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A linguistic analysis of deception in online dating websites: A case study of Polish and English

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Abstract

Deception might be characterized by a variety of behaviors, both verbal and non-verbal, that are aimed at deliberately making a receiver believe in statements of a sender of a message. Particular techniques used by deceivers might be, however, detected because many researchers reveal certain cues that are characteristic of deception. Liars are believed to use pronouns in a particular way, but the amount and way personal information is provided is common among deceivers as well. Online communication seems to be a phenomenon that allows users to stay anonymous thanks to deception because detecting lying only through linguistic behaviors proves to pose more difficulties because of being deprived of non-verbal communication cues. Nevertheless, the research that is presented and described in this paper aims at revealing deception that might be observable in profiles on online dating websites.

Keywords

Deception, Online Dating, Language in Communication

1. Introduction

Communication in the Internet might take different forms and, as everything that is connected with the Internet, it might have its pros and cons. Thanks to the Internet people from various corners of the world might make friendships and have constant contact, but users of the Internet might also encounter real threads (Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 1). What is more, communication in the Internet is commonly called a "computer-mediated communication (CMC)" (Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 1). Nevertheless, the danger that might be a very frequent disadvantage of communication online is deception that might be, however, discovered when using certain techniques or sticking to the "interpersonal deception theory (IDT)" by Buller and Bargoon (1996, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 2). Masip, Garrido and Herrero (2004) provide, however, a definition of deception that reads like this:"the deliberate attempt, whether successful or not, to conceal, fabricate, and/or manipulate in any other way factual and/or emotional information, by verbal and/or nonverbal means, in order to create or maintain in another or others a belief that communication himself or herself considers false". (2004: 147).

According to the IDT, these are both sides of communication processes that might be using lying (Buller and Bargoon 1996, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 2). What is more, deception might appear on different levels and it might be observable in gestures, mimics, voice or even language used and the last aspect will be analyzed in this paper (Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 7). Although detecting deception is a difficult task, there are some features that indicate using lying by people who communicate with each other (Levine et al., in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 2). Picornell (2012) claims also that deception in written texts is easier for deceivers but more difficult to be discovered (2012: 155).

Furthermore, these are rather longer and complex conversations that allow others to detect deception but single sentences might also reveal the attempts to lie (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 6-7). What is more, exchanging messages constantly at the same time is a situation in which the sender and receiver interact much and a deception is more likely to be observed (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 8). The constant

interaction between interlocutors gives a liar less time for analysing a situation, thinking over and preparing a lying answer so a liar might make a mistake and his or her real intentions might be revealed (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 8). Nevertheless, a receiver of a message has less time for the analysis of it as well, so an observer of a conversation is more likely to detect deception (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 8-9). What is more, a person is more likely to identify a liar on the basis of his or her single speech or written text, but that ability is diminished when that person becomes a receiver of the message that a liar sends (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 9).

Furthermore, DePaulo and Kirkendol (1989) claim that the stronger the motivation to lie is the better predictable and observable the lying is (1989, in: Ekman, O'Sullivan and Frank 1999: 1). According to Burgoon and Buller, a liar tries hard to be a controller of the message he or she sends and uses vocabulary that is analyzed by that person in advance of sending the message (2013: 3). There are certain linguistic behaviors that might show deception. One of such behaviors might be trying hard to produce such an utterance that a receiver of the message might perceive as sincere and true, but a receiver or a reader of a message might become suspicious because of certain cues indicating lying (Vrij 2000, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 2). What is more, a deceiver has to decide how many and what kind of details he or she might provide to make his or her texts truthful (Picornell 2012: 155). According to leakage theory, so called "leakages and clues" that are "verbal and nonverbal" are used by deceivers (Ekman 1992, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 3). Such clues might be, for example, producing shorter texts that are usually thought over and prepared carefully as well as using less positive expressions (DePaulo et al. 2003, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 3). DePaulo et al. (2003) provide however further features of deception and these are, for example, using "fewer details", presenting less possible information, providing some contradicting elements in utterances or delaying answers in time (2003, in: Lewis, George and Giordano 2009: 6). Burgoon and Buller (2013) claim, that liars are believed by a majority of people to avoid immediate contact and produce utterances characterised by uncertainty and ambiguity (2013: 14). What is more, Burgoon and Buller (2013) provide the characteristics of the language used by liars in description:

"deceivers' statements were characterized by brevity, vagueness, uncertainty, nonimmediacy, and nonspecifity (e.g., "everybody went drinking" versus "I went drinking"). This had the effect of minimalizing the amount of concrete and verifiable detail that deceivers supplied and of disassociating deceivers from what they were saying. Other linguistic patterns were contrary to predictions but also had the effect of making deceptive answers more pallid and less personal that truthful ones."

