At the millennium, when I became involved with research on the social dimensions and consequences of mobile technologies, I was struck by a paradox. An air of enthusiasm surrounded the mobile world. Both ordinary people and industries were thrilled by the new mobile possibilities. The relatively reliable statistics of mobile operators, however, showed that people were using mobile phones just five minutes a day on average in Finland – one of the mobile technology forerunners at that point – mainly talking to each other, sending some text messages, and not really much more (Nurmela 2001). As the enthusiasm seemed sincere, I had to ask what was so revolutionary about these five minutes a day. I have been asking this question ever since.

Mobile technologies and the cultural patterns of their usage have evolved at a tremendous speed, but the elementary characteristics of usage of mobile communication technologies have remained stable. Communication, time-saving and time-killing have turned out to be the elementary functions of mobile and smart phones. Large segments of consumers seem eager to purchase the newest and trendiest mobile handset with plenty of multimedia capacity, but the usage of multimedia or broadband mobile services has remained low, a negligible fraction of mobile operators’ revenues (Foggin 2005).

Despite partially failed hopes on mobile broadband, mobile communication has become ubiquitous. It alters existing communication patterns, enables new kinds of contact between people, and yet remains embedded in the prevailing social relations and practices. Many of the new mobile communication practices entail small, subtle changes in the patterns of communication. On the whole, relatively small alterations in communication practices amount to broader changes in ways of life and in the organizing principles of society (McNeill & McNeill 2003).

As Ling (2004) and others have suggested, perhaps the greatest consequence of mobile communication technologies is their impact on the experience of space and time and the coordination of social affairs (Castells, et al. 2004; Katz 2005; Arminen 2005b). In this article, I will locate the transformation of time-space experience on the level of actual mobile phone usage. I will discuss new interrelated communicative practices relevant to time-space experience with the help of actual mobile phone calls and SMS messages. I address three

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1 In this respect, Japan and Korea, at the forefront of current mobile technology development, do not actually differ critically from the rest of the world. Except “Keitai e-mail”, which combines SMS and mobile e-mail, the adoption of mobile broadband and multimedia in Japan does not seem to be crucially more advanced than in Western countries (Ito, et al. 2005). This is not to say that mobile multimedia were entirely unused; pictures are taken, music and videos are downloaded, but multimedia has not (yet) become a part of everyday communication. It has mainly been used for catch and store (Kindberg, et al. 2004).

2 Indeed, some researchers have claimed on good grounds that mobile communication has led only to a superficial transformation in communication (see Arminen 2005a)
new communicative practices that are central aspects of mobile phone usage: mobile real-time co-ordination of social action, extended seamless accountability of mobile actors and distant, mobile co-presence. Together these entail a mobile time-space that engenders optimism, fear and criticism (Rheingold 2002; Katz 2005; Hassan 2003).

Data and methods

To analyze the actual mobile telephone usage, a set of Finnish mobile phone conversations was recorded in summer 2002, including 74 complete calls and 8 partial recordings. The mobile phone used had an inbuilt recording device. The mobile calls of two women and two men (aged 23-38) were taped within about a week with the permission of all communicating parties. The participants could select the calls to be submitted to research, and the anonymity of the participants was guaranteed. The data consist of about 40 dyads when the communications partners are taken into account.

With few deletions, the set covers almost all calls from the subjects, consisting of about four hours of speaking time. It covers mobile-to-mobile and landline-to-mobile or mobile-to-landline conversations. Most of the calls were between friends and relatives, but some were work-related. The calls were transcribed and analyzed in detail by using conversation analytical (CA) methods (see Appendix for the transcription conventions). Minna Leinonen transcribed the mobile data.

This amount of data is sufficient for the analysis of elementary structures of social action that is accomplished at the level of social interaction (Sacks 1992). Mobile communication is as orderly as any other type of social action (Atkinson & Heritage 1984), and this analytical approach is able to cover the fundamental forms of social action among those who were included in this study. It is worth noting that the sample is limited in terms of age range. There were only few teenagers and elderly people among the forty dyads. For the distinctive communication patterns of teenagers, the extended literature should be consulted, e.g. (Laursen 2005; Weilenmann & Larsson 2002). Further, the data were collected in Finland. However, the elementary forms of social action are not strongly culturally bound. People make meeting arrangements, warn each other about (traffic) hazards and participate in group celebrations. On that level, nothing is tied to Finland. Similar communicative exchanges take place world around. For further methodological discussion, see Arminen 2005a; 2006.

