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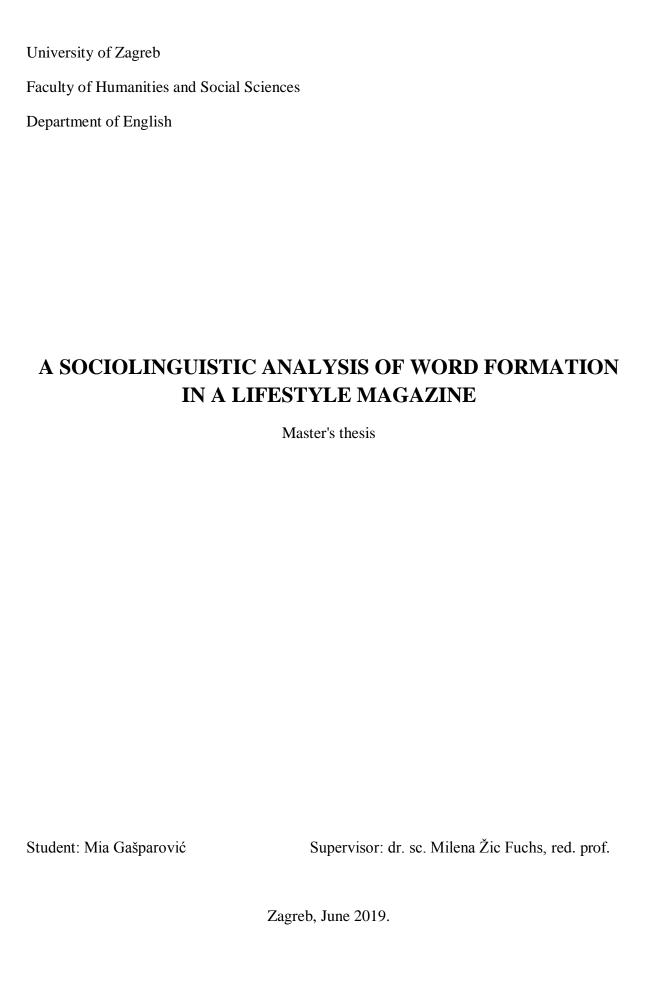*Repository / Repozitorij:*

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF WORD FORMATION IN A LIFESTYLE MAGAZINE

Master's thesis

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Zagreb, June 2019.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of various English word-formation processes that frequently occur in the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, and to provide a possible interpretation and analysis of these examples. *Cosmopolitan* was chosen to be the subject of this analysis, not only because of the amount of creative and innovative word-formations, but also because of their interesting relationship to the context and the community they emerge from and address. The highly specific target audience that *Cosmopolitan* has, as well as its distinguishing informal writing, seem to provide a breeding ground for both the creation of new words and, following this, potential linguistic research. Word-formation processes in general may be a fruitful topic for linguists to research to better understand the intertwining notions of context, convention, creativity, community, and "cultural" environment, all of which have to do with the creation of new words, understanding them, and using them through social interaction.

In the first chapter of the paper, some general information on *Cosmopolitan* magazine will be presented, seeing that the history of the magazine is crucial when analyzing its language. After this brief overview, the *Theoretical Framework* segment will provide an outline of the theoretical works which served as a basis of this analysis. The analysis of the word-formations' morphological structures mainly relies on Plag's book *Word-formation in English* (2003), while the rest of the paper makes use of various other sources, including Van Dijk's *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* (2008), and Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English* (1976). The *Theoretical Framework* will be concerned with various definitions of the terms that will be used throughout the text, as well as the theory that is later used in the interpretation of the results. The *Methodology* section follows the *Theoretical Framework*, briefly providing a description of the collecting process of the corpus created for

the present analysis. The *Results and Discussion* section form the central part of this paper, consisting of the analysis of specific examples taken from the collected corpus. Finally, the *Conclusion* section summarizes all the findings and observations made throughout the paper, and presents some thoughts on possible future research.

2. COSMOPOLITAN

Cosmopolitan was first published in 1886 in the United States of America and, in its beginning, was considered a family magazine (McMahon 1989:381). It was only in the late 1960s, when Helen Gurley Brown became the magazine's Editor-in-Chief, that the magazine's focus shifted specifically to women, and that it became a magazine for modern single career women as it is nowadays known. The magazine is often referred to as *Cosmo,* and usually deals with women's issues, fashion, celebrities, health, relationships, etc.

The magazine is well known for being sexually explicit – either when it comes to its visual aspect (both men and women are often portrayed either wearing rather revealing outfits or being partially nude), or when it comes to the magazine's writing (the language often contains strong sexual connotations and the articles regularly deal either with sex in general, women's sexual behaviour, or other similar subjects). Interestingly enough, the heavy criticism that the magazine often receives nowadays for promoting a dangerous lifestyle has been an issue since the 1960s. As Willet (2010:77) describes it, a magazine for young single women that talked openly about sex and encouraged them to enjoy themselves as men did was considered shocking. In April 1972, the magazine featured a nearly nude picture of the actor Burt Reynolds, which was considered rather scandalous, however certainly not nearly as

much as the article that the magazine ran in the 1990s that told women they did not need to be concerned about contracting HIV through heterosexual sex (Willet 2010:78).

Nevertheless, *Cosmopolitan* is still very popular today. It is published in more than 80 countries around the world and reaches more than 17 million readers a month.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES

There is no one straightforward definition that covers all the word-formation processes and different authors have proposed different definitions. Jackson et al. (2007:81) state that word-formation processes are different devices which are used in English to build new words from existing ones. According to Plag (2003:17), word-formation can be defined as "the study of the ways in which new complex words are built on the basis of other words or morphemes." Yule (2006:52-53), on the other hand, does not provide a concrete definition of this term, but states that "we can very quickly understand a new word in our language and accept the use of different forms of that words" and that the ability to do that comes from "the fact that there is a lot of regularity in the word-formation processes in our language." Plag (2003:55) claims that "any theory of word-formation would therefore ideally not only describe existing complex words, but also determine which kinds of derivative could be formed by the speakers according to the regularities and conditions of the rules of their language." Based on the corpus research conducted for the purposes of this paper, the most common word-formation processes in *Cosmopolitan* are **clipping**, **blending**, and **compounding**. Nevertheless, other word-formation processes are also present, such as

extreme clipping, **conversion** and **diminutives**. The aforementioned word-formation processes will be further discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.1.1. CLIPPING

Plag (2003:16) defines the process of *clipping* as one "involving the deletion of material". Thus, the word is reduced to a shorter form without any change of its meaning and word class (e.g. rehabilitation → rehab). Jackson et al. (2007:102) state that "only part of the stem is retained through clipping", but it is a rather unpredictable process, seeing that there is no rule to determine which part of the word will be shortened.

