hurrah	1	Primary

Table 20: Interjections and their classification in wishwishwish.net

### 4.3.3 Voila! – *Cath in the City*

Heinberg is the only blogger with an extensive use of interjections. A total of 43 (86%) of her sample blogposts include at least one interjection. In four of these posts, both primary and secondary interjections were found.

<b>Table 21.</b>		
<b>Distribution of interjections in cathinthecity.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Interjections	43	86%
No interjections	7	14%

Table 21: Distribution of interjections in cathinthecity.com

There was a total of 115 tokens and 16 types of interjections. 61 of the 115 tokens were variants of the primary interjection *haha*, including *hah* (1), *haha* (3), *hahah* (2) and *hahaha* (3). This interjection representing the sound of laughter is often used in written texts to show that something is funny, but it can also be used as sarcastic laughter, depending on the context. Heienberg generally simply indicates amusement, as in the following three examples:

1. Or, since I wrote to you, is probably more correct to say, hah.
2. Oh my, I'm complaining so much in this post, hahah, sorry guys.
3. Hahaha I just had to include the last picture. I feel like that pic could be used for a million different memes, haha!

Other primary interjections she uses are *geez*, *bah*, *wow*, *phew*, *puh*, *yay*, *ah*, *oh* and *yum/yums*:

1. Geez, it's been over a week since I updated my blog, and it feels so strange
2. And not to mention all the cute Christmas candle holders I have around the house... Bah!!
3. I mean, wow!!
4. I spent the day filming and editing a fun video for a collaboration, and now it's finally done. Phew!

5. Eat, drink, sleep, repeat for three days, with a long ski trip up steep hills thrown into the mix – puh!
6. During the last month I've had two more exams, and I got an A on one of them, yay!!
7. Ahhh, it's gonna be heavenly!!
8. Oh, and this is my classroom...
9. served with vanilla ice-cream and salty caramel sauce. I meaaan..YUM!!
10. which is a yummy dough wrapped around a sausage, prepared on a bonfire or a grill. Yums!

Another primary interjection used is *fuck* (see extract) generally considered an impolite and offensive expression used to show anger or surprise; what interesting here is that Heienberg uses it three times, in one single blogpost:

I really want to wear my new super chic leather skirt, but I simply cannot get the skirt over my bum. **Fuck**. I love having a big booty, but sometimes it's seriously just in the way [...] I jump in the car and drive towards Julia and realize that I'm over an hour late. **Fuck**. I hate being late, but right now my days are impossible to plan [...] Her breathing changes, she stresses with finding the right clothes, and a cloud of irritation surrounds her. **Fuck**. Julia is hungry [...] (Bold type added, <http://www.cathinthecity.com/behind-the-scenes-on-an-outfit-shoot/>)

In this extract, the interjection *fuck* is not necessarily used to express anger or surprise, but to express a degree of frustration over the small incidents that happen during that particular day.

There were also several secondary interjections found in Heienberg's sample blogposts, unlike those of the other bloggers. Among these were several variants of *oh*, *voila/et voila*, *j'adore*, *hallelujah*, *thank God*:

1. Oh my, I'm complaining so much in this post, hahah, sorry guys.
2. Oh yes, I spend most of my time in a Mac lab!!
3. Oh well, we had a blast anyways...
4. [...] and I'm most definitely not gonna wear makeup or a bra. Oh – the joy!
5. Voila! – you have perfect scrambled eggs!
6. Add salt and pepper, et voila!

7. The stores have brands like By Malene Birger, Day Birger et Mikkelsen, Designers Remix and so many more. J’adore!
8. I was completely well again, after yesterday’s sickness. Halleluja!
9. and once the sun came up I was just super energized. Thank God!

<b>Table 22.</b>		
<b>Interjections and their classification in wishwishwish.net</b>		
Interjections	Number of tokens	Classification
Hah/haha/hahah/hahaha	61	Primary
Oh	10	Primary
Yum/yums	7	Primary
Ah	7	Primary
Oh +	4	Secondary
Yay	4	Primary
Puh	3	Primary
Fuck	3	Secondary
Voila/et voila	2	Primary
Wow	2	Secondary
Phew	1	Primary
J’adore	1	Primary
Bah	1	Primary
Geez	1	Primary
Halleluja	1	Secondary
Thank God	1	Secondary

10. Table 22: Interjections and their classification in cathinthecity.com

#### 4.3.4 Wuhu! – *Veethaa*

Of Nivetha Vijay’s sample blogposts, 19 (38%) include an interjection. Of these, 16 may be classified as primary and three as secondary. The primary interjections are especially used to express joy, or to represent the sound of giggling and laughter.

Table 23. Distribution of interjections in veethaa.com		
	Number of blogposts	Total percentage
Interjections	18	36%
No interjections	32	64%

Table 20: Distribution of interjections in veethaa.com

In her blogposts, Vijay uses nine different interjections, of which seven are primary and two are secondary; there are altogether 23 tokens (see Table 24). The most frequent interjections were *yey* expressing joy, *hehe* being the sound made when giggling, and *haha* representing the sound of laughter, all three appearing five times each:

1. I also picked up my emergency passport on Monday which means I'm definitely flying tomorrow. Yey!
2. which is under a huge transformation at the moment. Yeeeeey, finally!
3. We are also happy to introduce different sizes for all kinds of women, in all kinds of shapes. Yeyy!
4. I know, I still have a few clips to show you first. Haha...
5. I don't know if you can see it or not, but I can slightly see my bones again. Haha!
6. My friends will properly nick their heads now. Haha!
7. We always create fun together, even at the hospital. Hehe...
8. Just that I'm in the kitchen it's surprising enough... Hehe!
9. There is no secret that I gained weight after my wedding. Hehe... I love food

