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SOCIAL CODES OF CHAT-COMMUNICATION: ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Introduction. Sociologic studies of computer-mediated communication (CMC) can be performed in methodological coordinate systems of various scientific paradigms as phenomenology, sociolinguistics, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology that can be used both individually and in combinations. Text nature of cyber-communication, its total orientation on semiotic forms of presentations (verbal texts, non-verbal manifestations by means of «smileys», gest symbols (for example, image of hand-shaking), object symbols (for instance, image flower bunch)) determines selecting those strategies of sociologic analysis that actively employ methods of discourse-analysis. Ethnomethodological paradigm oriented on thorough watching of everyday practices of inter-personal communication and actively using ethnographic methods of qualitative analysis (such as participant observation, conversation analysis, analysis of background context of social interaction, in-depth interview with participants of communication process) can be considered as one of the most efficient and perspective forms of CMC-text analysis.

In modern sociology, ethnomethodological paradigm is quite popular and is widely used in the process of studying CMC (J. Androutsopoulos, D. Bolyard, D. Bortree, P. ten Have, A. Nocera, L. Pacagnella, J. Straubhaar, S. Thomsen, C. Thurlow, J. Quentin, G. Yang) [2; 4; 7; 9; 10; 12; 13]. This paper presents the results of ethnometodological studies of CMC using the method of breaching experiment proposed by G. Garfinkel (experiment with breaking normal order of everyday inter-relations) [5]. By intervention into «conventional order» of everyday life of social actors, by breaking the standards and norms of social communication, by breaching «background expectancies» of social environment, a researcher-ethnomethodologist experimentally determines what forms of social activity are the most demanded in real life (measure of their popularity can be determined by degree of resistance to actions of «order destroyer»); what verbal-behavioral norms apparently or latently control everyday activity of social actors; what means of banning "incorrect" social actions can be used by actors in concrete social situations.

One of the most popular forms of cyber-communication is chat-communication that is a time-synchronized real-time (on-line) conversation (polylogue) of many cyber-actors that are co-present in a common cyber-space. Such conditions offer convenient opportunities for carrying out participant observation which was our main intention and approach in studying the aforementioned form of CMC.

Ethnomethodological study on-line was performed in several Russian and Ukrainian language chats (Ukrainian Prostochat, SPB chat, Moscow chat "Besedka", Kharkov Student-chat, Kiev Meeting chat, Chat Ukrainian Portal, Ukrainian Chat-Smile, Vchate, Kiss-chat). Our research was carried out in two basic directions: 1) participant observation was done during one month as a guest of chat-company; 2) breaching experiments on-line were conducted with duration from 30 minutes till three days of everyday participation in chat.

The main goal of breaching experiment on-line was to detect social codes that structure the communication process in chats and to analyze mechanisms of these codes' functioning. Irrespectively to the fact are the semiotic codes (that control CMC such as Cocktail-party-code, Nickname-code, Spectacle-code) are perceived consciously or unconsciously by cyber-actors, the degree of their social value can be determined only by experimentally breaching the rules of behavior commonly accepted by a given community. From response reaction of cyber-actors, from degree of their indignation/disaffection by actions of a «destroyer», from sanctions against incorrect actions of a researcher that can be used by cyber-actors in crisis situation, it becomes possible to reconstruct social content of cyber action and interaction.

Cocktail-party-Code of Chat-communication

Any semiotic system that includes verbal and non-verbal forms of manifesting certain meanings is built according to some Code (rule that orders and structures a certain type of semiotic interaction carried out in various spheres of human activity). One of the main tasks of ethnomethodology that deals with different semiotic texts (verbal texts, communicative texts, texts of everyday behavior) is to perform decoding activity intended on searching a program (rational or irrational, apparent or latent) that "controls" a process of certain type of communication. According to M. Apgar, "ethnography is essentially a decoding operation. A description of shared knowledge, or cognition enables us to decode the observed behavior" [3]. Respectively, ethnomethodological analysis of chat-communication presumes carrying out "decoding operation" directed on detecting the logic of virtual communication on-line.

