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par

Silya BENAMMAR

Le 18 juin 2024

THE PRAGMATIC EFFECTS OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN SOCIAL MEDIA

Sous la direction du Prof. Craig HAMILTON

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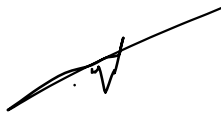


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Abstract

This study investigates the pragmatic effects of figurative language in social media, more specifically X, formerly known as Twitter. Cognitive linguists have taken a great interest in studying figurative language in various genres. Thus, this work aims to study tweets from a cognitivist perspective, so as to show how people use figurative language, how they react, and/or reply to figurative language and lastly, what role figurative language has online. This study draws on the analysis of a corpus of 1,000 tweets, which were each analyzed by hand, in order to highlight various figures. Doing so allowed me to highlight four main figures: metaphor, metonymy, euphemism and hyperbole. What quickly became evident was that figurative language should not be studied as isolated cases, but rather as blended cases. Furthermore, while verbal instances are unequivocally found online, visual items play an equally, if not more, essential role on social media. Through the use of emoji, among other things, users are able to express themselves visually, or in multimodal ways, similar to face-to-face communication and paralinguistic cues. Therefore, in this study I look at verbal and visual figurative instances in order to see how they are being used online. Considering the nature of Twitter, monologic and dialogic tweets require special attention, before diving into visual forms of figurative language. Early results showed that similar figurative instances are often used by people who share the same ideas, as a means to create rapport. Furthermore, hyperbole appears to play a significant role in social media, in the form of Extreme Case Formulations as well as in more creative uses, especially in sub-communities.

Keywords: Cognitive linguistics, Twitter, X, Figurative language, Metaphor, Metonymy, Hyperbole, Euphemism, Emoji.

Résumé en français

Cette étude porte sur les effets pragmatiques du langage figuré sur les réseaux sociaux, et plus particulièrement sur X, anciennement connu sous le nom de Twitter. Les linguistes cognitifs se sont beaucoup intéressés à l'étude du langage figuré dans différents genres. Ce travail vise donc à étudier les tweets d'un point de vue cognitiviste, afin de montrer comment les personnes utilisent le langage figuré, comment elles réagissent et/ou répondent au langage figuré et, enfin, quel est son rôle en ligne. Cette étude s'appuie sur l'analyse d'un corpus de 1000 tweets, analysés manuellement, afin de mettre en évidence les différentes figures de pensée. Cela m'a permis de mettre en évidence quatre figures de pensée principales : la métaphore, la métonymie, l'euphémisme et l'hyperbole. Il est rapidement apparu que le langage figuré ne devait pas être étudié comme des cas isolés, mais plutôt comme des cas mixtes. En outre, si les exemples verbaux se retrouvent sans équivoque en ligne, les éléments visuels jouent un rôle tout aussi essentiel, si ce n'est plus, sur les médias sociaux. Grâce à l'utilisation d'emoji, entre autres, les utilisateurs sont en mesure de s'exprimer visuellement, ou de manière multimodale, à l'instar de la communication en face à face et des indices paralinguistiques. Par conséquent, dans cette étude, je me penche sur les instances figuratives verbales et visuelles afin de voir comment elles sont utilisées en ligne. Compte tenu de la nature de Twitter, les tweets monologiques et dialogiques requièrent une attention particulière, avant de se pencher sur les formes visuelles du langage figuré. Les premiers résultats ont montré que les instances figuratives similaires sont souvent utilisées par des personnes qui partagent les mêmes idées, comme moyen de créer un rapport. En outre, l'hyperbole semble jouer un rôle important dans les médias sociaux, sous la forme de formulations de cas extrêmes, ainsi que d'utilisations plus créatives, en particulier dans les sous-communautés.

Mots-clés : linguistique cognitive; Twitter; X; langage figuré; métaphore; métonymie; hyperbole; euphémisme; emoji;

Chapter 1: Introduction

Communication is an essential part of our lives. We communicate with others daily; from mundane discussions to more elaborate exchanges, communication is everywhere. Humans communicate mainly via language, which serves various purposes such as giving information, or bonding, among others. Language is part of what makes us human.

For millennia, scholars have studied how people use language in different settings such as political debates, everyday communication, and, more recently, computer-mediated communication (CMC). As will be seen in the following section, CMC has become a significant aspect of human communication and, therefore, a worldwide topic of interest for scholars from different areas. In fact, social media broadly falls within CMC, as in the early stages of the internet, such platforms were mostly accessed on computers. Social media has become a fundamental aspect of human communication and human life now (Burgess, et al. 2018: 2-3). Social media has also attracted scholars' interest as the platforms provide easy, free access to an extensive corpus.

While the social aspect of such platforms cannot be dismissed, the linguistic features of CMC are equally significant, especially considering the social nature of language. As briefly mentioned above, a lot of communication occurs in language, meaning that language plays a substantial role in social media platforms. Therefore, linguists in general have access to more freely accessible and large amounts of data than before, which can, in the long run, help them study linguistic changes, and variation. However, I wish to take a different path in this work. In fact, on various social media platforms, more specifically Twitter, I have noticed there is a high frequency of figurative language usage, as one would expect.

However, before starting my analyses, it is essential to introduce the various topics that this doctoral thesis will develop. In the following sections, I will review multiple elements. Starting with cognitive linguistics and figurative language, I will move to neuroscience and

studies conducted on the role of figurative language on our brain. I will then proceed with figurative language from the viewpoints of psychology and psycholinguistics, before moving onto social media. After briefly introducing the background for social media, and even more generally, the internet, I will discuss social media and figurative language.

Regarding the analysis of figurative language itself, I will look at how figurative language is used online and the effects it has on users, drawing specifically on Colston's work on figurative language and pragmatic effects (2015). Starting with cases of verbal figurative instances in monologic tweets, Twitter is inherently a social platform that promotes interactivity between users. Therefore, looking at the development and use of figurative language (FL) in dialogic tweets is essential as to see whether people pick up each other's use of FL, or not. Twitter is inevitably multimodal, and so is FL. That is why multimodal or at least visual instances of FL, such as the use of emoji, will be of interest as well.

1.1. Cognitive Linguistics and Figurative Language

Linguists all around the world study languages, with Noam Chomsky being one of the most well-known. Chomsky is mostly known for considering linguistics a subfield of cognitive sciences with what is known as "generative grammar" (Chomsky 1965). While Chomsky provided scholars with new ways of looking at languages, there have been many changes in views on the subject. Some changes were introduced by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) as well as by Ronald Langacker (1987) as the framework commonly known as Cognitive Linguistics (CL) was gradually developed, in contrast to Chomsky's approach. Cognitive linguistics "is described as a 'movement' or an 'enterprise' because it is not a specific theory" (Evans & Green 2006: 3). In fact, CL is an interdisciplinary area that draws on

psychology, neuroscience, and linguistics. Various aspects of linguistics are studied within this area, but in this doctoral thesis, I will focus on just one of them: figurative language (FL).

A major study on FL was the book *Metaphors We Live By*, written by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, and published in 1980. The core element of this book is that FL, and more precisely metaphors, are not a simple matter of language, but more importantly, of thought (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 2). Lakoff and Johnson stated that metaphors are “pervasive in everyday thought and language” (1980: 2). That is why Lakoff and Johnson developed “conceptual metaphor theory” (henceforth CMT). The reason why metaphors are so pervasive in our lives is because of our “conceptual system” (Lakoff & Johnson: 3). Our conceptual system (CS) works as a means for structuring “what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). Within our conceptual system, we can find ideas, concepts, or, generally speaking, anything that is non-physical. It is worth noting that we are not aware of our CS. As the authors state, “we think and act more or less automatically along certain lines” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3), thus meaning that we are not necessarily aware of our use of figurative thought and language.

Because our CS is metaphorical, the way we think and the way we apprehend the world is “a matter of metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson: 1980: 3). As metaphor is at the core of our most basic communicative functions, we think and talk metaphorically. But because we are unaware of our CS, or of CMT, we need a way to study how metaphor works. The easiest way to access our CS in research is through language, which acts as a window to our brain. By looking at language, scholars were able to understand how our CS is structured, how it functions, as well as showing how important metaphor is to the CS.

Two core notions of CMT are the source and target domains. The “source domain” corresponds to the domain from which we get the vocabulary used to talk about the “target

domain” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), which is often referred to as the more abstract concept we are trying to understand (see Figure 1). However, labeling two things is not enough; it requires some type of connection. The connection established between the source and target domain is referred to as a “mapping” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). A visual representation of a conceptual mapping can be seen in Figure 1 below. Lakoff and Johnson provide us with different examples we use very often without considering them to be metaphorical. For example, when we say “I see what you’re saying,” we have an instance of the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 48).

While *Metaphors We Live By* was published over 40 years ago, it is still highly influential and relevant today. It paved the way for how metaphors have been studied ever since, and thus shed light on the importance of studying figurative language. From the moment the book was published, scholars from all around the world studied metaphors in even more depth (e.g., Turner 1987; Dirven 1993; Sweetser 1995; Grady 1998; Barcelona 2002; Glucksberg 2001; Colston & Gibbs 2002; Kövecses 2002; Taylor 2002; Yu 2003; Jamet 2010; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014; Gibbs Jr. 2017, only to name a few). In the subsequent paragraphs, I will go over some of the work that has focused on metaphors.

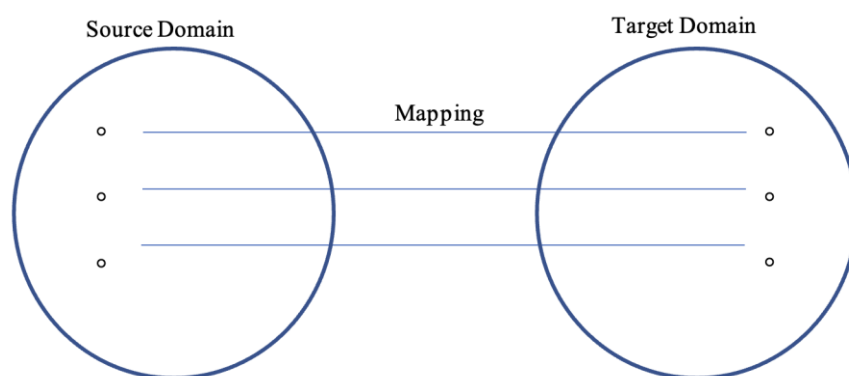


Figure 1: Visual representation of conceptual mapping in CMT.

Regarding metaphor studies and, more generally, studies of FL, early scholars took great interest in looking at how FL was used when talking about diseases. In 1978, Susan Sontag published *Illness as Metaphor*, in which she challenges the use of metaphors to refer to certain illnesses, mainly tuberculosis, and cancer. Sontag's work is still considered highly influential as it inspired scholars to pursue studies on similar topics. For example, Elena Semino is known for her contribution to the ongoing studies of FL in health communication (Semino 2010; Demmen et al., 2015; Semino et al., 2018; Potts & Semino, 2019; Semino 2021). By looking at health communication, Semino and other scholars show how metaphors and other figures have been used in the context of diseases and disabilities, such as mental health issues, cancer, and autism, among others.

Other scholars focusing on discourse analysis were also interested in how foot and mouth disease (FMD) was conceptualized by studying metaphors, frames, and narratives (Nerlich et al., 2002). The authors showed that the use of such tools "heightened the sense of risk, nightmare, and doom" (Nerlich et al., 2002). But one great aspect is that the use of metaphors, frames, and narratives actually helped people in the UK understand this "complex phenomenon" since metaphors are powerfully explanatory (Nerlich et al., 2002; Colston 2015).

More recently, scholars started looking at new corpora in their study of metaphor and health communication. In 2017, Susiyanti Rusyan and colleagues looked at how the TV series *House MD* dramatized medical jargon. The focus of their article was the use of conceptual metaphors of diseases. What they found was that the conceptual metaphors were mainly used by the main character (Dr House), who used such metaphors as a tool for translating the medical jargon to the patient (Rusyan et al., 2017: 100). This is an important point as Colston (2015: 18) showed that one of the main goals of metaphor is to clarify something. Adeline Terry (2019) followed a similar path as she studied the use of metaphors for death, disease, and sex in TV series. The main difference here is that instead of focusing on one TV series, Terry

picked several TV series, each focusing on different taboo topics. She found that there are some differences between the use of such metaphors in naturally occurring discourses and in the various TV series that composed her corpus (Terry 2019). What mainly stood out was that the metaphors found in the entertainment corpora essentially involved more creativeness and were more extended than natural discourse metaphors (Terry 2019).

Some studies have shifted the focus recently to multimodal instances of metaphors. For example, Charles Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi define multimodal metaphors as “metaphors whose target and source [domains] are represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009: 24). Other scholars have looked at multimodal metaphors as well as visual metaphors, in different genres such as advertisements (Forceville 2017; Pérez-Sobrino 2017; Pérez-Hernández 2019; only to name a few), as well as cartoons (El Refaie 2009; Schilperood & Maes 2009; Bonegru & Forceville 2011). Studying such multimodal metaphors requires more than Lakoff and Johnson’s CMT because of the various modes that are involved in such metaphors.

In fact, Lakoff and Johnson’s work on CMT may have some limitations. The first of these limitations is that CMT, as seen above, involves only two domains, the source and target domains, which exclude more complex types of metaphors. Secondly, the goal of the CMT is mainly to look at linguistic instances of metaphors, even though metaphors can occur in other modes, too. These two limitations have been overcome through Conceptual Integration Theory or Conceptual Blending Theory (BT). BT was developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner in their 2002 book *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and The Mind’s Hidden Complexities*. Fauconnier and Turner define conceptual blending as “a basic mental operation that leads to new meaning, global insight, and conceptual compressions useful for memory and manipulation of otherwise diffuse ranges of meaning” (2003: 57).

Similar to Lakoff and Johnson, Fauconnier and Turner hold the same view of metaphors, as they believe that metaphors are not simple linguistic phenomena but conceptual ones as well (Fauconnier & Turner 2002). BT and CMT are quite similar in that they both involve some types of domains. Within BT, the idea of mapping is still present; the main difference holds in the existence of several inputs rather than two domains. According to CMT, a unidirectional mapping is established between the source and target domains. According to BT, a mapping is a “cross-space mapping” (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 41), although projections from one space to another exist, too. Figure 2 is a representation of the network model (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 46).

As can be seen in Figure 2 below, in addition to the two inputs, there is a generic space and a blended space within which there is an emergent structure. Regarding the inputs, BT and CMT's main difference is that BT allows for the existence of more than two inputs. Moreover, while CMT mainly focuses on linguistic instances, BT can be used for the analysis of different modes such as images, for example. Several scholars have thus studied instances of conceptual blends in multimodal environments such as advertisements (Joy et al., 2009; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009; Poulsen 2019; Li & Dai 2020).

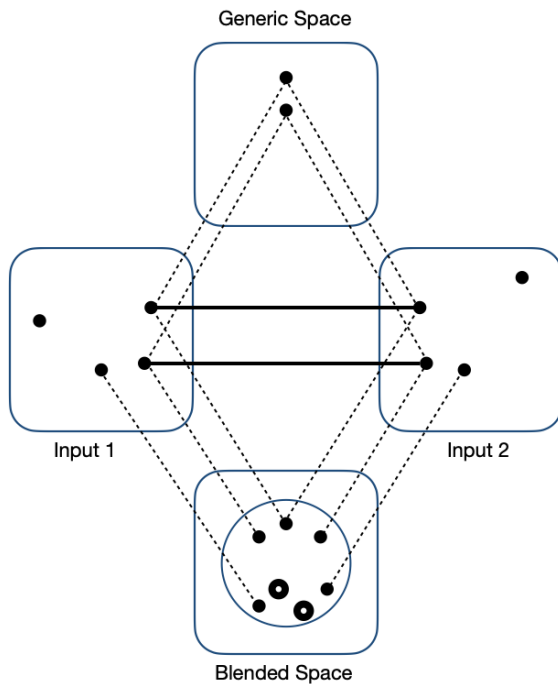


Figure 2: Blending diagram. (Adapted from Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 46).

A core notion in BT is that of mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985; Fauconnier 1994; Fauconnier & Sweetser 1996; Fauconnier 1997; Fauconnier & Turner 2002). Fauconnier and Turner define mental spaces as “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action” (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 40). Mental spaces are, in fact, “interconnected,” and we unpack them in the course of discussion (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 40). While BT is quite essential to the study of FL, including imagery, it is equally important in the study of non-figurative language in order to understand and explain how the human brain functions.

So far, I have mainly discussed the two central theories of FL in cognitive linguistics. Even though metaphor has been the focus of such research for years, scholars quickly noticed that other figures of speech and thought deserved as much attention as metaphor. One such figure is metonymy.

Metonymy was briefly tackled by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as they dedicated one chapter to the trope (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 85). The authors defined the figure as the “use of one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35). A first function of metonymy, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is its referential nature, “as it allows us to use one entity to stand for another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35). However, they also emphasize the “understanding function” of metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35). A core idea in their chapter is that metonymy, just like metaphor, is “part of the everyday way we think and act as well as talk” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 37).

Continuing on the subject of metonymy, a concept closely related to it is that of Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM) (Lakoff 1987). ICMs are somewhat similar to frames (Fillmore 1976), and mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985) which were mentioned above. ICMs can be viewed as types of structural packets that “encompass the cultural knowledge that people have and are not restricted to the ‘real world’” (Littlemore 2015: 10). The notion of ICM is closely related to metonymy as “a cognitive model may function to allow a salient example to stand metonymically for a whole category” (Lakoff 1987: 90). That means that people will access one part of the ICM, which will consequently stand for the whole category, i.e. the ICM. Accessing ICMs involves a core aspect in metonymy, that of *contiguity*, which implies that the associated domains are not “separate entities” (Littlemore 2015: 15). Similar to metaphors, metonymy also involves a mapping. The mapping involved in metonymy can be multidirectional, whereas in metaphor the mapping goes from the source domain to the target domain (Sweetser 2017: 701).

As mentioned earlier, the study of metaphor does not solely focus on language, as metaphor studies quickly shifted to multimodality; the same is true for metonymy regarding advertisements as well as co-speech gestures (Mittelberg & Waugh 2008; Pérez-Sobrino 2016; Denzhen Feng 2017; Hidalgo-Downing & Kraljevic-Mujic 2020). More recently, Barbara

Dancygier and Lieven Vandelanotte (2017) studied the role of frame metonymy (Dancygier & Sweetser 2014) in internet memes, which are another important aspect of social media, as will be seen later.

In this part, I focused on core theories and findings in regard to metaphor, conceptual blending, and metonymy. However, the study of FL in cognitive linguistics is not limited to these tropes. Scholars in the past have tried to shed light on numerous tropes, such as hyperbole (Kreuz et al., 1998; Norrick 2004; McCarthy & Carter 2004; Claridge 2011; Carston & Wearing 2011; & Wearing 2015; Burgers et al., 2016; Burgers et al., 2016), understatement (Colston 1997; Colston & O'Brien 2000; Neuheus 2016), and simile (Ortony 1979; Aisenman 1999; Chiappe & Kennedy 2000; Israel, Harding & Tobin 2004; Moder 2008; Lou 2018; Paulin 2019). Indeed, usage of such figures is much more widespread than previously assumed.

1.2. Neuroscience and Figurative Language

After discussing cognitive linguistic approaches to metaphor, conceptual blending, and metonymy in the previous part, here I turn to neuroscientific studies of FL. In neuroscience, scholars have been interested in looking directly at how the brain works in both producing and comprehending FL (Rapp et al., 2004; Thoma & Daum 2006; Mashal et al., 2007; Pobric et al., 2008; Bohrn et al., 2012; Beaty & Silvia 2013), among others. Such studies used evidence from fMRI scans to look at the various parts of the brain and their activation through blood flow. Findings from neuroscience are essential in the ongoing work of understanding what is happening in our brain when we encounter figurative instances. Most research on metaphor and, more generally, FL processing in neurolinguistics, comes from patients who suffer from cerebral lesions, schizophrenia, or Alzheimer's disease, for instance (Giora et al., 2000; Papagno 2001; Thoma & Daum 2006; Gavilán & García-Albea 2011).

In their 2011 study on Theory of Mind, language, and FLcomprehension, Gavilán and García-Albea (2011) showed that there is a correlation between the difficulty that schizophrenic patients have in representing their own and others' mental states, and in understanding figurative language. In fact, Theory of Mind is one's ability to infer mental states such as beliefs or emotions, among others, which can be considered "pragmatic skills" (Gavilán & García-Albea 2011: 54-55). Understanding FL requires people to infer meanings and to understand what the speaker intended. Gavilán and García-Albea (2011) performed language comprehension experiments to see whether there was a difference between the control group and the schizophrenic group, as well as a difference between basic language comprehension (BLC) and figurative language comprehension (FLC). The first task, LC-1 Lexical, focused on associating "isolated spoken words" to pictures shown on a computer screen (2011: 58). The LC-2 Syntax task focused on comprehension of spoken sentences and their association to images that would match the situations (2011: 59). The third task, LC-3 Paragraphs, focused on the "basic semantic-pragmatic level," or recognizing language that does not "entail figurative meaning" (2011: 59). Lastly, the fourth, fifth, and sixth tasks focused on FLC (2011: 59). There were "20 metaphors (LC-4), 10 ironies (LC-5) and 10 proverbs (LC-6)" in the study (Gavilán and García-Albea 2011: 59). The authors found that regarding BLC, the results in the control group and schizophrenic group showed a slight difference. For LC-1 Lexical, the control groups scored 97.61%, while the schizophrenic scored 91.82% (Gavilán and García-Albea 2011: 62). The scores dropped with LC-2 Syntax, as the control group scored 90.30% and the schizophrenic group scored 78.34%. In regard to LC-3 Paragraphs, the control group's score dropped to 89.48%, while the schizophrenic groups' score increased to 80.58% (Gavilán and García-Albea 2011: 62). Overall, the control group still performed better in BLC than the schizophrenic group, even though the differences were not significant (Gavilán and García-Albea 2011: 62).

Regarding FLC, Gavilán and García-Albea (2011: 62) reported that the control group performed better in FLC than in BLC (2011: 62). The discrepancy is even more significant regarding the schizophrenic group, who had a considerable drop in FLC performance (Gavilán & García-Albea 2011: 62). In fact, for LC-4 Metaphors the control group scored 97.73%, and the schizophrenic group scored 70.23% (2011: 62). The scores for the schizophrenic group keep on decreasing for LC-5 Ironies, and LC-6 Proverbs, where they scored 64.55% for irony comprehension, and 57.27% for proverb comprehension (2011: 62). It is worth noting that people who suffer from schizophrenia have impaired ToM, and as results showed, they may have more difficulty processing and understanding FL than people who do not have an impaired ToM. Thus, the results reveal a close correlation between ToM impairment and difficulties in understanding FL (Gavilán and García-Albea 2011).

While most of the research in neurolinguistics focuses on effects from brain lesions and others, neuroscientists also study the way the human brain functions when faced with figurative language. It is widely held that language is mostly processed in the left hemisphere while visual shapes or emotions are processed in the right hemisphere. However, some scholars have found evidence showing that the right hemisphere is often involved in figurative language processing, too (Winner & Gardner 1977; Bottini et al., 1994; Burgess & Chiarello 1996; Anaki, Faust & Kravetz 1998). On the other hand, other scholars have found no particular evidence showing the role of the right hemisphere in FL processing (Faust & Weisper 2000; Rapp et al., 2004; Lee & Dapretto 2006; Stringaris et al., 2007). In a study on idiomatic expressions and emotional responses, Francesca Citron and colleagues have found “enhanced activation in the left IFG [Inferior Frontal Gyrus], and enhanced activation of the left amygdala” (2019: 131). While the debate on lateralization is ongoing, it is important to recall that many of these studies show *when* and *where* something is happening in the brain, without telling us exactly *how* or *why* it is happening in the brain.

1.3. Psychology and Figurative Language

In the fields of psychology and psycholinguistics, scholars have been interested in seeing how people interpret FL, why they use it, and what effects FL has on people (Robert & Kreuz 1994; Gibbs Jr. 1994; Gibbs Jr. 1996; Katz et al., 1998; Glucksberg 2001; Colston & Gibbs Jr. 2002; Gibbs Jr. & Colston 2006; Colston 2015; Colston & Gibbs 2021). One of the central beliefs in the psycholinguistics research conducted on FL is that FL does not require any “special cognitive processes to be understood” (Gibbs Jr. 1994: 413). A common argument in FL is whether figurative instances such as metaphors, for example, take more time to be processed than literal instances. However, in their 1993 study on familiarity and aptness of metaphor processing, Blasko and Connine (1993) found that metaphors were processed as quickly as literal expressions because familiarity and aptness play an essential role in metaphor processing. The more familiar someone is with metaphor, the more quickly they will process it. Similarly, regardless of the level of familiarity, the authors found that aptness of metaphor could help in the overall processing of metaphors. As the authors state, “only those [metaphors] rated as highly apt showed evidence of availability of the figurative meaning” (Blasko & Connine 1993: 304). Other experiments observed similar results (Pynte et al., 1996; Giora 1999; McElree & Nordlie 1999; Tartter et al., 2002).

In his 2015 book *Using Figurative Language*, Herbert Colston aims to answer a central question, “Why don’t people say what they mean?” (Colston 2015: 1). He draws our attention to the effects that FL has on people. Colston refers to such effects as “pragmatic effects,” which he defines as bits of “‘additional complex meaning’ [...] accomplished by a speaker’s use of figurative language” (2015: 5). At the very beginning of his book, Colston provides readers with a reanalysis of Roberts and Kreuz’s (1994) taxonomy of goals and figures of speech.

Rather than structuring his table with the goals first and the figures second, Colston puts it the other way, starting with the figures followed by the goals they are said to achieve (see Table 1 below).

| Figure | Goal |
|---------------------|--|
| Metaphor/simile | To clarify (94% simile), to clarify (82% metaphor), to add interest (71% metaphor) |
| Hyperbole | To clarify (83%), to emphasize (67%), to be humorous (61%) |
| Indirect requests | To guide another's actions (64%), to be polite (64%), to protect self (61%) |
| Irony | To show negative emotion (94%), to be humorous (65%) |
| Understatement | To show negative emotion (69%), to deemphasize (75%) |
| Rhetorical question | To show negative emotion (56%), to clarify (72%) |

Table 1: Various figures and their communicative goals (Adapted from Colston 2015: 18).

As important and exciting as it is to study pragmatic effects, it is essential to note that, in order to understand them, there is a critical need for “common ground” (Gibbs 1994; Colston 2015). In fact, Colston argues for “the necessity of common-ground consideration for successful language use and comprehension” (Colston 2015: 103). Colston and Gibbs state that “common ground generally refers then to information, beliefs, attitudes that some select group of individuals both share and mutually recognize that they possess in common” (2017: 13). *Common ground* is even more important when it comes to producing, interpreting, and understanding language, as people will need to share some common (ground) information in order to fully understand what someone else truly means (Colston & Gibbs 2017). That is even more true when it comes to rhetorical questions, which often express a feeling or belief towards something or someone, as there is some type of discrepancy between what is said and what is meant. Table 2 below shows the 18 pragmatic effects observed by Colston (2015).

| Pragmatic Effect | Definition |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Ingratiation | “This pragmatic effect thus essentially acts as a bonding mechanism between or among interlocutors” (2015: 67). |
| Mastery | “speakers can use varying levels of sophisticated figurative language to control the display of their master over the situations at hand” (2015: 67). |
| Persuasion | “generic term for this general pragmatic function” (2015: 68). |
| Social Engineering | “This pragmatic effect is a collection of rich, subtle social positioning maneuvers that many kinds of figurative language [...] achieve for a speaker” (2015: 70). |
| Catalyzation | “essentially applies to the degree of social interaction among interlocutors using figurative language” can “activate and enhance the thinking of interlocutors [...] can prime additional figurative language productions [...] can invoke deeper understandings by hearers and [...] can reveal interlocutor attitudes toward relevant content [...]” (2015: 70). |
| Efficiency | “figurative language is efficient in that it can convey much concentrated meaning with relatively little quantity of language” (2015: 70). |
| Expressing Negativity | Expressing some kind of negativity (2015: 71). |
| Enhancing Meaning | Enhancing meaning (clarify, add interest) |
| Highlighting Discrepancies | “highlighting discrepancies, typically between expectations, preferences, and the like versus actual ensuing events” (2015: 72) |
| Objectification | “usually works in service of strengthening a parallel pragmatic function such as persuasion” (2015: 74). |
| Identification | “This effect serves to indicate some characteristic about the speaker, such as his or her cultural background, identification, or association” (2015: 75). |
| Humor | Expressing humor |
| Emotion Expression/Elicitation | “expressing a speaker’s emotion and eliciting (the same or other) emotional states in hearers” (2015: 76) |
| Extollation | A form of praise. |
| Politeness | Being polite |
| Impoliteness | Being impolite |
| Tension Reduction | “reduce tension in social situations by breaking down potentially excessive formality” (2015: 81). |
| Machiavellianism | Putting others at disadvantage (2015: 81). |

Table 2: List of pragmatic effects from Colston (2015).

It is often thought that FL is indirect in that people do not literally say what they mean. However, Colston and Gibbs (2021) assert that FL does, in fact, communicate directly (228). The authors argue that “[w]hat makes figurative communication direct is the fact that different figurative forms, demonstrate, and not merely describe, what speakers mean” (Colston & Gibbs 2021: 231). In fact, they link that very idea to “embodied simulations,” and more broadly to

“mirror neurons,” in which seeing an action or simulating an action activates the same areas of the brain as when the action is being performed (Colston & Gibbs 2021: 231). Research in psycholinguistics has highlighted that understanding FL does not require special cognitive processes, but that it does require sharing common ground. As will be shown below, this relates directly to social media.

1.4. Social Media, Neuroscience, and Psychology

Following the rise of social media, researchers in neuroscience started looking at the impact of social media had on people’s lives, behaviors, and brains. In a review article on neuroscience and social media, Meshi and colleagues propose various approaches that neuroscientists can follow when conducting research on social media (Meshi et. al., 2015: 770). Meshi and colleagues argue that people seek to satisfy social drives, such as “connect with others and manage their reputation” (Meshi et al., 2015: 772). These social drives are essential to human beings as they fulfill the need to be part of a group, hence fulfilling biological needs (Meshi et al., 2015: 772). The authors proceed to argue that using social media can be a way for people to fulfill these needs, through five key social media behaviors, as shown in Figure 3 below.

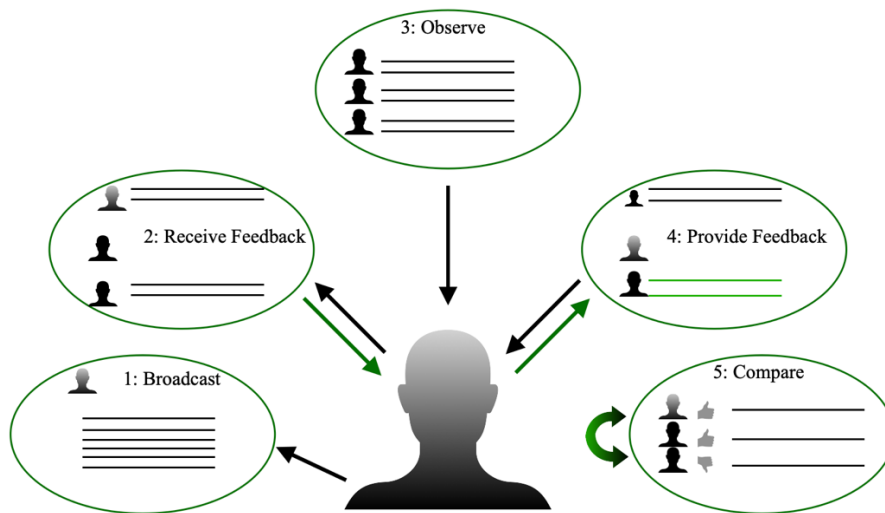


Figure 3: “Five Key Social Media Behaviors. Social media users can: (1) broadcast information; (2) receive feedback on this information; (3) observe the broadcasts of others; (4) provide feedback on the broadcasts of others; and (5) compare themselves with other

First, social media users will “broadcast” or post something on a social media platform. Second, they will then receive feedback for what they have shared, such as a *like* or a *comment*. Third, users will then observe others’ posts. Fourth, they will provide feedback on those posts. Lastly, users will compare themselves, such as the content of posts, the number of likes they received, and so on, to others (Meshi et al., 2015: 772-773).

Regarding social media behavior, the authors hypothesize that there are at least three neural networks that are involved when using social media (Meshi et al., 2015. 773). The first of these networks is called the “Mentalizing Network,” which involves various brain regions involved in the thought “about mental states and motivations of other users” (2015: 773). This mental network is closely related to the first, second, and fourth steps in Figure 3, that of broadcasting information, receiving, and providing feedback (2015: 773-774). The second network is called “Self-Referential Cognition Network,” which involves the processing of information relevant to oneself (2015: 774). The self-referential cognition network is related to the first step of Figure 3, as users have to think about themselves in order to broadcast

information (Meshi et al., 2015: 774). Lastly, the “Reward Network” suggests that cues such as *liking* a post or receiving a *friend request* might activate this brain network (2015: 774). These three networks were studied at length in offline social settings, and they could therefore apply to social media studies too.

For example, liking a post may activate the Reward Network (Meshi et al., 2015: 774). For this reason, Sherman and her colleagues conducted a study on “the neural correlates of viewing photos with many or few *likes* to assess the role of quantifiable social endorsement in peer influence” (Sherman et al., 2016: 1028). Sherman and her colleagues created a platform that mimicked the platform Instagram, where people share photos and *like* photos. Participants were placed in the MRI scanner at the time of the study, and they had to either press “like” the photo or “next” buttons. It is worth noting that the authors picked 42 hazardous photos (i.e., cigarettes, alcohol), 66 neutral photos, and 40 unique photos previously submitted by the participants. Participants were shown the number of likes the photo had. Results showed that the popularity of a photo (i.e., number of likes), regardless of the type of photo it is, had an important influence on how the photo was perceived by participants (Sherman et al., 2016: 1031). Regarding the Reward Circuit mentioned above, the study also found that the NAcc (Nucleus Accumbens) and Ventral Tegmental Area (VTA), which play major roles in the reward circuit, are highly “implicated in the experience of receiving positive feedback on one’s own images as well as viewing other people’s images that have been endorsed by peers” (Sherman et al., 2016: 1039).

While the initial study by Sherman et al. (2016) focused on the effect of *Likes* on adolescents, in a follow-up study Sherman and colleagues (2018) shifted their focus to providing likes rather than the influence of getting likes. The method was fairly similar to the previous one as they used the same simulation of Instagram to conduct the study. A noteworthy element is that this other study did not comprise any photos depicting risky behavior, such as

alcohol or drug use. On the behavioral side of the study, they found that participants were more likely to like images representing objects rather than faces (2018: 702). Moreover, participants were asked to rank the reasons why they liked a photo, and 64.1% of the participants “selected ‘The image was visually appealing’ as their top choice” (2018: 702). Sherman et al. hypothesized that liking a post or photo on social media might activate “regions associated with reward processing and prosocial behavior, including the ventral striatum and vmPFC (ventromedial prefrontal cortex)” (2018: 704). Overall results supported the authors’ hypothesis “as both regions showed a significantly greater response when participants selected ‘Like’ vs. ‘Next’” (2018: 704). Yet the authors did mention that their study may have one major limitation in that they cannot be sure whether the reward comes from providing a Like or from looking at a visually appealing image (Sherman et al., 2018: 702).

The studies by Meshi et al. (2015) and Sherman et al. (2018) focused on the effects that social media use has on the brain. In a related study on dopamine and its role in social media addiction, Burhan and Moradzadeh (2020) suggested that through feedback loop mechanisms and dopamine release, using social media could become addictive (2020: 1). In general, there is consensus surrounding dopamine and its role in drug addictions (Di Chiara 1995; Franken et al., 2005; Wise & Jordan 2021), and people have said that using social media can become addictive, too. Burhan and Moradzadeh (2020) compared social media addiction to a gambling addiction. They explain that there is an anticipatory period during which the dopamine neurons are most active for a short period of time (Burhan & Moradzadeh 2020: 1). Afterward, there is exhaustion and negative outcomes related to the game, which can cause disengagement because of the lack of dopamine activity in the brain (2020: 1). There is a need for balance at regular intervals to keep the individual in the feedback loop mechanism, which also applies to social media use (2020: 1). The authors argue that for the feedback loop mechanism to work, positive stimuli need to be delivered arbitrarily, in the shape of notifications, for instance (2020: 1). The

occasions during which the stimuli are positive (i.e., getting a message) will trigger “rewarding dopamine release” in the brain (Burhan & Moradzadeh 2020: 1). In sum, social media does not only influence the way we communicate, it can also have significant effects on the brain.

Apart from neuroscientists, psychiatrists and psychologists have also taken great interest in the effects that social media have on people’s lives, especially their well-being and mental health. For instance, Firth and colleagues show how several features closely related to the online world may affect human cognition, more precisely, attention, memory, and social cognition (Firth et al., 2019: 119). It is widely known that the brain is malleable, meaning that it can adapt to changes in the environment. Hence it would make sense for online platforms “to induce long-term changes in the neuronal architecture of the human brain” (Firth et al., 2019: 119). In line with Burhan and Moradzadeh’s argument (2020), Firth and colleagues argue that (dopamine) rewards that users get from checking their phones can cause “behavioral reinforcements,” which might, in the end, lead to compulsive behaviors (Firth et al., 2019: 120). Concerning social media, the authors discuss the effects online feedback can have on self-esteem (Firth et al., 2019: 125). In fact, there is growing evidence showing that social media use can affect the way people view themselves because in social media posts, users often compare themselves to others, as can be seen in step five in Figure 3 above (Firth et al., 2019: 125). Such comparisons can lead to various negative outcomes such as unrealistic expectations, as well as mental health issues such as depression, which can increase the risk for suicide (Firth et al., 2019: 125). Nevertheless, Firth et al. argue that if used correctly, social media may help improve mental health via feelings of connectedness, as well as offering people social support that they can find online (Firth et al., 2019: 126). This latter aspect of social media, namely mental health issues, has been at the core of several studies.

In a study on social media’s effects on well-being, Melissa Hunt and colleagues (2021) conducted research on a group of 88 undergraduates in order to see how social media can affect

well-being. Results showed that participants who were highly depressed and decreased their social media use reported a decrease in depressive symptoms, while participants who limited their time on social media but were more active did not experience such a decrease in depressive symptoms (Hunt et. al, 2021: 57). Moreover, this study focused on the correlation between well-being and whom people follow on social media (people they know vs. strangers). In fact, preliminary results showed that if participants follow people they know, it has a positive effect on their well-being and reduces their feelings of loneliness, as they might feel more connected (2021: 61). However, if people follow strangers, as is often the case on Twitter, people are presented with a “perfect” life, which leads to self-comparison, and thus, might negatively affect well-being (2021: 61). Following the results, Hunt et al. suggest that limiting social media use has positive effects on depressed users and that limiting passive use (i.e., scrolling) can be highly beneficial for users (Hunt et al., 2021: 62). Regarding mental illness, studies showed that using social media may, in fact, increase social anxiety and depression (Becker, Alzahabi & Hopwood 2013). However, a recent eight-year longitudinal study conducted by Coyne and colleagues (2020) showed that “there were no associations between time spent using social media and mental health across eight years, spanning early adolescence into young adulthood” (Coyne et al., 2020: 6).

Continuing with the topic of mental illness, several studies have focused on mental illness and social media use (Brusilovskiy et al., 2016; Naslund et al., 2017; Pavlova & Berkers 2020; Chester et al., 2020; Ivie et al., 2020). Most of the studies cited here focus on mental health, which seems to be a big concern for social media use among young people. As Ivie et al., (2020) put it, “there appears to be a small but positive association between social media use and depressive symptoms” (Ivie et al., 2020). For instance, Brusilovskiy et al. (2016) studied individuals with “serious mental illness” such as “major depression, bipolar disorder and schizophrenia-spectrum disorder” (Brusilovskiy et al., 2016: 232). The results of their study

showed that “[g]reater intensity and longevity of social media use was positively correlated with more days of community participation” (Brusilovskiy et al., 2016: 237). This suggests that there is no relationship between social media usage, feelings of loneliness or harmful behaviors (Brusilovskiy et al., 2016: 237). While those results seem to diverge from what Hunt et al. (2021) found, generally speaking it seems that people seek support from others by using social media platforms. It is therefore not surprising to see users asking for images or videos that can make them feel a bit better.

Before ending this section, I would like to note that scholars in psychology and behavioral studies have also studied the consequences of social media use on academic performance. Kirschner and Karpinski (2010), for example, conducted a study on college students who use Facebook as well as students who do not use it. Students who used Facebook reported that they spent less time studying and had a lower GPA than did non-users (Kirschner & Karpinski 2010: 1243; see also Alloway & Alloway 2012; Alloway & Horton 2013).

1.5. From the Space Race to Social Media

Up to this point, I have reviewed studies in cognitive linguistics and explained its main argument, namely that FL is not specific to literature or poetry, but is rather a core aspect of human cognition. I have also shown that scholars in psycholinguistics study why people used FL, how they use FL, and most significantly, what effects FL may have on both the producer and receiver. In regard to neurolinguistics, I discussed how scholars have mainly focused their experiments on patients who suffer from brain lesions or from mental illnesses, finding that people with ToM impairment had more difficulty understanding figurative instances (e.g., Gavián & García-Albea 2011). As I explained afterwards, some neuroscientists and psychologists have focused on the impact that social media may have on the human brain and

behavior, such as addiction or mental health issues. In this section, I briefly describe the history of the internet because the FL I analyze is used over the internet in CMC on social media.

The internet is a child of the cold war. In 1957, the Soviet Union sent the very first satellite into orbit, preceding the United States in the Space Race (Cohen-Almagor 2011). To not appear to be behind the Soviets, the USA came up with the Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA), which about ten years later launched the ARPANET, also known as the first internet (Cohen-Almagor 2011). At first, the connections were established between a minimal number of computers (Cohen-Almagor 2011: 50). The very first connection was initiated between Stanford University and UCLA in 1969 (Cohen-Almagor 2011: 48). It was during the mid-1980s that the internet became commercialized and started connecting people from all around the world together (Cohen-Almagor 2011: 52). What began as a response to the success of the Soviet Union in the Space Race, gradually evolved into something global, used by billions of people worldwide. In fact, in 2005, a little more than a billion people used the internet, representing about 16.8% of the world population (ITU 2020). But by 2019, the numbers had grown exponentially, with 4.13 billion people, or around 53 % of the world population, being active users of the internet (ITU 2020).

The expansion and commercialization of the internet affected the lives of people all around the world. In the early stages of the internet, the primary use was to access emails and exchange information. That is commonly known as Web 1.0. One significant aspect of this Web 1.0 is that it was mostly read-only, meaning that people went online solely to access and read information. Rapid online interactions, as we know them now, did not exist as of then (Aghaei et al., 2012; Jacksi & Abass 2019).

Interactions on the web were made possible with the arrival of the second generation of the web, or Web 2.0. People could react, like, comment, and write things online. That is

when social media indeed came into being. As Sareh Aghaei et al. (2012) put it, the “Web 2.0 is also known as the wisdom web, people-centric web, participative web, and read-write web” (Aghaei et al., 2012: 3). Web 2.0 initiated the shift from the internet as a mere informational tool to a more interpersonal one, with the rise of social media.

In the early stages of the internet, people had to be at their desk with a desktop computer and a wired connection in order to be able to access the internet. In 1996, a phone company released the very first phone which could connect to the internet (Baguley 2013). However, there was a major problem with the phone: its price. The phone cost over \$800, which was too expensive for most people back then (Baguley 2013). Even though 1G and 2G existed before the year 2001, it is 3G that truly changed the way mobile phones connected to the internet (Minges 2001). In 2001, 3G service was commercialized globally, granting people internet access wherever they wanted or needed it. In order to access the internet, people needed a phone good enough for it to have this connectivity feature, which is now built into most smartphones on the market.

The rise in popularity of smartphones actually enhanced and improved the interactions people have online. Nowadays, people can log onto Facebook or Twitter on their smartphone, without using a desktop computer. These mobile interactions can now happen on any website, provided they allow users to comment on or react to each other, such as, for example, the platform Amazon, which was the focus of one of the chapters by Camilla Vasquez in her book, *Language, Creativity, and Humor Online* (2019). While the focus of Vasquez’s book is creativity, she argued that people showed appreciation of the creativeness of a review by judging the review as *useful* (Vásquez 2019: 131). In such a case, the interaction is minimal as there is no textual or visual exchange between the users; instead, one user just shows their appreciation of the reviewer’s review, which, to a certain extent, can nevertheless be considered an interaction.

Of course, interactions are significant aspects of our lives. We interact with objects and, most importantly, with people to create bonds, get something, learn things, and discuss various topics. Such interactions are no longer limited to in-person interaction or correspondence by letters as people can communicate quickly via text messages or emails. More recently, such social interactions started being conducted on social media platforms, which will be the focus of the following section.

1.6. Social Media and Social Networks Sites

The rise of the internet led to many other creations; one of them was social media. Because I analyze figurative language use on social media, it is important to briefly understand the social media environment. For example, several scholars seem to differentiate *social media* from what is commonly known as *social network sites* (henceforth SNSs). danah boyd, a Microsoft researcher, and Nicole Ellison, a professor at the University of Michigan, define SNSs as fulfilling three criteria:

web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system (boyd & Ellison 2008: 211).

The first feature of SNSs is the creation of a “public or semi-public” profile in which the user will present themselves (boyd & Ellison 2008). This profile will be accessible to those that are part of the network, most commonly known as “Friends” on Facebook, for example (boyd & Ellison 2008). Users can also connect to other users who are part of their “friends’ list” and, therefore, make more connections through people they know in their “offline” lives (boyd & Ellison 2008).

One issue in this 2008 paper by boyd and Ellison is that social media change really quickly. So, the “boundedness” of an SNS was no longer relevant as people could connect their social media accounts. For example, until 2018, people could tweet something and have it

posted to Facebook simultaneously. That can, however, still happen on Instagram, as people can decide if they want to (1) post the photo on other Instagram accounts, as well as (2) post the photo on Facebook, which is less surprising as Facebook acquired Instagram in 2012. This is known as “cross-posting” (Hall et al., 2018).

Moreover, boyd and Ellison argued in 2008 that Social Network Sites are different from “social networking sites” as “‘Networking’ emphasize[s] relationship initiation, often between strangers” (boyd & Ellison 2008: 211). To that extent, SNSs are neither used to create new ties nor to meet new people; rather, they serve the goal of “communicating with people who are already part of their extended social network” (boyd & Ellison 2008: 211). This view of SNSs holds that users only get in touch with people they already know in real life, offline. Facebook, would then be considered an SNS as its core function was to get in touch with people users knew offline. Reddit, however, could be considered a social *networking* site, as users often do not know each other offline.

However, with the launch of Facebook groups in 2010 (Sraders 2020), people could join such groups depending on their interests (e.g., pop culture, sports, etc.), and therefore, people could communicate and become friends with “strangers” they had met on the social platform but had never met in real life, offline. Thus, the definition of SNSs that was accurate in 2008 was no longer accurate a few years later because social media, more precisely SNSs, evolved and thus required an updated definition. It is worth noting, however, that as of 2024, the difference between social network sites, and social networking sites is less important, as a significant difference has been made between social media and social networks.

Social media refers to a platform used to broadcast information, while social networks refer to connecting and communicating with people. However, the distinction remains blurry, as social media and social networks appear to be intertwined. So, in a paper published in 2013,

Ellison and boyd updated their 2008 definition, taking into account the technological changes that had occurred between 2008 and 2013. In their updated definition of SNSs in 2013, with three criteria, they stated that:

A social network site is a *networked communication platform* in which participants 1) have *uniquely identifiable profiles* that consist of user-supplied content, content provided by other users, and/or system-provided data; 2) can *publicly articulate connections* that can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) can consume, produce, and/or interact with *streams of user-generated content* provided by their connections on the site (Ellison & boyd 2013: 158).

The most salient change they made to their previous definition from 2008 is that in this 2013 definition, the authors considered the public rather than private nature of social networks. Also, SNSs (as they still called them) were not as bounded as they used to be. The notion of “boundedness” was mentioned above in relation to “cross-posting” (Hall et al., 2018). Even though this new definition filled some gaps, the authors still considered SNSs to be different from social media. However, the 2013 definition provided by Ellison and boyd leaves out many types of social media platforms, such as Twitter.

In a paper released in 2014, Kane et al. provided a newer definition. Firstly, Kane et al. (Kane et al., 2014: 279) “do not refer to social networks’ sites’ but more generally to ‘social media networks.’” They call SNSs “social media networks” because the notion of *media/medium* is a key notion in social media. As they say, “a medium conveys a number of related meanings: something in a middle position, a means of conveying something (i.e., a channel), and a condition in which something may flourish” (Kane et al., 2014: 279). According to them, these three key aspects apply to social media. Social media are usually used between different users, they are used to convey some kind of information, and some information shared can gain attention and “flourish.” Or as some people say, that information can *go viral* (Nahon & Hemlsey 2013; Shifman 2014).

The 2014 definition by Kane et al. was inspired by the ones proposed by boyd and Ellison (2008), and by Ellison and boyd (2013). However, Kane et al. (2014) propose a definition of social media networks that contains four criteria instead of three:

[...] users (1) have a unique *user profile* that is constructed by the user, by members of their network, and by the platform; (2) *access digital content* through, and protect it from, various search mechanisms provided by the platform; (3) can *articulate* a list of other users with whom they share a relational connection; and (4) *view and traverse* their connections and those made by others on the platform (Kane et al., 2014: 279).

Instead of considering other websites, such as wikis and microblogs (among others), as being different from an SNS, Kane et al.'s 2014 definition includes them. That is important and relevant to my work, as my study mainly focuses on the microblogging site, Twitter. Another significant point that the authors make is that not only do people use such platforms to communicate with people they know and already have “existing social relationships” with (Kane et al., 2014); they also “use social media to support a broad range of social relationships, which may bear little connection to offline social relationships” (Kane et al., 2014: 280). Examples of such virtual relationships can include ‘relationships’, for example, with celebrities, influencers, singers, or corporations, among others. People on social media can easily ‘communicate’ with them without necessarily knowing them in an *offline* context in the physical world.

“Ties” are one of the central aspects of social media (Kane et al., 2014: 281). They are defined as “simple connections between individual members” (Kane et al., 2014: 282). *Ties* are essential to our relationships in an offline context, but they also play a major role in social media and online contexts. As the authors put it, “[i]n social media networks, tie features are not exclusively a reflection of the underlying social relationships that occur in the network but instead determine in part the nature and characteristics of the relationships that will occur on the platform” (Kane et al., 2014: 281). People can share their precise location (proximity), they

can establish and maintain social connections by using social media (relations), and they can follow specific topics (flows) that interest them (Kane et al., 2014: 283).

Kane et al. (2014) also build on Ellison and boyd’s paper (2013) to posit that “content type, digital activity trace and third-party contributions [...] may each affect how content spreads in a social media network” (Kane et al., 2014: 287). That means that there is a type of two-way relationship between users and networks, in which different features will affect the network, and more precisely, the social media network. Lastly, Kane et al. argue that the social media network profile and the user can also “affect how content influences the user and how the user influences the network” (Kane et al., 2014: 288). In sum, Kane et al. (2014) provide scholars with a thorough and deep overview of theories and works associated with *Social Network Analysis* (SNA) that other scholars could use to further their research on social media network use.

Regarding my own work, the definition by Kane et al., (2014) is most relevant as it encompasses the microblogging social media network Twitter. Regarding the difference between social media and social networks, the following figure shows which place each may occupy.

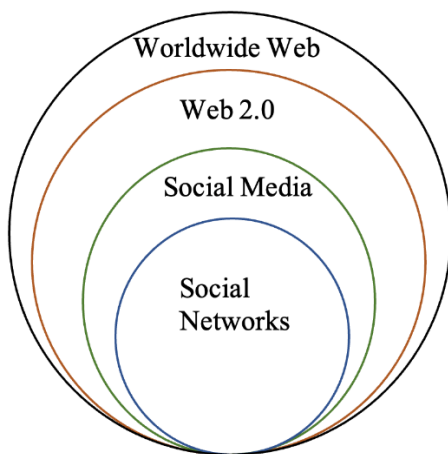


Figure 4: Visual representation of the place of social media and social networks (Adapted from Pierre 2018).

As we see, the Web 2.0, social media, and social networks are connected, as social media and social networks exist within Web 2.0, which itself exists within the worldwide web (WWW). However, one of the downsides of this representation could be that it seems to imply that social networks only exist inside of social media. In fact, social networks existed before social media, or even before the internet existed. Offline, a social network encompasses the people we meet at work, at school but also members of our family, as each of these environments, among many others, are networks of people (Scott 1988). Such offline interactions have been studied to a great extent in the past, especially in relation to online interactions (see Khalis & Yee Mikami 2018; Lieberman & Schroeder 2019; Greijdanus et al., 2020). Overall, social networks do exist outside of social media, but online they only exist in or on social media. This is the way Figure 4 should be understood. Yet, previous studies on social media have not solely focused on defining the terms and creating a framework, as we will now see below.

So far, I have mainly highlighted some social media research that focuses on interactions between people. However, it must be said that companies have taken advantage of social media platforms to promote and advertise their products. Social media provide companies with an easy, global, and free means of advertisement. According to Susan Gunelius, CEO of Keysplash Creative Inc., a marketing communication and strategic company, “Social media marketing offers the single largest opportunity for entrepreneurs, small businesses, midsize companies, and large corporations to build their brands and their businesses” (Gunelius 2011: 13). Gunelius, who made this statement in her 2011 book, *30-Minute Social Media Marketing*, means that businesses of all sizes can use social media and benefit from it, through advertisements, for example. Unlike more typical types of advertisement, such as TV or radio commercials, or print ads in newspapers or magazines, the brands do not necessarily have to pay social media for product promotion. However, companies

can decide to pay to promote their brands beyond a simple tweet, as the promoted tweet will then appear on the screen of people that are not necessarily interested in the product. Not surprisingly, many scholars have studied social media use for branding purposes (Yang & Che 2020; Zollo et al., 2020; Pinheiro Melo Borges Tiago & Cristóvão Veríssimo 2014; Godey et al., 2016). Other scholars have focused on consumers and the effects the brands have on their buying habits. Some of the research on consumer affect actually focused on the use of emoji, which are an important aspect of CMC, as well as visual media more generally (Das et al. 2019; Jaeger et al., 2019; John & De’Villiers 2020).

1.7. Linguistics, Figurative Language, and Social Media

In the research context I have described so far, it should be clear to see why bridging social media studies and linguistics has become more important than ever before. Linguists have studied figurative language in different genres, such as literature, rhetoric, and spoken discourse, among others. So it was only a matter of time before scholars started looking at CMC and how people use language, including FL online.

Academics in the field of linguistics have been looking at internet communication and CMC for years now, providing us with a better understanding of various topics such as multilingualism (Dor 2004; Danet & Herring 2007; Bolander 2020). For example, David Crystal proposed the notion of “Internet linguistics,” which eventually became the title of one of his books (2011). Crystal focused mainly on exploring the language of the internet and on raising issues on the topic (Crystal 2001; Crystal 2008; Crystal 2011). For example, he was concerned with the amount of data available, as there is no such thing as a limit on the internet (Crystal 2011: 10). Secondly, as the internet is available all around the world, meaning that we can encounter texts in English, French, Korean, or any other language, which makes it difficult to come up with general ideas that can encompass all of the various languages (Crystal 2011:

10). Finally, while Crystal clearly advanced the field of linguistics by looking at this new technology and at how people used language online, he nevertheless raised important methodological issues.

Other scholars have provided us with a general overview of language use on the internet as well as of the people that create the internet (see McCulloch 2019). Elements that play a major role in communication on the internet, such as the use of hashtags on Twitter and Instagram for example, have been dealt with in articles and books dedicated to those topics (Rossi & Magnani 2012; Zappavigna 2015; Scott 2015; Matley 2018; Zappavigna 2018). For example, Kate Scott (2015) argued that “hashtags have been appropriated by users of Twitter to provide additional contextual information in an economical and stylistically unobtrusive way” (Scott 2015: 9). In this sense, hashtags are used by social media users, such as Twitter users, to provide their followers, or whoever comes across this tweet, with information on the context as well as the attitude towards the tweet by acting as a “highlighting device” (Scott 2015: 14). Hashtags are linguistic markers with different functions. They can be used to highlight things as well as search for things. In her 2015 paper, Michele Zappavigna studied the use of hashtags as search devices in the case of general topics such as TV shows or activities (Zappavigna, 2015). But while hashtags are indeed important aspects of social media, they are not the only ones.

In her book entitled *Language, Creativity, and Humor Online* (2019), Camilla Vásquez tackles various topics related to linguistics and creativity. Her work is a continuation of what Ron Carter had started with his work on language and creativity (Carter 2004), as well as Danet’s influential work on linguistic creativity online (2001). Vásquez’s study is based on deeper analyses of Twitter, Tumblr, and reviews on Amazon. She highlighted the similarities and differences between the types of creativity involved in the three platforms, and genres. What stands out in this work is the variety of genres Vásquez looked at. In fact, even though

Twitter, Tumblr, and Amazon reviews are all online platforms, they differ in how they are used. Twitter is limited in the number of characters available; Tumblr, on the other hand, has no limit whatsoever. These two platforms, however, are similar in that they are social platforms where people exchange and share ideas or opinions. Therefore, they are both made to be used in such a way.

Concerning Twitter, Vásquez looked at how parody accounts of celebrities such as Bill Nye, Kim Kardashian, or Hillary Clinton, used various means, such as multimodality (2019: 38), or voices (2019: 45), to convey humor (Vásquez 2019: 36). In her analysis of Tumblr chats, the author mainly looked at the “polyphony in Tumblr chats” (Vásquez 2019: 94). In fact, she found such polyphony could appear with various tools such as incongruity (2019: 100), or digital references (2019: 104), only to name a few. In contrast, Amazon is an online shopping service; its main goal is not to connect people, but to sell goods. The interesting part in Amazon reviews, as Vásquez shows in her book, is that such reviews are very often creative and parodic, sometimes even based on very famous poems (Vásquez 2019: 135). By looking at such a variety of genres, Vásquez sheds light on how humor works online. She shows that people do not come up with new innovative means to convey humor; rather, they reuse tools that were already available and adapt them to the various platforms mentioned above (Vásquez 2019: 157).

Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) is a notion closely linked to studies of language on the internet. But Kate Scott argued for a change in terminology, from CMC to EMC, (“electronically mediated communication”), because people nowadays do not necessarily rely on desktop or laptop computers to go online and communicate (Scott 2015: 8). However, for the sake of clarity I will use CMC as it is the most prevalent term in other studies. Susan Herring, a professor of Information Science and Linguistics at the University of Indiana, started looking at CMC back in 1996. Most of her research focused on CMC as well as online

behavior (Herring 1999; Herring 2001; Herring 2004). More recently, Herring has studied another key element of CMC, emoji, as well as Animoji, which are the new animated emoji based on face recognition, introduced by Apple (Herring et al., 2020; Herring & Dainas 2020; Herring et al., 2020; Herring & Ge 2020; Dainas & Herring 2021, only to name a few). Regarding emoji, Susan Herring mainly argued that instead of studying them from the viewpoint of semantics, scholars should rather study emoji from the viewpoint of pragmatics.

As previously mentioned, emoji are a big part of communication online. Academics from divergent fields have looked at the roles and functions of emoji. Emoji are small pictures representing faces, objects, animals, and so on, that people use to communicate. In business research, emoji have been dealt with regarding consumer emotions (Das, Wiener & Kareklas 2019; Jaeger et al., 2019; Moussa 2019; Vidal et al., 2020). Most of the time, emoji are used in addition to text, even though we find some exceptions where emoji are used on their own to create meaning as well as convey or provoke emotions (Novak, et al., 2015, Wolny 2016; Danesi 2016; Evans 2017; Parkwell 2019; Danesi 2019). It is worth noting that scholars from different areas agree on the idea that emoji are not a new language (Evans 2017; McCulloch 2019); rather, there is a consensus that emoji “fulfil some of the functions associated with language” (Evans 2017: 19).

In Marcel Danesi’s “emoji code” (2017: 167), there are ten “rules” or characteristics of emoji. The list below is a summary provided by Danesi about the ten chapters of his book:

- (1) Emoji are standardized picture-words that are used commonly in informal messages of all kinds to add semantic nuances, to emphasize tone, to avoid potential misunderstandings, and to fulfill various phatic and emotive functions, they are not meant to replace existing scripts.
- (2) They are provided by Unicode and the other systems on keyboards, or else they come with different forms via apps and websites. They are thus similar to letters on a keyboard in that they can be selected with a stroke; they are not phonemic, but rather conceptual, like pictographs. In other words, they are selected for semantic-conceptual reasons, not for character-based reasons.

- (3) They are rarely used (if at all) in messages where the tone is serious or reflective; however, as we have seen, they are used a lot in different kinds of messages, including those intended to threaten someone.
- (4) Emoji that are put at the end of sentences or even interspersed in sentences may have punctuation functions, replacing periods, commas, and the like. They thus add considerably to the meaning of sentences, transcoding the perfunctory prosody that punctuation marks often entail.
- (5) The most common use of emoji occurs in hybrid writing (text and pictures), although emoji-only writing is gaining some popularity. Emoji translations, however, are so difficult to decipher that they contravene a basic principle of least effort in communication theory, and are thus unlikely to spread broadly.
- (6) Emoji add a kind of “comedic tenor” to messages that assuages a message’s impact by imparting a touch of humor through a cartoon style that also enhances the tone of friendliness.
- (7) They possess conceptual structure, being located at specific points in a message, for semantic reinforcement. They also are combined into syntagms to relay larger meanings, and with some words they are used in tandem to form adjacency pairs.
- (8) They produce what has been called here the thesaurus effect, enfolding all kinds of connotations that reach into both universal or core meaning patterns and culture-sensitive ones.
- (9) They are examples of metaphorical blends at various levels, from the constitutive micro-level one in their configuration or composition, to their distribution and meaning structure at the macro level.
- (10) Even though they were meant to provide a universal core lexicon by standardizing organizations, they still generate ambiguities and encase various dilemmas of usage and interpretation, which will probably never be resolved, given the variability and indeterminacy of human expressing, interpretive, and communicative process (Danesi 2017: 167-168).

As we can see from this summary of the ten rules or characteristics of emoji, Danesi provides a rather broad view of how they are used (e.g., punctuation, emotive functions), how universal they are (or are not), when they are used, and so on. The characteristics of emoji spelled out by Danesi broadly encompass most of the uses of emoji that I have found in my corpus.

While one may think that emoji and cognitive linguistics have nothing in common, emoji are actually closely related to cognitive linguistics. In fact, emoji are related to metaphor and metonymy. For example, Vyvyan Evans argued that emoji are a type of CONDUIT metaphor as the meaning is put into the image, the emoji, and is transmitted to someone else (Evans 2017: 39-40). Regarding metonymy, Evans stated that “[m]etonymy, is, in fact what makes emojis

work” (2017: 187). That is because an emoji, let us say the crying emoji “😭,” metonymically stands for a feeling, namely, being sad. Emoji are a significant type of visual and multimodal aspects of CMC, but not the only one. While emoji and emoticons have been around for years, that is not the case with internet memes.

Briefly, the notion of “memes” was first introduced with respect to genetics by Richard Dawkins (1976). In his sense, memes are cultural items such as ideas, concepts, fashions, and so on, which are transmitted from brain to brain, just as genes are transmitted from one generation to another. An important feature of memes, in Dawkins’ sense, is that they are prone to natural selection as there is some type of competition between them; it is a fight for survival. This is also relevant for internet memes. Scholars such as Shifman (2014) and Milner (2016) have looked at internet memes in order to better understand these relatively new artefacts of communication. Shifman defines memes as “(a) a group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance, which (b) were created with awareness of each other, and (c) were circulated, imitated, and/or transformed via the Internet by many users” (2014: 41). After Shifman, other scholars within linguistics looked at these new artifacts in order to understand the humor behind memes and see what figures of speech and thought are present in memes including, most importantly, how they work (Dyrel 2016; Piata 2016; Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2017; Lou 2017; Miltner 2018; Zenner & Geerearts 2018; Hirsch 2019; Benammar 2023). While internet memes are central to social media, the number of tweets involving memes in my corpus was not significant enough for a study to be conducted. Internet memes will therefore not be dealt with in this work, although I have published an analysis of memes elsewhere (Benammar 2023).

1.8. Methodology

Here I will introduce the methodology I used to collect my data, and discuss what tools I used for the research, as well as address ethical questions related to my research project.

The reason why I have decided to focus on Twitter is because it is used globally, but also because the application programming interface (API) was freely available to researchers up to 2023. Jack Dorsey, the creator of Twitter, started working on his concept in 2006. Twitter was set up for people to use mobile phones to send out messages to other people, hence the initial limit of 140 characters per tweet, which was the character limit imposed then on text messages. This limit was then increased to 280 characters in 2017. The way Twitter works today is very different from what Dorsey first had in mind. In Figure 5, we can see the very first sketch that Dorsey made of “Twtrr” in 2005. There is a status bar, where people could write what they were doing, as well as information about the user, such as phone number or e-mail address. At the bottom of the sketch, there is a search bar, where people would type a friend’s address in order to find them and connect with them.

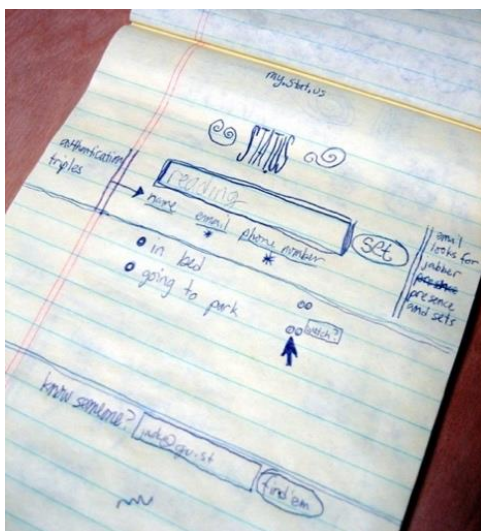


Figure 5: First “Twtrr” sketch. Retrieved from <https://flic.kr/p/h8WAd>.

