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Linguistic accommodation in magazines. An analysis of the use of neologisms according to the age and gender of the target

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1. Introduction

It is claimed that the challenge of effective communication is to avoid the focusing of addressers on themselves. This is accomplished by means of linguistic accommodation, whereby addressers evaluate addressees with the purpose of adjusting messages and ensuring successful communication. Notwithstanding, studies on accommodation have typically given priority to phaticity, topic constrain, topic change, message structuring as well as sound modifications.

This obviates the importance of words as an accommodation strategy. Considering that addressers' word choices are said to reflect the addressees' identity, neologisms, or new words, would also play a significant role in accommodation. Research on neologisms has typically studied them as signs of knowledge evolution. However, they are also representatives of the socio-cultural structures in which individuals are placed, insights to social tendencies and symbols of how individuals identify with others via language.

According to Giles and Coupland (1991) addressers commonly seek to maximise communication. Whereas their lexical accommodation strategies show how significant those lexical patterns are to addressees, their avoidance permits the analysis of the social stereotypes influencing the latter. Consequently, examining neologisms as an accommodation strategy could provide more information about their use as pragmatic units.

Accommodation is a complex phenomenon; the perception of non-linguistic factors affecting addressees is vital for shaping messages effectively. In media terms, addressees are unknown. Addressers identify their readership by the sociolinguistic factors with which they are familiar, such as age, ethnicity, gender, etc. Labov (1972) conceives that these variables are powerful predictors of how individuals use linguistic patterns as well as the social reasons they have for doing so.

Coupland and Giles (1991:69) call this practice the "uses and gratification approach". The media, for accommodation purposes, employs sociolinguistic factors that are known about their addressees to reproduce their language since an absolute identification with potential customers is required to promote sales. This offers the advantage that the neologisms used by addressers could be considered, by extension, as close representatives of the ones addressees actually use.

Moreover, Labov (2001) considers the media as a research source as it displays a clear representation of the addressees' social identity. In contrast to personal identity, which defines individuals according to their peculiarities, social identity is established by their interaction in social networks and offers an insight to social stereotyping.

This leads to the supposition that studying neologisms as an accommodation strategy could reveal if addressers' use of neologisms varies according to the age and gender of addressees. In his research on phonological linguistic innovation, Labov (2001) asserts gender is the highest innovation predictor, making women the largest group of innovation-users irrespective of their age. However, men would tend to avoid the use of linguistic innovations except in the limited cases when they need to gain prestige.

Although Labov's studies are based on phonological innovations, the aim of this research is to verify if the author's claims can be extended to the field of morphological innovation. Consequently, it attempts to analyse whether addressers show a higher tendency to use neologisms as an accommodation strategy when targeting women than when addressing men irrespective of the age factor.

2. Literature Review

Language and social networking

Milroy (1980) claims individuals seek grouping (networking) because they are social beings who only develop their attributes and satisfy their needs within a group. Networks are formed by nodes, which is the name given to individuals, organisations, etc. sharing relations. A node is accepted in a network if it has many acquaintances or friends there, or if the members of the network view the node as necessary to keep connections with other networks. However, when these conditions are not fulfilled, there might be contact between the node and the network, but the node is not considered part of it.

All nodes belong, at least, to one network, which can be classified into nucleus or border. Nucleus networks operate as references passing behaviours and attitudes to the others articulating around them, called border or periphery networks, provoking a cascade effect. To gain status, border networks adopt a large number of the prestigious-considered features of nucleus networks to establish ties with them. This determines the social capital of nodes because reproducing the behaviour of the nucleus networks

increases opportunities in the marketplace¹ as well as prestige². Border networks, thus, acknowledge the social value of the nucleus ones by copying either their linguistic or non-linguistic features.

This form of social organisation impacts on language. Labov (1972) argues individuals with a low social status use prestigious linguistic forms to resemble those with a high status and establish connections with them. The latter's language functions as a parameter against which that of the low status individuals is measured. The nearer a language is to that of the high status individuals, the more prestige is assigned to the individual using it.

Following Bourdieu (1975), language is a capital, and its users are conscious that certain language forms are socio-linguistically more valuable than others. In his principle number one, Labov (2001:188) states innovations originate in the nucleus networks because they tend to have a central role in economy, but are highly used by low prestige individuals to obtain social advantages via the reproduction of prestigious forms, a postulation which concurs to Milroy's cascade model.

Neologisms

Neologisms are new words acting as “(...) communicative (pragmatic) units which identify speakers by the way they can use them in certain expressive or communicative situations.” (Cabrè in Somers, 1996:23) Neologisms can be classified according to the values they characterise. Social neologisms exemplify a collective value, which embodies the public system of moral codes. Functional neologisms represent a use value, which refers to the ease of expression of a word. Stylistic neologisms illustrate a symbolic value, which specifies the significance of the word as a symbol of identity or beauty³. Finally, terminological neologisms expose an expansive value, which refers to the knowledge development of society.

Social neologisms are said to appear due to the evolution of socio-cultural values leading to changes in stereotypes. To exemplify, the feminist request for the legal elimination of sexual inequality has resulted in the replacement of female-excluding words, such as *chairman* for *chair* or *chairperson*, which were neologisms when they were first coined. Following Matthews (1991) compounding⁴ and derivation⁵ are the most common word formation strategies used to create this type of neologisms.

Functional neologisms can be rapidly produced, read and delivered. Because their meaning cannot be generally deduced from their morphological construction, comprehension is based on the regular encounter of the word to ensure it is remembered. Their morphological construction generally includes abbreviation⁶, acronyms⁷ and clippings⁸. Functional neologisms are said to have been principally motivated by online communication and are believed to foster proficiency by highlighting the value of transferring maximum information in a minimum time.

Stylistic neologisms “do not fear synonymy because they normally coexist with other synonym forms and acquire a stylistic value by contrast.” (Cabrè, 1993: 446-447) They are used as sources of politically correct language or dysphemisms⁹. To illustrate, initially, *sex worker* was a neologism that avoided the negative connotations of the word *prostitute*. Similarly, *snail mail* was a neologism accentuating the slow quality of the mailing service. Additionally, stylistic neologisms are commonly used as an externalisation of appearance as well as identity. For example, punks have developed a tough image; thus, their neologisms accentuate this feature; hence, the word *grrrl* was originally a neologism used to mean *girl* among this sub-culture.

Terminological neologisms emerge from the need to name a new concept¹⁰ that is usually from a techno-scientific nature. *Scanner* and *e-mail* were technical neologisms when these objects were invented. Terminological neologisms “(...) can be designed and engineered (...), [have] no linguistic precedent (...), and the new term to be created must be justified in some way (...)” (Sager, 1990:80).

Neologisms undergo three stages. Firstly, they are protologisms: extremely new words only known by a small minority. Subsequently, they reach a diffused phase: they are known though not widely accepted. At

1. Marketplace is the name given to the dynamic of social interactions. This dynamic affects and modifies individuals' actions and behaviours as a consequence of their interaction with the social system, social norms and social values, which set role expectations that determine the prestige assigned to each individual.

2. Prestige refers to the social respect and social hierarchy that individuals are given as a result of the status of their position.

3. Beauty is defined as the criterion used to choose certain linguistic features rather than others based on the linguistic impact they will have on the marketplace.

4. The combination of two simple lexemes (lexical units) to form a new one with a new meaning.

5. The addition of prefixes or suffixes to a lexeme.

6. The shortening of a word or phrase to a letter or group of letters. Ex: *abbr.* stands for abbreviation

7. According to Hatch and Brown (1995:210) acronyms take the initial letter of words or parts of those words to form another one which can be read as a name. Ex: *NATO* stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organization

8. The arbitrary extraction of a portion of a word that is given an identical meaning to the full form. Ex: *phone* stands for telephone.

9. The intentional use of a rude word to offend someone.

10. “A concept is a unit of thought constituted by those characteristics which are attributed to an object or to class of objects.” (Arntz and Picht, 1995:65)

At this point, neologisms become markers of power since their users display an informed and modern image. Finally, they become stable and are accepted by the majority of language users by entering dictionaries. However, if they do not become part of the language system, they die.

Language and age

The predominance of youth over adulthood seems to be engendered in a sociological phenomenon called the "liquid modernity" (Bauman, 2001:21). This term refers to the contemporary consumerist society where, analogously with liquids, nothing is static. The liquid society is characterised by its plurality of stimuli, dynamism, creativity and by the point that nothing is sufficiently good or developed.

The liquid modernity directly affects adults because it opposes to the old values of prudence, security and stability. Hence, adults are commonly viewed as obsolete as the vast majority has not accommodated to the fact that social capital is no longer determined by one's own assets, but one's potential to challenge limits. The current valued social image entails protagonism not victimisation. Whereas being protagonists comprises leading and confronting, being victims involves weakness and lack of personal development. Consequently, adolescents rank higher in the prestige market than adults, who are said to get easily victimised instead of adapting to the new social requirements.

On the contrary, adolescents are highly innovative because adolescence is characterised by the search for a new social identity. The identity that is sought must be one that benefits them; therefore, it is heavily influenced by fashion and popularity. The reason of aforesaid statement is based on the fact that choosing an identity also implies adopting certain linguistic features that transmit the desired identity, and choosing the linguistic features that will be part of their idiolect¹¹ is to select the social milieu in which they are going to act. Thus, it is not strange that adolescents seem to be apprehensive about their identity and language construction as they are crucial items that will determine their successful insertion in the marketplace.

According to Halliday (1978) the simplest means of ascertaining an identity is to oppose to the values and norms that determined the identity of the former generation. The author conceives adolescent language as an antilanguage because it symbolises a rebellion against the existing society and its norms, a point which results in an attention shift to the young defiant social group. Accordingly, it is argued that "(...) [innovations] tend to peak high during adolescence when pressure not to conform to society's norms is greatest (...)" (Holmes, 1992:184).

Notwithstanding, adult language is believed to be more stable as adulthood is characterised by the acceptance of social norms. Hence, preference for innovations would decline. This process is also said to be aided by the negative social view assigned to adults preserving their adolescent antilanguage. It is believed the association between adulthood and the antilanguage results in the social perception of a pathetic and immature adult who does not accept their social role.

However, adolescents are currently part of the nucleus network and reproducing their language is a means of recovering prestige. Encouraging similarities with this network has resulted in the adoption of the valued adolescent attitudes and linguistic behaviours. "In some cases, then, people who select and project themselves out of a stereotypically 'old' social group (...) use teen language and may be doing so strategically, following a partially conscious decision to resist dispreferred alternatives." (Coupland and Giles, 1991:70)

Furthermore, Labov (2001) analyses adolescence as an incrementation period whereas adulthood could be characterised as a stabilisation period. The author claims adolescents take the linguistic ground given by their mothers and expand it by communicating through innovations. However, adult language is normalised and excludes the use of innovations. Labov summarises this claim by stating that the use of innovations can be understood as an S-shaped curve, as is shown in the graph below.