One of the main codes of chat-communication that determines its peculiarity is the code of easy, unconstrained and superficial communication for communication ("contact for contact") with dominating phatic function of speech. In ethnomethodology, chat-communication is analogized to such forms of light entertainment as "cocktail-party", rest in a bar. According to H. Rheingold, "the logging onto online services and chat rooms is similar to the feeling of the peeking into the café, the pub, the common room, to see who's there, and whether you want to stay around for a chat" [11]. S. Herring has paid attention to another aspect of "cocktail-party" that allows likening this practice to chat-communication: in both cases, there is a chaotic exchange of replicas in which a large number of social actors participate where any of them tries to attract attention of others to him/her with muffling the others by loud speaking and sometimes responding inappropriately; involving very different, not related to each other topic of conversation [8].

How Cocktail-party-code is functioning? How important is it in the context of chat-communication? To answer these questions, we have carried out breaching experiment the main intention of which consisted in designful breaking the code of superficial communication, in violating the rules of easy chatting. This breaching of background expectations of chat-community has been done in two directions: 1) I intentionally have not used chat slang and expressed my ideas and messages in a literal way (this violated chat rules of a-grammar); 2) I permanently tried to make communication process "deeper" with forcing chat partners to pass from superficial to philosophic-psychologic polylogue. To initiate replica exchange, after entering an unknown chat and getting preliminary imagination with text messages of chat actors, some of them have been sent messages with showing interest to the meanings of their nicknames or attempts were made to join the already established "chatter". If some of the selected actors responded, attempts to start a more meaningful and prolonged dialogue with him/her were undertaken.

Let us describe some situations where the experiment participants used the same scheme (the same Code) of reacting to the violation of conventional chat-communication. In the first case, one girl has attracted my attention since she had the nickname that was "charged" by obvious implication:

My_nation_is_the_best. I have been looking at her chat-behavior for a certain time and have observed that her behavior, in fact, does not differ from behavior of other cyber-actors: the girl was actively using chat slang and camouflaged obscene language, exchanged by superficial meaningless phrases with chat partners. I have managed to attract her to ideological discussion by asking why is she confident that just her nation is the best, has she chosen her nickname occasionally of it expresses her credo? The girl has responded and has immediately changed communication style by switching from slang to literal form of communication proposed by me. She has confirmed sincere character of her nationalist credo and expressed doubt in my statement that real Love is more important reality than nationalism. Our conversation lasted for more than one hour and then we completed it being almost friends. Reaction on breaching the "cocktail-party"-code happened the next day when My_nation_is_the_best, as if she was ashamed of her philosophizing on-line, refused from further communication and left the chat quickly. Certainly, it is possible to assume that such a behavior is a pure accident; however, reactions of other cyber-actors to similar "crisis situations" have confirmed existence of the same behavior scheme that realizes the strategy of escape and aversion to any form of in-depth dialogue. Sometimes, such attempts to initiate meaningful dialogue sent cyber-actors into communication "knock-out" (being active participants of chat-communication before, they have suddenly escaped from the field of chat-"visibility" after getting my messages although they remained present in chat).

The most interesting situation (from sociological viewpoint) occurred when, alongside with "Cocktail-party"-code, power code played by a Moderator in his/her relations to chat participants took part. Rights of the Moderator were violated by me in two directions (although I understood only later, while analyzing the recorded electronic texts of chat-communication, that I have dealt with the Moderator). Firstly, having noticed by my "vis-a-vie" (let me call him Moderator in further description) uses obscene language (although, by virtue of power, he had to strongly discourage its appearance in chat), I tried to initiate the topic of «male sensitivity» and, oddly enough, won a temporary victory, because during the subsequent dialogue with me the Moderator was polite and considerate, justifying his liberty by religious persuasion ("if I allow myself to use obscene language in front of God, then what will force me to stop using it in the presence of women"). When I remarked on the inappropriateness of using the name of God in the context of this dialogue, and on the originality of his understanding of faith, the Moderator made some amendments with respect to its (non-Christian) religiosity and made a counter-attack on my lack of knowledge of Lamaism assumed by him. In this situation, I have performed the following violation of background expectations: I "dared" to make comments to the Moderator and, thus, questioned his superiority status in the face of other chat-participants. Secondly, the Moderator has been involved in quite a long (nearly 50-minute) non-superficial communication on religious, philosophical, psychological topics (in the last remarks, we have been discussing the topic of intuitive knowledge) and this has also become a "crisis" moment in our dialogue. Exchanged courtesies at the end of our dialogue (the Moderator gave me a compliment, "I have immediately realized that you can be an interesting interlocutor"), I heard a polite "goodbye", which in reality occurred to be "judgement": the next day when trying to enter the chat I was blocked by the standard "forbidden" ("access denied"). This exclusion me from the chat was the capital punishment for violating the codes of chat-communication, proactively protecting chat actors against possible attacks on their easiness, superficiality, and familiarity of communication.