Figure 6 below shows the appearance of Twitter back in 2006, as opposed to what it looks like in 2023, after Elon Musk became Twitter’s CEO.

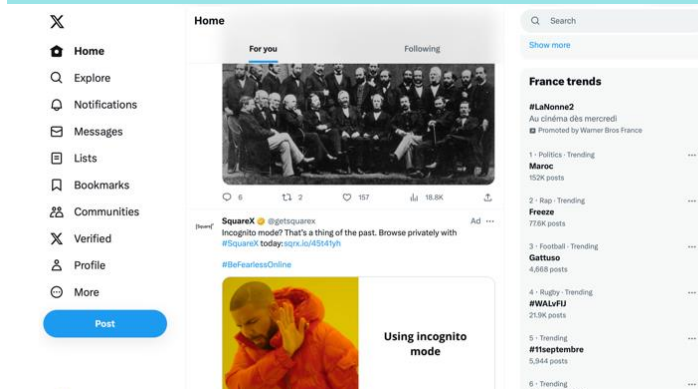


Figure 6: Twitter appearance evolution from 2006 (retrieved from Google images) to 2023 (personal timeline; X).

The first image in Figure 6 is a screenshot shared by Twitter’s co-founder Biz Stone, which looks relatively similar to what Dorsey had sketched. In the center of the page, we have the status bar at the top of the page, stats in a column right, and previous tweets in the center of the page. In the more recent web version of Twitter, the overall look is fairly similar as we still have a central part where tweets appear, and a column on the right. However, the column does not give us “stats” about the account, but rather “what’s happening” in the world, or the location the user picked. On the right side of the page, there are various icons to access the profile or direct messages, for example.

Twitter is often referred to as a microblogging service. A microblog is “a short social media technology, involving the posting of small, typically episodic, messages aimed at internet-mediated audiences” (Zappavigna 2017: 201). People on their microblog will share posts, called tweets, which as mentioned above, can now be up to 280 characters long, for regular users. Such tweets can comprise images, videos, or links, which makes them highly multimodal. Users can post tweets, reply to a tweet, quote a tweet (QRT), or retweet (RT) a tweet by someone else. This means that the original tweet will be shared by the user on his or her personal twitter *feed*, for others to see.

However, considering the recent changes made to Twitter, now called X, it is important to know that the term “micro-blogging” may not be as relevant as it used to be. People who subscribed to X’s monthly plan have access to “notes” which can be up to 2,500 words long. Moreover, the terminology of Twitter completely changed. As Twitter is now called X, tweets are now called posts, retweeting is now called reposting, and quote tweets are now called quotes. Since I started this project a few years before these very recent changes, for the sake of clarity and consistency I will keep using the former terminology in my work. Figure 7 is a representation of what a typical tweet looks like in 2022, with the various buttons and options available to users.

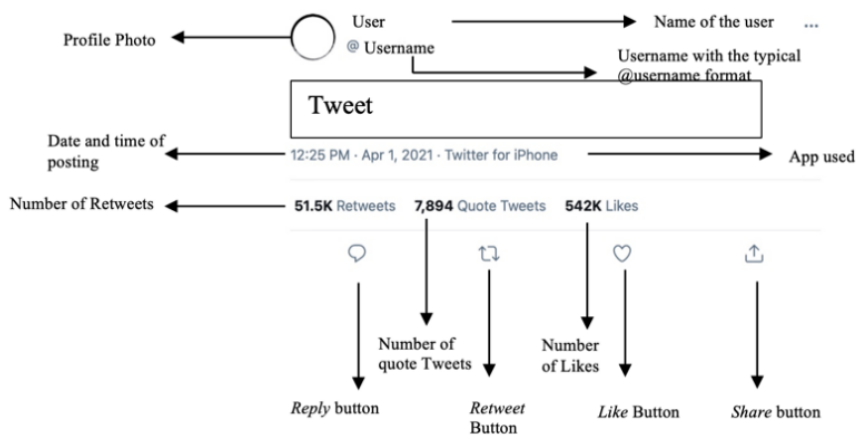


Figure 7: Anatomy of a tweet.

Regarding replies, users have at least two different options. The first option is to reply directly below the original tweet, as Figure 8 shows.



Figure 8: Example of a "normal" reply on Twitter.

Figure 8 represents a monomodal tweet and two replies on twitter. This monomodal tweet has different parts: the first one is the original tweet by Elon Musk -- “define ... beauty” -- which a user replied to by quoting John Keats, which was then replied to by Elon Musk. An important thing throughout my work is that tweets that are not posted by personalities, or companies, will be anonymous, hence the name “user” will be used, as in the example above. This is common practice now in research on tweets. The second option by which people can reply or react to tweets is through what is called a *quote retweet*, or *QRT*.



Figure 9: Astronaut Thomas Pesquet's quote tweet.

Similar to Figure 8, different parts of the tweet in Figure 9 must be defined. First, there is the tweet by @NASA_Johnson which included the photos of the Crew-2 mission astronauts. Second, above NASA's tweet there is the tweet by the French astronaut Thomas Pesquet, member of the Crew-2 mission, which reads "Rainy departure from Texas, (almost) sunny arrival in Florida." Here, Pesquet is replying to (or reacting to) the tweet by NASA in a different tweet of his own that contains, or *quotes*, NASA's original tweet. Such quote retweets or QRTs serve two main goals: with them users can share a tweet with their audiences, and also add their reaction or response to said tweet.

In the analyses below, I will copy the format of the tweet. If the tweet is a standalone, with or without replies, it will look something like Figure 8. If it is a QRT, it will look like Figure 9. Lastly, for quote-retweets and replies, it will be a blend of the two, where replies will appear below the quoted retweet.

1.9. Corpus

To conduct this project, I worked with a research laboratory at the Université de Haute-Alsace in Mulhouse, France called IRIMAS (Institut de Recherche en Informatique, Mathématiques, Automatique et Signal). Together with Professor Jonathan Weber, and two of his master students at IRIMAS, Julien Weissenberger and Laurine Hug, we developed a small software program that runs under Python, which I used to collect my tweets. The software was programmed to retrieve tweets in English only, even though in some cases users switched between English and other languages (French, Korean, Spanish etc.). By using the software, I could collect up to fifty tweets per load. The software program was developed as part of the students' final project and was therefore only made fully available to me in January 2021.

By using the software, I could download at most two hundred tweets per day in order to retrieve a wide range of tweets from different moments in time. Following my initial plan, I

decided to collect tweets randomly from a period of time, rather than looking for specific topics. With this method I could collect tweets from different parts of Twitter, such as politics, Stan Twitter, sports, and so on. Once collected, the tweets were automatically transferred into a Microsoft Excel table in which I categorized them by period and by topic when recurrent topics were found. It is important to note, however, that the thousand tweets I collected in the end were not all collected with the software program. In fact, the initial data set had 970 tweets, but because replies were not retrievable by using the software program, I had to collect some tweets manually, specifically for my third chapter. Despite stumbling across problems regarding specific types of tweets, I collected 30 more tweets to get more data and round up the corpus to 1,000 tweets in all.

The first 970 tweets were collected between 2021 and 2022; then the additional 30 tweets were collected in January 2023. To conduct the analysis of figurative language in the tweets, I started with an overview of the tweets, highlighting clear figurative instances. In order to go more in depth, I intended on using tools such as MIPVU, for metaphor identification, and HIP for hyperbole identification (Steen et al. 2010; Burgers et al. 2016). But because of the visual, and multimodal nature of the social media platform, I quickly ran into the limits of such tools. Another challenge I had was the mixed nature of figurative instances. Many examples I analyze in the following chapters combine several figures, making the analysis furthermore complicated. Due to these issues, as well as the lack of automated tools for automatic detection of figurative language, I felt I had no other choice than to analyze each tweet individually, relying on past research on similar topics in order to try to avoid confirmation bias.

Because of the nature of Twitter, communication on the platform can be considered to belong to the public sphere. Therefore, its data (namely the tweets) can be considered public and be used as they are for the purposes of research. However, following the work of Camilla Vásquez (2019), I have decided to make the tweets anonymous, by removing the users'

pseudonym (the @). Only tweets that were shared by public figures (politicians, signers, actors, companies, etc.) were shared with their full information. Initially, I separated non-public figures from public figures by checking for the presence of the checkmark. However, following Twitter's recent changes, this can no longer be done, as anyone can buy it, even if there are differences between the paid subscription, and political figures, for example. Moreover, the fact that some users shared what could be considered sensitive information (suicide, disorders etc.), led me to anonymize all the tweets, except those mentioned above. The users will therefore be referred to in numerical order as @user1, @user2, and so on, based on the order in which the examples are presented in my chapters.

Lastly, regarding the data, the number of tweets in my corpus (1,000) may seem rather low, considering what is now being done in the era of Big Data. However, since the analysis had to be conducted by hand, on my own, I concluded that 1,000 tweets would be a relatively good number to have a healthy sample from which I could see patterns of FL usage by different users. Of course, as technology improves, larger corpora could be used in order to perhaps generalize some of the findings I made here. That is what I wish to do in the future, with the work of Professor Randy Harris and the Rhetoricon team at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada. Regarding the availability of my data set, I would like to upload it on GitHub, as soon as it is fully cleaned, organized, and publishable.

1.10. Conclusion and Research Questions

Many of the works I have cited above have dealt with topics that are close to my own work. However, very few scholars have focused on the use of figurative language on Twitter, let alone its pragmatic effects. Although Irazú Hernández Fariás et al. (2015) have looked at a very similar topic as part of a workshop on semantic evaluation (2015), they mainly focused on irony and sarcasm. However, other scholars who attended the workshop in 2015 focused on

sentiment analysis in figurative language on Twitter, including metaphor, irony, and sarcasm (Ghosh et al., 2015). That “SemEval2015” workshop was organized by the Association for Computational Linguistics, and its topic of study was specifically “Text Similarity and Question Answering, Time and Space, Sentiment, Word Sense Disambiguation and Induction, Learning Semantic Relations” (SemEval2015). At least 12 SemEval workshops have been held since 1998, and scholars who attend the workshops present tools for computational semantic analysis, that are then evaluated (SemEval2015).

Scholars in linguistics have looked at figures of speech and thought in CMC, and more precisely metaphor and metonymy. For example, Bolognesi et al. (2019) provide methods and theories for looking at newer types of data. With respect to humor, Marta Dynel has looked at humor in the tweets by the US fast-food chain Wendy’s (2019), as well as humor in insults on Twitter (Dynel & Poppi 2020). Michele Zappavigna also focused on the social platform Twitter, but her focus was on how people create affiliation through language (Zappavigna 2012). Her work nevertheless provided me with many insights into social media that could, in the end, be closely related to the topic of my doctoral thesis. This is because she tackled various topics such as affiliation, internet memes, internet slang as well as political discourse online (Zappavigna 2012).

While much research has been done on figurative language on the one hand, and on social media communication on the other hand, few scholars have looked at the pragmatic effects of figurative language in social media and, more precisely, on Twitter. Within cognitive linguistics, scholars have been looking at figurative language for decades to understand how our mind works. In psycholinguistics, scholars have tackled FL and its effects on people. Studying everyday, face-to-face communication can be quite challenging as it requires scholars to constantly record others in order to have data close to natural language. But by looking at CMC in social media, this limitation does not apply, as the data is more or less freely accessible,

despite the copyright issues that may apply. Moreover, people tend to use social media for different purposes, hence they use different ways of communication which can, in the end, be of great interest to scholars. To analyze FL and CMC, looking at social media data can provide scholars with a new understanding of how people talk, why they talk that way, and what effect it has on themselves and others. Such a study could open a whole new area of research and interest for scholars.

By looking at how FL is used in social media, the central question I ask in this doctoral thesis is the following: *What are the pragmatic effects of figurative language in English on Twitter/X?* As this question is quite broad, to answer it I will therefore address three specific questions:

- How do people use figurative language on social media?
- How do people react/reply to figurative statements online?
- What is the role of figurative language online?

These questions will guide this doctoral thesis in order to fill in a gap in the research field that a project like this one can fill by combining cognitive linguistics and social media studies. This doctoral thesis will therefore mostly focus on FL in tweets on the social platform Twitter.

Chapter 2: Use of figurative language in monologic tweets

2.1. Introduction

How is figurative language used online? The purpose of this chapter is to answer this question. As stated in chapter 1, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has become an inherent part of our lives and has interested scholars for many years (Carey 1980; Danet et al. 1997; Reid 1991; Lea & Spears 1991; Rintel & Pittam 1997). From e-mails to social media, CMC has become a new norm in communication as CMC appears to be everywhere, whether it is used at work, in school, or simply for entertainment. On social media, CMC comes in different forms. The first and most obvious form would be textual CMC, as in a Tweet or a Facebook post. Colston (2015: 140) argued that “[w]ritten and electronic forms of delivery ... pose rich and rapidly changing environments in which to achieve pragmatic effects in figurative (and other) language usage.” This citation is essential to my work as both social media, and CMC, are rapidly evolving. Hence, in this chapter, I will focus on instances of figuration in monologic tweets, and their pragmatic effects. After discussing the use of metaphors in tweets, I will continue on to discuss the use of metonymy, hyperbole and euphemism, and the pragmatic effects they convey.

2.2. Metaphor

Metaphor is a widely yet unevenly used concept, so it is important to be precise about the term. Metaphor is a figure of speech and thought we use to make implicit comparisons between a source domain and a target domain (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have shown that metaphor is a matter of thought before it is a matter of language, in that the way that we think is inherently metaphorical. They are renowned for proposing the notion of “conceptual” metaphor, in which vocabulary from one semantic (source) domain is

systematically used for another (target) domain One example of such conceptualization is the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor, which gave rise to expressions such as

(1) I *see* what you're saying (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 48).

In example (1), the speaker says they *understand* what someone else says (target domain), but they refer to it in relation to vision (source domain) via the verb *see*. Such conceptualizations are systematic, and over the years, scholars have explored metaphors and how they are used in different contexts, proving their significance in our everyday lives (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Keysar & Glucksberg 1992).

On Twitter, the use of metaphors seems normal, as can be seen in Figure 10 below.

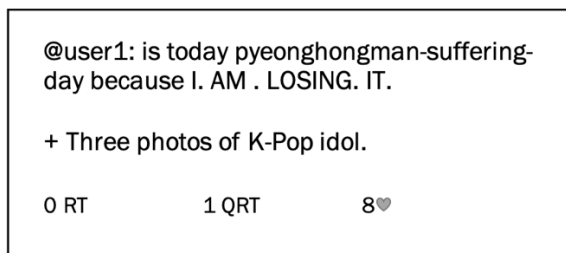


Figure 10: "is today pyeonghongman-suffering-day because I. AM . LOSING. IT."

In Figure 10, several features can be highlighted that are typical of some CMC. Firstly, while it is conventional to start a sentence with a capital letter, @user1 does not use a capital letter where expected. Secondly, the sentence seems to start as a question with the expected structure: AUX. Verb + Subject + Verb (+ Extra information). While the interrogative syntactic structure seems to be respected at first, the reader quickly notices that the question does not end as it should, in that @user1 does not end it with a question mark. The punctuation and capitalization patterns are also unexpected (in the terms of non-CMC norms). This tweet might be considered a rhetorical question in that it does not seek information but asserts that something painful is

happening to “pyeonghongman,” which the user elaborates with a subordinate clause. One of the pragmatic effects of rhetorical questions is often to show negative emotion (Colston 2015: 18), which is what @user1 appears to be doing here, although ironically.

A bit of context is required here since “pyeonghongman” is the term used by fans of the K-Pop band ATEEZ to refer to Hongjoong, the leader of that K-Pop band, and the fans that compose his personal fandom. @user1 asks whether it is their fandom’s day of suffering because new photos of the celebrity were released. @user1 proceeds to say “I. AM . LOSING. IT.,” in which they used all capital letters and four periods or full-stops. The way that @user1 uses a punctuation mark (the period) to emphasize each lexical unit is a norm of CMC, and their emotion is further emphasized by their use of all-caps. One might argue that because the distance between the word and the period is so short, it might have more strength, hence the use of the period after each concept, as a means to emphasize the emotion (supposedly excitement) felt by the user. In regard to CMT, this statement is built from the conceptual metaphors CONTROL IS POSSESSION and TERMINATION OF CONTROL IS LOSS OF POSSESSION (MetaNet 2022). This is because @user1 seems to be losing control over her emotions, or her mind, rather than losing a pen, for instance. The “it” in the idiomatic expression “losing it” refers to composure or a calm state of mind that is replaced by one of agitation, anxiety or anger.

Additionally, the use of capital letters cannot be neglected. Pragmatic cues help people understand statements in face-to-face communication in general. Just as there is a lack of these cues in print media, the same is true in CMC, which has enabled various ‘typographical’ conventions, and other mechanisms (emoji and other images, sometimes with animation), to compensate for their lack. In Figure 10, @user1, on top of using the periods to emphasize their emotion, also uses capital letters in their spelling. While the user did not use capitals where it was expected (i.e., at the beginning of the tweet with the first word), they used capitals at the

end in the final four words. In CMC, the use of capital letters is often perceived as shouting (McCulloch 2019; Ilenikhena et al. 2021). While the use of capital letters where they are unexpected is an important aspect of CMC, it is worth noting that CMC did not give rise to such usage. For example, e. e. cummings was known for his use of capitalized and non-capitalized letters in his poems (Gómez-Jiménez 2017). For example, in “plant Magic dust,” he capitalized the second word “Magic,” but not the first, as would be expected (line 1). Even more surprising, at the end of this poem, he says, “life herSelf stands,” where he capitalized the “s” in “herself” (line 9). This shows that the creative use of non-standard capitalization was thus present long before CMC, but CMC has helped popularize the use of all caps on social media.

Regarding the use of capitalization in social media, Heath (2018) proposed that there is much more to using all caps than just shouting. In fact, she proposes that orthographic deviations should be studied in relation to prosody. In face-to-face communication, participants have access to a wide array of verbal and non-verbal cues that help them overall infer pragmatic meanings. Such cues can range from facial expressions to the tone of voice. According to Heath, all caps seem to be prosodic markers rather than mere signs of yelling because, depending on the pattern of the use of all caps, the pragmatic interpretations might differ (2018). Heath observes that without any context, it might not be evident how a word spelled in all capital letters should be interpreted (2018). However, the use of all caps is frequently considered yelling by people. For example, in season 9, episode 17 of *The Big Bang Theory*, when asked about his favorite dessert, Sheldon Cooper tells his friends that “if there’s writing on it [the cake], make sure it’s not all caps. I don’t need my dessert yelling at me.” So, while all caps may not express only one emotion, they do appear to be used to signal yelling (i.e., yelling in anger, excitement, etc.), and more generally as a means to intensify strong emotions (either positive or negative). The effects of metaphor in Figure 10 are thus those of expressing

emotion, and efficiency, as lots of information is packed into a little form (all caps). Moreover, persuasion is also present here, and more specifically, two aspects of it that Colston mentions: strengthening and enhancing meaning (Colston 2015).

In the case of Figure 10, the use of capital letters also deviates from what is usually expected (capitalizing proper names or the first word of a sentence), as @user1 capitalized a string of words that appear at the end of the tweet. Again, it is important to keep in mind that context plays a significant role in how the reader will interpret the statement. Examples (2)-(5) from my corpus were each tweeted by a different person.

- (2) DID IT WORKK PLEASE I HOPE THIS WILL WORK
- (3) WHY ARE DARYL AND BETH NEXT TO NEGAN WHAT IS WRONG WITH U ALL THEY ARE THE SWEETEST PEOPLE EVER
- (4) WTF I WANT TO CRY PLEASE REARRANGE MY GUTS
- (5) SHIT HOLY SVIT FUVK OMG FUVK IM DYING FUCKING HELP

In examples (2)-(5), additional cues such as punctuation marks and emoji have been removed here to show that the use of all caps does not always instantly make sense on its own. Examples (2)-(5) can express various emotions, such as anger, excitement, and desire, among others. One way of determining the intended meaning of the tweet is to look at the context in which they are used and the other cues that are provided in the message. Therefore, rather than solely looking at such instances as prosodic markers, they can be looked at as shouting, even though the motivation for shouting might differ.

While in Figure 10 a whole section of the tweet is capitalized, in some cases only one word is, as is the case in Figure 11.

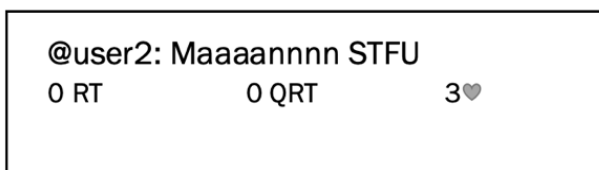


Figure 11: "Maaaannnn STFU."

In Figure 11, @user2 only capitalized the abbreviation “STFU,” which, stands for “Shut The Fuck Up.” On first glance, this might appear to be just a standard print convention for abbreviations, but the way that @user2 uses all caps could also be associated with emphasis, and more specifically, with the notion of “upscaling” proposed by Michele Zappavigna (2012). *Upscaling* can broadly be likened to hyperbole, as it is defined as the intensification of “interpersonal systems as a way of increasing solidarity through emphasizing both positive and negative appraisal as shared experience” (Zappavigna 2012: 67). That is to say, by intensifying communication, and relationship online, solidarity between users will increase.

While the arguments proposed above by Heath (2018) and Zappavigna (2012) seem right, I would like to add that the use of all caps is also metaphoric. Visually speaking, all caps take more space on the screen and are larger than lowercase letters; that is even more transparent on the screen of a smartphone, which is significantly smaller than a desktop computer screen. Research showed that the use of all caps in legal papers (i.e., contracts) was actually harder for people, especially older people, to understand than the use of mixed case (Arbel & Toler 2020). However, the authors also noted that the use of all caps in such an environment mainly was “helpful when time limits force consumers to effectively prioritize attention” (Arbel & Toler 2020: 865). Hence, similar to social media, all caps in legal communication are also often used to emphasize words to catch people’s attention.

To continue with the idea that metaphors are at play in the use of all caps, we might consider the presence of the IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and MORE IS BIGGER conceptual metaphors in such instances (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). While most instances of figuration studied before were present in the verbal form, here, the foundational metaphor is present visually rather than verbally, even if it is only feasible words (e.g. emoji cannot be used in all caps). In fact, there is a correlation between spelling words in all capital letters and the conceptual metaphor MORE IS BIGGER. As Zappavigna (2012) and Heath (2018) explained, all caps is often used for

intensification, so it seems safe to say, for instance, that the *bigger* letters in all caps are used to convey *more* emotion. By using metaphors such as IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and MORE IS BIGGER in the form of all caps, users are producing one of the central pragmatic effects, that of efficiency, as more meaning is shared in “a little quantity of language” (Colston 2015: 70). Moreover, the IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and MORE IS BIGGER metaphors also serve to express emotions, both positive and negative, as well as emphasize them (Colston 2015).

All caps are also an instance of foregrounding, since they can attract readers’ attention. Foregrounding refers to using features which stand out against a background, or what surrounds the foregrounded feature (see Leech 2008; Jeffries & McIntyre 2010). Foregrounding can be completed through deviation and parallelism. The former can be furthermore subdivided into internal deviation, where the deviation occurs against the rules established by the author, and external deviation, where it is against outside rules (Levin 1965). Parallelism occurs when there is a form of foregrounded regularity, such as for example when a structure is repeated several times (Jeffries & McIntyre 2010). Concerning all caps, deviation seems to be the most relevant method of foregrounding. However, determining whether it is internal or external depends on various aspects, such as the point of view of the reader. If the reader of the tweet is familiar with such use online, then they might feel less defamiliarized than someone who is unfamiliar with the rules of social media communication. What is nonetheless undeniable is that such elements will attract users’ attention, regardless of their level of familiarity.

However, similar to what Heath (2018) explained, the effect of all caps might not be the same when only one word is capitalized rather than the entire sentence. For instance, in the following example, only a single word is capitalized.

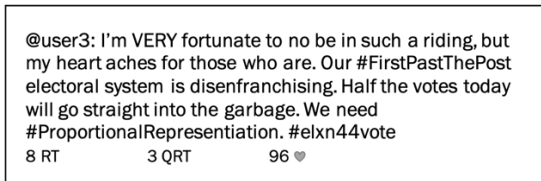


Figure 12: “I’m VERY fortunate [...] #elxn44vote”

The tweet in Figure 12 has one word in all caps that produces an effect that seems closer to emphasis than shouting. But this also supports Heath’s argument on prosody (2018). This tweet was posted during the Canadian federal election in 2021. This tweet is clearly political, but still involves the use of capital letters. In this specific case, @user3 generally respects grammatical rules, but capitalized the word “VERY.” In this case, the user is emphasizing the fact that they are *more* fortunate than others thanks to the electoral riding they live in.

Another realization of the MORE IS BIGGER metaphor can be found in the case of letter repetition in tweets, and in CMC more broadly. The use of letter repetition came up independently from Twitter or other social media, and is older than one might expect (Darics 2014; Kalman & Gergle 2014). Back in 1996, Christopher Werry studied its use in Internet Relay Chat (IRC), for which he argued that people use such letter repetitions as a means to compensate online for the lack of paralinguistic cues (1996: 57). More recently, Jeffrey Lamontagne and Gretchen McCulloch studied the phonology behind letter repetitions on Twitter, or “lengthening” as they call it (Lamontagne & McCulloch 2017). They found that rather than primarily having a phonological effect, such word lengthening happens most of the time on the rightmost letters, even though there is still a strong influence of phonology (Lamontagne & McCulloch 2017). To illustrate this, let us consider the following example (6) from Figure 11 and a hypothetical comparison (7):

(6) *Maaaannnn* STFU

(7) *Mmmmmman* STFU

In example (6), the vowel “a” and consonant “n” are technically situated to the rightmost side of the initial letter “m.” Thus, they will usually be the ones repeated, according to Lamontagne and McCulloch. However, in example (7) the first letter (“m”) is repeated instead. While such repetitions are possible, research has shown that all things being equal, people will most likely repeat the letters that follow the first letter of a word, to the right, rather than the first letter itself on the left side in our writing system (Lamontagne & McCulloch 2017).

While the use of all caps is prevalent in CMC, the lengthening of words, or letter repetition is also common. As explained above, this kind of repetition is mainly influenced by the way a word might be said in face-to-face discourse. In order to visually represent this, @user29 repeated several letters to provide cues about their attitude or stance towards the content of the tweet. Such repetitions might arise from the quantity principle of iconicity, which means that the “[m]ore important information will be given more coding material” (Givón 1992: 3). In terms of CMT, the MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 127), which relates to Givón’s argument, seems particularly fitting for the use of all caps. By giving more FORM (repeated letters) to the CONTENT (tweet + attitude), @user2 is emphasizing the way they feel, or at least their attitude (Colston 2015: 161).

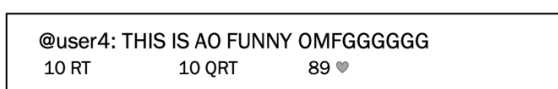


Figure 13: "THIS IS AO FUNNY OMFGGGGGG"

As with examples (2)-(5), in Figure 13, @user4 combined all caps *and* letter repetition. Unlike Figure 12, ALL CAPS are used in the entire tweet in Figure 13, instead of just in one word. In that sense, @user4 is not emphasizing a specific aspect of the tweet but rather intensifying their attitude toward what they quote-retweeted. Moreover, the abbreviation “omfg” is elongated with the five Gs’ that are added at the end. While the studies I cited above did talk about letter repetition, word lengthening, and the use of all caps in words, the use of

all-caps in abbreviations was apparently overlooked. Here, both all-caps and repetition stand out (get foregrounded) when they are used and encountered by other users. They can therefore be used to emphasize and intensify what users intend to communicate.

In Figure 13, as stated before, the user repeated the letter “g” at the end, making the abbreviation longer. That might be surprising, considering one of the central roles of abbreviations is to save space and time (Littlemore 2015). Indeed, one of more revealing aspects of microblogs, hashtags, and other instances of CMC where linguistic space is so limited is just how frequent repetitions are. What this says about communication more broadly is that repetitions can often be seen as adding more communicative efficiency than they subtract through redundancy. In this case, while the “word” *omfg* is the abbreviation of the exclamation, “oh my fucking God,” the reason why “omfg” is used in all caps with 6 Gs’ instead does not seem to be to save space. Rather, it seems to express how the user is feeling. Thus, the pragmatic effect of the metaphoric repetition here is that of emphasis, emotion expression, as well as catalyzation in that additional attitudes are revealed (Colston 2015).

Moreover, using abbreviations might also be a way to avoid censorship on Twitter. Twitter is known for suspending accounts if they do not follow its guidelines on using offensive language (X Help Center 2024). Before being suspended, the user will receive a pop-up screen telling them that the tweet they are about to share may contain offensive language, giving the user a chance to change their potentially offensive tweet. However, if the tweet is nevertheless shared, and people report it, then the account might be suspended. Therefore, by using such abbreviations, users are protecting themselves from potential sanctions from the platform, through politeness, as will be seen further down.

The idea of intensification of the emotion is further exemplified with the typing error “AO” instead of “SO,” which shows that @user4 wrote this tweet in the heat of the moment and did not proofread the tweet before hitting the *send* button. In addition to the profanity, or the

symbolic dimension of intensity, the other two primary semiotic modes also intensify the message: the iconic principle of quantity with the letter repetition, and the indexical symptom of haste and excitement with the typo. Heath (2018) also argued that while the use of all caps did not always signal shouting, it did have a strong basis in emotions. She found that if a tweet was written in all-caps, an additional emotional value was added to the tweet, as it was perceived as happier, rather than angrier by the participants (2018). However, I argue that all-caps, either in single words, or entire sentences, are used to heighten the emotion (positive or negative) intended to be communicated.

Let us consider a non-capitalized version, both in direct ‘translation’ and in one where the typo has been corrected, neither with the string of repeated g’s:

(8) This is ao funny omfg

(9) This is so funny omfg

In example (8), the tweet is the same (incorrect) but typed in lower case, whereas in example (9), it is typed in lower case but corrected. When comparing these two examples to the original tweet in Figure 13, someone who is familiar with this type of non-standard English would most likely argue that these two statements are less engaging, and less emotive than the original one presented in Figure 13. While metaphors are significant in social media, metonymy is perhaps more central to social media and how people communicate online, as we will see in the next section.

When people use metaphors such as MORE IS BIGGER, MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT, and IMPORTANCE IS SIZE, it can produce several pragmatic effects, including persuasion, and more specifically strengthening and enhancing meanings (Colston 2015). Additionally, catalyzation is an important effect here, as some metaphoric uses “can reveal

interlocutor attitudes” (Colston 2015: 70). Lastly, ingratiation is prevalent as well, as when using figurative language, people infer that others (readers) will understand the inferences; that is why ingratiation “acts as a bonding mechanism between or among interlocutors” (Colston 2015: 67). Regarding, effects specific to one figure, or group of figures, expressing emotion as well as identification seem to be prevalent. Indeed, identification is important as it allows users to portray themselves as regular social media users.

2.3. Metonymy

Metonymy is ubiquitous in language; we use and encounter metonymic instances of language daily, even though it received less attention than metaphor at the dawn of cognitive linguistics. In one of the first definitions of the trope, Trypho of Alexandria defined metonymy as “a part of speech [...] which is imposed on a given thing in a literal sense [...], but which signifies [...] another given thing according to a type of relationship” (qtd. in Arata 2005). In this definition, aspects of the common definition of metonymy are present, as will be seen next.

As contemporary scholars started to focus on metonymy, various definitions arose. For example, Lakoff and Johnson define metonymy as “using one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (1980: 35). An example that satisfies Trypho’s and Lakoff and Johnson’s definition is the following:

- (10) There’s no way you can defend what the *White House* and the administration is saying (GloWbE).

In example (10), *the White House* refers to the president of the United States of America, not the actual building itself, with the metonymic pattern PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (Steen 2005: 3), a political institution which is personified here. Such an example can be considered conventional as we encounter various metonymies involving the same pattern.

Table 3 below gathers 18 common conceptual metonymies, and more precisely ICMs, as described by Radden and Kövecses (1999).

| No | ICMs | Metonymy | Example in use |
|----|---------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | Thing-and-Part ICM | WHOLE FOR PART/ PART FOR WHOLE | America for the United States <i>England</i> for ‘Great Britain’ |
| 2 | Scale ICM | WHOLE SCALE FOR THE UPPER END OF SCALE/ UPPER END OF A SCALE FOR WHOLE SCALE | “ <i>You’re speeding again</i> ” for “you’re going too fast” |
| 3 | Constitution ICM | OBJECTS FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT/ MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT | <i>I smell skunk</i> for “the smell produced by a skunk” <i>Wood</i> for forest |
| 4 | Event ICM | WHOLE EVENT FOR SUBEVENT/ SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT | Tom went to the gym Hilarie speaks Japanese |
| 5 | Category-and-Member ICM | CATEGORY FOR A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY/ MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY (GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC/SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC) | now I remember why I got off the shot & went on the pill fml (☹) “men” |
| 6 | Category-and-Property ICM | CATEGORY FOR SALIENT PROPERTY | “brain” for intelligence |
| 7 | Reduction ICM | PART OF A FORM FOR THE WHOLE FORM | <i>Crude</i> for <i>crude oil</i> <i>Omg</i> for oh my God |
| 8 | Action ICM | INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION | <i>to pencil something down</i> for write something down |
| 9 | Perception ICM | THING PERCEIVED FOR PERCEPTION | <i>There goes my knee</i> , for “there goes the pain in my knee” (Lakoff 1987: 511). |
| 10 | Causation ICM | CAUSE FOR EFFECT/ EFFECT FOR CAUSE | “Happy hour” |
| 11 | Production ICM | PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT | I bought a new <i>Peugeot</i> , for “car” |
| 12 | Control ICM | CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED | <i>Schwartzkopf</i> defeated Iraq |
| 13 | Possession ICM | POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED/ POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR | <i>That’s me</i> , for ‘my bus’ |
| 14 | Containment ICM | CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS/ CONTENTS FOR CONTAINER | <i>The bottle is sour</i> , for ‘milk’ |

| | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|--|
| 15 | Location ICM | PLACE FOR EVENT | Waterloo, for the Battle of Waterloo. |
| 16 | Sign and Reference ICM | FORM FOR CONCEPT FORM-CONCEPT FOR THING /EVENT | €/\$/£ etc for money word <i>cow</i> for a real cow |
| 17 | Modification ICM | MODIFIED FORM FOR ORIGINAL FORM | <i>Effing</i> for <i>fucking</i> |
| 18 | Concept ICM | FORM A-CONCEPT A FOR FORM B-CONCEPT A | LMAO for “laughing my ass off” |

Table 3: List of ICMs (adapted from Radden & Kövecses 1999).

These metonymies can be considered most central, and some are more present in social media than others (e.g., Concept ICM). One of the central pragmatic effects of metonymy is efficiency, which “can convey much concentrated meaning with relatively little quantity of language” as metonymy generally appears to do (Colston 2015: 70). That idea will be essential throughout my doctoral thesis, as metonymy is prevalent on Twitter. In Figure 14, for example, from my corpus, the same type of metonymy is used.

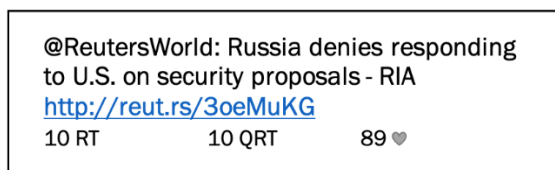


Figure 14: Tweet from @ReutersWorld.

Here, *Russia* stands for the Russian government, not the country’s landmass, and *U.S.* metonymically stands for the U.S. government, not the country’s landmass. In this case, the metonymic pattern is slightly different as the metonymic pattern COUNTRY FOR GOVERNMENT, which is related to the previous pattern (PLACE FOR INSTITUTION), seems to be at the root of this example. Another aspect found here which will be dealt with later on is that of acronyms, like the “U.S.,” which are also metonymic.

While metonymy plays an essential role as a literary device, cognitive scientists argued that metonymy, just like metaphor, is part of how we think, talk, and act every day, as it is grounded in experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Steen 2005; Radden & Kövecses 1999). As a matter of fact, Jeanette Littlemore points out that “[w]e think

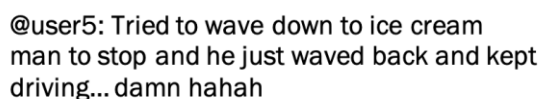
metonymically all the time in order to put the large amount of information that is available [to us] about the world into manageable form” (Littlemore 2015: 1). In simpler terms, metonymy allows us to pack extensive amounts of knowledge into language while using less space, or fewer words. And we also use it for reasons of cognitive economy as people might choose to use metonymy for the sake of brevity. However, when choosing brevity, some clarity might be lost, therefore leading to misunderstandings.

Different types of metonymies have been studied in the past. For instance, “referential metonymy” was first highlighted by Beatrice Warren, who distinguished between *referential metonymy* and *propositional metonymy* (1999; 2003; 2006). Referential metonymies are similar to the one in example (10), where the *White House* stands for the American government. Meanwhile, propositional metonymy connects two propositions as in example (11):

(11) Rosalind’s speech *raised red flags* with the audience,

In example (11), “raised red flags” is a proposition that is related to warning by employing an “if-then relationship” (Littlemore 2015: 44). That is, if someone raises red flags, they must be warning others about some sort of danger. This is the inference we could make from that example.

In regard to tweets, a similar example can be seen below.



@user5: Tried to wave down to ice cream man to stop and he just waved back and kept driving... damn hahah

Figure 15: “@user5 Tried to wave down to ice cream man to stop and he just waved back and kept driving... damn hahah”

In Figure 15, @user5 uses the construction “waved down a taxi,” which, according to Warren (2006), implies that the person “should have” gone to their destination by taxi. This propositional metonymy is closely related to experience, as people usually wave at taxis to

indicate that they need one. Here, “waved down a taxi” also means “take a taxi.” Furthermore, “waved down a taxi” does not solely refer to the implication of “taking a taxi” but also to the idea that the taxi, and people, will go from point A to point B. So, the gesture of waving down a taxi has become an ordinary part of language to indicate the same thing metonymically, at least when it is required to do so.

The reason why such metonymic expressions manage to function is that they involve contiguity. In linguistics, contiguity was an idea initially proposed by Jakobson (1956, 1971). For Jakobson, *contiguity* was opposed to the idea of *similarity*, which is found in metaphor and involves comparison. In recent years, the notion of contiguity has become an essential aspect of research on metonymy (Blank 1999; Steen 2005; Peirsman & Geeraerts 2006; Radden & Kövecses 2007; Koskela 2011). For example, Yves Peirsman and Dirk Geeraerts (2006) treated metonymy as a form of radial category, with core members of a category, and then less central ones. Concerning metonymy, Peirsman and Geeraerts (2006) studied how contiguity was involved in the radial category by looking at how close the term chosen is to the intended meaning. Indeed, the notion of contiguity is found in many definitions of metonymy in cognitive linguistics. For example, Kövecses proposed a widely agreed-upon definition of metonymy as a “cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)” (Kövecses 2006: 99). This definition will be the one I follow in my doctoral thesis as it takes into consideration contiguity, which is at the core of metonymic processes. For their part, Dancygier and Sweetser also talk about metonymy as involving correlation (2015: 5), where a salient part of a frame will evoke the whole frame, as in for example using the term “Zamboni” to refer to an ice resurfacers at an ice rink.

Before continuing with metonymy, it is important to go over each of the notions of Kövecses's 2006 definition, namely those of frame, domain, and idealized cognitive models, as understanding them is essential. As highlighted in the definition by Kövecses, the idea of frames is essential in metonymy. Frames are not exclusive to linguistics. As Randy Harris has observed, the term

frame[s] had been used by proto-cognitivist psychologist F.C. Bartlett, anthropologist Gregory Bateson, sociologist Erving Goffman, artificial intelligence pioneer Marvin Minsky, and discourse analyst Teun van Dijk, at this point, referring to a set of structured concepts and terms for characterizing knowledge domains (Harris 2022: 243).

Here Harris shows how different researchers in different disciplines over the years have converged upon the same concept, that of *frames*. In linguistics, and more specifically semantics, frames were introduced by Charles J. Fillmore (1976). In simple terms, frames are packets of knowledge that are associated with words, which then evoke that frame. Let us consider the word *university*. By hearing or reading this word, someone familiar with the concept of university might think of different aspects related to it, such as a CAMPUS, FINAL EXAMS, or DIPLOMA. These items, among others, are part of the *university* frame. Frames can be evoked metonymically, for example, when one part of a frame evokes the whole frame, for instance, CAMPUS for UNIVERSITY (see Dancygier 2009; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014).

The second notion presented in Kövecses's (2006) definition is that of "domain." Within the realm of cognitive linguistics, "domains" were proposed within two research fields: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Ronald Langacker's theory of Cognitive Grammar (1987). Generally speaking, conceptual domains are "complex knowledge structures which relate to coherent aspects of experience" (Evans 2008: 61), as I explained in section 2.2 about metaphor. However, domains are not only activated by metaphor. They are also used when dealing with metonymy. While metaphor involves a

mapping between two domains, metonymic mapping happens within one domain (see Figure 16).

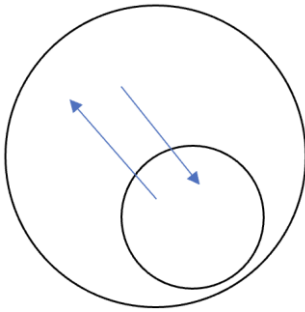


Figure 16: Simplified representation of a metonymic mapping.

The mapping in a metaphor is mostly unidirectional: the source domain is mapped onto the target domain. But in metonymy, as Figure 16 shows, the mapping can be multidirectional, e.g., PART FOR WHOLE / WHOLE FOR PART metonymies (also referred to as synecdoche).

Regarding Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar (CG), his notion of “domain” refers to linguistic meanings, and more particularly, conceptual content, as well as the various interpretations attached to that content (Langacker 2008: 44). In CG, domains “provide a relatively stable knowledge context in terms of which other kinds of conceptual units can be understood” (Evans 2008: 61). This is their function. In other words, different linguistic terms (e.g., *lukewarm*, *hot*, *cold*) can only fully be identified given the domain they involve (TEMPERATURE) (Evans 2008: 61).

While frames and domains remain relatively important to the study of metonymy, the notion of Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) proposed by George Lakoff in *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987) seems to be more significant, as they can be more abstract than domains. According to Lakoff and subsequent scholars, ICMs are fundamental aspects of human cognition. First introduced with categorization and prototype theory, ICMs have become a central part of figurative language studies. ICMs are defined as knowledge packets, more abstract than frames, that structure our knowledge of the world, but that are not “restricted

to the ‘real world’” (Littlemore 2015: 10). In fact, the more we interact with the world and the people that make up that world, the more our ICMs will grow (Littlemore 2015). Because ICMs are based on experience, and experiences are unique, Jeanette Littlemore explained that ICMs could sometimes be idiosyncratic (2015: 12). In fact, for an adult with a driving license, the “car” ICM will be slightly different from that of someone who does not drive, and it will be different from that of a child (Littlemore 2015). Metonymy and ICMs are closely related as metonymy allows us to access of one part of the ICM by using another part (2015: 10).

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| Most abstract | ICM (Lakoff 1987) | “The ICM concept is meant to include not only people’s encyclopedic knowledge of a particular domain but also the idealized cultural models they are part of” (Radden & Kövecses 1999) | Most abstract since they are idealized |
| | Domains (Langacker 1987) | “a context for the characterization of a semantic unit” (Langacker 1987: 147) | Graded schematicity (can be more or less abstract) |
| Least abstract | Frames (Fillmore 1976) | “‘prefab’ chunk of knowledge structure” (Dancygier & Sweetser 2014: 81) | Least abstract because most specific |

Table 4: Hierarchy of ICMs, domains, and frames.

Table 4 shows the hierarchy of domains, ICMs and frames in terms of their abstraction. While other terms exist, such as mental spaces and schemas, I solely focus on these three as they are central to my work. This is why it is important to treat them in terms of abstraction.

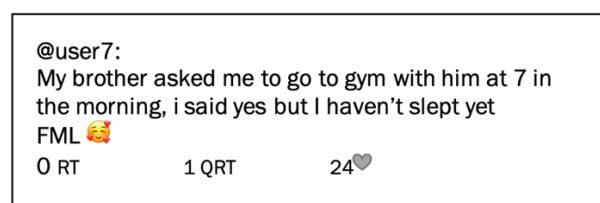


Figure 17: “My brother asked me to go to gym with him at 7 in the morning, i said yes but I haven’t slept yet FML 🤔”

While the example in Figure 17 seems to be a relatively straightforward metonymy, other cases involve subtler types of metonymies. While the statement could be considered a non-figurative one, in that the gym is an existing building, in Figure 17, it is less the place and more the activity that one can do there that matters. “Gym” is also a shortening of the word

“gymnasium.” While it is possible that @user7 is only going there to meet their brother for a smoothie or to watch people exercise, it is far more likely the case that @user7 is expected to work out as well. Therefore, in Figure 17, the LOCATION ICM is once more present in the form of PLACE FOR ACTIVITY PERFORMED AT THAT PLACE, where the *gym* stands for the action of working out. This metonymy is a subtype of the more general PLACE FOR EVENT metonymy (Radden & Kövecses 2007: 17).

Body parts play a significant role in many metonymies. In fact, we often encounter examples, in various languages, that involve body parts, as in

(12) We need more *brains* on the project.

(13) J’ai besoin d’un *coup de main*. (fig: I need help; lit: I need a hand blow)

While examples (12) and (13) seem rather positive in their connotation, some examples of metonymy might be less so. Let us consider the tweets below in Figure 18 and Figure 19.

@user8:
 so no power in the house and was gonna try to
 stream with @user in a bit I'm freezing my ass
 off here literally covered in 2 blankets
 0 RT 0 QRT 2 ♥

Figure 18: "so no power [...] 2 blankets"

In Figure 18, @user8 is complaining about not having power in his house, hence causing the house to be cold. That is understood via the part of the sentence “I’m freezing my ass off.” From the construction grammar (CxG) perspective, this example involves the *V + one’s body part + off* construction (Sawada 2000). Several examples involving this construction exist, as in “to work one’s head off,” for example. In the example “to work one’s head off,” there is additional metonymic/correlational meaning added since the head is home to the brain and the

brain to human intellect. By using this expression, we understand that one aspect of the head is highlighted, namely that the person is working really hard on a mentally demanding task, such as solving a problem or passing an exam. This is not the case in Figure 18, where a different body part is concerned. “To works one’s head off” and “to work one’s ass off” both mean to work hard, but the latter instance can be used for both manual and intellectual work, while the former will less likely be used for manual work. The expressions can also convey a form of exhaustion.

The example from Figure 18 can be considered its own construction since many idiomatic expressions involve the construction *V + ass + off*. However, the construction in Figure 18 is also clearly metonymic, since it involves a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, where one part of the body, the “ass,” is used to refer to the person as a whole. Because one part of the body is used to refer to the person, it activates the BODY PART FOR PERSON subtype of the metonymy. In this case, the ICM at work is that of “part ICM” since the part *stands for* the whole. Because of the Part-Whole relationship in Figure 18, one may argue that it is a synecdoche, rather than a metonymy. A typical example for synecdoche is:

(14) She’s got new *wheels*.

In example (14), one part of a car, the wheels, stand for the entire car. While cognitive linguists subsume synecdoche under metonymy as the conceptual relations are the same (Jakobson 1960; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Radden & Kövecses 1998; Nerlich 2010; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014), it is important to note that one Belgian group of scholars known as the *Groupe de Liège* or *Groupe μ* (mu) argued instead that metaphor and metonymy should be considered subtypes of synecdoche (cf. Schofer & Rice 1977). For the purposes of my analyses, however, I will consider synecdoche to be a subtype of metonymy.

In Figure 19, there is a similar construction used, but in a different context.

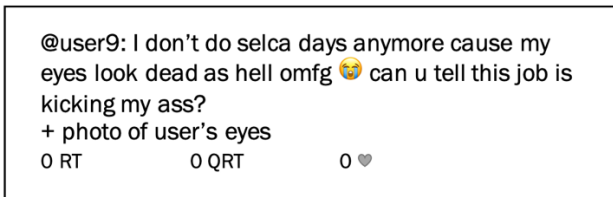


Figure 19: " I don't do selca days anymore cause my eyes look dead as hell omfg 😞 can u tell this job is kicking my ass?"

Figure 19 shows a slightly different example of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy and its subtype, BODY PART FOR PERSON. Here, once again, @user9 is referring to their entire self by mentioning only one body part, namely their “ass,” to illustrate that their job is exhausting. While in Figure 18, metonymy and hyperbole seemed to be combined, in this case, it appears that metonymy is combined with personification. In Figure 19, the job is personified, since the expression “kick [someone’s] ass,” means beat them up. But in this case, it is the job, namely an activity, that is “kicking” user 9’s “ass.” While there is no obvious connection between the eyes and the “ass,” when someone is tired it often shows in the eyes, with redness, for example. Therefore, by getting their “ass kicked” by their job, @user9 is showing us that they are exhausted by work, further exemplified by a picture of their eyes appearing droopy with dark circles around them, which can be signs of exhaustion. Because the “ass,” namely one part of the body, stands for the whole body, having it “kicked” can encompass both physical and psychological exhaustion. Some of the pragmatic effects associated with metonymy are that of efficiency, which is central to metonymy, as well as expressing emotions, mostly negative ones, as is typical of metonymy according to Colston (2015).

In cognitive linguistics, a few scholars have focused on personification (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Low 1999; Kövecses 2002; Hamilton 2002; Dorst 2011). Concerning conceptual metaphor studies, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), as well as Kövecses (2002), treat personification as an ontological metaphor that involves a cross-domain mapping in which an object or entity “is further specified as being a person” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:

33). While this definition provides an explanation of what personification is, it does not tell us why we use personification. In a paper published in 2002, Craig Hamilton states that “[w]hen we personify we bring events like death down to human scale so as to understand them concretely as personified agents analogous to human beings” (Hamilton 2002: 413). In other words, personification allows humans to make sense of the world that surrounds them by mentally bringing complex events down to “human scale” (Fauconnier & Turner 2002).

In order to show how the personification in Figure 19 functions, it is essential to consider other examples that do *not* involve personification, as in the example below:

(15) My boss is kicking my ass.

In example (15), it is not the job that is kicking the speaker’s ass, but his boss, a real person. In this case, the sense is less abstract, although still figurative since it does not mean the boss is physically assaulting the speaker. It most likely means just berating them or pushing them to exhaustion. This is a cross-domain mapping metaphor in which having a job is likened to being in a brawl. In example (15), people might infer that the speaker made a mistake at work, and his boss is unhappy about the consequences. In Figure 19, however, because there is the personification of the job, as well as the first part of the tweet, we understand that the job is physically and mentally exhausting, rather than literally beating the user down.

The examples we have seen so far were examples of conceptual metonymy that appeared in a conventional way. However, other instances of linguistic metonymy were at work in some of the examples above. For instance, Günter Radden and Zoltan Kövecses argued that words were metonymic in that “a form stands for a conventionally associated concept” under the metonymy WORDS FOR THE CONCEPTS THEY EXPRESS (Radden & Kövecses 2007: 17). In other words, every single word we use may be metonymic. This rather bold stance may align with Ferdinand de Saussure's work on linguistic signs. Saussure argued that signs are composed

of a signifier and a signified. The signified is the mental concept that is associated with its signifiers, which can take the form of letters, words, icons, or sounds (Saussure 1998). In Radden and Kövecses' sense, the word *tree* 'metonymically stands for' the concept of a tree. Metonymy can therefore be considered a form of semiosis. Just as a sign in Saussure's terms can stand for a specific concept, a word can metonymically stand for a concept, too (see Al-Sharafi 2004).

In the examples studied above, there were instances of metonymy that come in the form of abbreviations. Since one of the functions of metonymy is to save time and space, shortenings may be seen as subtypes or instances of metonymy. Indeed, abbreviations have been at the core of several studies in the past. For example, Louis Heller and James Macris (1968: 207-208) provided a typology of shortening devices as follows (qtd. in Zender 2015: 5):

| Classification | Example |
|--|---|
| 1. <u>Type of shortening</u> | |
| a. Acronym (initial) | <i>Eli</i> |
| b. Mesonym (medial) | <i>Lisa, Liza</i> |
| c. Ouronym (tail) | <i>Beth</i> |
| d. Acromesonym (initial + medial) | <i>T.V. / TV</i> (from <i>television</i>) |
| e. Acrouronym (initial + tail = blend) | <i>brunch</i> (from <i>breakfast</i> + <i>lunch</i>) |
| f. Mesouronym (medial + tail) | <i>Lizabeth, Lizbeth</i> |
| 2. <u>Medium shortened</u> | |
| a. Phonology | <i>Eli, Lisa/Liza, Beth</i> |
| b. Orthography | <i>Dr., Mr.</i> |
| 3. <u>Hierarchy affected</u> | |
| a. Monolectic (one word) | <i>Eli, Dr., Mr.</i> |
| b. Polylectic (two or more words) | <i>R.S.V. P. / RSVP, etc.</i> |

This taxonomy shows the different types of shortenings, depending on the medium used, or for example, on the role of hierarchy in the making of the shortening.

Broadly speaking, even though abbreviations may seem more common nowadays in CMC, they were present long before social media were created. Indeed, historians, historical

linguists, and anthropological linguists have found evidence that abbreviations were present in Mayan writing (see Zender 2015). Moreover, during the Roman period, several examples of abbreviations could be found in public places. One of the most widespread examples goes back to the Roman Empire and reads “S.P.Q.R,” which means “**S**enatus **P**opulus**q**ue **R**omanus,” translated as “the Roman Senate and People” (Beneš 2009: 874). In fact, in Rome today, “S.P.Q.R.” can still be seen in public places, such as manhole covers, for instance.

As we see, shortenings are not exclusive to social media. In fact, shortenings are used in different settings for different purposes. Shortenings can be used as the neutral term for any type of lexical shortening (e.g., abbreviations, initialisms, etc.). Regarding abbreviation, one of its central functions is to save time and space. Let us consider more general and conventional examples before focusing on tweets again.

- (16) *NASA* has unveiled plans for U.S. orbital missions around the moon from 2020 to 2030 in preparation for a manned flight to Mars (COCA).
- (17) He also addressed the *U.N.* (COCA).
- (18) This chip has more *CPU* power than most users need (COCA).

In example (16), *NASA* is an acronym for National Aeronautics and Space Administration. As this shows, the second unpacked full form is longer and takes more time to say or read than the shortened version. While *NASA* involves the initial of each word it stands for, it is still considered an acronym since the letters are pronounced as a word /'næsə/ (Brdar 2017), rather than as individual letters. If an acronym cannot be enunciated as a word, it might not be used by people, and thus it might die out. In examples (17) and (18), there are clear cases of initialisms, where each letter is said separately. While most English speakers would understand that *U.N* stands for the United Nations, only people with knowledge of computers will know and understand what *CPU* stands for, namely the Central Processing Unit found in every

computer. This highlights the strong role that everyday experience and background knowledge play in order for us to understand acronyms. Indeed, as they may be culture-, knowledge-, or location-specific. Moreover, abbreviations are also an important part of this doctoral thesis. In fact, on Twitter the abbreviations *RT*, and *QRT* are often used to refer to *Retweet*, and *Quote-Retweet*, respectively. In cognitive linguistics, abbreviations such as CMT for Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CBT for Conceptual Blending Theory, CG for Cognitive Grammar, CxG for Construction Grammar, and ICM for Idealized Cognitive Model, are all part of the conventional vocabulary in that field, too. Abbreviations are thus conventional in how people communicate, but are also very specific to a culture or to an academic field.

Concerning CMC, abbreviations are perhaps one of its most central features. People often say that social media, and texting as a whole, are killing language and that teens cannot write correctly anymore due to this. While these claims might be valid to a certain extent, it is worth noting that languages have evolved in the past and will continue to evolve in the future. Texting, or as David Crystal calls it, “netspeak” (2004: 17), is simply one step of language evolution among many others; it is not killing language (McWhorter 2013). Even though I only focus on English examples in this doctoral thesis, it is worth noting that “distinctive CMC features recur in languages besides English” (Danet & Herring 2007: 27), features which most likely exist in every language in fact. In some cases, French speakers, for example, borrow abbreviations from English, for example, *lol* (for *laughing out loud*), even though there is a French equivalent *MDR* (*mort de rire*: dying from laughter). Concerning the case of *lol*, researchers have found that it is becoming more a discourse marker than an abbreviation (Markman 2013).

While the advent of emoji, autotext, and other affordances have changed the CMC landscape in recent years, abbreviations nevertheless proliferated in the early days of CMC, and have become highly characteristic of CMC ever since. Indeed, it was the technological

constraints of early CMC that fostered their proliferation. In his 2004 work on language and the internet, for instance, David Crystal argued that “[t]he challenge of the small screen size and its limited character space (about 160 characters), as well as the small keypad, has motivated the evolution of an even more abbreviated language” (2004: 229). This idea of character limit is especially important since Twitter and other microblogging platforms still limit the number of characters one can use to say something, even though the Twitter limit has been doubled, from 140 to 280 characters. While Crystal’s argument that phones had relatively small screens was true in 2004, it does not necessarily hold anymore, as phones are becoming larger, with bigger keypads, and separate keys, unlike older phones which often involved “text on 9 keys,” also known as “T9” (see Table 5 below). T9 might be one of the reasons why abbreviations were initially used then.

| | | |
|-----------|----------|-----------|
| 1 | 2 abc | 3 def |
| 4 ghi | 5 jkl | 6 mno |
| 7 pqrs | 8 tuv | 9 wxyz |
| * | 0 | # |

Table 5: T9 keyboard structure.

However, even though keyboards now seem to be easier to type on, it does not mean that people have stopped using abbreviations. Since many types of abbreviations exist online, I will start with rather conventional examples before focusing on more specific and niche types of abbreviations.

Going back to shortening devices, because of the limit that Twitter imposed on users, they have found ways to say what they want to say by using fewer words. Let us consider the example below.

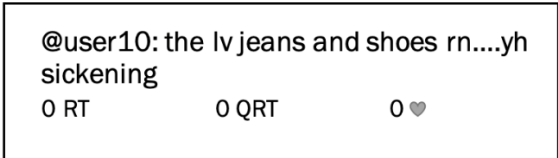


Figure 20: "the lv jeans and shoes rn...yh sickening"

In Figure 20, @user10 uses different metonymies by utilizing three cases of shortenings: *lv*, *rn*, and *yh*. First, *lv* is the initialism for the French brand Louis Vuitton, which is often shortened to the first letters composing the name LV. This shortening has become representative of the brand as it is even found in the brand's logo. In fact, LV is from the luxury goods company known as LVMH (Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton). However, it is worth noting that here, instead of *lv* being capitalized, as is usually the case with names, the initialism is in lower case letters. In contrast, if all caps is a type of exaggeration, the opposite could be said for lowercase lettering. In this regard, if the conceptual metaphors MORE IS BIGGER and IMPORTANCE IS SIZE are the foundation for all-caps, then their counterparts LESS IS SMALLER, and UNIMPORTANCE IS SIZE could be why social media users frequently decide *not* to capitalize some words in their tweets. In Figure 20, @user10 does not use capitalization where it is expected as in the abbreviations (*lv*) as well as at the beginning of the tweet. In this regard, the use of lowercase can be viewed as a form of understatement whose function is to diminish the importance of the statement, or at least of the brand and clothing they refer to. In some cases, lowercasing can therefore be considered a form of understatement, or insider language, but only if their use is voluntary, and stands out from regular lowercasing.

Second, *rn* does not refer to a brand, but simply stands for the words *right now*. So, while *lv* may be easier to understand thanks to the additional information we have, *rn* is more cryptic since one needs to be aware of the use of such shortenings in CMC. Moreover, similar to other cases of figurative instances, background knowledge is necessary to understand that the letters refer to a certain brand. In fact, abbreviations can also create insider vs. outsider

communication, in that someone who is part of a specific community will be able to access community-specific terminology but might not be able to access terminology from a different community. The additional meaning in Figure 20 can be accessed via the rest of the tweet as @user10 mentions terms that are specific to the semantic network of clothing such as *jeans* and *shoes*, which are pieces of clothing the LVMH brand produces.

Third, *yh* is the last abbreviation in this example. It stands for *yes* and, more precisely, for *yeah*. People might not expect such a small word of three or four letters to be shortened to two letters. Yet Herring argues that people often deliberately use abbreviations in CMC to “economize on typing effort” (2001: 617). While the idea of saving time and effort was perhaps truer a few years ago, nowadays our phones can do much more than they could do before. The artificial intelligence (AI) that is found in phones nowadays allows users to type in the first letter or two of a word before the AI will complete the word. While the term AI was coined in 1955 by scientists John McCarthy, Marvin Minsky, Nathaniel Rochester, and Claude E. Shannon (1955), McCarthy defined AI as “the science and engineering of making intelligent machines, especially intelligent computer programs” (2007). So-called smartphones now have AI in them to varying degrees. But then, why do people still use abbreviations?

In Figure 20, while @user10 is still saving time and space, the abbreviation seems to work less as a shortening device but more as a cue as to how @user10 feels towards the content of the tweet, namely, the Louis Vuitton shoes and jeans. Indeed, when looking at the tweet as a whole, various aspects should be considered, such as the use of ellipsis with “....” but also the words that @user9 chose. In the case of the ellipsis, McCulloch argues that they are used as “generic separation character” (2019: 96), rather than a typical ellipsis where the author is omitting something. In regard to the non-traditional use of punctuation, Crystal stated that “[u]nusual combinations of punctuation marks can occur, such as (to express pause) ellipsis dots (...)” (2001: 89). In that sense, the ellipsis in Figure 20 appears to be more similar to a

pause that could be found in face-to-face communication, than an ellipsis in the sense of omission.

Regarding the choice of words, the ellipsis after *yh* is followed by the word *sickening*. This word shows how @user10 feels toward the content of the tweet, namely the clothes sold by Louis Vuitton, and perhaps about fast fashion. However, it is worth noting that some social media influencers often use *sickening* in a positive way, for example, when something looks beautiful. This is not unique to social media, since similar uses can be found in English, as well as other languages, outside of social media. Using the expression “sickening” seems to be similar to using the word “sick” -- as in “this is sick” to mean “this is cool/amazing/dope.” We might argue that the use of *sickening* may be a form of exaggeration, where the thing is more than *sick*, it is *sickening*, meaning it makes one “sick”/feel amazing. One of the causes of that is semantic shift, which led the word to acquire another more positive meaning by means of amelioration (as opposed to pejoration). Such shifts are relatively prevalent in language.

An essential aspect of abbreviations, in general, is that they require background or shared knowledge. While the examples provided above were somewhat general, meant for the broad CMC community, in some cases, they can be specific to quite small or local communities, only making sense to those that are part of them. Jan Kietzmann and colleagues highlighted the existence of “seven functional building blocks” in social media from a marketing perspective which can still apply to social media in general (Kietzmann et al. 2011: 241). They provide scholars with the “honeycomb of social media,” which comprises the following seven blocks: identity, presence, relationships, reputation, conversations, sharing, and groups (Kietzmann et. al. 2011: 243). The last one, *groups*, “represents the extent to which users can form communities and subcommunities” (2011: 247). Building and maintaining community is a fundamental aspect of social media. Users will often interact with others who are either talking about a similar topic, for example, by looking for a specific hashtag or people

who are part of the same community (pop culture, sports, politics). Regarding social media practices, as seen above, users will often use certain words and shortenings that can only make sense if the reader is familiar with them. Here, metonymy serves various pragmatic effects, efficiency being the most prevalent one. Moreover, metonymies found so far were mostly used to express (negative) emotions. Catalyzation also appears to be important, as some uses “reveal people’s attitudes” toward something else (Colston 2015). Lastly, mastery and identification are important both on the side of writers and readers, as mastering such practices shows others that one is part of the broad social media community; they share common ground (Colston 2015).

However, the examples studied so far are more accessible because they are not specific to a certain topic or interest. Often, communities of language users will create abbreviations that do not make sense to outsiders without having the shared background knowledge (Colston 2015). This can be seen in Figure 21.

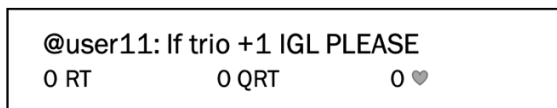


Figure 21: "If trio +1 IGL PLEASE".

In Figure 21, @user11 uses a culture-specific abbreviation, “IGL,” which will only make sense to people familiar with gaming culture and that culture’s linguistic practices. The tweet provides little contextual information to help the readers understand exactly what @user11 meant by “IGL.” However, if the reader is familiar with gaming, he or she might know that *IGL* stands for the phrase “In-Game Leader,” which is found in several video games, mainly those involving multiplayer modes, such as *Counter-Strike: Global Offensive*, often referred to as *CS: GO*, as well as *Fortnite*. In the tweet, the only contextual cue offered by @user11 is “trio +1,” which refers to one of the gameplays available in *Fortnite*, where four players play against the Artificial Intelligence (AI). In the team of four, one of the players will be chosen as

the In-Game Leader (IGL), who has to guide the other three players into victory by beating the computer at the game. In brief, @user11 is asking people who play the game to let him be the *IGL*.

Similar to the examples studied above, this “IGL” initialism involves the same conceptual metonymy as mentioned above, namely PART OF FORM FOR WHOLE, and more precisely FORM A-CONCEPT A FOR FORM B-CONCEPT A (Radden & Kövecses 2007). Shared knowledge is essential in understanding language as a whole, but it seems even more significant when it comes to abbreviations. Several scholars argue that while metonymy helps save time and space, one of the issues associated with it is that metonymy can be misleading, that examples of it can mean different things to different people (Littlemore 2015). For instance, “IGL” could be associated with several concepts, such as the *company* IGL, which specializes in car coatings. So, someone with that knowledge, rather than a knowledge of online gaming, could misunderstand *IGL* by @user11. In addition, as Twitter is multilingual, people from different parts of the world and who speak different languages gather on the platform. This means that abbreviations used by someone from Canada, may be understood differently by someone from Spain. In my corpus, for example, there were cases of abbreviations, such as *fml*, which online can stand for “fuck my life” in English, but which stands for “familia” in Portuguese (see Table 6). This highlights the importance of background knowledge, or “common ground” in Colston’s words (2015), when studying shortenings. Such metonymic abbreviations can produce the effects of ingratiation, as well as identification, as people who understand them can bond, and indicate that they understand abbreviations specific to a group (Colston 2015).