3.1.2. BLENDING

Blending may be defined as a process which combines "two words into one, deleting material from one or both of the source words" (Plag 2003:155). On the other hand, Yule (2006:55) simply puts it as "the process of combining two separate forms to produce a single new term" (e.g. smoke + fog → smog). Jackson et al. (2007:101) claim that a *blend* may even be built "from parts of two (or possibly more) words." Furthermore, they state that *blends* are more frequent in informal style (journalism, advertising and technical fields) (Jackson et al. 2007:101).

3.1.3. COMPOUNDS

Plag (2003:169) states that "*compounding* is the most productive type of word formation process in English". According to Jackson et al. (2007:92), *compounds* may be defined as stems consisting of more than one root. They especially emphasize the inconsistency of the orthographic treatment of *compounds*:

> „Some are written as one word (with or without hyphen between two roots), while others are written as two or more words. This observation tends to suggest that compounds have an intermediary status between phrases and words consisting of a single root." (Jackson et al. 2007:92)

From the semantic point of view, *compounds* are similar to idioms, seeing that they often obtain specialized meanings. Jackson et al. (2007:94) claim that it is very rare for a *compound* to have a meaning derived from that of its constituents in the literal sense.

Compounding seems to be a rather difficult process to define, so for the purposes of this research, Yule's (2006) definition of *compounding* will be used. According to Yule (2006:54), *compounding* refers to a joining of at least two separate words to produce a single form (e.g. first + class → first-class). That single form then functions both grammatically and semantically as a single word (Quirk et al. 1985:1567).

3.1.4. ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Acronyms and abbreviations may also be called *extreme clippings* and *initialisms*. Yule (2006:57) uses the term *acronyms* when describing these "new words formed from the initial letters of a set of other words." Plag (2003:163) provides us with a definition that agrees with

Yule's, but states that *abbreviations* are "pronounced by naming each individual letter", while acronyms are pronounced "by applying regular reading rules". Moreover, Pyles et al. (1993:273) claim that *initialisms* may often be formed for the purposes of "either brevity or catchiness".

3.1.5. CONVERSION

Conversion, as defined by Plag (2003:134), is the derivation of a new word without any overt marking, while Yule (2006:56) simply describes it as a change in the function of the word and states that it is a particularly productive process in modern English. Jackson et al. (2007:100) state that, through the process of *conversion*, a word belonging to one word class is transferred to another word class without any concomitant change of form, either in pronunciation or spelling. In addition, Jackson et al. (2007:100) highlight the fact that *conversion* is "a highly prolific source for the production of new words, since there is no restriction on the form that can undergo conversion in English." A common example of *conversion* would be when a noun is used as a verb (a bottle → to bottle).

3.1.6. DIMINUTIVES

The last type of word-formation that will be mentioned, namely because of its regular occurrence throughout the writing of *Cosmopolitan*, are *diminutives*. Plag (2003:17) defines diminutives as "formations expressing intimacy or smallness" and goes on to describe diminutives as formations where *clipping* (which he refers to as *truncation*) and *affixation* occur together. The examples found in *Cosmopolitan* show the usage of the suffix *–ie* in this particular word-formation process. Yule (2006:55) states that this is a particular type of

reduction where "the word is reduced to a single syllable, then *-y* or *-ie* is added to the end" and it "produces forms technically known as hypocorisms." According to the Cambridge Dictionary, diminutives are "used to express the fact that something is small, often either to show affection or to suggest that something or someone is not important".[1] We would argue that the examples in this analysis are not diminutives in the sense of indicating smallness. Even though these word-formations have a suffix that is commonly used to form diminutives, they serve to establish an informal and friendly tone of the magazine's writing. Through the processes of lexicalization and conventionalization, these word-formations have over time become independent lexemes.

3.2. CONTEXT, CONVENTION AND CREATIVITY

We have now seen some of the mechanisms of the English Language responsible for producing new words, and, as Mattiello (2008:169) briefly states, "words denote concepts." Every single word evokes a certain concept in the mind of the reader/listener. Mattiello (2008:169) points out that "a person who encounters a slang word for the first time and invokes its standard frame of reference, will not necessarily understand the word meaning, since the concept conventionally associated to that word does not correspond to the concept that slang associates to it." This is crucial when it comes to the examples that will later be analyzed. All of the examples heavily depend on the context that surrounds them. Although it seems questionable if various kinds of word-formations have any meaning at all when taken out of their contexts, they may go through the process of conventionalization in time and become standard lexemes.

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[1] Website (retrieved: 17 June 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/diminutive)

Context is a term that may be difficult to define seeing that it is used in various disciplines. When it comes to linguistics, it seems only natural to begin with the work of Bronislaw Malinowski. In 1923, he coined the notion "context of situation" and his work on "primitive" languages is of great importance to linguists today. The expression he coined indicates "on the one hand that the conception of context has to be broadened and on the other that the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression" (Malinowski 1923:306). Throughout his work, Malinowski insists that every language should be studied in its own context of use and claims that "language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture, the tribal life and customs of a people and that it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance" (1923:305). The idea of "a tribal life" may in a way be applied to the subject of this paper and will later be dealt with. Although Malinowski (1923:306) claims that "in a primitive language the meaning of any single word is to a very high degree dependent on its context", that may be true of every spoken or written language, and not just the ones that Malinowski deems "primitive". He indicates (1923:307) that "a word without linguistic context is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself." This statement may be applied to some examples that are analyzed later in this paper.

In 1935, J.R. Firth adopted Malinowski's notion of "context of situation", but it did not mean the same for him as it did for Malinowski in 1923. While Malinowski saw it as "the context of human activity concurrent with, immediately preceding, and following the speech act", Firth perceived it as "including the entire cultural setting of speech and the personal history of the participants" (Langendoen 1968:35-45). One of Firth's famous quotations is "You shall know a word by the company it keeps" (1957:11), and it clearly reveals his stance on the importance of context with regard to linguistics.

Halliday (2003:78) also considers context to be fundamental to the study of linguistics, and claims that "to exclude the social context from the study of language is, by implication, to exclude human interaction and the exchange of meanings from the scope of serious enquiry."

Halliday et al. (1976:42) interestingly note that "it is surprising how much can often be recovered simply from the presuppositions carried by the cohesive elements." The authors claim that the meaning of a certain word may largely be retrieved if one is to take into account the meanings of the words that surround it in a given discourse. Some word-formations' meanings (namely those of compounds) may be somewhat easier to understand, seeing that their constituent elements are visible. Nevertheless, in some cases, the meaning of a word formation may not be retrieved even if one considers the meanings of the surrounding words; hence, they require highly specific knowledge.