Other primary interjections used are *aww*, *wuhu* and *ouf* (x1) expressing relief:

1. guess what I found on my makeup table? Painkillers! Aww... He is so great
2. I'm very excited to try it out! Wuhu...
3. Yes, I'm asthmatic. This only happened after I moved to London. Wuhu!
4. This means that I have lots of work to do this week. Ouf! But on the

Table 24. Interjections and their classification in veethaa.com		
Interjections	Number of tokens	Classification
Yey	5	Primary
Haha	5	Primary
Hehe	5	Primary
Wuhu	2	Primary
Oh yes	2	Secondary
Aww	1	Primary
Yey	1	Primary
Ouf	1	Primary
Oh well	1	Secondary

Table 18: Interjections and their classification in veethaa.com

Only 3 of the blogposts included the secondary interjections *oh yes* (x2) used to express excitement or joy and *oh well* (x1) used to express when accepting a bad situation or a disappointment:

1. Oh yes, I love pink roses
2. You know that feeling you get when you are at the airport? Oh yes, I love that feeling
3. We were mentally prepared and ready for a change. Oh well, I still believe in God and think he knows what's best in this situation

#### 4.3.5 Comparison of Interjections

Interjections are a communication tool used in speech as they are emotional and spontaneous; they are therefore markers of conversational and informal writing style when being used in written texts. As with all other oral features discussed so far, Heienberg is the one who uses interjections the most: 84% of her blogposts contained them, while the other three bloggers have an average of 36%. All four bloggers use many more primary interjections than secondary ones. They all also have a specific primary interjection that appears several times. Purvis uses *ahem*, representing the sound of a quiet cough or clearing one's throat 11 times,

while Santana da Silva's most frequent interjection is *oh* used to express surprise or shock appears 6 times. Heienberg has an extensive use of different varieties of *haha*, appearing 61 times, and finally Vijay has three frequent interjections all appearing 5 times, *yey* expressing joy, *hehe* being the sound made when giggling, and *haha* representing the sound of laughter.

Heienberg is the only blogger who makes use of the swearword *fuck* as an interjection, appearing three times in one single blogpost. She is also the blogger with the most use of secondary interjections, which appears in four of her blogposts, followed by three blogposts in Purvis and Vijay's blog, Santana da Silva does not have any secondary interjections in the sample blogposts.

The interjections used by all four bloggers are somewhat similar, however, several of those used by the L2 bloggers are normally not used by the English speakers. For example, both Heienberg and Vijay make use of the interjection representing laughter, whereas Purvis and Santana da Silva do not. Interjections are not part of formal language education and should therefore be easier to transfer from one language to another as they are not dependent on syntax, however the use of *haha* and its many forms can just be a result of the L2 bloggers CMC writing style. This interjection is rather common when writing in an informal and oral writing style, such as in chatrooms and on text messages, and is often used to express laughter, but to also make sure that the reader does not misunderstand something for being rude or offensive.

#### 4.4 Direct Address and Inclusion of Reader

Direct address may be defined as “communication that is explicitly indicated as being targeted at a current listener, reader, or viewer as an individual” (Chandler & Munday 2011). This means that the communicator addresses someone or something directly when communicating. Direct address may be found in both oral and written media. In face-to-face interaction, this may involve speaking or gesturing to a specific person, using their name or being in eye-contact. In writing, it may simply involve beginning a letter with the name of the addressee. The person being addressed may be referred to the use of a name, a nickname, various terms of address or the use of a second person pronoun. The reader may also be referred to more directly by being included in a first person plural pronoun, *we* or *us*.

Second person pronouns are often used in informal texts such as stories, essays, blogs and adverts. By using second person pronouns the writer gives immediacy to the text and tries

to make a direct connection with the reader. It may also enhance the interest and care that the reader might have for the subject.

Another way of establishing a relationship with the reader is the use of an inclusive first-person plural pronoun, *we* or *us*. The use of this first-person plural pronoun is often said to be group cohesive in settings where the writer “succeeds in demonstrating solidarity” with the readers (Nordquist, 2017: 1) as it establishes a sense of relationship and intimacy which obscure the divide between the writer and the reader. Mühlhäusler and Harré (1900: 175) points out that it can also lower the responsibility the writer might have, since the use of *we* or *us* can indicate that the writer is working together with the reader (Nordquist 2017: 1). It has also been suggested that the use of inclusive first-person plural pronoun is more likely found in conversations written or spoken by women, reflecting their ‘co-operative’ ethos, rather than the ‘competitive’ ethos which can be considered as a male characteristic (see e.g. Bailey 1992)

The use of direct address or inclusion gives emotional qualities to the text as the writer tries to build or establish a relationship between themselves and the reader. Examples of such a use are occasions when a professor sends out e-mails to the students by using the phrase “*Dear Students*”, or when the Norway’s king addressed the Norwegian people as a “we”: “*We – in spite of all our differences – are a people*”, in his speech during the royal garden party in 2016. In both these examples, the reference to the receivers shows that the communicator tries to involve them and establish a relationship with them; in some cases, it may also be used to challenge the receiver to respond.

The bloggers usually address the readers with “you”; however, when looking through the comments it is more likely that they address the reader with their name/nickname or, in the case of a fellow blogger, their blog name. This opens up for a discussion of how direct address is used in the comments box; however, this falls beyond the scope of the present study.

In the further discussion about the use of direct address and involvement in each of the blogs, the categories discussed are ‘address terms’, *we/us/our*, *you/your* and ‘others’. The pronoun categories include the reflexive pronouns *ourselves* and *yourselves*. The examples and figures presented here do not include the instances of direct address used in greetings or partings, which were discussed in 4.1.