2.4. Euphemism

While figures are often dealt with separately, it is important to note that they are regularly combined (Burgers et. al 2018). As we saw earlier, metonymy can sometimes combine with metaphor. Littlemore (2015: 5) posits that one of the functions of metonymy is to create euphemisms. Apparently first discussed by Aristotle in *Poetics* (1457b), euphemisms have attracted the attention of many scholars (Allan & Burrige 1991; Allan & Burrige 2006; Casas Gómez 2009; Halmari 2011; Burrige 2012). From the scope of classical rhetoric, euphemism is defined as “substituting a more favorable for a pejorative or socially delicate term” (Silva Rhetoricae). While being rather simplistic at first, this definition does work well in defining euphemism, as it highlights the social aspect that seems to underlie euphemisms. In fact, euphemisms are mostly used when talking about taboo topics. The most salient taboo topics are death and sex, as well as religion, even though taboo topics vary highly from culture to culture (Goodwin & Lee 1994).

Similar to other figures of speech and thought, euphemisms serve various goals. Kate Burrige (2012) highlights at least six functions for euphemism. The primary and probably most central function is that of protection, in which the euphemism serves as a shield to protect oneself from taboo topics (2012: 67). The second function that the author highlights is the use of euphemisms to misrepresent things (2012: 68). In such cases, a taboo topic will be talked about in a somewhat blurry way, making it harder to decipher. Burrige gives the example of the topic of death being called “a terminal episode,” for instance (Burrige 2012: 68). The third function of euphemism is “uplifting,” which seems to be more context-specific, in the sense that it can be used with non-taboo topics, as in using the terms “autocondimentation” and “precondimentation” to refer incredibly to “a client’s right to salt his/her own hamburger” (Burrige 2012: 69). The goal of such euphemisms is to enhance the level of English, making it more prestigious or obscure than it would usually be. Fourth, Burrige argues that while

euphemisms often minimize the impact, they can also be used to provoke (2012). She presents the example of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945), which seems to be directed at children at first, but actually provokes readers by exposing the danger of the abuse of power. Fifth, language has the power to bring people together and create a feeling of belonging; euphemism also shares this function. In her article, Burrige argues that the use of euphemistic expressions can improve group-building and solidarity in the sense that those who belong to the group will access the meaning behind the euphemism while outsiders will not (2012: 70-71). Sixth, the last function of euphemism is to entertain. Burrige argues that this latter function strongly relies on creativity as well as language play (2012: 71).

As was stated before, figures of speech and thought often combine together. For example, metonymy can be used combined with euphemism, as can be seen in the example in Figure 22 below.

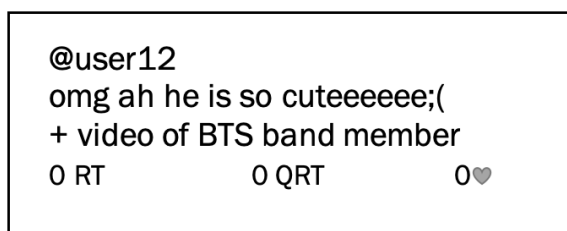


Figure 22: "omg ah he is so cuteeeeeee;("

The tweet in Figure 22 responds to the video included below it, which represents Korean Pop (K-Pop) band BTS member J-Hope recording himself. In Figure 22, @user12 uses the acronym "omg," which stands for "oh my god/gosh," which is now widely used and understood. Even though "oh my gosh" is itself a euphemism, no instances of its use were found in the corpus. In contrast, six tweets in my corpus involved expressions using *God*, in the form of "oh my God," "oh God," and "God." Because "omg" and "omfg" occurred in 26 tweets in my corpus, and the construction with "God" in just six, it may reveal people's preference for the acronym rather than the full expression. It is known that the use of shortenings such as abbreviations and

acronyms, among others, is a “linguistic-form metonymy” (Dancygier & Sweetser 2014: 110). The use of expressions such as “Oh My God” maybe still often considered taboo, in that a religious person might not want people to use the Lord’s name in vain. Keeping that in mind, the use of the abbreviated form “omg” might as well be used as a euphemism, as the Lord’s name is not spelled out but rather suggested with the use of the initial “G,” which stands for *God*. Jeanette Littlemore, among other scholars, argues that metonymy “can be used for a wide variety of communicative functions, such as relationship-building, humour, irony and euphemism” (Littlemore 2015: 5). So “omg” might be used sometimes to function as a euphemism. To that extent, the pragmatic effect often associated with euphemism is that of politeness, as people can talk about taboo topics while sounding more positive (Colston 2015: 77-78). Moreover, here the use of “omg” also allows @user12 to express their emotions.

Since one of the main functions of metonymy is to save time in communication, such abbreviations can be considered metonymic, even though they slightly differ from the cognitive linguistic view of metonymy. For example, Radden and Kövecses (2007: 339) argued that some cases of reductions, such as clippings, are “concept metonym[ies]” in that there is a “change in the form of an expression whose concept roughly remains the same.” Example (19) below is the formula for metonymy that would best apply to the case of “omg” from Figure 22:

- (19) $FORM_A -CONCEPT_A \text{ FOR } FORM_B -CONCEPT_A$ (Radden & Kövecses 2007: 340).

However, it is worth noting that in Figure 22, the metonymy appears to have a referential function. In relation to the discussion on euphemism above, Radden and Kövecses (2007) point out that the concept in formula (19) also applies to "modifications of forms as in [...] euphemism[s]" (2007: 340). So, while the example in Figure 22 is linguistically metonymic, it is pragmatically euphemistic.

For copyright purposes, the video's thumbnail was removed and replaced with a brief description of the video. The Korean celebrity initially posted the video himself, which was then reposted by several Twitter fan accounts, or as they are commonly referred to online, Stan Twitter. Fandom communities are an essential aspect of Twitter, hence the importance of briefly explaining how they function. Stan Twitter is a community on Twitter that is dedicated to fandom culture. It is mainly known for "its aptly fanatic culture and behavior" (Bercero & Abadiano 2021: 9549). Fandom culture is part of what Henry Jenkins refers to as "participatory culture," which he argues "is one of the central characteristics of fandom" (2006: 41). Jenkins and his colleagues define the concept of fandom as one:

1. With relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement
2. With strong support for creating and sharing one's creations with others
3. With some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced [is] passed along [to] novices
4. Where members believe that their contributions matter
5. Where members feel some degree of social connection with one another (at least they care what other people think about what they have created) (Jenkins et. al. n.d, 7).

While this defines what participatory culture is, the definition seems to emphasize the importance of artistic expression. While Stan communities are quite fond of artistic expressions in the form of fanart, or fanfiction, for instance, what seems more relevant to my work is the notion of civic engagement.

The term *Stan* originated from the song "Stan" by Eminem, which was released in 2000. The song is about a young man named Stanley ("Stan"), who sends letters to his favorite artist, Slim Shady, a persona of Eminem. Stan wrote several letters to Eminem, in which he becomes more aggressive each time because he is not getting a response. The song is about extreme fan behavior, which is something that is also often associated with Stan Twitter. However, the term "Stan" nowadays is not so negative in its connotation as it is used as a synonym for *fan*, even

if, in some cases, some Stans might be more extreme than others. Some say that the term is also a blend of the words *fan* and *stalker*. Put simply, Stan Twitter is the general term used to refer to fandom communities online.

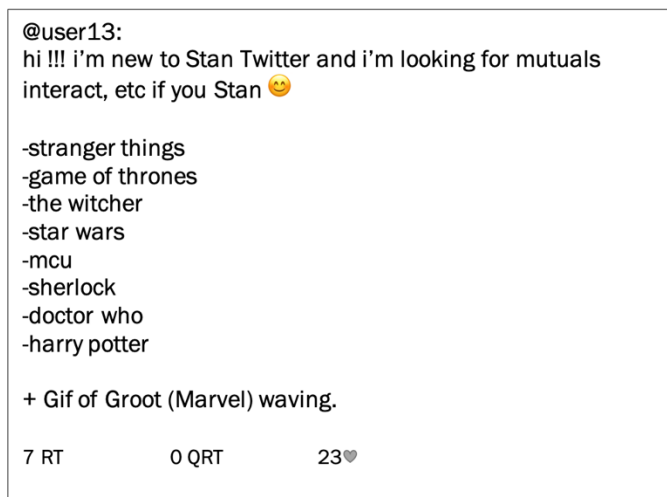
However, just like any large community, there are different sub-communities within Stan Twitter. For example, in Figure 22, we have the case of a member of K-pop Stan Twitter, a side of Stan Twitter where users mainly tweet about K-pop and interact with other K-pop Stans. In Figure 22, @user12, a member of K-pop Stan Twitter, has embedded the video from someone else's tweet into their own, and they have added their thoughts or opinion about the content of the video. K-Pop Stan Twitter might be considered one of the biggest Stan communities online since K-Pop has become a worldwide phenomenon (Malik & Haidar 2020). However, while K-Pop Stan Twitter might be the biggest Stan community online today, any personal interest, if shared among others, can give rise to a Stan community on Twitter. Briefly, a timeline of the birth of a Stan account on Twitter would be as follows: I watch a new TV Show, and I really enjoy it; I would like to talk about it with other people who like it, too; so, I create an account on Twitter; I then upload the photo of my favorite character as my profile picture to attract people's attention, and let them know that I am part of that fandom; I then tweet, usually a brief introduction and follow other fans, who might also follow me, and thus we interact.

In a study on the community of practice in Stan Twitter, Malik and Haidar (2020) studied interviews of ten Stan account owners. Malik & Haidar (2020: 3) posit that "Communities of Practices (CoPs) are formed out of necessity and exist everywhere in the world, both outside and inside defined organizational structures." CoPs are not specific to the online world, but are at the very foundation of our everyday interactions. Furthermore, CoPs have at least three necessary features which are that they need a "shared domain (shared interest), practice (activities that members engage in as a community), and community

(creation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships)” (Malik & Haidar 2020: 3). One of the main reasons for joining Stan Twitter is to find others that share the same interest and “to talk with others who like the same [things] as me” (Malik & Haidar 2020: 7). In fact, it is easier to find people online who have similar interests than to find them in real life.

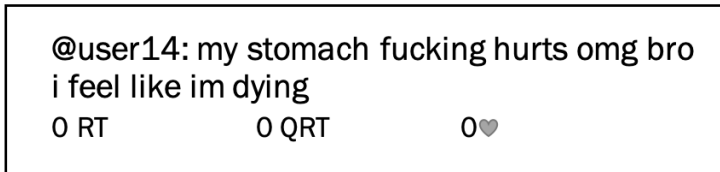
While fans of the Marvel Cinematic Universe (commonly abbreviated as MCU), for instance, do exist outside of social media, it is easier to meet fellow fans online thanks to keyword searches and hashtags. Figure 23 was taken directly from Twitter to illustrate the idea of looking for members of a community by using keywords, and openly asking for followers.

Figure 23: Example of Stan Twitter user looking for peers (mutuals).



As we see, @user13 in Figure 23 briefly states that they are new to Stan Twitter, meaning that they never owned a Stan account before and that they are looking for *mutuals*, meaning people that follow each other on Twitter and have the same interests. They then proceed to list their centers of interest in regard to Stan communities, which are all movies or TV shows. By listing the things they like, other users, like us, can look up keywords and come across tweets like this one. They can then choose to follow the user’s account or retweet it to their own followers to increase @user13’s chances of finding people to follow and interact with.

Concerning euphemism, several other examples were found in my corpus. As Radden and Kövecses (2007) argued, a specific metonymy could be involved in the making of a euphemism. The discussion of Figure 22 was about the case of “omg,” but it is not a single, unique case. Among the other examples are the cases of “tf” or “ffs” or “kms,” for instance. Let us consider such examples.

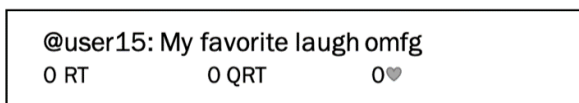


@user14: my stomach fucking hurts omg bro
i feel like im dying
0 RT 0 QRT 0♥

Figure 24: "my stomach fucking hurts omg bro i feel like im dying".

While in Figure 22, the user used *omg* with a positive connotation, in Figure 24 @user14 seems to be using *omg* in a more negative manner in that he is complaining about feeling sick. While the use of the acronym *omg* in Figure 24, is my focus here, it is essential to note that there are other figures involved, such as simile, as having a stomachache is compared to the pain felt when dying. Moreover, one might also call this hyperbolic, or at least an overstatement, in that death is probably the most extreme outcome possible. It is fictive too as only people that have already died would be able to make such comparisons.

In my corpus, there are twenty-one instances of tweets involving *omg*, and out of the twenty-one instances, seventeen of them are used in constructions with other words, mainly “fucking” and “dying,” as in Figure 24. But *f* can also be embedded within the expression, as can be seen below in Figure 25.



@user15: My favorite laugh omfg
0 RT 0 QRT 0♥

Figure 25: "My favorite laugh omfg".

In Figure 25, @user15 is actually replying to someone else’s tweet; however, since the tweet is from a private account, it cannot be considered here. Private accounts are accounts from

users who limit who can see what they tweet. Only people that follow them and are approved to do so can view and interact with their tweets. In Figure 25, @user15 is reacting to someone else's laugh and uses the shortening *omfg*, standing for "oh my fucking God/gosh." The use of this abbreviation rather than *omg* works as a means to emphasize the reaction. That is what the *f* adds in meaning to *omg*.

An aspect that may seem less related to figurative language, but still holds an important place in CMC, is the use of swear words. Swearing is not unique to social media or CMC (Baruch et al. 2017; Bednarke 2019). In verbal, or face-to-face communication, people use swear words every day for different purposes. Generally speaking, swearing has been defined Stapleton (2010: 289) as the use of language where the expression:

- (a) "refers to something taboo or stigmatised
- (b) is not to be interpreted literally
- (c) expresses strong emotions or attitudes"

Swearing thus seems to fulfill several functions (see also Andersson & Trudgill 2007). Ashley Montague (2001) argued that there are at least two types of swearing: *annoyance* swearing and *social* swearing (Montague 2001). On the one hand, annoyance swearing functions as a catharsis for human emotions, as will be seen below (Colston 2015). Social swearing, on the other hand, relates to building and maintaining relationships (Montagu 2001). Swearing is often considered taboo, aggressive, and unacceptable because of the domains swear words reference. Karyn Stapleton posits that "most recognised swear-words can be categorised as deriving from one of three taboo areas: i.e.,

1. Excretory/scatological – those which relate to bodily functions and associated body parts (e.g., *shit, piss, arse*);
2. Sexual – those which relate to sexual acts or to genitalia (*fuck, prick, cunt, wank*);
3. Profanity – those which refer to religious issues (*damn, goddamn, bloody, Chrissake*)" (Stapleton 2010: 290).

In regards to Figure 25, for example, two of the three categories mentioned by Stapleton (2010) can be found in only one abbreviation: “omfg,” where both the sexual and profane are represented, namely with the abbreviated letters “f” and “g” which, respectively, stand for “fucking” and “God.”

Expletives such as *damn*, or *fuck* can be used to emphasize, release emotions, or provide emotional cues to their interlocutors. It is essential to note that expletives differ from slurs. While Joseph Hedger (2013) argued that slurs function relatively similarly to expletives in that they both express meaning and feelings, Diane Blakemore argued that slurs and expletives function differently and are inherently different because “slurs are used to derogate members of a group who share a particular identity, where this could be sexual identity, racial identity, or even professional identity [...] *pig* for members of the police, for example” (Blakemore 2015: 1). In that sense, slurs are insults directed at people with specific identities, or features (e.g., color of the skin), while expletives are usually used to provide evidence for our “emotional state” (Blakemore 2015: 28). Generally speaking, slurs target people while expletives can target situations, not only people. People thus tend to swear when they undergo pain, or strong emotions, but also simply to offend others (Rassin & Muris 2005; Jay & Janschewitz 2008; Colston 2015). In a paper on swearing, Ashley Montague, a British-American anthropologist, argued that,

In swearing [...], potentially noxious energy is converted into a form that renders it comparatively innocuous. By affording the means of working off the surplus energy of the emotion induced by frustration, the tension between the emotion and the object of it is decreased; the final dissolution of the tension being expressed in a feeling of relief, which in its place is a sign of the return to a state of equilibrium (Montague 2001: 83)

What Montague means is that swearing can have substantial effects on human emotional states. Rather than crying or becoming physically violent, swearing works as a means to regulate such emotions verbally instead.

However, in a study conducted by Brad Bushman, Roy Baumeister, and Angela Stack (1999), they found that rather than feeling better after using swear words, participants felt more inclined to hit the punching bag they were provided with, hence becoming more violent than those who did not swear. What is more, despite swear-words seeming violent, offensive, and impolite, swearing can also create familiarity and social cohesion between people. In fact, Timothy Jay observed that “[p]ositive social outcomes are achieved by using taboo words in jokes and humor, social commentary, sex talk, storytelling, in-group slang, and self-deprecation or ironic sarcasm in order to promote social harmony or cohesion” (Jay 2009: 155). So, while swearing is often considered aggressive, in terms of pragmatic effects it can also help build and maintain community, as well as reduce tension by means of catharsis (Colston 2015: 81).

Concerning the placement of the expletive *fucking* in sentences, Lachlan Mackenzie observed that it “necessarily precedes the syntactic unit (N, Adj, Adv, V) to which it ‘applies’” (Lachlan Mackenzie 2019: 68). That is the case in the abbreviation *OMFG*, in which *fucking* comes before the noun *God*. Additionally, Geoffrey Pullum (2009: np) noted that in “colloquial English the NP *the fuck* (and it does indeed have the form of an NP) can function as a pre-head modifier in a PP, including the light one-word PPs (like *up*) that are known as particles,” as in *STFU* (shut the fuck up) and *FFS* (for fuck’s sake). This further highlights the medial nature of the expletive when it comes to syntax.

These different aspects of expletives need to be understood and studied in context. In fact, context plays an essential part in the overall understanding of an expletive, just as it does with other words or figures of speech and thought. In Figure 26 below, @user16 refers to his

car by using the word “bitch.” First of all, this can be considered a personification, to the extent that the term is most often used to refer to a person, rather than a car. Moreover, considering the derogatory connotation of the term, it might also fall within the category of dysphemism, which is defined as “a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance” (Allan & Burrige 2006: 31). The term *bitch* was first used to refer to female dogs and was not used as an insult (Hughes 2006). However, with time people started using it to refer to “a promiscuous or sensual woman, a metaphorical extension of the behavior of a bitch in heat” (Hughes 2006: 24).



Figure 26: "my car so comfy, with the heated and cooled seats, i might sleep in this bitch #heatwave lmaoo"

Although the term *bitch* first referred to female animals, the insult can be used for both men and women. That is a matter of viewpointing, which Dancygier and Sweetser have dealt with at length (2014). Over the years, *bitch* has come to be used to refer to people and objects, as can be seen in Figure 26. @user16 is undergoing a heatwave and explains that his car is comfortable and cold, as opposed to his house, perhaps. With this context in mind, readers are able to understand that the word *bitch* is used positively, similar to the way people use terms such as *dude* rather than as intended to offend someone, for instance. It is important to note that the context and environment in which the term is uttered are essential. Social media posts are often not considered serious or official, in that anyone can broadcast them, as opposed to a company, or governmental website, for instance. Consider the case in which someone utters that sentence, but in a different environment: her workplace. While *bitch* might be used with colleagues with whom the person has been working for a long time and is considered to be

close with, it might not be the case with the boss, or members of the board, for instance; that is because swearing is still taboo and inappropriate in some contexts.

The original meaning of *bitch* is female dog, which then was applied to women and men as an insult. However, over the years, “bitch” has also become a term for someone (most likely women) who feel themselves to be strong, powerful, or independent, often when associated with other terms such as “bad bitch.” That is, thanks to re-appropriation, which can be defined as “the taking or retaking of lexical and phrasal units” (Beaton & Washington 2015: 14), a term that was used pejoratively, such as the n-word, is re-appropriated by the community. In this case, “bitch” was first used literally for a female dog, then pejoratively for women, and finally for men, too. And in Figure 26, @user16 even uses it for a car, an object. This evolution in the meaning of *bitch* over time highlights a double metaphor. First, the HUMAN FEMALE AS CANINE FEMALE¹ metaphor, and subsequently, the HUMAN MALE AS HUMAN FEMALE metaphor, which in the end gives rise to sexist discourse. But in recent years, people, more specifically women, have re-appropriated the term to mean something different, more positive. While it can still be used to offend others, it is also associated with strength and independence. But those positive meanings are still highly context-dependent. The use of “bitch” in the female sense in Figure 26 could be motivated by the fact that in English instrumental objects, such as boats and cars, are often referred to as “she.” That said, swear words like “bitch” also involve pragmatic effects, namely impoliteness, and tension reduction (Colston 2015)

Returning to euphemisms, swearing is still considered taboo, regardless of the context. With the use of euphemisms, people can express offense while still holding back. In Figure 25, @user15 used the abbreviated form “omfg” for “oh my fucking god.” One might argue that because the more extended form contains the expletive “fucking,” people use the abbreviated form as a form of euphemism, but the form with the expletive in it, albeit abbreviated, for

¹ I would like to thank Professor Randy Harris for his suggestion (personal communication).

emotional emphasis. Moreover, religious vocabulary is still considered taboo in some non-religious registers, hence the use of the abbreviated form. In cases like the ones we have considered, where the character-count has not been reached, euphemism may be a better explanation of the abbreviations than saving space.

The expletive “fucking” (and its variations) seems to be the most abbreviated word in my corpus. There are different ways to use it, as can be seen in Table 6 below.

| User | Tweet | Meaning |
|---------|---|-----------------------------|
| @user17 | diane writing this submarine scene was so cruel omfg | Oh my fucking God |
| @user18 | women when they meet a f boi | Fuck |
| @user19 | Lmfao . Yoooo I just seen the funniest shit 😂😂!!! | Laughing my fucking ass off |
| @user20 | where tf are all arohas hiding I NEED MOOOOOTS 👉👉👉 #ASTRO | The fuck |
| @user21 | @user21 Hey I minted that bubblegum then paper handed that MF lol | Motherfucker |
| @user22 | No creativity whatsoever ffs just put Bailey on I beg | For fuck’s sake |
| @user23 | I kno 40 aint shit but bein near the bay this wind chill gmfu | Got me fucked up |
| @user24 | First trip across the country in 10 years and i lost my wallet on my flight... FML | Fuck my life |
| @user25 | can i vote for y’all to stfu 🤔🤔 | Shut the fuck up |

Table 6: Abbreviations of fuck variations in corpus.

In the tweet by @user18, “fuck” is abbreviated by its first letter, making it an initialism, as is often done when people refer to the word by saying “the f-word.” In this example, the term is associated with the slang term “boi” which is one way people spell “boy” in CMC. According to *Urban Dictionary*, the term “boi” was first used by members of the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community as a word to refer to “someone assigned female at birth, who generally does not identify as, or only partially identifies as, feminine, female, a girl, or a woman” (*Urban Dictionary*). The term “boi” was also used by the rapper Big Boi, who might be one of the initiators of the term outside the LGBT context. And while Avril Lavigne, a famous pop-punk singer from Canada, released a song entitled “Sk8er Boi” in 2002, it seems

that online people use the term either to spell “boy” differently or as an exclamation, as one would use “dude,” or “mate.” One might argue that this spelling is caused by the distance between the letters O, I and Y, however, on an English keyboard the thumbs rest near the Y and I, which can invalidate this argument. Put together, the terms “f boi” or “fuck boy” refer to men, or boys as the term says, that will play with a girl’s feelings in order to get something out of her (usually intercourse), but who do not seek serious relationships afterwards. The way the term “fuck” used here by @user18 differs from the way it is used in the other examples, as it seems to refer to their actions or intention (intercourse) rather than being used as an expletive.

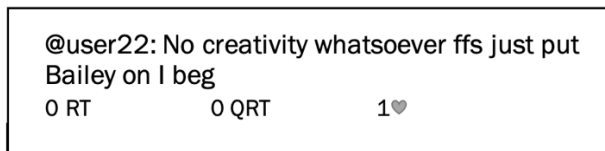


Figure 27: "No creativity whatsoever ffs just put Bailey on I beg"

In Figure 27, @user22 expresses annoyance from the lack of creativity, supposedly in a movie, or TV show. The context of the tweet is missing, and was not retrievable, for the tweet was deleted. Here, annoyance is shared via the use of “ffs,” which means “for fuck’s sake.” This expression is rather interesting as it is based on the grammatical construction *for X’s sake*, and derives from expressions such as “for God’s sake,” which would be considered a taboo expression by some since it involves a reference to religion. A euphemistic version of the idiom exists, “for goodness’ sake,” but it might seem less powerful than “for fuck’s sake.” In fact, “for goodness’ sake” could be considered the socially acceptable version as it is found in the famous Christmas song, “Santa Claus is Coming to Town.” It is worth noting that politeness is a central goal of euphemism (Colston 2015: 77), and it is often found in indirect questions as in:

- (20) Would you mind signing the following documents?

While example (20) mainly highlights indirectness and politeness, Colston offers the example below:

(21) She is not quite herself this evening (Colston 2015: 78)

According to Colston (2015: 78), “not quite herself” here euphemistically stands for “she is vomiting,” which is true but less polite because of the statement’s directedness. Hence, the euphemism “for goodness’ sake” might seem less powerful than “for fuck’s sake” because the euphemism is more polite. However, the abbreviated version seen in Figure 27, does not seem to be particularly euphemistic when it is fully spelled out. This is because it involves vocabulary associated with sex, which is a taboo topic. Nevertheless, because it is abbreviated, “ffs” might still be considered euphemistic in its form, but dysphemistic in its meaning, since it is equally, if not more offensive, than the use of “for God’s sake.” It should be pointed out that abbreviations for “for God’s sake” and “for goodness’ sake” do exist as “FGS,” but they did not appear in my corpus. However, the use of “ffs” appeared 16 times in my corpus.

A question that arises from this discussion is whether or not the degree of anger correlates with the intensity of swearing. At the time of writing, most research so far has focused on the correlation between swearing and pain tolerance (see Stephens et al. 2009). The hypothesis is scalar: the greater the pain, the greater the swearing. However, considering the fact that one of the functions of euphemisms is to protect oneself and others, we can argue that the degree of anger can also correlate with the intensity of swearing. So, by saying “for goodness’ sake,” which has a more positive connotation, the speaker still appears in control of their emotions, even though they are expressing frustration, or anger. However, in saying “for fuck’s sake,” the use of “fuck,” which is considered a taboo term in English, the speaker is letting her feelings out, in a more extreme, and more negatively connoted manner. In terms of

Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs) (Brown & Levinson 1987; Culpeper 2011; Daly et al. 2003), “for goodness’ sake” might save both the speaker and hearer’s face, while “for fuck’s sake” could cause both the speaker and hearer to lose face. In sum, profanity, similar to figurative language, also creates pragmatic effects. Mastery display, social engineering, identification, emotion expression, shocking, intimidating, rebelling, and strongly emphasizing are, according to Colston, some of the pragmatic effects produced by using profanity (2015: 168).

While some abbreviations such as the ones above appear to be more widespread and more easily understood by others, some abbreviations might be less clear to others. In fact, if we are not familiar with internet slang and the way people use such abbreviations, it might be more complicated to use them ourselves or simply to understand them. The idea of “common ground” is essential in every part of communication, but more specifically when it comes to abbreviations, since depending on what one knows or is familiar with, the letter in each abbreviated term might refer to different things (see Colston 2015). For example, in CMC the initialism “SMH” commonly stands for “shaking my head,” but it can also stand for “so much hate.” Abbreviations, like any part of language, have to fight for their survival. How they are used and how frequently they are used will determine their survival. For example, in the case of *SMH*, one of the two meanings may fade away with time, while the other becomes dominant in conversations.

These abbreviated forms, of course, save space and time as they take less time and space to write, which is essential on Twitter. Nevertheless, another reason for their use could be that Twitter Inc. uses AI to make Twitter a so-called better and safer place. Thus, the company uses AI to detect offensive, harmful language, such as insults or strong language (Butler & Parrella 2021). Anita Butler and Alberto Parrella respectively worked as director of product design and product manager for Twitter until 2022. However, one of the early limits that Twitter’s AI showed was that it could not differentiate between real offensive phrases and friendly banter

or sarcasm (Butler & Parrella 2021). Because various AI tools may be used to censor tweets, users had to find ways to avoid censorship; one such way to bypass the system is by using abbreviations such as *kms*, which often stands for “kill myself” in tweets, and rarely “kilometers,” which is what it would stand for in many other contexts. Such abbreviations serve a central effect associated with metonymy, that of efficiency (Colston 2015: 79). Moreover, ingratiation appears important here as the use of profanity (in limited contexts) can help maintain relationships (Jay 2009). Furthermore, through euphemism, users are able to render their tweets more polite.

2.5. Hyperbole

The abbreviated forms mentioned above are euphemistic in how they are formed, but their use in context also appears to have a more hyperbolic function at times. Hyperbole is often simply defined as “[r]hetorical exaggeration” (Silva Rhetoricae 2022), but “[h]yperbole is often accomplished via comparisons, similes, and metaphors” (Silva Rhetoricae 2022). This highlights an essential aspect of figurative language use, which is that very often figures are combined or blended (see Colston 2015; Burgers et al. 2018). That was the case in previous examples, where we saw that different rhetorical figures were combined to make meaning. Long ago, the Roman rhetorician Quintilian stated that,

[h]yperbole is commonly used even by ignorant people and peasants, which is understandable, as all people are by nature inclined to magnify or to minimize things and nobody is content to stick to what is really the case. We tolerate this habit, because we are not really asserting facts (Quintilian VIII 6, 75, translated by Claridge 2011: 1).

Quintilian’s claim shows that hyperbole was not necessarily specific to good orators but was, and still is, in fact, part of how people talk every day. While hyperbole is a form of exaggeration, it is essential to point out that it is not used solely to describe experiences, but also to understand and *evaluate* them (Claridge 2011: 1).

One of the central aspects of hyperbole is that it involves a scale, or some sort of “gradability.” For Claridge (2011: 7), there are at least three scales relevant to hyperbole: “(i) semantic scales [...] (ii) pragmatic scales [...] and (iii) argumentative scales”. First, semantic scales involve a type of entailment between the word at the left, and the one at the right, as in “<adore, love, like>,” where adoring something entails that someone loves it, and thus really likes it, too (Claridge 2011: 7). However, the entailment does not work the other way around; saying that I *like* something does not mean that I *love* it, let alone *adore* it. With *like*, the feeling is less intense.

Second, Claridge states that pragmatic scales “are not grounded in linguistic structure, but in speaker assumptions and expectations about the world leading to the (nonce) creation of a partially ordered set in a given context,” (2011: 8). Let us consider someone who enters someone else’s garden and says something along the lines of example (22):

(22) Wow, this is a *jungle*.

In (22), the hearer, the possible owner of the garden, will access different pragmatic meanings associated with the use of the word “jungle.” Firstly, the owner will understand that the speaker, by using this word, is probably referring to the *quantity* of plants there are in the garden (Claridge 2011). However, there is also an implication regarding the *quality*, as jungles are usually not clean and organized, but rather cluttered and disorganized. Hence, if the garden owner’s intention was to have a more natural and denser garden, the figurative statement might be taken positively. However, if that was not the garden owner’s intention, then the statement will be taken as a criticism, rather than a compliment.

Third, there are argumentative scales which highlight the persuasiveness of hyperbolic statements. Claridge provides the example of saying that it is *freezing* outside as being a “more convincing argument for putting on a winter coat, scarf and gloves than [merely] saying it is *cold* or *cool*” outside instead (Claridge 2011: 9; my italics). In that sense, using a more intense

term might make the overall statement more trustworthy, or persuasive. That was particularly the case in Figure 18, as @user8 used the expression “*freezing my ass off.*”

Claridge’s (2011) semantic, pragmatic, and argumentative scales seem to be closely related to the notion of Extreme Case Formulations (ECFs), developed by Anita Pomerantz (1986). In her paper, Pomerantz (1986) explains that the use of ECFs is essential to describing events. ECFs involve extreme expressions or words used to describe something. Pomerantz (1986: 219) provides a short list of examples of ECFs:

‘brand new’
‘completely innocent’
‘he was driving perfectly’
‘he didn’t say a word’
‘I really don’t know who he is’
‘no time’
‘forever’
‘every time’
‘everyone’.

ECFs can be defined as “semantically extreme formulations that invoke the maximal or minimal properties of events or objects” (Whitehead 2015: 579). While hyperbole and ECFs seem to be somewhat similar, Norrick (2004) argued that they differ. In his study, Norrick (2004) focused on ECFs and hyperbolic statements; he observed that “ECFs generally embed extreme expressions in otherwise literal-seeming talk, while hyperbole often takes the form of imagery and is surrounded by obviously non-literal talk” (Norrick 2004: 1737). ECFs can, however, be found in hyperbolic statements. In a study conducted by Herbert Colston on FL development, Colston observed that 51% (of 447 utterances) involved extreme case formulations (2007: 197). Furthermore, when focusing on children’s figurative use, Colston reported that 62% of hyperboles comprised ECFs (2007: 200). Just as hyperboles depend on a scale, they themselves fall on a scale of usage, from non-literal talk contexts on the one hand, to more literal talk contexts on the other hand, in which case they could be called ECFs.

While scholars have started to look at hyperbole in more depth, it appears that no one has focused on the use of hyperbole in social media, even though it appears to be a salient trait of CMC in social media. It is worth recalling that the example from Figure 18 reads: “so no power in the house and was gonna try to stream with @user in a bit I'm freezing my ass off here literally covered in 2 blankets.” Here, “freezing my ass off” exaggerates the feeling of being cold (Sawada 2000). In fact, in this example, on top of using metonymy, @user8 also uses hyperbole to express the idea that he is cold. Instead of simply using the overstatement “I’m extremely cold,” @user8 went further by using the verbal phrase *am freezing*, even though he most likely is not really freezing with ice forming on his body. So, in this case, the user is simply expressing how he is feeling, in a more extreme way, by using both metonymy and hyperbole together, as a means to persuade readers. Scholars such as Colston (2015), and Burgers et al. (2018) have argued for the importance of taking into account mixed, or combined figures. In sum, because the example in Figure 18 is figurative, scatological, and overall hyperbolic, this shows that the combination of figures challenges traditional taxonomies that try to assign one figure to one box.

While euphemisms and dysphemisms may take the form of abbreviations and swearing in CMC, some examples seem to be combining euphemisms, dysphemisms and hyperbole, as is the case in Figure 28.

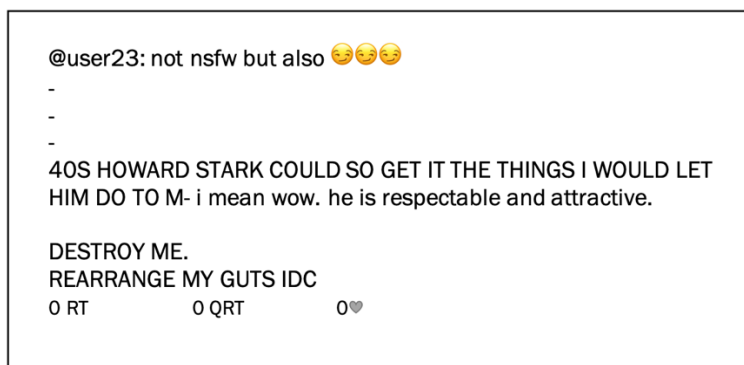


Figure 28: "not nsfw but also 🤔🤔🤔"

Very often, mostly on Stan Twitter, users will have a very peculiar way of reacting to something, or someone, as can be seen in Figure 28. Here, @user23 refers to the MCU (Marvel Cinematic Universe) mentioned before, more specifically to Howard Stark, Tony Stark's (aka, Iron Man's) father. Regarding the overall form, @user33 divided the tweet into several parts; the main two are the first statement on top, and the paragraphs following the three dashes. That is often done on Twitter as a warning for users, usually for sensitive topics, such as suicide or abuse, among others. But such warnings are also used when someone is spoiling a movie or TV show that is still airing at the time of tweeting. In Figure 28, the author is saying that the content of the tweet is "not nsfw," (not *Not Safe For Work*) which ironically means that the content of the tweet *is* somewhat safe for work. While implying that the tweet is "safe for work," @user23 is still using the format of tweets used to warn others about something. This format involves a short sentence to warn other users of the content of the tweet, and that is followed by dashes to create space between the warning and the actual content of the tweet that some may want to avoid. While @user23 is reassuring viewers about the content of the tweet, the content of the tweet is also somewhat not safe for work as it implies intercourse. Moreover, the initial statement is followed by three smirking emoji, the latter are often used to "convey flirtation or sexual innuendos" (Emojipedia 2022), as will be seen in Chapter 4.

In the following paragraph, @user33 explains that "40S HOWARD STARK COULD SO GET IT THE THINGS I WOULD LET HIM DO TO M-" This first example is a great example of euphemism used online, as the expression "to get it" and other variants from it (can get it, could get it) refer to the possibility of having sex (*Urban Dictionary*). In "can get it" the function of *it* is neither anaphoric nor cataphoric, but euphemistic, in that *it* refers to intercourse. In that sense, the author is referring to sex, a known taboo topic, by using a euphemistic expression. The second part of the sentence refers back to the sexual act that is implied here, where the user is implying that they might let Howard Stark do anything to them. However,

@user23 does not end their statement there, as can be seen with the use of the ellipsis through the dash at the end of the statement. By using this dash, the author in Figure 28 is somewhat refraining from going any further, perhaps acknowledging the intensity of the statement. Interestingly enough, @user23 decided to use all-caps in the first half of the statement, but not at the end of it. The author switches from making sexual innuendos to saying that the character is respectable and attractive, the former being less expected, considering the way the author started the paragraph. By switching from all-caps to lower case, there seems to be a loss of intensity in the way @user23 is typing, and thus perhaps feeling, or they are possibly trying to soften the overall tweet.

Despite the sudden loss of intensity, the last part of the tweet is written in all-caps again and involves hyperbole more than euphemism. In fact, @user23 writes, “DESTROY ME. REARRANGE MY GUTS IDC.” To someone who is unfamiliar with social media and, more precisely with Stan Twitter, this expression might seem excessive. But it is not to someone familiar with the way people talk on Stan Twitter. In a more literal sense, the first statement could be understood as referring to fighting, and even though farfetched, the second statement could refer to a surgical act. However, the overall statement acts as a euphemism, or perhaps dysphemism, in the sense that the author is still referring to a sexual act. Online, people tend to go for more violent expressions to talk about sexual intercourse, or someone’s attractiveness, as can be seen in Table 7, which comprises different examples from my corpus.


| User | Tweet |
|---------|---|
| @user24 | i want him to stomp on me so bad |
| @user25 | i want him to slap me to punch me to choke me to |
| @user26 | I want him to destroy me from the inside and outside, ruin my entire body, call me worthless, freeze me in his cold ice, I want him so badly  |

Table 7: Other examples of expressions on Stan Twitter.

As mentioned before, the violent language in Figure 28 seems neither to be euphemistic nor dysphemistic, but hyperbolic instead. Of course, it can be challenging to determine the intended meaning which truly lies behind their statements, as it strongly depends on people's familiarity with the topic. In fact, as someone who used to spend a lot of time on Stan Twitter, such statements would appear rather euphemistic, though hyperbolic, to me. But I suspect that someone who has spent less time on Stan Twitter would be more likely to consider those statements dysphemistic because of their violent tone. While determining whether it is euphemistic or dysphemistic is rather subjective, it clearly involves hyperbole, since there is a very intense exaggeration in the description of violence meant to refer to the sexual act. In terms of pragmatic effects, hyperbole is said to have three main goals: clarification, emphasizing, and being humorous (Colston 2015: 18). In Figure 28, emphasis and humor appear to be central, while clarification does not. In fact, to someone unfamiliar with Stan Twitter, the tweet might seem confusing. That said, the use of hyperbole and dysphemism can both help reduce tension (Colston 2015).

While such examples are clear uses of hyperbole on Twitter, more often users will also use other ways to express exaggeration, as can be seen in Figure 29 below.

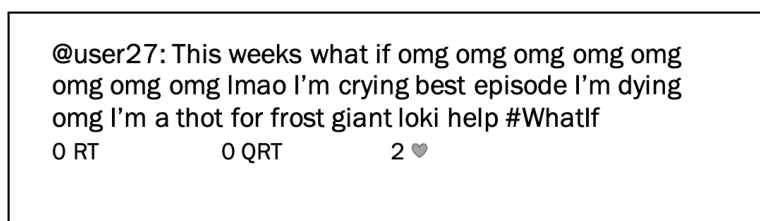


Figure 29: "This weeks what if omg omg omg omg omg omg omg omg lmao I'm crying best episode I'm dying omg I'm a thot for frost giant loki help #WhatIf"

Figure 29 is perhaps the most representative of communication in Stan communities, as the user combines several figures. First, there is a case of lexical repetition. In Figure 29, only the abbreviation "omg" is repeated. It occurs nine times, eight times in a row, and once more after. While broadly speaking this tweet involves repetition, in rhetorical terms, we might refer to

this type of repetition as epizeuxis, which is defined as the “[t]he repetition of words with no others between, for vehemence or emphasis” (Silva Rhetoricae). Epizeuxis is thus used primarily for emphasis as it intensifies the overall statement. In her paper on repetition, Jean Aitchison argued that there are at least three functions of repetition: extending language, cohesion, and “conversational interaction” (1994: 19). The function of the repetition in Figure 29 is to extend language, and more specifically to “iconically” intensify by means of quantity (1994: 19-20). Another example in my corpus involved the repetition of the word “lie” which appears 13 times.

Because context is important, I will briefly explain when and why this was tweeted. In this tweet, @user27 reacts to the TV show *What If*, released by Marvel Studios on the streaming platform Disney+ in 2021. As explained on the Disney+ web pages, “ ‘What If...?’ flips the script on the MCU, reimagining famous events from the films in unexpected ways” (Disney+ *What If...?*). In that sense, familiar events are presented in each new episode, after being altered, which led to the reaction of @user27. The author of that tweet is specifically referring to the episode of *What If...?* which focused on the superhero/God Thor and, more specifically, to the surprise appearance of Loki, Thor’s brother in the Marvel Cinematic Universe (MCU). What is good to know is that in the MCU, Loki was never presented in his true form. But in *What If...?*, fans of the MCU were able to see Loki in his frost giant form for the first time, which is also known as *Jötunn* Loki.

In Figure 29, @user27 is reacting to this specific moment by repeating the word “omg” eight times, which would already, on its own, express surprise or excitement. However, by repeating the term eight times in a row, @user27 is emphasizing this feeling, and adding intensity to the tweet, most probably to show how excited he is by seeing Loki in frost giant form for the first time. The author of the tweet then proceeds to say, “I’m crying,” which could be considered hyperbolic in a different context. But that may not be the case; while there are

emotional tears, “reflex tears,” and “basal tears,” emotional tears are not only produced by sadness, but by any strong emotion that can lead to crying (Walter 2007). In that sense, considering the context of the tweet, the reason for literally crying is less likely to be because of sadness and more likely the result of happiness or excitement.

What is noteworthy is that while @user27 started with the expression “I’m crying,” we can notice the intensification of how they feel because of the use of “I’m dying,” which follows the use of the phrase “*best* episode,” an ECF. The tweet’s author went from crying to dying, the latter idea being most likely used hyperbolically to express the strong emotions she is undergoing. Lastly, @user27 says, “I’m a thot for frost giant loki,” which, considering the order in which it was placed, can be considered part of the gradation mentioned above. The term “thot” is a derogatory slang term used to refer to “[a] girl who is looked at as a hoe or slut” (*Urban Dictionary*). The term “thot” is often used in the sense of being “thirsty” over something which means being “sexually excited” or “desiring sexual gratification” (*Merriam-Webster*). While it is impossible to know whether @user27 is actually sexually excited or not, in Stan Twitter communities, people often use those terms when they see something they really like, without perhaps actually feeling that way. It is simply one of the many exaggerations they use to express strong feelings. Regarding hyperbole, several effects are produced here. First, hyperbole helps achieve emotion expression, and even tension reduction, with repetition, through catharsis (Colston 2015: 163). Colston (2015: 19) also noted that hyperbole helps enrich meaning via emphasis, as in Figure 29, for instance.

2.6. Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to study the use of FL in monologic tweets. Starting with a discussion of metaphor, I explained how Twitter users use FL in different contexts, such as discussing politics, or in Stan communities. While each section focused on a single figure, it is

undeniable that figurative language cannot be studied in isolation, figure by figure. Instead, figures should be studied in combination with other figures, as they are often mixed (Burgers et. al. 2018; Colston 2015). Thus, when looking at FL in tweets, it is important to see that many figures are blended (such as, for example, metaphor and metonymy) in order to fully make sense of the meaning of a tweet. If a part of the tweet is underdetermined, the overall meaning might not be shared to readers, leading to misunderstanding.

In this second chapter, several pragmatic effects were highlighted (Colston 2015). With the use of metaphor, people could express emotions, both negative and positive. Users were also able to persuade others by means of strengthening and enhancing meaning. An effect that appeared more relevant to metonymy, but also found in metaphor was efficiency, more specifically through the use of all caps, letter, and lexical repetition to share more information in more or less form. This aspect is closely related to emphasis, and catalyzation, as additional attitudes were shared by users (Colston 2015).

With metonymy, efficiency was the most prevalent pragmatic effect (Colston 2015). Through abbreviations, people are able to say more in less form, although misunderstandings can happen. Metonymy is also often used to express emotions, mostly negative, as was the case with examples such as “freezing my ass off.” Similar to metaphor, catalyzation also appeared important in metonymy uses. Lastly, ingratiation, a bonding mechanism, as well as identification, providing cultural background, were also important effects produced by metonymy. Through these, people could show that they were familiar with group-specific abbreviations, therefore showing community membership, which is essential online.

As highlighted in this chapter, euphemism is closely related to metonymy. Euphemisms found in my corpus expressed various effects. Expressing emotions, and politeness are the most central ones. Most of the examples studied above involved abbreviations of profanities, or taboo topics (i.e. religion, scatology, etc.). Profanities also trigger pragmatic effects. In fact,

some of the effects associated with profanities are mastery display, social engineering, identification, expressing emotion, shock, intimidating, rebelling, emphasis (Colston 2015). While some of those effects are still present in euphemisms, the figure allows for a global minimization of some of those (i.e. intimidating, rebelling, and shock).

The hyperboles I studied above highlighted two of their three main functions observed by Colston (2015: 18), namely humor and emphasis. However, there was at least one other effect present here, that of tension reduction. In fact, hyperbole and dysphemisms allow for the use of extreme language, which itself can help reduce tension through catharsis (Colston 2015).

While looking at monologic tweets is great way to get acquainted with FL on Twitter, the platform is inherently about exchanging with others, letting them be part of your audience, or a broader audience. It is thus essential to consider the use of FL in dialogic tweets, in order to see how people use FL interactively, to see if they pick up on figurative uses, and if so, how they do so. Hence, the following chapter will focus on dialogic tweets.

Chapter 3: Figurative Language in Dialogic Tweets:

The Case of Replies and Quote Retweets

3.1. Introduction

While figurative language is the focus of my work, it is important to acknowledge the function and effects of embedded signs (i.e. likes, and retweet numbers) in tweets. Such signs, help people, and developers, record people's reaction to tweets. Furthermore, seeing those numbers might lead people to interact more with the tweet. Therefore, such signs can help persuade others. They act as a proof of pragmatic effects, as by liking or reposting a post, people show appreciation to it. If they wanted to express negative emotions, they might quote-retweet, as it is the only way to express other emotions on Twitter. This aspect is reminiscent of Meshi and colleagues' work on the behaviors of social media users, more specifically getting feedback, and comparing oneself to others (Meshi et al. 2015).

In the previous chapter, I studied FL in monologic tweets to highlight its use in one form of CMC on social media. However, a core aspect of tweets is that they may also be conversation-starters. On Twitter, someone might tweet something, and other users who follow that person might reply to the tweet. A kind of conversation thus ensues. As such conversations are a significant outcome of social media usage, studying them is important. Such interactions are also reminiscent of Meshi and colleagues' view of social media behaviors (2015: 773). When it comes to studying conversations, Paul Grice's cooperative principle is well-known. The cooperative principle relies on four maxims, or a set of rules for a conversation to happen without any issues. According to Grice, the four maxims are as follows:

The category of QUANTITY relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and under it fall the following maxims:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Under the category of QUALITY falls a supermaxim – ‘Try to make your contribution one that is true’– and two more specific maxims:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Under the category of RELATION I place a single maxim, namely ‘Be Relevant.’

[...] under the category of MANNER, which I understand as relating not (like the previous categories) to what is said but, rather, to HOW what is said is to be said [...] fall the following maxims:]

1. Avoid obscurity of expression
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (Avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly (Grice 1975: 45-46).

Dismissing any of these maxims during a conversation can render the exchange uncooperative.

As we will see in this chapter, some of Grice’s maxims are often violated in the Twitter exchanges, especially when it comes to FL.

This chapter aims to answer the following question: How do people react/reply to figurative statements online? To answer this question, the chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first section, I will focus on FL in tweets and also in the direct replies to said tweets. Secondly, I will look at Quote Retweets (QRTs), which are tweets that embed another tweet in them which users aim to comment on publicly before also sharing with their followers. Lastly, as QRTs often seek out and provoke replies, my last section will focus on QRTs that received replies. Each section will be divided into sub-sections dedicated to one figure and examine whether FL gets picked up in replies, and how people respond to figurative instances.

3.2. Tweets and replies

3.2.1 Metaphor

In this section, I will focus on metaphors, and how people use them. I am especially interested in how responders reply to metaphorical statements, as well as how metaphor is picked up by others. To briefly show the kind of interaction which interests me here, consider Figure 30.

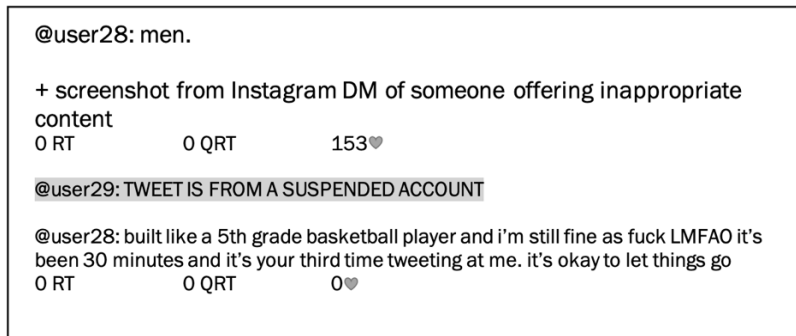


Figure 30: "built like a 5th grade [...] it's okay to let things go"

In this example, @user28 is responding to another user (aka, @user29) whose tweet is unavailable because the platform has suspended the account for violating its rules. In the first original tweet, @user28 said “men,” which is a way to define and generalize the action depicted in the screenshot to all men, as shown below. However, @user28’s reply to the suspended account is more developed and interesting. In the beginning, @user28 writes, “built like a 5th grade basketball player,” which involves metaphor and simile. In fact, the conceptual metaphor A BODY IS A BUILDING may be responsible for using “built,” which is often used to refer to someone’s body (*Cambridge Dictionary* Oct. 2022). Often, people will shorten it and simply say, “she/he is built,” which means they are very fit and/or attractive, in which case the metaphor is used on its own.

It should be noted that the BODY IS A BUILDING metaphor can be found in other instances, such as when physicians talk about “body structure” when talking about anatomy. However, as the case in Figure 30 shows, people can also add information in the form of

comparison by saying, for example, “she is built like an athlete,” which implies that her body is similar to an athlete’s, or to that of someone who spends lots of time working out every day to be in the best shape possible. In such cases, both metaphor (*built*) and simile (*like*) are used together. Even though this section aims to focus on metaphor, simile will briefly be tackled below, as it is also a figure of comparison, although more explicit.

While both examples mentioned above are positive, in Figure 30, @user28 does not make a favorable comparison. In the example, @user28 compares the way @user29 looks to a “fifth-grade basketball player,” which does not require much specific knowledge to understand, apart from the fact that fifth graders are often around ten to eleven years old. At that age, kids usually cannot build muscles like professional basketball players as they have yet to reach puberty. From the rest of the tweet, readers can understand that @user28 is mocking @user29 as he says, “and i’m still fine as fuck,” using a simile with *as* to imply that the other person is not fine. An important aspect to consider is that the comparison only makes sense if the person that @user28 is describing is an adult, whom one does not expect to look like a child unless they have a medical condition. But with the extra cues provided by the tweet, this outcome is less salient; we, therefore, can consider this comparison to be figurative. This example is great at showcasing how metaphor can in fact be used to express negative emotions (Colston 2015: 77). The example in Figure 30 only shows a short conversation between two users, even though one of the users has been suspended from Twitter. In other cases, the reply section is more active, as can be seen below.

[#1](#) @RealCandace0: “We have to protect the vaccinated from the unvaccinated”.

Weird. I thought that was the vaccine’s job.

15.1K RT 721K QRT 79.1K ♥

[#2](#) @user30: this is really not that complicated:
the virus mutates when allowed to spread easily, and mutations can get around the current vaccine undermining its effectiveness.

1 RT 0 QRT 25 ♥

[#3](#) @user31: Why mutate when unhindered? Mutation is to counter hindrance.

Following your line is chasing our tails. That’s why, prior to 2020, we’ve never turned society upside-down to try and ‘defeat’ a virus.

Perhaps we should feel blessed to be part of the stupidest period of history?

0 RT 0 QRT 5 ♥

[#4](#) @user32: It’s insane how they think. Mutation is basically to counter a barrier – just like improvising in a difficult situation.

If anything, it could be argued, it is the vaccinated that are causing the so-called mutation because the virus has met a “counter-force” and it’s adapting.

0 RT 0 QRT 4 ♥

[#5](#) @user32: The unvaccinated have nothing to do with any so-called mutation because they don’t even “fight” the virus.

So the virus would actually be in a comfort zone with no need to change and adapt.

0 RT 0 QRT 1 ♥

[#6](#) @user33: The virus can mutate anytime.

The unvaccinated also fight covid. They just have to make the antibodies when covid gets in their system. Which takes time. Days.

0 RT 0 QRT 0 ♥

[#7](#) @user32: Good. Perfect, natural herd immunity will take place as the body system naturally do it on its own.

Zero need to get vaccinated. Because the vaccination is not even a guarantee as anecdotes abound of debilitating side effects for days and week and deaths in many cases.

0 RT 0 QRT 1 ♥

[#8](#) @user33: You’re talking about natural selection. Just letting covid run its course until only the strongest survive

So a lot of unvaxed conservatives would die.

0 RT 0 QRT 0 ♥

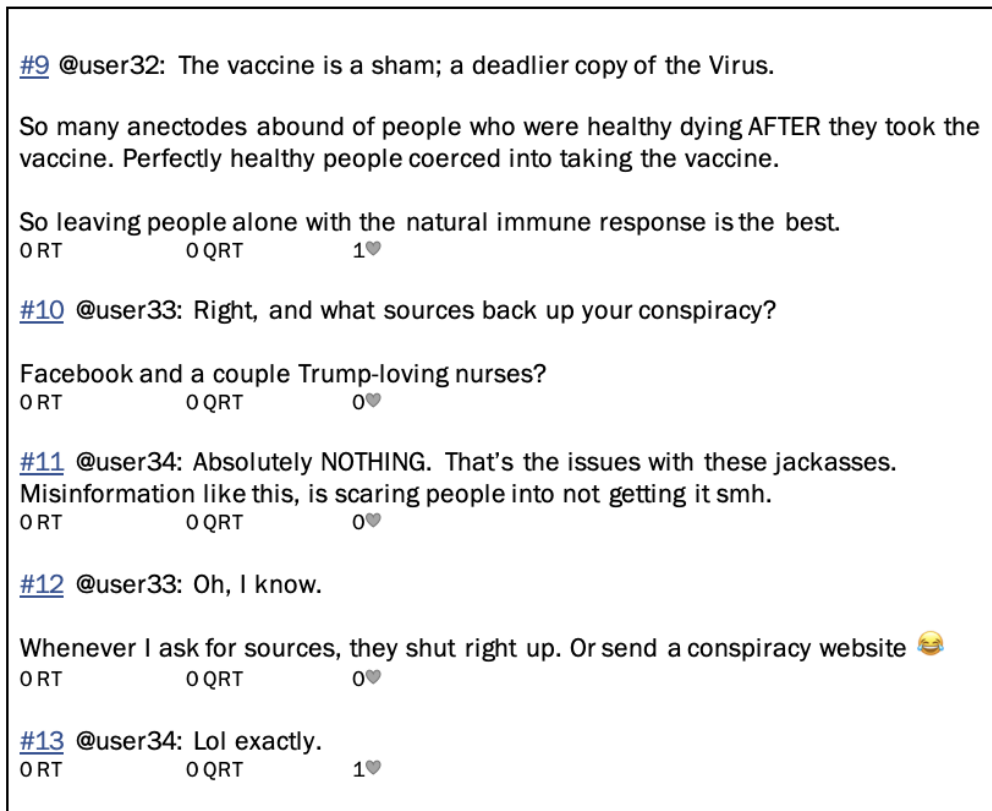


Figure 31: Conversation about Covid-19 vaccine.

In Figure 31, there is an unfolding discussion between different users who are all responding to @RealCandaceO's tweet. Her username is shown in Figure 31 because she is a public figure; she is an author and talk show host, among other things. In addition, Candace Owens (aka, the Real Candace O) is mainly known in the US for being a pro-Trump activist. These various pieces of information explain why this tweet received thousands of responses from users online, even if Figure 31 shows just the first dozen replies. In fact, it is essential to note that the replies above are not the sole replies the tweet received. Only tweets shared prior to and after tweet #9 were collected and shown in the conversation because tweet #9 is the one initially collected by the software. The other replies were manually collected to complete the exchange. At the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, and especially as vaccines started rolling out, Owens shared several tweets on her views on the topic, as is the case in tweet number 1 in Figure 31.

In tweet #1, she inserts a quote from President Joe Biden -- “We have to protect the vaccinated from the unvaccinated” -- which she then comments on by saying, “Weird. I thought that was the vaccine’s job.” This statement comprises personification for it seems to be an instance of when “we metaphorically ascribe agency to normally inanimate objects” (Hamilton 2002: 409). In fact, @RealCandaceO projects human attributes, namely that of doing a job, onto the vaccine, which is not human. The vaccine is not given human physical attributes, such as fingers, but rather is associated with an activity proper to humans, that of having a job and doing it. In fact, animals, molecules, and vaccines technically do not have jobs in the sense that they do not have to wake up at 5 AM and be at the office at 8 AM to work and then leave the office at 5 PM; only humans do such things. However, vaccines have jobs in that they are created to do something specific, namely protect us against diseases such as Covid-19.

While personification only appears to be used once, metaphors are found several times in the ensuing conversation. In fact, one type of conceptual metaphor seems to be used more than another, that is, DISEASE IS AN ENEMY or DISEASE TREATMENT IS A WAR (MetaNet 2022). But the primary metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS (Grady 1997) is used, too. For example, in tweet #3, @user31 talks about “’defeat” when referring to the virus. In the following tweets, #4 and #5, @user 32 uses the terms “’counter-force” and “fight,” the latter being reused by @user33 in tweet #6. Each of these instances involves the conceptual metaphors mentioned above to talk about the virus and the fight against it. Using such metaphors to discuss the virus is no surprise as one of the central goals of metaphor is to clarify, or cognitively conceptualize, and therefore enhance meaning (Colston 2015: 18). In this case, people are talking about an invisible enemy, a virus, that killed thousands of people. Therefore, using the DISEASE IS AN ENEMY metaphor allows for a better understanding of viruses as enemies, as things we can see and therefore understand better.

Moreover, ENEMIES, FIGHTING, and WAR are concepts people are usually familiar with from experience, as we know that FIGHTING, for example, involves an opponent hitting someone else but also receiving hits, among others, which can then be used to talk about Covid-19. In Figure 31, @user31 is the first to use the DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPONENTS metaphor, which seems to be taken upon by other users as the conversation unfolds. This example is a great representation of the pragmatic effects of ingratiation, or bonding, among interlocutors (Colston 2015: 67), as well as catalyzation and more specifically “the idea that figurative language [...] can prime additional figurative language productions” (Colston 2015: 70). What is interesting to note regarding some of the examples in Figure 31 is that users were aware of the figurative use of their words as they were between quotation marks. Doing so shows that users might not consider such use common, but relatively uncommon, or perhaps creative, hence they feel that they need to put such words within quotation marks. That could highlight a voluntary and conscious use of figurative instances.

While in this case, the users decided to use quotation marks around a specific word, in other examples from my corpus, users often added “tone indicators” to their tweets. Such indicators come in the form of abbreviations added at the end of a tweet as follows:

(1) i haven't eaten anything today and im considering fasting until tomorrow but i don't know , might get heat stroke and die /hyp

In example (1), taken from my corpus, the user talks about not eating anything and considering fasting. But then they follow that idea up with a remark about eventual consequences, such as heat stroke and even death. After the statement, the user added “/hyp,” which is short for hyperbole. That can be related to McCarthy and Carter’s notion of “reflexive hyperbole,” which is explicitly marked in a statement through the use of words such as exaggeration, for instance (2004: 174). While markers such as those identified by McCarthy and Carter (2004) can be

found anywhere in language, the use of tone indicators appears to be specific to CMC on social media. While only examples of hyperbole marked by tone indicators were found in my corpus, metaphors and other figures of thought also have a tone indicator associated with them, such as “/m” for metaphor. In regard to Theory of Mind (ToM), more specifically the lack of pragmatic skills (Gavilán & García-Albea 2011) which I discussed in chapter 1, such indicators can help some people infer the right meaning, and overall understand the tweet. Such indicators started being used to help people who struggle to distinguish the tone of a statement, such as autistic people. Indeed, such indicators may help communication between people online, and they could be good starting points in pursuing studies of Deliberate Metaphor (Steen 2008, 2009, 2017), even broadening the data to include other figures of thought and speech.

Concerning WAR metaphors in relation to Covid-19, a group of scholars argued that people should refrain from using such metaphors and should actually reframe Covid. This inspired the name of the project “#ReframeCovid. As part of that research project, Elena Semino argued that, “[t]hese metaphors have also been widely criticized, however, for inappropriately personifying the virus as a malevolent opponent, creating excessive anxiety, potentially legitimizing authoritarian governmental measures, and implying that those who die did not fight hard enough” (2020: 50). Semino observed that the use of such war metaphors could increase anxiety in people; hence, people should therefore refrain from using them. For example, during his address to the nation on 16 March 16 2020, French President Emmanuel Macron said, “Nous sommes en guerre” (trans. “We are at war”), which involves this war metaphor. (He repeated the phrase six times during that speech.) Research has shown that metaphors can “influence how we think and feel about problems and solutions” (Semino 2021: 51), which is commonly referred to as “figurative framing” in which FL is viewed as a strong shaping mechanism (Burgers et al. 2016).

Owens used personification in the original tweet, in which she talks about the vaccine as having a job. Such personifications are common, but here the personification motivated the conceptual metaphors that are found after. Indeed, WAR metaphors are frequently used when talking about Covid-19. Such metaphors also involve personification to the extent that when we talk about Covid as an enemy, the disease becomes a person we are fighting. To this extent, the use of personification in the first tweet by @RealCandaceO has influenced the subsequent metaphors which appear early on in the conversation afterwards, rather than later. It is noteworthy that WAR metaphors do not appear in any of the tweets in Figure 31 after tweet #6. In order to see whether it is the first tweet that influenced the remaining conversation, or rather background knowledge, more research would be necessary. But it is worth mentioning that Grice's maxim of relevance appears to be in play here, for people keep the conversation going by being relevant to the topic under discussion, although the relevance is maintained with different participants.

Conceptual metaphor is also present here in the form of capitalized letters. The primary metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE, and its subcase MORE IS BIGGER, underlie some of the examples in Figure 31. For example, @user32 (tweet #9) and @user34 (tweet #11) both use all-caps in a single word, making them stand out from the words in lower cases surrounding them. In that sense, both users emphasize a specific aspect of the sentence by making it bigger than the rest. In terms of source and target domains, in the IMPORTANCE IS SIZE metaphor, the source domain SIZE is present through the use of all-caps, which is mapped onto the target domain of IMPORTANCE, which is the idea the users are trying to express. To try to say something important, they use bigger letters. By making "AFTER" and "NOTHING" more prominent than their other words, the users try to emphasize what they are stating.

Interestingly, the use of such capitalized words comes relatively late in the conversation. The users that are part of the exchange then perhaps did not deem it important to

highlight specific words prior to the moment when they started doing it. @user32 is the first to use all-caps to emphasize that more people were dying after getting the vaccine than before. It is after @user32 decided to use all-caps that @user34 follows it up and uses all-caps to respond to a tweet asking @user32 what source they have. Perhaps @user32 inspired @user34 to use all-caps, as there were no prior instances of all-caps used there. Furthermore, the use of all-caps can be likened to tone indicators in real speech, as they share a similar function online.

In regard to Colston's pragmatic effects, he explains that one of the most central goals of metaphor is to clarify things (2015: 18). He further argues that metaphor can be used to enrich meaning, which essentially can also function as a means to emphasize a piece of information. In Figure 31, emphasis occurs with all-caps used for specific terms. In that sense, we can argue that emphasizing something can also clarify it, along the same lines as metaphor. The use of all-caps in single words is reminiscent of what Sperber and Wilson referred to as "ostensive acts," which are used to attract someone's attention by touching them or by calling them, for instance (1995: 53). However, getting someone's attention in CMC requires different actions. For example, Kate Scott argued that retweeting a tweet can be considered an ostensive act (2021). For my part, I argue that using all-caps can also be considered an ostensive act because by using them, be it in single words or across entire sentences, users can get other users' attention, as well as express their emotions in writing.