Van Dijk (2008:4) points out that "we use the notion of "context" whenever we want to indicate that some phenomenon, event, action or discourse needs to be seen or studied in relationship to its environment". By this analogy, we use context in order to explain the world we live in. Van Dijk (2008:16) claims that contexts are not "objective properties of social, political or cultural situations", but "subjective definitions of communicative situations" and, as such, are also unique. Furthermore, he states that "unique contexts also condition unique ways of using language". Seeing that contexts are unique, the knowledge of the participants of a certain discourse has to be "minimally different for the very interaction to make sense in the first place" (Van Dijk 2008:16). According to Van Dijk (2008:16), contexts are a special type of the mental models that "people ongoingly construe of the situations and environments of their everyday lives", and he calls these models "experience models". He (2008:17) further explains that contexts "consist of schemas of shared, culturally based, conventional categories which allow fast interpretations of unique, ongoing communicative events." Especially for the purpose of this research, it is of crucial importance that "contexts as mental models are not

static, but dynamic" (Van Dijk 2008:18). Based on Van Dijk's extensive research on context, it is safe to say that communicative events or situations are fast-paced and ever-changing. Even though each participant of such an event construes their own unique context, all the participants must possess very similar knowledge in order to understand one another.

Van Dijk (2008:19) claims that "a context model theory is at the same time a theory of the personal and of the interactional relevance of the situation interpretations of participants." The theory of relevance was put forth by Sperber and Wilson (1995). As the authors said themselves (1995:119), they "are not trying to define the ordinary English word 'relevance'", but want to define it "as a useful theoretical concept." Sperber et al. (1995:119-121) claim that "the notion of a contextual effect is essential to a characterization of relevance" and that "an assumption which has no contextual effect in a given context is irrelevant in that context". That could be summarized by saying that, in order for a certain word or an utterance to be relevant to the reader/listener, it has to have some contextual effect.

Another important notion by Sperber and Wilson (1995) is the one of "processing effort", which has to be taken into account in assessing degrees of relevance. Their theory states that the less accessible a context is to an individual, the greater the effort that is involved in accessing it. If Van Dijk's theory (2008) is also taken into account, then if the knowledge of one individual differs greatly from the knowledge of another individual, more effort is required to obtain the contextual meaning of their mutual discourse.

Langacker (1987:158) states that "whatever systems are invoked for the contextual understanding of an expression must be imputed as well to its conventionalized meaning", and, in that sense, acknowledges the importance of the notion of *convention*. Conventions are established over time and all the speakers of a certain language serve as active participants in conventionalizing various linguistic items by using that language. Clark (1996:107) firmly

states that "you can't talk about conventional word meaning without saying what community it is conventional in". Therefore, he divides word knowledge into "communal lexicons" which are "sets of word conventions in individual communities" (Clark 1996:107). According to this view, while some words may be conventional and regularly occur in some communities, in others they may not be conventional at all. Furthermore, convention is viewed as a reflection of the complexity of language, seen not only as a cognitive phenomenon, or a cognitive ability, but also as being central to human interaction (Žic Fuchs et al. 2013).

Grubišić (2017) emphasizes the synergy of convention and context, and points out that it is a stable and, at the same time, a dynamic phenomenon. She also refers not only to linguistic conventions as relevant, but also to those related to a particular community and culture (Grubišić 2017:491). The notions of context, community, and culture interact and intertwine, and therefore heavily influence the language itself.

Apart from convention, linguistic communication and language use in general also require notable amounts of creativity. Although this can cause language to be frequently characterized as unpredictable and unstable, it also successfully reveals the complexity of human thought. Vega Moreno (2007:217) notes that "successful communication depends on the ability to strike a good balance between creativity and convention."

Another notion that is recurrently emphasized by various authors as being crucial to a successful interaction is that of "shared knowledge". Grubišić (2017:493) claims that the participants "expect mutual, shared knowledge in a communicative situation" and that they then use both linguistic and communicative conventions "in a particular context of situation within a particular context of culture" to communicate their intentions. Van Dijk (2009:117) also points out that an understanding among participants requires "the application of abstract,

socially shared knowledge of a group or community". Herbert H. Clark (1992) calls this "common ground" and states:

> "The speaker designs his utterance in such a way that he has good reason to believe that the addressees can readily and uniquely compute what he meant on the basis of the utterance along with the rest of their common ground." (Clark 1992:80-81)

According to Clark (1992:81), this notion of "common ground" refers to "the mutual knowledge, beliefs and assumptions" that are shared among the participants of a particular communicative interaction. Furthermore, he distinguishes between "communal" and "personal" common ground. *Communal common ground* refers to all the knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that the participants "take to be universally held in the communities to which they mutually believe they both belong" (Clark 1992:257). Clark states (1996:103) that these communities may be defined by: nationality, residence, education, occupation, employment, hobby, language, religion, politics, ethnicity, subculture, cohort, or gender. On the other hand, *personal common ground* is related to all the mutual knowledge, beliefs and assumptions that the participants "have inferred from personal experience from each other" (Clark 1992:257). Therefore, Clark (1996:116) claims that people develop "personal lexicons" with other people they are close to. These lexicons "originate and get maintained in joint personal experiences" (Clark 1996:116). It is then clear that one's ability to access both contextual and conventionalized meaning of a certain utterance heavily depends on their affiliation to a particular community.

3.3. COMMUNITY

The previous chapter suggested that the notions of **context**, **convention**, and **culture** are all closely related to the notion of **community**. Grubišić (2017:474) states that members of a community are precisely those who create social interaction and social behavior through the use of language. In their book *Lexicology and Corpus Linguistics*, Halliday et al. (2004:41-42) state that "language is social behavior and meaning is a social phenomenon." Not only do the authors claim "that language 'exists' because of its life in social interaction" (2004:41-42), but also that "meaning is ultimately shaped and determined by communal usage" (Halliday et al. 2004:29).

Just as Malinowski concluded in 1923 that language is strongly connected to the tribal life of a people, numerous linguists view language as crucial to establishing communities, and discourse as a part of a social event.

Jackson et al. (2007:155) claim that "people who regularly associate with each other because they have some characteristic or interest in common may form a sub-culture that gives rise to its own special vocabulary". These sub-cultures or communities have their own lexicons and may also be referred to as unique communities of practice. Eckert et al. (1992:464) define a community of practice as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor." In the course of this mutual endeavor, "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short – practices – emerge" (Eckert et al. 1992:464).

With the rise of The Internet, the virtual playground became a breeding ground for the creation of new, virtual communities. Individuals who may not be part of the same community in real life may easily partake in the same virtual community. Renninger et al. (2002:6) point out that, "in the virtual community, a relationship is typically defined not by

proximity but by contents of individual interest". What is more, they emphasize one very important feature of virtual communities, and that is *permeability*. According to them (2002:13), "because of the permeability of the virtual and physical worlds, even those who are not participants in virtual communities are impacted by changed ideas about and experiences of community". Virtual communities, as any others, create their own lexicons through processes of contextualization and conventionalization, and the permeability of these communities allows for their lexicons to influence other communities' lexicons as well.