#### 4.4.1 You ladies – *What Olivia Did*

Olivia Purvis addresses her readers directly in all of her blogposts, as shown in Table 25. She targets her readers by using a specific address term or a pronoun, either *we/us/our* or *you/your*.

<b>Table 25.</b>		
<b>Distribution of direct address in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Percentage of blogposts
Direct address	50	100%
No direct address	-	0%

Table 25: Distribution of direct address in whatoliviadid.com

Table 26 shows the frequencies of these forms of addressing the reader in the 50 sample blogposts. As seen in the table, Purvis uses address terms in six of the blogposts, all appearing once in each blogpost. In addition to this, she uses the first-person pronoun in 7 blogposts and the second person pronoun in all 50 of the blogposts.

<b>Table 26.</b>		
<b>Forms of direct address in whatoliviadid.com</b>		
Form of direct address	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Address terms	8	8
<i>we/us/our</i>	7	8
<i>you/your</i>	50	469
Other	3	3

Table 26: Forms of direct address in whatoliviadid.com

There are only three address terms used to address the readers throughout her blog, *ladies* appearing in three, *folks* appearing in four and *pals* appearing once in her blogposts:

1. what is it with us ladies and a good notebook?
2. for all you amazing, talented ladies out there too

3. From working at a popcorn stand in my local shopping centre (ALL GLAM HERE LADIES)
4. Let's talk all things ink (body wise that is, not calligraphy this time, folks)
5. success definingly isn't measures by numbers (it took a while folks, trust me) – which I think is only ever a positive thing
6. I also saw Busted play Hammersmith Apollo (pre-arena days folks) and my first festival
7. But take notes here folks – the cushions and mattress are very much still without sofa and bed frame
8. than *this* is the way to do it, my pals

Purvis uses the inclusive first person plural pronoun on several occasions. Whereas *us* appears once in three blogposts, *we* is used more frequently appearing five times in four blogposts:

1. It's what makes us stronger after all ~a cliché drop the mic~...
2. what is it with us ladies and a good notebook?
3. And bringing us up to about 4 years ago when I finally went full time with the blog!
4. I'm not sure if it's all a little early (possibly as we still have a few days until Halloween)
5. I think we could all use a bit of this advice to start making the world a more happy (and pink) place
6. but if there's one thing we can all relate to, it's the ebbs and flows of friendship in your twenties
7. I think we can all be guilty of being a little bit fickle with friendships every now and again.
8. It's often so hard to praise ourselves and actually break down what we've achieved year on year, and although there have been

By using first-person plural pronoun, Purvis establishes a relationship with her readers trying to present the content in the blogposts as something both she and her reader shares. At the same time, this will make the reader more involved and a feeling of togetherness appears.

Purvis shows very extensive use of *you/your/yours/yourself*, appearing in all 50 of her sample blogposts, with a total of 462 tokens. Several of these appear together in all of the blogposts, even in some of the blogpost titles:

STATIONERY TO STEAL **YOUR HEART**: Now, if **you** know me (or, hey, even if **you** don't)- **you** may know, I get through, buy, and fall in love with stationery like I do a good Ryan Gosling film- [...] (what *is* it with **us ladies** and a good notebook)? [...] (**you** might have also spotted Carrie's gorgeous post on the brand too), I fell head-over-heels in love. So, **you** can only image my sheer joy when my new favourite brand got in touch [...] - it's hard to not find something **you** don't need; [...] (**you** can jot on reasons **you** love **your** other half on these), and mini paper chatterboxes **you** can complete **yourself** (showing you definitely don't have to spend a fortune to pick up a thoughtful gift). If, however, **you** fancy celebrating love in a different way- they've also got a tonne of gorgeous gifts for **your** closest gals (let's make Galentine's a thing too) in case **you** feel like spoiling them instead. [...] On top of that, **you** could of course print off a sappy couple snap [...] make sure **you** stay tuned over on my Instagram this weekend [...] Let me know if **you** pay a visit to the store too, as I'm on a bit of a stationery high! (Bold type added, <https://whatoliviadid.com/2016/02/stationery-to-steal-your-heart/>)

This extract illustrates how Purvis uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun to address her readers, making them involved in the content. First, she involved the reader by addressing this particular post to the reader. In the post itself, Purvis' language and use of the pronoun suggest that she is having an oral conversation with; the reader. Here she builds and strengthens the relationship between herself and the reader. Finally, she also uses other ways to address her readers in three of her blogposts:

1. as I do appreciate not everyone here wants to see this gal waffle on for
2. but if anyone has any tips they'd specifically like, let me know and I'll get back to you
3. And of course, there's you. Lovely reader. Pal.

In all three of these examples, Purvis' address her readers as someone more than 'just a reader', more like a friend she wants to take into consideration and show appreciation towards.

#### 4.4.2 You gals – *Wish Wish Wish*

Carrie Santana da Silva addresses her readers directly in 90% of her blogposts. As Purvis, she addresses her readers by using address terms, or a pronoun, either *we/us/our* or *you/your*.