3.2.2 Metonymy

Metaphors and hyperboles have both been shown to be significantly important online and, more specifically, in dialogic tweets. However, one aspect has been overlooked, which is metonymy. As explained in Chapter 2, metonymy is ubiquitous in social media, and in CMC more generally. In the examples introduced above, metonymy was also at play on different levels. In terms of pragmatic effects, metonymy is often used for efficiency, with a high risk of

ambiguity, as well as to express negative emotions and attitudes (Colston 2015: 76), as will be shown in this section.

In Figure 30, for example, @user28 says “men” to briefly comment on the screenshot that they shared with their tweet. For copyright purposes, the screenshot cannot be included, but it depicts a short conversation that happened between @user28 and someone else on Instagram. The other person is a man who starts by saying hello to @user28. He then asks if they have Snapchat and ends up offering to send sexual videos to @user28. While such behaviors are relatively common in social media, they are a form of sexual harassment. Although this behavior is not specific to people who identify as men, it is often argued that men are in the majority of social media users asking for or offering such content, hence the use of the single word “men” in Figure 30.

As for FL, this use of “men” can be considered metonymic. In fact, by saying only “men”, but nothing else at first, @user28 is using two types of conceptual metonymy. The first one is WHOLE-FOR-PART, in that @user28 is using the whole category of MEN to refer to, in this case, one man. Additionally, another metonymy is at work here with the GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC metonymy, which appears to be closely related to WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy. Here, the generic term “men” is used to refer to specific men, those who behave similar to this one man. This use can be likened to Radden’s “indefinite plural generic reference,” which often underlies conceptual metonymy, especially those that involve stereotypes (Radden 2005: 22). In Figure 30, @user28 is using the indefinite plural “men” to refer to the whole category, which leads to a generalization across the entire category of men, which can itself lead to hatred or misandry since not all men are like the one represented in Figure 30 (see Dancygier & Sweetser 2014; Littlemore 2015).

Concerning the effects produced by metonymy, especially the one in Figure 30, it is worth noting that metonymy has different functions, such as relationship-building and

evaluation of things or people (Littlemore 2015; Colston 2015). In this specific example, the effect produced by the metonymy is a negative evaluation of the content of the tweet, and more specifically of men, as well as impoliteness, as @user28 is overtly making fun of someone else (Colston 2015: 78). As observed above, metonymy can often lead to generalizations, which often are used in stereotypes, for example, when saying that Canadians are very polite and often very nice (which, by the way, has been shown to be the case about Canadians on Twitter; see Sneffjella et al. 2018). Here, a generalization about Canadians is established as a truth about every Canadian, when it is most likely that some Canadians are polite and friendly, and others might be less polite and nice. However, the difference between this example and the one in Figure 30 is that the Canadian example is positively connoted, while the former is negatively connoted. This is reminiscent of Colston's argument that "a part-for-whole metonymy [...], by its very nature, frequently can express derision, especially when applied to people as referent" (2015: 89). Here, metonymy allows people to express negative attitudes toward others.

It is essential to note that while the word "men" is not usually connoted (positive or negative), its use on social media highly depends on contextual cues and common ground. Someone who does not use social media often might be surprised or might not think anything of the use of the term apart from referring to the man. While this use is closely related to the #MeToo movement from 2017, it has now become a ubiquitous way of talking online, often used jokingly, but also to denounce something, as is the case in Figure 30. The term "men" used online now metonymically evokes the frame of sexual harassment because a correlation between men and sexual harassment has been established online.

The instance in Figure 30 could be viewed as a shortened version of phrases like "men are trash" or "men are scum", in which the negative evaluation is explicitly cited. However, with time, the explicit statement has become more implicit, with "men" evoking the entire sentence or at least the idea associated with it, namely criticism of men. While "men" is the

general term used, it should be noted that in such tweets, it only encompasses cisgender men and excludes homosexual or transgender men, for instance. Hence, this meaning is only possible in this context. If the word “men” was used without the context provided in Figure 30, namely that of bad behavior, the tweet may have had a completely different meaning. One of the reasons for this shortening may be that some social media platforms started considering utterances such as “men are trash” to be hateful comments, and therefore censored users or banned them. This example highlights the presence of conceptual metonymy in a word that does not appear to be metonymic at first. The metonymy appeared from the cultural knowledge or evaluation regarding sexual harassment. As shown in Chapter 2, metonymy is also especially present in the form of abbreviations.

In the second tweet from Figure 30, @user28 uses the abbreviation “LMFAO,” which was already studied in the previous chapter (see Table 6). *LMFAO* is an initialism where part of the form, namely the initials, stands for the whole form, or expression, “Laughing My Fucking Ass Off.” While *LMFAO* is also the name of a pop music band, it is usually used to express laughter euphemistically (and hyperbolically) as the expletive term is only inferred through the letter “F.” This is a clear instance of the effects of efficiency, and politeness, as observed by Colston (2015). Moreover, on top of being metonymic in its form, the spelled-out expression also involves a PART-WHOLE metonymy, with the use of “my ass.” As was observed Chapter 2 in Figure 18 with the case of *freezing one’s ass off*, metonymy plays an essential role in such *V-ing + body part + off* expressions. In Figure 30 here, it is present again, but in the context of laughter instead of coldness. Similar to *freezing one’s ass off*, *laughing one’s ass off* involves metonymy and hyperbole in that part of the body is used to refer to the whole body and, more precisely, to the person saying this, although it is unlikely that it is literally happening.

However, the use of an expression that conveys the same meaning but in a less vulgar manner such as *laughing one's head off* might be more appropriate in that laughter comes out of the mouth rather than the posterior. Of course, expletives could be added, as in *laughing one's fucking head off*, in order to emphasize the meaning and emotion associated with it. The abbreviation for the *head off* example actually exists in *LM(F)HO*, but no instances of it were found in my corpus. Both hyperbolic expressions -- *laughing one's ass off* -- or *laughing one's head off*-- imply the same thing: laughing so much that one of your body parts (the head or the ass) falls off. Of course, that is only the case figuratively, which highlights another important effect of metonymy, namely that of exaggeration. In both examples, through metonymy (form & content), users hyperbolically describe what they feel. That feeling is furthermore intensified with the addition of the expletive *fucking*, which is overall optional.

Lastly, one of the pragmatic effects associated with metonymy is that of mitigation. In pragmatics, Claudia Caffie defined mitigation as a

result of a weakening of one of the interactional parameters, and a downgrading when the parameters involved are scalar. [...] Mitigation is functional to smooth interactional management in that it reduces risks for participants at various levels, e.g. risks of self-contradiction, refusal, losing face, conflict, and so forth. (1999: 882).

Along those lines, *LMFAO* on its own is a case of mitigation as it only refers to the use of *fucking* and *ass* metonymically. Therefore, it appears less severe than if it were fully spelled out. Indeed, *LMFAO* in Figure 30 is not used to attack (insult, confront, and so on), but as a marker for laughter. What can, however, vary is the cause of laughter, where @user28 says that the other user is “built like a 5th grade basketball player,” which is followed by *LMFAO*. As explained earlier, the comparison that @user28 makes here is unfavorable, as they are comparing the body shape of an adult (supposedly) to that of a child. By using *LMFAO*, @user28 is reinforcing this idea, as it can be understood as mocking the suspended account's owner, @user29.

So, in this example, the expression *LMFAO* has various pragmatic effects. It metonymically stands for a longer expression and therefore helps save space which is essential on Twitter; it is the efficiency aspect, as it is faster to write but also to read, and supposedly to understand given users were already familiar with it. The expression also involves hyperbole since no body parts are injured, let alone falling off when laughing (aside from muscles that contract). Lastly, a negative attitude is highlighted towards the other user here since the abbreviation is used as a means to enhance their mockery at the beginning of the sentence (Colston 2015).

The case studied in Figure 30 is, however, odd since the replies posted by the other account are unavailable; some additional pieces of information might thus be lacking. In Figure 31, however, the exchange is longer and does not involve any tweets from suspended accounts. As in Figure 30, metonymy is present in Figure 31 in the form of an abbreviation, especially at the end of the exchange. As a reminder, the tweets in Figure 31 are about the Covid-19 vaccines and Candace Owens' thoughts on the topic. When @RealCandaceO's shares her thoughts on Twitter, this leads to extensive replies from users.

In Figure 31, for example, the two abbreviations present are used by @user34 in tweets #11 and #13, in which they say *smh*, and *Lol*. However, in order to look at them, several tweets need to be considered, as shown in example (2) below, which is taken from Figure 31.

(2) @user33: Right, and what sources back up your conspiracy.

Facebook and a couple Trump-loving nurses?

@user34: Absolutely NOTHING. That's the issues with these jackasses.

Misinformation like this, is scaring people into not getting it smh.

@user33: Oh, I know.

Whenever I ask for sources, they shut right up. Or send a conspiracy website 😏

@user34: Lol exactly.

In this section from Figure 31, only the last four tweets are represented, as that is where metonymy is used. @user33's initial tweet is a response to one of the people who is arguing against the use of vaccines, which then leads @user34 to reply that they do not have reliable sources for the arguments they are making. It is only during this small exchange that metonymic abbreviations are used for different purposes. Such examples highlight how conversations on Twitter tend to be between two users, before someone else enters the conversation, and someone else leaves.

In order to express how @user34 feels about this situation, they finished their tweet with *smh*. As is the case with any type of abbreviation, misunderstanding can arise from their use, as the three letters might not refer to the same thing for different people; for example, *smh* for an Australian could informally refer to the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper. However, chances would be that, in such a case, people might perhaps use capitalized letters. During CMC, and more particularly on social media, *smh* stands for “shake/shaking my head,” but also “so much hate.” But how to determine whether *smh* here means *shaking my head* or *so much hate*?

@user34 is complaining about the previous tweets, and especially about the people who agree with Candace Owens' original tweet in which she contests the Covid-19 vaccine. In this context, one can argue that *smh* could refer to *so much hate*, in that @user34 perhaps dislikes people who share her anti-vaccination opinion. However, the other meaning is possible and perhaps most probable since *shaking my head* (*smh*) is often used online to express disappointment or disbelief, especially in cases where something is obvious or foolish. In this example, this latter option seems to be most appropriate considering the context, which does not appear to be about appreciation (love-hate), but rather a negative judgment of a certain group of people who could be referred to as “anti-vaxxers.”

The use of *smh* for *shaking my head* is an interesting example where people transcribe gestures into words to adapt to the medium. The use of *smh* can also be likened to tone indicators, where writers give their audience clues so they can understand the writers more clearly than without the abbreviation. When talking face-to-face, people do not need to say, “I am shaking my head,” as the person in front would see it, unless the person has a visual impairment, in which case, the speaker might actually say it. On social media, as is the case with SMS messages, facial expressions, body language, and gestures are normally absent, and the only way to describe things is with words, or visual inputs (e.g., emoji, gifs, memes, etc., as will be seen further down), hence the transcription of physical gestures. While @user34 uses *smh*, one cannot be certain that they actually shook their head as they read the tweets or when they wrote their replies. Another interesting aspect is that in face-to-face communication, except in countries such as Greece, and Turkey, when someone shakes their head, people might understand it as meaning “no,” so *shaking one’s head* and negation can be, to a certain extent, considered synonymous, although in different modes (Lücking & Ginzburg 2021). However, on social media, people do not seem to use *smh* to mean no, but rather to express disappointment or disapproval, which to a certain extent, are forms of negation. Here, metonymy appears to be used to express negative emotion, once again (Colston 2015).

In the last tweet, @user34 uses the abbreviation *Lol*, which is much more widely understood by people as it has become part of everyday talk to mean *Laughing Out Loud*. However, if said in, let us say, a group of gamers, LOL could also refer to *League of Legends*, a multiplayer online arena video game. In a different context, it could mean *lots of love*. However, @user34’s use of *Lol* here seems to be motivated by the use of the crying from laughter emoji “😂.” It is worth noting, though, that while *lol* stands for *laughing out loud* and might have initially been used for intense laughter, it has lost this meaning through overuse, as it is mostly used just for a chuckle now. *LOL* has become downgraded to become more of a

filler word, rather than a marker for heavy laughter. In some cases, *LOL*, often in lowercase *lol*, is used to convey irony or as a means to decrease the intensity of something by acting as a euphemism.

As noted earlier, the abbreviations only appear at the end of the tweet when @user33 and @user34 reply to each other's tweets. That might highlight another reason for the use of metonymy, namely, building and maintaining solidarity. In this example, both users agree with each other and seem to share the same belief, which might motivate their use of abbreviations. Moreover, by using abbreviations, which are typically informal, users are reducing the distance between each other, with the implication that they are part of the same community.

Metonymy also serves various other pragmatic functions, such as mitigating, but it also has a euphemistic function, as can be observed in Figure 32 below.

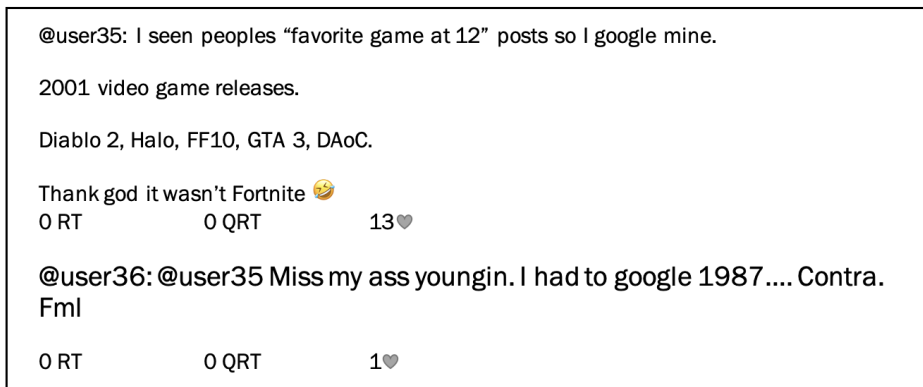


Figure 32: "Miss my ass youngin...Fml"

In Figure 32, @user36 replies to @user35's tweet in which they gave a list of games that were released in 2001 by providing their own list, which consists of the game *Contra*. Metonymy is present twice in this example. Firstly, when @user36 says, "Miss my ass youngin," they are referring to themselves by using a part of their body, the "ass." As explained before, *ass* is often used as an intensifier, as in "laughing my *ass* off," but is also metonymy, as in "freezing my *ass* off," in which the *ass* is used to refer to the whole body of the person who says it. In this case, @user36 uses it to refer to themselves, as one would use the pronoun "myself," for

example. Back in 2006, John Beavers and Andrew Koontz-Garboden had argued that “*your ass*” expressions -- such as “I can dig partying with your ass” (2006: 503), “Mary told him that that his ass had to leave” (2006: 506) and “I am gonna knock your ass down the hill” (2006: 510) -- could be considered a new universal pronoun (2006: 504), as is the case in Figure 32. As can be noted by now, the word “ass” can be used in a wide array of ways, as is the case here, where it replaces typical pronouns, but also in *LMAO*, where it appears to function as an intensifier.

In Figure 32, @user36, on top of using metonymy also uses the initialism “Fml,” which stands for “fuck my life.” A website of the same name was created in 2009 where people can share everyday anecdotes, which they end with *fml*. In Figure 32, more specifically the tweet by @user36, contains 55 characters, which is way below the limit of 280 characters, so something other than saving space motivates their use of the *fml* expression. Here, the initialism softens the expression, which involves the expletive *fuck*, but it also provides an evaluation of the content of the tweet. The use of *fml* on social media is generally preceded by a complaint, as is the case in Figure 32. @user36 complains about the fact that they had to google the year when they were 12, which was 1987. Therefore, we might conclude that by doing so, the user perhaps realized that he was older than he realized, for he had to google what game he was playing, and more precisely, what year it was when he was 12 years old. In all the tweets that involve *fml*, people appear to be complaining about something, as can be seen in Table 8 below.



| Number | @user | Tweet |
|--------|---------|--|
| 1 | @user37 | //fml. I hate cold but I love snow. |
| 2 | @user38 | Miss my ass youngin. I had to google 1987.... Contra. Fml. |
| 3 | @user39 | I just did a nasal spray for the first time and oh my god it's dripping down the back of my throat and I'm tasting it and it's horrible  #fml I hate this so much this is so gross |
| 3 | @user40 | Aerobics over sleep huh? FML |
| 4 | @user41 | receiving calls from home just makes me realise how glad i am for living out again fml |
| 5 | @user42 | now I remember why I got off the shot and went on the pill fml  |
| 6 | @user43 | @user44 fodeo fml |
| 7 | @user45 | First trip across the country in 10 year and i lost my wallet on my flight... FML |
| 8 | @user46 | Qualidade 1080p fml |
| 9 | @user47 | FML #Dexter is having their season premiere/red carpet event on a Monday in NYC. Guys, can we reschedule to a weekend? Lol is anyone is going and can get me any of the swag they're giving out, I'll be your best friend lol |
| 10 | @user48 | never drinking again fml |
| 11 | @user49 | Thinking about that dress I saw in monki before I left </3 can't even find it on the website fml |
| 12 | @user50 | I just drank expired milk fml |
| 13 | @user51 | My brother asked me to go to the gym with him at 7 in the morning, i said yes but I haven't slept yet FML? |
| 14 | @user52 | Nothing but Bad luck, PTSD and Hardship written in my book of life FML |

Table 8: Instances of FML in the corpus.

Table 8 shows that *FML* is mostly used when people are complaining about something inconvenient that happened to them. Only two cases stand out; they are tweets number 6 and 8, which are written in Portuguese, and in which the abbreviation does not stand for *fuck my life*, but for *familia*. *FML* is only mostly placed at the end of sentences as a means to react to the whole statement, or to invite readers to feel sorry for the writers. When @user50 says, “I just drank expired milk fml” it shows they are upset by the error, but perhaps also hoping for

soothing responses in return, encouraging @user50 to remain positive about life. In tweet numbers 1 and 9 in Table 6, *fml* is placed at the beginning; yet in tweet 3, it is placed between two statements. The position of the word does not seem to be of importance regarding the way people would understand each example, however further research would be required to get to the bottom of this.

3.2.3 Hyperbole/exaggeration

As observed in Chapter 2, hyperbole is broadly defined as exaggeration and is widespread on Twitter, either in the form of creative hyperboles (e.g., *rearrange my guts*) or with the use of ECFs. In Figure 33 below, we have the case of a very short exchange happening between two users.

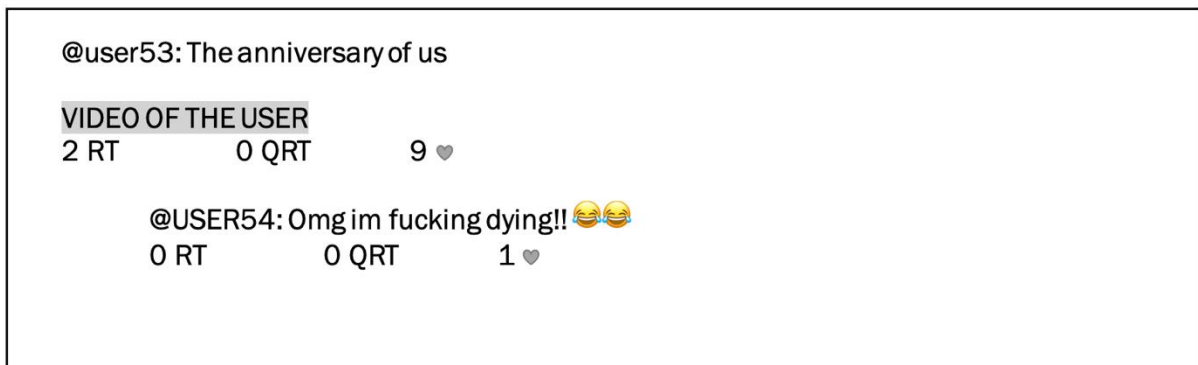


Figure 33: "Omg im fucking dying"

In Figure 33, @user53 shared a video where she is simply repeating, “I can’t do it,” and in her reply, @user54 uses the abbreviation “omg,” which was studied before and, in this case, is used to express surprise or excitement. @user54 then proceeds to use the expletive “fucking” followed by the verb “dying,” two exclamation marks, and two crying from laughter emojis. Emoji will be the focus of the following chapter because of their visual nature. Each of these features provide contextual cues to construe the intended meaning, namely that @user54 is *not* really dying but rather laughing really hard. If someone were really dying, he would not go on

Twitter to tweet that he is dying unless he has been diagnosed with an incurable disease, for example. This example highlights the relation between hyperbole and the effect it produces here, namely irony (McCarthy & Carter 2014; Colston 2015). Even without the use of the expletive, the statement could still be considered hyperbolic in that the meaning would still be the same; the expletive heightens the emotion shared in the tweet. In that case, @user54 is apparently laughing really hard about what @user53 did and said. Since we as readers lack contextual knowledge about the users, understanding what is funny here is challenging. But the emoji used at the end might provide cues for that.

In terms of CMT, such examples can be considered metaphorical to the extent that people often use death to depict strong emotions. This is the case in Figure 33, but also when someone is undergoing severe pain, although not to the point of actually dying. However, it is essential to note that even though such statements can be used for other emotions, every instance in my corpus referred to laughter rather than pain, for example. In the corpus, the taboo topic of death is often found in hyperbolic statements, although it is not exclusive to CMC. This once again highlights the presence of blended figures in everyday language.

The punctuation at the end of the example in Figure 33 also works in favor of the view that the user is probably trying to show that they really liked the original post, that it made them laugh. The two exclamation marks seem to emphasize this. For years, punctuation has been described as an intonation system for written texts (see Chafe 1988), and this view is still relatively relevant to social media and how people use punctuation marks online. In speech, one can express emotions physically and verbally; in written texts, one can describe emotions and actions. However, the punctuation that one uses will help indicate to others whether the text should be read with emphasis, or with a different tone if it is a question. This is why punctuation can be seen as a kind of stage direction, or an instruction for how to interpret what

is written. As writing in social media lacks visual and auditory cues for conveying this kind of information, the creative use of punctuation is essential.

In regard to exclamation marks, studies have shown that “in private contexts of peer group communication among young people, the exclamation mark and its repetition are [...] considered a socially appropriate means for emotional display, notably the indexing of joyful excitement” (Androutsopoulos & Busch 2021: 4). While the exclamation marks in Figure 33 are not hyperbolic in nature, they do play a role in producing or reinforcing the hyperbolic statement. Michele Zappavigna (2012) argued that the use of punctuation online is not inconsequential, but rather fairly important. She posits that such marks can be used as a means to upscale the statement (either positively or negatively), which can furthermore increase solidarity between users (Zappavigna 2012: 67).

What seems particularly interesting here is that @user54 uses the expression “I am dying” to express a strong emotion, here laughter, instead of using abbreviations such as “LMAO,” its variant, “LMFAO,” or the more action-packed abbreviation “ROFL,” which stands for “Rolling On the Floor Laughing.” Although the use of the expression “dying of laughter” is common, social media provides a platform where expressions can grow and evolve. One of the reasons why @user54 decided to write “dying” might be because those shortenings might not be powerful enough to depict her actual emotional state at the time of writing. While there does not seem to be a death-inspired abbreviation for expressing laughter in English, it can be found in other languages, such as French. In French, there is the abbreviation “MDR” (capitalized or not), which stands for “mort de rire,” literally “dead from laughter.” MDR is used by French people in CMC, similarly to how “lmao” is used in English. However, it is also important to note that while French people also use English abbreviations, such as “lol” or “lmao,” there were no cases in the English-based tweet corpus of English-speaking users using “mdr” or “MDR.” This suggests that English acronyms are more easily integrated into other

languages than acronyms from French or another language are integrated into English. That is not surprising considering the status of the English in the world.

While hyperbole is only present in Figure 33 in response to @user53, not in @user53's tweet, the exchange between users in Figure 34 below is longer and contains more hyperbolic instances.

| | | | | |
|-----|---|--------|--------|---------|
| #1 | @user55: that post credit scene in raganarok when loki was worried about people on earth not accepting her makes me want to crash my head against the wall because loki would have definitely help the avengers to defeat thanos in order to redeem himself with everyone goodbye | 230 RT | 27 QRT | 2,399 ♥ |
| #2 | @user56: that scene hurts my heart bc you can see thanos' ship as a huge shadow and it makes me think of loki saying to thor in the avengers "i remember a huge shadow" | 3 RT | 0 QRT | 132 ♥ |
| #3 | @user55: GOD I never noticed that now i'm going to fucking cry more | 2 RT | 0 QRT | 51 ♥ |
| #4 | @user57: well fuck | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 3 ♥ |
| #5 | @user58: imagine him saying "I am an Avenger" as he says in Avengers Assemble 🥹 | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 30 ♥ |
| #6 | @user55: most painful comment bff you won | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 3 ♥ |
| #7 | @user59: STOP | 1 RT | 0 QRT | 6 ♥ |
| #8 | @user60: SUCH A WASTED POTENTIAL I'LL NEVER SHUT UP ABOUT THIS if they hadn't killed off loki so fast we'd have it all. he literally could've died in endgame and the impact would've been the same AND we'd get loki & avengers bonding. Just. Uh. | 3 RT | 0 QRT | 27 ♥ |
| #9 | @user61: They ruined the whole glow up he had in ragnarok in a slip of 10 minutes. I will NEVER forgive them for doing him so dirty 🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄 | 2 RT | 0 QRT | 11 ♥ |
| #10 | @user62: Yeah right and he's the one who knows thanos the most | 2 RT | 0 QRT | 20 ♥ |
| #11 | @user63: fuck | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 2 ♥ |
| #12 | @user64: The fact he could've gotten his moment in endgame or in infinity War, I will never forgive writers. | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 32 ♥ |
| #13 | @user65: 🥹🥹🥹 | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 1 ♥ |
| #14 | @user66: this is why we need ao3 | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 9 ♥ |
| #15 | @user66: I'm still so damn mad abt the fact we never got to see Loki , Thor , the avengers and guardians all fighting together against thanos I just can't m- ♥♥♥♥♥ | 0 RT | 0 QRT | 1 ♥ |

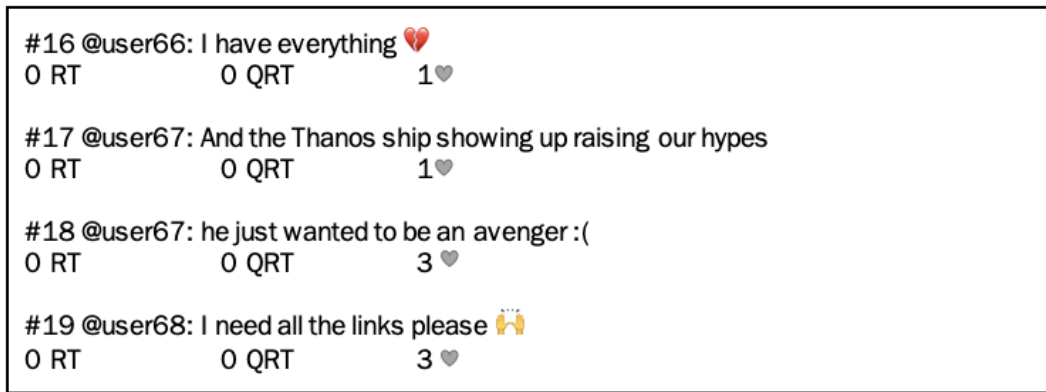


Figure 34: Replies to a "hit" tweet.

Figure 34 exhibits a *hit tweet* authored by @user55. “Hit tweets” are tweets that prompt lots of interactions from other users, but which do not go viral. Viral content online will spread faster through retweets (RT), and involve more interaction, in the form of replies or quote retweets (QRTs) from users than non-viral content. Tweet #1 in Figure 34 would not be considered a viral tweet as it has received 2,399 likes, 27 QRTs, and 230 RTs. These numbers are higher than some other tweets present in my corpus, but they are not high enough to be considered a viral tweet. Moreover, viral tweets tend to appear on everyone’s timeline, while this tweet would only appear on specific timelines, such as that of the MCU Stan community, which was mentioned in the previous chapter.

Tweet #1 is the one that is found in the corpus, but the replies were compiled separately. In Figure 34, @user55 says that the post-credit scene that appeared at the end of the movie *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017) makes them want to “crash my head against the wall,” which is clearly hyperbolic. The use of hyperbole here helps @user55 express how bad they feel about the movie scene, and might imply that they either felt extremely sad or mad about it. In fact, to express their emotion, @user55 could have said, “that post credit scene in raganarok when loki was worried about people on earth not accepting her makes me *want to cry*.” That could seem extreme to some, but less extreme than “crash my head against the wall,” as the latter entails head injury, or in the worst case scenario, death. Therefore, since the head is home to the brain,

which is itself home to our emotions and thoughts, by “crashing their head against a wall,” @user55 might want to forget the existence of the scene (which is perceived as sad by most fans of the franchise), and therefore, get rid of the emotion attached to the scene.

In tweet #3 by @user55, they start with the exclamation “GOD,” which is written in all-caps. As explained in the previous chapter, one purpose of all-caps is to emphasize the word and emotion associated with the word. In Figure 34, the use of all-caps in “GOD” emphasizes the effect of surprise. Moreover, the remaining text is written in lowercase rather than all-caps, which highlights a discrepancy between the surprise expressed at the beginning and the emotion that follows namely sadness. In tweet #8, two instantiations of all-caps are used. Firstly, the user capitalized the entirety of the beginning of their tweet in “SUCH A WASTED POTENTIAL I’LL NEVER SHUT UP ABOUT THIS,” which may represent shouting. However, near the end of the tweet, @user60 only capitalized the conjunction “AND,” in which case it can be considered emphasis rather than shouting, as the rest of the tweet is in lowercase. The capitalized conjunction stands out because the tweet is written in lowercase letters. One might suspect that @user60 has stopped talking about this matter as of today, and might therefore consider the example to be hyperbolic to a certain extent, or at least a blatant exaggeration. This example is a great instance of what Colston referred to as “chaining of figures, where speakers in conversations will frequently contribute the sequences of similar figurative forms” (Colston 2015: 81).

Here, hyperbole has various effects. The first and most central pragmatic effect of hyperbole is to highlight discrepancies. Here the discrepancy is between what happened and what could have happened, suggesting that hyperbole can be counterfactual. Concerning social behavior, ingratiation appears to be another effect produced by hyperbole here. By using ECFs, and hyperbole, users are bonding. Catalyzation is also an important effect, as the use of exaggerations is picked up by other users as the exchange progresses. Lastly, persuasion (which

is central to all figures) is also present here. By exaggerating, users are persuading others that what happened in the movie seems unfair. In CMC on social media, the presence of embedded signs (likes, etc.) can also reveal when persuasion has been accomplished.

In addition to the use of hyperbole, the different users in Figure 34 use different Extreme Case Formulations (ECF) (Pomerantz 1986). To study the use of ECF in tweets, a list of 103 ECFs ranging from nouns to superlative forms of adjectives was established. A total of 217 ECFs were found in my corpus by searching for the terms below (see Table 9).

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------|
| Every | Every time | No | Biggest | Cutest | Funniest | Littlest |
| All | Worst...Ever | Total | Cheapest | Darkest | Greatest | Longest |
| None | Everyone | Whole | Cleanest | Deepest | Hairiest | Loudest |
| Best | Nobody | Completely | Cleverest | Dirtiest | Happiest | Lowest |
| Least | Never | Forever | Closest | Driest | Healthiest | Nearest |
| As good as it gets | Endless | Everybody | Coldest | Earliest | Heaviest | Newest |
| Always | Absolute(ly) | Angriest | Craziest | Easiest | Highest | Nicest |
| Perfect(ly) | Brand new | Most | Crispiest | Fastest | Hottest | Oldest |
| Fattest | Hungriest | Poorest | Tallest | Fewest | Kindest | Quickest |
| Fittest | Largest | Richest | Ugliest | Flattest | Latest | Saddest |
| Freshest | Lightest | Saltiest | Weakest | Wettest | Widest | Youngest |
| Furthest | Loveliest | Luckiest | Prettiest | Bloodiest | Whitest | Bravest |
| Classiest | Proudest | Curviest | Blackest | Brightest | Sharpest | Wisest |
| Scariest | Shortest | Skinniest | Slowest | Smallest | Smartest | Softest |
| Strongest | Thickest | Warmest | Worst | Busiest | | |

Table 9: List of 103 ECFs used.

While ECFs can be used non-figuratively (as is the case in some of the tweets in Figure 34), they inevitably involve scales and extremes, and can be hyperbolic in some cases (Edwards 2000; Colston 2015). In Figure 34, the different users who are taking part in the exchange used ECFs 13 times, starting with @user55. When they say, “to redeem himself with *everyone*,” they use the ECF “everyone,” which implies *all* humans, when Loki would certainly have to redeem himself, but only with those directly affected by his actions, not everyone on planet Earth. @user55 uses ECFs twice afterwards when they say “never” and “most,” furthermore reinforcing the emphatic features of the tweets.

The use of ECFs is picked up by users as the conversation unfolds in Figure 34. As mentioned above, users made use of ECFs 13 times in the exchange, with some being used with hyperbolic statements while others standing on their own. The use of ECFs reinforces the emphatic nature of the tweets, especially when used with all caps words, as in @user61's tweet, which reads: "They ruined the whole glow up he had in ragnarok in a slip of 10 minutes. I will NEVER forgive them for doing him so dirty 😡😡😡😡😡😡." In tweet #9, @user61 uses two ECFs, "whole" and "NEVER." The first is written in lowercase, as would be expected, but the latter is written in all-caps. It thus appears to be more emphatic than the lowercase example as it attracts the viewers' attention to this specific word. It also enhances the expression of emotions, which is one of the pragmatic effects of hyperbole (Colston 2015: 76).

3.3. Quote-Retweets

On Twitter, quote-retweets are different from retweets. In retweets, the user only shares the tweet with an audience, while in quote-retweets the user also makes a comment which is then shared with the user's audience, too. Quote-retweets (henceforth QRTs) also differ from replies to tweets in that the original tweet in a QRT is embedded in the comment. In the initial collection of tweets, most tweets that were QRTs were not accessible because the accounts were suspended, deleted, or put in private mode. That made it necessary to collect an additional 100 tweets to have a broader representation of the QRT genre.

3.3.1 Metaphor

Metaphor is important in conversations online, as Figure 35 shows.



Figure 35: #RishiSunak has proved [...] need radical overhaul"

In Figure 35, @user68 is the author of the original tweet in which they posit their opinion on replacing Boris Johnson with Rishi Sunak as the UK's Prime Minister in 2022. They argue that Johnson and Sunak are the same and that they (UK citizens) "must NOT replace 1 fool with

his #twin!” In this part of the tweet, @user68 uses all caps to write “NOT” to emphasize the negation, as well as “NOW” at the end of the hashtag “#ElectorialReformNOW” to demand that the reform happens now. As explained before, the use of non-standard capitalization as we see here can be motivated by the conceptual metaphor MORE IS BIG. Instead of being considered iconic, MORE IS BIG should be considered indexical because the capitalization points to an emotion (e.g., anger, joy, excitement, etc.), rather than sharing a “physical” resemblance to it.

In this tweet in Figure 35, @user68 is most likely referring to the leaked footage of Sunak saying that he took money from deprived areas to distribute it to wealthier areas. This statement involves compression to human scale, more specifically CAUSE-EFFECT scaling, as well as TIME scaling, where a long causal chain is compressed into a direct and instant action, here “ripping the hearts out of people” to give them to other people (Fauconnier & Turner 2002). Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner define compression as “a phenomenon in conceptual integration that allows human beings to simultaneously control long diffuse chains of logical reasoning and to grasp the global meaning of such chains” (Fauconnier & Turner 2000: 283). Compression thus allows people to encode lots of complex information or events in fairly short and simple sentences, as is the case in Figure 35. @User68 is mostly referring to the CAUSE, Sunak “ripping” out people’s “financial heart,” but that aspect, once decompressed, provides access to a larger chunk of information, and especially the EFFECT it will have on people. In fact, the idea of “ripping the financial heart from ordinary people” implies a longer chain of action, that of getting the money, rearranging and reversing the policies that were already put into place, and redistributing the money to the selected areas, which implies not distributing the money to poor areas that need it, but to wealthy areas that do not necessarily need the funding.

In the QRT, @user69 does not use non-standard capitalization, but they do use conceptual metaphor when they say, “ripping the financial heart from ordinary ppl,” as it

involves the conceptual metaphors FINANCIAL RESOURCES ARE PHYSICAL RESOURCES (MetaNet 2022), and perhaps FINANCIAL RESOURCES ARE VITALS ORGANS, since money is conceptualized in terms of a heart, which is physical and a vital organ, although the conceptual metaphor has not yet been fully attested. That said, this line highlights specific attributes associated with hearts, such as the fact that the heart is responsible for distributing blood (and its constituents) to other essential parts of the body, such as the brain, the lungs, etc. In that sense, if the heart were taken away, or “ripped away,” as @user68 says, then the other organs would be deprived of blood and therefore stop functioning, eventually leading to death. Following this extended comparison, the other organs could refer to other aspects of one’s life, which are inherently related to money, such as entertainment and food, which most of the time require money. But a decrease in money could lead to a decrease in how much one can buy or do. Therefore, by “ripping the financial heart from ordinary people,” Sunak is said to be depriving people of living a relatively good, wealthy, and healthy life. In the end, he therefore could be said to be killing those people. In that sense, the metaphor is making the situation clearer to someone who might be unaware of what is happening in the UK, even though the wording is extreme as “ripping” implies great violence.

In Figure 35, by quote-retweeting @user68’s tweet, @user69 shows approval of it and their solidarity on the topic. Both users used metaphor, although differently, and @user69 repeated one of @user68’s sentences, as they both say that “the UK should not replace **1 fool with his “#twin”** (my emphasis). Repetition is known for maintaining and building solidarity or rapport between people and groups in a conversation (Carter 2016). Repetition also shows one’s response to and acceptance of the utterance from another person and provides evidence of one’s participation in the conversation (Tannen 2007: 61). From a rhetorical point of view, repetition can be divided into several types, such as ploké, epizeuxis, or polyptoton, to name only a few (Harris 2020). In Figure 35, ploké, which can simply be defined as a “perfect

(lexical) repetition,” seems to be underlying @user69’s tweet, and more specifically, the clause aforementioned, in that the form remains the same (Fahnestock 1976 qtd. in Harris 2020). So, by repeating “1 fool with his twin,” @user69 is showing their approval of @user68’s tweets, as they kept the same form by using numerals rather than the word “one,” as well as by keeping the hashtag “#twin,” which can be used to find other instances of tweets that use that very same hashtag.

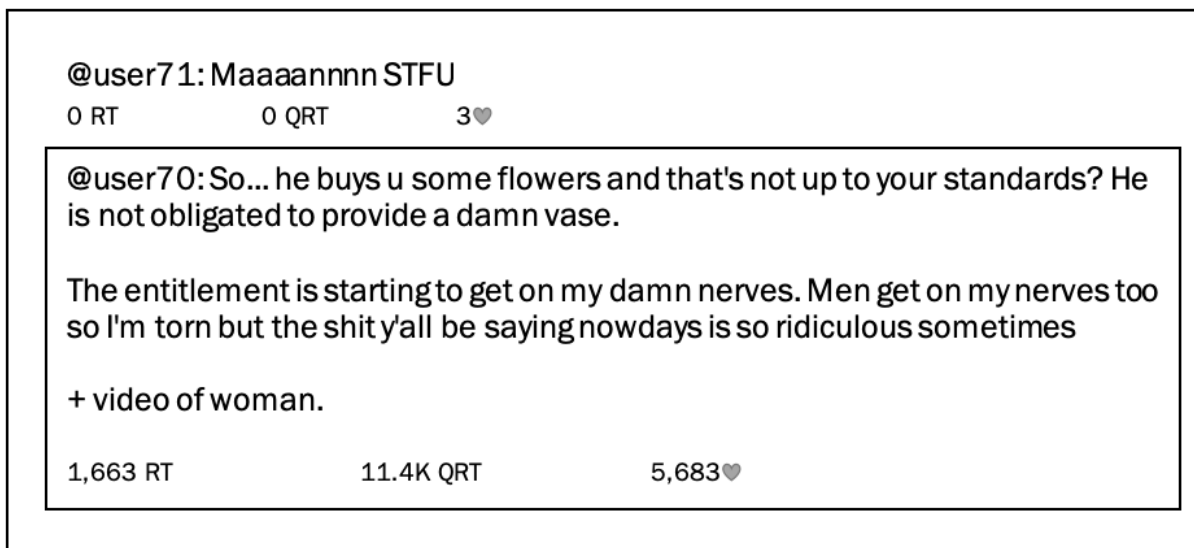


Figure 36: "Maaaaannnn STFU"

In Figure 36, @user70 shared a video that was originally on TikTok where she explained that she had received flowers from a man, but wished instead to have received a vase for the flowers as well. As can be seen, the tweet has received lots of attention from users, especially in quote-retweets, since 11.4k people reacted to the original tweet and video. @user71’s annoyance towards the person in the video is shown through various tools, such as the ellipsis “...” at the beginning, followed by a rhetorical question. Colston (2015: 18) observed that rhetorical questions are often used to express negative emotions, as it the case here. Lastly, there is also the use of the expletive “damn” twice in the tweet, and the idiomatic expression, “get on my nerves,” that reinforce the negative tone of the tweet.

At first, someone who is unfamiliar might think that @user71 is telling @user70 to “stfu.” However, they are saying that to the person in the video, not to the person who tweeted it. In the quote-retweet by @user71, they say “Maaannnn STFU,” where they used letter repetition and only capitalized the abbreviation “STFU,” which stands for “Shut The Fuck Up.” @user71 repeated letters and lengthened the word “man” with three additional A’s and four additional N’s. Such lengthening reveals the conceptual metaphor known as MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT, which itself seems to mirror Givón’s (1991) iconicity principle of quantity, as I mentioned in Chapter 2.

At first glance, the capitalization of “STFU” might appear to be just a standard print convention for abbreviations, as in NASA, for instance. But the way that @user71 uses all caps could also be associated with emphasis, and more specifically, with the notion of “upscaling” proposed by Michele Zappavigna (2012). Upscaling can broadly be likened to hyperbole in that it is defined as the intensification of “interpersonal systems as a way of increasing solidarity through emphasizing both positive and negative appraisal as shared experience” (Zappavigna 2012: 67). That is to say, by intensifying communication, and relationships online, users’ solidarity increases.

While the arguments proposed above by Heath (2018) and Zappavigna (2012) hold true, I would like to add that all-caps are also metaphoric. Visually speaking, all-caps take up more space on the screen and are larger than regular-sized letters. That is even more blatant on a phone screen, which is significantly smaller than a desktop computer screen. Furthermore, research showed that the use of all-caps in legal papers (i.e., contracts) was harder to understand than the use of mixed cases, especially when it concerned older people (Arbel & Toler 2020). However, Arbel and Toler also noted that the use of all-caps in such an environment was mainly “helpful when time limits force consumers to effectively prioritize attention” (2020: 865). On

social media, all-caps are also used metaphorically to typically emphasize something and attract attention.

To continue with the idea that metaphors are also at play in the use of all-caps, we might consider the IMPORTANCE IS SIZE and MORE IS BIGGER conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). While most instances of figuration studied before were present in the verbal form, here, the conceptual metaphors appear visually rather than verbally. In fact, there is a correlation between the use of capital letters and the conceptual metaphor MORE IS BIGGER. As Zappavigna (2012) and Heath (2018) explained, all-caps are often used to intensify a statement, so it seems safe to say here that the bigger letters in all-caps are used to convey more emotion. By using all-caps, users lend their statements more importance by making their letters bigger. This is why a combination of conceptual metaphors such as IMPORTANCE IS SIZE, MORE IS BIGGER, and MORE FORM IS MORE CONTENT may motivate the use of all-caps.

Finally, all-caps are also instances of foregrounding as they can attract viewers' attention. Foregrounding refers to the use of features that stand out against a background or what surrounds the foregrounded feature (see Leech 2008; Jeffries & McIntyre 2010). It seems undeniable that words spelled out in all-caps will attract users' attention, regardless of their level of familiarity with the practice. This aspect is highlighted in the case of tweets written in all-caps, as seen in Figure 37 below.

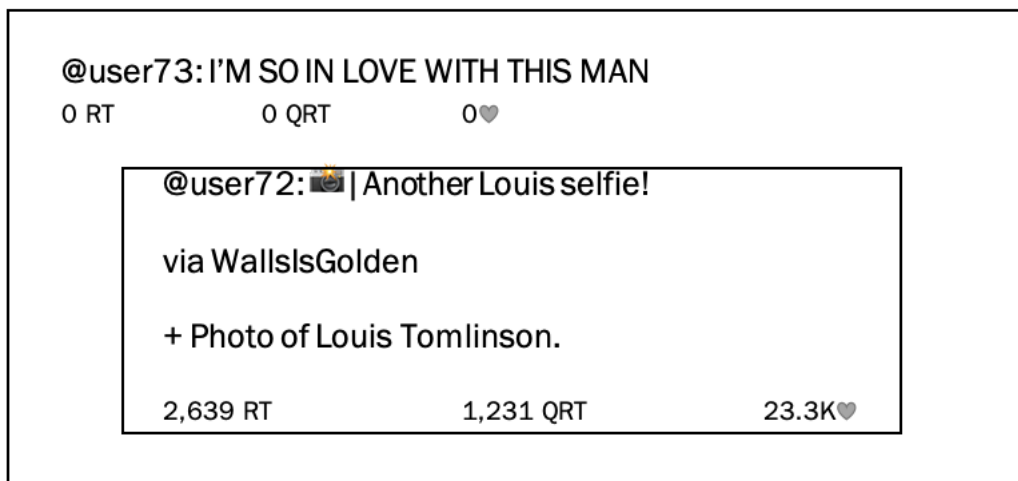


Figure 37: "I'M SO IN LOVE WITH THIS MAN"

In Figure 37, @user73 is reacting to a new photo of singer Louis Tomlinson, which another user initially shared. The caption in the tweet by @user72 reads as “📷 | Another Louis selfie!” and only presents the photo. In the QRT by @user73, they express how they feel about the photo, and perhaps more specifically about Tomlinson. Similar to previous tweets, the use of all-caps is underlined by conceptual metaphors such as MORE IS BIG, IMPORTANCE IS SIZE, and MORE FORM IS MORE CONTENT to emphasize and express their strong emotions about the singer. This particular example may also be considered shouting or yelling since it is the entire sentence that is capitalized, rather than only a word. That was the case in Figure 36, where the user used all-caps for just one word for emphasis. As observed before, the use of non-standard capitalization would be called foregrounding in stylistics, and in Figure 37, @user73 deviates from the norms of spelling to catch the readers’ attention. The metaphoric form and content thus come together here.

The pragmatic effects at play here are social positioning, in that the author is expressing a positive opinion, as well as ingratiation, as the person is reacting to someone else’s post, which creates a bond between them (the celebrity they are both referring to). Next, by saying that they are “in love,” they imply that they already fell in love with Tomlinson and have remained in the same state since the start. Expressions based on “I’m in love with x” are very

common. They can be used to refer to someone we love, a piece of music we love, or as is the case here, a celebrity we apparently love. The expression “in love” also encompasses the conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A CONTAINER and STATES ARE LOCATIONS, with the preposition “in” from the spatial source domain with a container (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). However, suppose someone viewed LOVE as a substance (similar to water). In that case, a different metaphor might be highlighted as in EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES/LOVE IS A SUBSTANCE. In the expression “being drunk on love,” the emotion is a substance they ingest.

Moreover, the use of metaphors appears to have an emphatic effect. With all-caps and the metaphors associated with it, the metaphor’s function is to emphasize the idea that @user73 *really* likes the singer *a lot*. However, it can also be argued that by doing so, @user73 is releasing internal pressure through catharsis. Therefore, writing in all-caps *could* be a cathartic tool for social media users. The use of the modal “could” is essential as research needs to be conducted to determine whether or not all-caps are cathartic. Furthermore, the instance of the LOVE IS A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor in Figure 37 also has an emphatic or even hyperbolic function, as the difference in meaning between “I’m in love with ...” and “I love ...” can vary in strength.

3.3.2 Metonymy

Along with metaphor, metonymy also plays a major role in QRT, especially in Figure 35 and Figure 36. Metonymy comes in different forms, the first one being in the form of shortenings. As explained before, shortenings such as initialisms, abbreviations, and so on fall under the umbrella of metonymy, according to Radden and Kövecses (2007), where there is a change of form (Radden & Kövecses 2007: 6):

(3) FORM A-CONCEPT A FOR FORM B-CONCEPT A.

In Figure 35, @user69 uses the initialism “UK,” which stands for “United Kingdom.” In this example, FORM A-CONCEPT A refers to “United Kingdom,” and FORM B-CONCEPT A is the abbreviated form “UK.” This example is by no means creative or specific to CMC, but on the contrary, rather usual for countries, as is the case with the US or USA, where the letters stand for the United States of America, or with DRC for the Democratic Republic of Congo, UAE for the United Arab Emirates, and so on.

In Figure 35, the reason to use the abbreviation seems to be the context of the tweet, which deals with UK politics. Moreover, the length of the tweet might also be another reason for the use of the abbreviation as the tweet itself uses all available characters, namely 280 characters, requiring @user69 to find ways around the limit. One way is to use shortenings. Had the tweet involved the full form of “UK,” as in United Kingdom, the user would not have been able to share the tweet unless they had removed some of the hashtags, for example. Lastly, searching for “UK” and “United Kingdom” on different online corpora (COCA, CORE, NOW, iWeb, and GloWbe) shows that the abbreviated form seems to be preferred to the longer form, with a total of 5,573,288 instances of “UK” compared to 520,052 instances of “United Kingdom” (as of February 2023).

Another shortening used by @user69 is “ppl,” which stands for “people.” This shortening would fall within what Caroline Tagg calls “consonant writing” (2012). “Consonant writing,” as its name suggests, is found when writers completely omit vowels in a word (similar to ancient Hebrew which only contained consonants and signs to signify vowels, but no vowels *per se*). That is shown in “ppl,” where the vowels “e” and “o” are omitted. Furthermore, we could go as far as suggesting that this instance also involves “phonetic (re)spelling” (Tagg 2012). If people said it out loud, the combination of the three letters *ppl* still appears to sound like the entire word “people.”

Something similar can be found in other tweets from my corpus, as can be seen in Figure 38.

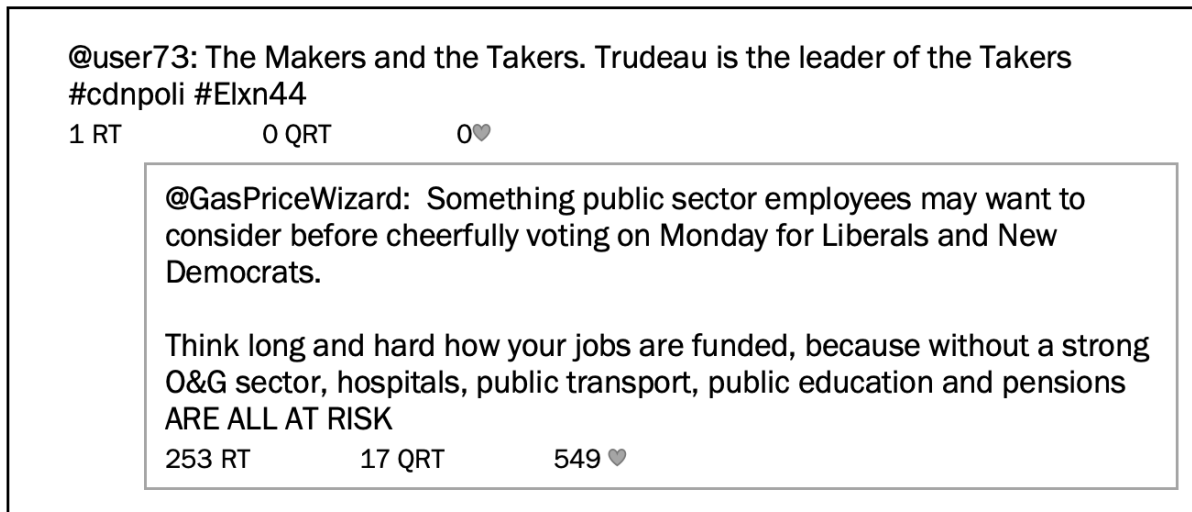


Figure 38: #Elxn44 #cdnpoli

The tweet in Figure 38 was posted during the 2021 Canadian Federal Election by @GasPriceWizard, also known as Dan McTeague, a businessman and former Canadian politician who is quote-retweeting another tweet about the Canadian oil and gas sector. To refer to the gas sector, McTeague uses the initial letter of each word, with “O” to refer to “oil” and “G” for “gas.” That is the first case of metonymy in this tweet, but more interesting instances are found in the QRT by @user72.

@user73 uses two hashtags, #cdnpoli, and #Elxn44; the former stands for “Canadian politics,” and the latter for “Election 44,” namely the forty-fourth Canadian federal election, held in 2021. While hashtags are now recognized as a central aspect of Twitter, they were not native to the platform. In fact, when Twitter was initially released, hashtags were not present on the platform. In a publication in 2007, when Chris Messina (2007) suggested the creation of “Tag Channels,” and more specifically, the use of a hash sign or American pound symbol for groups, which seems to be why Twitter included the hashtag on its platform. Users use hashtags to connect, promote, and coordinate the content they post (Scott 2015: 13). When

used by many users, hashtags can “trend” on Twitter, meaning that the hashtag will appear in the “trends” section, as shown in Figure 39 below.

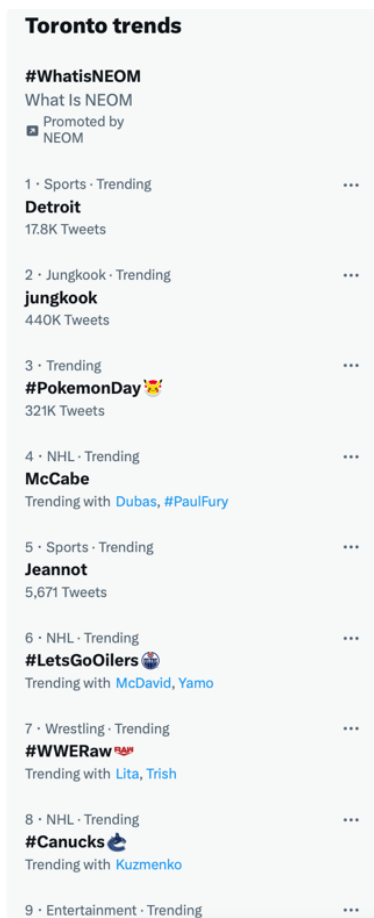


Figure 39: Screenshot showing Twitter's trends (Feb. 28th, 2023, 7:53 AM).

However, it is important to note that hashtags are not the only features that can become a trend. For example, at the time of writing, in the Toronto area, the number one trending feature was the name “Detroit,” which trended in the sports category, with tweets about Detroit’s NHL hockey team, the Red Wings. The first hashtag only appeared in third place with #PokemonDay. Moreover, until 2020, people could view “worldwide trends” on Twitter rather than region-specific trends, meaning that the hashtags or keywords that appeared first would be a hashtag used worldwide, and not somewhere specific.

In Figure 38, and more specifically in the tweet by @user73, two types of shortenings are used: consonant writing and clipping. Consonant writing, as explained above, happens when writers voluntarily omit vowels in a word, which essentially shortens the original word, as is the case here. @user73 reduced the eight letters long word “Canadian” to the three letters “cdn” by omitting the A’s and I’s of the word as well as the first N, as is done when referring to Canadian dollars as “CDN \$”. However, it is important to note that the context and textual cues of the tweet probably help readers understand that the tweet is about Canadian politics. Moreover, in the same hashtag, the word “politics” is clipped to only its beginning, “poli.” By reducing both eight-letter long words, namely “Canadian” and “Politics,” to “cdnpoli,” users are able to save nine characters, which on Twitter can be a lot. This seems to follow Herbert Clark’s “principle of least effort,” which is when “agents try to minimize their effort in doing what they intend to do” (Clark 1996: 224). Along those lines, the use of abbreviations is one of the many ways people respect this principle of least effort.

Secondly, “Elxn44” resembles consonant writing, which we have encountered before, but the vowel at the beginning makes it something different. The way @user72 wrote “Elxn” would be closer to Tagg’s “phonetic spelling” within a clipped word in that the letter “x” replaces the letters “-cti” and, more specifically, the sound associated with it /kʃ/. While the example from Figure 38 resembles phonetic spellings, this one differs from the examples studied by Tagg (2012). The spellings she studied are more conventional, with examples such as “skool” instead of “school” (Tagg 2012: 51), adding that such phonetic (re)spellings only function if they conform to English sound-spelling norms. So, while we have had instances of word *lengthening*, such examples could be considered word *reductions*. In Figure 38, the function of the phonetic spelling is to shorten the tweet for it to be used as a hashtag.

In both cases, Kövecses and Radden’s formula seems to apply in that part of the complete form is present to stand for the whole form (2007). In “cdn,” the three letters stand

for “Canadian,” and in “Elxn,” the four letters stand for “election,” but they both differ from previous more “standard” examples. Here, the purpose of the metonymy is mainly to frame the tweets in a broader context, that of the Canadian Election, rather than American Elections, for instance.

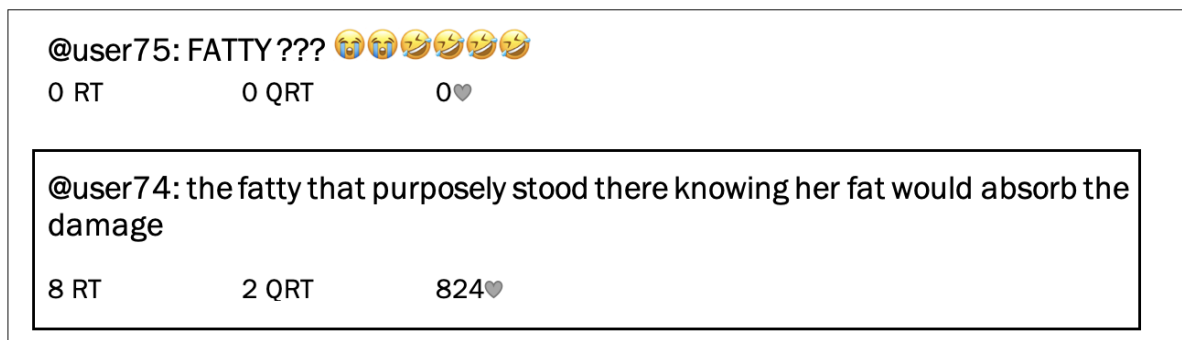


Figure 40: FATTY ??? 🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔

In Figure 40, @user75 is replying to a tweet with a video showing a person wearing a yellow shirt walking across the street and purposely stopping as they see someone on their motorbike riding straight toward them. Instead of clearing the path for the motorbike, the person stood there until the rider crashed into her. @user74 referred to the pedestrian as “the fatty” instead of referring to her as “the person in yellow,” or simply “the person,” for instance.

As mentioned before, the body is very often used in metonymic statements with examples such as “freezing my ass off” and “we need more brains on the project,” in which “ass” and “brains” are body parts of people that stand for the people referred to. In Figure 40, something similar is happening in that the fat can be metonymic for an exaggeration of the body feature, which then stands for the person and functions as a caricature (Simpson 2004; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014). Simpson explained that “caricature is a form of metonymic distortion [...] of some aspect of human appearance, normally physiognomy, such that this is exaggerated body part assumes a prominence sufficient to symbolise the whole being” (2004: 44). To that extent, the case of “fatty” in this example in Figure 40 can be considered metonymic. Furthermore, following Radden and Kövecses’ work on metonymy, this example

is underlined by the *thing-and-part ICM*, which for example gives rise to PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART metonymies (2007: 8). These metonymies then also give rise to other metonymies such as TRAIT FOR PERSON, where one aspect or trait of a person (a part) stands for the person (the whole), as is the case in Figure 40 (Littlemore 2015: 33). In Figure 40, @user74 is referring to the person in the video by using the word “fatty,” which would be considered the trait on which they are focusing to refer to the person as a whole.

This example highlights one of the key functions, or pragmatic effects of metonymy and perhaps figurative language, which is to evaluate things (Littlemore 2015; Colston 2015). In fact, in their 2007 paper on metonymy, Magnus Levin and Hans Lindquist argued that “[m]etonymic links with body nouns often seem to express emotions and evaluations in English” (2007: 91). Namely, when we use any body parts to refer to something/someone else, we evaluate the thing in question either positively, or negatively. In the case of Figure 40, the evaluation appears to be negatively connoted, as @user74 uses a physical trait, namely body fat, and the noun “fatty” to refer to a person. In a different context, the term fatty could be used neutrally as an adjective in the sense of something containing lots of fats, as in “fatty foods” (Merriam-Webster 2023). However, generally speaking, words that refer to fat are often negatively connoted in that fatty foods are often considered unhealthy. This nutritional aspect might be one of the many causes why terms such as fat, fatty, and the like are often used to negatively evaluate something or someone.

In the quote-retweet by @user75, they repeat the word “fatty,” but with a slight modification in its form, as it is capitalized to emphasize it. By repeating “FATTY,” @user75 is reacting to the term used in the previous tweet rather than the content of the tweet. It is not the rather violent content of the video that surprises them, but the use of the term “fatty” to refer to the person when other options were possible. Surprise is expressed through the use of the question marks, which are repeated three times, and combined with the capitalized term

emphasizing this idea of surprise. Briefly, the additional emoji at the end of the tweet seems to hint that @user75 is not negatively surprised by the term, but instead, they found it funny. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, emoji often help distinguish how a tweet should be understood by hinting at specific emotions or reactions.

In this example, the metonymy TRAIT FOR PERSON is first used by a user in a reaction to a video and is then picked up by another user who only puts the focus on the term and not the entire tweet or the end of the tweet, which could also surprise readers. Moreover, by repeating the term, @user75 is establishing rapport with @user74 to acknowledge them and perhaps to show that what they have said is funny. However, it is worth noting that the tweet can be directed at different people: the person who recorded the video, @user74 who shared it and commented on it, or @user75 who commented on it. Hence, these three parties can all feel the pragmatic effects. From the way QRTs work, I would suggest that @user74, and @user75 both feel the pragmatic effects, and @user75 wishes to share that with his audience, hence the QRT.

3.3.3 Hyperbole

In quote-retweets, hyperbole is equally important. Through letter repetition or word lengthening, people online are able to exaggerate or at least emphasize something, as is the case in Figure 36, in which @user68 uses the interjection “man!” They lengthened the word by adding three a’s and three n’s in the word, turning the three-letter-long word interjection into a nine-letter-long one. As defined by the OED, interjections are often “used to express surprise, delight, disbelief, amazement, etc.” (OED 2022). As previously explained, one of the reasons behind word lengthening might be that @user68 is mimicking spoken discourse through prosodic orthography (Heath 2021).

However, it is worth noting that the lengthening of words is also strongly associated with sentiments, as shown by Samuel Brody and Nicholas Diakopoulos (2011). They conducted research to find better ways to conduct sentiment analysis in microblogs, such as Twitter. One such way is to look at word lengthening, as they usually convey emotion towards something else, such as policies and movies, among others (2011). While such research is probably most useful for commercial use, it is also relatively useful for understanding the way that people communicate online.

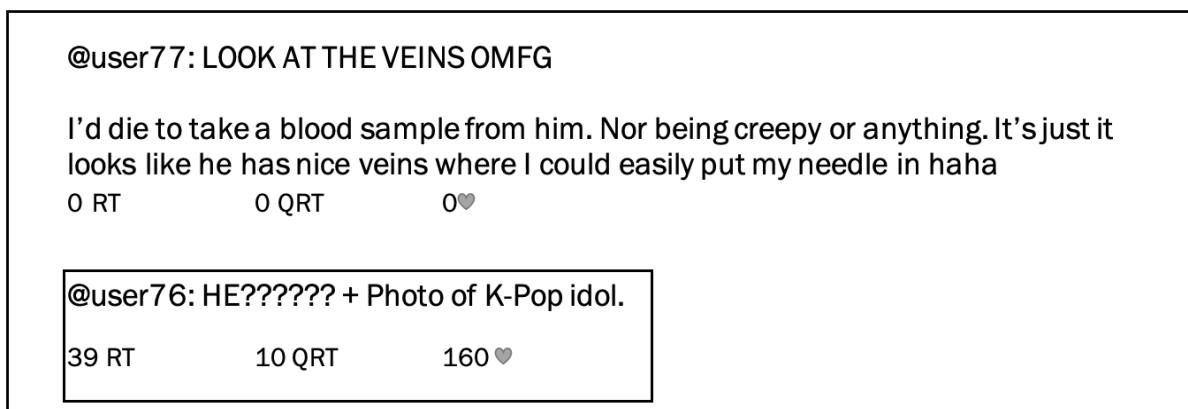


Figure 41: "LOOK AT THE VEINS."

In Figure 41, @user77 is reacting to a photo of a K-Pop idol where the veins from his arms are particularly prominent. @User76, who shared the photo, tweeted “HE???????” in all caps, which is a way of expressing surprise with the repetition of question marks, but is also a representation of astonishment, as the user only uses the pronoun “he” to express it. Reacting to something by using only one word is particularly commonplace online, especially in Stan communities. It is often used as a means to emphasize something by only focusing on one thing, the person to whom “he” refers. To comment on the tweet, and perhaps more specifically the photo, @user77 first started with all-caps, where they are telling viewers to “LOOK AT THE VEINS OMFG” to show surprise or astonishment, as did @user76. Following this, @user77 says, “I’d die to take a blood sample from him,” which would sound odd to most

viewers. In this first part, @user76 used all-caps first, and @user77 followed by using all-caps as well, but in a longer statement.

