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WhatsApp Me or the role of word conversion in the language of social media

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English is said to have a rich repository of lexical items. The continuous enrichment of the English vocabulary with new words from various fields such as social media may create challenges for students in learning English successfully as a foreign language. The noticeable lexical abundance of English may be attributed to a variety of productive word formation processes such as clipping, blending and conversion, the latter known as the process whereby a term belonging to a specific grammatical category is used with different syntactic functions without requiring a change in its form. The current paper has conversion as its focus being one of the most productive word formation processes in English. It intends to analyse and classify the most important types of conversion in social media language stressing the importance of learning this word formation technique for the learners of English and non-native English speakers who strive to improve their vocabulary and the overall command of the language. The examples in this study come from social media online dictionaries to justify the productivity of conversion in English. The collected examples were also used to draw attention to the fact that social media represents excellent opportunities for language learners to obtain linguistic input and output more effectively.

Keywords: conversion, functional change, word formation, productivity, social media language

Introduction

The language of social media has acquired great importance in English due to the recent extension of the Internet and social networking sites. The number of terms created to express new concepts is constantly increasing in English and more prominently in the social media language since various social media platforms are affecting communication, information delivery, knowledge exchange, commerce, education and all different aspects of life (Rieger-Klimmt, 2018; Bhatti-Bano-Rehman, 2019). As a result, researchers and language learning professionals alike have attempted to investigate the effect of social media and social networking sites on second language acquisition and second/foreign language learning (Wamba-Carter, 2016). Baldwin (2012), for instance, claims that social media can be both a friend and a foe for language learners. While he considers social media a cause for *"spelling* inconsistencies, the free-form adoption of new terms, and regular violations of English grammar norms" (Muftah, 2022:4), he refers to the advantage of "lexical normalization" in the same linguistic setting. Studies conducted by Slim-Hafedh (2019) and Thurairaj et al. (2015) have also revealed that social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter enhance students' overall language learning process and contribute to learners' grammatical complexity and vocabulary acquisition. Furthermore, for second language learners, social media may function as the primary – or even the sole – source of language learning.

While discussing various word formation processes in modern English, researchers tend to agree that social media can trigger the employment of certain word formation techniques in the language such as coining and compounding to produce new words, for instance, *Face* + *book*, *Snap* + *chat* and *Blog* + *sphere* (Mason–Rennie, 2008). However, among productive word formation processes conversion is and will be even more active in the future as it is the easiest way to create a large proportion of the new words appearing in the English language (Cannon,

1985:415). For instance, the proper names of social media applications and websites have now become verbs through the process of conversion, e.g., *Google it, I'll Instagram this, Instagram story* (Muftah, 2022:4).

As we are going to see in this study, conversion accounts for the coinage of a considerable amount of social media language words, such as *a friend* and *to friend*, where a noun becomes a verb; or the reverse direction with *to update* and *an update*, where a verb is converted to a noun. This paper will attempt to demonstrate that the process of conversion is a productive word formation technique in modern English. The study will analyse and classify the most important types of conversion in English social media language stressing the importance of learning this word formation process for the learners of English and those non-native speakers who strive to improve their vocabulary and the overall command of the language. The next section will deal with the notion of conversion in English.

The notion of conversion

Conversion is a derivational process whereby an item changes its word class without the addition of an affix (Quirk et al., 1987:441). Thus, when the noun *sign* shifts to the verb *sign* without any change in the word form, we can say this is a case of conversion. The history of the English language shows a marked tendency towards word formation by converting nouns into verbs, adjectives into nouns, verbs into nouns, etc. This process has been studied closely by Adams (1973), Bauer (1983), and more recently by Štekauer (1996) and Kastovsky (2005). However, not all linguists researching conversion agree with the broad definition of the term. Some scholars refer to conversion *as functional change* or *shift* (Kennedy, 1935; Cannon, 1987) stating that word form is not changed in any way at all, so not only is there no derivational modification, but the word form is fundamentally identical. Other linguists use the term *zero derivation* to refer to the same process saying that the conversion process is 'class changing' and it is deemed to be a derivation with a 'zero- affix' or 'zero-morpheme' (Marchand, 1969; Lyons, 1977; Allen, 1987).

From at least these few definitions above, it is obvious that conversion is an elusive phenomenon, and it is not easy to say which theoretical approach seems to be more correct. Though the discussion of the different interpretations of conversion goes beyond the scope of the given study, we wish to adopt the common approach used most frequently in the literature claiming that conversion is associated with word formation rather than functional changes. Following natural morphologists (cf. Dressler, 2000; Manova–Dressler, 2005), we adopt the view according to which conversion is a word-formation process which is different from derivation (affixation), and which assigns an existing word to a different word class or part of speech without addition of derivational affixes (Dressler, 2005:8). But why would one part of speech need to be changed into another? Nordquist (2020) reviewed the examples provided by Jean Aitchison, the author of *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* and answered this question as follows:

"Consider sentences such as: Henry downed a pint of beer; Melissa went to town and did a buy. English, we note, lacks a simple means of saying 'to do something in one fell swoop'. This may be why the word down can be converted into a verb to mean 'drink down in one gulp', and the word buy into a noun which, when combined with the verb do, means 'go on a single massive shopping spree'." (Aitchison, 1991:146, quoted in Nordquist (2020))

As Nordquist (2020) further notes, this type of fast-moving, thorough activity may represent a change in the pace of life, which is in turn reflected in the language since we increasingly make use of conversions – the conversion of one part of speech into another. Cannon (1985) supports the above observation saying that there is no way to know the number

of conversions appearing every day in the spoken language, although we know that this number must be high (Cannon, 1985:429). He also claims that due to language evolution the real impact of conversion will be seen in the next decades.