Table 27. Distribution of direct address in wishwishwish.net		
	Number of blogposts	Percentage of blogposts
Direct address	45	90%
No direct address	5	10%

Table 27: Distribution of direct address in wishwishwish.net

Santana da Silva's frequently used form of direct address (see table 28) is

*you/your/yours/yourself* appearing a total of 312 times in 45 blogposts. As seen in the extract below, this pronoun appears several times in a blogpost:

Obviously getting married is a huge life milestone, so **you** can expect to see a bit of wedding chat here in the coming months! [...] I probably have the same goals as I do every year – keeping **you** guys updated [...] and sharing more of my beautiful city with **you**, as I know **you** always appreciate it. As always, I'd love to hear if there is anything (broad or specific!) that **you'd** like to see here in the new year. It's always really interesting to see what **you've** enjoyed the most – I have lots of ideas and exciting things coming up that I'm pretty sure **you'll** like the sound of. (Bold type added, <http://wishwishwish.net/2015/12/the-best-of-2015/>)

Other address terms and inclusive *we/us* appear thirteen times each, in respectively nine and seven blogposts:

1. I've been promising...that I would be uploading to my Depop for you gals that were overseas or too far away to join us.
2. It's starts to feel really really official now guys.
3. I hope this has been somewhat interesting to you guys.
4. As part of that, they'd like me to invite you guys to share the love on Twitter or Instagram
5. Those couple of days where we thought we could see a glimmer of Spring
6. but let's not pretend that we weren't obsessed with that feeling you get when you pop on a fresh pair of PJs and snuggle on the sofa before we knew there was a word for it
7. The beauty of blogging is that we're all different – although I think we've lost sight of that in recent years

She also has two blogposts where she addresses the readers with the pronoun *anyone*:

1. I know this post isn't all-singing-all-dancing (anyone remember the big giveaway of 2014?), but you'll have to forgive me"
2. not the kind of notebook you'll toss after scribbling a few lists in and then leaving at the back of the drawer for a few years (anyone else guilty of this?!)

<b>Table 28.</b>		
<b>Forms of direct address in wishwishwish.net</b>		
Form of direct address	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Address terms	9	13
we/us/our	7	13
you/your	45	312
Other	2	2

Table 28: Forms of direct address in wishwishwish.net

#### 4.4.3 You guys – *Cath in the City*

Cathrine Heienberg has fewer blogposts directed towards her readers compared to Purvis and Santana da Silva. 80% of the sample blogpost target the readers, while 20% do not. Out of these blogposts, the most used form of direct address is *you/your*, which appears in 37 of the 40 blogposts including a direct address.

<b>Table 29.</b>		
<b>Distribution of direct address in cathinthecity.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Percentage of blogposts
Direct address	40	80%
No direct address	10	20%

Table 29: Distribution of direct address in cathinthecity.com

Table 30 shows that Heienberg addresses her readers with an address term in 19 blogposts 24 times, the most used address term being *guys*, while *girls* is used three times in one of these 17 blogposts.

1. I'll keep you guys updated!

2. I will of course share my new plans with you guys soon, and I'll also pop by and say hi more this week.
3. So – what do you guys think?
4. You guys always give me the best tips, so I thought I'd ask you guys if you had any books to recommend me?
5. I hope you guys are enjoying the Saturday to the fullest, and that you get a fun night.
6. I just wanted to pop by and give you girls a little update! After all, you're the sweetest and most patient group of girls I know of. [...] All thanks to you amazing girls!!

Further, she uses inclusive *we/us* in only five blogposts, altogether six times:

1. So much has happened since the last time we spoke...Or since I wrote to you, is probably more correct to say, hah
2. So basically, an interaction designer designs solutions for anything we humans interact with
3. Here we go!
4. I'm sure I'm not the only one feeling like this from time to time, so I'm sure we can be of great help to each other. If you want to share your own experiences, you're more than welcome to do so in the comments. Together we can make each other stronger!
5. That's not the focus we should have on this amazing day!

However, her most used form of direct address is the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun *you/your/yours/yourself*, usually several times in one post as shown in the extract below.

I wanted to wait with telling **you** guys about everything that's going on until I'd figured out everything [...] I just wanted to pop by and give **you girls** a little update! After all, **you**'re the sweetest and most patient group of girls I know of. [...] As I told **you** earlier this year [...] I promise to tell **you** more very very soon, but one thing I can tell **you** right away is that I will *not* quit blogging. [...] All thanks to **you** amazing girls!! So thank **you** so much for **your** constant support, **you** guys really are the best [...] if **you** take the past two months out of consideration [...] As I said, I promise to tell **you** more about my studies and my plans, right now I just need to sleeeeeep. (Bold type added, <http://www.cathinthecity.com/a-big-change/>)

The extract illustrates how Heienberg uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun as if she is writing to a friend, and this is common throughout her blog. It is also frequently used when targeting her readers to thank them. She also once addresses her readers as *anyone*:

1. I also thought I'd start going through my clothes, and prepare a huge sales round online. Anyone up for it?

<b>Table 30.</b>		
<b>Forms of direct address in cathinthecity.com</b>		
Form of direct address	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Address terms	19	24
we/us/our	5	6
you/your	37	127
Other	1	1

Table 30: Forms of direct address in cathincity.com

#### 4.4.4 You sweets – *Veethaa*

Nivetha Vijay is the blogger with the least number of blogposts directed towards her readers: 76% of her blogposts include direct address, while 24% do not. Her most frequent way of addressing her readers directly is by using the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun, *you/your/yours/yourself*, as this appeared in all of the blogposts including a direct address (see Table 32). Only two blogposts include other address terms.

<b>Table 31.</b>		
<b>Distribution of direct address in veethaa.com</b>		
	Number of blogposts	Percentage of blogposts
Direct address	38	76%
No direct address	12	24%

Table 31: Distribution of direct address in veethaa.com

Vijay addresses her readers twice with an address term:

1. I will make sure to film during my visit and share with you sweets.
2. This is why I haven't been able to blog as much. Sorry loves.