As explained before, the use of death in hyperbole is not new or unique to social media. Claridge (2010) showed that the semantic field of death was often found in hyperbole, as is the case here. In Figure 41, it is not likely the case that the user would actually die to do it, but rather @user77 is longing to do it, and one way of expressing that desire is by using an extreme experience, that of dying. It is worth noting that such expressions are so entrenched in language and thought that people often overlook them as cases of hyperbole, but they are. Similar to so-called dead metaphors, such examples of hyperbole are often referred to as “dead hyperbole” because of how conventional or entrenched they are in language (McCarthy & Carter 2004: 151).

This example also highlights the hyperbolic construction “I’d die to” being combined with the extreme case formulation “anything,” as well as with metaphor (through the use of all-caps). Imagining both hyperbole and ECF as scales going from negative to positive, on the one hand, it can be argued that the hyperbole used in “I’d die to” could be placed at the rightmost place on a scale, namely the positive end, as it is perhaps one of the most extreme ways of talking about or reacting to something. On the other hand, the use of the ECF “anything” might be found at the opposite end of that scale, namely as negative. Therefore, by using the ECF “anything” after the hyperbole, @user77 is somewhat decreasing the intensity and violence first introduced in the second sentence. That is furthermore observable at the end when they write “haha” to signify laughter and therefore try to lighten the mood.

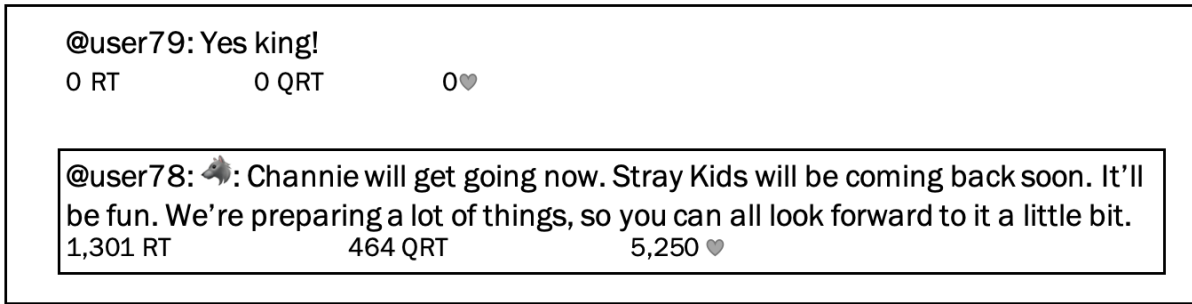


Figure 42: Yes king!

In Figure 42, @user78 is translating something into English that was said by yet another K-Pop idol in Korean. This is common practice online, as K-Pop musicians often only communicate in Korean, which fans from other countries do not necessarily speak or understand. Briefly, @user78 uses an emoji to refer to the member of the band who said that because an emoji is often attributed to each member of a band. A quick look online can help decipher who exactly is mentioned; in this case, the wolf emoji is used to refer to Bang Chan, one of the members of the K-Pop band Stray Kids. This tweet is merely a translation of what was said in the video.

As a reaction to what is said in the original tweet by @user78, @user79 simply says, “yes king!” While fairly simple, these two words bear a lot of meaning. Firstly, the statement is metaphorical as Bang Chan is referred to as “king.” He is not a king in actuality, as he is not of royal lineage, nor does Korea have a king. By saying “king,” @user79 is mapping attributes of royalty such as being a ruler, being decisive, and perhaps getting the title at birth; these could be considered some of the most positive attributes of kings. Moreover, nicknames are often used for people we know well, rather than for strangers. However, other attributes might be more negative such as the fact that they can be spoiled, out-of-touch, authoritarian, and so on. Some of these attributes might be associated with the fact that Bang Chan is, in fact, the leader of his K-Pop band, Stray Kids, and could to a certain extent be considered the King, in the

sense of leader. It is also worth noting that @user79 might be referring to @user78 when they say “king”.

While metaphor is essential here, this example can also be considered hyperbolic. This example showcases what Sperber and Wilson highlighted in their 2008 paper, namely that drawing a clear line between metaphor and hyperbole is often impossible (Sperber & Wilson 2008; Colston 2015). As Sperber and Wilson (2008) argued, metaphor and hyperbole should be considered along a single continuum going from metaphor to hyperbole, without excluding them appearing in combination at the same time, as would be the case in Figure 42.

Since the K-Pop leader is not a king, one could argue that @user79 is lying when they are, in fact, simply being hyperbolic. Following Grice’s Cooperative Principle, and more specifically the maxim of quality -- “try to make your contribution one that is true” (Grice 1975: 46), the hyperbole could be mistaken for a lie, in that a speaker being hyperbolic is not making a contribution that is entirely true. However, as Clark (1996: 143) argued, using hyperbole is not a matter of lying but rather of pretending. When being hyperbolic, we *pretend* to say something that is either more or less than what is expected, and we do this through what Clark referred to as “staged communicative acts” (1996: 378). Hyperbole is *staged* because person A will say something to person B, and both A and B will work together in “staging a brief scene that blatantly contrasts with the current situation” (Clark 1996: 378). So, in Figure 42, @user79 is using hyperbole when referring to the celebrity as “king,” thus staging an act in which the singer is being referred to as “king,” which other readers need to understand as figurative, as being a pretense rather than true, and eventually a form of praise.

Yet this intended interpretation is difficult to guarantee considering the large possible audience on Twitter. Someone who is unfamiliar with fandoms or given the tweet out of context might perhaps think that @user79 is referring to an actual monarch instead of a mere exaggeration of who the person is. In face-to-face communication, misunderstandings might

happen, but perhaps on a lesser scale, as the speaker who uses FL can clarify their meaning immediately, as opposed to the writer in CMC who cannot. Here, the primary effect, if we consider the use of *King*, to refer to the K-Pop idol, is “extolliation,” or in other words praise (Colston 2015: 77). Lastly, highlighting discrepancies is also important, as there is a difference between the use of “king” and the reality behind the tweet (a singer).

3.4. Quote-Retweets (QRTs) containing Replies

Twitter involves different layers of participation. So far in this chapter, two types of tweets have been dealt with: QRTs and replies. These two types show that people will often use similar figures of thought. I argue that when a thread of replies occurs in a QRT, and FL was used at the start, then it is more likely than not that another user will recycle or pick up that figurative instance in their own reply. This section will thus focus on the use of FL in QRTs, and more specifically on replies to them, as they were overlooked in the previous part. In section 3.2, only tweets and their replies were discussed. In section 3.3, we saw the case of QRTs which did not involve any direct reply but contained a comment. Replies are found directly under a tweet, similar to a thread. However, QRTs are also retweets which the user comments on/replies to when sending out the original tweet. In this last section of chapter 3, section 3.4, we will look at replies to QRTs. As I did in previous sections, here I will start my discussion with metaphor, then move onto metonymy, and finish with hyperbole.

3.4.1. Metaphor

In Figure 43 below, @user80's tweet is a QRT of a video showing two K-Pop idols seemingly cooking. One of them takes out a bread knife, which is typically a very long object. The video led to many reactions from K-Pop Stan communities about the size of the knife.

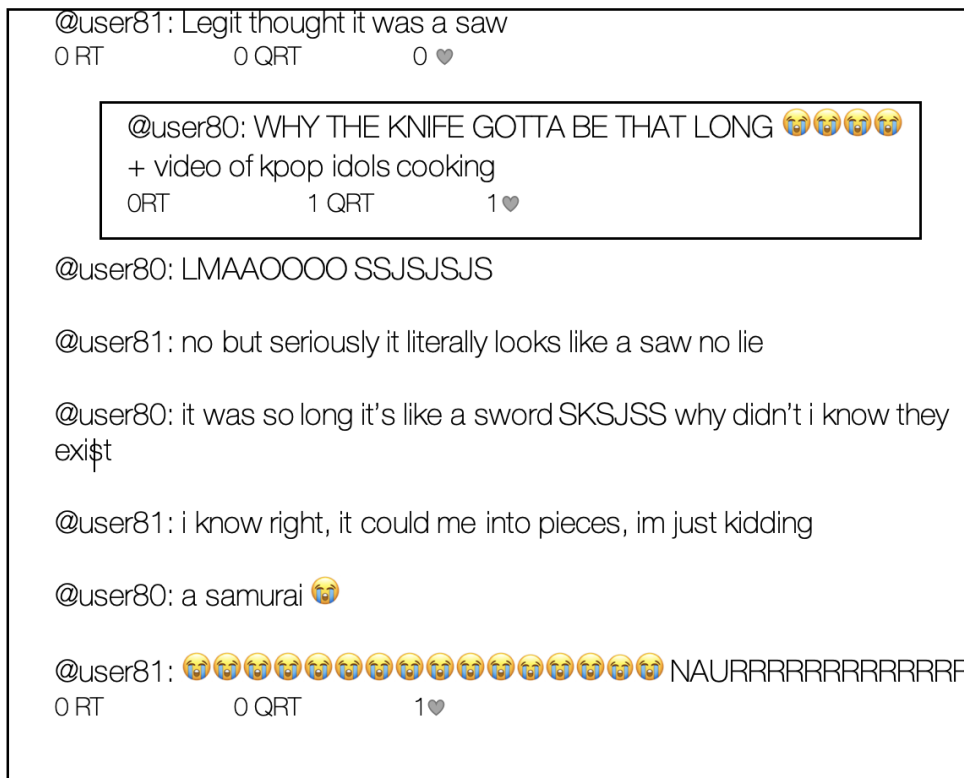


Figure 43: "Legit thought it was a saw."

In Figure 43, several stylistic devices are used by the different users to chat. First, @user80 is asking a rhetorical question to actually express surprise about the situation. Rhetorical questions serve different purposes, such as strengthening a statement or softening criticism, for instance, with the ultimate goal in the latter case being that of saving face (Frank 1990; Brown & Levinson 1987; Colston 2015). Rhetorical questions are not actual questions, but rather are used to make a point, as in Figure 43. Colston (2015: 78) argued that rhetorical questions can be used to talk about “ideas that are considered inappropriate” which here relates to the size of the knife which is judged too big. This example highlights another possible hypothesis; namely, in a thread of 5 and plus replies in a QRT, when FL us used at the start,

then it is more likely than not that another user will recycle or pick up that figurative instance in their own reply. To discuss this, I will go over Figure 43, which is a great example of figurative chaining to bond socially.

To begin with, instead of genuinely asking a question about the knife, @user81 seems most likely to react to its size, and use a rhetorical question to do that. Here, the metaphor is combined with the rhetorical question to produce different pragmatic effects, such as humor, emphasis, or complaint. In the first three replies from @user81, they do not use all-caps to emphasize or ‘shout’ their answer. However, @user80 uses all-caps twice more when they say “LMAAOOOO SSJSJSJS,” and “SKSJSS,” therefore reusing metaphor although it is not picked up at first by @user81.

Another case of metaphor that was already studied, but is present in Figure 43, is the case of letter repetition. In Figure 43, @user80 says “LMAAOOOO,” in which the letter A is repeated once after its expected use, but the letter O is repeated four times. As I argued before, letter repetitions appear to be grounded in CMT, and more specifically, the conceptual metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT. Here, @user80 used more form for “LMAO” (laughing my ass off) to express more content, in this case, more attitude. So, by adding additional letters to the word, @user80 is conveying more emotion or attitude towards the situation and to the person they are writing with.

This latter aspect is furthermore emphasized as @user81 picks up on the use of all-caps, and letter repetition in their last reply when they write, “NAURRRRRRRRRRRRRR.” The standard spelling for this word would be “naur,” which is used as a meme online. The term is used jokingly by online users to try to mimic the Australian accent, as it has an intrusive /r/ at the end, making the word “no” sound more like “naur.” This has been picked up again since the rise of TikTok and people finding out about the Australian TV series *H2O: Just Add Water* (2006), in which one of the characters is named “Cleo,” but pronounced with an intrusive /r/ at

the end which leads to the name sounding more like “Cleor.” More generally, the K-Pop community may have a part to play in this, too, as some of their favorite idols have Australian roots and often purposely use an intrusive /r/ in interviews. By being acknowledged by major celebrities with worldwide recognition, the term was able to spread and be accepted by online users on TikTok and Twitter (Tang 2021). In this case, @user81 could have simply written “NOOOOOOO,” with the same use of all-caps and letter repetition. But instead they decided to use “naur.” Some reasons for this might be that @user81 is Australian and picked up the spelling online as a joke, or that “no” simply does not express what people wish to express. “Naur” can arguably be used as an emphatic “no,” regardless of its capitalization or letter repetition.

This example is particularly interesting in terms of rapport (Carter 2013). Social rapport can occur through various tools, such as FL (“It’s like,” *simile*), the adverb *literally* -- which can be a cue for FL (Lakoff 1986; Israel 2002; Nerlich & Chamizo Domínguez 2003), as well as the use of informal language. Informal language comes in various forms, as in “Why the knife gotta be” which does not have the full formal verb phrase, but slang instead. Informal language is also found in the use of the expression “just kidding” (which is often shortened to *jk*). On this, Stephen Skalicky, Cynthia Berger, and Nancy Bell (2015: 19) argued that “[w]hen someone says *just kidding*, that person is making an overt linguistic signal that a prior utterance (or action) should be reconsidered.” In regard to the use of *just kidding*, the authors found that it is mostly used in failed humor, but also as “a marker of anticipation of failed humor, a bid to return to serious discourse, or a set up for additional humor” (Skalicky, Berger & Bell 2015: 29). So, *just kidding* can be used as a tool to protect one’s face, to change the tone of a conversation (which can also be found with the use of *no but seriously*), or to generate more humor.

By using these strategies combined with FL, @user80 and @user81 appear to be amusing each other. Some of the pragmatic effects found here are ingratiation, persuasion, social engineering, and catalyzation (Colston 2015). Furthermore, through the use of metaphor and simile, the users are enhancing the meaning of the tweets, eliciting emotions (joy), being impolite (slang) and most importantly being humorous. These all serve one goal: social bonding (i.e. ingratiation, Colston 2015).

While repeating letters to add emphasis could be representative of what would happen if @user80 and @user81 spoke face-to-face, being entirely sure of how much they are actually laughing would require further study. It is worth noting that people online are often very honest about how they are actually reacting to supposedly funny content online, as shown in the meme from Figure 44.



Figure 44: Meme showcasing how people react to content online.

This image, which could be referred to as a meme (in its broad sense) is here simply to represent what people have been talking about online. Often, when they write LMAO, LOL, and so on, in an exaggerated way, only what they write showcases extreme laughter; their actual reactions might not convey laughter. Saying something is funny (as in, “That’s funny”), and actually

laughing at what is said, are two different reactions. In order to know whether this is true among users of Twitter, and more specifically, to have data about this, researchers would need to conduct different experiments. Therefore, the use of letter repetition, similar to all-caps, can be a useful feature for sentiment analysis. However, knowing how factual these reactions or sentiments are remains uncertain. The first example in Figure 43 is a great instance of metaphor getting picked by users, by means of catalyzation (Colston 2015). They do so for different effects, namely humor, as users appear to be amusing each other. Additionally, doing so reinforces their social bond or rapport via ingratiation and tension reduction (Colston 2015).

3.4.2. Metonymy

In Figure 43, metonymy also plays a major role in the form of abbreviations, such as “LMAO,” but also later in the tweet when @user80 writes “a samurai.” Since abbreviations have been dealt with at length in the previous section and in the previous chapter, let us look instead at the case of “a samurai.” In Figure 43, @user80 and @user81 discuss the size of the knife in the video, emphasizing its apparently unusual length. In the context of knives and, more generally, cutting tools, @user80 wrote “a samurai” as if it were a type of knife. Yet this instance relies on a WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy. A “samurai” is a kind of Japanese knight, and one of the key elements of being a samurai is having a katana, a specific type of deadly sword. This most likely is the reason why @user80 wrote “a samurai,” by using the WHOLE term to refer to a PART of the WHOLE, namely the samurai’s sword, as samurai and swords are associated.

As previously observed, abbreviations are perhaps some of the most widespread forms of metonymy. Cases observed before involved acronyms such as *lmfao*, *lol*, and *ffs*, only to name a few. But other cases that are more community-specific are of great interest as well. In Figure 45 below, there is an ongoing conversation between two users who are arguing about

two WWE wrestlers. The turn taking situation is odd here, as users often reply to their own tweets, usually to add information they forgot to add before (@user82).

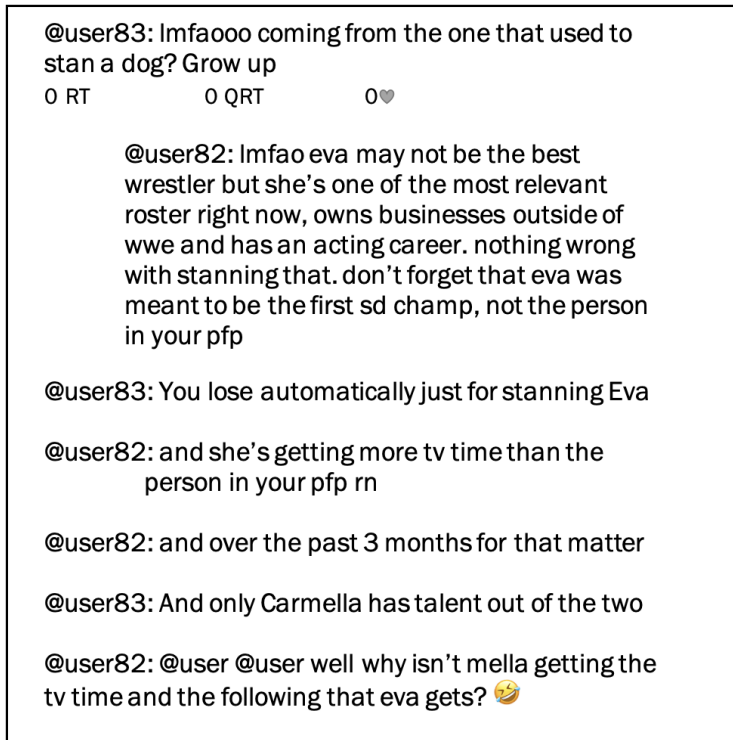


Figure 45: "well why isn't mella [...] following that eva gets?"

In Figure 45, there are instances of abbreviations encountered earlier, such as *rn* (right now) and *mfao* (laughing my fucking ass off). Still, there are also new abbreviations such as *pfp*, which on Twitter stands for “profile picture,” the picture the user picks for their profile. However, the example of metonymy that is most interesting is the use of *sd* by @user82, as well as others, as will be seen. First, considering *sd*, people might be most familiar with these two letters when referring to SD cards, where *sd* stands for “storage device.” Someone who is into movies or photography might access the meaning of *sd* as referring to storage devices.

Nevertheless, in Figure 45, the context provides readers with several cues for understanding the meaning. Had this example been a screenshot of the conversation, additional features such as the profile pictures and biography of users, among others, would allow readers

to get a broad idea of what the environment of these specific users looks like. The lack of such cues forces my readers to further investigate the tweet to understand what exactly *sd* refers to here. Before using the acronym, @user82 refers to WWE, or World Wrestling Entertainment, providing a clear clue about the tweet's topic: professional wrestling as organized by the WWE. Therefore, for the correct meaning to be understood, the viewers need to acknowledge the various clues directing the meaning to the most relevant current topic, that of wrestling.

In one of the replies, @user83 mentions the female wrestler Carmella by using her full name. However, in the following reply, @user82 uses a shortening for the name “mella,” or what we could refer to as a “nickname.” The term nickname can be defined as “[a] referring expression that identifies an individual and that differs from the formal given names of the referent” (Kennedy & Zamuner 2006: 388). Moreover, in face-to-face communication, nicknames are only used when we know the person personally, or in a private setting when talking about them (person being nicknamed).

Kennedy and Zamuner (2006) also explain that there are at least two types of nicknames: Homeric and hypocoristic nicknames. One of the examples provided by the authors to define the former would be “The Chicoutimi Cucumber” to refer to professional hockey goalie Georges Vezina, which is a Homeric nickname. A hypocoristic nickname example could be calling someone *Tony* instead of *Anthony*, or *Mella* instead of *Carmella* as is in Figure 45. Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser (2014) argued that such abbreviations “are examples of part-for-whole frame metonymy” in that one of the frames, the diminutive stands for the whole name, which itself stands for the person (2014: 110). Such diminutives are often used by members of family or friends and are usually positively connoted, as they can work as markers for group identity (Jufarsky 1996; Kennedy & Zamuner 2006; Badarneh 2010).

In a paper on diminutives, Muhammad Badarneh posits that diminutives can be used “for both signaling a positive emotional attitude and communicating a pejorative meaning,

carrying both intensifying and attenuating force” (2009: 153). One of the many functions of metonymy is also to provide a form of evaluation (Levin & Lindquist 2007; Littlemore 2015), which seems to be happening here, as @user82 is negatively evaluating Carmella. This is because @user82 does not seem to be using the nickname *Mella* to show approval, but rather to disparage and make fun of Carmella, as well as compare her to Eva, another WWE wrestler. As a form of scalar reasoning, this example of metonymy reflects the pattern REDUCING THE NAME IS REDUCING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PERSON, which could be a sub-instance of the IMPORTANCE IS SIZE conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Furthermore, it reinforces the idea that by clipping the name of the person, the user is demonstrating a negative attitude toward the wrestler or disrespect for her. As Colston (2015: 76) argued, “metonymy/synecdoche also can express negative attitudes,” which is precisely what is happening in Figure 45.

Regarding Figure 45, the tweet provides additional cues as to how the use of the diminutive should be interpreted, namely, in a more pejorative manner. In fact, @user82 essentially states that Carmella is getting less TV time and fewer followers than other female wrestlers. @user82 is therefore using the nickname “mella” to disparage and make fun of Carmella, as well as to compare her unfavorably to Eva. However, it appears that Carmella, also known as Leah Van Dale, has more followers on Twitter (1.1 million at the time of writing) than Eva Marie, the other wrestler (who has approximately 954 thousand followers on Twitter at the time of writing), even if she has less mainstream media exposure than Eva.

3.4.3. Hyperbole

My last section will focus on hyperbole in QRTs, especially in the case of Figure 43. As a reminder, Figure 43 was about an exchange between only two people, about the length of the knife used by the K-Pop idol in a video. As explained before, different figures are at play

in this exchange, one of which is hyperbole, executed through gradation. The first tweet mentioned a knife, which was then upscaled metaphorically to a *saw*, which is then repeated, before being upscaled again to a *sword*, and lastly to a *samurai*, which, as explained, metonymically stands for a *katana*. “Katana” can be considered an ECF because samurais’ katanas are very long and known to be some of the sharpest cutting instruments in the world (if we may call them so). Littlemore (2015) argued that WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymies often underlie hyperbolic expressions, as is the case in Figure 43, where *samurai* metonymically stands for *katana*, which itself is of a much larger size than the kitchen knife used in the video. This example blends metaphor, metonymy, and ECFs to express something.

Another case of exaggeration would be the tweet by @user81 (Figure 43) in which they say, “i know right, it could [cut] me into pieces, im just kidding,” in which they use a counterfactual conditional expression. The knife could be big enough to cut someone into pieces, but it did not happen and is very unlikely to. This is furthermore reminiscent of the work by Fauconnier on counterfactuals (1996; 1997). In that sense, @user81 creates another reality where a big enough knife could cut them into pieces. The sentence would not have been hyperbolic had @user81 said something like “it could cut me,” as that is what is expected of a knife, namely, that it cuts things. The addition of “into pieces” makes the statement more extreme because of the vivid imagery it creates. In order to soften this vivid imagery and rather violent statement, they added, “im just kidding,” which lessens the statement’s intensity.

In addition, both users use various words and expressions to signify hyperbole or perhaps to enhance it even more. @user81 uses the terms “legit” and “literally” to express exaggeration. The word “literally” is particularly interesting as it should technically be used for literal, or at least non-figurative, language but is often used figuratively or as an intensifier, as is the case here (Lakoff 1986; Israel 2002; Nerlich & Chamizo Domínguez 2003). While its use is not specific to social media, or CMC, social media appears to be a great place to find

similar instances as people tend to use those terms to say hyperbolic statements, but making them sound as if they were literal, which in the end often emphasizes the hyperbole, or what is expressed. In the same line, Brigitte Nerlich and Pedro J. Chamizo Domínguez (2003) have argued that “*literally* has gradually come to be used to emphasise [something] more generally, and finally to emphasise that some conventional metaphorically hyperbolic phrase is to be taken in the strongest admissible sense” (2006: 205). Thus, even through the use of a term that supposedly is literal, there is figurative meaning.

As mentioned above, @user81 also makes use of the term “legit,” which is a shortening for “legitimate.” While one of its central meanings is related to legitimacy, in informal American English, *legit* is often used to refer to something nice or good, as in “this show is legit.” In Figure 43, however, the former meaning seems to be the most appropriate. “Legit” seems to have a similar function to “literally” as it intensifies what comes after, but it also adds validity to what they are saying as a means to legitimize the fact that they thought the knife was a *saw*. Both instances of “literally” and “legit are used by @user81, starting with *legit* before using *literally*. The switch from one to the other appears to be to emphasize the idea that they thought the knife looked like a saw, even more than already was the case. In the tweet in Figure 43 where @user81 used *literally*, they also used the term “seriously” as well as “no lie” to further emphasize that idea, linking everything with a simile.

While simile is relatively important, I have decided not to focus on it here. One of the main reasons behind that choice is that at the time of analysis, very few examples showcased simile. Secondly, in this work I have decided to focus on the main figures that were found in my corpus, namely metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, and euphemism. Moreover, in terms of pragmatic effects, we might suspect that simile and metaphors share similar effects, for they are both figures of comparison. However, it does not mean that simile should not be studied in

the future. Indeed, simile has been shown to be particularly important in the study of internet memes (see Lou 2017).

The last thing I would like to mention here is the use of a sequence of random words which is often referred to as “keyboard smashing” or “key-smashing.” These can be seen in Figure 43 with the use of “SSJSJSJS” and “SKSJSS” (see McCulloch 2019; Park 2022). Such instances are essentially found in CMC and, perhaps more specifically in social media. While seeming random at first, keysmashes are important social features online. As argued by Allison Park (2022), keysmashings are often used to convey moods or tones. Rather than being completely meaningless, they are similar to tone indicators, especially in all caps. To that extent, keysmashes can be considered a form of exaggeration. Park posited that keysmashes should be considered a linguistic phenomenon, for there is a relationship between their forms and meanings (2022). After all someone intends to say something to someone else even if keysmashes are the result. To support this idea, Park conducted two experiments, one to show how keysmashes “convey meanings, have standards of form, have arbitrary relationships between those forms and meanings, and involve social conventions for their use” (Park 2022: 34). The second experiment focused on the factors that made keysmashes well-formed instances, in which she explained that the addition of punctuation in a keysmash might render it less acceptable (2022).

One hypothesis that arises from this is that the closer the letters are to one another on a US or UK keyboard, the greater the likelihood there is in their being used in keysmashes. Using keysmashes allows users to convey intense emotions which are perhaps too intense to be conveyed verbally (see McCulloch 2019). As for their apparent randomness, Gretchen McCulloch has argued that it is not the case, as users have strong intuitions about keysmashes and what they should look like, even going as far as retyping their keysmashes to make sure they convey the right feeling and also to make sure that the keysmash “looks good” (McCulloch

2019). This idea highlights conventional and non-conventional uses of keysmashing, as some keysmashes are accepted while others are not.

Let us consider four instances of keysmashes, some more acceptable than others.

(4) sdfghjk

(5) yx*cv.bnm

(6) jhshdjsksls

(7) bxnmzxm

In examples (4) and (6), we have cases that would probably be more accepted by users and might be considered a “beautiful keysmash,” as online users would put it. However, the keysmashings from examples (5) and (7) might be less so because they involve letters from the bottom row rather than the median or top row of the keyboard, which are less preferred (McCulloch 2019). Example (5) also contains punctuation, and as Park argued (2022), such keysmashes are judged to be less acceptable than those which do not contain punctuation or other symbols. While the study by Park focused on keysmashes, nothing was said regarding their capitalization, or lack of it, as well as the differences between keysmashes typed on a computer and those typed on the phone. It is worth noting that the type of keyboard one uses does not matter, as far as the ISO basic Latin alphabet is concerned, as most keysmashes are done on the homerow, namely the central letter row (e.g., asdfghjkl, qsdvghjklm), where fingers naturally rest when typing, both on phones and computer. Therefore, closeness on a keyboard appears to be central in keysmashes. The idea is furthermore supported considering Clark’s principle of least effort where “agents try to minimize their effort in doing what they intend to do” (Clark 1996: 224).

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on dialogic tweets and how people use FL in conversations, how they reply to figurative instances, and lastly how they pick up figurative instances. I have studied these items in three types of dialogic tweet: (1) replies to tweets, (2) quote-retweets, and (3) quote-retweets followed by replies. Figures of thought and language were seen to be used to bond users with other users. People who shared similar ideas (e.g., medical; political) reused the same figures (metaphors) as a means to distance themselves from those who shared diverging points of view. In that sense, FL is used both to create distance, but also rapport, showing how versatile it can be. In other cases, metonymy was used as a means to disparage people. From referring to someone solely by using physical characteristics of them (e.g. fatty), to disparaging the importance of someone by clipping their name (e.g. Mella), metonymy, like metaphor, has several pragmatic effects.

Concerning metaphor, four pragmatic effects appeared prominent in the examples studied above. First, metaphor was used to express negative emotions, and second, as catalyzation (Colston 2015). Third, in regard to social behavior, metaphor also functioned as a means to build rapport between users (ingratiation). Lastly it was used to enrich, or enhance meaning, by means of emphasis. Despite being considered a figure of comparison, metaphor can be used to produce a variety of effects on readers and writers.

With metonymy, expressing negative emotions was also a central effect. One of the reasons is that metonymy is often used when disparaging or making fun of someone (PART-WHOLE), leading to impoliteness, and consequently machiavellianism (Colston 2015). Along those lines, metonymy also served the purpose of euphemism when using abbreviations such as *stfu*, to undermine the strength or negative effects produced by swearing. The concept of abbreviations is closely related to the effects of efficiency, as metonymy allows people to say more in less form, which is essential to CMC on social media.

Hyperbole is no exception to pragmatic effects. The main pragmatic effect associated with hyperbole is that of highlighting discrepancies, which was done in most examples, especially through ECFs. When combined to certain expressions, such as *I'm fucking dying*, statements became ironic hyperboles, showing how hyperbole can function as a marker for irony (Colston 2015: 135). Similar to metaphor, hyperbole was also used as a means of catalyzation because users would pick up hyperbolic expressions as the conversation unfolded. Lastly, ingratiation was also a major effect, as users often kept on playing with the use of hyperbole, strengthening their bonds online (Colston 2015).

Moreover, the combination or blending of figures was also an essential aspect in this third chapter. As shown in Chapter 2, many figures are inherently connected, and combined. Rather than being viewed as isolated, figures could be understood on a scale in terms of how much they interconnect with other figures. That was especially the case when considering hyperbole, which is often combined with metaphor, and sometimes with metonymy. In other words, the effect of exaggeration that hyperbole is known for can be achieved at times with metaphor or metonymy.

In this chapter, embedded signs were important, as lots of examples involved *hit tweets*, or at least posts that received lots of attention from users. The more people who see a tweet, the more likely they are to interact with it. Such signs can implicitly invite others to share with each other how they feel, without necessarily using words. As the study of visual communication in Twitter is essential, the next chapter will focus on it.

Chapter 4: Visual and Multimodal Figurative Language Online

“A picture is worth a thousand words.”

4.1. Introduction

While emoji, emoticons, and smileys are considered new instances of emotional expression, emoticons go back as far as 1881, when a renowned satirical magazine named *Puck* released four symbols, or forms of “Typographical art” to express humor. Figure 46 below shows those four symbols. While relatively innovative, these symbols were not computer-friendly, as they are rather detailed representations of faces, with eyebrows, eyes, a nose, and a mouth.

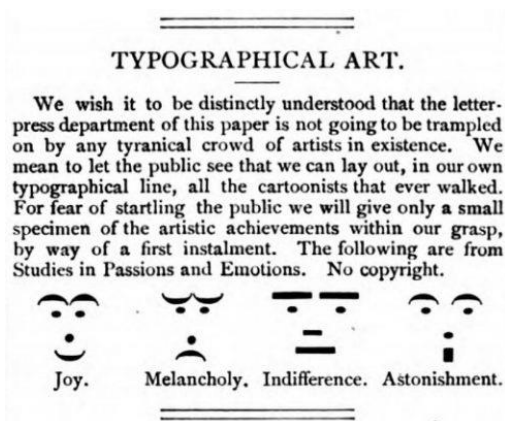


Figure 46: Puck's Four Typographical Symbols.

Emoji and emoticons are often also referred to as “smileys.” In 1964, Harvey Ross Ball created the famous smiley face for an insurance company that had ordered something to put on their employees’ buttons as a means to improve their mood (Danesi 2017: 3). However, it was only popularized in 1972 when Franklin Loufrani trademarked the smiley symbol, which was then used to signify readers of *France Soir* that the news would be positive. It was then quickly adopted by people for its representation of happiness and became a brand.

The story of emoticons as we know them now started in the early 1980s when Scott E. Fahlman, a Computer Science Professor at Carnegie Mellon University, created what we now

refer to as *emoticons*, a blend of the words *emotion* and *icon* (Evans 2017: 148). Unlike typographical symbols, emoticons are computer/phone-friendly, as they involve basic punctuation, such as colons or semi-colons. One reason why such emoticons were created was that in a bulletin shared among faculty members, something that was meant to be understood as a joke was actually taken seriously, which led Fahlman and his colleagues to try to find a solution to counter this common issue in CMC. Fahlman thus suggested a sequence of markers:

(1) :-)

(2) :-(

Emoticon (1) was used to suggest humor, and emoticon (2) was used to signal that a text was meant to be taken seriously (Fahlman 1982). While the hyphen in (1) and (2) represent the nose on a face, other “noseless” versions exist beside those made by Fahlman, such as:

(3) :P

(4) :D

(5) :'(

While (3) stands for a person sticking their tongue out, (4) stands for a grin, and (5) represents someone crying. Emoticons (1) and (2) contained a nose, while (3) to (5) are “noseless”; only the eyes and mouth are represented (see Churches et al. 2014; Yus 2014; Marino 2022). In my corpus, there are only eight instances of tweets involving emoticons, and they are specifically “noseless” emoticons. While this number is insignificant considering the size of my corpus (1,000 tweets), in a more extensive study of nose / “noseless” emoticons, Tyler Schnoebelen found that out of the 3,775,174 tweets he collected, 1,469,585 tweets (or 38.9%) contained the “noseless” emoticon in (6) for smiling:

(6) :)

Meanwhile, only 183,131 tweets out of the 3,775,174 (or 4.8%) contained the version with the nose (Schnoebelen 2012: 117) shown in emoticon (7):

(7) :-)

While Schnoebelen (2012) found that the noseless type in (6) was used far more often than the type with the nose in (7), my findings show that emoticons are rare now, roughly ten years after Schnoebelen compiled his corpus. I found emoticons in just 8 tweets out of 1,000 (or 0.008%) in my corpus. That is a very steep drop compared to the 48.5% of tweets that Schnoebelen (2012) found emoticons (6) and (7) in.

This sharp decline coincides with the birth of emoji. In 1999, Shigetaka Kurita from the Japanese mobile phone and internet provider NTT DoCoMo created the first 176 emoji to facilitate communication in emails. His company limited the number of characters to 250, which required some shortcuts (Prisco 2018). Figure 47 below shows the original set of 176 emoji created by Kurita.



Figure 47: Shigetaka Kurita, NTT DOCOMO. Emoji (original set of 176). 1998–99. Software and digital image files. Gift of NTT DOCOMO Inc., Japan, to MoMA, New York City.

The term *emoji* is composed of two Japanese words: *-e*, which means “picture,” and *moji*, which stands for “character.” The term *emoji* thus means “picture character” (Evans 2017: 18), or “picture-word” (Danesi 2017: 2). In his 2017 book on emoji, the cognitive linguist Vyvyan Evans defined emoji as “a visual representation of a feeling, idea, entity, status or event” (2017: 19). While there were only 176 emoji in 1999, by 2022 there were 3,633 emoji in the Unicode Standard (Emojipedia 2022), and 118 new emoji were approved in 2023. This number makes the need for a dictionary important, hence the existent of Emojipedia. In CMC, emoji as we

now know them were popularized in 2011, when Apple released its software update (iOS5), which included an emoji keyboard so that everyone who owned an iPhone could send emoji more easily (Danesi 2017).

It is important to note that the emoji that appear in my doctoral thesis are those specific to Apple. In fact, depending on what brand of phone or what platform one uses, the looks of the emoji will change, either slightly or a lot. For instance, Figure 48 below is a representation of the yawning emoji across different platforms.



Figure 48: Yawning emoji across platforms (Source: Emojipedia 2019).

Differences across platforms, and evolutions in design, are common for emoji. For example, Figure 49, which comes from the Emojipedia Twitter account, highlights the change of the gun emoji. It first resembled a real revolver before resembling a water gun, a change which was initiated by Apple in 2016.



Figure 49: Pistol emoji evolution (source: @Emojipedia 2018).

By 2018, the largest companies had all switched to the water gun emoji. While no official comments were made as to why Apple changed from a handgun to a water gun, people speculated that it was to condemn gun violence. And within two years of the change made by Apple, the five other companies followed suit.

In my corpus, eight tweets contain 10 emoticons in total, while 205 tweets contain a total of 461 different emoji. The emoticons found in my corpus are listed in Table 10 below.

| Number | Tweet | Emoticons used |
|--------|--|----------------|
| 1 | @user @user @user LMAO I have no idea in which he was hoping for XD [...] doesn't know how to stfu ^^ | XD ^^ |
| 2 | omg ah he is so cuteeeeeee;((| ;((|
| 3 | Ashly, iloveyou:((| :((|
| 4 | Come watch her bully me all stream while she simps for Nagito XD | XD |
| 5 | Finally, I registered again after losing my phone :) | :) |
| 6 | @user Wow Is really good,good Color,they both look cute But after I watch the original cartoon I realize is both as a he... But is not for u I guess,just keep on do'in :) And again, thank you for making and publishing this great piece of art to everyone ;) | ;) |
| 7 | @user and with your logic, 7 years of their career for less than 30 songs, half of it don't have their writing credits, no top 10 songs on hot 100 :(| :((|
| 8 | @user @user He is doing it for atention guys, don t get trapped. he owns bitcoin :)) | :)) |

Table 10: Emoticons in the corpus.

What is particularly interesting is the distribution of emoji, as can be seen in Table 11 below. Smileys and emoji representing people are the most used with 276, followed by symbols, which are used 100 times.

| Representations by emoji | Number of instances |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Smileys/People (😊👍👤) | 276 |
| Animals/Nature (🐼🌸💧) | 28 |
| Food/Drinks (🍷🍰🍵) | 28 |
| Travel/Places (🚗🗺️🏢) | 0 |
| Sports/Activities (🏏🎮🎮) | 10 |
| Objects (🎯📺📺) | 15 |
| Symbols (❤️🌀🎵) | 100 |
| Flags (🇨🇦🇫🇷🇬🇧) | 4 |
| TOTAL | 461 |

Table 11: Distribution of emoji in the corpus.

Some believe emoji, and even CMC in general, are ruining English and other languages. They feel that CMC has a negative impact on how people write. But David Crystal (2006) has argued that CMC, and more broadly, the internet, are not harming how people write. Others jokingly claim that by using emoji, humans are going back in time, as shown in Figure 50.



Figure 50: "4,000 years later and we're back to the same language." (Bianca White: <https://biancawhitewrites.com/happy-world-emoji-day/>).

Figure 50 claims there is a similarity between Egyptian hieroglyphics and emoji, and that by using emoji, we are standing still in terms of “language” evolution. But this claim is most likely inaccurate. Egyptian hieroglyphs are a writing system, rather than a language (Gardiner 1957). While hieroglyphs are written, they often are read phonetically, meaning that an ideogram acts as a phoneme, rather than a word, and therefore becomes a *phonogram* (Stauder 2015)². Moreover, this comparison between emoji and Egyptian hieroglyphs is inaccurate in the sense that hieroglyphs, while they were first used by the Egyptian people in general, became sacred elements as they were used in monuments, temples, and tombs (Gardiner 1957). But emoji are not sacred. Indeed, emoji are less of a writing system and more of a “powerful means of expressing emotion, which, users report, enables them to better connect with others in digital communication” (Evans 2017: 35). Of course, while this finding should be treated cautiously as self-reports can be inaccurate, emoji help provide cues as to how statements should be understood. And unlike Egyptian hieroglyphs, emoji are *typically* not to be read phonetically.

Providing interpretative cues is one of the core reasons why emoji are used online. In fact, as previously mentioned, CMC lacks several aspects of face-to-face communication, such as facial expressions, pitch and tone of voice, as well as gestures. A lack of paralinguistic cues might lead to misunderstandings online, which people want to avoid, as Fahlman (1982) recognized before. While emoji can be used as cues, or tone indicators, it is worth noting that they should not be understood as mere substitutes for facial expressions as their meaning often shifts. Emoji are not words *per se*, but they act in a similar manner as an emoji can be used as a substitute for a word. This can be seen in example (8).

(8) Can we get 🍕 for dinner?

In example (8), the pizza slice emoji is used as a substitute for the word “pizza,” where the visual representation of the concept stands for the concept itself. In 2015, the Oxford Dictionary

² I thank Professor John Darnell for his recommendations on scripts and hieroglyphs.

pushed things even further by nominating the face with tears of joy emoji (😄) as the word of the year because it “best reflected the ethos, mood, and preoccupations of 2015” (Oxford Languages; see Evans 2017; Danesi 2017). On top of acting as substitutes for words, emoji also help convey emotional cues, as was seen in some instances before.

It is essential to note that some users use emoji very differently. This can be seen in Figure 51 below.

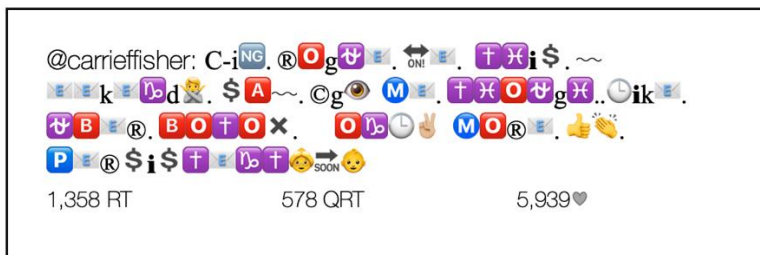


Figure 51: Carrie Fisher's emoji use in a tweet.
<https://twitter.com/carrieffisher/status/811322031803396096?s=21&t=0XxJObViz5VFi2Uq2uY4pg>

Carrie Fisher (1956-2016), mostly known for her role as Princess Leia in the *Star Wars* movies, was particularly fond of emoji on Twitter. While she would tweet using the alphabet, she very often tweeted solely in emoji or, as is the case in Figure 51, she would tweet by mixing both the alphabet and emoji, which highlights one of the key aspects of emoji: their hybrid nature.

The tweet above was purposely picked on Twitter, rather than in the corpus, to show how Fisher used emoji. An alphabetical translation for the tweet could be offered as follows, “Seeing Rogue One this weekend 🎬. Saw CGI [Computer-generated imagery] me though. Like uber Botox only more 👍👉 persistent 🤖📅👤.” In this tweet, Fisher uses emoji to write her tweet, rather than simply typing it out in words by using the regular keyboard. Although she mostly used emoji, there are still letters of the alphabet in the tweet (e.g., C, I, G, K, and D), hence its hybrid nature. However, this example differs from rebus (which are often associated with emoji). Rebus are puzzles that combine pictures and letters to create sentences, or words. However, rather than providing one emoji per word, or per bits of a word, each emoji

is used as a standalone to replace the traditional letters by drawing similarity between the alphabetical letter and the emoji. This is seen, for example, with the use of the clock showing 3 A.M./P.M (🕒) to replace the letter “L.”

While most emoji in Fisher’s tweet are used to replace letters, Fisher uses some others as reaction or tone indicators. That is the case for 👍, 🙌, and 🙅, which do not function as letters. The two hand emoji are used as a reaction to the CGI work behind her character in the movie, while the person crossing their arm emoji can be a visual representation of the word “stop” even though it is often used to mean “no.” Therefore, this “stop” emoji could be understood differently, either signaling that the sentence is over, or that she could not see the movie until the following weekend. In 2015, skin tones were added to Unicode 8.0, allowing people to change the color of human emoji to match their skin tones.

The use of emoji in Figure 51 highlights two essential functions of emoji: replacement and reiteration (Cramer et al. 2016; Maiberger et al. 2023). When using emoji, Fisher replaces alphabetical letters with resembling emoji, for example, replacing the letter “y” with the victory hand sign emoji “✌️.” In this example, replacement is different from what Maiberger and colleagues talk about, as they mainly referred to the replacement of a word by an emoji which describes the emotion or reaction, as in “I’m so 🤔” (Maiberger et al 2023). Reiteration, on the other hand, would involve the use of the emoji after the verbal description of the effect, as in “I am so sad 😞,” or as was the case in Figure 51. Yet regardless of how emoji are used, FL still occupies a relatively important place in how they function and how they are used.

In chapter 2, I aimed to find out how people used FL on Twitter. In chapter 3, I wanted to find out how people reacted and/or replied to FL usage on Twitter. In this chapter, my goal is to try to answer the following question: *what is the role of figurative language online?* While language, and more specifically FL, are significant online, another perhaps even more

important aspect of social media, and CMC in general, is the figurative use of visual artifacts. I will thus show that emoji are used figuratively to produce pragmatic effects in two ways: by being used figuratively, and by the effects the emoji have on their own. The most central pragmatic effect of emoji simply is the expression of emotion, as it is one of their central roles in CMC (Colston 2015).

4.2. Metonymy

Emoji have two core functions: enabling writers to provide interpretive cues, and then eliciting reactions from readers. They can also be considered figurative to some extent. In fact, Vyvyan Evans argued that emoji are metonymic since in them the *effect* stands for the *cause*. He also states that “[m]etonymy is, in fact, what makes emojis work” (Evans 2017: 187). In Figure 52, the pleading face emoji stands for the feeling of being moved. Visual metonymies in emoji find a strong basis in cause and effect relations since the effect (the emoji) stands for the cause, the emotional trigger *for* the emoji.

Connecting Evans’ (2017) argument to that of Maiberger and colleagues’ (2023), the notion of replacement appears to be directly connected to metonymy. In fact, when replacing a word (or signifier in Saussure’s terms) with an emoji, people unconsciously resort to metonymy and the stand-for relationship often associated with it. As argued by Kövecses and Radden (1999: 339), metonymy underlies several aspects of everyday life, such as the use of \$ to stand for the concept of money or the word *dollar*. That also seems to underlie the use and function of emoji. So as to illustrate this idea, let us consider the case of metonymic replacement in Figure 52 below.



Figure 52: "🥺: The Polar Express >"

In this particular example, the emoji depicts a 1930s Mitchell NC (Newsreel) Camera, which was a staple in the movie industry. Here, the emoji functions as an introductory artifact, evoking the frame of cinema by replacing the word “movie.” This emoji is categorized under the “objects” section of emoji keyboards (see Table 11). The tweet furthermore helps readers identify what @user84 refers to, as they talk about the 2004 movie, *The Polar Express*. While we can suspect that even without the emoji, people who are familiar with it would be able to recognize the title of the movie, the emoji reinforces that by referring to the movie industry metonymically. In Figure 52, one aspect or tool of the film industry, namely the camera, is used to refer to the entire category of the film industry, therefore revealing a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy. Along with this metonymy, a more precise metonymy is also present, the TOOL FOR PRODUCT metonymy. Here, the tool (camera) formerly used to record movies stands for the product it makes (the movie). The function of the emoji and metonymy by proxy is not necessarily to save space or time, but rather to provide context to the tweet, without verbalizing that information. Therefore, it might make communication more efficient, provided everyone understands that the emoji in Figure 52 stands for movies.

In my corpus, only two other tweets used emoji in a similar manner, namely, to replace a word, as can be seen below in Table 12.

| User | Tweet |
|---------|--|
| @user85 | LGBT books i've read this year that haven't gotten enough attention 📺 Goddess of Nothing At All-Genderfluid Loki retelling. Velocity of Revolution- Polyqueer cyberpunk scifi. Wake of the Phoenix- High political fantasy. |
| @user86 | Bra imagine being a jit growing up in Broward, playing little league football to this... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Being compared to Michael Vick in college •On the cover of MADDEN 🏈 •MVP QB |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Getting your college jersey retired •And being told your next by Brady! <p>Broward Legend fasho 🐐 @Lj_era8</p> |
|--|--|

Table 12: Other metonymic uses of emoji (replacement).

In the tweet by @user85, they used an emoji to replace the word “thread,” which is used to refer to a series of tweets typically posted by the same user to tell a story, update them or to share pictures, and so on. Threads (on Twitter) differ from conversations, or exchanges as they are shared by the same person, rather than having people jump in. The word “thread” is replaced by the emoji representing a thread. Unlike the case of Figure 52, where the relationship between the word and the emoji relies on a broad association of the emoji and what the tweet is about, here the emoji showcases a narrower relationship. In fact, the link between the *thread* emoji and the word “thread” is more direct than was the case for the *camera* emoji and the word “movie”. This example is a more evidence of the FORM FOR CONCEPT metonymy aforementioned.

In the tweet by @user86, they are referring to Lamar Jackson, a quarterback for the Baltimore Ravens, an NFL American football team. This user uses two emoji: first as a reiteration following “MADDEN,” which is the name of a famous American football coach and commentator, but even more specifically, a series of video games based on American football; and at the end, when they use a goat emoji. While the first emoji appears to reinforce the context of American football, the second emoji is used similarly to what was seen above, as it replaces a word, and more specifically an acronym.

The goat emoji “🐐” in this example replaces the acronym “G.O.A.T,” which itself stands for “Greatest Of All Time.” Here, there is a form of compression as the longest form of the expression -- “Greatest Of All Time” -- is reduced once to become a four-letter-long acronym (“G.O.A.T.”), which is itself reduced again into a single character: the goat emoji. This case might be the closest to hieroglyphs as it is a homonym. Once again, the word and the

emoji are directly related, rather than evoking a broader frame, as the emoji of a goat is used to replace the word “goat,” once again highlighting the presence of the FORM FOR CONTENT metonymy discussed before. While in this case the emoji replaces the word, in some other cases (absent from my corpus, but seen elsewhere while using social media), people also often use both the acronym *and* the emoji.

The three examples studied above, namely 🐐, 🐐, and 🐐 all share a common pragmatic effect, that of efficiency (Colston 2015). In fact, Colston (2015: 70) explains that “figurative language is efficient in that it can convey much concentrated meaning with relatively little quantity of language.” Through such uses of emoji, the users are able to convey more information in very little form. Additionally, this is also the case with emotion-related emoji.

While the replacement function emoji fulfill is relatively present online in CMC, emoji are most often used to convey tone or emotion (Evans 2017; Danesi 2017). For example, in his study of emoji, Danesi found that 94% of emoji were used with an emotive function (2017: 22). The term “emotive” comes from Roman Jakobson, who posited that the emotive function of language “focused on the addresser, aims at direct expression of the speaker’s attitude toward what he is speaking about. It tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion, whether true or feigned” (Jakobson 1960: 4). Danesi further argued that this emotivity could be subdivided into two functions: emoji “as substitutes for facial expressions,” and as a way “to visually emphasize a point of view” (Danesi 2017: 22). One of the core functions of emoji, namely, to convey emotion or tone, is that first function Danesi mentioned about using emoji in place of “facial expressions.”

Although I discussed the metonymic function of emoji earlier, little was said regarding why emoji are metonymic in how they are built. Evans (2017) argued that emoji are metonymic since the *effect*, the physical reaction, stands also for its *cause*. In other words, an emotion

causes a reaction in a writer, who in turn conveys that to others in communication (here, by using emoji). In turn, the readers might thus understand better how the writer feels about something. This EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy seems particularly true for what the psychologist Paul Ekman referred to as “basic emotions” in his work on facial expressions (Ekman & Friesen 1986; Ekman 1992). Ekman argued for the existence of at least five universal emotions, which are anger, fear, enjoyment, sadness, and disgust (Ekman & Friesen 1986; Ekman 1992). However, other researchers have argued for the expansion of those five basic emotions, with the addition of love as a basic emotion (Fehr & Russel 1984; Shaver et al. 1987; Shaver et al. 1991).

Regarding love, Ekman argued that it is an attitude rather than an emotion, hence its absence from his basic emotion taxonomy. However, in emoji usage love is very important. Indeed, in 2021, the red heart emoji “❤️,” was the second most used emoji on Twitter, after the face with tears of joy emoji “😄” (<https://home.unicode.org/emoji/emoji-frequency/>). I will thus consider love along with other basic emotions in the discussion on emoji that follows. The most basic emotions and attitudes, along with the emoji that express them, are shown in Table 13 below.

| Emotion | Emoji |
|------------|---------------|
| Anger | 😡😠😡😡😡 |
| Fear | 😱😨😨😨😨😨 |
| Enjoyment | 😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄😄 |
| Sadness | 😭😭😭😭😭😭😭😭😭 |
| Disgust | 😬😬 |
| (Surprise) | 😲😲😲😲😲😲😲😲 |
| (Love) | ❤️😍😍😍😍😍😍 |

Table 13: Basic emotions (and attitudes) in emoji.

In Figure 53 below, @user86 is complaining about having to stay awake for nine more hours until 9 p.m. where they are located in their time zone (Brazil).

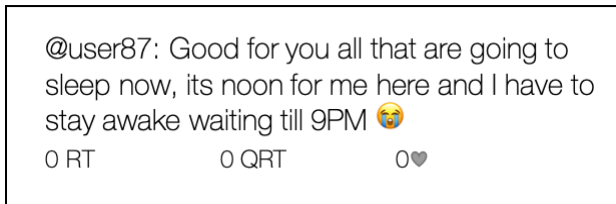


Figure 53: "Good for you all that are going to sleep now, its noon for me here and I have to stay awake waiting till 9PM 😭"

This example is a great case of global communication, as @user87 is referring to “here” as opposed to other locations in different time zones where people may be getting ready for bed. To express how they feel about that situation, @user87 added the “loudly crying face emoji,” which functions as a meta-commentary on how they feel. In this specific situation, the context of the tweet and the tweet itself provide cues as to how the emoji should be understood. Namely, @user87 dislikes the idea of having to stay awake and apparently feels sad about it. In that case, metonymy is behind the emoji here since the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy mentioned above is present here, where the crying face stands for sadness, or at least disappointment. Because crying is often associated with sadness, pain, and other feelings, the reaction to such emotion, namely the effect, stands for the cause, which is the overall emotion: sadness. Drawing from the contextual cues provided in the tweet, the causal relation between cause and effect is clear, as @user87 is complaining about something. However, while emotional reaction might be judged as an exaggeration by some, further research on this would be required to find out more.

Ironically, while emoji were initially meant to be used to resolve ambiguity online as a result of the lack of paralinguistic cues in CMC, they are now responsible for many misunderstandings because their usage varies among people and communities. As Danesi notes,

Even though they [emoji] were meant to provide a universal core lexicon by standardizing organizations, they still generate ambiguities and encase various dilemmas of usage and interpretation, which will probably never be resolved, given the variability and indeterminacy of human expressing, interpretive, and communicative process (2017: 168).

Briefly, from the perspective of the prototype theory, Danesi posits that there are core, and peripheral emoji meanings. Core meanings may seem standard to most users, such as “😞” to signify sadness, while peripheral emoji meaning are more specific to a context, community, and culture. For example, the Okay gesture “👌” is considered offensive in many countries, such as Brazil and Turkey, but in many other countries it is not.

The idea of prototypicality is furthermore emphasized in the polysemous nature of some emoji. For instance, in 2021 actress Skai Jackson tweeted, “How did we turn ‘😞’ into a laughing emoji...” which, at the time of this writing, had received 19,000 thousand likes and thousands of retweets on the platform. One respondent stated that “the other ones [emoji] are dog shit,” while another one said more simply, “Cause I’m crying 😞.” Meanwhile, another user who replied said, “Simple. A lot of people when they laugh too hard, they tear up. Happens to me all the time lmaoo 😂😞.” However, one could argue that the face with tears of joy emoji is here for that purpose: it displays a laughing face with tears. So why do people use the loudly crying face emoji to convey laughter?

One of the answers put forward by McCulloch (2019) is that people online always seek the most extreme instantiation of things (words, emoji, memes, etc.). So, this could be one reason why people use such emoji that way (McCulloch 2019). Another reason, which is solely based on suppositions, is that the face with tears of joy is “not cool anymore,” as suggested in CNN’s article “Sorry, millennials. The 🙄 emoji isn’t cool anymore” (2021). But based on one post on Reddit, in which a user said they felt the thumbs up emoji was “unsettling” (Brandon 2022), people started assuming that gen z social media users wanted to cancel emoji in the

workplace altogether, such as the thumbs up, the heart, and the loudly crying face emoji. This variety of reactions is reminiscent of the case of putting a period at the end of sentences, which as explained before, may be deemed aggressive by social media users (Gunraj et al. 2016).

Here metonymy, through emoji serves various primary effects, such as ingratiation (bonding), as well as efficiency. In terms of secondary effects, the expression of emotion, elicitation of emotion and perhaps humor are the most central (Colston 2015). When it comes to the loudly crying face emoji, another primary effect is at play, that of mastery. By using the emoji, users show others that they are comfortable online, and master the art of emoji. That is done through the use of peripheral emoji, for core emotions.

Forms online may come and go, just as they do as language evolves, and has always evolved, offline. On many CMC platforms, the loudly crying face emoji is very often used just to display laughter. But this loudly crying emoji shows an intensification of the emotion, such as joy or amusement. In 2021, the loudly crying face emoji was the most used emoji on Twitter, followed by the face with tears of joy, which was in first place before then (Emojipedia 2022). The ranking changed again in 2022, as the face with tears of joy emoji reclaimed first place of the emoji most used on Twitter.

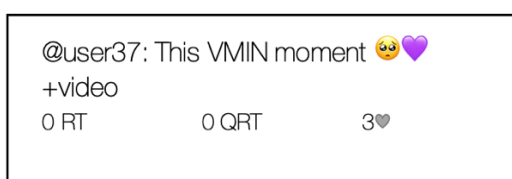


Figure 54: "This VMIN moment 🥹💜"

In Figure 54, @user37³ is reacting to a video of her favorite artist, the K-pop band BTS. In her tweet, she refers to “VMIN,” which is a blend of “V,” the nickname of one of the BTS members, and “MIN,” which is the last part of another band member’s name, Jimin. That part of the tweet could essentially be considered metonymic; however, it is the two emoji that are

³ It is @user37 as the tweet was introduced before in the thesis.

most interesting here. Firstly, the author uses the “pleading face” emoji and the purple heart emoji. Regarding the pleading face emoji, it is part of the type of emoji often referred to as “smileys” in that human-like faces show different emotions or actions. While the name of the emoji suggests pleading, it is often used when something seems cute or moving to the user, as is the case in Figure 54. Here, the emoji adds extra meaning, or “visual tone,” to the statement since without it, “This VMIN moment,” might not make much sense sentiment-wise (Danesi 2017). The emoji provides the extra cue that helps viewers interpret that @user37 found this specific moment between two people cute or touching. In this example, there is a stimulus (the video,) which is followed by a reaction (the tweet), which is itself followed by a reaction to the reaction, with the use of the emoji, which in the end would result in a form of a meta-comment.

Following the pleading face emoji, @user37 added a purple heart emoji. While anyone can use the purple heart emoji to signify non-romantic love, it is most often used by BTS stans online, who are known as the “ARMY.” While using a heart emoji often signifies love, or at least appreciation, because the tweet above refers to members of BTS, the purple heart emoji is used as an indicator of that specific stan community. So, in Figure 54, there is an example of using emoji to indicate emotion, but also to signal community membership. As the purple heart emoji is often used online by fans of the K-pop band “BTS,” @user37 uses a kind of insider language to show membership in a stan community.

Here, in terms of pragmatic effects, the emoji serve two roles: they clarify the statement, as well as express emotion, here positive emotions. Moreover, we might add elicitation, ingratiation (of emotion), identification, and mastery as using the pleading face emoji, and purple heart emoji, @user 37 is trying to appeal to other members of the community, as well as showing membership in a community.

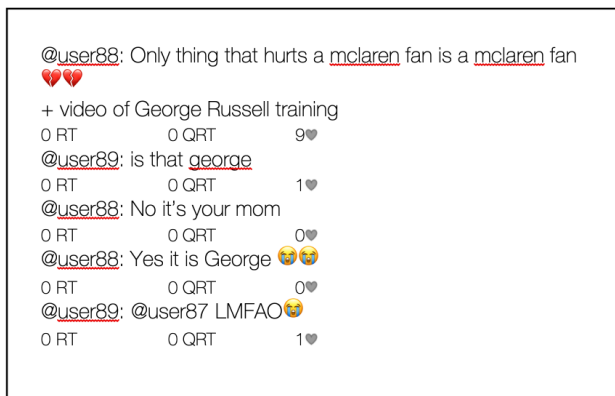


Figure 55: "@user89 LMFAO 🤣"

In Figure 53, @user87 used the loudly crying face emoji, in its most prototypical sense, to signify sadness, while in Figure 55, it is used to signify laughter. The emoji is used twice, firstly by @user88 following what appears to be a joke, and then it is repeated by @user89. In this specific case, while the emoji can be understood as laughter, it is also intensifying the statement. The author of the tweet in Figure 55 signified that he was laughing, or at least found the previous response funny as he wrote, "LMFAO." While understanding that the tweets are expressing laughter, knowing what exactly is funny is a little bit more challenging, as @user89 might be laughing at @user88's answer, "No it's your mom," but also at the video showing Russell training, which is sped up, and therefore might be judged funny by users. Moreover, the initial tweet by @user88 might also be the cause for laughter.

In the case of @user88, the emoji functions as additional meaning for the tweet. It signifies that the tweet, more specifically the previous tweet, is to be taken as humorous. The emoji are not necessary to the overall meaning of the tweet, but they add additional meaning, which one might find in face-to-face communication, but that are missing from CMC. Moreover, @user88 repeated the emoji twice, which highlights an intensification. This second function is furthermore highlighted in @user89's tweet, as they wrote, "LMFAO" for "Laughing My Fucking Ass Off." Although that abbreviation already signifies laughter, @user88 added the emoji to intensify their expression of their emotion. While other emoji

displaying prototypical laughter exist, both users decided to use the loudly crying face emoji to display laughter rather than use emoji that were made for normal laughter. In an article for *CNN Business*, Gretchen McCulloch said that “[i]f you indicate digital laughter for years and years in the same way, it starts to feel insincere. [...] The hyperbole gets worn out through continued use” (McCulloch qtd. in Yurieff 2021). This idea is reminiscent of discussions on so-called *dead metaphors*, which are metaphors that have become so ubiquitous they have lost their foregrounding capacity.

The “😭” emoji can be seen as uncontrollably crying following intense emotions. One could argue that there are at least two emoji dedicated to laughter, “😄” and “🤣.” The face with tears of joy and the loudly crying face were both released in 2010, while the rolling on the floor laughing emoji was released in 2016 (Emojipedia). The rolling on the floor laughing emoji is a visual representation of the internet slang, “ROFL” which stands for “Rolling On the Floor Laughing,” and appears to be more extreme than the standard face with tears of joy emoji. The release of the rolling on the floor laughing emoji could have been to provide users with more variety and intensity to convey their attitudes online. Indeed, new emoji are frequently released because people submit propositions based on needs or wants. Submissions are open to the public as long as the request falls within certain guidelines (Unicode 2024).

Here, the metonymic emoji has similar pragmatic effects as those mentioned above, namely expressing emotion, ingratiation and efficiency. However, it also serves the purpose of catalyzation and more precisely the priming of additional figurative instances. Moreover, this emoji also highlights discrepancies to the extent that it conveys an extreme form of laughter (Colston 2015).

One of the motivations for the use of the loudly crying face emoji might be that the face with tears of joy emoji was not strong enough or intense enough for what people wanted to convey. So there may have been a communicative need to satisfy, which could be why the

loudly crying face emoji was developed and taken up. This emoji highlights another important aspect of emoji, that of polysemy. As explained above, Danesi argued for the existence of core emoji, which are mostly mappable on the Swadesh list. This means that there are emoji which visually represent words of the list, such as, for example, the leaf emoji “🍃” to stand for the word “leaf” in the list (2017). However, more than one leaf exists in the emoji code, “🌿🍃🍁,” which makes it complicated to choose the most fitting one. This difficulty highlights the peripheral meanings in emoji. Understanding them requires more cultural or contextual knowledge, or more details, than is needed to understand core emoji, which seem to be essentially universal. This idea might be related to the notion of frequency effects, which means that the more frequent a word is, the more it will survive (Pagel 2009). In other words, emoji have to be used or they will be lost.

One might suggest that the emoji used most often globally are more likely to become core emoji than those which are not. Figure 56 below represents core and peripheral emoji when it comes to laughter. In order to obtain the core emoji, I have used Apple’s predictive keyboard function, which allows users to type in a feeling or emotion, and the phone will offer three different emoji related to that, which, in the end, make up the core emoji. As for the peripheral emoji, they were taken from my corpus as they appeared to display laughter.

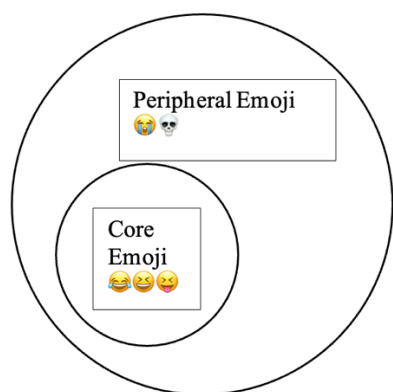


Figure 56: Core vs. Peripheral Emoji for Laughter

In cognitive linguistic approaches to lexicology, it is common to think of a core and the periphery when studying word meaning, as a word’s meaning can be conceptualized as a category. This helps explain polysemy. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines polysemy as “the possession of multiple meanings, senses, or connotations” (OED 2023). Polysemy is central to emoji as one single emoji may have different meanings for different people. This was shown with the case of the loudly crying face emoji; it can be used to convey sadness, but also laughter. This example of the loudly crying face emoji shows there are different causes for a similar effect or reaction. This suggests cost/benefits in communication, where we try to maximize the benefits (e.g., more communication) but minimize the cost (e.g., space and time-saving nature of emoji). But with polysemy comes ambiguity and, consequently, misunderstandings (see Miller et al. 2016 for more on ambiguity in emoji; Peirsman & Geeraerts 2006; Allan K. 2021).