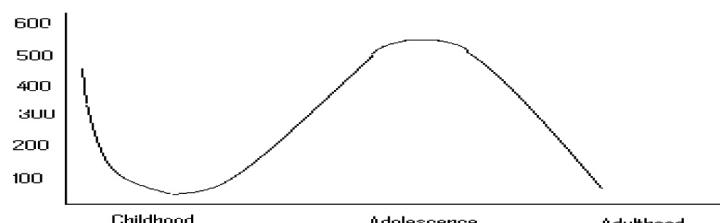


Figure1: S-shaped curve of innovation development

11. Language form that is particular to an individual.

Language and gender

Men and women's roles have historically been conceived as opposed and with non-inclusive characteristics. In this antagonism, men are viewed as physically and socially superior. These characteristics are derived from the large number of relations they have traditionally developed in the public arena. Due to their active networking in the economic, socio-cultural and political fields, men are supposed to aspire to leadership and independence.

Tannen (1990) claims men do not need to be attentive to face, struggle for the floor or protect their sense of masculinity because they have usually been regarded as dominant. Their authority is guaranteed by the association of being a man and the qualities in the below-displayed table. Hence, male language is characterised by its use of non-standard forms. This is supposed to signal male power since concerns about the correctness of language are relegated to those whose social status is not sufficient and need to gain prestige via language.

Masculine ideals	Origin of the ideals Men have historically been:	Consequences Men are seen as examples of:
Social authority	-Rulers -Conquerors -Family heads	-Wealth -Independence -Dominance
Physical perfection	-Athletes -Soldiers -Competitors	-Balance, proportion and moderation -Strength of character -National and commercial affluence
Knowledge	-Prophets -Priests -Intellectuals -Writers and teachers	-Objectivity -Solution-providers -Challenge-setters -Wisdom sources
Moral superiority	-Law-makers -Judges -Heads of states	-Honour -Severity -Reliability

Table 1: Socio-historical account of male stereotypes following Glover and Kaplan (2000)

Conversely, women were conventionally subordinated to the male-ruled society and reminded of that subordination by means of material and socio-political inequality. Cameron (1995) argues women networked with men in marital alliances to ensure their economic support and social survival. Downgraded to the domestic field, their social relations were limited, which has led to the association of femininity and weakness.

Due to the massive incorporation of women into society, a re-adaptation of their linguistic strategies is required to be included within the powerful group. Consequently, linguistic innovations have become an empowering tool to which women are recurring for social recognition. Following Labov's Nonconformity principle, "Ongoing linguistic changes are emblematic of non-conformity to establish social norms of appropriate behavior, and are used in the social milieu that most consistently defies these norms." (Labov, 2001:516) Thus, women's use of linguistic innovations is claimed to pursue the breaking the social expectations placed on them.

Labov summarises his observations on women's attempts to use language to obtain a higher social role in a series of principles:

- Principle 2: "(...) women show a significant lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men." (Labov, 2001:266)
- Principle 3: "Women significantly adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men" (Labov, 2001: 274)
- Principle 4: "Women significantly use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do." (Labov, 2001:292)

This creates a contradiction, which the author has labeled as the gender or conformity paradox. "Women appear to be more conservative than men, in that they use more standard variants...At the same time, women appear to be more progressive than men, because they adopt and use new variants more quickly." (Labov, 2001:366)

Although many studies support Labov's principles, modern social life has been moving towards greater homogeneity. This has resulted in a phenomenon called the unisex society, where men and women's roles are increasing their similarity. As Leich (2001:2208) argues "in-between" spaces are being created. "(...) 'in between' designations of identity become a process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between the upper and the lower (...) [and] prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities."

Whereas the stereotypes stating that men are instrumental and women are expressive endure, men are imitating what was traditionally believed to be feminine behaviours (included language) and vice versa. Social pressure has resulted in women's adoption of tougher manners as well as the taking of professional and economic responsibilities. Analogously, men have assumed a more feminine position by participating in child upbringing, softening their manners, expressing their emotions as well as concerns for body care. This phenomenon is claimed to have been extended to the linguistic arena and consequently, both genders are claimed to be equally expressing qualities such as pride, self-realisation and body concern in their use of linguistic innovations. Paradoxically, although the gender polarity is said to be disappearing, competition between genders is increasing as their spheres of action are no longer limited.

2.5 Linguistic accommodation

The adjustment of linguistic styles to addressees is called linguistic accommodation. Its two major strategies are convergence and divergence. Convergence alters language to resemble that of addressees in order to gain social approval or mutual intelligibility. Giles and Coupland (1991) argue upwards convergence seeks for prestigious forms whereas downward convergence resembles stigmatised forms. Conversely, divergence accentuates differences that distinguish addressers from addressees.

From these two types, it is possible to identify other sub-strategies:

- Accommodation: Addressers make an appropriate language shift to foment convergence with addressees.
- Overaccommodation: Addressers unconsciously exceed what would be an appropriate language shift when targeting addressees.
- Underaccommodation: Addressers unconsciously perform below addressees' expectations.
- Contra-accommodation: Addressers perceive what the appropriate sociolinguistic style should be, but consciously opt for the opposite one to ensure distance.

The similarity-attraction theory conceives linguistic similarities encourage closeness between addressers and addressees. Its aim is to maintain rapport with high-esteem addressees in order to seek group identification by reproducing the linguistic and non-linguistic features of addressees. Moreover, it attempts to return respect to high prestige individuals. As a result, this theory is not founded on solidarity but on the maintenance of social hierarchies.

The social exchange theory, however, is based on the pillar of solidarity. It fosters closeness with low-status addressees. This is achieved by over-using prestigious forms with the purpose of giving addressees some of their neglected social recognition via language. Thus, because addressers use language that would be typically employed to target prestigious addressees, low-status ones acquire social and mainly emotional benefits, a point which makes them more ready to answer addressers' requirements.

The Study

Data and methodology

This research was a quantitative study undertaken on a sample of opportunity. It used an independent-measures design and analysed a dependant variable (neologisms) plus two independent variables, each of which was subdivided into two levels: age (adolescents and adults) and gender (men and women).

These two non-linguistic variables: age and gender were chosen because they were the ones at which addressers were targeting. They were also viewed as popular representatives of the aforementioned groups and seemed to have a significant effect on their lifestyles. The age groups were delimited based on the division suggested by the World Health Organisation (WHO), which defines adolescence between the 10 and 19 years of age and adulthood as the period extending from the 20 years of age onwards.

Data was collected from eight magazines and separated into four groups according to the readership's age and gender. The first magazine of each group is a British edition and the second an American.

- Group 1: Teen magazines for girls (*Elle Girl* and *Seventeen*)
- Group 2: Adult magazines for women (*Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan*)
- Group 3: Teen magazines for boys (*Maxim* and *Razor*)
- Group 4: Adult magazines for men (*Ask Men* and *GQ*)

The above-displayed magazines are monthly publications except for *Razor*, which is published ten times a year. *GQ* and *Ask Men*, which is also seen as a male portal, are mainly concerned with fashion, style and culture and are aimed to an 18-49 male market. *Maxim* and *Razor* are directed to a 13-18 male readership, and their main issues include sports, television, fashion and pictorials.

Female-directed magazines are monthly publications. *Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan* are focused on fashion and shopping; their target readers are 18-49 year olds. *Ellegirl* and *Seventeen* are fashion and beauty magazines with a 12-19 year-old readership and include issues like people and social relationships.

American and British magazines were chosen due to two reasons. They are part of what Kachru (1985), calls the inner circle¹². Although the aforesaid magazines are not the only English-written publications produced in the Inner Circle, they seem to reach a wider readership than other ones included within it. Consequently, neologisms used in American and British publications are prone to influence the outer and expanding circles.

A total corpus of 10,000 words was collected for three months. It consisted of 2,500 words for each of the studied groups. The corpus was taken from the health, fashion and men/women sections of the aforementioned magazines. These categories were selected because they have not been analysed by any of the researches made on neologisms yet. Subsequently, the neology extraction was conducted by the lexicographic criterion, which conceives neologisms are not included in dictionaries. *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* and *Oxford Advanced Dictionary* were used as they are the most updated dictionaries currently available in the Argentinean market.

In defining the unfamiliar, dictionaries give neologisms the status of standardised words by integrating them into their corpus. Hartmann (2001) views dictionaries as socio-linguistic tools that show the evolution of social and linguistic structures. This is achieved by collecting, describing and documenting the development of language. Besides, the documentation criterion permits a clear differentiation between what is perceived as new, from the accepted and diffused forms.

Resources were described by the neology scheme developed by the University of Rice, which includes context, apparent meaning, apparent reason of use, type of word formation, word function and source. Additionally, two other categories were added to the aforesaid scheme to aid the analysis: type of neologism and section from which it was retrieved. Finally, a factorial ANOVA test (Analysis of Variance) was conducted to determine if the use of the collected neologisms as an accommodation strategy was ultimately affected by the age and gender of addressees.

This study was organised into five main sections. The first section comprises an introduction to the topic. The second provides a literature review of the main concepts that were studied. The third offers an explanation of the methodology used to collect neologisms and examine the stated variant as well as the variables. The fourth presents an analysis of the collected data, and the fifth grants the final conclusions of the study.

Additionally, four appendixes are supplied, where it is possible to observe the collected neologisms and the analysis given to them. Appendix one includes neologisms used when targeting adolescent girls. Appendix two contains those innovations addressed at an adult female readership. Appendix three consists of neologisms aiming at adult men and finally, appendix four, those used when addressing adolescent boys.

4. Analysis of the results

Inspection of the source table shows that the main effects present a trivial significance whereas the interaction effect has almost been rejected by ANOVA. Although the age main effect seems to be much more suggestive than the gender effect, as shown in figure 2, its significance is still a trivial one due to the small size of the corpus ($F_2 = 36.254$, $\geq p. 5.591$). Interpretation of the gender main effect suggests its significance is much lower than the age effect ($F_1 = 10.372$, $\geq p. 5.591$). Finally, ANOVA practically fails to support the significance of the interaction effects ($F_3 = 5.667$, $\geq p. 5.591$)

12. In his study of the global allocation of English, Kachru classifies English-speaking countries as belonging to the Inner, Outer or Expanding Circles. The first is formed by norm-providing countries, where English is a first language. The second by norm-developing countries, where English is a second language. The third by norm-dependant, where English is a foreign language. The Inner Circle represents the traditional and cultural bases of the English language that are to be adopted by the Outer and Expanding Circles.