It is clear that her use of address terms is more frequent when greeting her readers, rather than when she writes to them in her blogposts (see 4.1.4). As with the other bloggers, her most frequent form of addressing her readers is *you/your* which she uses 154 times. This is especially frequent when she asks her readers about their day or wellbeing (1 and 2), when thanking them (3 and 4), or before parting her blogposts (5 and 6), rather than in the blogpost itself:

1. I hope you all are good
2. I hope you all had a nice weekend with your loved ones
3. Thank you all for your prayers and love
4. I'm grateful for all of your support and love!
5. I hope you're having a great start to your week!
6. Anyways, I wanted to keep you all updated. I will catch you all soon

<b>Table 32.</b>		
<b>Forms of direct address in wishwishwish.net</b>		
Form of direct address	Number of blogposts	Number of tokens
Address terms	2	2
we/us/our	-	-
you/your	38	154
Other	-	-

Table 31: Forms of direct address in veethaa.com

While a large number of Vijay's blogs contain no address terms, others contain larger numbers of them: this reflects the considerable variety in her topics and writing style. In many of her blogs, she focuses on her own life and what she has done during a day, rather than promoting products or including her readers in the content in the same way as the other bloggers. This also explains the entire lack in her blog of the use of inclusive *we/us*. On the other hand, several of her blogs include direct questions, involving the reader and making much use of second-person pronouns.



#### 4.4.5 Comparison of Direct Address and Inclusion of Reader

Direct address and inclusion of reader is observed in all four blogs and is used in settings where the blogger wants to establish a relationship with the reader, whether this is when promoting products or when sharing personal thoughts. Using direct address when addressing the reader gives emotional qualities and suggests that the bloggers write their posts assuming that they have a relationship with their readers – they are ‘friends’. The use of inclusive personal pronoun *we* or *us* furthermore establishes this relationship and the bloggers want to secure themselves that their readers are on the same page, sharing the same opinions or thoughts they have.

Purvis had the most blogposts with direct address, with a total of 100%, while Vijay had the fewest with 75%. Both Vijay and Heienberg use direct address when wanting to apologize to or thank their readers, whereas Purvis and Santana da Silva have a more overall use of it, where they want to include the readers in their life and content of blogposts. The personal pronouns used in the L2 blogs are also more commonly found when the bloggers address their readers in questions or request, for example when asking what the readers are doing, or what the readers want them to blog about. In contrast, the L1 blogs seem to take their readers into consideration and include them in daily activities that might be characteristic for their female readers, such as sharing the routines for skincare or the love for notebooks.

All of the sample blogs use the second person pronoun, *you/your/yours/yourself*, most commonly when addressing their readers. Purvis and Santana da Silva had the highest use of this pronoun in absolute numbers, with respectively 469 and 312 tokens, against Heienberg’s 127 and Vijay’s 154. However, in proportional terms, it turns out that Vijay in fact shows the most frequent use of all: calculated in relation to the number of words in each sample, Vijay’s posts contain 18 occurrences of *you/your/yours/yourself* per 1,000 words, while the equivalent figures for Purvis and Santana da Silva are 13 and 14 respectively, and Heienberg shows a considerably lower frequency with 8 occurrences per 1,000 words.

## 5 Discussion

### 5.1 Summarizing Discussion of the Findings

The four features connected with oral and informal styles that were addressed in this study were greetings and partings, intensifiers, interjections, and direct address and inclusion of reader. In most cases, the findings show that the L2 bloggers use these features more frequently than the L1 bloggers

The difference between L1 and L2 bloggers was most notable in the category of greetings. The L1 bloggers rarely greet their readers: Purvis includes a greeting in 8% and Santana da Silva in 12% of the collected blogposts. Their greetings are generally related to a weekend, holiday or a special occasion. They also greet their readers using neutral address terms such as ‘guys’, ‘people’, ‘folks’ and ‘everyone’. In contrast, both L2 bloggers, Heienberg and Vijay, greet their readers extensively, both in 86% of their blogposts, and use a different style of address terms. Heienberg almost always made use of an address term, while Vijay only did this in half of her posts. Both use address terms such as ‘loves’, ‘lovelies’ and ‘sweets’, creating a very different effect from the more traditional style of the L1 bloggers.

With regard to partings, the difference between L1 and L2 bloggers lies in the type of partings used rather than in their presence or absence. Only L1 bloggers use the conventional ‘x’ signifying a kiss as a parting. Purvis uses an ‘x’ as a parting phrase in every blogpost; only 20% of her posts include an additional parting question or request addressed towards the reader. Santana da Silva provides a parting in 66% of the blogposts; half of these consist of an ‘x’ and a quarter provide a question or request to her readers.

As the L1 blogs, both the L2 bloggers have distinct ways to part their blogposts. Vijay uses a parting phrase ‘Lots of love, Nivetha Vijay’ in every post, and also include a question request in 74% of the posts. Heienberg shows the most varied use, providing a parting in 86% of the blogposts, including address terms, heart emoticons and questions or requests to the readers. Both the greetings and partings suggest that the L2 bloggers have a more oral writing style, with both address terms and emoticons being characteristic of a ‘girly’ CMC.

Three of the four bloggers show an extensive use of intensifiers, Purvis and Heienberg with 98% and Santana da Silva with 96% of the posts. Vijay, however, uses intensifiers to a lesser extent, in 66% of the posts. All four bloggers show the same frequently used intensifiers: *so*, *really* and *very*. The findings that stand out in this category are Purvis’

extensive use of the word *bloody*, appearing 15 times in ten blogposts, and Heienberg's extensive use of swearwords and taboo words, especially *freakin'* and *fucking*, which show 23 occurrences in 16 blogposts. As Vijay does not use swearwords and taboo words at all, and both the L1 bloggers use them very infrequently, this makes Heienberg's writing style stand out. Both *bloody* and swear- and taboo words are devices used in oral communication, which reflects the oral writing style of these blogs. It is also notable that Vijay, who is Norwegian with a Tamil background, does not use swearwords at all, which might indicate that she has a different language culture from that of Heienberg.