In fact, depending on how the emoji is used, the meaning will vary, as can be seen in Table 14 below.

| User | Tweet |
|---------|---|
| @user90 | I just did a nasal spray for the first time and oh my god it's dripping down the back of my throat and I'm tasting it and it's horrible 🤮🤮🤮 #fml I hate this so much this is so gross |
| @user91 | @user lmfao what 🤮 |

Table 14: Example polysemic emoji.

Note that table 14 is not a conversation, but a representation of different emoji uses in the corpus. In Table 14, @user90 describes an unpleasant experience they have just been through as they are ending the first section of the tweet with “it’s horrible,” which is negatively connoted and followed by three skull emoji. In this case, the emoji are used figuratively as

death, but literally in that the emoji depicts something negative. However, in @user91's tweet, the skull emoji is used entirely figuratively in that the feeling it is supposed to be conveying is laughter, especially following "lmfao." This skull emoji is another excellent example of polysemy in emoji use, which makes it important to consider all the possible meanings attached to an emoji, just as one would do with interpreting language in other forms of communication. The case of the skull emoji will be further examined in the next section on metaphor.

4.3. Metaphor

Danesi argued that "all emoji are metaphorical" (2016: 66). Similarly, a year later, Vyvyan Evans (2017) argued for the consideration of emoji in terms of conduit metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10) argued that in a conduit metaphor "[s]peaker puts ideas (objects) into words (containers) and sends them (along a conduit) to a hearer who takes the idea/objects out of the words/containers." Along those lines, people seem to put ideas into emoji which are sent to readers who have to decipher their meaning.

But before dealing with emoji any further, I would like to briefly go over some of the emoticons found in Table 10. Two examples are particularly interesting as they involve the conceptual metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF MEANING/CONTENT. It is found in "Ashly, iloveyou:((" and "@user @user He is doing it for attention guys, don t get trapped. he owns bitcoins :))." Both examples highlight an important aspect of emoticons, and emoji; namely, to use them to produce, or highlight irony. In the first example, the person uses double parentheses (mouth) to intensify sadness, while talking about loving someone, a positive emotion. The opposite is happening with the double happy faces, when referring to a negative emotion, or attitude. While emoticons are important, emoji were more prevalent in my corpus.

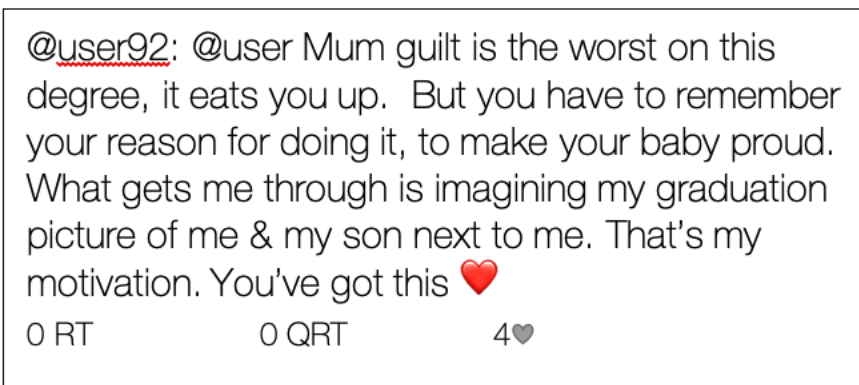


Figure 57: ❤️ Red heart emoji in tweet.

One of the most central cases of metaphoric emoji would be the red heart emoji “❤️” which was added to Unicode in 1993 and later joined the first public release of emoji in Emoji 1.0 (Emojipedia). This red heart emoji is typically used to convey love, affection, and romance (Danesi 2019), and is the most popular heart emoji. Even though the emoji is the second most popular emoji at the time of writing, only seven tweets in my corpus contain that emoji, with only 6 instances in all (three single use and three repeated). Overall, there are at least 24 instances of heart emoji available to users in different colors, such as 🧡, ❤️, 💜, 🤎, and 🧡. Considering all the different types of heart emoji, they can be found in 31 tweets in my corpus.

The red heart emoji is often interpreted and used as a metaphor for love. In Figure 57, @user92 is replying to someone else about how they find the motivation to keep going. They ended the tweet with words of encouragement and the red heart emoji. In this case, the red heart emoji can be used as a means to “send love” to the other person, but also as a way to remain hopeful or simply to be appreciative of the other person, rather than being used to signify romance or love per se. However, having one symbol for three different types of love (*agape*, *eros*, and *philia*) is ambiguous. Thus, the other colored heart emoji can be used as a means to differentiate romantic love from other types of love.

One of the reasons why the red heart is used metaphorically to convey romantic love might lie in its color. In fact, it is well established that in Western culture, red is the color of passion. In other places, red is also a symbol of good fortune and less of romance. In Western culture, gifting red roses is most often considered a romantic gesture; during Valentine's Day, red (heart-shaped) boxes of chocolate can be bought, and so on. However, it is worth noting that the red heart is not at all specific to CMC, as cases of red hearts can be found almost anywhere nowadays. One of the most famous examples might be the case of the tourism promotion conducted by New York City and the widespread phrase "I ❤️ NY." Other cities have used the same form, too, in their advertisements, souvenirs, etc. On Twitter, the red heart is found in the form of the like button, which people use to show appreciation of the tweet, similar to Facebook's thumbs up, and perhaps not romantic interest in the tweet. The metaphor involved in the heart serves various effects, such as expressing emotions, ingratiation, and efficiency. Moreover, it can also enhance meaning, to a certain limit as the red heart might be misinterpreted (Colston 2015).

Another case of metaphoric emoji found in the corpus is the case of the skull emoji 🦴, which appears in six tweets. This emoji, as explained above, can be used as a means to convey laughter. It does so through figuration, as the emoji is a metaphor for death, as skulls are often associated with the field of death, or more generally, morbidity. In Table 14, @user91 used the skull emoji 🦴 to reinforce the abbreviation "lmfao" and signify laughter, more specifically, a visual representation of the expression "I am dead." 🦴 is a metaphoric emoji used hyperbolically which produces the pragmatic effects of highlighting discrepancies, expressing emotion, and mastery (to show that the person masters the use of this specific emoji) (see Colston 2015: 67).

So far, I have mainly focused on emoji that depict faces and symbols. However, food-related emoji are an essential aspect of emoji use online. As explained in regard to metonymy, people often also use emoji to replace the concept for which the emoji stands, as was shown in example (8). In that case, the use was relatively straightforward and literal in that there was no implied meaning. In other cases, using particular emoji in a similar context might get the user into trouble, as shown below.

(9) Can we get 🍆 tonight?

To clarify, example (9) is an invented example, based on example (8) seen earlier in this chapter; it was not retrieved from my corpus. Rather, I show it here because I wish to focus solely on its metaphorical nature. At first sight, it appears that someone is asking for eggplants for the upcoming evening. However, in CMC, the eggplant emoji has another very specific meaning attached to it. We inevitably draw similarities and differences in our everyday lives, for example, when we look at the clouds and notice animal-like shaped clouds. With the eggplant emoji, people almost immediately started drawing similarities between the emoji and phalluses, most likely because of its apparent phallic shape.

Another salient example would be the case of the peach emoji “🍑,” which is most often used to represent buttocks, once again because of similarities in shape that were established between the thing and the fruit. However, it is worth bearing in mind that the peach emoji can also stand for “impeachment,” and can be combined with the verbal form of the word, as is shown below.



Figure 58: "IM🍑MENT"

In Figure 58, shared in 2019 and retrieved from Twitter, singer Lizzo gave new meaning to the peach emoji by combining the emoji with the word *impeachment* by replacing “- peach - ” in the middle of the word with the peach emoji instead. This use led to thousands of tweets of the sort being shared, and eventually, the peach emoji came to also stand for “impeachment” during the 2016-2020 Trump presidency. This is a prime example of catalyzation where one use primed many more uses, and new understandings (Colston 2015: 70). And yet, the original sexual meaning associated with the peach emoji is one most commonly seen in my corpus, where the fruit is only used in sexual context. Both 🍑 and 🍑 are, in the end, euphemistic, as will be explained in the following subpart.

To return to metaphor, and more specifically, conceptual metaphor, some of the most salient conceptual metaphors are found in emoji.

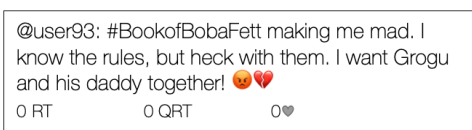


Figure 59: Book of Boba Fett tweet.

In Figure 59, @user93 is live tweeting, meaning sharing their live reaction to a TV show. Here, they are referring to Disney+’s *Book of Boba Fett* (2022). They start by verbally referring to the domain of anger by saying that they are “mad” -- and they furthermore reinforce this idea at the end when they use the enraged face emoji. They could have used the regular version of the emoji, 😡 but perhaps deemed it inadequate or weak compared to how they felt or what they wanted to convey. Instead, they used the enraged face emoji 🤔, which differs from the angry face emoji in its color.

Anger is often associated with the color red. For example, in the Pixar movie *Inside Out* (2015), the five basic emotions (anger, sadness, fear, disgust, and joy) are personified into

characters, each of whom has a specific color. In the movie, anger is personified in a red character, who can also blow up, or at least be set on fire as its anger level rises (Figure 60).



Figure 60: Anger in the movie *Inside Out* (2015).

Over the years, researchers have found strong associations between the color red and anger based on physiology. Back in 1872, in his chapter on hatred and anger, Charles Darwin noted that “[t]he heart and circulation are always affected; the face reddens or becomes purple, with the veins on the forehead and neck distended” (1872: 240). Darwin’s observation highlights the idea that when angry, people’s faces tend to turn red because of the blood flow rushing through the body. More recently, researchers have found that people most often associate the color red with anger rather than sadness, which is itself most often associated with blue. In one study, Jennifer Fugate and Courtney Franco explored the pairings of emotions and colors by English speakers and native English speakers (2019). In both groups, anger mainly was associated with the color red, showing consistency of association between groups (Fugate & Franco 2019: 14). Similar results also appear to be supported by other experiments (see Fetterman et al., 2012; Young et al., 2013; Fugate & Franco 2019; Winskel et al., 2021).

Returning to the case of emoji, the enraged face emoji, as the name suggests, is not used to convey mere anger, but rage. Consequently, it could be likened to an ECF, as it is the most extreme form of anger. As observed before, another emoji specifically meant to convey anger *per se* exists, but in my corpus, only the enraged face emoji seems to be used, and just once in

fact. It could be suggested that 😡 is preferred by users online to convey actual or more extreme anger, while 😠 is often used for grumpiness and irritation. The redness of the emoji appears to be directly linked to human physiology, as explained above, which establishes conceptual metaphors people use when discussing anger (Hupka 1997; Drummond 1999; Drummond & Han Quah 2001; Elliott & Maier 2014; Peromaa & Olkkonen 2019). One such conceptual metaphor is the ANGER IS HEAT conceptual metaphor, which is prevalent in many cultures. As Kövecses explains, English, Hungarian, Japanese, Chinese and Wolof all “seem to share certain physiological processes including body heat, internal pressure and redness in the neck and face area (as a possible combination of pressure and heat)” (Kövecses 2000: 164). The aspect of physiological processes is furthermore supported by the work of Paul Ekman on emotions. Ekman states that “sensations of anger include feelings of pressure, tension, and heat. The heart and respiratory rate increase, and the face may redden” (Ekman 2004: 4).

In the enraged emoji, as well as in the angry face emoji, physical aspects of anger that are found in human responses to anger are represented with the frowning eyebrows and, eventually, the color red. In that sense, the emoji appears to be motivated by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT widely studied in cognitive linguistics (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Kövecses 1987; Wilowski et al. 2009). In the case of 😡, people are presented with the effects produced by anger, therefore reinforcing the importance of metonymy and metaphor in emoji. In fact, as noted by Charles Forceville, Charles Sanders Peirce’s distinction between iconic, indexical, and symbolic signs, appears to be particularly significant. As Forceville states “footsteps in the sand indexically signify the person who left them; smoke is an index of fire; and a red face is an index of anger (although it can also index for instance embarrassment)” (Forceville 2005: 73). The last aspect mentioned above by Forceville, namely that red can also be an indication of embarrassment, is relatively important, as the reddening of the face is not specific to anger, but rather strong emotions in general. In that sense, expression of strong

emotion, for instance, sadness, happiness or embarrassment can result in one's face turning red, or at least light pink.

Regarding emoji, only three of them are colored in red: 😞, 😡, and 🤬. The first emoji need not be introduced. The second emoji is commonly referred to as face with symbols on mouth, and the latter as hot face. 😡 is composed of the same basis as the enraged face emoji, namely the frowning brows and the color red, with *grawlixes* being added over the mouth, signifying the use of swear words. This emoji is usually used when one is angry, so its use is not so different from the case of the enraged face emoji studied above. However, the hot face emoji 🤬 is not particularly representative of anger but rather heat, with the tongue out and sweat appearing on the left side of the face. This shows that while the color red is used twice in anger-related emoji, it also appears in emoji that are not referring to anger.

While this emoji remains rather close to reality, in other cases, imagery takes over. Let us consider the case of Figure 61 below.

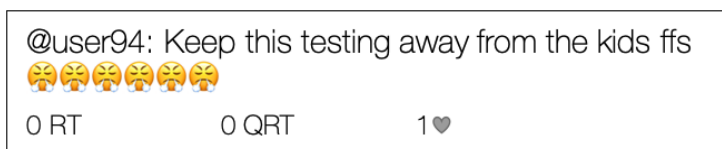


Figure 61: Keep this testing away from the kids ffs



In this tweet, which was originally shared as a quote-retweet of a deleted tweet, @user94 is complaining about the fact that governments wanted to have children vaccinated for COVID-19. Here the user used the face with steam from nose emoji, which is generally used to convey irritation or frustration (Emojipedia 2023). However, it is worth noting that when it was first approved in 2010, this emoji was named *Face with Look of Triumph*; therefore, it is often used to “convey pride, dominance, and empowerment” (Emojipedia 2023). Nevertheless, in the tweet above, the emoji is used to convey frustration, as the context implies.

While seemingly less intense than the enraged face emoji, 🙄 also relies on the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, but also ANGER IS LIQUID UNDER PRESSURE, which are both subcases of the BODY IS A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Similar to 😠, the eyebrows depicted in the emoji are frowning, which, as observed above, is a sign of anger or at least frustration. However, the color of the emoji in Figure 61 is yellow, which may be one of the reasons why this emoji appears less intense than the enraged face emoji. The steam coming out of the nose emoji is reminiscent of expressions such as “I am fuming,” which is found in everyday language. Here, metaphor seem to be enhancing meaning as the emoji provide extra cues (Colston 2015).

In a paper on the representation of ICMs of anger in comics, Forceville rightfully notes that smoke is directly related to fire, which itself is related to the concept of anger and consequential conceptual metaphors (2005). Forceville also noted that, “Smoke [...] is clearly an effect of the heating up of the fluid or gas in the body-container, or can be seen as exemplifying the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor independently” (2005: 82). In that sense, the emoji 🙄 is another visual instance of the ANGER IS HEAT, ANGER IS FIRE, and ANGER IS (HEATED) LIQUID UNDER PRESSURE conceptual metaphors. The person using this emoji is externalizing the anger they might be feeling when writing the tweet. This idea is reinforced with the five repetitions of the initial emoji, which can be viewed as a way to draw attention to the matter or intensify their frustration, through the conceptual metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT, as was previously studied (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Some emoji seem to be entirely visual metaphors that can be used on their own, without textual context required to make sense of them. But only a few examples in my corpus manage to do this, the most salient instance in the data set being 🤪.

| User | Tweet |
|------|-------|
|------|-------|

| | |
|---------|---|
| @user95 | What did Kang do? 🤯 #loki |
| @user96 | Hot damn! What an incredible episode! I know some people won't like it because it falls back into some dumb Star Wars tropes but I loved it. 😭 🤯 😊 #TheBookOfBobaFett |

Table 15: Mind blown emoji use.

Table 15 presents the only two instances of the 🤯 emoji in my corpus. In both cases, the emoji is used to express *surprise* regarding something that happened in two TV shows. In @user95's tweet, the emoji is used on its own following a question. By using the emoji that way, the emoji turns the question into a rhetorical question, as we can easily assume that the user knows what happened. In the tweet by @user96, the emoji is combined with two other emoji: the loudly crying face emoji and the smiling emoji. In that sense, the sequence of emoji should be understood as what the person feels regarding the episode; namely, sadness, surprise, and happiness (Cohn et al. 2019).

In Table 15, both users expressed surprise using the exploding face emoji, which itself can be a sort of visualization of the metaphor “mind blown” used when expressing surprise or shock. The emoji, once again, is closely related to human facial expressions as when we are surprised, we more or less open our mouths and widen our eyes (see Ekman & Friesen 1986). In both cases, the emoji are used within a context, because the emoji is very specific in how it is made, we might suggest that if used on its own, without textual cues, people would still recognize it as expressing surprise of shock. This is unlike the loudly crying face emoji 😭, which would require context for readers to make sense of it (happiness or sadness?). Regardless of how they are used and made, however, emoji are inevitably salient instances of euphemisms online, as was briefly shown earlier with the case of the eggplant emoji.

4.4. Euphemism

So far we have seen that emoji can be metaphorical, metonymical, hyperbolic, and polysemous. Because euphemism plays a central both in everyday life and in CMC, the euphemistic use of emoji will be discussed here. In emoji, the presence of euphemism is no surprise considering their strong metonymic basis. As argued before, one of the key uses of metonymy is to express a euphemism, as in the abbreviation “OMG” (Littlemore 2015). Yet some emoji may be metaphorical and still have a euphemistic function.

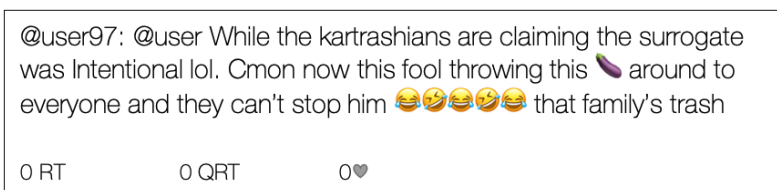


Figure 62: "While the kartrashians [...] family's trash."

In the tweet in Figure 62, @user97 is responding to someone’s tweet about one of the Kardashian sisters’ past lover holding hands with someone else in Greece. Instead of referring to the real surname “Kardashian,” @user 97 is using a derogatory nickname: Kartrashians. This word is a blend of *Kardashian* and *trash*. In the response, @user97 uses different emoji, namely the eggplant emoji, the face with tears of joy emoji, and the rolling on the floor laughing emoji. As seen earlier, the two laughing emoji are not particularly salient cases of euphemism, but the eggplant emoji certainly is (Weissman 2019; Weissman & Tanner 2020). As we saw in section 4.3, the eggplant emoji is inherently metaphorical as there are similarities being drawn between male genitalia and the vegetable. However, the pragmatic effect of this visual metaphor appears to be politeness, through the blend of two figures (metaphor and euphemism). People can refer to or talk about a taboo topic, including sex and nudity, without talking about it literally. This emoji is also reminiscent of the discussion of polysemy as it is a prime example of polysemy in emoji. The eggplant emoji holds at least two meanings as of this writing: a literal meaning

of “vegetable,” and a figurative one of “phallus.” The figurative meaning might be a way around censorship online.

Regarding the eggplant emoji, its use online was (and still is) so significant that when Netflix released the movie *The Package* in 2018, its promotional picture for the movie was the eggplant emoji. In the media, the eggplant emoji, along with other fruit and vegetable emoji, have received more attention than other less ambiguous emoji (Santolaria 2019; Mishan 2022). Pushing the eggplant obsession a bit further, until 2017 there was a company called The Eggplant Mail that would send anyone who wanted one an eggplant with a personalized message written on it. In my corpus, only twelve tweets involve the eggplant emoji. Out of the twelve emoji, two are used in reference to cryptocurrencies, and one is used as a vegetable. This means that nine out of the twelve (75%) emoji are used euphemistically for phalluses. Of course, this number is too small to generalize, but in the future, researchers could look into this in more depth by using larger corpora.

In Figure 62, instead of using the word “penis” or, more likely “dick,” the user used 🍆 to replace the word (Cramer et al. 2016; Maiberger et al. 2023). The use of the eggplant emoji for this purpose might seem surprising especially considering the fact that this second meaning has often always been associated with bananas. In the corpus, no occurrences of the banana emoji can be found, perhaps showing that the eggplant emoji is more anchored in standing for a phallus than 🍌 and replacing the fruit in people’s minds. In an article in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, the author argues that one of the possible reasons for the use of the eggplant rather than the banana emoji is that there is a general obsession over size (Santolaria 2019), hence the preference for the wide eggplant emoji over thinner fruits and vegetables, such as the banana or corn emoji 🌽, recently it has acquired a new meaning online as it stands for adult entertainment, more specifically pornography. The word *corn* rhymes with the word *porn*, hence its use to get around censorship

online. That mostly happened on the Chinese platform TikTok, but some cases are also found on Twitter, although not in my corpus.

Returning to the case of 🍌 in Figure 62, its use might be motivated by two functions. First, it is euphemistic in that @user97 is referring to something taboo in a more subtle, and polite way. Second, it is metonymic in that the emoji helps @user97 save space in their tweet. This example is also a prime example of how figures of thought can be combined, whether consciously or unconsciously. At least three figures are found in the sole use of 🍌: metaphor, metonymy, and euphemism. This shows the importance of studying figurative instances in context as blended figures.

When it comes to sexual euphemisms on Twitter, one of the most salient fruit emoji online would be the case of the peach emoji 🍑, which was briefly mentioned before. In Figure 58, the peach emoji was used to replace part of the word in “impeachment,” which shows how the emoji can replace a syllable or morpheme, and not only a full word. However, prior to this use, the peach emoji was mostly used to refer to someone’s bottom. In my corpus, the peach emoji is found in only seven tweets, with at least four of them being used to refer to someone’s bottom. Figure 63 shows one such example.

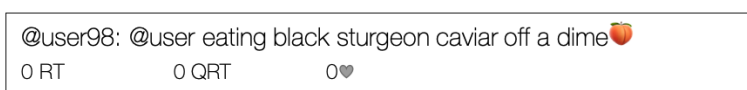


Figure 63: "eating black sturgeon caviar off a dime 🍑"

In Figure 63, @user98 is talking about eating caviar “off a dime.” While the term dime often refers to a 10-cent coin, in slang it is also used to refer to an attractive woman or person in general (*UrbanDictionary* 2023 August 1st). Measuring beauty on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the highest, is common, as the title of 1979 movie *10* by Blake Edwards shows. As a dime is ten cents, it too can be used to refer to this kind of ten, too. At the end of their tweet, @user98 placed a peach emoji here to talk about someone’s bottom. Based on the lack of

spacing between the word “dime” and the emoji, I would suggest that the user meant eating caviar off someone’s bottom, or even more precisely, “eating caviar off a 10/10 bottom.”

The association of sex and food is not exclusive to CMC on social media. For example, some foods are referred to as aphrodisiacs (ginger, chocolate, etc). In expressions such as “lose one’s cherry,” or “cherry girl,” the fruit is used to refer to someone’s virginity (OED 2023). Here, @user98 is referring to a luxury food (*caviar*) as a means to reinforce the idea that the person is very attractive, even if a “dime” is not a lot of money.

Similar to the eggplant emoji, which resembles a different body part, the peach emoji is used as such because it resembles the bottom. Peirce would call this emoji *iconic*. The peach emoji was published in 2015 and quickly became associated with the body part. However, in a following update to its iOS system, Apple redesigned the peach emoji, as Figure 64 shows.

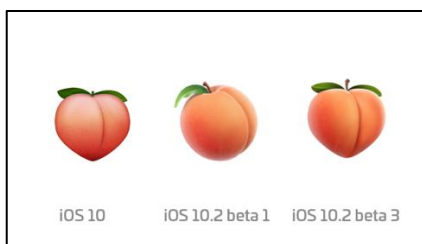


Figure 64: Apple's peach emoji (from Romain Dillet for TechCrunch 2016).

As Figure 64 shows, the emoji in the middle looks fairly different from the previous emoji. While the middle emoji looked more like the actual fruit, the redesigned emoji received lots of criticism online as people started asking Apple to go back to the original emoji. That situation is known as the peach *emoji gate* (Dillet 2016). It shows that the way emoji look actually matters to people and brands, as Apple listened to the complaints and changed the look of its peach emoji to the version we have now: 🍑. Of course, along with the peach and eggplant emoji, other fruits are also used to refer to other body parts. For instance, the cherry emoji 🍒 are often used to refer to small breasts.

Overall, regardless of the euphemistic function, one of the core reasons why people use these emoji in a sexual context is simply because there are no emoji today that realistically depict body parts. Perhaps if they existed, people would stop using fruits and vegetables to talk about those body parts. Moreover, with kids and conservatives on social media, such uses of euphemism can help avoid offense, and keep social media customers happy. We could even say that emoji are less censored than other tweets. However, it is important to keep in mind that Facebook and Instagram had censored the use of the eggplant emoji because of how it was used. Emoji can additionally cause legal issues. In 2016 in France, a man was jailed for tweeting a post with a gun emoji in it to his ex-girlfriend for it was considered a death threat (McMahon & Kirley 2019). To that extent, Danesi calls for the creation of “a field that can be called simply ‘emoji forensics’ (Danesi 2021: 1117).

Both the 🍆 and 🍑 emoji are great examples of how euphemism can function online to try to avoid censorship. The main pragmatic effect related to euphemism, according to Colston, is politeness. In fact, when talking about sex online, people often resort to such emoji. Politeness itself is connected to several primary pragmatic effects, such as ingratiation, and social engineering (Colston 2015: 77). Politeness was particularly important as the tweets were posted when Twitter would still censor sexual content. But mastery also appears to be an important pragmatic effect here, as both users in Figure 62 and Figure 63 show that they master emoji. Yet as Colston (2015) noted, misinterpretation is always a risk. For example, by taking the emoji literally, rather than figuratively, someone could misunderstand the tweets.

4.5. Hyperbole

Research on visual hyperbole was mostly conducted in regard to advertising, where figurative language is important (Callister & Stern 2007; Ferré 2014; Stern & Callister 2020; Huang

2020). In research on social media, visual hyperbole has yet to receive attention from scholars, although before it is prevalent on social media platforms. With respect to emoji, users often reduplicate them. In my corpus, 47 tweets contained emoji reduplication. One exception was the repeated use of emoji, namely symbolic emoji, to recreate the format of the game Wordle. As previously observed, reduplication is a notable aspect of CMC, with people reduplicating letters in words lengthening, but also with words or abbreviations being repeated. In Figure 61, @user93 repeated the face with steam from nose emoji (👃) six times after their tweet. Such repetition can be likened to epizeuxis in rhetoric, as the emoji is repeated without anything (emoji or word) interfering between them.

As explained before, one of the functions of epizeuxis is to emphasize something. Therefore, in the case of Figure 61, @user93 is emphasizing their discontent through the repetition of emoji. However, in the case of emoji, not all cases of reduplication fall into the category of exaggeration. In Figure 65, @user99 repeats the two eyes emoji as a means to mimic the human gaze, in which case the reduplication does not serve the function of exaggeration but rather that of building resemblance from reality into emoji.



Figure 65: non-hyperbolic reduplication.

Reduplicated emoji fall within the category of sequential emoji, simply because they are used in sequence. Scholars have noted that “[w]hen emoji are used in sequences, they primarily use repetition, or reduplication, of the same emoji” (Cohn et al. 2019: 2). Furthermore, McCulloch and Gawn (2018: 1) have found that in their corpus of tweets, “top emoji sequences have a high level of repetition” as opposed to word sequences. This means that most emoji sequences they have found are cases of emoji reduplication, rather than singular emoji usage. As was explored with verbal reduplication, the conceptual metaphor MORE OF

FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT appears to be central to reduplication (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Such reduplications may indeed be a form of exaggeration and hyperbole in that the user uses the same emoji six times as a means to upscale their feeling or attitude toward the situation (Logi & Zappavigna 2021), or emphasize their discontent toward the situation. This observation is also valid in the case of emoji, as the conceptual metaphor MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT is also central to emoji repetition. Simply put, by adding more emoji (form), users are expressing more intense feelings (content).

Let us now briefly look at a true case of emoji reduplication in Figure 66. Here, @user100 is supposedly reacting to something funny (which is inaccessible as the account has been deleted), as the face with tears of joy emoji and “omfgggggg” suggest.

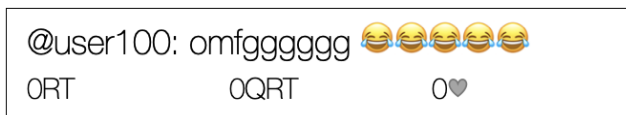


Figure 66: "omfgggggg" 🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔

In this tweet, @user100 uses reduplication twice, first in the verbal form in the abbreviation “omfg” with the “g” repeated five times, and again afterwards with the emoji repeated four times. While @user100 is clearly expressing laughter in their tweet, the same could be said about the same tweet without the reduplications. Had @user100 simply said something along the lines of “omfg 🤔,” the same meaning could be inferred, namely laughter. Yet in order to show that they are not just slightly amused by what they have seen, but rather laughing a lot, @user100 used the letter “g” six times in a row, and the face with tears of joy emoji five times in a row. Therefore, emoji reduplication can express a more positive or negative attitude toward something or someone. However, it is important to note that in this case, we have a significant instance of exaggeration, but less of a hyperbolic one. Since hyperbole is often considered a scalar figure, below I offer a scale from least hyperbolic to most hyperbolic laughter-related emoji.

Figure 67 below shows how hyperbole can occur in degrees. In Figure 67, we have the different degrees of hyperbolic emoji used to convey laughter. On the far left we have the face with tears of joy emoji which is considered the least hyperbolic. On the far right of the scale, the skull, coffin, and gravestone emoji are the most hyperbolic, because of their morbid connotation.

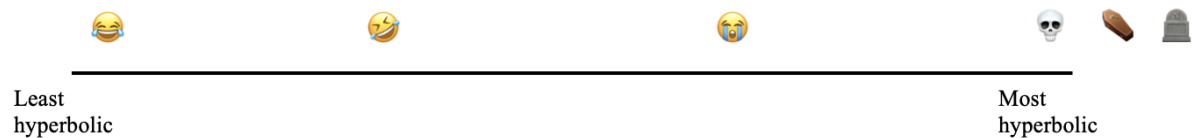


Figure 67: Scale of hyperbolic emoji.

It seems clear here that hyperbole can be expressed in the form of emoji. Emoji are strong polysemous items, as they often hold different meanings in different contexts. In fact, in 2023, the loudly crying face emoji (😭) was the most used emoji on Twitter, followed by the face with tears of joy emoji (😂) (Emojipedia 2023). The rolling on the floor laughing emoji came in fourth place (Emojipedia 2023). Because there are emoji to display laughter, something else must be motivating the use of the loudly crying emoji as signifying laughter.

As could be seen in the plethora of tweets studied before, the loudly crying face emoji was often used as a means to express laughter, and perhaps even more extreme laughter that leads to crying. One of the reasons for its use could be that some users do not find the two others strong enough to depict how they supposedly feel. It is worth noting that while the emoji is being looked at as a sign of laughter, as it mostly appears in responses to humorous instances, the emoji can also simply be used to intensify feelings in general. Thus, the loudly crying face emoji could be considered an intensification marker and, consequently, a hyperbolic emoji.

Here, hyperbole is used for different purposes. In fact, a first effect is that of highlighting discrepancies, which is central to hyperbole (Colston 2015). Moreover, through hyperbolic emoji, the users can express emotions, and perhaps elicit emotions in readers.

Consequently, this leads to other effects, such as ingratiation, which may help create and maintain social bonds between users. Also, identification of emoji and mastery of their use can possibly affect a social media user. Lastly, such emoji can also help enhance and clarify the meaning of a tweet (Colston 2015).

The use of the loudly crying face emoji is hyperbolic to a certain extent, but there is one emoji that is undeniably hyperbolic: the skull emoji 🦴. As briefly observed before, the skull emoji is primarily metaphoric, with hyperbolic effects. As shown earlier in this chapter in Table 14, the skull emoji is polysemous as it can be used literally to talk about a human skull, metaphorically to talk about negative experiences, and hyperbolically to exaggerate and intensify attitudes. In order to discuss this further, I will look at the examples from Table 14 individually.

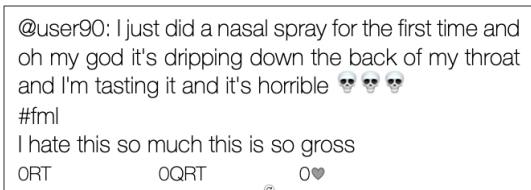


Figure 68: Negative use of the skull emoji.

In Figure 68, @user90 expresses a negative attitude toward an experience, and in order to intensify their attitude, they added three skull emoji. In this case, the verbal statement is negative, and so is the use of the skull. Generally speaking, skulls are often associated with pirates, but also with death, making it a somewhat morbid item to use to refer to laughter or at least positive attitudes. Indeed, its association with death explains why the emoji can function as an intensifier. Its use, while being figurative, remains close to a literal meaning, in that death is a negative experience. However, it is evident that the user is being hyperbolic, too, in that even though the taste is really bad, it is probably not as bad as death. The intensification is furthermore reinforced with the use of reduplication, as well as the follow-up hashtag and abbreviation *fml* for “fuck my life.”

Nevertheless, the skull emoji also appears to also be used in more positive contexts. As briefly explored before, the skull emoji is often used similarly to the loudly crying face emoji to signify laughter. While the use of the skull emoji to reinforce the expression of negative attitudes seems logical, using it to express severe laughter might seem odd.

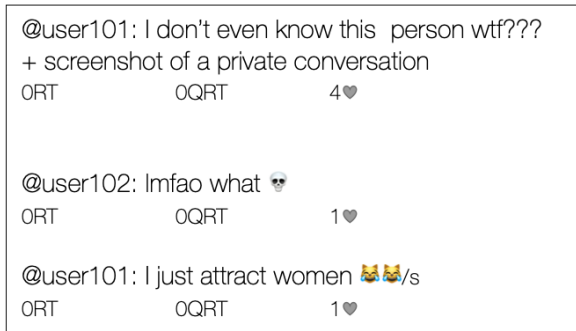


Figure 69: Positive use of the skull emoji.

In Figure 69, @user102 is responding to @user101’s tweet about receiving direct messages on Twitter. @user101 received messages from a person saying that they have feelings for @user101; the person goes as far as asking @user101 to marry them. @user101 tweets that they do not know the person to whom @user102 responded “lmfao what 🤪.” Here, the emoji follows the abbreviation *lmfao*, which suggests laughter and would therefore be understood as an intensifier for laughter, which in most cases is a rather positive attitude regarding something humorous. This idea is furthermore reinforced as @user101’s response involves two new laughing emoji, the cat with tears of joy emoji “😹.”

However, it is worth noting that some people suffer from pseudobulbar affect (PBA), which is “a disorder that develops in the context of a brain injury or underlying neurological dysfunction. PBA manifests as frequent uncontrollable outbursts of laughing or crying, incongruent with the individual’s internal emotional state” (Goldin 2020: 19). As explained by Goldin (2020), people suffering from PBA may laugh or cry in situations during which they are not necessarily feeling happy, amused, sad, or in pain. In such cases, laughter should not always be viewed as a sign of amusement or a positive attitude.

That said, using the skull emoji to signify laughter is no surprise considering the metaphoric expressions “dying from laughter” or “to die laughing.” As was studied in previous chapters on verbal instances of FL, such idiomatic expressions were particularly present in the corpus, with small variations in them such as the use of expletives at times to further intensify the attitude. With the use of the skull emoji, users appear to be visualizing the verbal expression, hence making it possible for people to use or at least refer to the expression without verbalizing it, as in “im 🦴” to mean “I’m dying.” While I did notice such uses while using Twitter, there were no such cases in my corpus. The use of the skull emoji appears to be the most hyperbolic one used to signify laughter, in the corpus, but also, more generally, to express some extreme emotions.

That said, instead of choosing between one of these, 😂, 🤔, 🤪, or 🦴, some users decide to combine some of them. This shows that sometimes, one emoji, although hyperbolic, may not be enough to convey how people truly feel online.

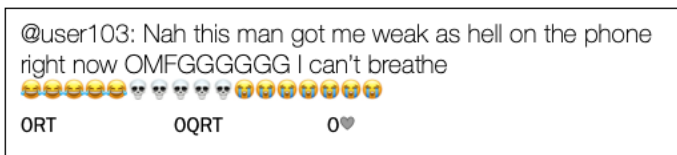




Figure 70: Combination of laughter related emoji.

In Figure 70, @user103 is seemingly referring to a man they might like. They start with the expression “weak as hell,” which can be used negatively as an insult or positively for an emotional state. Then they use the abbreviation *omfgggggg*, with letter reduplication combined with all-caps. Lastly, they use 16 emoji to end their tweet. This tweet, to a certain extent, contains a concentration of exaggeration and hyperbole both verbally and multimodally. The face with tears of joy and skull emoji are used five times, and the loudly crying face emoji is used seven times at the end. So, there is a form of gradation in the expression of emotion. @User103 starts with what would be considered the most prototypical and clear way of

expressing laughter: the face with tears of joy emoji. Then the skull emoji is used to express stronger emotion. By going from laughter to death, @user103 is building up the strength and intensity of their reaction, going from what we could broadly refer to as literal emoji, to the hyperbolic use of the skull emoji. However, the gradation is suddenly broken down as @user103 follows the five uses of the skull emoji with seven uses of the loudly crying face emoji. By doing so, it appears as if @user103 considered the loudly crying face emoji to be more extreme than the skull emoji, even though the skull emoji is inherently more hyperbolic. This is already a kind of ECF, so following it up with another emoji actually weakens the gradation.

That therefore highlights an important aspect of emoji; namely, people will never feel the same way about the meanings of emoji. Or, like an idiolect, users will vary in the emoji they use to express meanings. However, it is possible that the user did not think about gradation when typing, but rather followed what their keyboard offered. In fact, the favorite emoji list changes on a person's smartphone depending on what emoji they use the most. Perhaps the three emoji from above appeared next to or below one another on the phone of @user103. This means that the user preferred expediency over a finely constructed gradation.

The skull emoji is particularly interesting as it shows that hyperboles often involve taboo topics (here death). Furthermore, I would like to add that people online have recently switched from the skull emoji to the coffin emoji , and even the gravestone emoji  to express extreme emotions such as laughter. Death-related emoji are hyperbolic and can cause several pragmatic effects, such as ingratiation, or mastery, as well as expressing emotion (Colston 2015). This is because such uses show others that a user knows which emoji is trendy. However, as opposed to the face with tears of joy emoji, and loudly crying face emoji, such emoji can also diminish meaning. People who are not familiar with them might not understand such new or extended uses.

Briefly, while lots of emoji are used to emphasize and exaggerate things, some can be used to de-emphasize a hyperbolic statement (Colston 2015).

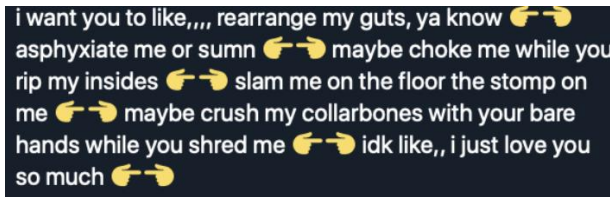


Figure 71: "i want you to like [...] i just love you so much 🖐️👉"

The tweet in Figure 71 was collected prior to this PhD research project, and therefore is not ascribed a user number. But because it partly inspired this doctoral thesis, I wish to briefly focus on it here. In this example, the user is part of the K-Pop Stan community and posted this tweet in 2019. Overall, the tweet contains hyperbole with strong expressions such as “rearrange my guts,” and “crush my collarbones,” forms of sexual innuendo which were already studied. But what is of interest here is how the user made use of emoji to somehow soften the explicit sexual content of the tweet. The last sentence “I just love you so much” has the same effect. Moreover, in this example, the user is mixing register. When they use “i” instead of “I,” as well as “ya”, “idk” and “sumn,” they are being informal. However, they also used polysyllabic words such as “asphyxiate” and “rearrange” which are formal. The use of emoji can also be considered informal. Note that the emoji in Figure 71 appear at the end of each sentence, acting as punctuation marks. However, punctuation is also used in the tweet, although in a non-standard form (repetition of commas for ellipsis).

In this example, the user is combining two emoji: the backhand index finger pointing right 🖐️ and the backhand index finger pointing left 🖐️. When used on their own, these emoji serve the purpose of pointing at something. However, when the finger pointing emoji are used together, facing each other, it is mostly to convey shyness when asking a question to soften the request. In other cases, these emoji might be used to express embarrassment, too. In Figure 71,

the function of these emoji is mostly to soften the sexually violent and explicit nature of the tweet, and perhaps also to avoid censorship. By using the emoji after each explicit statement, the person is undermining the hyperbolic nature of the tweet. By using 🙏 🙏, the user is trying to make the content of the tweet less outrageous than it seems. In Colston’s terms, these emoji seem to serve to “mitigate” the taboo nature of the tweet, and reduce tension (Colston 2015). This is furthermore reinforced through the use of the adverb “maybe” as well as the preposition “like,” which conveys a form of uncertainty from the author.

While these finger pointing emoji were released over ten years ago in 2011, they gained in popularity in 2020. For example, in 2020 American rapper Lil Nas X posted the tweet below.

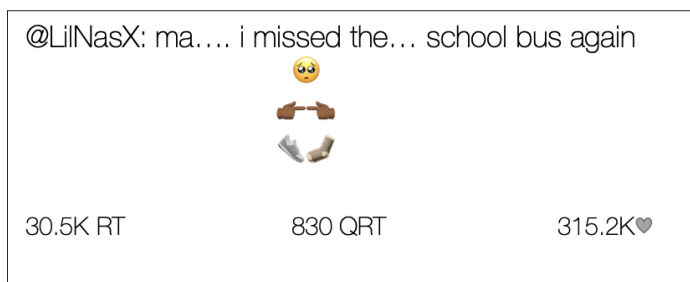


Figure 72: "ma....i missed the... school bus again."

Similar to the user in Figure 71, here the rapper combined the two backhand index pointing emoji, as well as three other emoji, to create a body-like shape. The pleading face emoji 🙏 and the pointing finger emoji are very often combined online to convey shyness. The two emoji were then picked up by TikTok users and widely and quickly spread among social media users, some of whom even use it as a gesture in face-to-face communication.

In those examples, and more particularly in Figure 71, the emoji are used to reduce the tension of what is said verbally. Combining the two pointing fingers emoji is often done only to reduce the intensity of a statement, and thus to try to avoid negative emotions. This is a great example to show that emoji have strong pragmatic effects, such as tension reduction, and emotion expression.

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on visual forms of figurative language. While various visual aspects of figurative language online could have been dealt with, I focused on the use of emoji online. Social media, and in this case Twitter, are especially prone to visual figurative language. Starting with metaphorical emoji, I have showed that emoji are inherently metaphorical, as for example with the case of the skull emoji 🐻, which is used as death, but also the red heart emoji ❤️. What mostly stood out with metaphorical emoji is the variety of pragmatic effects that they produce, such as catalyzation, ingratiating, efficiency, mastery, highlighting discrepancies, politeness, and reducing tension among others. That was shown through the use of repeated items, which are viewed as a form of exaggeration. Moreover, I observed that several emoji are visual representations of verbal conceptual metaphors such as ANGER IS HEAT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

As I noted, metaphor is central to emoji, but metonymy is equally important in the use and production of emoji. While the aforementioned emoji are metaphorical, they also are metonymic in how they are built and used. For example, when they use ❤️, people are able to refer to love. They do that by using a metaphorical sign that metonymically stands for the concept. The same is found with the use of 🐻, which can stand for several things, such as literal (idealized) death or a kind of incapacitation due to a severe bout of laughter. Two specific forms of use were also highlighted here, namely reinforcement, and replacement. Reinforcement is the use of emoji combined with text to reinforce the attitude, or emotion shared in the text. Meanwhile, replacement is the act of replacing a word or concept with an emoji. In terms of pragmatic effects, metonymy produced effects such as efficiency, expressing emotion, elicitation, enriching meaning, and catalyzation. All of these effects are central so

social interactions, as mastery, for example, shows others that one is familiar with certain emoji rules (Colston 2015).

Metonymy is also closely connected to euphemism, which is another central reason why emoji are used. As we saw, some emoji were used for specific purposes, namely talking about taboo topic (sex), without directly referring to it. To do so, people may use food-related emoji to refer to genitalia and combine them with other emoji in order to describe specific sexual actions. One of the reasons for the euphemistic use of emoji involves Twitter, before it was acquired by Elon Musk and renamed X. In fact, before people could easily be suspended from Twitter for using offensive terms and sharing shocking images. Therefore, through the use of emoji or euphemisms, people could bypass the censorship online and talk about almost everything without risking suspension. The use of euphemistic emoji has two major pragmatic effects: master and politeness. In fact, through euphemism, people can be more polite when talking about taboo, and sensitive topics, in positive terms, or with images. Here, people referred to sexual content by using food related emoji, further highlighting the close link between sex and food. Such uses can serve other purposes such as avoiding censorship, and avoiding shocking certain users (i.e. kids, conservatives, etc.).

Finally, the data in my corpus suggest that hyperbole is the most significant form of FL used on Twitter. As my discussion of emoji revealed, people often think and speak in extremes online by repeating emoji. They seem to do that in order to convey more emotion. However, hyperbole could also be seen in the various emoji people used to communicate their emotions. For example, people online tend to use the loudly crying face emoji to signify laughter, and the skull emoji to signify extreme emotion (laughter, love, etc.). This is just as one would do with verbal expressions such as “I’m dying.” In my corpus, the skull emoji was mostly used to signify a more extreme form of laughter, at least more extreme than the face with tears of joy emoji, or the loudly crying face emoji. Some users also combined all forms of emoji that signify

laughter as means to further intensify, and therefore exaggerate, their reaction to something funny, for instance. Expressing emotion, ingratiation, and highlighting discrepancies are among prevalent pragmatic effects produced with such emoji.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this study, I have aimed to study pragmatic effects of figurative language in social media, more specifically X, formerly known as Twitter. As I explained in chapter 1, I aimed to answer a general question in my doctoral thesis: *What are the pragmatic effects of figurative language in English on Twitter/X?* To answer that general question, I turned to cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics to answer three rather specific questions:

- (1) How do people use figurative language on Twitter/X?
- (2) How do people react and/or reply to figurative language on social media?
- (3) What is the role of figurative language online?

In order to answer those questions, a corpus of 1,000 tweets was collected and analyzed from a qualitative perspective. As different genres of tweets exist on Twitter, I decided to first focus on monologic tweets, which are tweets that did not receive replies. That was the topic of chapter 2. In chapter 3, I focused on dialogic tweets, which are tweets that received replies (either in quote-retweets [QRTs] or just in replies). Lastly, in chapter 4, I focused on emoji, a case of non-verbal figurative communication seen in various genres of tweets.

For my first research question (*how do people use figurative language on social media?*), I had expected to find figurative language to be prevalent in tweets, and this was indeed the case. Metaphor, metonymy, euphemism, and hyperbole were all found in my corpus, some more often than others. In regard to metaphor, it came in different forms. For instance, linguistic metaphors based on conceptual metaphors, such as *IMPORTANCE IS SIZE*, and *MORE OF FORM IS MORE OF CONTENT*, were commonly present. Instances of them were found in the form of all-caps, and in the form of letter repetition. They were means for writers to heighten emotions and especially communicate that online since online communication (CMC), unlike face-to-face communication, lacks paralanguage. Of course, more central cases of conceptual

metaphor were also found, such as personification. For example, the DISEASE IS AN ENEMY conceptual metaphor was prevalent in tweets about Covid-19. This was not that surprising as this research project (2020-2024) overlapped with the pandemic at times.

Moreover, metonymy is also central to tweets as a whole, regardless of emoji. Different cases of metonymy were found such as the PLACE FOR INSTITUTION metonymy used in political tweets. However, the most prevalent form of metonymy in my corpus are abbreviations. As observed, shortenings such as “FFS”, “LMFAO” are evident cases of metonymy online. Users make use of them for different purposes, such as saving space and time, as well as a means to censor their tweets. In fact, in using “FFS” rather than the spelled-out version (“For Fuck’s Sake”), people could counter the censorship which was taking place on Twitter before Musk bought it. The use of metonymy also reflects community management. Through the use of community-specific lingua, people can show others that they belong to the same community, or are at least familiar with the rules of social media (identification). Metonymy was also used to disparage others by using specific body traits (e.g. fat) or diminutives (e.g. *Mella* for Carmella) to refer to the entire person.

Metonymy is also closely related to euphemism, another figure studied here. Online forms of euphemism mostly involved abbreviations of swear words, which help build and maintain community. Given the metonymic foundation of emoji, their euphemistic function seems logical. As we saw, emoji are particularly used for various euphemistic purposes. They could be used to decrease the intensity of tweet (👉👈), but most importantly, they were also used to refer to taboo topics, by means of metaphoric euphemism (🍆, 🍆). That is particularly the case with the food emoji which are used to refer to body parts. Generally speaking, euphemistic tweets, both verbal and visual, are also used to avoid censorship online, although they can often lead to cases of misunderstanding. For example, tweeting an eggplant emoji


might be understood differently if the person seeing it is unfamiliar with the sexual meanings associated with it.

Nonetheless, what appears to be particularly interesting is the use of hyperbole online. In fact, hyperbole is widespread in the language of social media. Extreme Case Formulations (ECFs) are one type of hyperbole used online to produce the effects of exaggeration, or to make a statement more believable. To that extent, the hyperbole used online is like that used offline, face to face. As it is part of everyday conversation, it may be recognized but is not surprising to others. Hyperbole occurs online too in verbal and visual forms, such as expressions involving death (“dying”) to express extreme laughter or strong emotion. Again, these uses are not exclusive to social media, but features such as emoji help communicate these feelings visually in multimodal forms. Another interesting aspect with hyperbole was the use of tone indicators to indicate the presence of hyperbole online. As I noted in Chapter 3, other tone indicators exist, but were not found in my corpus. Thus, future research on figurative language could gather figurative instances of tone indicators to look at their deliberate use.

The use of hyperbole in Twitter communities, and especially Stan communities, is very interesting. Such hyperboles online are often very extreme forms. Rather than saying that someone is handsome, or attractive, Stans use expressions such as wanting to have the person “rearrange my guts” (in 50 tweets), which appears to be dysphemistic. Such expressions are strong identity markers online, as people can thus recognize users as members of a Stan community. Hyperbole is also present in the visual form, with the use of the loudly crying face emoji for laughter, or even the skull emoji for strong emotions. This aspect also brings forward one of the reasons for the use of figurative language, namely, to build rapport and show community belonging. If someone who is not part of Stan Twitter sees such expressions, they might consider such statements to be literal, and thus miss the point. That would be a

misunderstanding. Hence, in Stan communities the use of such expressions is also a marker of community membership, with insiders, and outsiders.

For my second research question (*how do people react/reply to figurative language on social media?*), I expected some tweets to provoke reactions because the presence of replies, retweets, QRTs and likes exist essentially for that purpose. This research question was mostly answered in Chapter 3, where I focused essentially on replies. Replies were shared in two ways: below the original tweet, or as a quote retweet (shared to an audience). Several examples showed that people often picked up previously used FL, thus leading to a “chaining of figures” (Colston: 2015: 81). They picked up the FL for two main purposes: agreeing and disagreeing. When showing agreement, people would often use the same figures (metaphors, simile, hyperbole) to help build relationships, and amuse each other. That was particularly the case regarding the use of metaphors to talk about Covid-19, which were reused by people who shared similar views, as the conversation unfolded. Interestingly, people also appeared conscious of their use of metaphors as they would often put the metaphorical statement between quotation marks. However, in other cases, FL was used to create a separation between people, as for example through the use of metonymy to disparage someone else. As argued by Colston (2015: 76) “metonymy/synecdoche also can express negative attitudes,” which was also the case in examples found in the corpus (“fatty,” “mella,” etc.). The expression of negativity was also possible through the use of abbreviations such as “smh” for “shaking my head,” which verbally describes a physical action. However, it is important to note that metonymy could also be used to express positive emotions, as for example to praise someone else.

As I argued in Chapter 4, emoji are inherently figurative, and are used to express a wide range of emotions, such as joy, sadness, disgust and so on. Using such emoji allows people to quickly react to other tweets, and to provide users with additional meaning. That is done through metonymy, but also metaphor, as with the use of the heart emoji , for instance.

Regarding emoji as a means to reply and react, they were often repeated, as a means to intensify the statement. Similar to verbal instances, emoji also appeared to be picked up by other users, (1) to express a similar emotion, (2) to show agreement, and (3) to display mastery (knowing how to use them accordingly).

Lastly, for the third research question (*what is the role of figurative language online?*), several roles were observed. The most central role of FL, online and offline, is to persuade others. However, as I also argued above, FL has several other effects. For example, to enhance and clarify meaning, users could use metaphors. That was specifically the case with Covid-19, where metaphors simplified the overall meaning. However, metaphors could also be used to intensify meaning, or emotion, as with the use of all-caps, for example.

Moreover, metonymy and euphemism have a very specific role: avoiding censorship. In fact, through the use of metonymy (*stfu*, *ffs*, or *kms*), people can refer to taboo topics (death), and offensive language (*fuck*), without necessarily using the entire form. This aspect is even more present with the use of emoji to refer to similar topics (eggplant, peach, and skull emoji). Such uses help users (readers-writers) produce several pragmatic effects, as well as mitigate face and avoid censorship. Yet, some people appeared to aim at something different. In fact, through the use of hyperbole, people did not seem to care about censorship, or simply being polite, but rather sounding the most extreme possible, perhaps as a way to get more interactions. This was especially the case with the use of hyperbole in Stan Twitter, when expressing appreciation. In general, the use of hyperbole was present in all forms, and in various types of tweets, in various forms (ECFs, creative hyperbole, visual hyperbole).

Overall, the main figures studied here – metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, and euphemism – show to what extent FL is interconnected. As it is almost impossible to separate some figures, which is why they need to be considered combinations or “blended figures” (Colston 2015). Regarding hyperbole, especially in Stan Twitter, it would be interesting to see

whether people use the same expressions in face-to-face (FTF) communication, or if they are specific to social media. My suspicion would be that people might not use them in FTF communication because many Twitter users tend to want to hide their online identity. They may only reveal who they are to people they know and interact with FTF, offline, or privately online. Of course, exaggerations are great at attracting people's attention online, which has become more important nowadays as people can receive money if their posts receive lots of attention (although they need to be members of X Premium).

Regarding limitations to my study, a few need to be mentioned. First, my corpus is still relatively small compared to what is typically done in fields like sentiment analysis. Hence, it would be interesting to see whether the instances that were highlighted here would also be selected from a larger corpus, or if there would be differences. Next, to help systematize such studies and analyses, using more automated tools would be good when they become available to researchers. Internet memes are also great items to be studied when focusing on figurative language in social media (Benammar 2023). However, in this corpus, the number of memes in tweets was not significant enough for them to be considered in depth. Perhaps this shows that internet memes are decreasing in frequency, although recently I have noticed a resurgence in memes, especially in the replies to tweets. These multimodal artefacts – tweets that contain memes – could therefore be a genre studied apart in the future.

Furthermore, this study solely focused on Twitter. The data was collected while Twitter was still called Twitter; thus, it would be worth looking at the evolution of figurative language under X, especially considering the extension of the character limit to subscribed members of X. The character limit was 140, then 280 for regular users, and is now unlimited for Premium subscribers. Moreover, since censorship has evolved on the platform, the use of figuration, more specifically metonymy and euphemism, may also be changing. If there is less censorship on a social media network, noting the trends in euphemism usage could be

interesting. Recently, more people (especially younger ones) have shifted to TikTok, as well as Snapchat. Therefore, doing further research on CMC on such platforms might be of interest for the sake of comparison.

For this work, I deliberately decided not to handpick my data when compiling my corpus with the tool provided to me by computer scientists at IRIMAS, the research center in my university in Mulhouse which helped me with that phase of my work. By not pre-selecting data, that led to a wide variety of tweets from different communities being included in my corpus. It would thus be interesting to focus on specific communities, such as Stan communities, to see whether or not there are similarities or differences in their FL use online. What is more, in this study I only considered four figures of thought; however, many more exist and should be studied.

Lastly, the main question I wanted to answer in my doctoral thesis was the following one: “What are the pragmatic effects of figurative language in social media?” Drawing on Colston’s work on pragmatic effects and figurative language (2015), I have highlighted the presence of pragmatic effects both on the side of writers, and readers, as was suspected. Communication is central to humans and holds an important role in our lives. As shown in the introduction (Chapter 1), the Web 2.0, in which social media falls, primarily focuses on the idea of connecting people, and communication. Moreover, through the presence of embedded signs (likes, RT number, etc), users (readers and writers) are able to show their appreciation to a tweet, and even persuade others to reply, or at least interact with the tweet. Furthermore, this aspect is important now as Twitter, or X financially compensate verified users, depending on the attraction their posts get.

In regard to Colston’s work, I have identified all the pragmatic effects he introduced. These were: ingratiation, mastery, persuasion, social engineering, catalyzation, efficiency, expressing negativity, enhancing meaning, highlighting discrepancies, objectification,

identification, humor, emotion expression/elicitation, extollation, politeness, impoliteness, tension reduction, and machiavellianism (Colston 2015). These were present both on the side of the readers, and the writers. While this was expected, in my work I show that some of the effects that were closely related to a specific figure, for example enhancing meaning and metaphor, are also related to other figures such as metonymy. One of the reasons for this is that figures in my corpus are often, if not always, blended. What particularly stood out in my work was that some effects were more prevalent than others (efficiency, expressing emotion, for instance), in lots of figures, which shows the importance of considering all figures.