(2013: 15).

Nevertheless, a liar might even just omit significant information and that will also be treated as deception (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 17). What is more, a deceiver tries to avoid providing a receiver with too much information

because that person is convinced that too much many details might reveal the act of lying (Vrij 2008, in: Picornell 2012: 153). Moreover, liars might even add further but unimportant information (Anolli et al. 2002, in: Picornell 2012: 154).

Further features that might be observable in the texts of liars and suspects are, for example, "levelers, modifiers, and group references" (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 17). Deceivers might even use rather "present-tense verbs" instead of other tenses (Burgoon and Buller 2013: 17). As far as references are concerned, Newman et al. (2003) add, that liars prefer to refer to groups of people in general to divert a receiver's attention from a lying person (2003, in: Picornell 2012: 154). According to Burgoon et al. (2003), deceivers use pronouns referring to themselves less than third person pronouns that divert the attention from themselves as well (2003, in: Picornell 2012: 154). What is more, the research conducted by Picornell (2012) reveals as well, that deceivers use few pronouns like "I", "my" or "me" and they build "short clause" (2012: 158). Deceivers might even switch gradually from first person pronouns to put the emphasis on other pronuns when they start lying and making up false stories (Picornell 2012: 159). Nevertheless, other researchers might have slightly different opinions on the use of words that make reference to deceivers themselves and to other people because Buller et al. (1994) add, that liars might use fewer of both "self-references" and "group-references" (1994, in: Burgoon and Buller 2013:

Moreover, Vrij (2008) claims, claims that deceivers usually use terms that generalize the reality and these might be such expressions as, for example, "always, never, nobody or everybody" (2008: 101). These general terms might also help deceivers with diverting the attention from themselves and their lyings and the example of a liar's answer to the question "Do you smoke?" might be such an answer: "Nobody smokes in this house.", so a deceiver might make a group, not himself or herself, responsible for a particular action (Vrij 2008: 103). Deceivers are perceived to not only refer to groups and other people that than themselves but also using use so called "tentative constructions" like, for example, "may", "might", "could", "I think" and "I guess" as well as "ritualised speech" that might be exemplified by such expressions like "you know", "well", "really", and "I mean" (Vrij 2008: 108). What is more, statements made by deceivers might be indirect and deceivers might not refer directly to the aspects they mention or discuss (Vrij 2008: 103). Burgoon and Buller (2013) add as well, that utterances of deceivers are not as "direct/relevant, clear, and personalized" as those of people who tell or write true information about themselves (2013: 17).

2. Analysis

2.1. Method

This research is aimed at analyzing descriptions placed in profiles of users of online dating websites in two websites that have the purpose to help people meet their future partners. The

websites chosen for this two research are: dating.telegraph.co.uk and swatka.pl. For the purpose of this paper, samples of short utterances presented in twenty male and twenty female profiles from one Polish and one English dating page were analyzed and some fragments selected from them will be presented and analyzed in more detail in this paper. What is the main interest in the descriptions put in users' profiles is the amount of detailed information, negative words as well as the use of references to oneself and to others. This research is also conducted to check the way users of online dating websites provide personal data in descriptions of themselves and the results are to be compared with the theoretical part and the opinions of previous researchers. Significant elements like descriptions (just guessing but some word or words are missing here) placed in these profiles will also be taken into consideration as the ones that might help with the identification of truthfulness of these profiles.