Besides the difference in opinions regarding the definition of the term conversion, another problem arising in connection with this process is the problem of directionality, i.e., it is difficult to predict which word is derived from the other one. Some words have been functioning as multiple parts of speech for such a long time that their origins are a bit fuzzy. (Blake, 2008). For instance, consider the word text that has been around for a while now, but has come to be used as a verb only recently with reference to sending messages full of abbreviations via mobile/cell phone. In this case, the evolution of the language gave birth to the word that acquired a new function and meaning through conversion (Blake, 2008:28). In other instances, however, it is not clear how conversion took place, as the case with *plot*, for instance, whether it was a verb derived from the noun or the noun derived from the verb. Plag (2003) mentions some ways to solve this problem. To deal with directionality, he proposes first to look at the history of the language by using the Oxford English Dictionary; then to consider the semantics saying that the derived words are generally semantically more complex than their bases *"since affixes normally add a certain meaning to the meaning of the base"* (Plag, 2003: 107). The next step could be to consider the base and derived form and the stress. Finally, it is also worth checking the frequency of occurrence of the derived word. As Plag (2003) concludes, the frequency of occurrence is lower for derived words. These criteria, nevertheless, do not lead to a clear result as not all of them are relevant for conversion. Plag (2003) assumes that the directionality problem could be probably solved by looking at historical, semantic, formal and frequential evidence altogether.

The next section will elicit the problem of productivity of conversion as a word-formation process.

Productivity and conversion

Conversion, along with other forms of word formation processes is said to be the most frequent and thus the most productive lexeme-forming method in English. In fact, Bauer (1983) describes the productivity of the conversion in the following way:

"Conversion is an extremely productive way of producing words in English. There do not appear to be morphological restrictions on the forms that can undergo conversion, so that compounds, derivatives, acronyms, blends, clipped forms and simple words are all acceptable inputs to the conversion process. Similarly, all form classes seem to be able to undergo conversion, and conversion seems to be able to produce words of almost any form class, particularly the open form classes (noun, verb, adjective, adverb)." (Bauer 1983:226)

As Bauer (1983) concludes, this definition suggests that conversion is a totally free process, and any lexeme can undergo conversion into any of the open form classes.

The high productivity of conversion, especially of a noun-to-verb type, has been pointed out by Marchand (1969), Plag (1999) and Lieber (2004), among other linguists. Various works dealing with the productivity of derivational processes in the literature define the term productivity in a morphological sense and the difference is also made between a qualitative and quantitative approach to productivity. In this paper, we will follow a qualitative (competencebased) approach to morphological productivity arguing that the word formation process of conversion accounts for rules and the formation of potential words (cf. Aronoff, 1976; Booij, 2002; Kiefer, 2002).

Schultink (1961) defines productivity as follows: "By productivity as a morphological phenomenon we understand the possibility for language users to coin, unintentionally, a number of formations which are in principle uncountable." (quoted by Baayen-Lieber,

1991:801). From this definition it follows that if a word formation process is productive, the production and comprehension of new formations using that process will be unconscious and automatic. Kiefer (2002) and Ladányi (2007) assert that the unintentional, automatic formation of words is competence-based and it constitutes part of the grammatical competence of language users.

To understand the concept of productivity better, the criteria of morphological productivity have been singled out in the literature. In previous research on the morphological productivity of derivational processes, namely, the productivity of the verb particle constructions and their prefixed counterparts in English, the following key criteria of morphological productivity have been established: semantic compositionality or morphosemantic transparency, morphotactic productivity, a rule scope requirement and the class-openness (Kiss, 2011). In the present study we will use the criteria of morphological productivity that are relevant to conversion.

Let us examine some examples representing conversion cases in the social media language.