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main effect A (Gender)	66.125	1	66.125	10.372	≥ 5.591
Main effect B (Age)	231.125	1	231.125	36.254	≥ 5.591
Interaction A*B	36.125	1	36.125	5.667	≥ 5.591
Within groups Error	25.5	4	5.375		≤ 5.591
Total	358.875	7			

Table 2: Factorial ANOVA. Source table

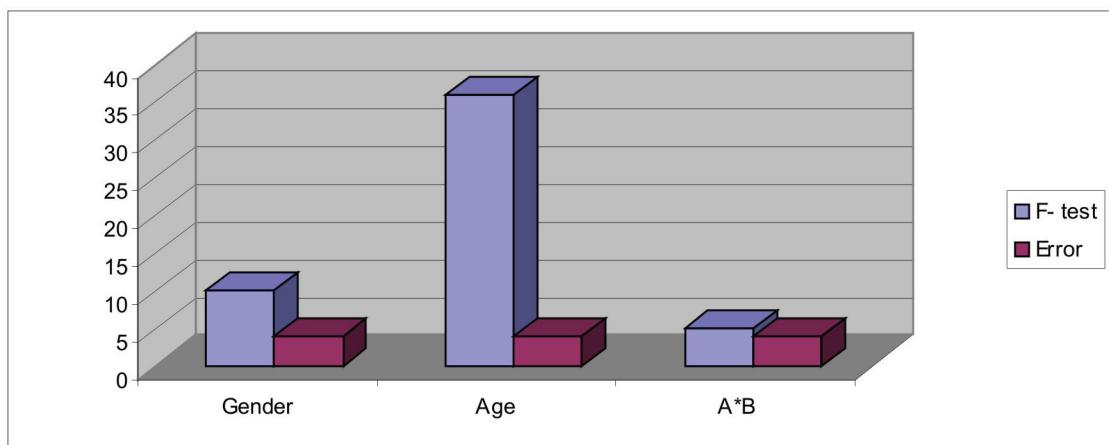


Figure 2: Effects of age and gender on the use of neologisms

Addressers used the 72.16% of neologisms to target adults but only a 27.77% to address adolescents. Moreover, a 45.12% of the found neologisms were used to address a male readership and a 55.22% correspond to neologisms employed when targeting female addressees. Accordingly, these data appears to disagree with Labov's statement that gender is the major variable affecting innovations.

Regarding the type of neologisms used, it is evident that social neologisms were omitted. However, neologisms of function and style were given an outstanding preference. The overall distribution of neologisms shows that functional neologisms rated first; they were used as an accommodation strategy in a 52.57% of the analysed cases. Stylistic neologisms rated second with a 34.02%, followed by terminological neologisms with a 13.4%.

Addressers seem to adhere to the above-displayed tendency when aiming at readerships conformed by adult men and women. Notwithstanding, when addressing adolescent girls, stylistic neologisms were preferred, followed by functional neologisms. When addressing adolescent boys, functional neologisms were again the favoured ones. This appears to be the cause why the interaction effect shown by ANOVA is very trivial but yet retains certain significance. Finally, it is important to note that addressers have omitted terminological neologisms when targeting adolescents.

For a detailed examination of the above-displayed data, this paper is further sub-divided into sections. Section *a* considers the motives for the use of neologisms as an adjustment strategy based on the age factor. Section *b* offers an examination of the neologisms used to target adolescents. Section *c* considers the neologisms chosen to address adults. Finally, section *d* displays the causes why neologisms are used as an accommodation strategy according to gender.

- a) Reasons for the use of neologisms as a strategy of linguistic accommodation according to age

The number of neologisms used to accommodate to an adolescent readership was not as high as expected. Due to the distance between addressers and addressees, neologisms might have been limitedly used to bridge the generational gap and thus, connect a network conformed by young individuals with another of older individuals as well as to open the communication channel by attracting readers in a way that is not detrimental to their social image. On the contrary, an excessive use of neologisms would have resulted in overaccommodation and might have gone beyond the addressee's network. Similarly, their avoidance would have been equally damaging since it could have caused underaccommodation and insufficient closeness to the adolescent network.

Underaccommodation could not have bridged the generational gap and would have displayed an old-fashioned view of the adult addressers, who might have been believed to be inadequate to understand adolescent needs. This point would have damaged the quality of the offered product because the negative opinion bestowed on the addresser would have been further extended to it. Analogously, adult language that excessively incorporates modern features is ridiculed by adolescents for being presumptuous or pathetic. Hence, overaccommodation could have been perceived as a fake attempt to give consumer satisfaction because the addresser would have been negatively viewed as someone pretending to be a person they are not. As Eckert claims, "Everyone cannot be anyone" (Eckert, 2002:12).

"Social expectations appeared to be that teen language was low-prestige because teens' lexical choices seemed nonsense (...) now, teens' creativity is priceless because it is valued in society, and the attitude exhibited in their lexical choices is socially meaningful and desirable. This makes teens more valuable than adults, and makes adults who cannot accommodate to the expected linguistic behaviour as more disdainful for their lack of resourcefulness or skills to interact within the value laden that teen's lexical choices exhibit (...)" (Stenstrom, Andersen & Hasund, 2002:13). Consequently, neologisms may have been used to encourage closeness with addressees by incorporating some of youthfully-viewed innovations in order to bridge the generational gap as well as to encourage sales.

Nevertheless, the use of neologisms was limited due to two reasons. First, employing a large number of neologisms when targeting adolescents would imply, following the networking theories, that adult addressers could be fostering similarities with the adolescent network to be incorporated in it. This would be condemned because adolescents' most common way of ascertaining their identity is to oppose to the already existing social, cultural and linguistic norms imposed by adults. Thus, using a large number of neologisms when addressing adolescents may be taken as a personal assault on their network. This commonly results in a self-defense strategy that stigmatises such adults as pathetic with the purpose of discouraging them from continuing with that invasive tactic.

Second, addressers appear to follow the similarity-attraction theory whereby a moderate upwards convergence is fostered with prestigious addressees. As Labov (1972) states high-status addressees do not need to be targeted with a large number of prestigious forms due to the fact that they already count with their social images acting as a strong social capital. This social capital is engendered in adolescents' lexical creativity, which makes them more valuable than other social groups.

Notwithstanding, addressers used more neologisms when targeting adults. This strategy seems reasonable since both, addressers and addressees are part of the same generational network. According to the networking theories, addressers could be familiar with the stigma that adulthood is an unproductive period. By using a large number of neologisms as an adjustment strategy, addressers might recognise addressees' need to "(...) project (...) [addressees] out of the stereotypically 'old' social group." (Coupland and Giles, 1991:70) Because addressers and addressees belong to the same generational network, the aforementioned attempt to assist addressees in recovering their social prestige would not be seen as invasive, as it is the case when addressers target the adolescent readership.

Furthermore, addressers seemed to promote upwards convergence by means of the social-exchange theory with the adult, low-status addressees. They used the prestigious adolescent innovations because they act as referents. Prestige is gained by fostering similarities with those who score high on the prestige scale. Therefore, the over-use of neologisms can be seen as a solidarity marker that might help to re-position addressees as a prestigious language group. This would agree with Coupland and Giles's conception (1991) that addressers accommodate to low-prestige addressees by using linguistic strategies that make them feel esteemed, and with Labov (1972), who claims low-prestige individuals need to be addressed with a higher number of prestigious forms for face purposes.

It is vital to note that the aforementioned point would only succeed provided addressees understand the prestigious forms used to accommodate to them. Although accommodation is based on adjustments made by addressers, its pillar is the assessment of the addressee's self. Had addressees been unfamiliar with neologisms and their use, this adjustment strategy would have resulted in contra-accommodation.

Consequently, it may be stated that if more neologisms were used when targeting adults, it might be because adults, contrary to beliefs, understand and probably use neologisms without difficulty. Hence, it could be said Labov's proposal (2001) that adolescence is characterised by its high use of innovations and adulthood by its maintenance to a minimum cannot be extended to the field of accommodation via neologisms.

Analysis of neologisms used to address adolescents

It could seem strange that terminological and social neologisms have been ignored when targeting adolescents. They might have been disfavoured due to their association with knowledge and social consciousness. Because they coin new realities, they are more connected to the creation of concise and comprehensible terms (knowledge), which are regarded as adult features. Furthermore, these neologisms have the greatest probabilities of being standardised, a fact which obviates the adolescent necessity of individualisation due to the fact that standardisation leads to the general acceptance and thus, diffusion of words.

On the contrary, functional neologisms mirror the current taste for the immediate and the fragmented. They have become proficiency icons since speed is a highly valued quality in the linguistic market. Functional neologisms foment economy; they are tools whereby it is feasible to answer quickly under time pressure. Because speed entails resourcefulness to decode a concept that is presented in a fragmented form, using functional neologisms as an accommodation strategy could be seen as an acknowledgement of addressees' knowledge, decoding power and creativity.

Moreover, functional neologisms foment original communication forms as well as the development of cognitive skills. The combination of the word fragments engendered from the chopping off words has resulted in a mental and creative challenge since functional neologisms might be polysemous. For instance, *peeps* is a clipping from *people*, meaning *people*, *family* or *friends*. Additionally, a concept could be assigned two or more functional neologisms. *Phat*, an acronym for *Pretty, Hot and Tempting* and *fly*, a shifting, both mean *attractive* and were equally used in magazines that targeted boys in expressions such as *She is so phat/fly!*

However, these neologisms present an interpretation difficulty. Whereas they can be normally understood by analysing the composition of their morphemes, some functional neologisms require a previous encounter with the word because their meaning cannot be deduced from their parts. To illustrate, *DL* was used to mean *depressed*, but the word alone does not evoke this concept. The only way of successfully decoding the neologism *DL* is to know that it is the abbreviation of *Down and Low*. Accordingly, addressers appear to give their addressees an informed and modern image as they are supposed to be able to cope with these abstractions by continually adapting to changes as well as keeping themselves updated.

Besides, addressers appear to use functional neologisms to enhance addressees' sense of individuality. The morphological devices used to form them might be linked to code languages. As Carter states linguistic creativity is sometimes exploited to "adapt to the informality, intimacy of the receivers' context (...)" (Carter, 2004:9). For example, *Bmoc* is a neologism that was used to target adolescent boys meaning *advanced college/university student*. Therefore, addressers seem to foster an "in-group" perception since it might be improbable that other individuals outside the college field are acquainted with it.