For historical comparisons, 107 Finnish landline-to-landline telephone calls from the 1980’s and 90’s were obtained. The landline call data set enables empirical comparisons to see the actual differences between landline and mobile calls (see Arminen & Leinonen 2006). In addition, a set of 206 SMS messages was collected in 2005, of more than forty pairs. This includes plenty of sequences of messages (message-reply chains), and allows for the explication of the communicative structure of text messaging.

3 Initially, the notion of time-space is influenced by Bakhtin’s (1981) discussion on points in the geography of a community where time and space intersect and fuse. I observed that for mobile actors time and space are recurrently and systematically interwoven and inseparable (Arminen 2005b). Places are spoken and texted as minutes from X. Mobile communication builds a time-space of its own.

4 I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the Department of Finnish Language at Helsinki University, which has made a large set of recorded landline telephone calls (most with transcripts) from its data archive available for this research. The set was a random selection of the archive of hundreds of calls from different callers.
CA methodology offers a strict analysis of sequential aspects of social actions in real time and real settings (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998; Arminen 2005c). It identifies, specifies and compares interactional patterns that constitute or contribute to establishing the social world as perceived. The aim is to catch the characteristic features of mundane activities that mold them into what they are. Whatever humans do can be examined to discover and describe the way their actions are carried out. This methodology can be applied to open up the real-time coordination of social action mediated by mobile technologies. The aim is to explore the new forms of sociability and the distinctive features of new social practices. The idea is not just to show that mobile communication is a form of interaction, but to find out what more there is, to inform us about the emergence of new social realities. The final goal is to elaborate the ways in which new technologies are consequential for the social practices they afford. The findings inform us about possibilities, conditions and limits for new applications (Dourish 2001; Dourish & Button 1998).

Social consequences of mobile telephony

A lot has been written about the social consequences of mobile telephony in recent years (e.g., Ling 2004; Castells, et al. 2007; Geser 2005). Castells and his colleagues assert that mobile telephony’s contribution to the growth of autonomy and the unity of peer groups are among the strongest trends (Castells, et al. 2007, 247-249). They point out that both individual and collective autonomy increases vis-à-vis space, time and normative constraints. At the same time, the extended communication capability strengthens the peer groups. At this point a critical reader may wonder, “strengthens individual and collective autonomy, and peer groups.” Is this possible? Is this not a contradiction? Geser (2005, 24-26) maintains that cell phones allow us to escape into self-controlled social relationships with family and friends, thus tending to revive a pre-modern worldview and hinder individual development of character. At the outset, Geser’s portrait is at odds with Ling’s emphasis (2004) on the role of mobile telephony in swift coordination of social action. Mobile telephony enables more flexible social coordination of work and everyday activity. There is no reason to believe that the improved coordination of social action as such would undermine modernity. In contrast, mobile telephony may increase productivity and accelerate modernization (Green 2002a).

Is it possible to make sense of these contradictory accounts of the consequences? First, mobile communication technology involves the Lazarus effect, breathing life into “wasted”, “dead” moments (Perry, et al. 2001). It allows the time “in-between”, “on the road”, to become useful. This rationalization of time usage produces paradoxes. As the “empty” time is made available, the mobile-networked actor has “more” time (to be used). The mobile actor may thus afford both more individual freedom and more tied social contact. Further, the rationalization of time usage does not determine the way in which the “extra” time will be used, since it depends on the type(s) of mobile network(s) the actor is part of. There is no deterministic relationship between technology and social configuration.