- (1) a. All bookings require a deposit to secure the date. **Inbox** me for any enquiries \dots^{1}
 - b. I am going to **Uber** a car. 2
 - c. *Please* **PM** *me* ASAP!³
 - d. **Bookmark** websites that you want to revisit in Safari on Mac.⁴

In (1a, b and d) we have the examples of denominal verbs formed from the nouns *inbox*, *Uber* and *bookmark*, respectively by means of conversion and (1c) is an example of conversion of acronyms to verbs. With the advent of social media, nouns such as *inbox*, *Uber* and *bookmark* started to function as verbs and acquired the following meanings: in (1a) a person says '*inbox me*' when they are asking another user to message them privately to avoid sharing embarrassing information about someone on the timeline and instead offer to share privately through the inbox.⁵ In (1b) we can use 'Uber' as a verb when we are going to use the ride-hailing service provided by the company Uber to pay for a vehicle to take us to a specific destination and we are paying for a ride through the Uber app or website.⁶ Finally, in another case of denominal conversion as in (1d), the converted verb *bookmark* has recently acquired the meaning of 'to mark an internet website in an electronic way so that you can easily find it again.'⁷ Acronyms also abound in social media language. In (1c), *PM me* means 'to send a private message, usually used on Instagram.'⁸

Returning to the criteria of morphological productivity, let us deal with the first criterion, the semantic compositionality or morphosemantic transparency of the converted words. As the outputs of the conversion process are not compositional words, it makes sense to talk about semantic transparency rather than semantic compositionality. Adapted for our purposes it would mean that the meaning of the converted word should be predictable or deducible from the meaning of the base (Aronoff, 1976; Dressler 2005). A productive word formation process requires the meaning of the derived word be deducible from the meaning of its parts – an underlying base and a derivational affix– that is a productive word formation process is

¹ https://textranch.com/23484/inbox-me-for-any-enquiries/or/for-any-enquiries-inbox-me/

² https://hinative.com/questions/5018113

³ https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=PM%20me

⁴ https://support.apple.com/en-ie/guide/safari/ibrw1039/mac

⁵ https://www.itgeared.com/what-does-inbox-me-mean-on-facebook

⁶ https://www.quora.com/How-do-I-use-the-word-%E2%80%9CUber%E2%80%9D-in-a-sentence-Im-going-to-Uber-a-car-like-Im-going-to-Google-it

⁷ https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/bookmark_2

⁸ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media/

semantically compositional (cf. Aronoff "about semantic coherence", 1976:38). Semantic compositionality is usually equated to 'morphosemantic transparency' (Dressler, 2005:30).

The above explanation of the terms clearly demonstrates that the input and output words are semantically related, and the proper knowledge of social media, its platforms and applications will probably not confuse the user to apply these words in their new functions either. Even though these words have not entered printed dictionaries yet, they are produced unintentionally and automatically by Gen Z users⁹ and the production and comprehension of these verbs appear to be effortless and unconscious. It must be pointed out, however, that the process of conversion has semantic limitations: a converted word may only retain one of the range of meanings of the original word. For example, the noun *paper* has various meanings, such as *newspaper, material to wrap things*, etc. The denominal verb, however, only contains the sense of putting that material on places like walls (Bartolomé-Cabrera, 2004:3). Thus, the words must be *"related in meaning to a sufficient degree"* to allow to recognise the instances of conversion (Bauer–Valera, 2005:13).

As for the criteria of morphotactic productivity, the rule will apply if at least one of the categories of a compound/derived word of a syntactic pattern X+Y belongs to an open class (noun, adjective, adverb or verb) (Kiefer, 2001:225). Again, in our case of word conversion, most underlying bases belong to an open class of nouns, except for acronyms. Though acronyms belong to the category of a closed class (usually represented by prepositions, phrases, conjunctions, interjections, etc.), they can still undergo conversion, but their frequency will probably be lower (Cannon, 1985:425-426). Thus, we can conclude that the criteria of morphotactic productivity also hold in the case of converted words belonging to social media language.

The third criterion of morphological productivity concerns the rule scope requirement. The productive word formation processes are rule-governed. Conversion is rule-governed if the input and output conditions of the conversion rule can be specified. The input conditions define the set of words which can be the input to the rule, the output conditions characterize the words which constitute the output to the rule. Productive conversion is possible in the case of open syntactic classes only (Ladányi, 1999:172). As it has been already noted above, in the case of conversion, most of the input bases belong to open classes and the rule can operate virtually without restrictions converting bases into outputs with predictable meanings.

The process of conversion can also operate on the bases belonging to closed classes. One of those categories is that of acronym, as illustrated by the example in (1c). However, prepositions belonging to a closed-class category can also be a good example of a productive process when converted to adverbs, nouns and verbs. Consider the cases of *up* and *out* in the sentences below:

(2) a. *He* **upped** and left without telling anyone.¹⁰ (Prep \rightarrow Verb)

b. The good weather has pushed sales of summer clothes up.¹¹ (Prep \rightarrow Adverb)

c. *He is a gay schoolteacher who was outed on national television by one of his former* pupils.¹² (= to make it publicly known that someone is a gay) (Prep \rightarrow Verb)

Conversion is frequent in onomatopoeic expressions like *buzz* or *beep* which can be used as action verbs. Consider:

⁹ Gen Z is the name given to the current generation of young people born between 1997 and 2012. They are colloquially known as Zoomers and are often referred to as a digitally literate generation that has been also dubbed "digital natives". (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Generation_Z)

¹⁰ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/up_4

¹¹ https://dictionary.cambridge.org/grammar/british-grammar/up

¹² https://www.onestopenglish.com/your-english/your-english-word-grammar- out/551420.article

- (3) a. *I'll buzz you again in the a.m. before going to do laundry*. ¹³ (= to message someone, contact someone by phone) (Noun→ Verb)
 - b. *My cell is beeping with an incoming call, so I better answer it.*¹⁴ (Noun \rightarrow Verb)

Phrase compounds can also appear as adjectives as the following example shows:

(4) They went on an all-expenses-paid trip to London.¹⁵

This latter case is the example of a compound word which is probably brought about by not a productive conversion rule. This is the case of lexicalized formations – when a word group comes to be fixed by usage and to behave as a single lexical entity (Bauer, 1988:67).