As a result of carrying out the breaching experiments described above, the one contradiction inherent for chat communication has appeared itself. On the one hand, a chat space can be called a territory of egalitarianism, permissiveness, the field of free experimentation with personal identity and discourse styles, a playground for using different social roles. On the other hand, in chats, it is allowed and encouraged to use rather serious (not playing) and quite dangerous social practices, such as exclusion from the chat (in Internet lingo – "rewarding a user by ban"), sending an irritating chat actor to personal or total ignore (messages of the chat actor who got ignore are made invisible to the chat audience or to its individual members, that is, they are simply not displayed).

According to the unwritten laws of the Internet it is possible to ban a chat actor only for breaching the chat etiquette: for the use of foul language, flood, spam, flaming, trolling. However, in reality (as seen in the example above), the offenses for which you may got the punishment can be very innocent (or, in general, may be not offenses at all but they can be rather ethical discourse acts) – it is enough for a Moderator (or administrator) to regard them as unacceptable and wrong. On the contrary, the use of coarse language and brutal forms of virtual behavior (as flame, provocation, trolling) often does not result to an adequate reaction of a Moderator (who can practice them by him/herself) since they are becoming ubiquitous (and, therefore, it becomes ineffective to counteract them). Thus, in the chat space, peculiar inversion of the traditional meaning of the concept of "deviation" takes place: a deviation in terms of chat communicators is not destructive (brutal) behavior but violation of "cocktail-party"-code as well as power ambitions chat hierarchy (power code manifested in actions of moderators and administrators).

It is worth paying special attention to ruthlessness and irrevocability of decisions performed in chats with respect to the violators which seem to contradict to the easy-superficial manner of chat communication. If in the real social life it is quite possible to have a peaceful arrangement of a conflict that allows opponents to speak out and to reach a compromise, the practice of "exclusion from the chat" (or blocking the entrance to the chat) without any prior explanation and often without the right of return makes impossible to establish relations, forcibly breaks social contact and might have an extremely traumatic social impact on the exile. Not a less protest is called by the aforementioned practice of "sending to ignore" which also includes totalitarian overtones. It is noteworthy that the adoption of personal or collective decision on temporary exclusion of a guilty cyber actor from a chat to ignore (again, the degree of guilty is each time situationally determined and it is often done by a Moderator) does not cause chat actors doubt concerning moral permissibility of such a persecution. Here is an example. When one of the participants of the chat communication proposed to send some X to total Ignore "to teach a lesson and put him in his place", I asked "Don't you think that the total ignore is the total disgrace to those who use it?", I have got quite sincere response "I do not understand what you mean". Then, potential social impact of these chat-messages becomes obvious: affordability and, moreover, encouraging the practices of exile and exclusion of disagreeable persons that in real life can lead to escalation of interpersonal intolerance and xenophobia.

Nickname-code and *Spectacle*-code of Chat-communication

In an effort to find the code, the program that controls the IM communication, it may be assumed that nicknames invented by cyber actors play the role of ciphers that determine peculiarities of chat activity of their authors; that nicknames manifest character of their authors. Meanwhile, many cyber actors believe that, on the contrary, nature of nicknames is random and it is impossible to detect encrypted information about their owners in nicknames. Is it possible to draw a conclusion on non-existence of the nickname-code? Do nicknames really play no role in the chat communication? As a result of ethnomethodological study, ambiguous conclusions on this problem have been obtained.