Through her extended ethnographic fieldwork in rural West Bengal, Tenhunen (2006) found that the impact of mobile phones showed a peculiar duality in that it both traversed and stabilized village life. Mobile phones enabled a direct communicative access to wider society; they allowed access to enhanced market information on agricultural goods, etc.; they enabled maintenance of contact with family and kinship networks, enhancing traditional
values; and they also undermined the authority of traditional village chiefs by providing access to information that used to be mediated by chiefs. The appropriation of mobile ICT in rural communities did not have any single, overarching consequence, but rather a plethora of consequences. It seemed to be too early to say whether mobile ICT would strengthen traditionalism, modernization, or both. The mobile ICT adapts to a societal configuration that mediates socio-technical development, which, in turn, affects culture, politics and society. The ties between science, technology and society are pervasive and reciprocal (see McNeill & McNeill 2003).

The rationalization of time usage and the evolving new communication patterns are the directly observable aspects of mobile communication. In all, the adoption of mobile communication is a small step in the evolution of the communicative matrix of humankind that heads toward a growing complexity (McNeill & McNeill 2003). It is a part of the development that binds the network of people closer together. This is felt as an intensification of time-space. We become a part of a growing, diversifying and accelerating mobile communication network. This entirety is characterized by ever-expanding complexity (Hulme and Truch 2005). In the rest of this article, I will detail three new mobile social practices that contribute to the mobile time-space as an arena of new kinds of social actions that increase the complexity of social order.

Real-time coordination of social action

Although the role of mobile telephones for the co-ordination of ongoing distant social activities has already been discussed several times (e.g., Ling & Yttri 2002; Ling 2004; Cooper, et al. 2002), it is still worth attention as the dominant, most typical task of mobile communication. At least half and often more of the mobile calls and text messages seem to be related to co-ordination of social action (Hulme & Truch 2005; Arminen 2005b). Many of the mobile real-time co-ordination practices are unique to wireless ICT. Further, the co-ordination of activities is not external to everyday life, but an essential part of it. Hence, the mobile communication is embedded and intertwines with the constitution of everyday life and the ways of life. In all, the new co-ordination practices contribute to the shift of time-space.

The content of calls and text messages shows that communication (such as requests, reminders, and announcements) tends to be related to other ongoing activities or events. Mobile communication supports other forms of social exchange and does not simply replace them. Making arrangements to meet seems to be the most common mobile practice. Commuting, travel and other transition moments are typical and also a unique environment for mobile communication. Driving a car provides a specific, regular context for mobile communication. Sometimes communication is directly related to the ongoing task itself, such as driving. In extract 1, the driver warns the car behind about a deer by the road. Communication is inseparable from the ongoing activity. Talk is produced economically to

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I avoid exact percentages on purpose. Several studies have presented slightly different numbers. The categories, such as “meeting arrangements”, are open to different operationalizations. Further, sub-populations of mobile users vary in their communication type frequencies. Here I discuss the general properties, not the characteristics of a particular population.
deliver rapid, real-time instructions for the activity (see Appendix for the transcription conventions).

1) 2002-07-06_23-29-48 (P= Pekka, caller, A= Ari, answerer)

1 A: no morjes pekka,
    oh hello: pekka,

2 P: kahteltiin tossa vasemmalla puolen tietä
    we saw there at left side of the road

3 P: peuraa äsken että,
    dear a moment ago so that,

4 A: ah[a,
    I [see,

5 P:     [että varo.
    [that watch out.

In extract (1), a warning call from the car ahead is made to the car behind; mobile, real-time communication like this is unique to wireless ICT. Notably, the details of communication are reflexively linked to the type of action; among other things, the caller goes straight to the point by skipping the return of greeting. This departure from the normal canons of communication establishes the sense of urgency (Arminen & Leinonen 2006). Note also the way in which the description is built in lines 2-3. The warning is achieved by first stating where to look before stating what to look. The embodied, situated sense of social action is created through its interactional realization.

Mobile communication has established a new communication culture that has a distinct language and etiquette (Castells, et.al. 2007). Both written and oral languages have new forms adapted to the situations of use. Mobile conversations have a number of distinct features, just like text messages (Laursen 2005). In (2), Pekka makes a call about their meeting arrangements.