The interjections used by all four bloggers are to some extent shared; however, several of those used by the L2 bloggers are normally not used by English speakers: these include the interjection *haha* representing laughter, used extensively both by Heienberg and Vijay, as well as written forms such as *puh* and *wuhu*. Heienberg is the blogger using most interjections in terms of blogposts, including them, in 84% of her blogposts. Heienberg is also the only blogger using the swearword *fuck* as an interjection.

As interjections are generally not part of formal language education, and are independent of syntax, it is easy for speakers to transfer them from one language to another. An extensive use of interjections also reflects a CMC writing style, especially for the L2 bloggers, as Norwegian interjections such as *haha* and *puh* are very commonly used in informal and oral writing styles.

When it comes to the number of blogposts showing direct address, Purvis has the highest count with a total of 100%, while Vijay has the lowest with 75%. The L1 and L2 bloggers differ in their use of direct address. On the whole, the L1 bloggers seem to use it more commonly when including their readers in the content of the blogposts. The L2 bloggers uses this only when apologizing or thanking their readers.

The number of word counts in the different samples generally makes little difference to the interpretation of the data: greetings and partings appear only once in each blog, and the main differences between the bloggers are generally qualitative rather than quantitative. In addition, most oral features appear most commonly in the L2 blogs, despite of their lower word count. However, with regard to direct address, the findings have to be considered proportionally in relation to the word counts. Rather unexpectedly, it turns out that Vijay shows by far the most frequent use of the second person pronoun, *you/your/yours/yourself*, despite the fact that direct address only appears in 75% of her blogposts.

The findings show some interesting similarities and differences between the bloggers. All bloggers use intensifiers and interjections frequently, as well as a considerable amount of

direct address, showing the generally conversational and informal writing style characteristic of personal journals and, in particular, lifestyle blogs. However, they differ greatly in their use of greetings and partings, as well as in their use of swearwords and taboo language and in their choice of intensifiers and interjections. With regard to all these features, the L1 writers come across as much more traditional in their usage, with a more constrained use of oral features. The difference between L1 and L2 writers is most obviously seen in their use of different interjections (*bloody vs haha*); another major difference is the ‘girly’ style of greetings and address terms used by the L2 writers. The blogger who stands out most from the rest is Heienberg, who is the most frequent user of virtually all oral features, and the only blogger to use an extensive amount of swearing and taboo language.

## 5.2 Reflection of the Writers’ Native Language

Research discussed in 2.3 suggest that the linguistic characteristics of the written texts will differ because of the differences between native and non-native varieties of a language. Not only do the findings discussed above suggest this, but there are also other markers that both Heienberg and Vijay s are EFL speakers, for example the use of *isn’t it?* as a universal tag question, the use of ‘non-standard’ forms such as *ain’t* and *gonna* in writing, and especially Heienberg’s use of swear- and taboo words. Even though these forms signal an oral or informal style, they also underline the point of transferring non-integrated language features from their native language to their L2. Vijay having a Tamil background, the possibility of her native language to be Tamil is reasonable, as a result one could argue that her L2 would be Norwegian as she grew up in Norway and that English therefore would be her L3. The key point here is that her native language differs from the one she uses in her blog. Her different cultural background in comparison with Heienberg may be significant for some of the differences found between their blogs, and especially with regard to the complete lack of swearwords in her blogposts compared to the other bloggers.

Another important point made by, among many, Drew (2003) is that for non-native speakers to be proficient in a target language, they have to be exposed to and practice this language from an early age. In an environment where there is little use of English on a daily basis, one could argue that those learners will have a limited development in both their writing and spoken language. Also, if the target language share similarities in vocabulary, syntax or rhetorical structures, with the writers’ native language, the more likely the language

used in writing will be stronger and proficient. It should, however, be borne in mind that, in a country such as Norway, the exposure of young people to English is considerable from an early age, but an increasing amount of the written English available is produced by writers who are themselves L2 speakers, including lifestyle bloggers such as Heienberg or Vijay.

## 6 Conclusion

This thesis has explored differences in the Norwegian and English blog writers' use of rhetorical strategies in an informal writing style, and the findings were used to establish whether blogs as CMC have an oral and informal writing style, reflect upon the native language of the writers and the implications for the teaching and development for EFL learners. The study addressed features commonly regarded with oral styles: greetings and partings, intensifiers, interjections, and direct address and inclusion of reader. As CMC represents a new field within language and communication, the research that has been done within this field is rather new.

This study examined the differences in blogs written by native and non-native English speakers with a primary focus on four rhetorical strategies used in informal writing. It should be noted that, even though the lifestyle blogs chosen for this study resemble each other in both stylistic and pragmatic characteristics, they are not representative for lifestyle blogs as a general subgenre of blogs. The styles and contents of blogs vary greatly, and there are also lifestyle blogs written by men. However, the present study focusses on a particular type of blogs and being a case study investigation of a phenomenon in its real-life context, it can give good indications of what is expected in a particular type of lifestyle blogs.

The lifestyle blogs studied suggest that there is an oral writing style particularly used in CMC and blogs, however, the spoken and written stylistic features are modified and suited to blog as a medium. The findings show that the L2 speakers have a more oral and informal writing style, compared to the L1 speakers. While individual bloggers differ greatly, and many of the differences found between the four bloggers here studied go across the L1/L2 divide, several features of writing style, as well as formal choices, may be identified as reflecting an L1 or L2 background. Such differences may be seen as result of non-native speakers having a narrower experience of stylistic variation as well as the L2 speakers show signs of transferring linguistic and stylistic features from their L1 to their L2.