As it can be seen, the productive conversion rule operates in the cases of open syntactic classes. To conclude the discussion above, the following can be said: all the examples clearly demonstrate that most words formed by the process of conversion belong to open class categories, however, the words in closed classes may also undergo an unmarked category shift and remain semantically related to the closed class words and phrases. In rare cases, as with compound phrases, new words are being created by conversion that present instances of lexicalization. Overall, the analysed examples support the claims in the related literature that conversion is a productive word formation process.

The next chapter will discuss the types of conversion in the language of social media.

Types of conversion in the social media language

Conversion is related to the change of a word class and in this respect, it mainly produces nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives in General English (Quirk et al., 1985). As we have seen above, other grammatical categories belonging to a closed class can only shift to open-class categories (e.g., acronyms to verbs). Besides, it is not rare that a word shifts to more than one category. In this section, the most common types of conversion will be described in the social media language.

Conversion from noun to verb

The phenomenon of turning a noun into a verb is often referred to as *verbing* (Nordquist, 2020). This process of changing a noun to a verb has been common practice for years but thanks to social media, the 21^{st} century has itself created peculiar new words, and with everyone using them on online platforms many have spread like wildfire. Clark and Clark (1979:769–781) provide a classification of conversion verbs which includes several subclasses: the subclass of locatum verbs evoking the meaning of 'putting N on /in/ X' or 'removing N from the surface' (where N = noun), e.g., *to blanket, to tunnel*; agent and experiencer verbs, e.g., *to witness, to host, to boss*; goal and source verbs, e.g., *to word, to letter, to group*; instrument verbs, e.g., *to nail, to hammer;* and animal verbs, e.g., *to fox, to dog.* Let us examine how this classification is applicable to the language of social media.

Most probably the largest group is the one represented by the instrument verbs or the verbs of social media tools with the meaning of 'using a platform, a search engine or an application for an action¹⁶, e.g.:

¹³ https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/07/nyregion/07thurman.html

 $^{^{14}\} https://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/26/nyregion/neighborhood-report-new-york-speed-dial-speed-new-york-even-with-11-digits.html$

¹⁵ https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/all-expenses-paid

¹⁶ The proposed classification by Clark and Clark (1979) has been adapted for the social media language by the authors of this study.

- (5) a. *I know how high Everest is, I googled it yesterday*.¹⁷ (= to search for something online using a Google search engine)
 - b. *Did you see what John tweeted yesterday?* ¹⁸ (=using the social network Twitter to share updates with the followers; the updates are called tweets)
 - c. *It was almost impossible to Instagram from Venice*.¹⁹ (=using a photo sharing application to take photos, apply filters to their images and share the photos instantly on the Instagram Network)
 - d. *I WhatsApped* Abigail yesterday to let her know what had happened.²⁰ (= to send a message, photo or video using the WhatsApp service)

Other examples that also include verbs related to social media tools are the following: *to hashtag* (= a word or phrase preceded by a hash mark (#), used within a message to identify a keyword or topic of interest and facilitate a search for it), and *to bookmark* (= to mark an internet website in an electronic way so that you can easily find it again).

Another group of verbs has the meaning *,, to act as typical of noun*" (Clark and Clark, 1979:773), these are so-called 'agent' and 'experiencer' verbs. Consider some examples below:

- (6) a. It was so nice to meet you; you should friend me on Facebook and we can stay in touch.²¹ (= to add someone on social media. Originally coined by Facebook, friending has quickly spread to many other social media platforms as well)
 - b. *I haven't seen Tom in 3 months. I think he may be ghosting me.*²²(= to ignore someone's attempts to communicate, usually digitally via text or messaging disappearing like a ghost)
 - c. *That person has been trolling me for a long time, I don't understand the satisfaction they get from that.*²³ (= to provoke or aggravate others online by making offensive or irrelevant comments, to evoke an emotional response)

In fact, the converted verbs may undergo further processes of derivation as in the case of the verb *to friend*, which has recently started to be used in its opposite form: *to unfriend* (= to remove someone from a list of friends or contacts on a social networking website)²⁴ in the social media platforms and it has been created through the process of prefixation. Similarly, the process of prefixation applies to words such as *untag* or *unlike*, where users can *untag* themselves from social media content or they can *unlike* items they have previously liked on networking sites.