4. METHODOLOGY

The examples listed in this paper were manually obtained from four issues of Cosmopolitan (USA issue from December 2016, UK issues from May 2018, June 2018, and September 2018). The listed examples are those that the author believes to best serve the purpose of this research. A total of 35 examples was chosen to be analyzed using the method of close reading.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. EXAMPLES AND MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In this section, the examples of the research are grouped according to the type of word-formation taking place, alongside their morphological analysis and a short definition of the newly created word.

5.1.1. CLIPPING

Clipped forms retain the meaning that the word had before it underwent the process and, as mentioned in section 3.1.1., the word is only reduced to a shorter form.

*(01) That **d-bag** deserved it.*

[D(ouche)BAG = *d-bag*]

D-bag (douchebag) is defined as an unpleasant person.[2]

*(02) **Caps** often forget to break out of work mode.*

[CAP(ricorn)S = *caps*]

Cap (capricorn) is the tenth sign of the zodiac.[3]

*(03) **Sags** are known for having serious FOMO . . . but this month you need me-time.*

[SAG(ittariuse)S= *sags*]

Sag (sagittarius) is the ninth sign of the zodiac.[4]

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[2] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/douchebag)
[3] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/capricorn)
[4] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/sagittarius?q=Sagittarius)

*(04) Do as many **reps** with good form as you can for 30 seconds, then move immediately to the next exercise.*

[REP(etition)S = *reps*]

Rep (repetititon) is the act of doing or saying something again.[5]

*(05) Dark blood is usually left over from your last period, and pink blood is likely because one is about to start (NBD, **obvi**), but bright red may signal a health problem.*

[OBVI(ously) = *obvi*]

Obvi (obviously) describes something done in a way that is easy to understand or see.[6]

*(06) On the one hand, Kylie Jenner-like **manis** can feel supersexy when you lightly run them down his back…and on the other, they can carry gross bacteria and seriously scratch up you and your partner.*

[MANI(cure)S = *manis*]

Mani (manicure) is a treatment for the hands that involves making the skin feel softer and making the nails look better by cutting, smoothing, and painting them.[7]

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[5] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/repetition)
[6] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/obviously)
[7] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/manicure)

*(07) '**Roid** use among young men is so widespread, gyms are now installing needle exchanges.*

[(ste)ROID = *roid*]

Roid (steroid) is defined as a drug that increases the development of one's muscles.[8]

*(08) Aquarians are friendly by nature, and this month, your **cal** – packed with dinners, work parties, and happy hours – proves it.*

[CAL(endar) = *cal*]

Cal (calendar) is defined as a printed table showing all the dates, weeks, and months of the year.[9]

The examples show that the clipped forms have become lexicalized as such and that they adopted the properties of the full forms (e.g. plural marker). However, we would argue that they are not perceived as the unmarked, standard forms. Bauer (1994:81) states that clipping "always provides synonymous words from the same base but here the different style level (not the different meaning) allows both to co-exist." While both forms have the same meaning, the motivation behind the clipped forms seems to lie in building familiarity between the magazine and its readers. Plag (2003:23) claims that "clippings appear as a rather mixed bag of forms abbreviated from larger words, which however, share a common function, namely to express familiarity with the denotation of the derivative. […] Thus, *lab* is used by

people who work in laboratories, *demo* is part of the vocabulary of people who attend demonstrations, and so on." By that analogy, we may state that the word *manis* is used by people who are familiar with manicures, and people who exercise regularly are more likely to use the word *reps* instead of repetitions. The writers and readers of *Cosmopolitan* may be seen as a community of their own. Therefore, they are expected to have "shared knowledge", and these clipped forms are a part of their "communal lexicon" (Clark 1996).

5.1.2. EXTREME CLIPPING (ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS)

*(09) That **d-bag** deserved it.*

[D(ouche) + bag = *d-bag*]

D-bag (douchebag) is defined as an unpleasant person.[10] This example may also be viewed as consisting of an acronym (*D*) and a noun (*bag*).

*(10) Sags are known for having serious **FOMO** . . . but this month you need me-time.*

[Fear Of Missing Out = FOMO]

FOMO is a worried feeling that you may miss exciting events that other people are going to, especially caused by things you see on social media.[11]

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[10] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/douchebag)
[11] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/fomo?q=FOMO)

*(11) Use deep-pocketed sheets. They're less likely to slip off the edges and slide around while you're sleeping. (While you're at it, **BYOP** again.)*

[Bring Your Own Pillow = BYOP]

This abbreviation is based on a similar one (BYOB), which means 'bring your own bottle/booze' and which has been in use since 1951.[12] Seeing that this particular article provides advice on how to get quality sleep wherever one might be, the abbreviation suggests that one should always bring his/her own pillow with him/herself.

*(12) Dark blood is usually left over from your last period, and pink blood is likely because one is about to start (**NBD**, obvi), but bright red may signal a health problem.*

[No Big Deal = NBD]

This abbreviation stands for 'no big deal' and it is often used on social media and in text messages to say that something is not important.[13]

*(13) Imagine these kitten-heeled babies clicking along the pavement under your most worn-out pair of jeans, that lucky **LBD** or even your grey tracksuit.*

[Little Black Dress = LBD]

LBD stands for a little black dress and, even though this piece of clothing has been 'a style staple for decades', the abbreviation became an official word in the Oxford English Dictionary only in 2010.[14]

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[12] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=byob)
[13] Website (retrieved 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/nbd)

*(14) **IRL** she was the same handsome woman I knew all those years ago.*

[In Real Life = IRL]

This abbreviation stands for 'in real life' and it is often used in email, social media, etc. [15] The Urban Dictionary claims that it is often used in internet chat rooms so that people can differentiate between events that happened in the real world and those that took place in the internet world.[16] It must be noted that, while this abbreviation (and others listed in this paper) may have originated on the internet, now it has various contexts of usage, and it may be used, not only in print media, but also in actual conversations.

*(15) They look incredible on the bloggers that post hazy, artistic #**OOTDs** in them, but definitely do not have the same effect on me.*

[Outfit Of The Day = OOTD]

According to Dictionary.com, this 'internet abbreviation' stands for 'outfit of the day' and refers to what a person is wearing on a particular day (usually in the context of fashion blogging).[17] It is usually used as 'a hashtag' and accompanies a photograph of a person wearing that particular outfit.