Both the L1 blogs had a higher word count than the L2 blogs. This is an interesting point in itself, and in fact enhances the findings especially for the three first rhetorical features, greetings and partings, intensifiers and interjections, as this makes the L1 contra the L2 patterns more visible and outstanding. This does for example enhance the finding of the L2 bloggers using more greetings, and that of Heienberg using significantly more swearwords.

The implications of the findings can especially be relevant for the development and teaching of written English as the characteristics of L1 and L2/L3 must be taken into consideration as it functions as a Lingua Franca. Within an educational context, it could be argued that several factors play in for bilingual/trilingual learners to become as proficient in their L2/L3 as they are in their L1. As mentioned in the discussion, Drew (2003) in his study establishes that there exists a potential for reaching a level of early L2 proficiency if the grounds for learning a foreign language is available.

Lifestyle blogs in general are read by children, teenagers and adults, and blogs written in English are often read by native and non-native speakers. Posts are published on the Web and are made available as reading material for anyone who is interested. With this in mind, blogs do not only influence their readers with the content, but also with the language they are using. This means that the informal/oral writing styles can easily be adopted by readers, and the large amount of L2 writing available on the web is likely both to influence the development of written English and reinforce existing characteristics of L2 language.

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## 8 Appendices

### 8.1. *What Olivia Did* – Olivia Purvis

	Blogpost title:	Date:
1.	The Art Of Making Time	01.2016
2.	A (Mini) Room Tour	01.2016
3.	3 Inspiring Reads For 2016	01.2016
4.	A Ticket To Down Time	01.2016
5.	How To Start A Fashion Blog	02.2016
6.	Stationary To Steal Your Heart	02.2016
7.	The Book Club #4: The Versions Of Us	02.2016
8.	5 Current Instagram Loves	02.2016
9.	A Handful Of Current Loves	03.2016
10.	Tips For Travel (With A Pet)	04.2016
11.	Talking 'Bout YouTube	04.2016
12.	Sunday Morning Reading	05.2016
13.	Getting My First Tattoo	21.05.2016
14.	Cooking with Gizzi (moved over from 2014 archive)	06.2016
15.	Books I Love By Inspiring Women	11.2016
16.	On Comparison	11.2016

17.	Bloggers & YouTubers I Love Pt 1	11.2016
18.	What Olivia Did in 2016	12.2016
19.	A little update for 2017	01.01.2017
20.	Sunday Duvet Reading #1	15.01.2017
21.	Learning To Drive In Your '20s	30.01.2017
22.	Putting Pen To Paper	24.02.2017
23.	Sunday Duvet Reading: This week 13/03/2017	19.03.2017
24.	Escape to the Country	08.04.2017
25.	Sunday Duvet Reading: This Week 1/5/2017	07.05.2017
26.	The Hump Day Pamper Guide	17.05.2017
27.	Soundtrack Of My Life	19.05.2017
28.	The One Where I Learnt To Surf	27.05.2017
29.	A House to a Home	25.06.2017
30.	Sunday duvet reading: this week 03/07/2017	09.07.2017
31.	A Little Life Update	15.07.2017
32.	The One Where I Got Engaged	06.08.2017
33.	A Talk About Work, Ambition and Defining Success	19.08.2017
34.	Reasons To Be Cheerful	23.08.2017
35.	Weekend Listening	09.09.2017
36.	Sunday Duvet Reading	10.09.2017

37.	A Lucky Find	11.09.2017
38.	7 Years of What Olivia Did (and a new chapter)!	24.09.2017
39.	Painting The Walls With Prints	11.10.2017
40.	So You Want To Redesign Your Blog?	16.10.2017
41.	Planning for the festive season (without being socially unacceptable) AD	27.10.2017
42.	Why I'll Forever Love Magazines (And Four To Pick Up Now)	15.11.2017
43.	Festive Traditions & Reasons To Be Cheerful pt.2	20.12.2017
44.	What Olivia Did in 2017	31.12.2017
45.	Looking Ahead in 2018 (Let's Talk Goals & Ambitions)	08.01.2018
46.	A Peek Inside Our Living Room	15.01.2018
47.	Stationery to Motivate	20.01.2018
48.	A Life In Work: My Career Journey	10.02.2018
49.	A Post About Friendship on Valentine's Day	14.02.2018
50.	What We Learnt Buying Our First House	17.02.2018

## 8.2 *Wish Wish Wish* – Carrie Santana da Silva

	Blogpost title:	Date:
1.	Wedding Talk	22.12.2014
2.	Faux	27.01.2015
3.	Sewing Bee	12.03.2015

4.	Angelo's Vintage Palazzo	10.04.2015
5.	NYC, Tattoos & a Proposal: Vlog	12.04.2015
6.	Shop My Wardrobe	12.05.2015
7.	Seven Years of Wish Wish Wish	19.05.2015
8.	Carrie and Miguel	21.06.2015
9.	WishWishWeddings	09.08.2015
10.	Find the One	01.09.2015
11.	Hello 4.0	05.09.2015
12.	30 Before 30	17.09.2015
13.	Falling for Fall	26.09.2015
14.	My Little Workshop	10.11.2015
15.	The Best of 2015	30.12.2015
16.	KIKKI.K: My New Stationary Obsession	27.01.2016
17.	Happy Valentine's!	14.02.2016
18.	The 60 Day Challenge	24.02.2016
19.	The Bloggers market #3	07.03.2016
20.	Bridal at Bicester Village	13.03.2016
21.	DIY Embroidered Bomber Jacket	26.04.2016
22.	Everybody	18.05.2016
23.	Happy 8 <sup>th</sup> Birthday, Wish Wish Wish	20.05.2016
24.	Alexis Dove	23.05.2016