Animal verbs result from the metonymic mappings expressed either by conceptual metonymy *"animal for the activity/behaviour (perceived as) typical of animal* or by the conceptual metonymy *result for the action that brings about that result*" (Martsa, 2014:464). Consider the following examples:

(7) a. *He had been catfished by an online scammer who pretended to be someone else*.²⁵
 (= to pretend on social media to be someone different, in order to trick or attract other people)

¹⁷ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media/

¹⁸ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media/

¹⁹ https://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/details-from-venice-a-dispatch-from-the-biennale

²⁰ https://english.stackexchange.com/questions/581372/using-whatsapp-as-a-verb

²¹ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media

²² https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Ghosting

²³ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media

²⁴ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/unfriend

²⁵ https://app.ludwig.guru/s/to+catfish

- b. *I'm tired of men thinking they have the right to catcall me*....²⁶ (= a shout, whistle, or comment of a sexual nature, usually made toward women; originally meant to whistle or jeer at a public forum or a public performance.)
- c. *How do you protect yourself from being Turkey Dumped*?²⁷ (= refers to the phenomenon in which college students return home for Thanksgiving break, only to then break up with their high school sweethearts)

The above cases illustrate that not only nouns, but noun compounds also can be used as verbs. In these examples, the meaning of the verbs is not literally synonymous with that of the nouns. For instance, *to catfish* in the sentence above is not related to the original meaning of the noun 'a fish with a flat head and long hairs around its mouth that lives in rivers or lakes'.²⁸ The experienced online user, however, especially the younger generation, will probably not have difficulty understanding the meaning of the word that has recently become used as a verb as well in the social media contexts to refer to someone's negative or fake behaviour when they pretend to be a different person than they are. The word is used as a metaphor and it is quite common now in online dating platforms.²⁹ The term was derived from a quote from the original Catfish movie where someone says that having live catfish in the same tank as cod would keep the cod healthier when being transported. The metaphor may be based on a myth, but it caught on when the husband of the catfisher in Schulman's film said, *"There are those people who are catfish in life, and they keep you on your toes."*³⁰

The same can be said about the expression in (7c), where the term 'turkey dump', as it is affectionately called, is used to refer to a phenomenon of college students ending a relationship around the Thanksgiving holiday, with the word 'turkey' used as a metaphor associated with Thanksgiving.

Finally, one more subclass of verbs converted from nouns can be identified with regard to social media terms which are referred to as goal and source verbs and which follow the pattern of 'make/turn X into N' and 'make X from N'. These verbs evoke the conceptual metonymy of *"result for the action that brings about that result"* (Martsa, 2014:463). The relevant converted verbs in the social media language can be best grouped to mean 'to send/to contact by means of a noun', e.g., to text, to buzz, to chat, to post, to trend, to blog, to vlog and to message.

Conversion from verb to noun

The opposite process is converting verbs into nouns, thus indicating an action and the result of that action through the same term. In social media language we can find the examples of verb to noun conversion which can be grouped by the same name: *"instance or result of the action"* (Martsa, 2014:465). Consider the following examples:

- (8) a. We've reached 100 likes, but you probably can't see this.³¹
 - b. You can see recently viewed **pins** on Pinterest by opening the Pinterest app and going to the settings.³²

 ²⁶ https://www.huffpost.com/entry/haunting-images-reveal-how-exhausting-it-is-to- deal-with-discrimination
 ²⁷ https://www.consumer-rankings.com/blog/will-you-get-turkey-dumped-heres-what-you-need-to-know/?opt4=0

²⁸ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/catfish_1?q=catfish

²⁹ The term catfishing was popularized by a 2010 documentary film called Catfish, whose producer was in an online relationship with what he thought was an attractive young woman, only to later find out that person he was communicating with was not who she said she was and used another person's photograph to represent herself. ³⁰ https://connectsafely.org/what-is-catfishing-and-why-its-dangerous

³¹ https://www.aqueous-digital.co.uk/articles/weve-reached-100-likes-cant/

³² https://pinterestvideodownloader.io/how-to-see-recently-viewed-pins-on-pinterest/

Had these sentences been uttered a decade ago, they would have probably made no sense to many of us. Nowadays, however, they are familiar to us. The words in italics that designate social media concepts have become common in our lives and emphasize the effect of social media on language, illustrating the ways in which social media vocabulary has been changing language by providing common or old words with new meanings. Consider some further examples of this type of conversion:

to check in (verb) – check-in (noun), to comment (verb) – comment (noun), to feed (verb) – feed (noun), to like (verb) – like (noun), to mention (verb) – mention (noun), to pin (verb) – a pin (noun), to share (verb) – share (noun), to tweet (verb) – tweet (noun), to download (verb) – download (noun), to upload (verb) – upload (noun), to update (noun), etc.³³

In the cases above, the verbs denote concepts related to social networking actions commonly performed by social media users, thus, it can be assumed that conversion took place from verb to noun, as it is usually the social networking actions in question which have prompted the corresponding entities expressed by nouns.