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Appendix of Tweets

| | |
|-----|---|
| 1. | // fml. I hate cold but I love snow. https://t.co/r7x5YaTefu |
| 2. | @Stompalittle Miss my ass youngin. I had to google 1987.... Contra. Fml |
| 3. | I just did a nasal spray for the first time and oh my god it's dripping down the back of my throat and I'm tasting it and it's horrible 🤢🤢🤢 #fml I hate this so much this is so gross |
| 4. | Aerobics over sleep huh? FML |
| 5. | receiving calls from home just makes me realise how glad i am for living out again fml |
| 6. | now I remember why I got off the shot & went on the pill fml 🤢 |
| 7. | @DelasLuisinho fodeo fml |
| 8. | First trip across the country in 10 years and i lost my wallet on my flight... FML |
| 9. | qualidade 1080p fml |
| 10. | FML #Dexter is having their season premiere/red carpet event on a Monday night in NYC. Guys, can we reschedule to a weekend? Lol if anyone is going and can get me any of the swag they're giving out, I'll be your best friend lol |
| 11. | never drinking again fml |
| 12. | Thinking about that dress I saw in monki before I left & can't even find it on the website fml |
| 13. | I just drank expired milk fml |
| 14. | My brother asked me to go to gym with him at 7 in the morning, i said yes but I haven't slept yet FML 🤔 |
| 15. | Nothing but Bad luck,PTSD and Hardships written in my book of life FML https://t.co/UF18gAKimH |
| 16. | Keep this testing away from the kids ffs 🤢🤢🤢🤢🤢🤢 https://t.co/0RzdoQl7Wn |
| 17. | @NathCfc Ffs. Sang still out too isn't he |
| 18. | @Origilist_ @cfcblatt Mannn I wish the Club Brugge manager would take the NT job but he doesn't want to ffs, and our FA are too cheap for a manager like Conte. |
| 19. | I just remembered I kept DDG in goal in my fpl and they have Liverpool ffs https://t.co/htGIDJkDhm |
| 20. | It's been brought to my attention Bill Walton made top 75. Ffs. |
| 21. | @PaulOBrien10 Will they ever shoot ffs. |
| 22. | Finally got 'round to watching Kill Bill Vol1. Utter utter shite. Thurman is obviously very easy o the eye but ffs! Was this made for adults? Binned it with 30 minutes to go. Pure shite. |
| 23. | @UTDSingh @anadoie 🤢🤢🤢 deletinggg ffs |

| | |
|-----|--|
| 24. | @Raheem7ii Kids born in the 80s are more 90s kids then someone born in fucking 97. Same with 70s kids being 80s kids. You aint no fucking kid experiencing cool stuff when you 1yrs old ffs. |
| 25. | #Corrie So Harvey thought he had shot leanne ffs ! Who is writing this bollox ? |
| 26. | @DeadByBHVR LET US DO MULTIPLE CHALLENGES PER MATCH FFS |
| 27. | lie lie lie lie lie lie lie LIE LIE LIE LIE LIE STOP FUCKING LYIBG WHY ARE YOU DOING THIS TO ME FFS YOU HURT ME SO MUCH IVE TOLD YOU EVERYTHING SFOP LYING PLEASE PLEASE I CANT TAKE THIS YOURE GOJNG TO FUCKING BREAK ME STOP LYING |
| 28. | No creativity whatsoever ffs just put Bailey on I beg |
| 29. | @narcis3st @Privdh10l Need to win one WC at least with this squad ffs already bottled like 4 tournaments |
| 30. | Lacrima https://t.co/UbfPOrx60D |
| 31. | diane writing this submarine scene was so cruel omfg |
| 32. | I'M SO IM LOVE WITH THIS MAN OMFG https://t.co/QX90krWYkl |
| 33. | @decayingflowers RIGHT OMFG I'VE NEVER FAINTED 🤪🤪🤪 it makes me feel like i'm faking my ed 💞 |
| 34. | @paracetamql it's so chaotic omfg |
| 35. | @NiallOfficial @RikkeS88 omfg yes my favs |
| 36. | Omfg this is amazing so no bacon popping grease !!! |
| 37. | LOOK AT THE VEINS OMFG I'd die to take a blood sample from him. Nor being creepy or anything. It's just it looks like he has nice veins where I could easily put my needle in haha https://t.co/WPnAIT9sf4 |
| 38. | I don't do selca days anymore cause my eyes look dead as hell omfg 🤪 can u tell this job is kicking my ass? https://t.co/42ElwV7t9S |
| 39. | @swtbutera @ArianaGrande OMFG WHAT |
| 40. | @cheripiatnight My favorite laugh omfg |
| 41. | @methinksdwt Literally children. Can't admit they made a joke omfg. This is why I moved to ramtw |
| 42. | omfg theo!!! https://t.co/autyP9Bdv |
| 43. | OMFG @darkskinmanson x @TheArnShow = END CREDITS!?! @DarbyAllin you gotta walk out with him next ppv 🤪🚩🤪 |
| 44. | @sooyagul omfg |
| 45. | omfg just weighed myself for the first time in weeks what a confidence booster |
| 46. | @AjitPai @USEmbassyManama @USAndIndia STFU |
| 47. | "my bad 🤪" boi stfu this was the shittiest apology https://t.co/RzqfruNzML |
| 48. | @zer0nyxx_alt I will never understand why people get so upset because of rejection- LIKE BRO THE PERSON ISN'T INTERESTED YOU CAN'T FORCE THEM STFU |

| | |
|-----|--|
| 49. | @NiallOfficial @bealright_njh @niallernroses stfu im crying this is |
| 50. | Maaaannnn STFU https://t.co/OgUH0nONto |
| 51. | @briieab Mannn says the person who literally named her location no location found 😂😂😂😂stfu |
| 52. | @STFU_anajai2 It actually is... the problem tho is that people drive with no license. I worked for DMV in my home state and over 80 was an automatic driver safety referral, also doctors are req to report certain medical conditions that would present a hazard, the problem there is they don't... |
| 53. | can i vote for y'all to stfu 🤔🤔 |
| 54. | @axriellq ew me too stfu |
| 55. | @RepThomasMassie @Polkapolka10 Stfu with this idiotic drivel... |
| 56. | @JamesMarshallUK @AlecBaldwln_____ U said urself You don't even know if its him tweeting this. And u still say((is this all u have to say?!).. STFU and wait tell he say something. Do not talk before he does. |
| 57. | She needs to stfu 😏 https://t.co/iaVwxSZAYe |
| 58. | @Peatches66 People are rude! Why comment if it's just annoyance? If it's not hurting someone just scroll by and STFU! 💎 |
| 59. | @zaradoth @RatioGodIFear @pittyvippy Never said you were so stfu |
| 60. | @AMAZINACE The true talent of multitasked communication! A performer will know when to stfu while putting someone on blast..with beauty, and integrity. |
| 61. | @lockharts How the fvck do men even dare to open their mouth on this topic when everything that comes out of them is utter bull??? Men need to stfu especially the clerith men with their sexist comments |
| 62. | @24Hiller @BittrexExchange @OfficialKumalnu \$KUMA \$dKUMA letting it all hang out now. 🖕 Be ready for the BIGGEST run in crypto! |
| 63. | how's it miserable? stfu and mind your own?? https://t.co/jZply2pUea |
| 64. | all my cousin say it cherry w cola stfu bitch 😏 |
| 65. | @RosaToesa GOD DANG SAME |
| 66. | @RGIII respectfully, stfu. @obj fine where he's at in Cleveland. We gonna get right with the connection |
| 67. | Bruce got paid 8m after having done a terrible job. «Worst of the worst» u kno. Stfu. https://t.co/ZIGuCkg7dr |
| 68. | Willow STFU PLEASE #GH |
| 69. | pls stfu 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂 https://t.co/1Ky0UB55sr |
| 70. | @jjkclz IM HERE STFU |
| 71. | Btw Saudi Shiites celebrate Mawlid. It's just because the majority of Saudis are sunnites so they don't really care about it so stfu. https://t.co/bwbk1yuGqU |
| 72. | @Hunnilola79 🖕 slide it right on in |
| 73. | @secretlittlexx And sum black dick 🖕🖕 |
| 74. | @foodmasku 2 Aubergine spikes would be more lethal, plus avocado seed is blocking one eye. |

| | |
|------|--|
| 103. | the lv jeans and shoes rn.... yh sickening |
| 104. | Legit thought it was a saw https://t.co/EuX5eVZEDS |
| 105. | i miss him |
| 106. | Ashly, iloveyou:((https://t.co/xV23Ft1i8k |
| 107. | Yes, agree with the 'cashless society' dangers. Cash is one of the last corners of freedom and anonymity. https://t.co/fMwQgmckZm |
| 108. | @mommymilks i'll come order some more even tho i don't eat either |
| 109. |  I'm thinking, short black hair Yes pls or RED!!! |
| 110. | where tf are all arohas hiding I NEED MOOOOOTS    #ASTRO |
| 111. | What do they mean to you? How are you honouring them? Make time to connect with them today, nuh? Prioritize and serve them in whatever way you can. Nuff love  #SundayReflections #HappySunday #FamilyFirst #FamilyAlways #PatriciaDuncanSutherland |
| 112. | #LGBTQ+ 'Loki' Almost Included Lots of 'Bi, Alien' Sex We want to live in that timeline. https://t.co/LEOJxvpg8w |
| 113. | @agnanodayam World Cup munde form loki ravela  |
| 114. | @GloriousJ3tskis (Love Potion) A part of him hates Mobius, but -- " Mobius , please notice me .. " |
| 115. | can we all agree that the wandavision era was substantially more impressive than the falcon and the winter solider and loki? |
| 116. | i just think that loki's profile https://t.co/4UxknRs9c3 |
| 117. | #IfIWasAnAvenger I wouldn't be one! I would be Loki. |
| 118. | Still cant believe loki wore the same outfit throughout the whole series i know it smelt like dirt |
| 119. | What did Kang do?  #loki https://t.co/FIsBpj5wok |
| 120. | @han_na_yar U can't just forget how people treated you ,behavior of people hurts  |
| 121. | @chrisheparody Loki made sure that there was enough food for leftovers, cause he knew his brother had grown hungry from the long sleep. For some reason Loki never fell into those sleeps. "I know brother, but I wish that they would finally learn from their mistakes." |

| | |
|------|---|
| 140. | I hope for a Liberal Majority with the NDP as the Official Opposition. #cdnpoli #elxn44 |
| 141. | #Postmedia again. Nothing new on the US Trump-friends owned press front. How will the cover His insurrection convention tomorrow in Washington DC? Time for the government (Libs or Cons) to stop newspaper subsidies. They don't serve us well. Van Sun etc no loss. #cdnpoli #elxn44 https://t.co/sHb4PDQZN2 |
| 142. | This whole thread is spot on. I've believed this for some time now. PPC will only pull the Tories rightward once they lose with a red Tory. And with no left populism to counter the far right, Canada will soon be where the US was in November 2016. #cdnpoli #polcan #Elxn44 https://t.co/y1zx2zzKaH |
| 143. | Be an informed voter #Elxn44 https://t.co/RyjOQyOMns |
| 144. | "A long time before, virtually eons ago — as far back as May of this same year — Trudeau, in one of his most fervent utterances about the “kind of country we are,” declared, “We’re not a country that makes vaccination mandatory.” " https://t.co/nlclOmWObb #CDNpoli #Elxn44 |
| 145. | @Laladylove_23 @dianemariereid “left wing voter in a family/community of staunch conservatives.” 🗣️🗣️ #NeverVoteCONservative #Elxn44 #CdnPoli https://t.co/ggQdq5taHw |
| 146. | Voting for Randy in my riding, but really dislike how lazy this type of argument is. Tell us why you’re the stronger candidate. This isn’t a popularity contest #Elxn44 https://t.co/3ILZ7B6Qk8 |
| 147. | I've started a newsletter! Check out the first issue of #MunipoleMatters #Elxn44 #cdnpoli https://t.co/DFzNLEki0h |
| 148. | Think long & hard about #Liberal partisan tweets. There is literally NO reason to #fear an #NDP led government or electing more NDP MPs to hold others to account. Imagine a party that has wanted head to toe #healthcare since 1965 who will deliver. So why all the hate? #Elxn44 https://t.co/vWCIN13D2D |
| 149. | Thank you so much for the acknowledgement of Myalgic encephalomyelitis/chronic fatigue syndrome #ME/CFS and the criteria, Dr. Bhéreur. We really need an ME/CFS initiative to prepare for what is happening in Canada. #elxn44 #LongCovid https://t.co/8a9kKXSrz6 |
| 150. | @AnjaliApp @Norm_Farrell @standearth Why would @theJagmeetSingh not answer the Q on #FacetoFace with Barton? You know you are not going to win so easy for you to say. #Elxn44 #cdnpoli |
| 151. | The Makers and the Takers. Trudeau is the leader of the Takers. #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/hmV9vgcuzy |

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| 152. | Hear, Hear! Once the ladies decide to dump him, it's all over for Trudeau. #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/d8rV52X3oK |
| 153. | #cdnpoli surprise! .@theJagmeetSingh continues lying bald-faced to Canadians. Dude has no moral compass. He says he created CERB - civil service did - then says he'll support a CPC minority. Wut? #FakeProgressive #CERB #Elxn44 #VoteLiberalMajority https://t.co/i6CVk9JI50 |
| 154. | So to all NDP voters across Canada vote your conscience! Strategic voting is simply unnecessary. Let's elect as many progressives as possible! #NDP #Elxn44 https://t.co/XULA9yM1u6 |
| 155. | Now flip as many #Liberal & #Conservative seats #NDP as you can, & maybe we'll actually get a minority government that really works! #Canadians, it is entirely up to YOU! Get out & vote in more NDP MPs to Parliament. Heck, we might end up with an NDP led government #Elxn44 https://t.co/Viqde2gBjk |
| 156. | The collapse is here. #abpoli #ableg #cdnpoli #Elxn44 #sos #pleasebesafe #takecareofyou #intentionallycruel #intentionallycruelwave #4thWave https://t.co/Fc0A3z1GNR |
| 157. | I've never ever seen such a liar as Trudeau. He knows his gullible supporters fall for all of them so doesn't care. #LiberalPurge #TrudeauHasGotToGo #VoteConservative #Elxn44 https://t.co/Y40y9QwqbB |
| 158. | Looks like this Dr. has found help for now. How many other ERs & health practitioners are crowdsourcing oximetry finger monitors, medical supplies and equipment across this country tonight 🙄📧 CA #Elxn44 #COVID19AB #IStandWithAbDrs #IStandWithAbNurses https://t.co/yyWzMlxZRU |
| 159. | Yet another announcement by the PCs in Manitoba. The opposition has been asking for this for years so why do they relent now? Guess. #cdnpoli #elxn44 Link between education and poverty in Manitoba to be tackled by new task force CBC News https://t.co/hXuk8TmH9a |
| 160. | Graves says the CPC are at 26. We shall see. #Elxn44 #cdnpoli https://t.co/agwR5SsMAX |
| 161. | No more talk about how a vote for the NDP is a vote for the CPC. The CPC are doomed. You are safe and free to vote for who you like. Now we get to decide if we want Trudeau with or without the ability to pivot to austerity. |

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| | <p>That's the choice.</p> <p>#cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/S1P5arEvcM</p> |
| 162. | <p>It's a reasonable ask & Canada's NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh agrees If you also think that Big Corporations & the Ultra-Wealthy should pay their fair share of taxes, consider voting for your local NDP candidate #TaxTheRich #Elxn44 #elxn44vote https://t.co/ARAtGXGBtq</p> |
| 163. | <p>@MoyaJohnsonHH @nicktsergas_af @erinotoole Can't help but think that anything other than @JustinTrudeau as Monday's winner, spells disaster!!! Literally nauseating fear of O'toole or Singh. #LiberalMajority #Elxn44</p> |
| 164. | <p>This is impressiveBernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama — notable figures share their endorsements for PM as Canadians head to the polls https://t.co/UT4utisF4L via @torontostar #cdnpoli #elxn44</p> |
| 165. | <p>Just not #Alberta it will be in #Ontario soon. #VotePPC #Elxn44 stop this type of tyranny! https://t.co/dxGGIFIO8</p> |
| 166. | <p>@PierrePoilievre Full of bull. #Elxn44 https://t.co/qU5fuWucvZ</p> |
| 167. | <p>With PPC gaining in the polls & with Mr. Kenney's UCP screwing up in Alberta & with Mr. Mulroney's scary endorsement, the Canadian right is in shambles. The O'Tool freight train is off track. #NeverVoteConservative 4 more years to @JustinTrudeau #Elxn44 #ForwardForEveryone</p> |
| 168. | <p>Voters do not overreact and vote change because you dislike a guy. The other side believes in conversion therapy and woman do not have a choice in abortion decision & private health care. #saynotoconservatives #Elxn44</p> |
| 169. | <p>@rutsarvseh @JustinTrudeau No better forecast possible for a safer vote than now.</p> <p>Best weather/ventilation to vote. Approaching best vaccination levels. Multiple voting options.</p> <p>And the inept Conservative provinces are unable to hide their incompetence from the majority any longer.</p> <p>#Elxn44 #cdnpoli</p> |
| 170. | <p>I'm endorsing Delivering Community Power! As an MP, I will support initiatives that advance the @DeliverComPower plan to reimagine Canada Post with services to support every community. learn more: https://t.co/FoxW0zgV65 @cupw #elxn44 https://t.co/oCGvRZVHPa</p> |
| 171. | <p>If it's about "Stopping the Cons!" then why are Liberals saying they need a majority? They've never been honest with you. This election was always about them. You deserve better. Vote NDP. #cdnpoli #Elxn44</p> |
| 172. | <p>It did, until Trudeau changed the law. No shame in Justins game. #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/YIVSONQHAK</p> |
| 173. | <p>Did Erin O'Toole or his team ask or pressure Jason Kenney to hold off declaring an emergency and ordering a vaccine mandate?</p> |










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| | <p>This is of critical importance to voters.</p> <p>#cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/5ylxqWwoN9</p> |
| 174. | <p>Only a real leader receives #Elxn44 endorsement Tweets from @BruceAHeyman @BarackObama and @HillaryClinton</p> <p>Hint: it's not OFool, MadMax or Jagmeet.</p> |
| 175. | <p>It makes me laugh.</p> <p>Ms USMCA. The \$200 USD Davos hot dog lady of the Trans Pacific @cafreeland Partnership likes to kiss Comrade's Diaz.</p> <p>#elexn44 #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/aRGkceW10c</p> |
| 176. | <p>Trudeau is doing a lot of damage to Canada. Will take decades to fix. #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/1JnUC4IH7T</p> |
| 177. | <p>Because #feminists.</p> <p>#Elxn44 https://t.co/lrfk0WPq0l</p> |
| 178. | <p>The so-called "Conservatives" are going to lose anyway, so vote splitting is not important. Trudeau will win and O'Fool will lose. Vote for your values. Vote for the @peoplespca and @MaximeBernier! #PurpleWave #VotePPC #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/l8HHbL6WM0</p> |
| 179. | <p>@OceanNikki From the heart. #Elxn44 #cdnpoli #ClimateEmergency #ClimateAction https://t.co/bFexCJoYMg</p> |
| 180. | <p>It certainly was NOT O'toole or Singh!!! It was @JustinTrudeau..... HE GOT US THROUGH the pandemic. And he should be the one to see us through until it's over. Vote #LiberalMajority to save us from an uncertain future. #Elxn44 https://t.co/D6zMmAD7tN</p> |
| 181. | <p>@cselley How about his dancing & jogging #Elxn44</p> |
| 182. | <p>#Canadians, if you want an #NDP government, then vote yourselves an NDP government.</p> <p>Stop being so reserved!</p> <p>Stop letting #Liberals & #Conservatives scare you into voting against your own best interests.</p> <p>You, alone, have the power to elect an #NDP government.</p> <p>#JustDolt #Elxn44</p> |
| 183. | <p>338 Canada is not a poll. It uses ntnl and regional data and past results to make educated guesses. It does use publically available polling data, but it can miss nuances of local dynamics. What it does do however is affect people's strategic vote. #Elxn44 https://t.co/ubgprlsq0d</p> |

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| 184. | @_DamnBucky @Begin4N @bgirl0001 @Harmony47383691 @VotingCPC @britboy77 @cutecanukgirl @Brittan60572844 @alienmagicman @Motomom128302 @PennyRaeWeaver1 @MrStache9 @MrIrianKomar @cateb4OHS @HardCelt @OperatorCoffee1 @Gazoo21588616 @theJagmeetSingh Dirty lil liberal harlot scammer @JenOConnell_ ! #ForwardForEveryone #Elxn44 #TeamTrudeau https://t.co/gKiGh6o6DK |
| 185. | .@erinotoole has a vision for Canada ... one where semi-automatic weapons and more handguns are in civilian hands. He's never said why that makes sense for Canada. This tweet proves it makes no decent sense for any society. Is this what Canadian parents want? #Elxn44 #cdnpoli https://t.co/Hfa7HkljNA |
| 186. | @JenOConnell_ @davidakin How are you, my shameless loose lil liberal criminal? #elxn44 #TeamTrudeau @_DamnBucky @RodgerStuckless @MyEveningOut @ErikLuczak @krisster8 @ljbeebe @Wolfonthecliff @PennyRaeWeaver1 @puffingtonpete @IBAConservative @ZackSlater54 @rachief03 @Bromaxx1 https://t.co/gKiGh6o6DK |
| 187. | I am always excited and grateful to vote. If you have never voted before, know that it's really easy to get on the voter roll: just look up your polling station by your address, show up there with photo ID and proof of address, and bam! You're a voter. #elxn44vote #vote https://t.co/Z5a4TPNJ7B |
| 188. | this! just in case you haven't heard, the liberal candidate in kitchener centre is not running, dont waste your vote! #Elxn44 #elxn44vote https://t.co/1dLluoeOck |
| 189. | Love seeing the lines for voting. #elxn44vote #VoteNDP polls open in 5 min #orangewave @theJagmeetSingh @KingsleyKwok https://t.co/voC9o8BbWo |
| 190. | Waiting in line to vote 🗳️ #elxn44vote |
| 191. | Big day for our great country. Vote. #elxn44vote #Elxn44 #AbPoli #Vote #Canada CA https://t.co/bP5fru5GLZ |
| 192. | @DevyaniSaltzman @globeandmail #Election2021 #elxn44vote #VotePPC2021 #VotePPC #VoteMaximeBernier Freedom vs Tyranny https://t.co/WrjhCmmuMK |
| 193. | HWAD poll at Martyrs Catholic church still not open. #hamilton #ElectionDay #elxn44vote |
| 194. | Meanwhile in #AustraliaHasFallen the unions are getting some Freedom thrown at them after union asked people to get jabbed 😞 Take back your Freedom and rights mates!!! #cdnpoli #elxn44vote #CanadaElection2021 https://t.co/vTWW2UXHG7 |
| 195. | @kkirkup @CBCPolitics @CBCNews @CTVNews @Bret_Sears @globalnews Help spread the word , enough #liberalcorruption #Liberalentitlements , Today is our chance to Take Canada Back , vote-out Haters , liars cheaters ,thieves, need honesty and integrity back in government, #elxn44vote #cdnpoli |
| 196. | Don't forget to vote today or you might get hit by a golf ball! #Elxn44 #elxn44vote https://t.co/dEJHygpkD6 |

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| 197. | <p>#elxn44vote</p> <p>"I am Canadian, A free Canadian, Free to speak without fear, Free to worship God in my own way, Free to stand for what I think is right, Free to oppose what I believe is wrong, Free to choose those who govern my country.</p> |
| 198. | <p>It is #ElectionDay in Canada. Polls about to open in the eastern time zone. We'll have extensive coverage on all our @globalnews platforms-on @GlobalTV, @HISTORY, @Roku, and @PrimeVideo. We'll have post-elxn results and analysis on #GlobalNewsMorning. #Election2021 #elxn44vote</p> |
| 199. | <p>Good morning. Get out and VOTE, Canada! #Elxn44 #elxn44vote</p> |
| 200. | <p>ELECTION DAY!</p> <p>Remember your ABC's... Anything But Conservatives</p> <p>#cdnpoli #elxn44vote #elxn44</p> |
| 201. | <p>I voted in the early polling to make sure I had the chance to have my voice heard.</p> <p>I encourage everyone who has ever muttered an opinion about politics to make sure they exercise their right!</p> <p>#Elxn44 #elxn44vote https://t.co/ydxFOR61Bo</p> |
| 202. | <p>On Election Day, Black people do wonder "why we vote, what's the point of it? How will this benefit us?"</p> <p>All sorts of governments and parties have led Canada, but life has never been better for Black people, its either stagnant or worse.</p> <p>#elxn44vote #CanadaVotes #cdnpoli</p> |
| 203. | <p>Our family voted at the advance poll last week. If you havent yet, today is your day to vote. Get out there and make the Canada we dream of come to pass. #elxn44vote https://t.co/QY6AQycxN9</p> |
| 204. | <p>No matter the outcome today, keep it classy Canada. #elxn44vote #Elxn44</p> |
| 205. | <p>To all those voting in Spadina Fort York - remember that the old @liberal_party candidate Kevin Vuong is still running post sexual assault allegations but no longer a Liberal. I already voted for @normsworld @NDP #elxn44vote #BelieveWomen</p> |
| 206. | <p>@drandrewb @DFisman Please, Canada, vote today like trans kids lives are in the line, because they are. #Elxn44 #elxn44vote</p> |
| 207. | <p>Friendly reminder that the Liberals aren't that progressive. #Election2021 #elxn44 #elxn44vote https://t.co/szBlNy9xEb</p> |
| 208. | <p>Let's go vote! #elxn44vote</p> |
| 209. | <p>Let the waves of change roll across our great nation today. @MaximeBernier @peoplespca #change #cdnpoli #elxn44vote #Elxn44 #CanadaVotes</p> |

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| | #CanadaElection2021 #canadaelection #Canada #MaximeBernierForPM #NoVaxPass #freedom #VotePPC #thetrueNorthStrongandFree #MaximeBernier #Rise |
| 210. | Vote strategically. Make history. Vote #CanadaDisabilityBenefit #CdnPoli #PolCan #Elxn44Vote #Elxn44 @DMVoteMB @AbilitiesMB @aletmanski @RabiaKhedr @BboyLazylegz @mssingabout @Vanvandrea @CWP_CSP @basicincomecdn @VC_Canada https://t.co/Fh8ZgKKD0I |
| 211. | The squalid world of Justin Trudeau @UnHerd https://t.co/xFUqQDYCaa #TrudeauMustGo #TrudeauVanityElection #elxn44vote #Elxn44 #CNDpoli #VotePPC |
| 212. | #Election2021 #elxn44vote #VotePPC2021 #VotePPC #VoteMaximeBernier Thanks Sargon!!! https://t.co/PdQREWkxy4 |
| 213. | If you haven't mailed in or gone to the advance polls, make time to #Vote today. #elxn44vote Canada's 2021 federal election: It's neck and neck between the Liberals, Conservatives as voters head to polls /via @globeandmail https://t.co/yo9bvercxn |
| 214. | Today is Election Day in Canada. #GoVote #Elxn44 #elxn44vote #VoteLiberalMajority #IStandWithTrudeau #TeamTrudeau #NeverVoteConservatives #cdnpoli |
| 215. | If I had a dollar for every time a Canadian politician lied or misled the public, I could buy a house in the market they ruined. #cdnpoli #elxn44vote |
| 216. | Vote today for climate change, for your future and for all those who will come after you. #elxn44vote #vote2021 #CanadaElection2021 |
| 217. | #Election2021 #elxn44vote #VotePPC2021 #VotePPC #VoteMaximeBernier 💜 PURPLEWAVE 💜 https://t.co/XRsWiypjww |
| 218. | Rooting for the lowest voter turnout in Canadian history... F*** 'em all 🙏 #elxn44vote |
| 219. | @JustinTrudeau #elxn44vote #VoteTrudeauOut #CanadaElection2021 #VoteCPC Vote Conservative! 6 years of recycled promises and no action is enough for Canada. Time to move ahead beyond mediocre. |
| 220. | On Election Day Take time to vote today 🙏 I'm taking time here to voice my support for @DesjarlaisBlake @ben_hen @R_Boissonnault and @HMcPhersonMP I cannot vote for any of them but if your in Griesbach, Mill Woods, Edmonton Centre or Edmonton Strathcona, you can! #elxn44vote https://t.co/o6Yn9CyKnJ |
| 221. | @kinsellawarren Recommended reading #elxn44vote |
| 222. | Go Vote! #elxn44vote #Elxn44 #Election2021 #cdnpoli #Trudeau #OTooleForPM |

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| | #NDP #PPC #greenparty https://t.co/l8E326CCnF |
| 223. | Type your postal code to find a list of your candidates and where to vote #ELXN44vote #Canada #Election2021 https://t.co/jT77GOYKk7 |
| 224. | Today is the day Canada! Get out and vote! CA 🍁 ❤️ #cdnpoli #CanadaElection2021 #CanadaVotes #elxn44vote #Elxn44 https://t.co/j1RbcE47zJ |
| 225. | I'm VERY fortunate to not be in such a riding, but my heart aches for those who are. Our #FirstPastThePost electoral system is disenfranchising. Half the votes today will go straight into the garbage. We need #ProportionalRepresentation. #elxn44vote https://t.co/rng3yc9geq |
| 226. | For anyone who's voter card says "Avalon Mall" the voting location is in this empty space in the strip mall (Kenmount rd side) @VOCMOpenline #elxn44vote https://t.co/QOebubn9yu |
| 227. | Went to https://t.co/XoZOSAHWJ8 to find my polling station, address doesn't work so it says to call the returning officer (no number provided) I find the number to call, and it tells me to use the website. FFS @ElectionsCan_E #elxn44vote #ItsOurVote |
| 228. | Tiny samiches made with left over bbq steak. White cheddar popcorn, root beers, banana kush or wild thailand and maybe some shatter if it gets really bad, an expensive snazzy Italian soda, some good local ice cream, pistachios. #elxn44vote #cdnpoli #Elxn44 https://t.co/YUGi5GaWlg |
| 229. | Had a foreign editor ask me to explain "dropping the writ" for an international audience #elxn44vote |
| 230. | Get out and vote #elxn44vote |
| 231. | So tomorrow is my 31st birthday! Getting out and voting today would be an amazing present. 📦🎁🍁 #elxn44vote #Elxn44 #ElectionCanada #Election2021 #cdnpoli #onpoli https://t.co/wuTG7nPvDS |
| 232. | Also, don't vote for the @peoplespca. #elxn44vote |
| 233. | Just vote! 📦 #ElectionCanada #Election2021 #ElectionDay #elxn44vote https://t.co/2o0fQv26IF |
| 234. | #elxn44vote #cdnpoli #CanadaElection2021 text and graphic by me. https://t.co/OQivfroShH |
| 235. | Good morning Canada... Today is September 21st, 2021 and today is the day we DEPORT @JustinTrudeau #cdnpoli #Elxn44 #elxn44vote #TrudeauMustGoNow #TrudeausVanityElection #TrudeauCrimeMinister #TrudeauWorstPMEver #TrudeauCorruption |
| 236. | We can't have 4 more years of a Drama Queen as Prime Minister. Vote Trudeau OUT. #Trudeau #elxn44vote |
| 237. | Weak - Skunk Anansie |

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| |  Weak  An Acoustic Skunk Anansie (Live in London)  Skunk Anansie |
| 238. | @CantLogOff @SovereignMeech W-woah  |
| 239. | @__domm Insecurities |
| 240. | @AdamBlackhat Get her some fruit, I hear people love to paint that shit |
| 241. | @lindiortega If you aren't taking Glucosamine yet, that would be my first recommendation. |
| 242. | just got a ticket, considering killing myself instead of dealing with it |
| 243. | Come watch her bully me all stream while she simps for Nagito XD https://t.co/5fMav6HDYK |
| 244. | @seoffle The title of the song is what gets me    |
| 245. | I ain't even turnt up. I just need to do my taxes  |
| 246. | @BCSDBrunswickHS @BHSMerrill @BHSPetryAP @BHSPerryAP @BHSSchmidtAP @BrunswickCSD Another great organization that is involved in so much here at BHS! |
| 247. | @nniquee_ I'm getting my hair done we can get shots today  |
| 248. | @lrknicole gorl ify |
| 249. | Born to shit forced to wipe Lmfao |
| 250. | @SliMagik Lol hoodie time bro. Try 0 with a wind chill |
| 251. | DID IT WORKK PLEASE I HOPE THIS WILL WORK! https://t.co/GzbbBRwSCd |
| 252. | Broke hoes make me nervous |
| 253. | Hashmask #13341 - "The Chosen One" was purchased by https://t.co/gGYKjmYqGF from https://t.co/t63qGkO4ER for 1.2540 \$WETH (\$2,216.9 USD) #theshashmasks #hashmasks Character: Male Mask: Chinese Eye: Green Skin: Dark Item: No Item https://t.co/8PrJHP4Q81 |
| 254. | Like it is REALLY not that deep lmao. Engineering and Columbia College and Barnard College and Teachers College and Union Seminary and etc etc etc all have separate graduations too, is that Engineering Supremacy or something? Argh. |
| 255. | A lovely link to share . . . A Good Investment – The Generous Wife https://t.co/Lp3nPFaMs4 |
| 256. | Young, wild https://t.co/bktx6ezABx |
| 257. | @IsThisThingOn31 @aubrey_huff Yeah that dude is still scum. |
| 258. | Pitfalls of playing with paramveer #Vazegate |
| 259. | @e_rogerzzz hey can i get \$1 |

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| 260. | @whydntwemusic waiting for y'all https://t.co/Z7Z07x28Lc |
| 261. | @hehehda_ check dms |
| 262. | @Naruto7thHokag6 *growls* |
| 263. | tulip B.I MIDNIGHT BLUE D1 #BI #비 아 0 #HANBIN @shxx131bi131 @131_label_ |
| 264. | @sheelakijawanii pink girl is an artist 🙄🙄 |
| 265. | @rahnexdoor Ok? Lol and? |
| 266. | Good for you all that are going to sleep now, its noon for me here and I have to stay awake waiting till 9PM 🙄 |
| 267. | @aghaata_s Com O whats gb |
| 268. | @vfsglobalcare Hello, please do you offer global mailing of passports on behalf of individuals? I have a passport I need couriered from one country to another. Do you offer such services? |
| 269. | There is beauty in simplicity. https://t.co/O5IP3faMD8 |
| 270. | @mtgreenee Yet not one word from you about this Georgian who just murdered 8 while targeting Asians. https://t.co/d7e6XWb5Kc |
| 271. | no im scated https://t.co/wvhnuPyBOK |
| 272. | @fawvictor gabriela I vote for #Defenceless by @Louis_Tomlinson to get played on #FandomFridayY100 |
| 273. | New Rule Prohibits Fracking in Delaware River Basin https://t.co/MYrc0QiNMD |
| 274. | Pota lockdown season 2 na ba? |
| 275. | boop |
| 276. | @AllieRenison Threatening blocks or performing limited warning measures is not the same as enacting them on a large scale, in the same way as increasing the U.K.'s nuclear arsenal does hopefully not equal using it 😊 |
| 277. | Is the little bit that people have learned about themselves "I am a little fuckin wetty"? https://t.co/AdVrHrD8DA |
| 278. | today i choose chaos |
| 279. | @seko how so? |
| 280. | Thought I'd have a bikkie with my cuppa yesterday. Looked for Choc-free option since I'm C-free for "Make #SlaveFree Normal" - Lent 2021. Even the top-right biscuit had chocolate cream! Chocolate is everywhere in our diet. Learn more @IJMUK https://t.co/06BFuex4fc |
| 281. | @_CallMe_Collin_ stop being a coward and play with us again |
| 282. | @RajSharma1857 @entropied yes every islamic army passed thru punjab,inspite of repeated invasions n forceful conversions a good proportion of hindus didn't convert |
| 283. | Finally, I registered again after losing my phone :) |
| 284. | @eauphoriya @logryu astaga ijin save |
| 285. | @nyspeedstar @CDPROJEKTRED Thank you ❤️ |
| 286. | @Beautiful_Won I'm definitely going to bed with a smile on my face tonight! (after I'm done with my work, because... deadlines...) |

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| 287. | I'm seriously convinced that I have the WORST luck when it comes to anything and it's just so dang frustrating. |
| 288. | I'm too bold for The Hunting Rifle |
| 289. | Oh heavens no! I wouldn't have the courage to ask! |
| 290. | @Hbarserker You are doing it your way, and that's all that matters 😊. #PositiveThinkingDay |
| 291. | @Namal78448998 Afternoon sexy |
| 292. | @MamamooCharts yesss MAMAMOO THE BEST ALBUM #Mumumumuch_OutNow @RBW_MAMAMOO |
| 293. | it's not enough. You have to do stuff their way, but I can't. In school and university I didn't have a choice. I would like right now with my job to have a choice. I can talk in front of people, but there is a cost if I don't listen to me. |
| 294. | @Jamwanda2 Why do you fear “kuroyiwa” when you’re vaccinated? You’re implying that those who are vaccinated cannot transmit the virus. |
| 295. | @TowGott full time streamer |
| 296. | @mlk_scots What one ? |
| 297. | @ligayanim @RBW_MAMAMOO I skipped school 🙋 MAMAMOO THE BEST ALBUM #Mumumumuch_OutNow |
| 298. | Confession: I swallow gum |
| 299. | the one where joon jk and jin cried. yeah dhmu |
| 300. | @SpikerAian Starlight and Blazing Trace kulang https://t.co/0gwhxAfuls |
| 301. | @ashumadan4 Sir, PFC holding - what to do |
| 302. | Here's a tip on how to be an authentic podcast presenter! Work out your scripting, going scriptless can be scary, but over-read scripts can sound unnatural. Using bullet points instead can help flow. If you write a script make sure you write how you speak. |
| 303. | @hypnotizedApe Hey I minted that bubblegum then paper handed that MF lol |
| 304. | Never knew brian had a collab with bbno\$ lol |
| 305. | @anuj_hanumat Great work |
| 306. | @MichaelAodhan Those guys obviously knew about the Garth Brooks concerts before anybody else. |
| 307. | thinking about how I had to wait till I was 18 instead of 12 to be able to get the HPV vaccine bc my mom thought getting it meant you lose your virginity meanwhile i was in sf all the time avoiding the used needles all over the ground 🤔🤔 |
| 308. | @SHREKRAP Gotta be in a specific mood for Kendrick |
| 309. | @lfowodo1 @TABNasir nah it's funny |

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| 310. | Excited to share the latest addition to my #etsy shop: Bite protection waterproof-gnaws hands-self-harm-hand anti-biting-ADHD-special needs child-autism-cerebral palsy-arthritis-auto-aggression https://t.co/FazwdsLVY9 #bitingmittens #protectivegloves #cerebralpalsytoys https://t.co/q23VohAPeE |
| 311. | @hoesluvhao I NEED MORE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THEM |
| 312. | I'm sorry for all that happened in your life but I love you https://t.co/ZkkVmeoS0y |
| 313. | @Dalecfc 200 lot of money to go on him 😞 |
| 314. | Matt always showing love and his lady threw down on the shrimp scampi 🍤🙏 Oms that shit was a hit if you can cook don't play cause we gon be friends 4L |
| 315. | @JimDensham Unfortunately there has been an update on this that suggests that better diversions are not going to be the case. https://t.co/jmiYDrBlut |
| 316. | @AssistanceZiggy Thats my bathroom window 😊 |
| 317. | 144p Taeil When he said "sun and moon!" https://t.co/tBUC6i0803 |
| 318. | #hashtag3 20000 mAh Portable Power Bank in White https://t.co/1laH71xPb2 https://t.co/lpDepvt8Mm |
| 319. | @laner_joe Wow Is really good,good Color,they both look cute But after I watch the original cartoon I realize is both as a he... But is not for u I guess,just keep on do'in :) And again, thank you for making and publishing this great piece of art to everyone ;) https://t.co/RAMa8yw6nm |
| 320. | @CKone50 @bugsybee3 @sc_wadsy @doctor_oxford It's fuck all in a country of 66 million. Acceptable losses. |
| 321. | @nightquaker jpeg is the compression algorithm, jfif is the container. technically jfif is more correct but jpeg stuck |
| 322. | @AIMSuuuuu that would be sooo cool and full of fun! 💎💎💎💎💎 |
| 323. | @UntouchaBliss @Ryu_deJaneiro well why isn't mella getting the tv time and the following that eva gets? 🤔 |
| 324. | aaawwwwww thankyuuu #기현 https://t.co/SDhf11FfUm |
| 325. | @tataedaegu My fav is Paradise |
| 326. | What's the Kickstarter you have backed right now ? |
| 327. | @StellaNoxEclair Oh that's really exciting then |
| 328. | @robertospeed123 Walmer* |
| 329. | she driving it so crazy 🤪🤪🤪🤪🤪 |
| 330. | Now playing Righteous (Clean) by Juice WRLD! |
| 331. | is today pyeonghongman-suffering-day because I. AM . LOSING. IT. https://t.co/8czJv6cQHd |
| 332. | For the first time in Humanity's entire history, civilian humans will be leaving the planet on a space vehicle created by a private civilian company. https://t.co/7phRmZlsvl |


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| 333. | @deppsgrande @oriionsbelt @PopCrave Of course!!!! |
| 334. | @woohanhao omgggg dont move ur head to much or wag mo pilitin na ung icrack ung head mo kasi delikado siya, if severe yata yung stiff neck it will last for a week, always find comfy position when sleeping hhuu |
| 335. | @Perseverer4 @GBNEWS @NICKIMINAJ Other than Dexter Holland from @offspring of course... |
| 336. | that post credit scene in raganarok when loki was worried about people on earth not accepting her makes me want to crash my head against the wall because loki would have definitely help the avengers to defeat thanos in order to redeem himself with everyone goodbye |
| 337. | @_loki_dokey Loki!! I'm dying 😭😭 |
| 338. | THIS! i actually think the sense of loki comes from them being sarcastic and funny and pretending everything is ok while dying inside (this sounds so dramatic HELP but u get my point) https://t.co/Zb29uwaiti |
| 339. | This weeks what if omg omg omg omg omg omg omg omg omg omg lmao I'm crying best episode I'm dying omg I'm a thot for frost giant loki help #WhatIf |
| 340. | Odin: Ooh! What a coincidence of fate. And you know I'm not actually her father? I "adopted" her. Her real father is Laufey. Loki: *dying and crying inside* Yes... I know... *starts crying and Sweet Home Alabama is playing in the background* The end |
| 341. | LGBT books i've read this year that haven't gotten enough attention 📖 Goddess of Nothing At All- Genderfluid Loki retelling. Velocity of Revolution- Polyqueer cyberpunk scifi. Wake of the Phoenix- High political fantasy. Dreams of the Dying- Trippy Horror fantasy https://t.co/70b2J4RQng |
| 342. | We only getting Jotun Loki now after 600 billion years and some how, someway, I'm gonna find a way to blame the wait on Odin not dying fast enough https://t.co/XowLcQPQhX |
| 343. | FROST GIANT LOKI IS SO PRETTY I LOVE HIM SO MUCH HES SO BIG OH GOD I AM LIVING AND DYING ALL AT ONCE #WHATIF #WHATIFSPOILERS #WHATIFTHOR |
| 344. | Now that the new What if...? Is out I am going to say something spoilery about last weeks Spoiler: The structure/beats of Killmonger's plan, was the same plan Loki had in the first Thor. But it worked. Because he is competent (and is actually fine with everybody dying) |
| 345. | loki fans are dying rn https://t.co/M3a9I4x25c |
| 346. | @Alligator_Loki_ The word is fracking and it is the reason our climate is dying |

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| 347. | They feel a connection like the characters grew with them, except because of the way the media works no major change is possible except them dying. People want to humanize these things they fixate on that's why there's like "top 10 Loki trauma dumping moments" type videos |
| 348. | @lokisverity We really can't catch a break with Loki dying can we. |
| 349. | If they show us baby jotunn loki just dying on the floor im gonna cry Just let it be that he survives and shit is still terrible even though |
| 350. | @Loki_and_Coffee @H35119368 @profchaosUSA @RealCandaceO The vaccine is a sham; a deadlier copy of the Virus. So many anecdotes abound of people who were healthy dying AFTER they took the vaccine. Perfectly healthy people coerced into taking the vaccine. So leaving people alone with the natural immune response is the best. |
| 351. | @Loki_and_Coffee @Justin11914590 @CoriBush The padded numbers would be a lot lower if we hadn't politicized this virus and financially incentivized hospitals to list people as having died from COVID instead of accurately listing them as dying WITH COVID. |
| 352. | @H35119368 @iqmaverik @profchaosUSA @RealCandaceO Natural selection is already happening. People are dying from covid. More natural selection would happen if we got rid of precautions. And I see you're just going to ignore that covid kills/hospitalizes healthy people |
| 353. | loki spent his entire life dying bcos he sucks at fighting, u rilly think he's gonna beat those kids?? who belong to one of the most powerful beings in the mcu? i think not https://t.co/ToDMUTpLpO |
| 354. | @whatifofficial @disneyplus This Thor is about the same Thor but without any Asgardian dying until Ragnarok. No one noticed this but his beard grows longer each time a friend or family died in the movie (Lady Sif, the trio, Mother, Odin, Heimdall, Loki) and in this one - no beard! |
| 355. | @mainmiddleman Any news on Loki? Re season 2 or in general? Cuz us Loki fans are dying out here, man was turned into a bum in Ragnarok and it continued tenfold in S1 of his series. Are there any serious plans for him going forward, or is he just a minor character used to put over others now? |
| 356. | @LokisNokia The Classic Disney style Loki designs had me DYING 😍😍😍😍😍😍😍😍 |
| 357. | Vision, Loki and now Tony dying all the time 🤝 me being kicked out of gc's for no reason... Both have the same energy 🤔 |
| 358. | What if - I don't watch it this time because I cannot handle Frigga or Loki dying again. https://t.co/SmJIZTvXja |
| 359. | @FiveStillAlive1 What's even weirder is the fact that *loki* is the one being blamed for the timelines. Like wtf are you dying of dementia!?! Loki was a) trying to stop her and b) pushed out of the way before he could do anything |

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| 360. | <p>Tom Hiddleston Neutral face ≤))≥ /\</p> <p>me Angry face "i'll protect ≤((≥ you from _ _ everything"</p> |
| 361. | my stomach fucking hurts omg bro i feel like im dying |
| 362. | IM FUCKING DYING. NO WAY THIS JUST HAPPENED. OMG https://t.co/cXv5mrW1KK |
| 363. | @Super_Clownery aaaa yes omg im fucking dying |
| 364. | @GermanL13392311 OMG THEY GOT MARRIED NOOOO THATS SO FUCKING CUTE IM DYING NOOOOO I DIDNT EXPECT THIS AAAAHHHEE |
| 365. | @mg173_ YEAH IM LOSTENING TO THE FIRST ONE IM DYING SO FUCKING NICE OMG |
| 366. | @hey_jessiej Omg im fucking dying!! 😂😂 |
| 367. | im fucking dying HAHAHHAHAHAH this is a grown man yall omg qka karin deka he for sure listens to joe rogan https://t.co/3oD0G3ng4D |
| 368. | OMG IM FUCKING DYING!!!! 🤔🤔🤔🤔 https://t.co/tcGkH3Kasl |
| 369. | @HK_W17 omg fucking ads im dying here #SonYaz |
| 370. | @LOLKNBR OMG IM DYING! 🤔🤔🤔 my quote of the day "YOU FUCKING FUCKS" |
| 371. | yo why didnt anyone ever tell me that surgeries fucking suck like omg i feel like im dying here lol. |
| 372. | YA'LL MY NEW MERCH IS SO FUCKING SICK OMG OMG OMG IM DYING |
| 373. | HYUNJIN VLIVE IM IN SHAMBLES HE JUST WENT HI BESTIE HI BABY IM SCREAMING IM CRYING AND DYING SOMEONE HOLD ME PLS OMG HE JUST TIED HIS HAIR IM FUCKING CRYING https://t.co/ss1dgcaUaB |
| 374. | I fucking hate technology omg im already dying but this stress is speeding it up |
| 375. | SHIT HOLY SVIT FUVK OMG FUVK IM DYING FUCKING HELP |
| 376. | GIO IS SO FUCKING CUTE I CANT HFSDJKFDHKSHDFK @womeninsports0 IM DYING OMG |
| 377. | @jeffc_ how Im fucking dying reading this omg |
| 378. | Children throughout northern Ethiopia are severely malnourished & as a result, they are dying. Appointed leaders have a responsibility to protect and it's time for those leaders to #StopTigrayFamine. @antonioguterres @mbachelet @unicefchief @USAmbUN https://t.co/BbPzPROeIK |
| 379. | @humanity_dying @happyguy7799 @PeterRex Lol so there's nothing diff than the headline then. |
| 380. | @Thickassessieeee Imfao yo ye really be saying some shit! 😂 I'm reading all the quotes dying cause why do we remember him saying that |
| 381. | @dtc007 ONLY IF YOUR DYING |
| 382. | Children throughout northern Ethiopia are severely malnourished & as a result, they are dying. Appointed leaders have a responsibility to protect and it's time for |

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| | those leaders to #StopTigrayFamine. @antonioguterres @mbachelet @unicefchief @USAmbUN https://t.co/a7CEyVNjlf |
| 383. | Unless? https://t.co/H9NEt9QjSy |
| 384. | @vickyford @EthioAmbUK Thank you. But the ppl of #Tigray is still under siege. #TigrayCantWaitHumanitarian #EndTigraySiege #EndBlockingAidToTigray #AirDropFoodToTigray #StopTigrayFamine #StopStarvingTigray help #ChildrenOfTigray are dying every single time. https://t.co/lfR7Nedka1 |
| 385. | at StoneAtwine LMFAO 😂😂😂😂 |
| 386. | @ChinonsoOK Lmfao. I didn't really know her name and details till yesterday. Just the voice. 😂 |
| 387. | at neosolx Do yall think this will makes us cry 😭 your song hasn't even crossed 15M streams and hasnt it been 1 month already 🤔 yall can't even use ur faves archivements cuz yall got none lmfao #freeariana https://t.co/qWmNLys1iD |
| 388. | that shit lowkey hurts lmfao |
| 389. | @scarlovebot lmfao what 🤔 |
| 390. | @casvicgaming @FFA_V1PER @Rayz0ner LMFAO facts |
| 391. | I don't get how I just can't be normal lmfao |
| 392. | @feelvibezone IT SUPER FUCKING IS THOUGH LMFAO |
| 393. | @EbaForBreakfast Oh. Lagos camp then. Lmfao. |
| 394. | @Aman94344864 @rick_c_official Lmfao |
| 395. | i miss junhee so much lmfao like i love him sooo much it's unreal |
| 396. | @zsk holy shit I would never trust lawmakers to decide on what that means lmfao https://t.co/MhPc9bLj83 |
| 397. | @lovedamitten @lyon_smith @lchung01 @thetimes Again, its still not his job lmfao |
| 398. | his "ohh shet" is so cute LMFAO https://t.co/W6v2mWO8H0 |
| 399. | @mehulfanawala @official_iml Lmfao |
| 400. | @quasimondo @bottoproject Lmfao |
| 401. | @TheFooCommunity Ghetto ass stonewood mall lmfao |
| 402. | @imagewrite @Nchamp66 @therealrukshan How is it an unlawful mandate lmfao. |
| 403. | @barnywtf IS HE SAYING HE USED TO BE A PEDO LMFAO https://t.co/c7JZ8mQpJM |
| 404. | Bet you feel real stupid after seeing the trailer lmfao https://t.co/CvAxWAJkn5 |
| 405. | at Trent209 Lmfao.....join \$poodl Get blown ... 😂 |
| 406. | why is fandom treating sf9 like half of them aren't nearing their 30s and haven't gotten into any physical contact with anyone lmfao, go get some fresh air outside please this is actually hilarious |
| 407. | But here I am getting faded aaayyyyy lmfao |
| 408. | @ItsTheQueenB_ Lmfao 🤔🤔 nobody feelings hurt |

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| 409. | @tylerrjoseph @shlofolina LMFAO |
| 410. | @ThickMf @Oi_Penelope lmfao bro?? 🤔 🤔 |
| 411. | @SiatomicMK @TrueMoeru LMFAO |
| 412. | @nyangzrcha @tvworlds also LMFAO |
| 413. | @thea_mercs We should lmfao |
| 414. | @PunishedSpook DAMN it's 5am there |
| 415. | I forget the timezones lmfao @V3RGIE LMFAO IKR |
| 416. | @hongpockets I WAS SO RELIEVED I XHANGED MINE TO A LONG ONE AND FORGOT TO CHANGE BACK LMFAO |
| 417. | @itsnotzabrina Oh shit lmfao my bad. You proly an orphan yourself |
| 418. | karl has been live for like 2 hours and i didnt know lmfao hellaur |
| 419. | at jujupiterr It's funny because everyone's comments to this is how I feel about winter in real life "It lasts 12 years" "I get sick of it by mid january" "I don't play when that season rolls around" Lmfao |
| 420. | TH DRINKINH LMFAO https://t.co/Umq3kF8vO7 |
| 421. | Lmfao https://t.co/BiCa8AblAq |
| 422. | @soljiwanlisa @dallaxrs @goyounjunged LMFAO HER VOICE IS SO NASALLY |
| 423. | oh my god I can't even tell if this is me or aiori I'm actually devastated by this LMFAO https://t.co/A7WvM6LH5W |
| 424. | @Krypto_1000 😳 😳 yall wild , lmkk lmfao |
| 425. | atTaegoogie071 🤔 🤔 🤔 LMFAO I CANT |
| 426. | 🤔 🤔 lmfao She'll come around to that proposal 🤘 I'll dance at the wedding |
| 427. | @AviKatana @TikoFn Bruh the fuckin pros hate the game ive seen soo many of them wanna quit they only play it fkr the moneu thats it. And theres so many vids that say is forgniye dieing lmfao clearly shows it is 🤔 |
| 428. | @luxckxy lmfao |
| 429. | @arisaturnrings LMFAO SPILLED |
| 430. | @itsnotzabrina Bitch killed everyone lmfao |
| 431. | Lmfao. Yoooo I just seen the funniest shit 🤔 🤔 !!! |
| 432. | @arislovesevery1 built like a 5th grade basketball player and i'm still fine as fuck LMFAO it's been 30 minutes and it's your third time tweeting at me. it's okay to let things go |
| 433. | lmfao this https://t.co/uZHtvKv6vJ |
| 434. | @Siiilverfox @acesqnf LMFAO |
| 435. | @carsgonyoom LMFAO 🤔 |
| 436. | gonna have to raise my eyebrows the whole day |
| 437. | @ekurhuleninews2 Did Tulz raise his eyebrows 🤔 🤔 🤔 🤔 🤔 🤔 |
| 438. | English BLOG MNS President #RajThackeray speech on occasion of #gudipadwa2022 did raise few eyebrows, even of the BJP'ians. I decided to do a SWOT analysis of the man & his party, whom you can't just ignore. |

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| | SWOT Analysis of Raj Thackeray's speech... https://t.co/ghh14umPGH |
| 439. | I haven't seen the paper in question but these plots certainly raise questions... and eyebrows...  https://t.co/2Nc1NoUKiC |
| 440. | @MingJueGe JingYi's eyebrows raise in surprise. Adults are so confusing, they all look the same age, except for grandparents! "Da Ge, did you get married and have children yet?" The boy asks, genuinely curious. |
| 441. | lipbite and eyebrows raise where? https://t.co/1BzWwdA3NO |
| 442. | dressing-table into Estella's hair, and about her bosom and arms; and I saw even my guardian look at her from under his thick eyebrows, and raise them a little, when her loveliness was before him, with those rich flushes of glitter and in |
| 443. | "And while they shuddered there, she poured the poisoned brew, that broth of madness, over both their breasts right down into their hearts. Then round and round she waved her torch, brandishing fire" [6] |
| 444. | Trivikram Srinivas' Car Waved Down By Traffic Police, Director Gets Fined For Tinted Glasses: Reports https://t.co/PkDTretKO1 |
| 445. | Trivikram Srinivas' Car Waved Down By Traffic Police, Director Gets Fined For Tinted Glasses: Reports #TrivikramSrinivas #Trivikram #Tollywood #Telugu #Hyderabad #SSMB28 #MaheshBabu #PoojaHegde Read more at: https://t.co/VB2B0pSryv |
| 446. | The golden-haired female took a deep breath. She needed to calm down, obviously. And she didn't want anyone else to see her like this. „I'm OK..." She waved it off, but her eyes flickered with that bright colour once again. https://t.co/NdO3N1MCV6 |
| 447. | @DarkZelda_Hylia "Take over command here and destroy my enemies in my stead..I must go calm down before the malice takes over..send me a report via sheikah slate once you are done" He said as he waved a hand tearing open a portal in space time. https://t.co/likYEfkWfA |
| 448. | 5/ I waved at the driver and they had a cheery man come to put the ramp down. He asked where I was going. I told him and he laughed & said 'oh god'. BUT I LIKE THAT TOWN. He spotted me a while later & showed me the lift. In WA the guards are the ones you need protection from. https://t.co/OsNqbbnB3c |
| 449. | Excitement started to build as he saw her child. He resembled her much, the eyes, the hair, the face; hakuno felt a lightness in his stomach. He knelt down and waved at the small boy. |

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| | "Hey hey Bofu. Glad to meet you! The name is Hakuno! Your mother has saved me lots!" https://t.co/yXWMzm46Gb |
| 450. | Tried to wave down to ice cream man to stop and he just waved back and kept driving... damn hahah |
| 451. | "Twisted logic" amplified by #BullingdonBoy George when he was the chancellor; so mean that they booed him at the 2012 Olympics https://t.co/sBn2R7A9cZ https://t.co/IBLqPu0zLp |
| 452. | @Linovin_ A Native American woman was booed off stage for speaking about the subjugation of her people in this most scared movie program. Me thinks racism is a factor. I don't think Will doesn't deserve any punishment but pretending like fucked up shit don't go down at the Oscars is false |
| 453. | @PeteSmith1983 @simonloweauthor Thankfully didn't hear any near me , the lad got clapped off, as you say not a great game and he seems low on confidence and presence but some very good aspects to his game on Sat too. Surprised the muppets booed him but they are muppets and we have a few too many. |
| 454. | Media: "Wow Knicks fans are horrible. They booed their own star player and now want him off the team." Also Knicks fans at an AWAY GAME... https://t.co/6aP5etJtxA |
| 455. | @habbyhatter Yes, guess with the dressing rooms that side it may sense. At times John Still should have waved down a taxi to get across to the far side! |
| 456. | @lewis_everett11 @dietmountainlu @dcfcofficial @TomLawrence99 Who's paid as much as Lawrence with very little return? |
| 457. | this daylight savings shit is rilly fucking w my seasonal depression on top of regular depression bc i feel so low rn i want to jus curl up in a hole i feel exhausted |
| 458. | @MKirshenblatt @thedudeapproves Always happy to drop some hidden gems 😊 |
| 459. | Vincent snuggles. 🐷 #guineapig https://t.co/YEEy6lePYE |
| 460. | Just when you thought it couldn't possibly get worse for the Habs... https://t.co/RobB1BAASO |
| 461. | @abcdefuceek Amin |
| 462. | @OverclockersUK Recently picked up the 27GP850-B from you, fantastic monitor! |
| 463. | @UnitedSerb @mukwaya_andrew @martialxtra_ @UtdJChinkZ9 Eye test from q cult that's sexually attracted to him 😏 keep that. Only thing that matters at end is what you actually did and the numbers will be on Marcus' side |
| 464. | Or give it as a Christmas gift 😊 wdyt? |
| 465. | @INKYPAGES Are u feeling better though? Is everything chill 4 now? |
| 466. | @marupok_si_me The Album V1 po 🌸 |
| 467. | "She Bad And She Paid That's My Kinda Bitch 🐷" - Dolph |
| 468. | @garfpooop @SAMOYEDWAVE You'd just have this horde of pale, moaning cretins shambling in the dark between Fenway and the Garden. Then the zombies would show up and ruin it. |
| 469. | @marupok_si_me ANY SKZ ALBUMS |

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| 470. | <p>Deputy James better give me a country house now, if she doesn't want to end up as Rawlins did.</p> <p>https://t.co/NTtIO2xFwx</p> |
| 471. | @MinecraftMeme16 Either wither rose or lilac |
| 472. | @Chukwuebuuka @ZenithBank Thank you |
| 473. | <p>Nancy you obfuscating numpty, the Trans Child is a social construction. Children with dysphoria exist. It is not an identity. Join me on Patreon and explore this and more. It helps me continue working and I am so thankful for those that do.</p> <p>https://t.co/lcNPtXBf7z</p> |
| 474. | @omoyeeeh Amen, I claim this |
| 475. | @borahaefess she/her |
| 476. | @baptiste_eth 😍😍 Beautiful |
| 477. | <p>@takenbysuson @SB19Official @keun16308352 YES PLEASE. 🙏🙏🙏</p> <p>@SB19Official #SB19 #SB19Bazinga2MViews @keun16308352 https://t.co/VV1B4qDPzU</p> |
| 478. | <p>[THREAD] Kep1er Center Kim Chaehyun sings other artists song</p> <p>https://t.co/0hRa6yIUNI</p> |
| 479. | i don't think i laughed at a single actual joke in revice but i was fucking sobbing at george hitting on ikki's dad |
| 480. | Did you grab ? https://t.co/oE4myVkqly |
| 481. | @NottsCC @BBradley_Mans What makes him think that this plan is any more likely to come to fruition than the one he was championing a few months ago and has now been scrapped? Promise much, deliver nothing. |
| 482. | <p>Artwork dump ! 🌸</p> <p>By : Yours Truly https://t.co/ioS3fgpSSY</p> |
| 483. | @cxspian my thoughts on strong-arming really meant looking the other way if damian sneaks out and opens all the cages at the gotham city zoo |
| 484. | <p>@highkeybtob @OFFICIALBTOB BTOB ON KISS THE RADIO</p> <p>#WELCOME_BTOB_ON_BIKIRA</p> <p>@OFFICIALBTOB</p> |
| 485. | @Santosh12370215 @Blissfulsoul_1 Done #PratikSehajpal #BBKingPratik #PratikFam |
| 486. | Coffeetime |
| 487. | @TrulsNFT @TheModzKids going Brazy https://t.co/1Ptm5ZmTKV |
| 488. | @Juwann97200801 @CNN The article is about how they are still being vetted and have not been admitted to the US yet, they are at a base overseas. |
| 489. | @juliegrizzy Happy Thursday, Julie 🙏 |
| 490. | the moon is beautiful |
| 491. | @prctiu @jnveulosce @taegyik done https://t.co/7UYHwsi92a |

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| 492. | Bah! Let the young'uns have their fun. |
| 493. | @Pablo_P07 No fairplay, rata |
| 494. | @AJ94763548 @LazyLionsNFT We r all good king |
| 495. | @drisokaa Hi doter Im your mather |
| 496. | I know healing is not linear but the slopes are soooo steep on some days I feel like I'll stay here longer than I've imagined |
| 497. | @zonhei @gmcantave1 I guess I'm not alone. I listen to their music but don't watch all their content because that is a rabbit hole I can't go into...I have no time to stan a second group...yet it gets harder everyday to just watch from the sidelines. 🤔 |
| 498. | @renyelloww not bad, hbu ?? |
| 499. | We get along fine 90% of the time but any time we argue it becomes all about how I've wronged HIM |
| 500. | @BrianDreww never say never bro |
| 501. | @DJ_GIVEAWAY2 Done |
| 502. | stuck with you |
| 503. | @gee_teaze @MichaelFianyoy1 Ah 10gh?? |
| 504. | @jomickane No way |
| 505. | @DamionCrawford Where can I find this article? |
| 506. | 1 reason that when that time or 2 and half pm or similar time,i had started to share 2-3 sharing,i had seen too done here but that time in so early i had started to share!! when 5-52pm sharing not only after some long time internal in fact when i share too here continuously!! or |
| 507. | I'm so tired bumangon from every situation 😊 |
| 508. | @RockRoll70s2Now Yes. But he wrote it is all I meant 😊 |
| 509. | Showing gratitude for all that we have! |
| 510. | can we get a leaker who actually likes scaramouche and doesnt feel the need to fuck around when it comes to his info |
| 511. | Front and back 🤔 https://t.co/gnG9Zec3Tk |
| 512. | @UnknownMe82 @stomachonlegs I'm impressed they're aware of books, as an aside |
| 513. | @DonnieSolesbee Donnie, Autumn has natural talent. She's going to be a good college player and a very strong professional. Already has the foundation. Just point her in the correct direction. |
| 514. | All season I've been having a field day with asking folks, "So what happened to Mac Jones not being that good and he just threw to wide open receivers all game at Bama??" |
| 515. | In Sagaing's Khamti Tsp: Ko Ai Pu Lu, a CDMer officer, was violently abducted by #MyanmarMilitaryTerrorists on Nov 18 night reportedly. #Nov19Coups #ReleaseTheDetainees #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar https://t.co/j9Oq5ANKM4 |
| 516. | He is doing it for attention guys, don t get trapped. he owns bitcoin :)) |
| 517. | feeling so lazy today |
| 518. | Yeahh the boyz!!! https://t.co/nG2cnLBwsQ |
| 519. | @knjisung It's okay 🤔 |
| 520. | @xeniiQU *shakes* w..ww..w.w.w..what |

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| 521. | @ShopeeID Wish me luck 🙏 #AdaTXTdiUltahShopee #TXTsaysHBDSHapee #HBDSHapeefromTXT 1163 |
| 522. | Kevin McCarthy is such a tool. https://t.co/qJjuikstBa |
| 523. | @Shadow_X_Zone @Reamce1 This is awesome, I love Liberace! 📺 ✨ |
| 524. | @moonareas giselle |
| 525. | SHEMSSS ANG GANDAAA https://t.co/YChOCi9z7T |
| 526. | @luvvyorself STAY STRONG love ❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️❤️ |
| 527. | from I love you Phillip Morris https://t.co/i5u2KtgqT3 |
| 528. | @Mpolomohafa_ Location in DMs ❤️🙏 |
| 529. | @SimonHodgsonLCC @James_Allen_TLA @ManagerPathway @TLivesAround @j4n3ts @James_A_Rogers @SaferLeeds @HousingLeeds @alison_4life @ResourceCen @forwardleeds @LeedsSOS congratulations!! So well very well deserved .👏👏👏👏 |
| 530. | @Popcorn_DAO The project is implemented very professionally and has a clear development plan.Without a doubt, this is one of the best projects out there. go to the moon Rocket @SabyanLisa @annisa48475125 @DulDeny \$POP #Airdrops #DeFi #DeFi4Good #ETH |
| 531. | @braindeadkeith I'm very honoured but I definitely can't pull anyone |
| 532. | welcome bak ig |
| 533. | if you can find literature beyond “worst predictions about the internet” please send (I imagine this means books and scans of paper magazines) https://t.co/ZnYwsKKmOR |
| 534. | gonna soft block gwy for a while 🙄 |
| 535. | @MbaliZw Hello baby |
| 536. | @oneillquigley @alphaspotting1 @RWMaloneMD Welcome to the control group Mr. Bot, sounds like you got the saline injection. |
| 537. | @Ruby_Rosalie91 Hello, Ruby c: We offer regular and animated emotes: 🙄 https://t.co/SSRyyQGJt5 ✍️ https://t.co/B6JiZ0sB5F |
| 538. | @IndomyLetsVote done min https://t.co/YvxlEyzkS9 |
| 539. | big boobs???? https://t.co/9djqifl2fB |
| 540. | @RedSaiyen Yeah - if you are low value she will manipulate you to become what she wants - if you high value she becomes "submissive" only to stay under your wing |
| 541. | @librarliam When can we visit! Not fanboi-ing at all! https://t.co/agyHxfq2Mw |
| 542. | @AMISHDEVGAN बहुत दर्दनाक Farm bill passed: In national interest Farm bill repealed: In national interest 🙄 |

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| | Gullu aur kitna chatega 😊😊 |
| 543. | @JIHOONMYWORLD jihoon THE MYSTERIOUS CLASS #TheMysteriousClassEP2 #남고괴담 #TREASUREWebDrama @treasuremembers |
| 544. | @MaskedRyder Bro I never not wanted to be up here like I do now I want to have a happy Friday but this ongoing usual iwc overreacting over the releases |
| 545. | @elsDines #traxxfm Let's recap... Take note, I am nothing more than a magician: https://t.co/UeauiqjkP9 And yet I had managed to make you all believe. No doubt with some of you it took me 22 years LMAO. Now think... YOU ALL ARE WIZARDS! Surely your magic is more potent. |
| 546. | @rOteger69 ah what this. 😊 |
| 547. | @Derpled Not gonna @ them not to be a pain but it was probably Jeromeasf, UnspeakableGaming, Preston and gamerboy80. |
| 548. | So good I had to share! Check out all the items I'm loving on @Poshmarkapp #poshmark #fashion #style #shopmycloset #yetagain #pinkvictoriassecret: https://t.co/MZTeomg15v https://t.co/6Wdn9qY6LX |
| 549. | @IsleFarm Resend |
| 550. | @OfficialJioTV @kkundrra @realsehajpal #KaranKundrra The smart player |
| 551. | REPLIESSS! LICB HighestGrossingLocalMovie #DonBelle #LovesColorBlind #DONBELLEmpire |
| 552. | @zeal1992 Does this ngo only work in Ahmedabad city or also in rest of the places in Gujarat ! |
| 553. | @zee_zhu_ And na only God fit give you peace of mind 😊 |
| 554. | @boobafairy sore |
| 555. | @EvolOdonata @jeremydraghi @NimwegenLab The genetic load at a highly conserved gene will be on the order of the gene's mutation rate. That sets the selection intensity on a mutation-rate lowering gene to the point where it can overcome drift and any direct fitness costs of mutation-lowering mechanisms. |
| 556. | another day another slay for mr. hwang hyunjin https://t.co/tu3RcCtLug |
| 557. | No lies. https://t.co/Kfcg1QSA4j |
| 558. | You know what the secret to a happy life is?""No regrets. Just li "انونا انمشى السيفى انحصم كود ت" |

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| | Man's rise or fall succe NBF150 time https://t.co/o0iH7LG3EO |
| 559. | @bondellethingz LICB HighestGrossingLocalMovie2021 #DonBelle #LovesColorBlind #DONBELLEmpire |
| 560. | Jackle: What can't you live without? Me: LAMP!!! *clings to lamp* |
| 561. | @jjiabaobei yeahhh cuz things like this little by little could affect his mental even though hes that type yg idgaf 🙄👊 |
| 562. | @icaruseunie BAMBAM 'B' SLOW MO #BamBamSlowMo_OUTNOW #BamBam @BamBam1A @GOT7Official |
| 563. | @inYuqi Okesip thanks. |
| 564. | @KasthuriShankar I love you |
| 565. | @itz__ayush @imVkohli No i am not thete can you add me ? |
| 566. | ISO 100 35mm f/21 |
| 567. | @laurenPUNC2021 Mum guilt is the worst on this degree, it eats you up. But you have to remember your reason for doing it, to make your baby proud. What gets me through is imagining my graduation picture of me & my son next to me. That's my motivation. You've got this ❤️ |
| 568. | @GAUAHAR_KHAN Ex BB contestants who keep judging and giving their unnecessary tippani on current HMs are THE WORST. Huge respect to Siddharth, Hina and Prince HUMBLE HERO KARAN #KaranKundrra #KaranIsTheBoss #KarPhy |
| 569. | fruity https://t.co/10bbmrxdy https://t.co/2Hxou4uVCc |
| 570. | @resaalfny @DaikiPromotes done |
| 571. | @GodsNamelsJack THANK YOU!!! |
| 572. | @fictionalben count me in! |
| 573. | IM FINALLY BACK IN MY HOMETOWN |
| 574. | Can someone tell me why \$MATIC is not breaking the charts already? |
| 575. | really unnecessary swearing but i'm super hyped for this, she actually got her citypop solo too this is everything |
| 576. | @wonarcade llyy maxx |
| 577. | @fodderyfodder Accurate. |
| 578. | Today's quick hits, Jan. 18, 2022 Food and Environment Reporting Network #localfood https://t.co/KDPTgSXA1E |
| 579. | I'll use the filter and still look somehow 🤖 https://t.co/Qui4O8fyKK |




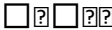
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| 580. | so no power in the house and was gonna try to stream with @Falamon_Wolf in a bit I'm freezing my ass off here literally covered in 2 blankets |
| 581. | Well worth reading on our National condition. For the Tory party, Boris Johnson is a blip not a crisis https://t.co/nEHsfpFt92 |
| 582. | @BAMBAMxABYSS pretty mv!!! #BamBamSlowMo_OUTNOW #SlowMo #BamBam_SlowMo #BamBam #뱀뱀 @BamBam1A |
| 583. | A jump to the rider kick sky turns to a. |
| 584. | it's me bana man |
| 585. | @JAZZMANTYLER It's Quin's play making. Why keep someone who's played 32 mins went 1/9 FG & 0-4 3PT? It's fucking embarrassing Quin does that shit. Pascal does good off the bench & only plays him for 3 mins lol. Quin needs to step it or he needs to go |
| 586. | The Animal In Me - Thriller (Michael Jackson cover) |
| 587. | @aus_andi Moin Andree☺ |
| 588. | Law Offices of Derek Challenger Suffolk, Virginia https://t.co/4UCWFHTzPA |
| 589. | @ianwilgaus @VIPOSA1 @astaranx Gta is no hitman or mass effect that's a big ip |
| 590. | @seesawcyj damn you're rich rich |
| 591. | Tech glitches for a joker without humour is not an issue. A tech glitch where the head of state must ascertain if the other party can hear is upsetting. Of course, those like you who read out scripts and belong to two Indias won't know a thing about what you say! https://t.co/xWX9omkFfd |
| 592. | Regina SK Weather, Temp:-5.3°C; Dew:-13.2°C; Pressure:1000.00hPa.; Wind:3/kph@305.0; Humidity:54 https://t.co/6Ptyl5RMRM https://t.co/vfZcUnWHSI |
| 593. | @Siya_Maloka_ I left out quotes, coz I thought you would get it |
| 594. | @heavnyllia hehe thanks pi |
| 595. | @sara_mugisha How many Episodes down? |
| 596. | @blu3ba11s i hope u get s worded and m wordes |
| 597. | SO GOOOOODDDDD #BamBam_SlowMo ☺ |
| 598. | @hyunjins_boo Love it! https://t.co/wApsBpDMvz |
| 599. | Haschich ! Cocaine ! Ecstasy ! Protocole sanitaire ! #Blanquer #Ibizagate https://t.co/hwdraWFRb |
| 600. | David Guetta - Kill me slow https://t.co/FXFnCMc0I2 #blanquer #baléares #teletravail https://t.co/Z08CQchs0I |
| 601. | France's education minister is facing massive strikes and calls to resign because he went on holiday to Ibiza over the New Year (entirely within the rules) and announced |