2.2. Results

After the analysis of all the profiles chosen for this research, a common feature might be observable in all the profiles that is in the table containing basic information about the users. Every user might choose pieces of information that are available in the profile and fill up the table, so this data is not provided by users themselves and cannot be treated as the samples of the utterances produced by users themselves and will not be analyzed in this paper. Nevertheless, there is an option available on these dating websites where every user might describe his or her personality or favorite activities in his or her own words as well as every user might provide the information about what or whom that person is looking for on a particular website. All the users of analyzed profiles filled in the gaps but not all of them provided more information about themselves by describing them with their own words. The analyzed profiles contain long as well as short descriptions of their users and in most cases the shorter the description is the more deceptive the user of the profile seems to be. Let's turn now to the description and the analysis of the actual results of the research. The below Table 1. presents the results of the research and the numbers of profiles in which particular elements that might indicate deception as well as the ones used rather by truth tellers are taken into consideration.

Table 1. The number of profiles in which linguistic elements that indicate deception were used (PW. - profiles of Polish Women, EW. - profiles of English-speaking Women, PM. - profiles of Polish Men, EM. - profiles of English-speaking Men).

	Observable	Avoidance of	No	References	Personal	Generalizations,	Lack of personal	Words indicating
No.	use of many	the use of	self-references	to the	data and	no specific data,	data or almost no	negative emotions,
	self-references	self-references	seij-rejerences	others	details	enumerating	personal data	anger, etc.
1.PW.	2	5	2	4	2	3	6	4
2. EW.	3	4	-	4	2	5	1	4
3. PM.	=	4	6	4	1	8	8	1
4. EM.	3	4	-	7	4 (or 3)	6 (or 5)	5	=

3. Discussion

3.1. The Use of References

The attention shall be firstly paid to the Polish online dating website. What differs the utterances made by Polish users of dating websites from English-speaking users is the fact that the Polish language is constructed in such a way that Polish users often do not refer to themselves only by the use of pronouns because the construction of Polish sentences allows interlocutors to omit pronouns and express the first person singular by using verbs in proper forms themselves. Consequently, the references of the Polish users to themselves are made in their profiles mostly by verbs but in some profiles there were significantly more such references than in others. Table 1. (see 2.2. Results.) presents data concerning references to oneself and others as well. According to the research, the users of 19 profiles out of 40 all used pronouns and other words that refer to other people, while the users of 17 profiles avoided the use of self-referring pronouns. In contrast, only 8 users of the dating websites referred to themselves without any problem and hesitation, whereas 8 Polish users used no references at all or only few references to themselves. What is more, no Polish men used self-references in an obvious way and the largest number of them resigned from first person pronouns at all. The largest number of English-speaking men

used many third person pronouns or other words that referred to various entities just to divert the attention of women, who might have read their profiles, from themselves. Moreover, these were all of the users of the English website who used at least single pronouns or other references, while a few users of the Polish website resigned from using references at all.

The examples derived from the selected profiles will now be presented and discussed. The first example reads like this:

"O mnie:

poznasz mnie to się dowiesz

Szukam:

poważnego zwiazku".

This example is taken from a female profile and the owner of this profile uses only one reference to herself indicated by the pronoun *mnie* that has as its English equivalent *me*. What is more, this person refers to other users by the verb *poznasz* in *poznasz mnie to się dowiesz* that might be spoken in English as *if you meet me you will get to know.* The pronoun *you* that is spoken in Polish as *ty* is not needed in Polish because it is included in the verb *poznasz*. Nevertheless, the person who owns the exemplified profile makes just one reference to herself and one to others but she also does not provide any additional information about herself despite the fact that she is looking for a serious relationship. This profile seems to be rather mysterious and might be treated as an example of deception.

The next user who is also a woman uses few references to herself but also refers to receivers, that is visible in this fragment: "Jeśli chcesz mnie poznać to napisz, jeśli odwzajemnię zainteresowanie twą osobą to dam o tym znać". The reference to the owner of the profile to herself is indicated by the pronoun *mnie*, the English equivalent of which is *me*, but this person uses also verbs in nominative that are: (jeśli) odwzajemnię (zainteresowanie) and dam (o tym znać). The same meanings might be expressed in English as: if I reciprocate your interests and I will let you know. Pronouns are default in Polish and that is why they are difficult to define but they are still used in a kind of invisible way. If a person omits them even when they might be used that behavior might be similar to the behavior of a deceiver. Furthermore, the author of this fragment provides also in her profile some information about her interests but they are just enumerated and no references are used. This might be proven by the following example copied from this profile:

"Moje Zainteresowania:
GOTOWANIE
PSYCHOLOGIA
PRZYRODA
WETERYNARIA
WOLONTARIAT
ZDROWIE
ORGANIZACJA PRZYJEC ITP".