2) 2002-07-03_20-01-54.wav (P= Pekka, caller, J= Jouko, answerer)

1 J: MORO,
    HI,

2 (1.0)

3 → P: MOI mis meet,
    HI where are you,

4 (0.6)

5 → J: mä oon täällä Ernestossa jo,
I’m here at Ernesto’s already,

Here the caller both returns the greeting and initiates the topic through a singular prosodic unit [HI where are you?]. The greeting is not produced as an independent item, but is embedded into a part of the topic initiation. Here, as in the previous example, the reason for the call is uttered as early as the caller’s first turn, thus radically reducing the opening from conventional landline call openings⁶. The reduction of rituals of landline calls is a part of the intensified time-space of mobile communication. Secondly, the location of parties becomes routinely relevant as the reason for the call gets established through the location inquiry in an immediate presence. Here the recipient of the question orients to this immediacy through his temporal marker “jo” [already] at line 5. The mobile communication connects the parties’ common action to their immediate presence. Parties to mobile communication do not necessarily orient to an external, objective time, but share their own immediate space-time. The communication is embedded in the time-frame of common activity, establishing a shared space-time and overcoming the physical distance between them.

Mobile communication gets its specific sense through its reflexive linkage to the surrounding social world since it is an inseparable part of the real-time ongoing activities in which the parties are engaged. Wireless ICT not only revives “dead” moments, but provides communicative access any time, anywhere. This ubiquitous communication has both a practical side — smoothing the arrangements — as well as a socio-emotional, symbolic value. When people communicate about their whereabouts and availability for mutual actions, they do not just state precursors for practical arrangements, but also establish and maintain their social relationships. The availability of and hindrances to joint activities get caught up in symbolic qualities. The limits to joint action do not derive from material circumstances alone, but tend to index the limits of the social relationship. Mobile communication makes all mundane activities shareable, allowing them to be linked to the personalities and relationships involved. The call made or received on the beach has the potential for the connotations of “beach” to become a part of the message. A call made at a break in a business meeting is prone to provide cues identifying the caller in a particular way. Mobile communication does not “free” us from places, spaces and practices, but makes them communicationally available to other mobile networked parties, leading to a new, enriched symbolic texture of everyday life.

**Constant accountability of social action**

Discussion of the consequences of mobile communication has emphasized the new flexibility of social arrangements and softening of schedules. The rationalization of time usage that ubiquitous communication affords also enables real-time monitoring of communicating parties. In fact, real-time monitoring is a logical aspect of the flexible, mobile coordination of social affairs. Mobile communication may allow us to inform others if we are late or, as a matter of fact, when we suppose we will not be on time. The mobile technologies make us also traceable and accountable. A person who is not there at the appointed time is likely to be reminded, unless she or he has already notified the other parties of being late. Mobile

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⁶ For example, in American canonical landline call openings, the reason for call is uttered in the caller’s fourth turn - after greetings, identifications and how-are-yous (Schegloff 1986; Arminen & Leinonen 2006).
communication does not necessarily soften and relax the schedules (although it may), but it does enable continuing monitoring and accountability in mobile relations (Green 2002b)

In (3) both parties orient to the other party “missing” their appointment, and both seem to hold the other party accountable. Again, the details of this interaction are rich in building up the situated sense of the action.

3) 2000-01-01_06-04-32.wav (C= Jarno, caller ; R= Sari, answerer)

1    R: joo?
     yes?

2    [0.2]

3    C: terve, hello,

4    (.)

5  → C: no,

6    [huh,8]

7  → R: missä sä oot, where are you,

8    (.)

9    C: täälä <ruokalassa, here <in the cafeteria,> h

10   (0.2)

11   R: nii minäki, so am I,,

12   (0.2)

13   C: aha (hyyä,) o:h (good,)

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7 (0.2) stands for a pause of two tenth of a second, (.) for shorter micropauses (see Appendix for the transcription conventions) It is no coincidence that number of pauses happens in this opening. The delayed production of utterances is a way to convey the sense of “uneasiness” in the production of dispreferred actions, i.e., actions that are less preferred than their paradigmatic alternatives. Here “joo?” produces an expectation, which is not quite met with “terve.”