Conversion from a closed class to verb or noun

A vast majority of social media neologisms are formed by the Word Formation Rules of Initialism [+Initial]/Acronym (Nkhata–Jimaima, 2020:81). One characteristic of these initialisms/acronyms is the inclusion of all word initials irrespective of whether a given word is grammatical or lexical. Given a phrase, initials of both lexical items, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs and grammatical words such as articles, prepositions and even affixes take part in this word formation process. For example, in a phrase, 'laugh out loud' all word initials are included regardless of their word class and hence the acronym, 'LOL'. Acronyms representing a closed-class category can undergo further word formation processes, such as conversion, and be used either as verbs or nouns. This is also the case with 'LOL' which can function as a verb though it is still more frequent in social media platforms as an interjection. Other examples include acronyms such as PM (private message) or DM (direct message), both terms used on Instagram as nouns or as verbs. Consider:

- (9) a. *I can't stop loling over this dumb video*!³⁴ (intransitive verb; = to laugh out loud)
 - b. *You can see from the pics that my dog did not appreciate how we dressed him up for Halloween this year.* **LOL!** ³⁵ (interjection; used as a response to something funny or as a follow-up to something said only as a joke)
 - c. I sent her a pm/dm about the dress code for the party.³⁶

The role of conversion in language learning

Conversion is a lexicological phenomenon with significant syntactic and semantic implications for the language as a whole and for language learners in particular. It can be considered a challenging part of language teaching and learning alike since in the literature *"the term conversion' is often used loosely and is taken for granted in any word pairs matching the characteristic profile of words related by conversion, even if they are not results of conversion themselves"* (Valera, 2004:32). A proficient speaker of English should be aware of multiple

³³ https://blog.hubspot.com/marketing/social-media-terms#T

³⁴ https://www.dictionary.com/browse/lol

³⁵ https://www.dictionary.com/browse/lol

³⁶ https://www.englishmatters.org/blog/en/2020/04/17/new-words-social-media/

derivational processes existing in the language; they are expected not only to understand but also to be able to coin words in a grammatically correct way. Thus, the knowledge of the principles of conversion can contribute to the speaker's ability to use the language correctly. Along with enhancing language economy, this process is an effective device for maintaining sentence cohesion and bridging syntactic gaps. Many linguists claim that conversion is a free process and there are virtually no morphological restrictions to conversion in English (cf. Bauer, 1983).

As we have seen above, compounds, derivatives, acronyms and abbreviations can obtain different functions and their original function is not always easy to understand. The majority of language learners are not confident in using the rules of word formation and are afraid of making mistakes. Neither are they aware of the different ways to express certain words in English regarding the possibilities of using various word classes and syntactic patterns, particularly in terms of conversion. This is another reason why conversion should be part of language teaching. Furthermore, with greater exposure to social media, the word formation process of conversion will be used more actively in the future as an easy way to create new words in English. We already experience that the process of conversion is becoming more intensive nowadays as social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram have laid the foundations for newly coined words. New words can be seen as a result of productive processes in the language and the language learners should be able to distinguish between productive and lexicalised formations. Finally, another potential cause of difficulty lies in the translation from English into the native language of the speaker. In many languages, the converted words are translated with a word class equivalent which is different from the original word (cf. Hungarian). Thus, the knowledge of the process of conversion may also improve the translation skills of the speaker.

Teaching linguistic conversion for the ESP students

The process of linguistic conversion described in this study, in particular, noun to verb or verb to noun conversion, plays a significant role in the dynamic evolution and enrichment of the English lexicon. Learning the English language whether General English (GE) or English for specific purposes (ESP) requires constant enrichment of the learner's vocabulary. For instance, the language of social media as analysed above, requires the knowledge of specialized vocabulary. As shown in the study, the language of social media contains numerous words that have recently acquired new meanings and that are brought about by various linguistic mechanisms. Through mastering the linguistic mechanisms of conversion, the learners of English can efficiently repurpose existing words to express new concepts, actions, or objects with versatility and clarity.

As has been defined in the introductory chapter, conversion is a word-formation process that assigns an existing word to a different word class or syntactic category. Word formation is closely related, on the one hand, to vocabulary and on the other, to grammar. The process of creating new words or assigning them to a different word class and syntactic category is based on the productive rules that are characteristic of a given language. The effective language learning process involves understanding and active usage of productive word-formation processes such as word composition, conversion, abbreviations, affixation, etc., as well as the knowledge of unproductive processes of the language such as a change in word stress or lexicalization.

In the followings, we will show several practice techniques and sample tasks which could be devised by the ESP teachers for the purpose of teaching the productive process of conversion in 'Business English and English for the Media' courses. Before devising the tasks, a teacher should explain to the students why conversion is necessary to learn. The students in Business English and English for the Media courses are frequently expected to read and analyse business and media-related articles where they encounter zero derived words or words that have recently acquired new meanings in various business and media contexts. Putting an emphasis on the two major forms of conversion, i.e., a verb to noun and a noun to verb conversion types, the ESP teacher may formulate several questions to be answered as a goal to be achieved in the process of learning:

- 1) Is a verb to noun and a noun to verb zero derivation process productive in Business English and media-related articles?
- 2) What is the semantic relationship between the input and the output words of derivation?