The essence of our experiment was in testing several nicknames which, in my opinion, contained a certain sense "charge" and had to cause specific reactions: Botaniq (the term "botanists" in Slavic child and adolescent communities is used to call excellent pupils); Bogeywoman (female nickname that send an obvious message of unattractiveness, ugliness and combativeness); Marilyn Monroe (the nickname that contains charming feminine connotation, was used in the same chat as the previous nickname to identify possible responses to opposite models of femininity); Deputy Assistant (socially "charged" nickname that contains the connotation of useless, but prestigious position that usually arises envy or irritation); Model's_manager (nickname indicating popular professional orientation of the nick owner); Faculty_ Dean (this "university"nickname was used in the Kharkov Students Chat); Movie_actor (professional oriented nickname pointing at prestige of symbolic status of its owner); Contra (literally "against", a nickname that contains the connotative meaning of non-conformism and provocative behavior of its owner). The breaching nature of the experiment using a variety of nicknames emerged not so much in intentional violation of background expectations of chat actors, but in latent provoking the specific reactions of chat actors which could express their Nickname-code.

It should be noted that the response to experimental nicknames was heterogeneous: whilst some of them (Deputy_ Assistant or Faculty_Dean) started to "work off" their meaning from the first minutes of my visiting the chats, without any effort from my side (let's call them "nicknames with a strong social charge"), to cause a reaction on the sense content of other nicknames I had to use one more code of chat communication, namely, Spectacle-code (these nicknames can be treated as "weakly charged").

The reaction of the audience to the "strongly charged" nickname Deputy Assistant from the first moments was negative (it seems that the chat actors had no doubt in a reality, not simulative character, of deputy assistant) which manifested itself in some sharp attacks against its owner. For Deputy Assistant, it was not worth making much effort to attract the attention of a large number of participants in the chat of cyber actors who jointly began to reproach him of reneging on election promises (despite the fact that our nick owner has not positioned himself as a representative of a certain political party), hypocrisy and immoral behavior. In some cases, when Deputy Assistant allowed himself parrying remarks of especially active prosecutors, they left the chat (perhaps, being afraid of responsibility for the harsh criticism of "representative of the power").

As for the nickname Faculty Dean that was used in the student chat, it also had a rapid success. Chat-actors that entered into communication with him, either go on a serious tone and diligently answered his questions (like they really believed that the representative of high school (possibly their own) is contacting them) or switched to humorous style of communication suspecting some social game. Wavering from faith to distrust to this nick could be seen throughout the chat round (about 30 minutes) and it seems that piety towards the positions of the real Dean held chat actors in a certain tension not allowing to relax completely.

In this example, it is possible to observe the penetration of the real social life in virtual dimension, which, for some period of time, was able to subdue the process of cyber communication. Thus, the virtual world can hardly be called a parallel and independent of the real world. Relations between them are of more complex nature: sometimes their overlays, intersections and interferences are possible whilst sometimes there is an independent and autonomous existence of each.

As for the other nicknames, experimenting with them was more complex and required a special dramatic work. Before we present the description of the results of the experiment, let us make a small theoretical excursus. In some works on virtual communication, one can see the reception of ideas of E. Goffman who argues that social world of interpersonal interactions can be described using dramaturgic and theatrical terms. Cyber-actors can implement certain dramaturgical cyber scenarios, living as their cyber characters. According to Paul ten Have "The typists can then be called "players" and the projected identities "characters", while the interaction can be seen as a game of role-playing" [7]. Similar conclusions are drawn by the Russian researcher N. Zinov'yeva with paying attention to the fact that in the virtual space, along with the play form of expression, non-play form can be used as well. The difference between them is as follows: "in the play, a player enters communication on behalf of his/her personage, i. e., an artificially created image, which has, however, individual character features. In Internet communications out of play, an actor performs on behalf of his/her own or on behalf of a virtual alter ego, created consciously or unconsciously" [1].

Let us try to assume that if a cyber actor enters non-play cyber communication with presenting himself/herself, the nickname-code will manifest itself only in the case if this nickname expresses social-essential characteristics of its owner and is semantically obvious (e. g., Permanent_ student, I_support_Obama, I_like_geography, etc.). In the other cases, if a cyber actor trying to present some fictional character comes into the cyber play, he/she needs not just to declare a nickname (probably, a very informative one), but also to support his nickname role by appropriate style of play; otherwise, the public would not believe him and the delivered spectacle would not find a response.