Stylistic neologisms were probably much used due to the fact that choosing a style is to choose an identity in the marketplace. In preference to create knowledge, stylistic neologisms are tools whereby a renewed image can be shown. For this reason, addressers appear to have used them as a personalisation device since they carry an important social meaning: they display the affiliations adolescents have by projecting an attitude. Thus, addressers appear to have favoured stylistic neologisms to answer the adolescent need of belonging.

Moreover, popularity and prestige are crucial factors in adolescence. These phenomena are characterised by gaining social approval; they involve reproducing the positively viewed attitudes, actions and language. Language must be carefully designed to be valued in the adolescent linguistic market, which evaluates originality and fashion as the most significant attributes. Accordingly, addressers may have highlighted stylistic neologisms as instruments whereby it is possible to adjust to the market of their appearance-interested adolescent readership.

Stylistic neologisms have mainly a symbolic value: they display attractiveness according to the current beauty parameters established by society. To illustrate, the blending *blaxican* does not refer to the mere state of being dark-skinned, but also displays a certain sex-appeal derived from the reference to being Mexican. Thus, this neologism can be said to combine the fashionable tendency of being sunbathed and the popularity of the Latin lover. Similarly, *swamchic* emphasises the idea of beauty by analogy to the literary figure of the swan, joined with the word *chic*. Stylistic neologisms, therefore, seem to confirm a

certain adherence to a particular identity conceiving beauty, prestige, money and sexuality as having a paramount social significance.

It is interesting to note that more stylistic neologisms were used to address adolescent girls than boys. In defining their identity, girls are said to resort to feminine stereotypes to ensure their identity is positively viewed. Following stereotypes is the simplest way of avoiding social rejection, and female stereotypes stating women are judged by what they appear are the most common. Conversely, stylistic neologisms have not been much used to address adolescent boys as they are believed to “(...) try out the stereotypical role of the ‘brute male’ (...) to reinforce their identity (...)” (Stenstrom, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:36). Hence, the use of stylistic neologisms appears to have been regulated with the purpose of accommodating to the emergent sexual identity of the adolescent addressees.

These forms of accommodation seem to concur to Labov’s conceptions (2001). Addressers could have used more neologisms with girls because innovations tend to be perceived as feminine. What is more, stylistic neologisms are claimed to signal expressiveness, which is seen as a female stereotype. Therefore, using a larger number of stylistic neologisms might have been a means of suggesting closeness with the female identity. Nevertheless, the same association could have fostered the minimisation of stylistic neologisms when addressing boys, who are described by the author, as seeking distance from the female language in order to reinforce their masculine identity; thus, addressers may have opted for avoiding stylistic neologisms as they tend to be associated with a feminine ideal.

After the presented considerations it might be stated that when targeting adolescents, innovations seem to be “good” because they are “bad”. Adolescents rebel against standards and corpora of compiled language that is supposed to be customary. However, in line with Labov (2001) adolescents seem to have been viewed as high-prestige language users; hence, accommodation to this readership did not entail a large quantity of prestigious forms, such as neologisms, because they do not need their social status to be incremented.

Analysis of neologisms used to address adults

Conversely, addressers used more than the double of neologisms when targeting adults than when addressing adolescents, a point which creates an age paradox. Adults are typically regarded as preferring rules and standards. On the contrary, in this study, neologisms, which are non-standard forms by definition, were favoured when addressing adults. Similarly, adolescents are believed to foster the use of neologisms; notwithstanding, accommodation to this readership does not manifest a significant tendency to use them.

Whereas addressers targeting adolescents seemed to employ neologisms to reinforce individualisation, when addressing adults they appeared to use them to alter stereotypes. Contrary to adolescents, adults do not require individualisation but an improvement of their collective image. Adult networks are based on competition for power. Competition acts as a stimulus to lexical innovations. The high number of neologisms used when addressing adults is an adaptive response to the pressure to be successful, which is intensified by the necessity to challenge the symbolic system¹³ that views adults as low-prestige individuals.

Therefore, addressers accommodated to adults by using the same types of neologisms chosen for targeting adolescents, though at a higher rate, with the purpose of improving the adult social image. This accommodation strategy seems to agree with Labov’s Nonconformity principle (2001), which argues that individuals who do not conform to their social rank seek innovations as a means of exerting a greater personal influence on prestigious social networks with the aim of gaining recognition.

Addressers’ preference for functional neologisms might reflect the acknowledgment of the pressure to be “in” that is placed on addressees. Because adults are currently judged as not as competent as adolescents, it is not strange that functional neologisms have been emphasised as an accommodation strategy. Due to their association with modernity, they might have been used to re-shape the social and symbolic systems that stereotype adult addressees in order to assist them in gaining status in the prestige market.

Functional neologisms tend to be characterised by certain inexpressiveness due to their degree of abstraction. To illustrate, the ones engendered by abbreviation are symbolic representations of concepts; thus, their successful decoding involves using retrieval mechanisms from the episodic memory¹⁴. This feature complicates comprehension since the chosen representation will not be decoded unless addressers are familiarised with it. The neologism *GF* does not evoke the concept of *girlfriend*, nor does it present any allusion to its meaning; similarly, it is impossible to deduce that the functional neologism *AFK* means *Away From the Keyboard* unless one is familiarised with the expression. Moreover, abbreviations tend to reach standardisation when they become international codes, like KGB, OTAN, etc. or are worldwide known due to massive distribution, such as DVD, TV, etc. Nevertheless, that a word is considered a neologism

13. The interconnection of cultural and social meanings that rules a society and influence its individuals’ social judgments.

implies it has not reached standardisation yet. Accordingly, the complexity of its decoding is increased since it is impossible to record an inventory with the meanings of every current neologism, specially when neologisms can be occasional coinages that will not reach the diffusion phase.

What is significant of these features is that they were used to target adult addressees. This could imply that adults, contrary to beliefs, are capable of interpreting and, by extension, probably, using neologisms. The fact that adults were addressed with examples of what might be called atomistic language means adults can successfully affront the challenge of understanding language that is not designed for minimalising linguistic difficulties as the Least Effort Principle claims (Labov, 1972:89). This shows the addressers' effort to accommodate their readership to the modern paradigm that magnifies performance over competence in order to grant a positive social image of their addressees.

Stylistic neologisms were also emphasised as meanings are currently filtered by their attractiveness. The modern aesthetic parameters show individuals no longer consume content but images. To exemplify, *chocolicious* and *beefcake* were used to mean *attractive*; although the former was employed to refer to women and the latter to men, they show a significant display of vivid imagery. Because appearance defines and bestows prestige, it is of paramount importance that language is also dressed in the aesthetic codes. This might adhere to Labov's argument (2001) stating what is significant of modern linguistic innovations is the social effect they are created for, not the reduction of linguistic difficulties.

Stylistic neologisms are an expression of creativity with an "in-group" appeal given by the particular interaction between identity and language. These neologisms act as an audio-visual code of self-expression, a fact which, again, concurs to Eckert's claim that "Everyone cannot be anyone." (Eckert, 2002:12) Because stylistic neologisms convey a set of exclusive values that belong to the identity of the group, they disseminate a kind of creativity whose driving force is to be recognised as a socially fashionable linguistic behaviour.

Additionally, the vast majority of stylistic neologisms entails iconic representation and requires the use of the semantic memory¹⁴ for their decoding. Individuals seem to have ceased being knowledge producers in order to image descriptors, a fact which involves choosing features by the potential impact they will have. For instance, *breastaurant*, meaning *cabaret*, *hardgainer*, meaning *thin*, can be easily decoded from the images of these compounds. This seems to create a strong synergy between language and image culture and implies a close relationship between the signifier and the signified. The newness of a word is concealed under fragments of old ones, but fragments are not generally meant to be neutral; they connect addressees' interpretation and cultural awareness.

Consequently, interpreting stylistic neologisms requires knowledge of the prestige and linguistic market to decipher them. Addressers appear to enhance the adult image because interpreting stylistic neologisms involves acknowledging the most updated fashion trends, which are only accessible to high-prestige individuals. Besides, due to social mobility, the aforementioned points are changeable, and changing at the pace of fashion or social values is an empowering means of showing modernity as well as the ability to keep updated.

Whereas by using stylistic neologisms addressers provide an innovative social image, to establish in-group identity in an adult readership, addressers have resorted to the attribute characterising them: producing knowledge. Terminological neologisms (*blendability*, or *the quality of combining together* and *prefatigue*, meaning *warming up by exercising isolated muscles*) offer an image of an adult who, aside from being modern, is competent. This acts as a solidarity strategy that adds them value in the linguistic market by giving adults an expertise not shared by adolescents.

Reasons for the low use of neologisms as a strategy of linguistic accommodation according to gender

According to the results shown by ANOVA, gender does not appear to be as significant as age when influencing addressers' tendency to use neologisms, a point which disagrees with Labov's statements on gender. The cause might be that the modern society is more oriented towards sex equality. This phenomenon is said to have homogenised both genders, resulting in the use of the same codes (physical, intellectual, emotional and linguistic) by men and women on an equal basis.

However, it could be said that the impossibility to extend Labov's conceptions that gender exerts a major impact on the use of linguistic innovations to this research appears to be partial. Aside from the aforementioned discrepancy, this study shows that more stylistic neologisms were employed when targeting female adolescents than when addressing male adolescents, as it was explained in section b. Hence, it could be said that in this respect, Labov's postulations and this research appear to agree.

When targeting adults, addressers used more neologisms than when addressing women, but the difference between the number of neologisms used to target them and that employed to address men is just of a 10.1%. Consequently, while Labov's principles 2,3 and 4 claim that women's use of innovations

14. Remembering meanings by inference from known elements without the need of previous repetitive experiences.

significantly surpasses that of men, it can be stated that this research concurs to the author in the fact that more neologisms were used to accommodate to the female readership. However, the point that the number of neologisms employed to target women differs only in a 10.1% from that used to address men, seems, at first sight, to disagree with Labov's aforesaid principles because the difference in the number of neologisms used as an accommodation strategy is not as significant as the author proposes.

Labov (2001) conceives that men's use of innovations is also high when they require social prestige. This claim is also aided by the statement that "(...) when two groups are in continuous communication and interaction, linguistic convergences are expected." (Labov, 2001:45) It seems this statement can be extended to the field of morphology and be applied to the current situation experienced by men and women, which is currently characterised by the sharing of contexts of action¹⁵. Hence, it could be possible to say that in fact, the results of this research agree with the author.