8 Here the independent “no” works as a “go ahead”, and can be translated by “huh” (Sorjonen 2002).
The molding of the situated sense of the action starts immediately. Instead of the canonical greeting, the call is opened with a blunt joo? [yes?] that allocates the turn to the caller, making him accountable for the initiation of the interaction. At the next turn, the caller seems to try to normalize the interaction by his greeting, but after no response he produces the response token “no” [huh] inviting the other to move on to the reason of the call. Through her inquiry about the whereabouts of the caller, the answerer reveals her understanding that the other party is not at the agreed place. At line 9, the caller states that he is where he is supposed to be. The trouble is then resolved in the next turn. Here both parties orient to the accountability of the other; i.e., both seem to have held the other responsible for not showing up where they were supposed to. The cautiousness in opening the topic builds up a sense of delicacy. The reason for call is delayed beyond its canonical place (c.f. (1) & (2)). Both parties seem to have avoided accusing the other, although they both seem to have assumed the other being late. The “blindness” of both parties is revealed in a comic fashion, as it turned out that both had been at the right place but not seen each other.

Mobile communication any time anywhere increases social accountability. The revival of “dead” moments not just gives us extra time, but also makes us open to real-time monitoring and control. Mobile communication etiquette seems to involve the norms of “being always available” and “reciprocating messages/calls you get” (Laursen 2005). The normative pressure for availability also allows an increase in accountability, a continuing monitoring of communicative parties. Through mobile ICT, parties to social action may extend the accountability to the very accomplishment of the action, i.e., the accountability permeates the ongoing coordination of action and does not simply follow it. In this way, the revival of empty time is not without its other side.

The emergence of constant accountability of social action sharpens the depiction of mobile society. It does not appear that mobile communication relieves us from the ever-growing time pressures of modern societies (Hassan 2003; Ylijoki & Mäntylä 2003). The flexible, mobile coordination may smooth and soften some social affairs, but the shared mobile time-scapes are prone to accelerated, non-stop pressures and increased possibilities for control. The mobile network time may be more unpredictable, volatile and chaotic, but not necessarily softer.

**Distant, mobile co-presence**

James Katz (2005) has pointed out that mobile communication does not discriminate between religious callings. Jewish worshippers at the Wailing Wall are seen to hold mobile phones aloft to allow their distant co-religionist have their prayers heard and made audible to others. Katz tells us that comparable scenes have taken place among Hindus, Islamists and Catholics. The ubiquity of mobile phones does not differentiate between religions or secular and sacred contexts, enabling intimate connection to any moment of social life. Mobile
communication through various media – text, talk, images — may become frequent and multiplex “up to the point where copresent interactions and mediated distant exchanges seem woven into a single, seamless web” (Licoppe 2004, 135). Mobile telephony may revive dead, empty moments, but it may also accentuate and build up significant occasions. Much of the mobile communication may be distanced from the immediate context, but it also has potential, the affordance of being immersed in the situation to allow the heat of the moment to be communicated (Raudaskoski forthcoming). Both the frequency of communication and the intimate connection to ongoing activities may increase the emotional intensity of social relationship. The frequent contact in and through dead moments may express intimacy and allow building of knowledge about the other whom you get to know anywhere, any time rather than just in purposefully selected, auspicious moments of public show. The significant moments, on the other hand, allow you to share affects and emotions enabling the non-present other to be the person to get access to the experience on the spot and not just afterwards.

In speech extract (4), the details of the interaction are again salient in molding the real-time sense of the activity taking place. The caller appears to have made arrangements (number blocking) before the call to achieve a suitable mode for the interaction. Through his joke-identification he designs his call from the outset in a festive mood. In this way, the caller displays the immanent relevance of the context for the call. Both the caller and the called have stayed overnight in some camping areas around the big annual Hot Rod show9. The call is made in the “morning” (10.30 am) at the second day of the event.

4) 2002-07-07_10-30-41.wav (R= Pekka, answerer, C= Rauno, caller)

1 R: Pekka?,

2 (0.8)

3 → C: hannes johannes vihannes virolainen virolainen,

4 ((a word play based on the name of a famous Finnish politician, Johannes Virolainen – impossible to translate))

5 (.)

6 → C: päi:vää,

7 goo:d afternoon,

8 → R: päi:väät.

9 goo:d afternoon.