25.	BRB Getting Hitched	27.05.2016
26.	September	01.09.2016
27.	The Minimoon	05.09.2016
28.	Life Lately	17.11.2016
29.	My Cosy Weekend Routine	27.11.2016
30.	Dead End Street	29.11.2016
31.	Merry and Bright: A Wallpaper	01.12.2016
32.	The Christmas Tree	08.12.2016
33.	DIY Christmas Wrapping	18.12.2016
34.	Party Time	28.12.2016
35.	The Best of 2016	31.12.2016
36.	Easy Ways to Update Your Rented Living Space	21.03.2017
37.	Life Lately	15.05.2017
38.	Wish Wish Wish is Nine	18.05.2017
39.	London Shopping: Future and Found	01.08.2017
40.	The Big Festival	01.09.2017
41.	Lærdalsøyri	07.09.2017
42.	Life Lately	03.12.2017
43.	A Winter's Tale	22.12.2017
44.	Christmas in London 2017	24.12.2017
45.	The Best of 2017	31.12.2017

46.	5 TV Shows to Binge	15.01.2018
47.	The Glazier Lagoon	02.02.2018
48.	A Night in Cotswolds'	15.02.2018
49.	Not Quite Tartan	01.03.2018
50.	My Every Day Skincare Routine	11.03.2018

### 8.3 *Cath in the City* – Cathrine Heienberg

	Blogpost title:	Date:
1.	Surprise!!	11.03.2011
2.	Yumminess	01.11.2013
3.	White	19.08.2014
4.	Morning Moments	19.05.2016
5.	An Update on My New Job	23.05.2016
6.	Behind the Scenes on an Outfit Shoot!	21.06.2016
7.	Bare Faced	03.08.2016
8.	Birthday Weekend	28.08.2016
9.	On the Go	29.09.2016
10.	October	01.10.2016
11.	Out of Order	05.10.2016
12.	My Sunday in Pictures	09.10.2016

13.	A Saturday as it Should be	15.10.2016
14.	Decorating for Halloween	19.10.2016
15.	Up in the Norwegian Mountains	25.10.2016
16.	Dream Weekend	28.10.2016
17.	InstaWeek	02.11.2016
18.	Sunday Brekkie	06.11.2016
19.	Everyday Randoms	20.11.2016
20.	My Job as Head of Social Media	24.11.2016
21.	The Best Things in Life can't be Bought	05.12.2016
22.	2016 Recap Part 1	21.12.2016
23.	All Set for XMAS	22.12.2016
24.	The Day Before the Day	23.12.2016
25.	Winter Wonderland	02.01.2017
26.	Geilo Snapshots	16.01.2017
27.	Where I Spent My Weekend	05.02.2017
28.	My Friday Look	10.02.2017
29.	Le Friday Look	17.02.2017
30.	Weekend Flowers	04.03.2017
31.	The Newest Member of the Family	18.03.2017
32.	Today's Location	04.04.2017
33.	Up in the Mountains	10.04.2017

34.	Easter Snapshots	16.04.2017
35.	Morning Snapshots	17.04.2017
36.	Weekly Recap	24.04.2017
37.	Morning Snapshots	03.05.2017
38.	Breakfast in Stockholm	10.05.2017
39.	Girl Power	28.05.2017
40.	Sweet Summer Days	06.07.2017
41.	Summer Through My Phone	17.07.2017
42.	Summer Mood	24.07.2017
43.	A Big Change	14.08.2017
44.	Coffee and Coding	31.08.2017
45.	September	12.09.2017
46.	Back to School	13.09.2017
47.	A Weekend in the Mountains	18.09.2017
48.	This Feels Amazing	09.11.2017
49.	Xmas Preparations	28.11.2017
50.	2018	02.01.2018

#### 8.1.4 Veethaa – Nivetha Vijay

	Blogpost title:	Date:
1.	Happiness	23.08.2015
2.	Monday	24.08.2015
3.	Changes	25.08.2015
4.	Wanderlust	26.08.2015
5.	Santorini	28.08.2015
6.	First Shades of Blue	01.09.2015
7.	Home	03.09.2015
8.	Orange, Gold and Black	19.09.2015
9.	Blessed	23.09.2015
10.	October	01.10.2015
11.	Pink Love	03.10.2015
12.	Happy Diwali	10.11.2015
13.	Oils of Life	24.11.2015
14.	Paris	28.11.2015
15.	Decorating	03.12.2015
16.	London	15.12.2015
17.	Thursday	17.12.2015
18.	Thursday	07.01.2016

19.	Valentine's Weekend	16.02.2016
20.	Wednesday	24.02.2016
21.	Sunday	28.02.2016
22.	Weekend	03.03.2016
23.	I'm back	07.06.2016
24.	Chennai	11.09.2016
25.	November	01.11.2016
26.	Changes	30.11.2016
27.	Getting there	06.12.2016
28.	Break	20.01.2017
29.	Home	23.01.2017
30.	Wednesday	25.01.2017
31.	Fashion show	01.02.2017
32.	How We Met	26.02.2017
33.	A Fresh Start	04.03.2017
34.	New Opportunities	09.03.2017
35.	I Can't Find Myself	16.03.2017
36.	Men's Traditional Wear	30.03.2017
37.	Celebration	13.04.2017
38.	Happiness is a Moment with You	25.04.2017
39.	In Progress	15.06.2017

40.	A New Chapter	27.06.2017
41.	The Well	29.07.2017
42.	Back Home Again	16.08.2017
43.	New	21.08.2017
44.	I'm Getting There	11.10.2017
45.	I'm Back	01.11.2017
46.	Home	08.11.2017
47.	New Journey	18.11.2017
48.	Last Day	31.12.2017
49.	New Year's Resolutions	02.01.2018
50.	Disappointed	19.01.2018