Both groups are currently battling for prestige in the social network and thus, they are equally at peril of losing prestige. Men, although have traditionally held a higher status, could lose their recognised social position if women became more prestigious. Similarly, women might lose the important social advances they have made in the last century if men prevented them from changing the symbolic system in their favour. Accordingly, this would adjust to Labov's NonConformity principle (2001), stating those who are more socially jeopardised are most likely to encourage the use of linguistic innovations than those whose social position is an advantageous one.

Translated to the accommodation arena, this would mean that addressers could have used neologisms to target men and women with the same purpose: to improve their social prestige, which is currently at risk. It could be stated that addressers employed the social exchange theory for the male and the female readership. Due to the competition derived from unisexism, both genders, as stated above, might be at danger of losing prestige. This appears to concur to Labov's claim (1972) that a low-prestige group or that whose social prestige is at danger exaggerates influential linguistic forms with the aim of recovering their social position.

Analysis of neologisms used to address adult men and women

Contrary to usual statements, men, although socially believed to be more prestigious than women, also need to reconstruct their identities due to the new requirements of the modern society, which demands cooperation, flexibility and teamwork from its individuals. This would oppose to Eckert's conception (2003) stating men consider language as an inconsequential element since they already count with their strong social roles acting as commodities.

Women's social image also appears to require a change since the modern society seems to value individuals based on their productive skills. They need to challenge the symbolic system perceiving them as not as competent as men in order to gain social recognition. This would foster a "doer" identity, which is the one that is currently sought and valued.

Consequently, neologisms act as factors of social change and social control. Social change is achieved by integrating men and women to the visual paradigm, whereby image is equated to status. Additionally, social control is accomplished because men and women have become two rivaling forces competing to adjust to the market requirements. Thus, this competition enhances homogenisation.

Given the search for gender equality, addressers have uniformly used functional, stylistic and terminological neologisms to target men and women. Addressers appear to have resorted to coping¹⁶ and copying¹⁷ strategies. Coping strategies aim at encouraging behavioural and psychological changes in the symbolic system by giving addressees (men or women) certain closeness with the opposite sex. This is accomplished via copying strategies, whereby the characteristics of the opposite sex that are successfully seen by the prestige market are reproduced.

This is the reason why there appears to be a series of matches between the characteristics of neologisms used to target men and those used to address women. One of these is the use of computer talk to target men and women. For example, *cyberscope* (on-line horoscope), *cybergrounded* (the punishment of not being allowed to surf the net), *cyberpark* (on-line meeting site), *e-criminal* (electronic criminal) and *e-vitation* (electronic invitation) demonstrate the impact the technological revolution has had on both genders, and that scientific or technological knowledge is no longer limited to the male sphere.

Similarly, taboo vocabulary, which was believed to be a feature of male language, is currently used as an accommodation strategy to target men and women equally, showing a genuine element of linguistic and cultural change. To illustrate, clippings such as *bi* (bisexual), *mo* (homosexual), *sexcellent* (wonderful),

15. Men and women are currently said to share their context of action because men have entered into the domestic field by taking care of children and women have adopted the supplier role by accompanying their male partners in the professional sphere.

16. "Efforts to control, reduce, learn or tolerate the threats that lead to stress (...)" (Eckert, 2007:42)

17. Efforts to imitate certain behaviours that will result in a benefit.

boytoy (a man to have sex with) *breastaurant* (cabaret) show the trivialisation of what was traditionally forbidden vocabulary. Not only does this recent adoption encourage the spontaneous, but it also offers playful implications that reach the ludicrous due to the humorous combination of words and images.

Analogously to taboo vocabulary, which was restricted to the male field, vocabulary about emotions was also confined to the female sphere. However, neologisms about feelings are currently uniformly used to accommodate to men and women. *FINE* (Fucked, Insecure and Neurotic), *emo* (Emotional) and *COTU* (Centre of the Universe syndrome) are examples of psychological language being downgraded to the subjective experience of both, men and women. Interestingly, the creative aspect of language plays an ironic role in the previously mentioned neologism: *FINE*, which can be misunderstood as *fine* (meaning well). Accordingly, the decoding of this polysemous word should be based, in speaking, in context as well as body language and in writing, on its capitalisation.

Furthermore, *pirattitude* (the attitude of copying someone's style, actions, etc.) *potteresque* (resembling Harry Potter) are neologisms whose construction has been based on the phenomena of piracy and a blockbuster. This demonstrates how popular issues serve as input for coinages, displaying adaptation to the socio-cultural context. Because piracy and Harry Potter are highly popular issues, the capital assigned to these neologisms is high. Therefore, accommodation to male and female addressees requires the knowledge of fashionable facts to be able to empower addressees with a prestigious identity.

4. Conclusion

The question of who manifests the greatest tendencies to use neologisms is dependant on the research conducted for this paper. It has attempted to examine Labov's claims based on the Western traditional oppositions: men versus women and young versus old. Notwithstanding, further investigation on neologisms requires the consideration of a larger sampling to verify if the significance of the independent variables continues being a trivial one, as shown in this research. Also, as Mair (2006:71) claims "Such lexically based diagnosis (...) is often instructive but often highly subjective."

Besides, the press uses language with which the readership feels identified to secure the purchase of their products. Regarding dictionaries, "[they] should however not be overestimated, because quite a number of new words escape the eyes of the (...) lexicographers." (Plag, 2003:53) Finally, the role of addressers in accommodation has been omitted. Hence, it cannot be assured that the collected data reflects the neologisms used by the examined groups in real communicative situations.

To recapitulate briefly, this research aimed at extending Labov's claims to the field of linguistic accommodation. Labov's principles were the result of studies on the use of innovations in real communicative situations. Accommodation, which implies a profound knowledge of the addressees with the purpose of adjusting language to them in a manner that crystallises the addressees' self, is believed to provide some insights into the roles imposed by society on addressees, and the latter's use of language, which is reproduced to seek convergence.

This research reveals that age seems to be a better predictor of innovation adoption than gender although Labov argues the opposite. Regarding age, it was to be expected that addressers employed the largest number of neologisms with adolescents due to Labov's S-shaped theory of the impact of age on the production and use of innovations. Conversely, the tendency to use neologisms to address them was much lower than the one used to target adults.

The aforementioned phenomenon might be engendered in the fact that no formal competition appears to exist between adolescents and adults. Even though it is feasible to argue that addressers used more neologisms with adult addressees in order to assist them in recovering their old prestigious social position, adolescents do not appear to have the need of engaging in competing against adults as they are, in social terms, the most prestigious group. This could entail that addressers were familiar with the adult quest for competing for prestige and therefore, adjust to them by employing a larger number of neologisms to change the symbolic system, which has stigmatised adults as not as proficient as the adolescent group.

Notwithstanding, the adolescent group does not appear to be engaged in the above-mentioned competition as they are not at risk of losing anything. Being the nucleus network and the most valued branch of society, they do not require any self-defense strategy, a reason why addressers used a limitedly number of neologisms to target them. Neologisms did not represent a means of recovering prestige, but a way to open the communication channel. Hence, it is not strange that ANOVA threw these data because only the adult group seems to be struggling for prestige, which is evidenced from the addressers' accommodation efforts to this group.

Although gender does not appear to be significant in determining the adoption of neologisms, as Labov claims, principles number 2, 3 and 4 are still valid due to two reasons. First, the author argues, men do not need to use many innovations except in the limited cases when they necessitate increasing their prestige. On account of the fact that the modern society is characterised by gender homogenisation, men and women seem to be constantly competing for prestige, a point which not only validates but reinforces Labov's statements since the author argues that men could use an equal amount of innovations if it were required, to maintain their social prestige.

In the 1980's, when Labov conducted the vast majority of the studies that were later used to postulate most of his linguistic principles on the nature of innovations, prestige was not a fluctuating phenomenon. It used to remain stable because occupation and salary, its main markers, were so; therefore, an individual's social status was curtailed only if these factors suffered a change. On the contrary, in modern times, which are characterised by social mobility, prestige is constantly threatened. Therefore, it could be said that the results of this research agree with Labov's principles since addressers used practically the same number of neologisms when targeting men than when addressing women, seemingly with the purpose of protecting the prestige of the male readership. However, it is important to state that due to the above-mentioned social characteristics, the cases when men need to resort to innovations do not appear to be limited any more.

Second, this research appears to concur to Labov's Nonconformity principle. According to the author, the aforesaid principle can be applied when individuals show nonconformity to their social roles and thus, use innovations as a means of altering their social position in order to gain more recognition. The Nonconformity principle seems to be supported by the results of this research, which has revealed in its study on accommodation that addressers appear to acknowledge men and women's non-conformity to lose prestige, a motive for which the amount of neologisms used by addressers was nearly the same for both readerships.

Finally, addressers employed a significantly higher number of stylistic neologisms when targeting adolescent girls than when addressing adolescent boys. The reason of this accommodation choice might be that adolescents have not entered into the fierce social competition for social, political and economic prestige; therefore, addressers did not use neologisms for that purpose. In contrast, when addressing adults, the number of neologisms used, although its proportion was slightly higher when targeting women, did not show a marked difference. Thus, it could be said that there is only a partial disagreement with Labov since his principles cannot be rejected, and the author states this phenomenon can indeed occur if men feel at risk of losing prestige, a point which can be successfully extended to this research.

Regarding the gender paradox proposed by Labov, this research provides evidence of its existence because addressers used more neologisms when accommodating to women though they are said to resist non-standard forms. Nevertheless, the results of this research also seem to show that the gender paradox tends to vanish when addressers recognise that male and female addressees are competing for prestige, in which case, addressers seem to resort to similar accommodation strategies to adjust to male and feminine addressees, a point which increases correspondence between these two groups.

It might be said that age and gender have ceased being well marked non-linguistic factors with non-inclusive characteristics during adulthood. The modern society compels its members to acquire those features that are socially valuable to gain prestige. Thus, accommodation strategies seem to be mainly oriented towards the quantity of neologisms used, not the type because all addressees, irrespective of their age and gender, should appear updated, aesthetically attractive and creative.

It is feasible to claim neologisms maximise the possibilities of increasing prestige. In adherence with Labov, current innovations are not leading to a minimal mental processing effort, as it is commonly believed, but to the gain of social advantages. Given this aim, addressers appear to be using innovations to target the members of the border networks, but also, in the case of adults, those in the nucleus to compete for prestige.

It can be observed that accommodation via neologisms challenges conventions in numerous manners. First, the use of neologisms as an adjustment strategy seems to offer a reductivist aesthetics. Aesthetics was a form of embellishment; it had an ornamental function. Nevertheless, it might be said that it is currently a utility. It does not aim at expressing beauty, but an attitude given by the choice to coin words with certain morphological strategies that encourage visual features.