10 → C: [(h)(h)e (h)e (h)e (h)e (h)e

9 No separate ethnography has been collected for this part of the study, but the series of calls themselves offer plenty of contextual information, and a rich picture of the life of the people involved emerges. In fact, examples (1) and (4) are from the same set (on the way to the Hot Rod Show, the next morning, etc.). Mobile calls and messages build a virtual presence of the people communicating to the researcher too. Naturally, “real” ethnography also has many benefits (see Weilenmann & Larsson 2002).
This mobile call is interesting both in its details and in its reflexive tie to its context. First, a humorous tone is established in a number of ways, starting from the mock-identification, and continuing with the prolonged intonation of a slightly misplaced greeting (good afternoon), imitated by the recipient (lines 5-6), a mock apology (8), and also a joking identification of the caller (9-10). It appears that at lines 9-10, the recipient of the call identifies the caller for the other co-present people, thereby making him relevant for the group of people sharing the same social event. The utterance identifying the caller is pointedly left unfinished (the long-haired guy who...). Without access to the answerer’s proximate situation, neither we nor the caller can know whether the utterance was completed by others present, or if it was left open to be returned after the call. In any case, the mock identification topicalizes the caller, and makes him socially and virtually present for the co-present others. The call is adopted as a part of the texture of shared celebration at the festival the parties attend together, albeit not all face-to-face all the time. In this way, the mobile communication augments the limits of face-to-face communication. Further, it also allows the caller to share the same social moment and mood, affording a call right on the spot enabling an elaborate context and recipient design. Already, the beginning of the call hints at the possibilities the mobile media has for parties to establish social presence without physical presence. At a later part of the call – not shown here because of the space restrictions - the parties tell each other (dirty) stories about last evening, thereby mutually reinforcing the symbolic texture of the event experienced together. Mobile communication enables a new, augmented sociability, creating a new, intimate co-presence at the moments of joy and celebration that transgresses physical boundaries.

Mobile ICT does not afford distant co-presence simply in the context of joy and emotional intensity, but also in other contexts and institutional environments. Phrases such as mobile office, mobile parenting and mobile learning, show that mobile ICT is providing new forms of distant social practice. These practices are hybrids – Latour’s immutable mobiles – that move around but retain their shape. Mobile technologies melt down solid practices, maintaining recognizable shapes in a liquid form. For example, mobile learning refers just to usage of mobile technologies such as mobile and smart phones to enhance learning.

10 For prospective indexicals that make relevant their subsequent explication, see Goodwin 1996; Arminen 2005c.
11 I do not suggest that all proposed “mobile applications” are successful, but that we have affinity with mobile social practices, not all of which are yet realized.
Characteristically, it concerns knowledge bound to a location or a situation; its organizing principles arise from situated tasks; it builds on multimodal activities and practices; it draws not only on texts, but also diagrams, pictures and maps. It uses the affordances of mobiles to connect separate contexts, thereby challenging the paradigm of traditional pedagogy (Nyíri 2002). Likewise, the mobile office and mobile parenting are debatable hybrids. The new social practices meet always resistance. There is a misunderstanding and a fear that old practices should be given up because of the new ones. Perhaps it is best to see these new hybrids as complements to old practices, not their replacements. It is unlikely that distant co-presence can ever substitute for physical presence, but it may allow the formation of practices applicable when there is no face-to-face presence.

Discussion

Mobile communication affords new types of social action (Raudaskoski forthcoming). Activities, objects, spaces and places do not have any “natural” meaning, their meaning being achieved in action in interaction. Distant mobile communicative actions create new contexts for action, amounting to new types of activity. This emergent new reality is still largely unexplored.

People routinely use mobiles to communicate where they are, when they come, and to arrange meetings. This real-time coordination of social action is the most pervasive mobile communicative action. Commuting and travel impose many communicative tasks that mobile communication can perform, such as asking directions, negotiating meeting times and places, and notifying delays. Emergencies and hazardous situations are a particular class of real-time, location-sensitive activity that is also time-critical. In all, while flexible mobile coordination complements modern, calculated time-based coordination of action, mobile schedules are not necessarily softer, but may be more hectic and unpredictable.