The user of this profile provides only single slogans but builds no sentences. Such a behavior might be explained as avoiding responsibility for her own words and keeping distance from other users of the dating website.

Another fragment taken from a female profile is an example of truthfulness and it reads like this:

"Uwielbiam gotować, polubiłam również małe wyprawy górskie, jazda na rowerze, spotkania ze znajomymi...oj znajdzie się trochę tego;)".

This woman refers to herself when she describes her interests, but she also uses verbs that create positive atmosphere. The sender of the message seems to send positive emotions to every reader as well. Such a linguistic behavior is the exact opposite of deception.

Nevertheless, Polish men tended to avoid references all the time and this might be proven even by these examples: "Prosty Facet z wadami i zaletami jak każdy, bardzo nieśmiały niestety:)" and "normalny, spokojny, odpowiedzialny, troskliwy, zapracowany i szczery gość". Both users provided features of their characters but they omitted self-references as if they did not identify themselves with these features and wanted to distance themselves from these characteristics.

Let's focus now on the English dating website on which there were users who put longer and often more detailed descriptions of themselves in their profiles. The first user that was taken into account is a woman who uses a large number of references to herself like, for example, *I*, *my*, *me*, *myself* as well as *we* is used to refer to her and her children, while *he* and *him* is used to refer to a man whom she might meet on this dating website. Although she uses references to others and to a group, the number of them might not even be compared to the

number of self-references. Consequently, this profile is definitely opposite to profiles that might be owned by

Other profiles on the English websites are not so truthful as the one described above. The next profile the owner of which is also a woman might be rather deceptive because this woman avoids the use of self-references. She starts her description from these sentences:

"A friend asked me, tell me who you really are. I am not interested in adjectives. I want to know what makes you stand out from the rest of the girls out there.".

Although she uses pronouns like *me* and *I*, she tries to divert the attention from herself and makes her friend responsible for her own words. That is why she uses her friend's words, she introduces a citation from a movie that reads like this: "I am just a simple girl, standing in front of a man, asking him to love me" and later on she uses pronouns that refer to a group and generalizes common truths:

"Basically I believe before we can find love, we need to love ourselves first. We cannot truly give love abundantly to someone else, until we have learned how to love ourselves.".

The use of the pronoun *we* outnumbers the pronoun *I* but the group reference is made also by the pronoun *ourselves*. The user of this profile adds also further references to a group and to life that are observable in this fragment:

"We are living on borrowed time, so let's laugh and enjoy the journey. Life does not have to be complicated, it is usually the simple things in life that make us laugh, and we remember the simple things in life because of who we experienced it with. Someone wrote: 'It's not who I can live with...it's who I can't live without', and that really says it all!".

This woman avoids giving the information about herself and uses the word *someone* that is used very frequently further in her profile. She obviously aims at the emphasis of other people so the owner of this profile might be treated as a deceiver.

Another female user of a profile on the dating website avoids using pronouns in general and she might prefer to produce a kind of everyday speech this way, but such a linguistic behavior might also indicate a deceptive behavior. That person might simply be trying to avoid responsibility for her words, which makes lying easier. The fragment taken from the profile that is being described right now reads like this:

"Kind of an artsy fartsy girl at heart, albeit not much time to indulge in aforesaid artsy fartsyness. Love music but don't listen to enough. I do love people with the ability to make me laugh and put the twinkle in my eyes.".

Pronouns that indicate self-reference are used just three times while there might be used more of them. There pronouns to refer to herself are *I*, *me* and *my*. Worth mentioning is also the fact that in the fragment: "I do love people with the ability to [...]" the word *do* is used to make a strong claim and assure a reader as well as the sender of the message herself about the truth of this statement. Such a behavior is characteristic of deceptive people who do not believe in their statements but they try to make themselves believe in it and feel more authentic in eyes of the receivers of their messages.

The following fragment also presents some deceptive behaviors but let's read this fragment first:

"Who knows if the attractive stranger has in fact their partner around the corner in the wine section? So here I am, though of course I think I'm a great catch, its all down to the feeling two people have when they meet. Is there that frisson which promises so much more".