Moreover, neologisms appear to be socio-intellectual challenges. Their comprehension entails the use of the episodic memory. Decoding neologisms with speed requires proficiency at manipulating data, especially when they combine social value, simplicity and strategic skills. Thus, that a large number of neologisms is currently being used as an accommodation strategy implies that addressers and addressees are constantly re-shaping their communicative competences in order to be able to produce and decode neologisms successfully.

Finally, to accommodate via neologisms is to filter perceptions on individuals; neologisms are meaningless per se, but acquire a social value within a network. They also adopt a style whereby it is possible to consume beauty, power and money. Simply stated, neologisms are used as an accommodation strategy based on the meaning that society assigns to them as well as the value that their interpretation acquires.

In terms of accommodation, addressers encouraged upwards convergence irrespective of the readership at which they were targeting in order to increment the opportunities of selling. Besides, the similarity-attraction theory was used to address the high prestige individuals to maintain rapport; and the social exchange theory with low-prestige ones, whose members have a low self-esteem, to establish solidarity.

This research on neologisms as an accommodation strategy seems to confirm that individuals seek to capitalise on the linguistic market. Highly prestigious forms become fashionable and desirable since social evaluation is crucial for the construction of identity. Simply stated, if addressers use the popular forms with addressees, the latter are made popular because language is an externalisation of identity. Therefore, addressers have adjusted to addressees via neologisms, making them a filter that assists them in the distinction of what is socially valuable from what is not in order to legitimise or alter addressees' social positions.

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Appendix I

Neologisms used to address adolescent girls

Abercrombie
<u>Context:</u> When you're older you'll realize that you should stick up for yourself and just be your own person, not an abercrombie clone
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Ill-fitting, ordinary
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Unknown
<u>Reason used:</u> -Emotional appeal. Pejorative connotation -Functionality. Meaning is easily decoded by analogy to an American chain of clothes shops that are highly popular but are said to induce massification
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Ellegirl

Carded
<u>Context:</u> What to put on when you have been carded to a party
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> To be given a card
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Suffixation of the lexeme "card" to the suffix "er"
<u>Reason used:</u> -Functionality. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffix "er", implying person who is or does X -Display of vivid imagery
<u>Word function:</u> Verb
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Seventeen

Chillax
<u>Context:</u> How to chillax before a date with the boy of your dreams
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> To relax
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Blending of "chill" and "relax"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Playful tone. -Emphasiser. The addressee not only needs to relax but also to calm down, -Value of the informal and the spontaneous -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the lexeme "chill" and the particle "ax"
<u>Word function:</u> Verb
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Ellegirl

Chocotastic
Context: Follow these advices and you'll be the most chocotastic at the prom
Apparent meaning: Sexy
Type of word formation: Blending of "chocolate" and "fantastic"
Reason of use: -Display of a vivid metaphoric image. The "chocolate" image connotes the state of being tasty and desirable <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Emotional appeal. Positive connotation-Playful tone-Value of the informal and spontaneous
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Ellegirl

Cybergrounded
Context: Ok. You've been cybergrounded but it doesn't mean you can't see him everytime you want
Apparent meaning: The punishment of not being allowed to use the Internet
Type of word formation: Compounding of "cyber" and "grounded"
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of technological jargon <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Display of new aspects of cultural life-Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the combination of lexemes
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Seventeen

Dejerkified
Context: As far as we know, there isn't a 12-step program to becoming dejerkified.
Apparent meaning: The prevent a man from becoming a jerk
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a negative prefix + base +suffix: [de+jerk+i+ified]
Reason used: -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the addition of the prefix "de", implying "doing the opposite than X", the lexeme and the suffix "fy", implying "to make or do", that is further extended to its adjectival form by the addition of the suffix "ed"
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Ellegirl

Emo
<u>Context:</u> Thanks because everyone takes it lightly and people are cut as emo but it is really not like that and it's not funny.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Depressingly emotional
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping; formed by a base + the removal of its two final syllables: [emotional-tion/al]
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of emotive language -Reduction of the status of the target addressee due to pejorative connotation -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the chopping off the initial lexeme
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Ellegirl

Pirattitude
<u>Context:</u> Don't worry about those bitches with a pirattitude. Be yourself and he'll fall for you
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> The attitude of copying other people's style rather than creating one of their own
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Blending of "piracy" and "attitude"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Playful tone -Extention of the common image of "piracy" to that of stealing attitudes -Emotional appeal. The coinage has a negative connotation -Display of a vivid metaphor -Trivialisation and extention of popular issues, like piracy, to the subjective experience
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Seventeen

Fly
<u>Context:</u> We'd like to thank the Academy...for giving us the best excuse ever to doll up so that guys say: She's so fly!!
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Attractive
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Shifting
<u>Reason of use:</u> Unknown
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Ellegirl

Pkiller
<u>Context:</u> Don't trust Pkillers that much. They sedate you for some hours but don't solve your problems. A massage session with a cute massagist is the best of solutions
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Pain Killer
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of medical jargon
- Display of a vivid metaphor. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle "P", which is associated with its phonological sound so that it resembles the lexeme "pain" and the lexeme "killer" to which it is added
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Health
<u>Source:</u> Ellegirl

Potterboy
<u>Context:</u> Give a chance to the potterboy. If it doesn't work out you'll have made some charity at least
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Young and naïve boy
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Compounding of "Potter" and "boy"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Display of the social integration of a blockbuster (Harry Potter) to the public sphere.
- Playful connotation given by the inclusion of the main character of a child's film as a lexeme. - Recognition of popular issues as an adaptation to the socio-cultural environment. - Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the combination of the two lexemes and the reference to the popular figure of the main character of the aforesaid film.
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Seventeen

Potteresque
<u>Context:</u> The potteresque look is one of the hottest this season but it doesn't fit everyone. Don't let your love for the movie blur your good judgment.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Looking or resembling Harry Potter or the characters of the film
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Suffixation of "potter" and "esque"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Display of the social integration of a blockbuster (Harry Potter) to the public sphere
- Playful connotation given by the inclusion of the character of a child's film as a lexeme. - Recognition of popular issues as an adaptation to the socio-cultural environment. - Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from lexeme "potter" and the addition of the suffix "esque", implying resembling X"
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Seventeen

Swamchic
Context: Would 2007 mark the return to swamchic fashion?
Apparent meaning: Following the latest trend but elegant
Type of word formation: Compounding of “swam” and “chic”
Reason used: -Display of vivid imagery. -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the combination of the two lexemes: “swam”, implying a literary allusion to beauty, and “chic”, meaning “stylish”.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Style
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Ellegirl

Sup-par
Context: Nowadays, we don't think twice about gym class or looking for a sup-par.
Apparent meaning: Support party
Type of word formation: Clipping formed by the extraction of the last syllable of two words in order to combine them into another word: [(support-port) + (party-ty)]
Reason used: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Ellegirl

Trampy
Context: The ones who dress trampy have other issues a majority of the time besides just terrible taste in clothing
Apparent meaning: Promiscuous
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a base+a suffix: [tramp+y]
Reason used: -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffix “y”, implying “having the quality or being X” resulting from its addition to the lexeme “tramp”
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Ellegirl

Appendix II

Neologisms used to address adult women

Blendability
<u>Context:</u> This is one of those products that their fans buy for their easy-to-use packaging and brilliant blendability
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> The quality of being able of mixing or combining together.
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Derivation; formed by a base and a suffix: [blend+abil+ity]
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Functionalism: Meaning is easily decoded from the addition of the suffix "ability", meaning having the quality of X, to the lexeme "blend"
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Terminological
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Glamour

Bofro
<u>Context:</u> Don't be ashamed of introducing your bofro to your kiddies. They'll understand better if they feel included in this new relation
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Boyfriend
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping of "boyfriend"
<u>Reason used:</u> -Functionalism. The particles of the two words are chopped off in such a way that they rhyme. -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Cosmopolitan

Boyttoy
<u>Context:</u> You don't need to fall for them to have your own boytoys.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> A man to flirt with not to establish a serious relation
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Compounding of "boy" and "toy"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of sex -Display a vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the two lexemes integrating the word -Integration of the subjective experience -Playful tone that matches the characteristics of the action as well as the use of the lexeme "toy". -Cosification of the person
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Glamour

Breastaurant
Context: Never accept your man goes to breastaurants. Be more possessive, they like that.
Apparent meaning: Cabaret
Type of word formation: Blending of “breast” and “restaurant”
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of sex
-Display a vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend.
-Integration of the subjective experience
-Playful tone that matches the characteristics of the action
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

Bridorexia
Context: Bridorexia won't make you look thinner and it won't make you happy. A healthy diet will make you glow at your wedding
Apparent meaning: A diet made by a bride
Type of word formation: Blending of “bride” and “anorexia”
Reason of use: -Social integration of a health phenomenon
-Imagery as a time emphasiser. This disease is not permanent; it occurs within the wedding period
-Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Glamour

Brit
Context: In true Brit style, much as I love the sudden heatwave there's a lot to moan about too.
Apparent meaning: British
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by the extraction of the last syllable of a word: {brit -ish}
Reason used: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Caf
Context: Avoid the caf. That smell of food is too tempting
Apparent meaning: Cafeteria
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of the unnecessary
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Glamour

Calc
Context: Calc your portions carefully. It's no use buying cereal bars if you gobble six of them
Apparent meaning: Calculate
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of the unnecessary
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Glamour

Cami
Context: DO wear a V-neck top or cami over your polo neck if you're busty.
Apparent meaning: Camisole
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by the extraction of the last syllable of a word: [camisole-sole]
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of the unnecessary
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

Chmilk
Context: Chmilk is as fattening as any other chocolate so don't think that because it has milk it's healthier
Apparent meaning: Chocolate milk
Type of word formation: Blending of "chocolate" and "milk"
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of a popular drink -Reductivism. Elimination of the unnecessary
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

Chocolicious
Context: Find a chocolicious partner for the party and rock it
Apparent meaning: Sexy. Attractive
Type of word formation: Blending of “chocolate” and “delicious”
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. Joining of two positive words: “chocolate”, implying tasty, and “delicious”.
-Emphasis of the intensity of the word
-Emotional appeal. Positive connotation
-Trivialisation of sex
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

Comedogenic
Context: From the much-loved French brand Payot - only recently made available in the UK - comes this excellent non-comedogenic, detoxifying moisturiser.
Apparent meaning: Tending to produce or aggravate acne.
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by prefix, a base and a suffix: [non+comedo+genic] A plug of keratin and sebum within a hair follicle that is blackened at the surface. Also called comedo/genio generating
Reason used: -Functionality. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffixation “genic”, implying “producing” and the prefix “non”, meaning “lacking”.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Glamour