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| | a new schools protocol while working remotely from the island https://t.co/6BWMO4008i |
| 602. | @pheeldoulap Fuck me I'm Blanquer |
| 603. | Version podcast : https://t.co/RW5osP9AKF |
| 604. | Ibitha - Blanquer edition https://t.co/9F8Ky0ECFO |
| 605. | Jean Michel Blanquer getting ready for Omicron Protocol - A Political Beast - The best frenchman since De Gaulle ? https://t.co/X0kJqgtZ6a |
| 606. | Blanquer's vacation in Ibiza just before the start of the school year criticized and mocked https://t.co/6iSCsZkBEY |
| 607. | @gregocentrique Jean-Michel Blanquer : No Way Home |
| 608. | @N_Molle The Prodigy feat. Jean-Michel Blanquer - "Ibiza" (Official Video) 9 |
| 609. | @DrEricDing I advise you our Minister Blanquer who refused to secure our schools from his hotel in Ibiza. He says we are the best. #France #Ibiza |
| 610. | @Trouillet_ Blanquer mood https://t.co/vYu6b4zCZy |
| 611. | Jean-Michel Blanquer announced from Ibiza the protocol for the return to school in January https://t.co/oVIYvAjG7X |
| 612. | Ouch... 😬 #Blanquer #Ibiza https://t.co/46YejsNvVM https://t.co/JfPx7cKJCo |
| 613. | Jean-Michel Blanquer is the new Heinz-Christian Strache. #Ibiza |
| 614. | The Undoing of Jean-Michel Blanquer https://t.co/5lmF73c0Oc |
| 615. | According to @Mediapart , the French education minister, @jmblanquer announced the #Covid health measures for schools and he did it from a hotel in #Ibiza while the whole educational system is in chaos and daily cases are averaging 300,000. https://t.co/MOdyrr1ZBf |
| 616. | blanquer il s'est fait Tedcruzed ce crack |
| 617. | @HANEN13025891 Move your body ! 😊😊😊😊😊😊 #ibiza #Blanquer https://t.co/KFXM4KdcL6 |
| 618. | Blanquer in Ibiza during the announcement of the back-to-school protocol, outcry in the political class https://t.co/K4cowrdUv0 |
| 619. | The rythm of the night (Blanquer remix after and during Corona) https://t.co/a5fu2ft7gw |
| 620. | Jean-Michel Blanquer unveiled the health protocol from Ibiza https://t.co/0S5zic66WF |
| 621. | 🎧 This is the protocole sanitaire of the night 🎵 Corona - The #Blanquer Ibiza Club Remix https://t.co/XotxrJizLa |

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| 622. | Dj #Blanquer live Mix #Ibiza #Ibizagate https://t.co/CuJgoTrvUR |
| 623. | IBIZA#LB https://t.co/1dDLLKqdfQ |
| 624. | #blanquer You have a message https://t.co/mD4bDPQiAh |
| 625. | Covid Guetta #Blanquer |
| 626. | DJ KOVID New album "Autotest" "School protocol" And "Teacher's agony" #Blanquer |
| 627. | @DaphneMccallen Blanquer has left the building. |
| 628. | Blanquer likes this https://t.co/P97oO2D3nx |
| 629. | #Blanquer introducing deejay #protocole playing at pacha #ibiza https://t.co/RtbDFVoi9 |
| 630. | @ju_caz @EricBillyFR Blanquer, the best 🖱️ https://t.co/apx196W6tQ |
| 631. | Clap your hands ! This is DJ Blanquette from Ibiza ! #Ibiza #Blanquer https://t.co/7qW3vGffnQ |
| 632. | Blanquer in the sauce https://t.co/IOBuChyN6Q |
| 633. | @NathalieSchuck DJ Blanquer is on fire ! 🤔 |
| 634. | Blanquer: expectation reality https://t.co/PhKY6nuh3h |
| 635. | Reality TV show pitch: Blanquer and Spahn comparing notes on who can fuck up the most during a pandemic and yet never lose his post in government |
| 636. | blanquer will be the death of me |
| 637. | Jean-Mi cocktail 🍹 #blanquer #ibiza https://t.co/ZWSys8m9NG |
| 638. | @Pangolin12 @cavousf5 @jmbanquer Yes ! Blanquer : 🖱️ |
| 639. | @GMB @edballs Raab got halfway through his self-serving answer and then it dawned on him that he had to twist again. Johnson's lies destroy everyone& everything he touches. |
| 640. | @TheKinglamarr Amen |
| 641. | Here's the latest from our blog: Farinata Recipe (GF) https://t.co/qJI4a1ZG2m |
| 642. | @opensea I want to sell this #nft #NFTdrop 💎 0.06 https://t.co/JmVJrLGmky |
| 643. | @wakawaka_doctor Full update 🙏 |
| 644. | @emmanuel_asibe Beautiful! |
| 645. | 30% TAX ON CRYPTO ASSETS IN INDIA https://t.co/PdbDSgrLzM |
| 646. | @CompBrosCrypto @Nafstars_off Done. Thankyou 🙏❤️ Dc: AmazingGrace |

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| | Proof here ↓ ↓ ↓ |
| 647. | @TheRebelRise @DaaStargoTora Ah ! Our times , the school had a computer teacher teaching us computer without computer hardware till class 10th !!!!! |
| 648. | @MrsMLissy Even our Burmese girls get the odd cat poo stuck to their bums lol 🤔 |
| 649. | @chuunafishh i'm blocked |
| 650. | The Commons foreign affairs committee has launched a new inquiry into dirty money flowing into London from Russia https://t.co/NDSyo0ZQkW |
| 651. | well, i fall in sync with you pretty easily, so i'm not worried about us at all! |
| 652. | @tannedsi7day She's got the body of a child you nonce |
| 653. | @maevewileysgf ANGEL'S EPISODE I COULDN'T STOP SOBBING |
| 654. | Playing Now Blind Love by Maickel Telussa, Luca Debonaire #housemusic #radio https://t.co/L9fwh3G7Os |
| 655. | crying he's so cute i wanna hug him https://t.co/SFtE4ii7s8 |
| 656. | @FOOD_FESS looks delicious nder, met mam 😊 |
| 657. | @WanguiNgirici Wangui reconsider your stand. You were such a good fighter in hustler team. That azimio thing does not fit you. I can guess those prodding you the other way but be yourself. |
| 658. | @MatthewHootonNZ @CharlotteBellis I hope the lawyers take this government to the cleaners ...they have acted illegally and cruel ...I am ashamed of this govt and @jacindaardern who will only address this because of negative International Media about herself #shallow |
| 659. | Paganini isn't the answer 😞 |
| 660. | @seiinushi i think hindi po 🙄 |
| 661. | Man City drawn against Man Utd with Arsenal up against Liverpool in clash for Women's FA Cup quarter-final spots https://t.co/tVQ1RXKAhw |
| 662. | Postcard Russia Unknown #postcard #postkarte #ansichtkaart Onesite Postcards For Sale https://t.co/0wTFQmcl0N |
| 663. | Amanda Holden pays emotional tribute to late son Theo on his 11th birthday https://t.co/zdsW3x9qtE |
| 664. | @derekjdurand @ashindestad Yeah they understand it like household finances. |
| 665. | @shannonconways My pleasure, let me know 😊 |
| 666. | @valleyboyneil Is this a chain hotel? |
| 667. | This is a post for #TejaTroops I want to follow very active accounts for Teja Teja Teja in feeds. Please recommend me some highly active accounts. #tejasswiprakash #BiggBoss |
| 668. | @rodrigochumbo_ El momento jacuzzi 🤔 top |
| 669. | I am really e happy to hear this great and big news this is going to be really very interesting match guys don't forget to watch @rariohq @QuinnyDeKock69 #QuintonJoinsRario https://t.co/dff2M2Md1b |

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| 670. | Did the rules apply to Crown Property? 🤔 https://t.co/wDLcuK5ptY |
| 671. | @h3h3productions @theh3podcast why does @KEEMSTAR look like Waluigi with a beard? https://t.co/VKVuZ1UAmV |
| 672. | @celticmaz04 Sadly for you its not a lie the two statements are both right. Check the ONS reports for the year ending September '21 you might learn something and not just choose one answer cause you prefer the person giving it |
| 673. | @Moha1278_ Supprime |
| 674. | Russia denies responding to U.S. on security proposals - RIA https://t.co/j0DWLQTI0F https://t.co/M6bDMENqWV |
| 675. | I'm confused how so many of the people defending Joe Rogan citing 'free speech' are also supporting and defending the banning of a book. #maus #MausBan https://t.co/CrGmZlrsow |
| 676. | Join here @Dacahdewa @Kath09470301 @Jesspoex #에어드랍 #NFTGiveaway #Airdrop #NFTCommunity https://t.co/iKYjYhumkT |
| 677. | @onyuormark_ this, people keep complaining about getting a short replies, never knew the convo were so awkward. they thought we never tried. |
| 678. | Banking Giant Fidelity Favors Bitcoin Technology #Banking #bitcoin via https://t.co/R4If3laVMV https://t.co/HTrsCEC0rq |
| 679. | @alison_fure It's strange, we have had our best year ever in the garden so many new birds, however my mother was chatting to a guy feeding birds at the park, he'd brought his stock of food as birds had completely deserted his garden and he didn't want to waste it. |
| 680. | That's how I know |
| 681. | Bankroll Your Own Deals. Syndication and Hedge Fund Symposium (our 26th National Program) Live & in-person in Las Vegas, NV - May 1-4, 2022, https://t.co/C8fISjw6Fl6a #Capital #Syndication https://t.co/JR8Ys4Uc5e |
| 682. | snowdrop... |
| 683. | It is likely to go either way, one as Chief Justice and the other as Deputy. But the two are likely to make it - Raymond Zondo and Mandisa Maya #JSCInterviews https://t.co/OfqOqD72d4 |
| 684. | @yoonhwatoes uhh NOO https://t.co/hCsy5NnpCx |
| 685. | Can I complete my 3K Followers Today?? ASLI WINNER UMAR RIAZ #OurPrideDrUmar ASLI WINNER UMAR RIAZ https://t.co/1C5bD2cDIC https://t.co/CbShGN2CI5 |
| 686. | @liseykina Gm, dear ❤️ |



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| 687. | #playingNow NEW ORDER: Blue Monday (from 1983) @neworder This is the original vinyl copy of the UK's biggest-selling 12 inch single (and the first to get in the Top 10) https://t.co/kx5u8T9v1G https://t.co/T8670TzN8A |
| 688. | It is for that reason that it has no jurisdiction over government issued firearms. I wish journalists would be more investigative and less sensational headline seekers |
| 689. | @nftmetaicon They fight for our freedom. Let's help with NFT flash mob Every coin matters. Donate to brave European truck drivers https://t.co/EyjulEyMU4 Press "Make offer" |
| 690. | Any anal virgins out there hmu even if you've fingered it #buyingcontent #SellingContent |
| 691. |  : The Polar Express > |
| 692. | And Maybach made in usa |
| 693. | No: total waste of taxpayers' money. Solve real crimes rather than inventing new ones! |
| 694. | @JeremyVineOn5 No: total waste of taxpayers' money. Solve real crimes rather than inventing new ones! |
| 695. | Finland, Denmark and New Zealand all received an overall score of 88, outperforming every other country in the latest edition of Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). #goodnewsfromfinland #finland https://t.co/AE7B46MRUx |
| 696. | Our boy sure has been loving her casual look in the past few streams! While playing this... interesting game... Mori chose to wear her rapper drip, once again with no cap nor shades in sight #calliolive #DeadBeats https://t.co/hKYNJU36Rq |
| 697. | We must respect the will of the individual. |
| 698. | This is me   https://t.co/y7cDUGs4dy |
| 699. | We must respect the will of the individual. |
| 700. | @OLineAdvocate73 Yesterday when Joe Theismann announced it |
| 701. | Psycho is Tamara... You are psychic Domenica #MAFS |
| 702. | @tanvi_ratna Does this mean that this year gifting for digital assets will not be taxed? |
| 703. | @arts_eth @gabija117 Check out Alien by mariuscha at https://t.co/x2dNOgVBvY NFT! https://t.co/oupUus5IRj via @cryptocom |
| 704. | Logan is right there? |
| 705. | RELIEF IN UPSC NOTIFICATION #UPSCExtraAttempt @PMOIndia @narendramodi @AmitShah @DoPTSecretary @PIBHomeAffairs @RSSorg @DoPTGol @DrJitendraSingh @rajnathsingh @KumariDiya @DattaHosabale https://t.co/ZP7iygxcQQ |
| 706. | Wordle 227 5/6  |



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| | <p>☐☐???</p> <p>☐☐???</p> <p>?☐☐☐☐</p> <p>??????</p> |
| 707. | <p>Greetings,</p> <p>Are You in the market for a Swimming Pool?</p> <p>We are offering good prices!</p> <p>We are Happy to discuss our prices with you.</p> <p>((((((</p> <p>#NgapataSwimmingPool https://t.co/CsLDCmRdZ5</p> |
| 708. | Having me in your life is such a dub 😊 |
| 709. | @louiws_ @1d_news_content proud of louis I vote #Louies for #BestFanArmy at the #iHeartAwards |
| 710. | @IVE_twt happy lunar new year cutie rei |
| 711. | @MrTrapattoni Where you broski |
| 712. | @tasleemarifk Q5) Answer: A. MediaTekDensity 1200 #RapidFireWithTasleem The @oppo Reno6 Pro 5G with MediaTekDensity 1200 as Love for Gamming this Chipset is the Prefect match with Gaming and It Comes with 5G Technology #OPPOReno7Series #ThePortraitExpert @OPPOIndia @tasleemarifk 44 |
| 713. | <p>@JmibAgent @Sbuddiesaints Insurance premiums are calculated based on 3 factors:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The chance that a certain insurance risk will be realised. 2) The severity of the damage if the insurance risk is realised. 3) The number of risks the insurer is assuming liability for. <p>Point 2 is based on physics 🤖</p> |
| 714. | shakes tartaglia like a maraca |
| 715. | @ThomasJTobin Thanks for pulling us up on this, Thomas, we are normally good for adding alt text via Twitter's alt button but we didn't do it in this circumstance! Very ironic and my apologies, have added in the comments and will do better in future! ☆ |
| 716. | iNo hay coche! And yet, we hear a car. https://t.co/HV4vTnnhxK |
| 717. | This VMIN moment 📺💗 https://t.co/I9jPjGcsN5 |
| 718. | @odisoob add ginger too i accidentally ate it yesterday |
| 719. | Who gives a flying fuck half ur annual salary don't win u games ffs 🙄🙄 https://t.co/wQZwt3OCnp |
| 720. | @lilmanifestinbb red flagsssss |
| 721. | The sea bit my ankles and gifted me old rubber bands |
| 722. | @QuasiBurnerxx Mese. |
| 723. | @btsarmy7txtmoa5 Soreee |

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| 724. | Are you a final-year undergraduate? Complete the National Student Survey to leave a lasting mark on the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences: https://t.co/v2QgLCROFI . https://t.co/afrqQXWaGe |
| 725. | @Jjungcookie_ sore |
| 726. | @ThePerezHilton @AlfMeloni They will not return that money. #DastardlyDUMBartons |
| 727. | R WE MAKING RP ACCS FOR OUR SUPERSONAS??? /GENQ IF SO i WANT IN |
| 728. | @Sydzah1 @ProfJNMoyo @HeraldZimbabwe Was it matebeleland alone? |
| 729. | who? i love you show yourself https://t.co/APV546fANi |
| 730. | @DjKonetix Amazing set 🎧 |
| 731. | @Hiwamariri mari TwT i love you and your voice mwahhh 🥰❤️ |
| 732. | If s/he's not calling you, it's because you are not on his/her mind. If s/he creates expectations for you, & then doesn't follow through on little things, s/he will do same for big things. Be aware of this and realize that s/he's okay with disappointing you ALEIAN INVADES KOREA |
| 733. | Little Mac & Shadow the Hedgehog go to Brinstar for a quick dicking. |
| 734. | wait actually the o death one includes "presents" that might be like a series finale WAIT itd be so cool if it was a whole game dedicated to the curator |
| 735. | I need to get better at visualizing things for my art my brain is so word based and exact i'm going to crunch myself up like a little ball |
| 736. | @loonavelvt That's because they're at least bilingual. |
| 737. | @hcyjhra sip thanks |
| 738. | #HZDLastEmbrace Day 4: Aloy in the rain. #WorldofVP #VPGamers #VGPNetwork #HorizonForbiddenWest #HorizonZeroDawnCompleteEdition #HorizonZeroDawn https://t.co/DKX5Fn6RbM |
| 739. | @onlysh1ts 🌸 SPOTIFY 🌸 - famplan 1 bulan 10k 2 bulan 18k (no renew) ppj +2k - indplan 1 bulan 18k 2 bulan 28k ppj no fee — fast proses — bergaransi |

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| | <p>— trusted</p> <p>dm : @crazvity wa : https://t.co/uHkAnGfS31 payment : all e-wallet + qris h</p> |
| 740. | @rawrcovery bc i'm hoarding them too : |
| 741. | <p>Get your Late 🌙 night news 📺, views 👁️ & that GOOD GOOD HOT TEA ☕ HERE! You just click the link & ENJOY! #entertainmentnews #news #politics #sports #lifestyles #Gossip #music</p> <p>https://t.co/brrul8nmlI https://t.co/ix19Hn0ZGb</p> |
| 742. | <p>Disregard for common people reflects in the #UnionBudget! A government that abandons the poor and needy, must be shown the door! #DidiForPM</p> <p>#India #UnionBudget2022 #Politics #MamataBanerjee #budget #AITC #khalahobe #modiji #godimedia #ndtv #news #fightfakenews #narendramodi https://t.co/BA819adZqn</p> |
| 743. | <p>#politics - I'm not much good at political response/reaction, but I know that we have a PM (#BorisJohnson) who insults and shames the position, and who humiliates and wounds us. I've waited a LONG time for #KeirStarmer to rise, I HOPE he continues to do so.</p> |
| 744. | <p>Morning Brief – EURUSD - SGM-FX Innovative Foreign Exchange Services https://t.co/Fiht02yjMY #EURUSD #market #positions #Dollar #Euro #data #FOMC #policy #inflation #meeting #resistance #Italy #elections #US #pandemic #MarioDraghi #support #SergioMattarella #politics #BTP #risk</p> |
| 745. | <p>Past rulers did not spend money on public: PM Imran. @ImranKhanPTI</p> <p>#PMIK #imrankhan #pti #public #ruler #politics #pakistan https://t.co/p0oZYxynR2</p> |
| 746. | <p>#BitcoinNews #Bitcoin #Cryptocurrency #Politics El Salvador Fires Angry Retort Over IMF Bitcoin Request https://t.co/r8SAYSdX0n Buy BTC: https://t.co/NvvKJPmPAY https://t.co/1176jeRqre</p> |
| 747. | <p>Have abit of confusion to make worked at music festival during Holidays. Forgot ask roadies, if knew Clarke! Might missed out on some deals... #nzpol #auspol #whereGayload #Politics #media #ardern</p> |
| 748. | <p>BREAKING: Ukraine's president says country will increase the size of its army by 100,000 troops over the next three years #News #Economy #Politics</p> |
| 749. | <p>Poet in the Woods: Fanfare for the Tiger! https://t.co/sVM9bSkdLf #poetry #YearOfTheTiger #politics #ThoughtProvoking #ChineseNewYear #Zodiac #Challenging #ideals #Feb1st2022</p> |
| 750. | <p>@YardleyShooting #Democracy ...</p> <p>We're all on a BIG-BUS ... and we get to #VOTE: - faster, slower - warmer, cooler</p> |

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| | <p>- left a bit, right a bit</p> <p>But the bus has FLAT-TYRES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there's no vote option to change them - and they can't be fixed from the inside <p>... #Politics #Government? https://t.co/eFJOken2Ru</p> |
| 751. | #Education & #womeninpolitics #thread via @orfonline: Education plays a part in #politics; however, only for #women because the #literacy rate of #female politicians is higher than the male politicians, implying that only women need political education. |
| 752. | #zimbabwe #politics Zimbabwe's fragmented main... https://t.co/PwWMCv0Uxu https://t.co/MJiw6JQEUi |
| 753. | Today, February 01, 2022 Newspaper Headlines |
| | #news #newspaper #headlines #trending #Nigeria #business #politics #wokenationtv https://t.co/aFbPOAHoUA |
| 754. | The PM consistently lies in parliament & nothing happens, a fellow MP points it out & has to leave the chamber, that's #politics in this country, an absolute joke. It needs changing from top to bottom, firstly #JohnsonOut8 & then the #toriesout will be a huge start. |
| 755. | Facts of what most politicians an those so called business people are doing an we remain poor in South Africa #PoliticalPartiesAct #politics #PutSouthAfricanFirst #Africa @MYANC https://t.co/p3T4DT9hbh |
| 756. | Republican/Democrat. Conservative/Labour. Left/Right. Two sides of the same coin? |
| | Who holds the coin? |
| | Why not just Good/Bad? |
| | #politics #EnemyOfThePeople |
| 757. | #Raktanchal2 trailer: #NikitinDheer, #MahieGill starrer is back with all #action, #politics, #crime and #drama |
| | #Raktanchalseason2 #Mxplayer @MahieGillOnline @nikitindheer @AshishVid @MXPlayer https://t.co/MNEPy03svW |
| 758. | Israel blames Russia of 'jamming' its airspace #westasia #middleeast #politics #news https://t.co/twaTuOXXMQ |
| 759. | GBP/USD Forecast: Bulls looking to seize control amid weaker USD/BoE rate hike bets By @HareshMenghani https://t.co/00yrHmXN49 #GBPUSD #BOE #Fed #Politics #Currencies |
| 760. | One in three Londoners struggling to pay household bills, figures show (The Independent) |
| | One in three Londoners have struggled to pay their household bills in the last six |


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| | <p>months, a...</p> <p>Add your highlights: https://t.co/WAjKVeJLSS #London #politics #...</p> |
| 761. | <p>Since all about her and only her. Have be very favourable situation for it to work.#nzpol #auspol #Politics #ardern #media #ardern #NewZealand #newzealandprimeminister https://t.co/MZE5YyMc2P</p> |
| 762. | <p>'#Politics and the #Environment in #Eastern #Europe' by Eszter Krasznai Kovacs (ed.) provides a hitherto overlooked perspective on the current fate and reception of '#environmentalism' in the region.</p> <p>Access at https://t.co/JIDkFS25r0 https://t.co/Kg6U8adEu1</p> |
| 763. | <p>PM Deuba to hold discussion with Election Commission officials at 3PM today #politics @RepublicaNepal #Nepal #NepaliMedia https://t.co/t813ddABkb</p> |
| 764. | <p>Follow us @the__vote for more politics, critics and memes.</p> <p>#dmk #admK #dmktroll #admktroll #bjptamilnadu #tamilnaducongress #newsupdate #narendramodi #amitshah #rahulgandhi #politics #mkstalin #indiabreakingnews #ntk #mnm #vck #pmk #pmktroll #epsops ... https://t.co/l35GquQdaO https://t.co/jtLycdsU4b</p> |
| 765. | <p>#RishiSunak has proved no qualms ripping the financial heart from ordinary ppl & shows utter contempt for #pensioners!</p> <p>Replacing 1 fool with his #twin is not #change! #SunakIsNoBetter</p> <p>We can't go on #ConLab.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do @ElectoralCommUK exist? <p>UK #politics need radical overhaul https://t.co/WQ8ICOiNPI</p> |
| 766. | <p>Make Australia Great Again #makeaustraliagreatagain #makeaustraliagreat #aussie #uap #unitedaustraliaparty #media #Politics #Australia #WeThePeople</p> |
| 767. | <p>#CryptocurrencyNews #America #Cryptocurrency #Politics America COMPETES Act Crypto Amendment Proposed https://t.co/ugY1UIiyKP Buy BTC: https://t.co/NvvKJPmPAy https://t.co/yge5zWPoBb</p> |
| 768. | <p>Sue Gray: No 10 pledges updated report after police inquiry finishes https://t.co/vjfpJ9V1ga #Politics #Coronavirus</p> |
| 769. | <p>#cake & #politics the Dutch, 18th century way: a possible poisoning with an almond cake ...   https://t.co/op1oAo7vGN</p> |
| 770. | <p>Myanmar coup: Military repeats election promise, people strike - Al Jazeera English https://t.co/T97HWcMjqQ #2020Elections #Elections #Politics #GeneralElection</p> |

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| 771. | <p>Here's 5 main quotes from the #SueGrayReport on the Downing Street parties... </p> <p>@clogriff @georgewgoldberg</p> <p>#SueGray #BorisJohnson #Politics</p> <p>https://t.co/dd57YZkuBc</p> |
| 772. | <p>Side by side comparison of the news. Comment on overt bias or under-reporting. Share to support an informed democracy. #news #politics #media #msnbc #cnn #fox - More at: https://t.co/OCTLN0v95U https://t.co/Ts8tyECNv5</p> |
| 773. | <p>Weekly poll: which one of the new Redmi Note 11 models is your favorite? - https://t.co/PxjLiXHuO3 news - https://t.co/PxjLiXHuO3 #politics https://t.co/Uvi713CgcL https://t.co/iddsHay24D</p> |
| 774. | <p>Covid-19: Nasal vaccine could be a 'game-changer', says AIIMS epidemiologist - Hindustan Times #politics https://t.co/85gfNWuqJa https://t.co/dbHUa8i90H</p> |
| 775. | <p>When does WHO declare public health emergency? Scientist explains 2 years after Covid alert sounded - Mint #politics https://t.co/w64YqJ3OhK https://t.co/6ye1M2SmFa</p> |
| 776. | <p>If #BorisJohnson & #Conservatives are found guilty of breaking the rules (when the Gray & police reports are revealed) can someone please calculate the cost to the British public for continually debating the denials. #UKPolitics #UKGovernment #Politics #Parliament</p> |
| 777. | <p>Zoning presidency to north will lead to chaos – Clark - 2023 - https://t.co/OgEKGplU1s #Politics #edwinClark #BBnaija #Messi #Wizkid #Davido</p> |
| 778. | <p>@TheEconomist Don't make it about #politics, it's #sport even if #china organizes the #Olympics2022</p> |
| 779. | <p>Build it first. Make it irreversible, and overcome opposition later. China knows that is the best shortcut to many of its international goals. https://t.co/o9FL9nlFT</p> <p>#China #Taiwan #politics</p> |
| 780. | <p> New Podcast! "CONK! After Hours - Feb. 1, '22" on @Spreaker #commentary #conservative #conversation #discussion #libertarian #news #politics #republican https://t.co/FiMZFynwCi</p> |
| 781. | <p>@GhostfromtheCoa @brithume You make statements about Trump but what about BLM, how much did they destroy compared to the truckers? #blm #trump #politics #vote @MrRed61487581 @LittleTonyDee</p> |
| 782. | <p> If you missed the online dialogues in the Journalism&Religion series with #journalists sharing experiences and challenges on covering #faith #politics #COVID19 & #religion in different regions, have a look at and suscribe to the IARJ YouTube channel!</p> <p> https://t.co/L2pTUBayuV https://t.co/bKSgD1z3wM</p> |
| 783. | <p>Iran outlines foundations of potential agreement with P4+1 https://t.co/wk3clg2qFO #PressTV #Politics</p> |

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| 784. | <p>Birmingham City erupts into song and dance in a much needed spontaneous moment that speaks volumes.</p> <p>#Birmingham #covid #politics #fun https://t.co/TbKWLAuCRS</p> |
| 785. | <p>#World_economy #Russia #Ukraine #Politics #Foreign_policy Putin can still back down from war with Ukraine without looking weak — but will he? https://t.co/VFY6GLwV7p https://t.co/Cv3EpDx1E3 https://t.co/6xAXiUx1To</p> |
| 786. | <p>Digital Marketing Strategy for Successful Election Campaign</p> <p>Start your Political Campaign using</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Bulk SMS ✓ Voice Call ✓ Facebook Marketing ✓ YouTube Marketing ✓ WhatsApp Marketing ✓ Google Ads <p>Visit https://t.co/uDqPCPkJa2</p> <p>#election2022 #vote #politics #indianpolitics https://t.co/m7dvUFNApp</p> |
| 787. | <p>Some probably think it is good idea wind them up! #nzpol #ardern #politics #media #auspol https://t.co/e1qMeSk6r8</p> |
| 788. | <p>praising someone for doing nothing and following someone blindly is not a child's play, but a fool's one.</p> <p>#Politics</p> |
| 789. | <p>New EV chargers coming to Yukon https://t.co/cme2NfZnF7 #Politics https://t.co/eQQT8822Zi #news 573</p> |
| 790. | <p>Where is Clarke #Gaylord ? What's happened now? #nzpol #politics #JacindaArdern #media #newzealandprimeminister</p> |
| 791. | <p>@AstonMulimba @utdreport STFU bitch nobody wanna see him in football EVER AGAIN</p> |
| 792. | <p>@15bshall97 And couldn't even get the Virginia football job.</p> |
| 793. | <p>@Commanders How do you downgrade from "Football Team" 🤔 biggest L of the year</p> |
| 794. | <p>Bra imagine being a jit growing up in Broward, playing little league football to this...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Being compared to Michael Vick in college •On the cover of MADDEN 🏈 •MVP QB •Getting your college Jersey retired •And being told your next by Brady! <p>Broward Legend fasho 🐶 @Lj_era8</p> |

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| 795. | @hamdi_beast @AnnMargaretArm1 @phil9980 Murtaugh has been there since 2013 he has zero qualifications to be director of football at this club |
| 796. | All the football players from around the world who have been taking the knee will kick of in stadia in qatar built by actual slaves. How can they justify this? You can't #bekind and #antiracist and support this IMO. https://t.co/GPhKooNVgk |
| 797. | @UtdDistrict @hirstclass This non sense again!!!!.... Just win some trophies. This is a football club not a daycare!!! |
| 798. | On Signing Day 2022, a recap of Penn State's sixth-ranked recruiting class, which includes some "special headliners," according to @Snow's @JohnGarcia_Jr. https://t.co/og5s05iSzU |
| 799. | 👉 \$120.49 👉 FANMATS NFL Los Angeles Chargers NFL Los Angeles Chargers4x6 Rug Team Color @topfanscorner #FANMATS #LosAngelesChargers #Los #Angeles #NFL #Football #NFLfans Hurry up to get it for the best price! https://t.co/7bl5Oem3sU |
| 800. | @AnunobyDynasty Football team was actually a great name |
| 801. | Mosinee runs over Tomahawk in opening round of GNC tournament. #zaleskisports #wisconsin #hockey https://t.co/5qY7i4b44K |
| 802. | City of Tampere: Hockey Comes Home in 100 Days https://t.co/gydEgVwa8m |
| 803. | Let's goooooo.... It's game day! 8:30 pm @ Wesbanco Arena! Senior Night begins at 8:15! White out theme!!!! https://t.co/SYByIGkVsd |
| 804. | Boys Hockey: Hudson defeated Wausau West 6-0 |
| 805. | @DallasStars @ATT Hmmm...maybe you should have let the Robertson-Hintz-Pavelski, you know...arguably the best line in hockey, take an offensive zone faceoff at some point last night. Gotta love it when our best line is used as a de-facto checking line. https://t.co/oLYZfypbIX |
| 806. | @Hockey_Robinson Looks like Craig Beaker here... https://t.co/URE95TBFGs |
| 807. | From ice hockey rink to concert venue with terracover®-ICE from #Terraplas Quick to install and boasting incredible insulation properties. Check out the time lapse video from Göransson Arena, Sweden. @Terraplas1 #SportsBiz #alsdinternational #sportsvenuebiz #SportsVenueBusiness https://t.co/a7bwMJg8iG |
| 808. | NEW FANTASY UNLOCKED: hockey game and beers with peniel and bm |
| 809. | @MarcMillerVM Wow! Every young hockey wanna be's dream to have this skating rink. Kudos to the parents who made this for their child. 😊 |

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| 810. | @HCorber @Habs_Fan_NJ @FultonReed6 I worked with a guy that lived in Montreal, and he bragged about how he would go riot and doesn't know anything about hockey. I thought he was a douchebag. |
| 811. | Wednesday on the 'Doug and Daddy Show' it's National Letter of Intent Day, UNK head coach Josh Lynn talks about this year's class, and we'll hear from Husker head coach Scott Frost at 130. Loper men's basketball coach Kevin Lofton chats with us about this weekend's road trip |
| 812. | 🏀 The Y6 Boys Basketball Team took part in the South Solihull SG 3x3 Basketball Festival on Monday along with 12 other schools. They drew 3, won 1 as their confidence grew with every match. Very well played boys, you were brilliant 🧡 #BerkswellPE @SSolihullSSP https://t.co/oN9elfAbF0 |
| 813. | New Story: Girls Junior Varsity Basketball beats Andean 30 - 21 https://t.co/oY67jikN7b |
| 814. | Varsity Girls Basketball today at Borgia has been canceled. We will play today's game at 3 PM on Saturday @FZSGirlsBball |
| 815. | Friend/classmate *goes out & does stuff* *tests positive in Dec.* F/c *goes to a college basketball game last weekend* *tests positive again* To be fair I wouldn't expect to test positive so soon because of antibodies, but dang. She does travel a lot, somehow. At least she's vax |
| 816. | I wanna go on a date to a basketball game or baseball game and get DRUNK 🍷 🍷 🍷. Like I love me a fun ass date lmao. |
| 817. | @jgilbert104 Why rupp is overrated as a college basketball atmosphere in my opinion and it's just my opinion for ppl who get on here and wanna argue lol |
| 818. | Come support this incredible young lady today as she signs to continue her basketball career at UCA. @ParrisAtkins @ucawbb https://t.co/xYEnmhd5lz |
| 819. | So proud of @bethanyc_33! Excited for her as she signs to continue her basketball and academic career at Carnegie Mellon! Congratulations!!!! @NISDBrandeis @NISD_Athletics https://t.co/kGE1AQJxND |
| 820. | Today's home events: 7th and 8th grade girls basketball vs Chambersburg 3:45/5:15 Junior High wrestling vs Chambersburg 5:30pm Varsity wrestling vs Chambersburg 7:00pm |
| 821. | @LauraWilsonLab Happy Birthday Wilson we hope you get lots of tennis balls and of course other treats and toys and belly rubs. 🎁 🍕 🎁 🍷 🧡 🧡 https://t.co/35hOqDiCKu |
| 822. | @waynes_games1 @SEGA Crazy Taxi 1 or 2 Virtua Tennis 1 or 2 House of the Dead 2 Dynamite Cop Soul Calibar |

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| | Marvel vs Capcom GiggaWing |
| 823. | What does a #Tennis Player Learn about becoming & being #Ambidextrous, while they are #Learning how to develop 1 Arm? #holistic #mindbody #exercisescience #sportsscience #exercisepsychology #physicalfitness #physicaleducation #physicaltesting #testing #education #kinesiology |
| 824. | #Keds #Canvas #Champion Original Navy Blue #Sneakers Low Top Tennis #Shoes Women's Size 7 @saleawayscabana https://t.co/CtZrFpjTe8 #ebay #CanvasTennisShoes #TennisShoes #LowTops #KedsChampion #KedsChampionOriginal #KedsOriginal |
| 825. | What became clear after that lovely tennis season was that if white folks don't put forth the effort to engage with people of other races, religions, and cultures, they can go their whole lives blind to the ongoing issue of racism. Pretending it's not an issue. /8 |
| 826. | I laughed and said that it sounded perfect. And it WAS perfect. That tennis season in Atlanta I learned so much from my teammates. I'd lived my entire life in Georgia, and my first real, honest conversations about race took place at tennis courts in Atlanta when I was 30. /3 |
| 827. | Love this!!    #LPGreatThings #tennis #leadership #LeadershipMatters https://t.co/XvXfG4XSbc |
| 828. | It was 1999 & I was nearly 30. I was playing on a tennis team in Atlanta & I was the only white woman. I had called a number on the bulletin board in Piedmont Park looking for players. I remember the woman on the phone "warning" me that I'd be the only white women on the team. /2 |
| 829. | School Tennis Court Painting in Wrexham #Tennis #Surface #Painters #Wrexham https://t.co/rBKPxCt8dJ |
| 830. | MIAA Preseason Coaches' Poll Announced https://t.co/rFloL8hZjw |
| 831. | Our best selling Ole Miss Titleist tumbler included in a Valentine's day grab bag! Oh, and you get golf tees, some free range ball cards & a sleeve of ProV 1's! Trust us ladies, your golfer will love this!   #golf #olemiss #hottytoddy #valentine #valentinesday https://t.co/ae77Tr7ess |
| 832. | With sporty tailoring and luxe fabrics, crewneck sweaters are great for on and off the course. https://t.co/SMjmwOXXd |
| 833. | #Hueytown #Wrightsville #Indiana, Golf Cart Engine Rebuilding Policy – #Canada. Porcellato Engineering has over 20 years of golf cart engine rebuilding experience. We specialize in Club Car Powertrain! https://t.co/mhJfu5Uh2Q |
| 834. | @AsianPatDixon You believe boomers played golf and go carted on the moon. Can't be to bright  |
| 835. | An exciting new opportunity to join our expanding Food & Beverage operation at Preston Golf Club. EXPERIENCED PART TIME FOOD & BEVERAGE STAFF Please email generalmanager@prestongolfclub.com https://t.co/CNoXDOCZXP |

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| 836. | A brilliant read! Well managed wetlands play an important role in tackling the climate and biodiversity crises. And golf courses are already well set up to contribute! Managing your wetlands with golf, nature and the climate in mind can make a massive difference #WorldWetlandsDay https://t.co/gIY8Dnf1IO |
| 837. | Which 2022 Golf R are you choosing? We're going for the Lapiz Blue with the optional 19" 'Estoril' black Alloy wheels 🚗 https://t.co/h86io6dYRc |
| 838. | @imsocrabby Looked like golf, you have to admit 🏌️ ♂ |
| 839. | Ian Poulter has been offered an eye-watering sum to join a breakaway golf league – but faces being ostracised from the main tours. https://t.co/VZ3oq9pBKz |
| 840. | Daniel Berger and his 11-year-old irons still doing just fine heading into title defense at AT&T Pebble Beach Pro-Am https://t.co/mNHkgKULED |
| 841. | What do you think about the name 'Commanders' ? #NFL #nfltwitter #WashingtonFootball #WashingtonCommanders I think that the name is one of the worst in sports, presently and in the past. Maybe the future https://t.co/hLScPmnS35 |
| 842. | @angela_rye congratulations!!!! You're big time, but love that I can get your take on the state of the sports world now too! 🥳🥳🥳🥳 |
| 843. | Hundred run partnership between Yash Dhull & Shaik Rasheed for the 3rd wicket #U19CWC #CricketTwitter |
| 844. | https://t.co/i8pJCy3GRI Comments very welcome. Kindly help share. #olympics #sports #sportsbiz #olympicgames #olympics2022 #megaevents #megaprojects #projectmanagement #business #policy |
| 845. | @DealDelight Amazon India Shop Link: https://t.co/mm6nBFrSY5 Flipco 30x60 Roof Prism Binoculars for Adults, HD Professional Binoculars for Bird Watching Travel Stargazing Hunting Concerts Sports Deal Price Rs. 575/- #Amazon #AmazonIndia #ShoppingOnline #ShoppingDiscount https://t.co/JDKW6672Db |
| 846. | Today is National Girls & Women in Sports Day. Today we celebrate our student athletes and teammates! We are thankful to those before us who made it all possible and are excited to inspire future generations to reach for the collegiate level and beyond! https://t.co/m8pD4Ubtky |
| 847. | #U19CWC #INDvsAUS 100-run partnership between Yash Dhull and Shaik Rasheed https://t.co/iaSOEE7Ph5 |
| 848. | Certain right-wing politicians' bigoted obsession with attacking trans youth – stopping them from playing sports, accessing healthcare, even going to the restroom |

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| | <p>— is deeply harmful to these children. Just let them be who they are. https://t.co/NsOxKrmlo3</p> |
| 849. | I think we've ran out of names for sports teams. Commanders, Thunder, & Pelicans have all come in the last 10 years. We've exhausted all of the animal names. |
| 850. | Happy National Girls & Women in Sports Day! https://t.co/3kmb5vK83b |
| 851. | @RivalsRichie @NCAA Maybe they should@have better coverage on the first signing day...you cannot have one as other sports basketball, baseball, hockey, and etc have 2 signing days. |
| 852. | Yeah I'm stoked for Olympic Figure skating..... deal with it |
| 853. | Rules of the game: How to tell figure skating jumps apart https://t.co/ek1m6xxnKl |
| 854. | @cgartenberg National Figure-Skating Team for the Winter Olympics |
| 855. | <p>took the test before i sleep</p> <p>fucking hell the soobin part is spot on coz he is my txt bias. believe it or not my eyes went wide over the spotlight as a child (gifted kid burnout ig)</p> <p>i dont do figure skating i dont even do sports in general</p> <p>the talented part 🙏 tnx https://t.co/C3ZEbM9ZCx</p> |
| 856. | Hear the Otherworldly Sounds of Skating on Thin Ice National Geographic https://t.co/X61g55EAXf via @YouTube |
| 857. | Know your toe loop from your salchow. Here's how to tell the six figure skating jumps apart at the Olympics and which one is the most difficult. https://t.co/JbdZduA2wK |
| 858. | Day date over 💞 promised we would spend more time together this year...today my favourite, Ice Skating 🛼 https://t.co/j1DUupGV45y |
| 859. | .@RVSRocky Raccoon must be psychic, because Balzac Billy saw his shadow! Whohoo! More time for skating, sledding and other outdoor winter fun #rvsed #GroundhogDay #BalzacBill #rvsed https://t.co/UI8LAAhiHj |
| 860. | There's not much ice skating in the summer, I've noticed. Okay, maybe indoors. https://t.co/Nh30qbnDy |
| 861. | @JeffreyRitchey Hope you all stay warm and the electricity stays on. We had rain roll through on Monday evening and left a thick layer of ice on every surface. The highways are like ice skating rinks. |
| 862. | @Sirtradesalot2 @jtizzy223 @sparseinference @sunnydays1377 HUH ??? Stores are free to open up there is no danger this isn't a Liberal supported riot group that is looting and destroying ! The police have stated that the troublemakers they arrested were all locals not protesters ! How are children ice skating only 100 feet from trucks ? |
| 863. | <p>The Negan arc from TWD</p> <p>The serialized seasons of South Park</p> <p>Post Michael The Office</p> <p>Season 2 Legend of Korra</p> <p>Season 5 of Rick and Morty 🤔</p> <p>Season 1 of The Owl House (don't blame the crew for that, that's on Disney)</p> <p>https://t.co/CPDyVyZfq</p> |

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| 864. | @wearemorganss Carol took big part in Negan development too, she gave him the chance to redeem himself. They cant forget about it right? 🤔 I miss them sm |
| 865. | when maggie and daryl kill negan so true https://t.co/yk5TJRTnaO |
| 866. | @_MartinaTWD @JDMorgan Yes. I love it 🤔❤️ I love gamer Negan 🤔😁 https://t.co/F0wK79myBe |
| 867. | negan would beat that rapist imo https://t.co/Z4pH50JJAY |
| 868. | @QueenOfTWD That's not gonna happen since most Carol stans love Negan too 😊 |
| 869. | I love Negan https://t.co/MAqvmAv6VL |
| 870. | you got negan right and then everyone else is just a bad fake https://t.co/SYbI7vSe22 |
| 871. | WHY ARE DARYL AND BETH NEXT TO NEGAN WHAT IS WRONG WITH U ALL THEY ARE THE SWEETEST PEOPLE EVER https://t.co/bRExNtle6a |
| 872. | Rick finally slit Negan's throat #TWD How does he not die? |
| 873. | I have a feeling rue's suitcase situation is gonna have a Negan/Darryl/Glenn dynamic going on 🤔 |
| 874. | Deadeyed Luke Skywalker drifting aimlessly through modern Star Wars projects is v relatable tbh https://t.co/VX5vj7flmm |
| 875. | The Star Wars community really loves to tell people about how they should feel about a show or a project haha |
| 876. | Star Wars is really getting on my nerves, guys |
| 877. | @HeatherAntos I can't describe Star Wars in only one word! The title is two words long! If I just said Star or Wars by themselves, it wouldn't be enough. I need both! |
| 878. | That was a great hour of Star Wars. |
| 879. | #TheBookOfBobaFett continues to trot out old, beloved 'Star Wars' characters to shock and ahhh — and risk sidelining the main character for blatant fan service. Read Alan Sepinwall's recap: https://t.co/y2McHGxiLB |
| 880. | I keep trying to get back into Star Wars. It's the biggest franchise in the world but the stories they're telling are not good. Each season of Mando (Boba is Mando 2.5, Favreau even called it that) has gotten worse than the last. I'm hoping next week is good. I really am. |
| 881. | Hot damn! What an incredible episode! I know some people won't like it because it falls back into some dumb Star Wars tropes but I loved it. 🤔😁🤔 #TheBookOfBobaFett |
| 882. | That might just be the best Star Wars anything I have ever seen. I can't even describe what I've just seen. Thank you Filoni. #StarWars #thankyoufiloni #TheBookofBobaFett |
| 883. | Maybe all the reporting was wrong, and Tarantino wanted to direct a Star Wars story instead of Star Trek? https://t.co/O7ODpQ9BZe |

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| 884. | It is a completely fair criticism of Disney who have owned Star Wars for almost a decade and since that time, all but 1 movie (Solo) and 1 season of a TV show (Mando S1) have tied directly to Skywalker. |
| 885. | <p>— DAY 3 🍷</p> <p>🍷🍷 Jaehyun's habit that makes you falling deeper</p> <p>🍷🍷 When jaehyun smiles and his dimples appear, oh god he looks so CUTE!!!</p> <p>#14DaysWithJaehyun #JAEHYUN #재현 #LoveForJaehyun https://t.co/LcaFTu2hcH</p> |
| 886. | @iamExpel eating black sturgeon caviar off a dime 🍷 |
| 887. | @yam_sikie @OFFICIALBTOB Yeah! Let's make this comeback more special for all of us!!! 🍷❤️🍷❤️🍷❤️ |
| 888. | @hlaioivan Fuck her like a whore afterwards 🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷 |
| 889. | Remember when I said if peen goes in my arse, Pandora goes on my wrist 🍷🍷🍷🍷 https://t.co/HEMFAQkV1b |
| 890. | @queennKrii Done wish me luck 🍷 https://t.co/taT802VLeV |
| 891. | KAI WILL BE PERFORMING AS SOLOIST IN EUROPE 🍷🍷❤️🍷🍷 https://t.co/GSvLhlvFSq |
| 892. | Wait maybe grogu will indeed chose the armor because he's not in the comics where Luke is teaching more kids 🍷 |
| 893. | cad bane!!! and luke making grogu choose oh thats fucked!! |
| 894. | <p>The Book of Boba Fett</p> <p>S01E06 - Chapter 6: From the Desert Comes a Stranger</p> <p>#TheBookOfBobaFett #TheMandalorian #BobaFett #FennecShand #LukeSkywalker #Grogu #Yoda #Ahsoka #CobbVanth #CadBane #Order66 @themandalorian @bobafett @disneyplus https://t.co/nLBChRVh6s</p> |
| 895. | <p>The Book of Boba Fett</p> <p>S01E06 - Chapter 6: From the Desert Comes a Stranger</p> <p>#TheBookOfBobaFett #TheMandalorian #BobaFett #FennecShand #LukeSkywalker #Grogu #Yoda #Ahsoka #CobbVanth #CadBane #Order66 @themandalorian @bobafett @disneyplus https://t.co/Dw2jwXLAtP</p> |
| 896. | #BookofBobaFett making me mad. I know the rules, but heck with them. I want Grogu and his daddy together! 🍷🍷 |
| 897. | @TilFolkvang Imagine five years from now when people are like "Maybe I'll binge Mandalorian" and then they skip over BoBF because it's not Season 3 and will miss what might be important to the story of Djarin and Grogu. Seems needlessly complicated for the sake of marketing. |
| 898. | @gwenwynfar This is today's purchase I couldn't resist it. #Grogu #StarWars #BookofBobaFett https://t.co/eelLWcXIFp |

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| | WE SUPPORT GULKI JOSHI |
| 923. | @tisellados @PallasGlaux @staples82921556 Calm down NorthEpirus. Can you find relevant source what was the East Indian Company flag from 17th century? |
| 924. | @Zen_Roro nooo i'm so flattered |
| 925. | the face own https://t.co/WtPRx4hFfZ ## #實實阿點用其實 https://t.co/LfSj2j4HKJ |
| 926. | #XAUUSD BUY TP 4 SMASHED SUCCESSFULLY AMAZING PROFIT DONE ENJOY YOUR PROFITS WITH US 😁 https://t.co/t7VGcBZxB6 |
| 927. | Get this deluded drunk off the tv lol.. of course it's a panic signing we didn't think we was going to need anyone but eriksen out until May means it is a panic to get someone in! Not that it doesn't mean he is good enough! https://t.co/txdPqE1hcl |
| 928. | you don't need the anti-slave-rebellion game in order to live, people. No ethical consumption under capitalism refers to survival, not doing whatever you want and giving you a free pass to prop up vile hatred and bigotry that's actively getting people killed in the streets. https://t.co/iMoZLliUrs |
| 929. | Hate Watch/Great Watch podcast, episode 99: HOT ROD (2007) - https://t.co/eNCJitSJCR |
| 930. | @Timcast It seems like the vaccine kills your immune system. Some of the vaccinated and boosted people I know are constantly sick. |
| 931. | @kdyhours HAPPY DOYOUNG DAY #BunnyPrinceDoyoungDay #따끈따끈_도영빵_생일이_왔옹 |
| 932. | @eyedrinogames Appreciate that brother! 🙌🏆❤️ |
| 933. | @WholesomeMeme >Everyone meet simon >refuses to elaborate further |
| 934. | @Jim_Jordan Yes...this type of "politician" needs to go!! Right gym?? https://t.co/kXxaZKnaeD |
| 935. | @ProudLTHS I still cannot believe he did this??!! You were here, Stefi?? Can only imagine the shock!!! |
| 936. | @HibaFawadPk Kindly trademark b laga dyti video pe |
| 937. | @AlanRogers423 @griffingulledge Thanks! |
| 938. | How about this? 👉 #青岛丝足 #青岛SPA #青岛 https://t.co/kQ6K0nTXQo |
| 939. | 🌸 221210 BIG MOUNTAIN MUSIC FESTIVAL 🌸 Countdown for the SURVIVAL 2023 |

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| | <p>◆ 05 ◆</p> <p>#BALLISTIKBOYZ #BBZxPCFxSURVIVAL23_TH #D_U_N_K_</p> <p>INSTAGRAM: https://t.co/QgSPtRQlq8 https://t.co/TYjZy3o6H2</p> |
| 940. | <p>DO YOU LIKE ME?</p> <p>#广州资源 #广州 #广州丝足 https://t.co/nwTuph58Gv</p> |
| 941. | <p>@PCTomVanDerWee And i was in attendance with the bus company,finally nice to put a face to the name !</p> |
| 942. | <p>@callmeK_okay and with your logic, 7 years of their career for less than 30 songs, half of it don't have their writing credits, no top 10 songs on hot 100 :(</p> |
| 943. | <p>@magickosmos_ph Congrats, manifesting again 🎉</p> |
| 944. | <p>@akanand1982 Dear Customer, we regret the inconvenience caused. The matter is being looked into.</p> |
| 945. | <p>@perditasfratrem + she lightly tugged on his arm and encouraged him forward. A new location for her, and a rather new experience for him in terms of being more social, this would prove good for them both, she hoped~!</p> |
| 946. | <p>@Release_drugs There were 3 deaths at one hostel in Cornwall last year; it's even so sad.</p> |
| 947. | <p>New @MorganWallen from his forthcoming album #OneThingAtATime - #EverythingILove https://t.co/un7KIGxMmZ</p> |
| 948. | <p>@Podkovii Big thanks 🤍🤍🤍</p> |
| 949. | <p>[\$246.95] 2022 Panini Prizm World Cup Soccer Breakaway Box Source: ebay Listing Reason: Sold by Steel City Collectibles</p> <p>Get the Inventory Bot app to be notified 2 minutes faster</p> <p>09:01:07.0240 AM EST #Ad</p> <p>https://t.co/pHEMaIctAI</p> |
| 950. | <p>Luck is in the air for you -- both in general life and the way... More for Libra https://t.co/sjvmwu2Szd</p> |
| 951. | <p>Do you like my pokemon? 🎮🤍</p> <p>#温州 #温州资源 https://t.co/5idm9IL1L6</p> |
| 952. | <p>Thought Phil was gay 🤔 https://t.co/OOZLTa5qgH</p> |
| 953. | <p>@Tango6Actual @DineshDSouza Nope</p> |
| 954. | <p>@1mgfc @seewilkie @forum_wetlands @CCWPeatlands @LIFEonMachair Absolutely. It's such a crying shame. Let's change that narrative. Wetlands are wonderous thing and it's high time we realised it.</p> |
| 955. | <p>Natural charisma is currently a magnetic source of power! Your... More for Aries https://t.co/B57RhQHnXY</p> |

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| 956. | @shibashaart @Parastizz @RealKatoOG Gm beauty ❤️ |
| 957. | @LuckyHeronSay You clearly didn't pay attention to your English teacher. Wrong apostrophe placement there. |
| 958. | @MySportsUpdate Stop it |
| 959. | @WeirdOne_NFT @foundation hey my friend |
| 960. | @kdysource HAPPY DOYOUNG DAY #BunnyPrinceDoyoungDay #따끈따끈_도영빵_생일이_왔옹 |
| 961. | \$treat is pmup now the \$shy some dev, lest go, pump it \$shy now \$treat, \$shy \$shi \$shiba \$tsuka https://t.co/rRyM9Ptarq |
| 962. | Natural charisma is currently a magnetic source of power! Your... More for Aries https://t.co/jbKEpy9Ccf |
| 963. | @Bulldozer0 It's early |
| 964. | Impact of Prenatal Care on Newborn Complications for Infants with Cleft Lip with or Without Cleft Palate #NeoPapers #neoTwitter https://t.co/4dMpEPYNos |
| 965. | why do u always do this to me?? |
| 966. | @veelimia This wasn't even like a scary dream lol it was just disturbing. Ig you could consider it a 'sexy' dream but it had all of my intrusive thoughts in one |
| 967. | @livebeef @politicalsock @MarlaMHughes Its bad judgment. Applicable to other areas of his life. |
| 968. | HAPPY DOYOUNG DAY #BunnyPrinceDoyoungDay #따끈따끈_도영빵_생일이_왔옹 |
| 969. | @mpofu_viola I mean 🙄🙄 we can't be letting them rate her hard on Khosi Shame |
| 970. | Magnetizing energy can help you succeed at present. The gracef... More for Aquarius https://t.co/dIEIFStxAj |
| 971. | @GNerdess do not feed the racist trolls! Report them! |
| 972. | @frfrankpavone @LifeNewsHQ Wow. I know where a lot of Satan's minions are. |
| 973. | Networking can be a strategic move now. You may be particularl... More for Taurus https://t.co/jS708lt2ly |
| 974. | @Blakkrasta @Class913fm @sarkodie @3fm927 No one cares about your stupid opinion,keep on crying you hater |
| 975. | Networking can be a strategic move now. You may be particularl... More for Taurus https://t.co/8IW8D4GqWP |
| 976. | Update: right after posting that, my baby fell asleep, I laid down and then my toddler woke up. We then stayed up until 6:30am. Now (8am) I'm back up with my baby. |
| 977. | @The_Trump_Train Absolutely |
| 978. | Rajasthan Tarbandi Scheme Under this scheme only small and marginal farmers of the state will be provided benefits. |

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| | #जादूगर_जादूकर धन्यवाद @ashokgehlot51 जी |
| 979. | @TMfromhell tickle monster squid games ?? |
| 980. | I hear people now calling #ADHD neuro-divergence. A study found no ADHD among unvaccinated people. So there is a possibility we have neuro-divergence caused by vaccines. |
| 981. | @scott_liv01 @treynek @JustinWhang @BrutusRex_ Why she in a ditch if she can still cry? |
| 982. | @sean_burg99 Valentines day coming up check perfect time to stream "Dream girl" on YouTube https://t.co/pvI3wxHLOL |
| 983. | You may be healing both yourself and your family today. Using ... More for Pisces https://t.co/yAi5uXlaNu |
| 984. | FATTY ??? 🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔 https://t.co/6E3CiJ0pkl |
| 985. | Opening your mind to study or travel may sound like an excelle... More for Gemini https://t.co/PqHoqedrU2 |
| 986. | @BashirAhmaad No grassroot biz man will support Emefiele's order. Do you even trust our banking system? Money keep disappearing in one's account and the bank are very adamant about it. Is Emefiele's order not encouragement for yahoo boys to be hacking into our bank accounts freely? |
| 987. | Revolution how? |
| 988. | @SebastianCala @BenRothenberg what mistakes? who needs to apologize? |
| 989. | Your relationship with others can become more pleasant as the ... More for Leo https://t.co/1b0tGMNZSN |
| 990. | Deeper and Introverts don't see life as my prospects ?? نمشه ◆ W77 ◆ ◆ W77 ◆ ◆ W77 ◆ |
| 991. | @ItsShouTime I'm told its an app that controls... uhhhh..... special toys that kids aren't allowed to use. |
| 992. | comes willowi521ng across the sand #大兴安岭 #鹤岗 #黑河 https://t.co/rsZnIKh1Rv |
| 993. | NobleQuincyDarkEdith #蚌埠 #淮北 #乐山 https://t.co/Q1jbNMHYEg |
| 994. | arms day tomorrow I need Guile-sized biceps https://t.co/KCEq7ZpboA |
| 995. | This is just... such low-hanging fruit https://t.co/zmBBGIfn8A |
| 996. | @csideyuri666 ITS SO FUCKING FUNNY IT HINK ITS ON PURPOSE |
| 997. | @CEOAdam Why sell APE at .66 to hedge fund..come on friends stick together you will drop shares again your not on retail side..bad management but you and your son gets RICH |

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| 1021. | I cant fix him but i also want him to destroy me so looks like it works out https://t.co/HwGAAkhFfR |
| 1022. | @Genshinmem Since Dottore can multiply into clones I want both young and old him to destroy my bussy pls and thank you, and no your not allowed to judge me. Ik yall very well. Y'all simping for the Knave girl. Lemme simp for the Doctor |
| 1023. | I don't care about being blocked .., i don't know him .. I don't want to know him .., but I am curious how it came about? IS SOMEONE TRYING TO DESTROY MY REPUTATION? DEFAME ME? MY LAWYER WILL REACH OUT TO HIM LOL https://t.co/HJORJPuTng |
| 1024. | @Genshinmem I want him to destroy me from the inside and outside, ruin my entire body, call me worthless, freeze me in his cold ice, I want him so badly 🤩 |
| 1025. | @y1zhu0s I WANT HIM TO DESTROY ME MAN. AND YES I DON'T WANT HIM DEAD |
| 1026. | Dunno who is but I want him to absolutely disrespect me, destroy me, make me a slave, just anything to see him again https://t.co/YCb2pF2HEr |
| 1027. | @vantaekv I WANT HIM TO DESTROY /ME/ |
| 1028. | @gardensofether NO ONE IS GOING TO TAKE CARE OF ME WHEN I'M SICK, NO ONE IS GOING TO COMFORT KISS ME, NO ONE IS GOING TO BE ON THE VERGE OF TEARS FOR ME BECAUSE I WANT TO KEEP SKATING EVEN WITH A FUCKED UP ANKLE, NO ONE IS GOING TO YELL AT MY EX PARTNER THAT HE'LL DESTROY HIM IF HE TALKS TO ME |
| 1029. | OK! Let me see if I can help you understand; The Machiavellian Republicans in the white House and those loyal to him Donald Trump. Want to destroy your freedom and Usher in Authoritariaism!! And believe me you don't want this! Wake up! https://t.co/UDpgblXhjV |
| 1030. | I've known you so long yet, i know nothing about you each time i try to read a new chapter you slam the book shut & scream "Enough! Too far!" All i want is to get lost in your story forever captured by every nuance of you all that's been written, all that will be let me read you |
| 1031. | hi so, im going to be deactivating my account! i feel like i'm talking to a wall and no one really interacts with me so i think this is a sign for me to leave twt. why are you still reading this? are you in love with me? do you want me to slam you against the wall and make out? |
| 1032. | deleting this acc. none of u interact anymore so its finally time I say bye. twitter isnt the same anymore im sorry bc im so sick of this but first of all why are u still reading this? do u like me? do u want me to slam you against the wall n kiss n bite u? do u like that? |
| 1033. | REWATCHING THIS CLIP MAKES ME WANT TO SLAM MY HEAD INTO A DOOR I SWEAR |
| 1034. | When I text "👊🛏" that mean I want you to slam me thru the mattress 😊 |
| 1035. | In debt to Barry for 4 and a half million. Well I still don't care my love is more important if I ain't got love I ain't got nothing.. why did I want to become famous |

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| | again.. that's right I couldn't get any love and noone would want me so I become it and the door slam. Me.l |
| 1036. | @nflnbastats @GegulaMm @Wimbledon @DjokerNole He said that bcs he won literally everything twice. Second reason why he said that is bcs he was chasing the golden slam. Also why Olympics meant to him was bcs he plays for his country. You want to tell me that Murray is better then bot Federer and Novak bcs he won olympic gold? |
| 1037. | no cause the way i want hobi to choke slam me 😏 |
| 1038. | swsh isn't done yet so idk if my feelings on it are concrete now but i really enjoy it! shilly and sou are really fun protags and i like their shenanigans it's really refreshing compared to x and y who each have as much personality as stale bread /hyp |
| 1039. | I'm not even a big stranger things fan, I haven't seen very far past the end of S2, but by god if they kill off Murray I will seriously fall off the wagon /hyp |
| 1040. | 👉; I just want someone to rearrange my guts, that's literally all i want. |
| 1041. | there's barely any margin of error in this obstacle right now I'm gonna explode- /hyp |
| 1042. | i haven't eaten anything today and im considering fasting until tomorrow but i don't know , might get heat stroke and die /hyp |
| 1043. | @CANCERLORD Moments i would love to be Cancer Lord tbh 🐱 /hyp |
| 1044. | i just want it to be 1920 so tommy shelby from peaky blinders can rearrange my guts & ruin my life. is that really so much to ask for?? |
| 1045. | this football game is keeping this man from coming over to rearrange my guts, hate it here 😞 |
| 1046. | @JosephOxXXX @kylan_kiddo Rearrange my guts 🙏 |
| 1047. | my mommy row me before bout blocking her from my status so sis when you see me posting bout gettin guts rearrange and thing don't look at me sideways ! |
| 1048. | a man who likes squishmallows is a man who can rearrange my guts daily |
| 1049. | Waiting for the day a man wants to rearrange the guts of a pumpkin, and then rearrange my guts 🙏 |
| 1050. | rearrange my guts please https://t.co/1Bgl6t3aBC |
| 1051. | there is SOMETHING whenever i see namjoon standing behind a podium like UGHHJDUDHHGHBNNGGHHGHHH REARRANGE MY GUTS SIR |
| 1052. | i want him to rearrange my guts https://t.co/gJ03Rq8Cj4 |
| 1053. | at Palchamon Me: 1 round wins Frankly 4 round wins (Need to fake a legitimate win so i can have him rearrange my guts and fill me up 🍷🍷) |
| 1054. | Cute chick fil a worker who complimented my Kirby keychain please rearrange my guts thanks |
| 1055. | not nsfw but also 😏😏😏 - - - 40S HOWARD STARK COULD SO GET IT THE THINGS I WOULD LET HIM DO TO M- i mean wow. he is respectable and attractive. DESTROY ME. REARRANGE MY GUTS IDC |

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| 1056. | someone rearrange my guts like that one animal crossing video |
| 1057. | keep grabbing the back of my neck like this & ima assume that's what she wants grip on while i rearrange her guts https://t.co/GeVupDg4U7 |
| 1058. | Jhay got me this anklet . Can't wait to have it dangling by my mans face while he rearrange my guts 🤔 |
| 1059. | Might dress up as a pumpkin this Halloween so someone can rearrange my guts. Goodmorning 🤔 |
| 1060. | Im going as a pumpkin for Halloween. |
| 1061. | Maybe someone will rearrange my guts then. |
| 1062. | can someone rearrange my guts |
| 1063. | people who r lactose b like "i want him to rearrange my guts" as if milk can't do the same thing |
| 1064. | WTF I WANT TO CRY!!!! 🤔 🤔 PLEASE REARRANGE MY GUTS!!!!!! https://t.co/BLOI3zILAn |
| 1065. | like hes just running but i want him to rearrange my guts idk https://t.co/jJbAmzho6G |
| 1066. | please rearrange my guts, good sirs https://t.co/lyAKhym7br |
| 1067. | my kind sirs i would like to professionally request you to rearrange my guts the soonest possible time thank you and regards https://t.co/EQWg407zgt |
| 1068. | me: sits in the emergency room for appendicitis also me: texting this guy abt how bad i want him to rearrange my guts 🤔 |