This man seems to avoid making self-references because he uses only three first person pronouns is this fragment. He seems to be uncertain or doubtful by asking a rhetoric question. Nevertheless, he also uses the statement *I think* that might indicate uncertainty characteristic of deception as well. Avoiding self-references is another proof of deceptive behavior.

The author of another fragment that will be presented is also a man. The statement made by him reads like this:

"I hope I would be considered as kind, emotionally intelligent, reflective, amusing, irreverent, cheeky and good company I do however like to have time to myself.".

Although this man uses first person pronouns and enumerates his features, he seems to be not sure about them because he uses the statement *I hope* before providing these features. He might try to feel secure and irresponsible for providing these features and he does not want to feel like a liar if these features are untrue.

The above examples are just a part of the whole script that was analyzed in this research and all of them will not be presented here because there were many tendencies of the users of these profiles that repeated in a few profiles. Nevertheless, references are not the only features that help with detecting deception and that appeared in many profiles but providing characteristic personal information is also the aspect that will be taken into consideration in the following subsection.

3.2. Personal Information and Negative Emotions

The analysed profiles might differ in the amount of information provided by their users as well as in the way the pieces of information are presented. It is already known that if a person avoids revealing some details about himself of or herself that person behaves like a deceiver. Let's now turn to the analysis of selected profiles.

One of the female users of the Polish website does not add any further information about herself despite the fact that she cannot stand lying. This statement might send very negative emotions not only because of the verb that is used, but this user also puts many exclamation marks at the end of the sentence, which reads like this: "nie trawię kłamstwa !!!!!!!!!!!". A person who claims that he or she does not like lying and who does not provide any other information about himself or herself might be perceived as a deceiver.

Another woman does not provide any significant information about herself despite a few very general features that in fact do not reveal anything significant, but she makes a statement that is characterized as quite negative. This

statement is: "nie lubię chamskich chłopaków" which means that she does not like brutish boys. This woman not only uses negation that reveals her emotional attitude, but she also uses an adjective that is negative in its meaning. The use of such words and negative forms reveals anger and frustration that accompanies deception. Even though this woman does not directly interact with other users of this website, negative emotions are emitted from herself.

Furthermore, the next female user of the dating website avoids providing personal information as well because she only writes this: "jestem osoba miła i bardzo wesoła ale mam problem co do poznawania nowych osób", which means that she is polite and cheerful but she has problems with making new acquaintances of somebody. Any deception is not obvious here but the fact that she writes little about herself might be a characteristic of deceivers.

Nevertheless, a male profile in which the user does not provide any additional information about himself might be also treated as the profile of a deceiver. That person leaves just a short piece of information that reads like this: "Napisz a odpowiem", which means *I will answer if you write to me*.

There are also users who provide some information that is just general or they make someone else responsible for the statements they make. One of these examples reads like this:

"I am a worldly, engaging, travelled, cultured, well-mannered, funny, intelligent, sensitive, attractive, sexy, adventurous, twenty words is a lot don't you think, do hyphens count, err..that's it".

The above example is characteristic of avoiding detailed information and the user seems to be afraid of revealing too much.

What is more, the following example reveals description that might be characterized as very general and it reads like this:

"A friend asked me, tell me who you really are. I am not interested in adjectives. I want to know what makes you stand out from the rest of the girls out there. Seems like a fair enough question, but it took me over 45 minutes before I came up with something as lame as "i am just a simple girl, standing in front of a man, asking him to love me", and that is not even original as its a quote from the movie Notting Hill. But for it to pop into my head when I was digging deep to answer his question, it's got to count for something surely."

This person writes in a complex and indirect way. She uses a quotation from a movie and avoids responsibility for her words. She makes her friend responsible for her own words and the cited fragment from the movie as well. That might be treated as the behavior of a deceiver.

Another person reveals even that he does not like talking about himself that is stated in this sentence: "Going to keep this short though as I don't particularly like talking about myself either!". This person finishes his utterance with an exclamation mark that reveals strong and probably negative emotions in this case. A person who does not like talking about himself or herself might have something to hide and be likely to deceive others.