COTU
Context: Let's face it. All men have the COTU syndrome.
Apparent meaning: A self-conceited person
Type of word formation: Acronym of “Centre Of the Universe”.
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of psychological jargon -Playful tone given by the meaning of the full acronym
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

Cyberdeath
Context: Then if he's so hot you can commit a cyberdeath and take it home.
Apparent meaning: The kidnapping and murdering of people due to on-line chat
Type of word formation: Compounding of "cyber" and "death"
Reason of use: -Social integration of technology-related issues -Replacement of technological jargon by imagery -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Cyberpark
Context: Tip: you can find your blue prince at a cyberpark. There you'll fall in love by your personality not your appearance
Apparent meaning: An on-line site where Internet users can play games or have virtual meetings with their friends.
Type of word formation: Compounding of "cyber" and "park"
Reason of use: -Social integration of technology-related issues -Replacement of technological jargon by imagery -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Cyberscope
Context: Consult your cyberscope before dating him. It'll give you confidence to know the stars approve your relation.
Apparent meaning: Computer based horoscope
Type of word formation: Blending of "cyber" and "horoscope"
Reason of use: -Social integration of technology-related issues -Replacement of technological jargon by imagery -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Cybersecure
Context: Don't forget to cybersecure your purchases.
Apparent meaning: To activate programmes designed to protect Internet users
Type of word formation: Compounding of "cyber" and "secure"
Reason of use: -Social integration of technology-related issues -Vivid imagery has replaced technological jargon -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

DD
Context: Get ready for DD predictions of this season's look
Apparent meaning: Extremely different
Type of word formation: Abbreviation of "Dramatically Different"
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Glamour

Ded
Context: Even us beauty deds can have panic attacks in the Selfridges beauty hall!
Apparent meaning: People dedicated to beauty
Type of word formation: Compound; formed by snitching together two separate words into another one: [beauty+ded] Clipping; formed by a base + the removal of its three final syllables: [dedicated -i/cat/ed]
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

De-frizzing
Context: Cheat's guide to de-frizzing hair
Apparent meaning: To eliminate frizz from hair
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a prefix and a base: [pre+freezing]
Reason of use: -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the prefix "de", implying "doing the opposite than X" added to the lexeme
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

E-criminals
<u>Context:</u> That way you won't let E-criminals fool you.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Criminals stealing by the Internet
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Blending of "electronic" and "criminals"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode -Social integration of technology -Display of a vivid imagery
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Terminological
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Cosmopolitan

E-vitation
<u>Context:</u> Is there anything sexier than opening your e-mail and seeing his e-vitation
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Invitation sent by e-mail
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Noun
<u>Word function:</u> Blending of "electronic" and "invitation"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Social integration of technology -Display of a vivid imagery -Functionalism. Neologisms are coined by joining familiar images that make the new term easy to decode
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Terminological
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Cosmopolitan

FF
<u>Context:</u> As goofy and cute as his FF character, Adam's doing everything he possibly can to be the ideal man.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Characters or settings written by fans of an original fiction work.
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Abbreviation of "Fanfiction"
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details.
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Women section
<u>Source:</u> Glamour

girlorexia
Context: Don't fall into girlorexia just to please him. Looking healthy is good but it's useless if you get sick
Apparent meaning: Diet made by a girl who wants to please her boyfriend
Type of word formation: Blending of "girl" and "anorexia"
Reason of use: -Display of a vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend. -Importance of time. Preference for mobility. The state of being on a diet to please a boyfriend is temporal. It is part of a life phase which will end be replaced by another.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Glamour

Looming
Context: Vegetables are sexy. Forget them as that looming five-a-day portion you just never seem to hit, they can truly excite the palette
Apparent meaning: Dull and monotonous
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a base and a suffix: [loom +ing]
Reason of use: -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffix "ing", implying having the characteristic of X".
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Glamour

MK
Context: Taking such a great risk for a man you have recently known is dangerous but if you feel like doing it, that's MK
Apparent meaning: Ok. Fine
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: Unknown
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

Mo
Context: Be careful. Most cute and understanding guys are mos these days. Don't feel embarrassed if you declare your love and he confesses. It has happened to us all.
Apparent meaning: Homosexual
Type of word formation: Clipping of "homosexual"
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Playful tone. The word sounds hilarious for the heterosexual market -Trivialisation of the taboo vocabulary.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

Mondayish
Context: Start the week with a sexy outfit not that mondayish look
Apparent meaning: Unfinished, vague, fuzzy
Type of word formation: Suffixation of [Monday+ish]
Reason of use: -Playful tone -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from suffix "ish", implying "being or resembling X", creating the metaphor "of being Monday"
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Glamour

Musi
Context: Aren't the American Idol musis hot?
Apparent meaning: Musician
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the chopped particle of the lexeme "musician" -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Multi
Context: We're approaching Christmas so a multi can help you to go through all the stress of these days
Apparent meaning: Multivitamin
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of medical jargon -Social integration -Value of the informal and the spontaneous
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

Naf
Context: One of the disadvantages of dating nafs is that they use all creams.
Apparent meaning: Metrosexual
Type of word formation: Acronym of "New Affeminate".
Reason of use: -Emotive appeal. Pejorative tone -Playful initialisation -Value for the informal and the spontaneous
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

NC
Context: The chubby girls are definitely NC so try out this diet and you'll see great results without starving and you'll look much better
Apparent meaning: Not cool
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of the unnecessary
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

Neocon
Context: For classy women, this neocon dress will make you feel comfortable and trendy
Apparent meaning: Classic but edgy
Type of word formation: Clipping of “Neo-conservative”.
Reason of use: -Social integration. Word with a political meaning is shortened and adapted to the fashion sphere. -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

Neg
Context: Don't be so neg and try out this outfit before you reject it. It'll look fabulous on you I assure you.
Apparent meaning: Negative
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

No-brainer
Context: Keep yourself focused and make your weekly shop a no-brainer by printing off one our ready-made shopping lists before you hit the supermarket.
Apparent meaning: Something requiring minimal thought
Type of word formation: Compound; formed by snitching together two separate words into another one: [no+brainier]
Reason of use: -Playful tone -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the prefix “no” and the suffix “er”, implying “person who is or does X” -Value of the informal and the spontaneous
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

OC character
Context: As goofy and cute as his OC character, Adam's doing everything he possibly can to be the ideal man.
Apparent meaning: Original character. A character created by an author or fanfic of an established storyline.
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Glamour

PAT
Context: Vamp up and get rid of that PAT look. If you don't look glamorous you won't be treated in that way
Apparent meaning: Poor, scrumpy
Type of word formation: Acronym of "Poor Area in Town"
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Cosmopolitan

PC
Context: Contract your PC muscles stage by stage as if pulling up a zip
Apparent meaning: Pubococcygeus
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of medical jargon -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Cosmopolitan

Photog
Context: You don't need to waste money hiring photogs. Remember everybody takes photos with the cell phone.
Apparent meaning: Photographer
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the chopping off the initial lexeme
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Saver
Context: You're a spender, he's a saver
Apparent meaning: A person who saves money
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a base and a suffix: [sav+er]
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffix "er", implying person who is or does X" that is attached to the lexeme "save"
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Sextoy
Context: Getting a sextoy from time to time is nice but getting a partner is greater
Apparent meaning: A person with whom someone has occasional sex
Type of word formation: Compounding of "sex" and "toy"
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the combined lexemes -Cosification of the person -Playful tone -Trivialisation of taboo vocabulary -Taste for the mobile. Sextoys are temporal partners not permanent
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Spender
Context: You're a spender, he's a saver
Apparent meaning: A person who spends money
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a base and a suffix: [spend +er]
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the suffix "er", implying "person who is or does X"
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

TLC
Context: You need to invest time and a little TLC in your relationship
Apparent meaning: Tender Living Care
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Playful initialism taken from a British sitcom whose characters have personality problems -Preference for the informal and spontaneous
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Women section
Source: Cosmopolitan

Appendix III

Neologisms used to address adult men

Add
<u>Context:</u> Don't ask her add too soon in a date. It sounds awkward in a man
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Address
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Men section
<u>Source:</u> Ask Men

AFK
<u>Context:</u> It's time to get you AFK and go to the gym
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Disconnected from the Internet
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Abbreviation of "Away From the Keyboard".
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of technological jargon -Value for the informal and the spontaneous -Preference for the mobile. "Disconnected" signals a permanent state but "AFK" is a temporal one
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Health
<u>Source:</u> Ask Men

Am-idol
<u>Context:</u> Don't mess up with a chick dying for an Am-idol. You'll thank me
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> A singer wanting to be successful
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping of "American Idol"
<u>Word function:</u> Noun
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Stylistic
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Men section
<u>Source:</u> Ask Men

Baggraviation
Context: Baggraviation is one of the problems you might encounter when traveling. Acknowledging it will reduce your stress levels if it actually happens
Apparent meaning: The problem of losing bags in airports or getting other passengers' bags
Type of word formation: Blending of "bag" and "aggravation"
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning can be decoded from the components of the blend -Emotional appeal. The attachment to the word "aggravation" signals irritation -Display of modern life. Having difficulties with bags is a common phenomenon at airports.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

Barkaholic
Context: If you can't get some sleep because your son's dog is a barkaholic ask the vet you can give it some tranquilizers.
Apparent meaning: A dog that continually barks
Type of word formation: Blending of "bark" and "alcoholic"
Reason of use: -Emotional appeal. Attachment to a particle of the word "alcoholic" signals irritation -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning can be decoded from the components of the blend.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Bas
Context: Stress is bas nosive when it leads to exhaustion.
Apparent meaning: Basically
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adverb
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

Beefcake
Context: A workout designed to become a beefcake if a few weeks.
Apparent meaning: A man who is handsome, strong and attractive
Type of word formation: Compound of “beef” and “cake”
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. The association of food-related words implies the image of being “deliciously” (cake image) “full of meat” (beef image) -Emotional appeal. Sexy and playful implication -Value of the informal and the spontaneous. -Cosification of the person
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Heath
Source: Ask Men

Bi
Context: Everybody seems to be bi nowadays
Apparent meaning: Bisexual
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details. -Display of an easily decodable particle. The prefix “bi” connotes the state of being two-sided -Emotive appeal. “Bi” is not a pejorative term but a substitute one that implies acceptance. -Trivialisation of taboo vocabulary
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Ask Men

Bib
Context: The bib can be good place to meet some smart girls
Apparent meaning: Library (from the French Word bibliothèque)
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: GQ

Biz
Context: Never be too biz to have a good breakfast.
Apparent meaning: Busy
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary phonological details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