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[14] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.instyle.com/news/its-official-lbd-dictionary)
[15] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/irl)
[16] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=IRL)
[17] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.dictionary.com/e/acronyms/ootd/)

Most of these acronyms and abbreviations originated in virtual communities and brevity is often of key importance on various social media. It was mentioned in section 3.1.4. that these word-formations are often formed for the purposes of "either brevity or catchiness" (Pyles et al. 1993:273). While they may be used to express a certain emotion or thought in a simple and quick way, we would argue that their main purpose throughout the magazine is to set an informal and friendly tone. In some communities, these word-formations have even become a ubiquitous part of face to face communication as well. Even though their meanings are fairly transparent and easy to understand, some require very specific knowledge from the reader. For instance, in the example (15), the abbreviation *OOTD* does not only refer to the outfit that a person is wearing on a particular day, but to a photograph of a person wearing that particular outfit. This shows that the readers of the magazine are expected to be very familiar with social media, as well as with these specific types of photographs. Although these acronyms and abbreviations may have been created out of necessity, it may be concluded that the writers of *Cosmopolitan* use them to signal the magazine's belonging to a particular community where social media plays an important role.

5.1.3. BLENDING

*(16) **Lash-tastic**!*

[lash + (fan)tastic = *lash-tastic*]

'Lash-tastic' serves as the heading of a text that introduces a special kind of an eyelash applicator that is supposed to be fantastic.

*(17) **Tinder-Ternatives***!

[Tinder + (al)ternatives = *Tinder-ternatives*]

'Tinder-Ternatives' also serves as the heading of an article that introduces a number of mobile applications whose purpose is to find a romantic partner and which can be used as an alternative to Tinder, which is possibly the best known mobile application of the kind.

*(18) **Bathleisure***
The new Instagram scenario overtaking infinity-pool-posing in the race for likes. What is it? Influencers and celebs reclining in towels and robes. We miss clothes.

[bath + (ath)leisure = *bathleisure*]

'Bathleisure' is used as the title of a short portion of text describing a new trend among celebrities to take photographs while 'reclining in towels and robes' and posting them on Instagram.

*(19) Now, it's **cloggers** – yep, that's career bloggers: people who write about their 9-to-5s.*

[c(areer) + (b)loggers = cloggers]

The blend 'cloggers' is already partly described in the same sentence in which it appears. The word is used to denote people who have blogs[18] where they write about their careers.

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[18] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/blog)

(20) One in every 31 men you meet at your workplace/gym/on Tinder will be juicing, with the purported side effects of anger, **bacne** *(back acne), infertility, extreme fluctuations in both sex drive and erectile function thrusting their way into your world any day now.*

[b(ack) + acne = bacne]

The blend 'bacne' specifically refers to acne that a person gets on their back.

(21) **Fridgies**
Sure, they're aesthetically pleasing, but this craze for fridge selfies just makes us feel bad about our back-of-the-shelf leftovers and lack of colour co-ordination.

[fridg(e) + (self)ies = fridgies]

The blend 'fridgies' is used as a heading of the short text describing 'fridge selfies'. Those are aesthetically pleasing photographs of an inside of one's refrigerator.

*(22) Noticed #**empties** popping up all over your social media?*

[empt(y) + (self)ies = empties]

The word 'empties' is used in an introduction of an article showcasing beauty products which the employees of the Cosmopolitan magazine have been satisfied with. The blend refers to photographs of empty bottles of various beauty products that people post on social media in order to say that they were satisfied with the product so much so that they have used the content of the whole bottle.

*(23) First came the fashion bloggers, then the beauty vloggers, then the **fit-fluencers**.*

[fit(ness) + (in)fluencers = fit-fluencers]

'Fit-fluencers' (or fitness influencers) are people who are athletic and fit, and they promote that lifestyle among their numerous followers on social media.[19]

The blends from the examples were coined by deleting material from one or two source words and then combining them, which agrees with the definition provided by Plag (2003). While most of them stand as single words, some are curiously hyphenated (such as *lash-tastic*, *tinder-ternatives* and *fit-fluencers*). Jackson et al. (2007:101) claim that blends are more frequent in informal style and these examples only confirm that statement. Certain blends (such as *lash-tastic* and *tinder-ternatives*) were produced with a specific purpose and serve as catchy article headings. Most blends from the examples originated mainly in virtual communities. Mikić Čolić (2015:26) states that a blend is "often perceived as a sort of pun, i.e. wordplay, the success of which is reflected in the fact that it requires no special explanation upon having been used in context." While it may be rather easy to identify the source words of the blends from the examples, their meanings are not always transparent and they require specific knowledge on subjects such as beauty, fashion, and social media. According to Mikić Čolić (2015:26), the motivation behind the production of blends lies in "the desire to shorten certain expression, i.e. phrases that seem too long and 'clumsy'", but we would argue that the writers of *Cosmopolitan* use them either for the purposes of catchiness and humor, or to further build familiarity with their readership and active participants on social media.

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[19] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/influencer)

5.1.4. COMPOUNDING

As it was mentioned in section 3.1.3., compounding is "the most productive type of word formation process in English" (Plag 2003:169). Although there is an inconsistency when it comes to the compounds' orthographic treatment, the following examples from *Cosmopolitan* show that all of the compounds are written with hyphens between its constituent words, but they function as a single word (both grammatically and semantically).

*(24) An Instagram grid full of swoony products is all very well, but what about the dowdy-looking ones that win awards and form the secret stash of beauty editors? Meet the **far-from-millenial-pink** potions worth ruining your bathroom self for #notgridgoals"*

[far (Adv) + from (Prep) + millennial (Adj) + pink (Adj)

= **far-from-millennial-pink** *(Adjective compound)*]

'Millennial pink' is a specific shade of pink that Guardian describes as a 'sort of a grapefruit shade of apricotty salmon'.[20] This compound describes beauty products whose packaging is not in a colour that may currently be popular, but they are nonetheless high quality products.

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[20] Website (retrieved: 8 May 2019,
https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/shortcuts/2017/mar/22/millennial-pink-is-the-colour-of-now-but-what-exactly-is-it)

*(25) Your **just-plump-enough** pillow, your favorite sheets, even the familiar whir of your wonky ceiling fan are all part of passing out and staying out.*

[just (Adv) + plump (Adj) + enough (Adv)

= **just-plump-enough** *(Adjective compound)*]

This adjective compound serves to describe a pillow with a perfect degree of softness and pleasantness.

*(26) These elegant cavas are here to drag you out of your **same-order-as-always** slump, away from the almost-entirely-fruit-juice cocktails and into a new era of sunny summer thinking (...)*

[same (Adj) + order (N) + as (Conj) + always (Adv)

= **same-order-as-always** *(Adjective compound)*]

This compound is used to describe a slump (or a rather mundane period) which is characterized by always ordering the same beverage at places such as coffee shops or bars.