To find answers to these questions, the students in both courses can be given a variety of texts from business and media fields which may provide relevant examples to analyse this process. The practice tasks aimed at teaching conversion in Business English and English for the Media Language courses can be grouped in several steps with assignments given within each of them.

Step 1. As an initial step, the teacher can first introduce the phenomenon of conversion to students in English and help them recognize that this productive mechanism of word formation is widely available in English. The teacher can explain that conversion is a rule-governed process and many parts of speech and even compounds, derivatives, acronyms and abbreviations can obtain functions other than their original in the process of conversion. As an introductory task, the students can be asked to take notice of the same words appearing in different sentences. Consequently, the students can obtain an explanation of this language feature and will be encouraged to look for similar cases. The task can be formulated as follows:

TASK 1 In the following pairs of sentences find examples of identical words. Explain whether they have the same grammatical function.

TASK 2 (for advanced students) Determine the direction of conversion with the help of a good dictionary that explains the origin of the entries. Recommended online dictionaries are *Cambridge Free English Dictionary*, *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Merriam Webster Online Dictionary*.

- (1) a. A *troll* is a *troll* and that doesn't bother me, but retweeting that message is irresponsible.³⁷
 - b. And finally, it's been a great year for sexual harassment. No doubt I'll be **trolled** on social media, like the last time I wrote about this, but let's try this for size.³⁸
- (2) a. *Traditional pensions are a valuable benefit because they shield employees from market risk and come with a government guarantee.*³⁹
 - b. Voters see Mrs Merkel as a shield against European storms.⁴⁰

 $^{^{37}\} https://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/oct/08/the-weekly-beast-will-mark-latham-return-to-foul-mouthed-form-on-the-verdict$

³⁸ https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/alison-taylor-on-relationships-the-joy-of-sex-is-the-second-best-thing-to-come-out-of-the-1970s-after-you-wrote-my-friend-9942397.html

 ³⁹ https://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/20/business/united-warns-it-may-jettison-pension-plans-to-stay-afloat.html
 ⁴⁰ https://www.economist.com/europe/2012/05/19/rebuffed-on-the-rhine

- (3) a. *The contracting party was provided with all the necessary documents, including the terms and conditions, before signing the agreement.*⁴¹
 - b. **Documenting** contract changes, or contract modifications ensures that all parties involved are on the same page, both you and your customer.⁴²

Step 2. The second step of practicing conversion can be to focus on teaching *verbing* – a process of zero derivation from a noun to a verb. The students can be asked to analyse verbs that have been zero derived from nouns and to use them in the sentences. Practice sentences can be designed by the teachers based on authentic texts from business newspapers and magazines but can be also chosen from various Business English and media language coursebooks. The sample task may contain sentences having empty slots to be filled with converted words. The presented examples have been discussed in this study.

TASK 3 Use the verbs provided below to complete the sentences. Make sure you use the right tense of the verb.

Example: to google I know how high Everest is, I ______ it yesterday. (googled)

- to tweetto friendto tagto ghostto catfish
- (1) *Did you see what John _____ yesterday? (tweeted)*
- (2) *He had been______ by an online scammer who pretended to be someone else. (catfished)*
- (3) I haven't seen Tom in 3 months. I think he may be _____ me. (ghosting)
- (4) I don't mind if people _____ me without asking. (tag)
- (5) It was so nice to meet you; you should _____ me on Facebook and we can stay in touch. (friend)

Step 3. This phase of practicing can be aimed at teaching another significant rule of conversion – conversion from verb to noun. Obtaining nouns from verbs is the most common type of conversion in English, thus, this type can be practiced to the greatest extent. I addition to learning the basic characteristics of conversion-nouns, the ESP students can be presented with the specificities of the verbs undergoing conversion in sentential contexts. As a result of this task, the students are expected to recognize the cases of conversion that imply an instance or result of the action. The following sample practice task can be created by the teacher:

TASK 4 In the following pair of sentences, the first contains a verb which can serve as an input for conversion to a noun. Identify the verb and using the rule of zero derivation convert it into a noun in the second sentence as an example shows. Use the correct form of the word. *Example:*

a. She *replied* to the threats by going to the police.b. There were very few_____ to our advertisement. (*replies*)

⁴¹ https://www.lexagle.com/blog-en-sg/what-you-need-to-know-before-signing-a-contract

⁴² https://www.contractsent.com/the-importance-of-documenting-contract-changes/

- (1) a. *The official refused to comment on the matter*.b. *Her Instagram was full of _____ on her cute 3-year-old son. (comments)*
- (2) a. *The company pinned a tweet announcing a new product.*
 - b. You can see recently viewed ______ on Pinterest by opening the Pinterest app and going to the settings. (pins)
- (3) a. *The BBC channel promised to update the viewers on the news story later in the day.*b. *He receives an ______ from around the world when he arrives in the office.* (update)

Step 4. With this step, we may wish to demonstrate that the productive process of conversion involves the formation of not only actual but also potential words. Newer and newer words enter the English language, but it takes time for them to become established. However, many of them are not likely to become established words and make it into dictionaries even in the long run. The uses of these words seem to be unintentional and automatic. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize while teaching conversion that neologisms brought about by this process enrich the speaker's vocabulary. The meaning of new words though not fully clear can be deduced from the input words through metonymic mappings. The ESP students can be given authentic texts which contain neologisms, and they can be asked to predict the meaning of English.