B-more
Context: A survey reveals B-more was chosen as one of the most romantic places.
Apparent meaning: Baltimore
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Playful tone. The particle “B” stands for the name of the place and “more” is an aggregate implying the meaning “extra”. As a result, Baltimore is extra good, romantic, etc. when compared to other locations.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: GQ

Cardio
Context: Remember to do your cardio in the morning (before breakfast) at least five times a week.
Apparent meaning: Cardiovascular exercises
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by the extraction of the last three syllables of the first word and the last word: [cardiovascular – vas/cular – excercises]
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of medical jargon. -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Circ
Context: Its individuality, intelligence, and integrity have helped make <i>Fantastic</i> fanatics out of other editors and key industry insiders, which is why this mag's clout will continue to outstrip its circ in 2007
Apparent meaning: Circulation
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by the extraction of the last three syllables of a word.
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: GQ

Chubster
Context: Don't be the chubster hiding in a hoodie on holiday – hit the gym and get to work now for a great summer physique
Apparent meaning: A chubby person
Type of word formation: Suffixation; formed by a base and a suffix: [chub+ster]
Reason of use: -Payful tone -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning can be easily decoded from the suffix "er" indicating person who does or is X
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

FE
Context: E-mail her again if you don't get an answer. You can't miss a date because of an FE
Apparent meaning: Failed E-mail
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Trivialisation of technological jargon
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Ask Men

GF
Context: Get your GF to a romantic date and don't forget the flowers. She'll die for you
Apparent meaning: Girl Friend
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Emotional appeal: Cosification of a person
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: GQ

Hardgainer
Context: If you are a hardgainer with a small build who just wants to become leaner, however, you might want to have a small meal that includes protein beforehand to avoid burning away muscle tissue.
Apparent meaning: People for whom gaining muscle mass is difficult.
Type of word formation: Compound; formed by stitching together two separate words into another one: [hard+gainer]
Reason of use: -Emotional appeal. Politically correct language that avoids the negative connotation of the word "skinny" when directed to men -Display of vivid imagery
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Merchan-tainment
Context: With his knack for merchan-tainment the younger Lauren has helped create an enviable new blueprint for mass appeal.
Apparent meaning: Marketing strategy combining merchandising, entertainment and interactivity.
Type of word formation: Blend; formed by the first two syllables of the first word and the last two syllables of the second word: [merchandising+ entertainment]
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the two particles of the blend. -Display of modern life
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: GQ

MGB
Context: But before you laugh us out of the room and into the MGB, we're not simply talking about the ability to lift more weight.
Apparent meaning: Mobile garbage bin
Type of word formation: Abbreviation
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Playful tone. MGB was the name of a popular car model. The fact that the bin is mobile has created the analogy to the car, creating not only an abbreviation but a humorous stylistic effect
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

Netizen
Context: Netizens often know more about bargaining because they are updated and informed
Apparent meaning: Someone who is an avid Internet user
Type of word formation: Blending of net and citizen
Reason of use: -Social integration of technological advances -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details -Display of a vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the two particles of the blend.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Ask Men

Prefatigue
Context: This will incorporate the principle of prefatigue into your workout.
Apparent meaning: Warming up by exercising isolated muscles first rather than working with major exercises.
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a prefix and a base: [pre+fatigue]
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is partially decoded from the two particles of the blend. The prefix "pre" offers an image that can easily be associated with warming up although there is no link to the fact of exercising isolating muscles first.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Sniffle
Context: So exercise can stop the sniffles, but only if you don't do too much, too often.
Apparent meaning: Cold
Type of word formation: Derivation; formed by a base and a suffix: [snif+fle]
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery. Extension of the image of sniffling to the disease
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: GQ

Traps
Context: You'll notice that although lean, Brad's physique didn't include gigantic traps or an overly massive chest.
Apparent meaning: Trapezoid
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by extracting the last two syllables of a word: [trapezoid-e/zoid]
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of medical jargon -Value of the informal and spontaneous -Social integration of technicisms
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Viropause
Context: Most men fear viropause because they are uninformed.
Apparent meaning: Andropause
Type of word formation: Blending of "virility" and "andropause"
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery -Functionalism. Meaning can be easily decoded by analogy to the word menopause -Importance of personal choice. Male identity is being made analogous to that of women -Trivialization of medical jargon
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Webinar
Context: Webinars are great opportunities of updating, spending time at home and meeting people
Apparent meaning: Web-based seminar
Type of word formation: Blending of “web” and “seminar”
Reason of use: -Social integration of technological advances -Display of vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Terminological
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: GQ

Appendix IV

Neologisms used to address adolescent boys

Blaxican
Context: All chicks are hot for blaxicans this summer
Apparent meaning: Latin looking and with a good suntan
Type of word formation: Blending of “black” and “Mexican”
Reason used: -Display of vivid imagery. The words “black” and “Mexican” imply exoticness and chic. -Emotional appeal. Positive connotation -Functionism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particles of the blend: “black” and “Mexican”.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Fashion
Source: Maxim

Bmoc
Context: Don't be intimidated by Bmocs. They are shows off that don't have anything better than fucking freshers.
Apparent meaning: An advanced college or university student
Type of word formation: Acronym of “Big Man On Campus”.
Reason of use: -Playful tone. The state of being “advanced” is equated to being “big” -Display of vivid imagery. The particle “B” stands for big, a reason for which it is used in capitals although there is no stop preceding the word. -Cosification of a person -Gender exclusive word with a gender inclusive meaning. Although the acronym stands for “Big Man”, the context seems to be applied to anyone on campus irrespective of gender. Perhaps, the young age of addressees maybe is the reason why there is not awareness of the feminine request for sex equality.
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Razor

BOGA
<u>Context:</u> The BOGA season is on.
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Buy one, get another
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Acronym
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of a common issue. -Reductionism. Elimination of unnecessary details due to common knowledge. -Display of modern society.
<u>Word function:</u> Verb
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Fashion
<u>Source:</u> Maxim

Bot
<u>Context:</u> Chicks like men with many bots. It gives a trendy and successful image
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Used to refer to anything that is automatic or electronic
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Clipping (robot)
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Trivialisation of technological jargon -Playful tone. -Taste for the spontaneous and informal
<u>Word function:</u> Adjective
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Men section
<u>Source:</u> Razor

BRB
<u>Context:</u> The Bond look is BRB this season so you'd better buy a smart suit
<u>Apparent meaning:</u> Be Right Back
<u>Type of word formation:</u> Abbreviation
<u>Reason of use:</u> -Influence of chat lexicon -Informalisation of written language -Social integration of new technological issues -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details - Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded the phonological properties of the particles forming the abbreviation.
<u>Word function:</u> Verb
<u>Type of neologism:</u> Functional
<u>Retrieval section:</u> Men section
<u>Source:</u> Razor

DL
Context: Don't keep dating those DL girls. If they want to cry for their troubles send them to a psychologist. Call them off and enjoy life.
Apparent meaning: Depressed
Type of word formation: Abbreviation of "Down and Low"
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of psychological language - Social integration of a widespread phenomenon
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Maxim

FINE
Context: If you go on dating them, you'll be as FINE as they are.
Apparent meaning: Disturbed. Obsessed
Type of word formation: Acronym of "Fucked up, Insecure, Neurotic and Emotional"
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of psychological language -Social integration of a widespread phenomenon -Strong emotional appeal. Negative connotation -Ironical tone given by the polysemy of the word. When capitalised, it stands for "disturbed". If not, it means "OK".
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Maxim

LOL
Context: LOL with these new workouts. All women will admire your sexy muscles
Apparent meaning: Laugh Out Loud
Type of word formation: Acronym
Reason of use: -Social integration of the chat jargon -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary elements -Informalisation of written language
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Razor

Mot
Context: Mot yourself
Apparent meaning: Motivate
Type of word formation: Clipping; formed by a base + the removal of its two final syllables: [motivate-i/vate]
Reason of use: -Trivialisation of psychological jargon. -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details.
Word function: Verb
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Maxim

Phat
Context: Jessica Alba: the phat body in every male mind.
Apparent meaning: Attractive woman
Type of word formation: Abbreviation of "Pretty, Hot and Tempting".
Reason of use: - Functionalism. Elimination of unnecessary details
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Peeps
Context: Bear in mind that with so many peeps in the office coming and going, it's easy for germs to disseminate around you.
Apparent meaning: People
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details. -Value of the informal and the spontaneous -Playful tone -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the chopping off the initial lexeme
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Health
Source: Ask Men

Peeps
Context: Be sure your peeps isn't' at the party.
Apparent meaning: Family
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details. -Value of the informal and the spontaneous -Playful tone -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the chopping off the initial lexeme
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men sections
Source: Ask Men

Peeps
Context: Try to reach an agreement with your peeps at work so that you go home earlier.
Apparent meaning: Friends
Type of word formation: Clipping
Reason of use: -Reductivism. Elimination of unnecessary details. -Value of the informal and the spontaneous -Playful tone -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the particle resulting from the chopping off the initial lexeme
Word function: Noun
Type of neologism: Functional
Retrieval section: Men sections
Source: Ask Men

Sexcellent
Context: Have you taken a look to the new laptops? They are simply sexcellent.
Apparent meaning: Wonderfully good. More than excellent in quality
Type of word formation: Blending of "sex" and "excellent"
Reason of use: -Display of vivid imagery: Sex is socially viewed as a satisfying activity that is joined to the word excellent, which also connotes satisfaction. -Value of the spontaneous -Emotive appeal: The blend gives strength to the word. It has a positive connotation. -Functionalism: Meaning is easily decoded from the combination of the lexeme "sex" and the particle "cellent"
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Maxim

Supermax
Context: Prepare a supermax date and she'll be at your feet.
Apparent meaning: Wonderful
Type of word formation: Clipping of the prefix "super" with "maximum"
Reason of use: -Emotive appeal: Joining of two emphasisers connoting magnitude in size and quality -Display of a vivid imagery. Meaning is easily decoded through reference to the emphasisers. -Playful combination.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Maxim

Uncoupled
Context: There's no reason to worry. Uncoupled men live longer than married ones.
Apparent meaning: Single. Without a boyfriend or girlfriend
Type of word formation: Affixation
Reason of use: -Emphasis on temporary situations. The word "uncouple" refers to a temporary event, unlike the word "single", which signals a more permanent state. To illustrate, a person might be "uncoupled" for a night. -Functionalism. Meaning is easily decoded from the prefix "un", implying "opposite state than X", the lexeme and the suffix "ed", which gives the lexeme an adjectival quality.
Word function: Adjective
Type of neologism: Stylistic
Retrieval section: Men section
Source: Maxim