*(27) This miraculous **lip-balm-meets-lip-colour** produces the most beautiful tint.*

[lip (N) + balm (N) + meets (V) + lip (N) + colour (N)

= **lip-balm-meets-lip-colour** *(Noun compound)*]

This noun compound denotes a product that is a mixture of both a lip balm and a lip colour.

*(28) Meanwhile Instagram is full of **bright-eyed**, **beauty-blogging brunch-goers** who presumably were also doing tequila shots at 2am.*

[bright (Adj) + eyed (Adj) = **bright-eyed** *(Adjective compound)*]

[beauty (N) + blogging (Adj) = **beauty-blogging** *(Adjective compound)*]

[brunch (N) + goers (N) = **brunch-goers** *(Noun compound)*]

These compounds are used to describe individuals who post photographs on social media to showcase an idyllic lifestyle where they presumably party until the morning hours, have a blog where they write about beauty, go to brunch (a meal that is a combination of breakfast and lunch), and somehow still manage to look rested (hence having bright eyes) at all times.

The examples of compounds show that they are all hyphenated and that their meanings are rather transparent and easy to understand. Jackson and Amvela (2007:92) state that, because of the inconsistency in their orthographic treatment, "compounds have an intermediary status between phrases and words consisting of a single root." Although some of these compounds do resemble phrases (in the sense that they are formed out of multiple words), grammatically and semantically they function as single words. Blamires (2000:272) emphasizes that there has been an escalation in hyphenation in new compounds, which is clearly seen in the examples from *Cosmopolitan*. These compounds may be seen as spontaneous creations by *Cosmopolitan* writers, coined for that specific occasion with the purpose of establishing a conversational, humorous, and informal tone with their readership. While the product from the example (27) could have been described as one that has characteristics of both a lip balm and lip colour, the compound *lip-balm-meets-lip-colour* expresses an informal tone and a specific style that is characterized by conversational features and preferred by the readers of the magazine. It is also crucial to note that these examples do not demonstrate just one occurrence of word-formation processes. Both *lip balm* and *lip colour* are examples of compounds as well, and are then further combined into a new compound in example (27).

5.1.5. DIMINUTIVES

Although the following examples are listed as diminutives (seeing that they show the addition of the *-ie* suffix), we would argue that they have become lexemes through the processes of lexicalization and conventionalization, and that the *-ie* suffix is here primarily used as a means to establish familiarity or social proximity between *Cosmopolitan* and its readers.

*(29) Rock an oversize suit jacket with leather-paneled **skinnies**.*

[skinny (jeans) + -ie + -s = skinnies]

Skinny jeans (skinnies) are a specific type of jeans that are tight-fitting and have very narrow legs.[21]

*(30) The most natural-looking **falsies** are cluster-style – glued groups of individual lashes, spaced evenly along the lash line.*

[false (eyelashes) + -ie + -s = falsies]

False eyelashes (falsies) are artificial eyelashes that are usually glued on top of a person's real eyelashes in order to provide them with longer and darker eyelashes.

*(31) Hit your **hammies** and core.*

[ham(strings) + -ie + -s = hammies]

Hamstrings (hammies) refer to muscles at the back of the thigh that function to flex and rotate the leg and extend the thigh.[22]

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[21] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/skinny)
[22] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hamstring)

*(32) The perfect **prezzie** for your BFF who's obsessed with contouring.*

[present + -ie = prezzie]

A present is something that you are given, without asking for it, on a special occasion, especially to show friendship, or to say thank you. Cambridge Dictionary even states that forms 'prezzie' and 'pressie' are informal forms of this word in the United Kingdom.[23]

The examples listed as diminutives display the semantic feature of *affection* and not necessarily the one of *small*. Over time, the connection between these two features has been lost, and these word-formations are now conventionalized standard lexemes used by *Cosmopolitan* writers to convey a friendly and informal tone. Schneider (2012:11) states that "it is important to note that the referents of diminutive forms do not have to be small by any standards" and that the individual using the diminutive "may not perceive the respective referent as small of its kind." We would state that the writers of *Cosmopolitan* do not perceive any of the objects from the examples as small, but are representing them as such for a particular communicative purpose. Schneider (2012) distinguishes "diminutives proper" from "hypocoristics" and claims that both use the same formal devices (e.g. suffixes), but "diminutives proper" express smallness, while "hypocoristics" express dearness. If this view is taken into account, we would argue that these examples are more likely to be seen as "hypocoristics" than as "diminutives proper". Quirk et al. (1985:1584) classify the *-ie* suffix as a "familiarity marker" and state that it conveys a "highly informal tone and a mode of referring that indicates close community with (together with familiar, and often affectionate, knowledge of) what is referred to." Furthermore, they claim that these word-formations

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[23] Website (retrieved 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/present)

"characterize the type of slang developed in close social groups" (Quirk et al 1985:1584). We would conclude that the writers of *Cosmopolitan* use these word-formations mainly for the purpose of building familiarity with their readership.

5.1.6. EXAMPLES OF MULTIPLE PROCESSES

It must be noted that multiple word-formation processes occur in certain examples that have already been listed in previous sections and that the following examples have been chosen for closer analysis. The occurrence of multiple word-formation processes is not always straightforward and it is possible for those processes to overlap.

*(33) Here, it's all about the **Insta-worthy** street art, which covers most walls.*

CLIPPING

[INSTA(gram) = Insta]

COMPOUNDING

[Insta (N) + worthy (Adj) = **Insta-worthy** *(Adjective compound)*]

This adjective compound is, in this example, used to describe a certain type of street art that is worthy of being photographed and then posted to Instagram. The compound may in general be used to depict anything that is so aesthetically pleasing that it should be photographed and then shared on Instagram.

*(34) But what does it take to get **'papped'** like the style elite?*

CLIPPING

[PAP(arazzi) = pap]

CONVERSION

pap (Plural Noun) → to pap (Verb)

Seeing that it is based on the noun 'paparazzi', the verb 'to pap' would then describe an action of taking photographs of famous people for newspapers and magazines.[24]

*(35) And then she performed a feat of Houdini-esque magic (otherwise known as a facial-tuning app) that blurred out the lines from our skin, cleaned up our molars to a blinging **TOWIE-whiteness**, pumped up our lips and trimmed the edges of our hips.*

EXTREME CLIPPING

[The Only Way Is Essex = TOWIE]

The Only Way Is Essex is a reality series which follows some people living in Essex, including a club promoter, a would-be model, a member of a girl band and two bar workers.[25]

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[24] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/paparazzi)

DERIVATION

[white + -ness = whiteness]

COMPOUNDING

[TOWIE (N) + whiteness (N) = **TOWIE-whiteness** *(Noun compound)*]

This noun compound is used to denote that one's teeth are extremely bright (as are those of the characters' on the reality series *The Only Way Is Essex*).