TASK 5 Predict the meaning of the converted verbs in the sentences provided below.

Example:

I am considering **Meghan Markling**: they haven't given me a raise in two years, and I'd have better options working as an Instagram influencer than staying in this loveless work marriage (=to value yourself enough to up and leave a room/situation/environment in which your authentic self is not welcomed or wanted).⁴³

- (1) It is surprising that more and more companies are **hoteling**⁴⁴ (= to use the office on a part- time, reserved basis, rather than to have a permanently assigned office)
- (2) *Trumped*! The inside story of the Real Donald Trump. A former executive of the Trump empire reveals how Trump made his deals...⁴⁵ (roughly= to understand the behaviour of Donald Trump)
- (3) *He said no more meetings! We do too many meetings and I don't want any more of them. We are "meetinged out"* ... ⁴⁶ (= to be tired of many meetings a day)

The few sample practice tasks shown above may help the students of ESP understand the word formation process of conversion better and expand their expressive capabilities in the English language. The knowledge of the process of conversion may enable them to communicate more effectively across various domains, responding to the communication

⁴³ https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2020/jan/24/to-meghan-markle-verb-how-to-use-it

⁴⁴ http://www.ccidanpo.org/sites/default/files/27089851.2021.12.13.pdf

⁴⁵ https://www.amazon.com/Trumped-Inside-Trump-His-Cunning-Spectacular/dp/067173735X

⁴⁶ https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/another-meeting-really-ted-frangos/

patterns of society. In essence, the demonstrated noun to verb and verb to noun conversion types can be considered efficient mechanisms for enlarging and enriching the speaker's lexicon. By presenting these practice tasks we aimed to highlight the importance of conversion in shaping language structure and to underscore its relevance in language education.

Strengths, Limitations and Future Research

The aim of the current study was to examine one of the most productive word formation processes in English – conversion. Based on the examples collected from social media, we made an attempt to show the high productivity of this word formation process highlighting major types of conversion in the language of the social media. The current descriptive qualitative study was aimed at the analysis and interpretation of collected examples (minicorpus) from various media-related newspapers, magazines, blogs and posts as well as dictionary definitions of specific terms. A qualitative approach was used in dealing with the issue of productivity of conversion. While productivity taken in the quantitative sense stems from the need to provide quantitative means to measure the type- and/or token- frequency of affixes in different corpora, productivity from a qualitative perspective focuses on the formation of potential words and the rules that help to form these words.

As far as the linguistic aspect of the current investigation is concerned, the results from the detailed analysis make it possible to identify future trends of development of the process of zero derivation in the language of social media in English. As for the language teaching aspect, the study has undoubtedly shortcomings mainly due to the space limits. To strengthen the language teaching aspect of the given topic, it would be desirable to carry out an empirical study aimed at assessing the ESP students' familiarity and competence in using this word formation process. Today's students representing GenZ are widely using social media terms and various new coinages both in writing and speaking, but whether they are aware of how these terms are brought about is not evident. Thorough research aimed at measuring the students' familiarity with word conversion would enable EFL and ESP teachers to gain insight into the ways the students use and coin new words, and in particular, to examine whether the students are aware that conversion is a rule-governed process, or in most cases they form words automatically by analogy.

Conclusions

The field of social media is an extremely dynamic domain that makes it possible to coin a great number of new words and to express social media concepts created in English by productive word formation processes such as conversion.

We have shown that though the exact definition and boundaries of conversion are quite controversial, it can be considered as a highly productive rule-governed morphological process in English that enables us to produce new words and concepts with almost no restrictions. We have presented examples from the field of social media to underpin the productivity of the process and to demonstrate that in many cases an input word or concept has acquired a new meaning in specific contexts as a result of zero derivation and it underwent a change from one lexical category to another.

In the second part of the paper, we have presented the most common types of conversion in the language of social media partly based on the classification available in the literature (cf. Clark and Clark, 1979). We have demonstrated that the most frequent types of conversion in English are verb to noun, noun to verb and conversion from closed-class categories. However, it should be noted that the presented typology adapted for the language of social media is by no means exhaustive and complete. There could be other criteria to establish the original and derived items based on other aspects. Besides, the evolution of the language will always prompt readjustments within the language with newer items and categories and the recombination of elements to be added to the list.

Finally, we have also highlighted the importance of teaching conversion since language learners frequently encounter difficulties in applying this word formation process, especially when it comes to coining new words and translating them into their language. To use this word formation technique correctly, they should be aware of semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, grammatical, etc. aspects of conversion.

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