Using Goffman's approach, let us describe the functioning of nickname-code. If a cyber actor positions himself/herself by means of some extravagant nickname, which then would not play in the discourse acts, the chat audience would not attempt to understand the hidden meanings of this nickname and would not reconstruct its cyber-image (it will remain indifferent to the concrete nickname presentation). For example, if a cyber actor positions himself/herself as an intellectual and, in fact, is unable to formulate meaningful phrases, his/her nickname occurs to be "suspended" and would not attract attention. According to my own experience of participating in chats, cyber actors often do not pay attention to nicks (except nicknames with a strong social charge), no matter how unusual and outrageous they are (apparently being got used to the situation that nicknames are mostly invented with the aim to be originally sounding and rarely with the aim of self-expression). It is necessary to make an important remark. Nicks do not attract attention if they are only signboards that are not played on the theater cyber scene. On the contrary, if the cyber actor is got used into his/her nickname role and presents spectacle to a chat audience, in this case, we can expect an interested reaction from it.

This scheme has fully demonstrated itself in the experiments. For example, two nicknames claimed the same day in the same chat – Bogeywoman and Marilyn_Monroe – initially did not cause any reactions expected by me (it was assumed that male cyber actors would be more interested in Marilyn_Monroe and ignore Bogeywoman). Participants in the chat answered my questions without interest as long as they were neutral. However, starting from the moment I tried to present a cyber-dramatic performance of the opposite style female roles, the situation has changed: Bogeywoman, that poeticized her unattractiveness and was trying to flirt with male cyber actors, finally turned out to be in a certain isolation. On the contrary, Marilyn_Monroe who tried to position herself as a double (in real life) of American actress soon attracted the attention of some cyber actors who supported dialogue in the style of flirting. That is despite the fact that most of the cyber-actors understand that really behind the nickname Marilyn_Monroe is surely hiding not Marilyn Monroe (and, perhaps, in general, not a woman at all), however, they were willing to be included in the cyber play supporting those messages which were sent by this nickname.

A similar situation took part in the process of experimenting with nicknames Model's_manager, Movie_actor and Botaniq. If at the very beginning these nicknames were not perceived seriously and not treated as manifestations of real-life positions, the result of theatrical enactment of their social context was such that cyber actors imbued with confidence in these characters. The Model's_manager, demonstrating awareness of the intricacies of the fashion business, attracted the attention of some female chat actors which, accompanying him, described their body features. The Movie_actor, describing his actor's abilities, managed to find some chat fans who persistently tried to find out what movies he starred and what is his surname. Concerning Botaniq, the situation was somewhat different. If the first remarks in his address were stereotypical phrases: "Are you wearing glasses?", "You're a wimp?", later the chat participants became interested in his precociousness (Botaniq was positioned as a 15-year-old pupil), a few female chat actors came to him in a friendly dialogue. Contra who was practicing acerbic style of communication eventually deserved a compliment ("Your nickname completely expresses your character – you always speak out "against"") and got a portion of sharp remarks which expressed dissatisfaction with her excessive hypercriticism.

The close relationship of Nickname-code and Spectacle-code (and even a certain degree of their inter-dependence) has been traced in the process of monitoring the behavior of other nickname owners. For example, the owner of the nickname Undertaker kept quite ordinary (non-mourning) communication with chat friends until I asked the reason for choosing this nickname.

In response, the Undertaker began to play a dramatic role actively proposing discount coffins to chat actors and trying to develop funeral topic. Watching his chat behavior, I have noticed another feature of Nickname-code which was described by Paul ten Have. When selecting a cyber-partner, chat-communicators carry out search using several parameters: they pay attention to gender, age, place of residence of an interlocutor as well as to his/her nickname. "Nicknames are used as concise "labels" to announce who is available on the chat network or in a particular room" [7]. Cyber-actors select interlocutors taking into account semantic similarity of nicknames. Thus, the sense code contained in the nickname Undertaker appeared in whom he involved in the exchange of remarks: they were Dead_Doll and Killer. The owner of the nickname Lover_Hero started a dialogue with Beauty (flirt-code), whilst Melt_Snow addressed Strong_Storm ("meteorological" code). Although, of course, the nickname-code does not act this way always, mostly this happens in a situation where a newcomer enters an unknown chat includes and tries to pick up a chat group.

When conducting experiments with nicknames, another feature of the perception of nicks has been noticed that may be interesting from a gender perspective. Neutral, sexless nicknames (for example, Contra) the sex of which was not specified in the questionnaire chat are usually perceived by women as male identifiers while for men such nicknames cause irritation and produce the desire to find out is this man or woman. That is, perhaps, women have a greater tendency to dramaturgical play-acting and try to think out, to reconstruct the image of a counterpart to a more acceptable in terms of gender parity. As for men, for them it is more comfortable to have the situation of clarity and unambiguity allowing to build a transparent relationship with cyber-partners.