*(36) Your **no-BS** guide to all things beauty*

EXTREME CLIPPING

[BullShit = BS]

COMPOUNDING

[no (Adj) + BS (N) = **no-BS** *(Adjective compound)*]

This adjective compound is used to describe a beauty guide that is not deceiving or misleading.

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[25] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1737565/)

These word-formations exemplify the creativity and productivity of the English language. Some of them are rather self-explanatory and have conversational and informal features that characterize the writing style of *Cosmopolitan.* Others require highly specific knowledge on certain subjects (such as social media and television) and their purpose is mainly to build *common ground* (Clark 1992) between the magazine and its readers.

5.2. DISCUSSION

The examples listed above reveal the aforementioned importance of context surrounding them. This is particularly evident in the examples of clippings, blends, and the examples listed as diminutives (which have now become lexemes). Their meanings can hardly be understood if they stood on their own, while some other word-formations' meanings may be easy to comprehend if they were analyzed in isolation from their context. The meaning of the compound 'lip-balm-meets-lip-colour' from the example (27) requires less processing effort than obtaining the intended meaning of the clipping 'caps' from the example (02). Even without any additional context, it is fairly obvious that the compound (27) refers to a make-up product that is a mixture of a lip-balm and a lip-colour, while the word-formation 'caps' may be inferred as a plural form of a number of different things or objects.

It would be incorrect to say that all of the compounds' meanings are transparent and easy to understand. Even though it is obvious that the compound 'far-from-millennial-pink' from example (24) refers to a certain shade of pink, the reader of the article must know exactly which shade of pink this refers to, as well as possess the knowledge about the current popularity of that exact color in order to fully understand the meaning behind this specific compound in this particular sentence.

Although they serve as excellent examples of the creativity and productivity that English language has, most of these examples' meanings are opaque and require additional processing effort. Seeing that the context surrounding them is highly specific, they require that the reader possesses very particular knowledge on the subject. What is more, on several occasions, the authors of the articles even provide an explanation of the word-formation in question, as in examples (19) and (20):

*(19) Now, it's **cloggers** – yep, that's career bloggers: people who write about their 9-to-5s.*

*(20) One in every 31 men you meet at your workplace/gym/on Tinder will be juicing, with the purported side effects of anger, **bacne** (back acne), infertility, extreme fluctuations in both sex drive and erectile function thrusting their way into your world any day now.*

That goes on to show that expressions such as these may not be known by a large group of people.

It has already been mentioned that the theory proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1995) states that the less accessible a context is to an individual, the greater the effort that is involved in accessing it. Given that the context of the magazine's content is easily accessible to their audience, it takes minimal processing effort for them to perceive the content as *relevant* (Sperber et al. 1995). For everyone else outside of the target audience, the content requires more processing effort in order to access the context of it.

It was mentioned earlier how Malinowski (1923:307) claimed that "a word without linguistic context is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself". We would argue that it does not necessarily "stand for nothing by itself", but it may stand for different things to different individuals or different communities of practice. In the example (13), the abbreviation 'LBD' is introduced. If isolated from its linguistic context, for some individuals

this word-formation may indeed stand for nothing. For an individual whose occupation or hobby is closely related to fashion, this abbreviation would most likely stand for 'little black dress', which is also the intended meaning in this example. But to an individual whose occupation has to do with the field of medicine, this word-formation may invoke the concept of the disease called Lewy Body Dementia. While for some individuals this abbreviation may in fact mean nothing at all, for others it may invoke different concepts, depending on which community of practice they belong to.

Not everyone in the same age group, or everyone of the same gender, experience language in the same way. This is very much connected to their social class, ethnicity, education, and so on. Llamas (2007:72) for instance elaborates that "two 18 year old speakers in an adolescent cohort may demonstrate very different outlooks, behavior and, conceivably, dissimilar linguistic usage, if one lives in the parental home and is in full-time education whilst the other is in full-time employment and is him/herself a parent, for example." This serves as a good example of how intragroup variation can easily be expected even among individuals who are of the same gender or who belong to the same age-group. If Clark's (1992) view is also taken into account, it becomes evident that age is much less of an important factor than the community with which an individual shares his/her knowledge and beliefs. Those communities arise based on notions such as nationality, education, occupation, and hobby; and these may in fact affect one's linguistic usage to a higher degree than one's age or gender. Although research shows that the readers of *Cosmopolitan* are mainly single women between the ages of 18 and 34, that is not to say that there are no readers that are outside of that age group or of other gender.[26] It cannot be overlooked that the percentage of readers who are between the ages of 35 and 49 is rather high (25,5%), which shows that

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[26] Website (retrieved: 10 June 2019,
http://www.cosmomediakit.com/hotdata/publishers/cosmopoli2521681/categories/Readership_Section.pdf)

factors such as age and gender are much less important than the knowledge and interests that the magazine's readers share.

It is essential to observe the magnitude of influence that social media has in the listed examples, which is evident in the overt use of the hashtag (#) in examples such as (15) and (22):

*(15) They look incredible on the bloggers that post hazy, artistic #**OOTDs** in them, but definitely do not have the same effect on me.*

*(22) Noticed #**empties** popping up all over your social media?*

Social media has made the hashtag a ubiquitous part of Internet culture, starting with Twitter and expanding to other sites. Originally designed for categorizing posts, the hashtag can now be a tool for a supplementary coy or witty comment.[27] The use of the hashtag validates the assumption that social media plays a central role, not only in understanding these word-formations, but in popularizing them as well. Zappavigna (2011:789) claims that the hashtag became a "community building linguistic activity". These communities are then created by individuals who are interested in the same kind of content, and they wish to, not only read about it, but also be a part of creating that content on their own, and share it online.

Grubišić (2017:481) states that "hashtags were first introduced as a means of making a post searchable and helping it gain more visibility with a wider audience of particular social media". The hashtag turned out to be a useful item in building new virtual communities. Furthermore, Grubišić (2017:482) explains that "the technology behind the hashtag makes it possible to click through huge lists of related posts, separate threads, users who created, shared and liked those related posts". The importance of the hashtag lies precisely in the

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[27] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hashtag)

possibility to click on it, which makes the usage of the hashtag in the printed media even more ambiguous. One might pose a question such as this: What is the point of using the hashtag in print media where it loses its original function of being able to be clicked on?