The coordination of social action interacts with emerging socio-emotional and symbolic values. Communication of whereabouts and availability makes available social rankings and subjective evaluations, demanding that the subject prioritize alternatives. Much of social communication concerns preliminaries. For example, when a person is asked whether she is doing anything special, the inquiry may be a preliminary to the goal of communicative action; it may have been done to get to know whether the answerer would be available for some joint activity (Schegloff 1980). The answers to preliminaries visibly build up the social hierarchies and display the person’s preferences. Chains of connotative meanings get established in this manner, and the coordination of social action intertwines with the symbolic organization of everyday life, establishing the actor’s habitus that signifies the chosen way of life. In the ubiquitous mobile presence, the settings and activities may get symbolic embellishment. Seamless communication not only rationalizes time usage, but intensifies social presence.

\[12^{\text{A reviewer suggested that mobile communication establishes a “co-location” beyond face-to-face situations. Indeed, mobile communication enables parties to be involved in the same practice without being in the same spot. This is the idea of the distant co-presence.}}\]
Constant accountability is a natural corollary of this ubiquitous communication. The accountability of action extends both to the timing and social dimension of activities. Instead of accountability afterwards, the perpetual contact extends to the very moment of accomplishment of activity. Intimate connection to everyday life also enables social accountability of actions and choices through seamless communication. Depending on the social configuration, this extended accountability may strengthen external purely goal-rational control as well as social responsibility.

Both accountability and other aspects of mobile communication may turn out to be mixed blessings. Although it is uncertain whether mobile communication might corrupt character as has been suggested, it is certainly intrusive at times (see Ling 2004). Mobile communication may intrude on the party called and the proximate people of mobile communicators. There are increasing pressures to set health, safety and social limits to mobile communication. It remains to be seen how these efforts influence the development of mobile communication.

Large-scale consequences of mobile communication include rationalization of time usage and the improvement of communicative access within social networks, changes which amount to an increase in communicative time and increasing frequency of communication. The improved communicational access to networked mobile actors increases the amount of available people in the network at any single moment, and the increase in person-to-person communication boosts the matrix of social contacts. The consequences may be paradoxical. On the one hand, the increasing frequency of communication enables closer ties with the people in the network; on the other hand, it also allows new flexibility, an increased individual autonomy that is at odds with a communal way of life. To sum up, mobile communication is another step toward the growing complexity of social realities. Social networks may become both closer and more fragile in the era of mobile telephony.

**Conclusion**

Mobile communication is reshaping person-to-person communication: there will be more contacts, shorter exchanges, and new multi-modal real-time communicative practices. The new affordances of mobility that mobile phones enable are readily available for analysis through the recordings of mobile conversations and messages, as they are indexical to the embodied practices. As a whole, the adoption of new ways of communicating shows how people orient themselves to and make use of the new affordances offered by technologies.

The novelties of mobile communication concern the sequential properties of the ways in which communication and action are joined in interaction. The emerging contingencies of communication are inseparable from the embodied action when somebody phones to ask directions while driving a car or answers a mobile phone while in the toilet of a train. The changes in the communication are intertwined with alternations related to the sequential organization of communication, activity contexts, and discursive identities in person-to-person communication. Although communication as such retains many traditional norms, social actions themselves have become mobile. These changes together contribute to what can be called the intensification of time-space geography, which appears to be a relevant component of new communication patterns in the mobile era.
References:


Appendix: Transcription symbols

In the transcripts, the speakers' names, and possibly some other details, have usually been changed in order to secure the anonymity of the people involved. Transcription symbols and conventions of conversation analysis are used throughout the extracts (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: ix-xvi).

[ ] simultaneous speech and voices, its start and end

= immediately continuous talk, no interval
(0.6) pause and its length in seconds
(.) micro pause, shorter than 0.2 seconds
.h in-breath
.hh out-breath
_ emphasis
: stretch
YES loud
. falling intonation
. continuing intonation
? rising inflection, not necessarily a question
?, weak rise in intonation
↑ marked rise in pitch
↓ marked fall in pitch
da- production of word is cut off
word< abruptly finished, but not cut off
> < pronounced faster than the surrounding speech
< > pronounced slower than the surrounding speech
$ laughter in the voice
@@ animated voice
° ° diminishing voice
## shivering voice
hah laughter
(word) heard indistinctly
(( )) researcher`s comment
→ target line; crucial instance for the analyzed speech