Conclusions. In the context of the study of text-oriented cyber communication, it is especially promising to apply ethnomethodological approach using which it is possible to detect latent codes governing cyber communication, performing decoding and deconstructing research activity. Etnometodological approach to studying the virtual social communication has allowed visualizing some situations that take place in chat communities.

One of the main features of these situations is a virtual reconstruction of "Cocktail-party"-environment, reproduction of the atmosphere of light chatter-in bar which should not be breached by in-depth discussion of philosophical nature. Visualization of contacts in virtual communities has theatrical "refraction": playing specific roles (which, of course, take place in real life) is intensified as much as possible in the virtual dimension; dramaturgic presentation of virtual performances is of main interest (and main entertainment) for chat actors.

As a result of performing the breaching experiments in various chat rooms, the social mechanism of several code functioning of chat communication has been described, namely, Cocktail-party-code, Nickname-code and Spectacle-code. The program of easy, superficial communication-entertainment embedded in the Cocktail-party-code simultaneously includes a repressive code launched in the case when cyber actors deviate from the canons of pleasant chat communication. Nickname-code and Spectacle-code, as a rule, work together supporting and strengthening one another: information embedded in a nickname attracts attention of other cyber-actors in the case if it is played out in discourse performance.

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Summary

Bataeva K. V. **Social Codes of Chat-Communication: Ethnomethodological Approach.** – Article.

The paper presents the results of breaching experiments on-line carried out in several chats. As the result of applying ethnomethodological and social-semiotic approaches to text forms of cyber-actor interaction, specific features of chat-communication have been found that appear themselves in functioning social codes as Cocktail-party-code, Nickname-code and Spectacle-code. The program of superficial communication embedded in the Cocktail-party-code simultaneously includes a repressive code launched in the case when cyber actors deviate from the canons of pleasant chat communication. Nickname-code and Spectacle-code, as a rule, work together: information embedded in a nickname attracts attention of other cyber-actors in the case if it is played out in discourse performance.

Key words: ethnomethodology, breaching experiment on-line, chat, Cocktail-party-code, Nickname-code, Spectacle-code.

Анотація

Батаєва К. В. **Соціальні коди чат-комунікації: етнометодологічний підхід.** – Стаття.

У статті подано результати кризових експериментів, що проведені on-line в кількох чатах. У результаті використання етнометодологічного й соціально-семіотичного підходів до текстових форм взаємодії кіберакторів було виявлено особливості чат-комунікування, які можна помітити у функціонуванні соціальних кодів, – Cocktail-party-коду, Nickname-коду і Spectacle-коду. Програма поверхового спілкування, що міститься в Cocktail-party-коді, водночас включає репресивний шифр, який починає діяти, якщо кіберактори відхиляються від розважальних канонів чат-спілкування. Nickname-код і Spectacle-код найчастіше діють разом: інформація, що міститься в ніку, привертає до себе увагу кіберакторів у тому разі, якщо вона драматично програється в дискурс-спектаклі.

Ключові слова: етнометодологія, кризовий експеримент on-line, чат, Cocktail-party-код, Nickname-код, Spectacle-код.

Аннотация

Батаева Е. В. **Социальные коды чат-коммуникации: этнометодологический подход.** – Статья.

В статье представлены результаты кризисных экспериментов, проведенных on-line в нескольких чатах. В результате применения этнометодологического и социально-семиотического подходов к текстовым формам взаимодействия кираберкторов были выявлены особенности чат-коммуницирования, проявляющиеся в функционировании социальных кодов, – Cocktail-party-кода, Nickname-кода и Spectacle-кода. Программа поверхностного общения, заложенная в Cocktail-party-Коде, включает в себя репрессивный шифр, запускаемый в действие, если кираберктеры отклоняются от развлекательных канонов чат-общения. Nickname-код и Spectacle-код, как правило, действуют совместно: заложенная в нике информация привлекает к себе внимание кираберктеров, если она драматически разыгрывается в дискурс-спектакле.

Ключевые слова: этнометодология, кризисный эксперимент on-line, чат, Cocktail-party-код, Nickname-код, Spectacle-код.