To answer that question, it is crucial to return to the notion of **permeability** among virtual communities. While the aspect of permeability makes it possible for one virtual community to influence another one, it also allows for virtual worlds to influence the physical one. The hashtag has therefore permeated from the virtual world, where it is used as a tool to categorize posts, and entered the sphere of the physical world where it may have lost its original function, but nevertheless gained at least two new ones. One of the functions of the use of hashtags in examples (15) and (22) would be to build familiarity with the readers who are already acquainted with these specific hashtags, and to affirm their belonging to the same community by establishing their own "communal lexicon". The other function would be to popularize the hashtags in question among the individuals who are already users of social media, but who have not yet come across these specific hashtags. In both of these cases, the readers of the magazine are presumed to be a part of the community that is characterized by using social media. For instance, if an individual has already used or is familiar with the meaning behind the hashtag '#empties', then seeing it in the magazine would further build familiarity and **common ground**, not only between the individual and the magazine, but also between the individual and the other readers. On the other hand, if an individual is not familiar with the hashtag '#empties', reading about it in the magazine may influence them to use it online and, once again, build common ground, not only with the magazine, but also with other readers and social media users online.

If examples such as (21) and (22) are taken into consideration, it becomes easily evident that these blends' meanings are not transparent even if an individual is aware of the words that were used to form the blends in question. In order to access the meaning behind the word

'fridgie', a person would also have to possess the knowledge of the word 'selfie' (an image of oneself taken by oneself using a digital camera especially for posting on social networks[28]). If a person then takes into consideration the meanings of the words 'fridge' and 'selfie', they might come up with a meaning similar to the following: an image of oneself with a refridgerator taken by oneself using a digital camera especially for posting on social networks. This definition, however, would be incorrect, and the more appropriate one would be: an aesthetically pleasing image of an inside of one's refridgerator.[29]

The same goes for example (22) where the word 'selfie' is combined with the word 'empty'. Retrieving the meanings of these two words provides no help to the readers in their effort to interpret the meaning of the word-formation 'empties'. The possible definition of the word is the following: an image of an empty bottle or packaging of a beauty product taken by using a digital camera especially for posting on social networks in order to showcase the product that one is satisfied with to such a degree that they have used the entire content of the packaging.

Judging by the word-formations that are produced in the articles, the context of *Cosmopolitan* seems to be easier to understand for individuals who are very active on various social media and possess a great amount of knowledge on subjects such as social media, beauty, and fashion, regardless of their age, gender or social class. It is also evident that the magazine's objective for this specific type of writing does not reside as much in the intention of creating new word-formations, as it does in the ambition of building familiarity and establishing an informal, conversational tone with their readership. Biber et al. (2009:109) state that many written registers primarily focus "on communicating information rather than

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[28] Website (retrieved: 20 April 2019,
https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/selfie)
[29] "FRIDGIES
Sure, they're aesthetically pleasing, but this craze for fridge selfies just makes us feel bad about our back-of-the-shelf leftovers and lack of colour co-ordination." (Cosmopolitan, June 2018:20)

on developing a personal relationship", but we would argue that this is not true in the case of *Cosmopolitan*. The authors (2009:255) also claim that "each style has its own set of typical linguistic features that are preferred by speakers from a particular sub-culture", and the examples in this paper show that *Cosmopolitan* has established its own specific style (characterized by various conversational features) with the exact purpose of developing a personal relationship, not between the actual writer and reader, but between the readers and the magazine as a whole. The style of *Cosmopolitan* may even be perceived as a type of a marketing strategy, seeing that it is used to attract new readers and maintain a relationship with existing ones. Furthermore, the writers of the magazine should also serve as active participants on social media, or should at least be aware and familiar with new trends on social media so that they can leverage that knowledge in their writing. In a sense, social media participants and the writers and readers of *Cosmopolitan* all serve as members of one larger community of practice and their communal lexicon is constantly changing and growing.

To this group of individuals, this context is not only easily accessible, but it is present in their everyday lives, which makes them a unique type of community of practice. In this respect, there seems to be a kind of "virtual community" that shares practices, such as being active on the same social networks or watching the same television series. The writers of *Cosmopolitan* then employ **convergence**, a common form of accommodation, in order to build familiarity with this "virtual community". According to Bell (2007:96), convergence is a type of accommodation by which speakers (or, in this case, writers) "shift their style of speech to become more like that of their addressees". This may mean that the word-formations from the listed examples are not a part of the writers' everyday language, but they use them because their target audience expects shared knowledge on subjects dealing with fashion, beauty, social media, television, and so on.

The example (35) is particularly interesting in this respect. The author of the article uses the compound 'TOWIE-whiteness' to refer to a degree of whiteness of a person's teeth. In order to fully understand the meaning behind this compound, the reader must know several facts: first, that TOWIE stands for *The Only Way Is Essex*, which is a popular British reality series, and second, that the group of people that the series focuses on is characterized, among other things, by having extremely white teeth. The compound is a great example of endless creative possibilities in the English Language, as well as how the context of a certain word formation may be easily accessible to a specific group of people.

Here we may reintroduce Malinowski's notion of "a tribal life", and this kind of "virtual community" with practices of its own may be seen as a "virtual tribe" of its own as well. It is not only a tribe that reads the same magazine, but also one that adores the same celebrities, enjoys the same television series, uses the same social media, and is not bound by proximity, but by mutual interests and habits.

6. CONCLUSION

The analysis provides some useful insights not only about the writing of *Cosmopolitan* magazine, but also about the ever-growing virtual communities whose language use is constantly changing. While meanings of some examples listed in this research are fairly transparent and easy to obtain, others heavily rely on the context that surrounds them and require very specific knowledge from the reader.

The notions of context, convention, and community have all been dealt with throughout this paper, and it is evident how they all depend on each other in order for this, or any other discourse for that matter, to make sense in the first place.

It has already been mentioned that conventions are established over time, and the role of the Internet and social media is becoming more and more apparent in this process. The word 'selfie', for example, emerged from the virtual world where it became popular for people to take a picture of themselves and post it to social media. The word then transcended the virtual world and entered the realm of everyday communication, where more and more people know and use this word (even if they have never posted a picture of themselves on social media or if they have never even used social media at all). This paper shows how the notion of the hashtag, which first originated on social media as a useful organizational tool, now also entered the realm of print media and hence gained new functions and purposes.

Just as virtual communities influence the language of *Cosmopolitan*, the notion of permeability allows for the language of *Cosmopolitan* to influence the language of virtual communities as well. This almost symbiotic relationship revolves around the activity of building a virtual tribe that has its own unique lexicon based on the shared knowledge of its members.

This paper demonstrates how all of the aforementioned mechanisms operate closely with word-formation processes to make it possible for the speakers of the English Language to produce creative new lexemes. While word-formation processes may be employed for the purpose of brevity and to economize the English Language for all of the speakers (clippings, abbreviations, and acronyms), in certain contexts they may be used to build lexicons that are not supposed to be common ground among all English speakers, but only those who share particularly specific knowledge and interests.

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