The below quotation from one of the profiles is also marked

by avoiding responsibility for the provided information because the user makes her friends responsible for the features that she reveals here. This fragment reads like this:

"Asked a few friends... and they say, I'm happy, sociable, caring and a great listener! I enjoy entertaining at home, going out to eat and the Theatre. I love to be by the sea, especially out of season."

In contrast, the following fragments are rather characteristic of truthful users because they send very positive emotions, like in this quotation:

"I am a woman who is Full of Life, Loving, and Loyal and Loves family, & Travel, Ballet, Theatre and a city like London is amazing. Loves hot beaches and Bikinis. I'm a positive person and would Love and support the right man.",but they also provide detailed information about themselves, that might be exemplified here:

"I run my own Business and have a hard working ethic. I know the importance of keeping that work-life balance right! I am caring, competitive and thoughtful and very tactile. Whilst conservative in so many ways, I enjoy having an adventure. I love doing the simple things in life like walking along the beach / in the countryside, cuddling up on the settee watching a film and talking. I love Majorca and have a Marriott villa just outside Palma which I love visiting in June - can't beat the heat and long sunny evenings. I am looking for someone who can share my interests and just have a great time together."

As it is observable in the above analysis, even though people trust one other and users of dating profiles try to meet new people with whom they might make valuable relationships, many people use techniques that are specific to deception. Nevertheless, these behaviors might not be obvious at the first sight but after a careful analysis one might be suspicious of a particular user that behaves like a deceiver. To sum up, the largest number of users of online dating websites avoided the use of self-references and many of them referred in their utterances to other people or entities. Just a few users included very personal data in their profiles but the majority of people preferred to generalize facts and features or they even resigned from providing any information about themselves at all. What is more, the use or of negative expressions and making statements filled with anger characterized mostly female profiles. The reason for this might be the fact that women do not trust men and they react with aggression to them because they perceive them as liars who hurt them. Nevertheless, even this research proves that men used more techniques specific to deceivers that are generalizations and avoided giving detailed information about themselves as well as using many references to others in their sentences. The tendency to avoid providing too much personal data was characteristic of comparable numbers of both male and female profiles.

4. Implications for Practice and Future Research

Although much has been learned from this study, there are several avenues left to pursue that would further the

understanding of deception and its detection. Results from this study will create several new research questions and directions for future research. First, as mentioned in earlier discussion, a contribution of this work is the development of a framework for understanding the relationship between deception and culture. Further research is required to extend the proposed framework to look at other cultures, lending new insights regarding the relationship between culture and deception. Specifically, it would help expand our knowledge of deception detection to determine what causes someone to choose one medium over another when conveying deceptive material.

Another important research direction involves the exploration of other CMC media. Deceptive behavior and its detection should also be assessed in various other CMC media contexts, such as social networking sites, chat rooms, and text messaging.

Consequently, with more frequent cross-cultural interactions comes the opportunity for cross-cultural deception employing CMC, thus elevating the necessity to understand deceptive behavior and its detection across cultures. In an attempt to provide some of these helpful insights, this study examined the reliable cues to deception associated with various CMC. The findings of this study are a starting point in providing some of these helpful insights, but more work is needed in this area of research.

5. Conclusion

The sources that constituted the support for this paper contain the descriptions of cues that are characteristic of deception. These cues might be the avoidance of the use of the first person pronoun I as well as providing only general and unimportant information about oneself. What is more, deceivers use tentative expression, the example of which might be the expression I think, but they also send such messages that they do not feel responsible for so they might provide false information in them more easily. Another characteristic feature of deception is using negation, negative expressions and trying to assure receivers that a particular statement is true. The research conducted on the basis of selected profiles from the Polish and English online dating websites reveals many examples of the uses of particular techniques characteristic of deception and discussed in the theoretical part. The majority of the users of these profiles avoid the use of self-references that are visible in the use of the first person pronoun and many of the users tried to use references to others by using third person pronouns or references to a group to divert attention from themselves. Furthermore, the avoidance of providing detailed personal information by the users about themselves was also widely observable in the analyzed profiles as well as using generalizations and unclear explanations or descriptions. Although these features did not appear in all profiles, they were observable in a significant number of them. Consequently, the claim that people seem to widely use deception in online communication might be made, despite the fact that the deception might be not proven only on the

basis of the descriptions put in profiles of the users.

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