

# On Idiomatic Variation in Digital Communication—A Cognitive Sociolinguistic Study

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This paper investigates idiom variation in digital space through a cognitive sociolinguistic perspective. By analyzing authentic social media texts, we identify the variation strategies that show creative manipulation of conventional idioms. Basing on the Blending Theory, it is revealed how the variants emerge through cognitive operations integrating original idiom constructs with novel context. This paper repositions idioms and their variants as dynamic cognitive resources, contributing to understanding real-time language change in digital environments.

*Keywords:* idiomatic variation, digital communication, metaphor, Blending Theory

## Introduction

Language is the primary medium for human beings to carry out communication. It has always been inherently dynamic, but the advent of the digital age has greatly accelerated the pace of its evolution. The internet, particularly social media platforms, has given birth to a global, participatory culture. In this culture, the creativity of language is not only greatly inspired but also rapidly disseminated. In this new ecosystem, language is no longer limited to static texts or formal registers; it is a living and continuously changing existence shaped by millions of users in real time. Such an environment provides a fertile ground for linguistic innovation, where traditional rules are delicately broken, and new forms of expression keep emerging. Idiomatic variants are just the reflection of this change. By achieving the communicative effects through remix, parody, and shared knowledge, they become carriers for the viral spread of cultural and language units. It is within this background of rapid, globalized, and multimodal communication that this study positions its focus on the change of idioms, one of the most traditional elements of language.

Traditionally, idioms have been treated as “dead metaphors”—fixed and unanalyzable lexical chunks whose figurative meanings must be memorized as wholes. However, Gibbs (1994) challenged this view, providing strong evidence that idiomatic understanding is analyzable and systematically related to broader patterns of figurative thought. A cognitive linguistic perspective also challenges this static view, reconceptualizing idioms as pliable cognitive resources that are semantically motivated and analytically structured (Langlotz, 2006). This perspective is powerfully demonstrated in the work of Huang (2020; Huang & Liao, 2020), who argues that idioms are not frozen but are subject to creative variation, driven by underlying cognitive mechanisms. In the digital environment, this flexibility is unleashed. Idioms are deconstructed and creatively reassembled, with users substituting components, integrating new cultural references, and blending them with images to generate novel

meanings. This process of idiomatic variation moves idioms from the periphery of fixed expressions to the center of dynamic, context-sensitive linguistic practices, making them a perfect lens to study language change in action.

Guided by this re-conceptualization, the present study aims to explore the phenomenon of idiom variation within the specific digital context, adopting a cognitive sociolinguistic framework. The research is guided by the following questions:

1. What are the predominant forms of idiom variation (e.g., lexical, structural, etc.) found in internet context?
2. What cognitive mechanisms underpin the generation and comprehension of these idiom variants?
3. What social and pragmatic functions (e.g., humor, identity construction, and cultural commentary) do these variations serve within their digital communities?

## Literature Review

The theoretical foundation of this paper could be synthesized from three core areas: the nature of idioms as flexible constructs, the cognitive theories that explain their variability, and the socio-digital context that fuels their evolution.

### The Flexible Nature of Idioms

The classical view treated idioms as dead metaphors—frozen and unanalyzable lexical chunks. This perspective has been robustly challenged by cognitive and corpus-based approaches. A pivotal work in this shift is Langlotz (2006), who systematically demonstrates that idioms are not fixed but are pliable cognitive, and linguistic resources. His model of idiomatic creativity shows that speakers creatively manipulate idioms through substitution, extension, and elaboration to achieve specific communicative goals. This establishes the fundamental premise for this study: The variation seen in internet memes is not a corruption of language but a manifestation of this inherent, rule-governed flexibility, accelerated by digital practice.

### Cognitive Frameworks for Creativity

The creative variation of idioms is enabled by fundamental cognitive capacities. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) provides the first layer of explanation, arguing that abstract thought is grounded in physical experience. It reveals that many idioms are motivated by underlying conceptual mappings (e.g., “Life Is a Journey”), making them semantically analyzable. Huang and Liao (2020) pointed out that the motivation behind Chinese and English idiomatic variations often forms a metaphor-metonymy continuum, whose boundaries are not clear-cut. In Chinese idiomatic variants, metonymy tends to appear more in the source domain, while in English, it is often observed in the target domain (Huang & Liao, 2020).

Building on this, Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) offers a dynamic model for explaining novel creations. It posits that humans mentally integrate elements from different “input spaces” to create new, emergent meanings in a “blended space”. This theory is exceptionally powerful for analyzing how memes merge a conventional idiom (Input Space 1) with a new cultural reference or image (Input Space 2) to generate humorous and insightful novel concepts.

### The Socio-digital Context

The cognitive capacity for idiom variation is activated and amplified within the realm of digital communication. The Global Englishes framework (Jenkins, 2015) decenters the authority of native-speaker norms, recognizing English as a fluid global resource that is continually adapted and reshaped by diverse international communities. This perspective legitimizes the innovative, and often hybrid, use and transformation

of English idioms by online users worldwide, framing such variations not as errors but as legitimate forms of linguistic creativity.

This process of variation is propelled by the dynamics of digital textual culture. In the context of this study, the defining unit of analysis is the creatively adapted idiom within digital text, shared and circulated in online spaces. Shifman's (2014) concept of participatory digital culture remains pertinent, as these textual variants are collectively shared, imitated, and transformed by users. This culture thrives on remix and innovation, providing the ideal social environment for the rapid evolution of idiomatic expressions. The drive for in-group identity, humor, and pointed cultural commentary within online communities provides the essential social and pragmatic motivation for applying the cognitive processes of metaphor and blending to idiom variation.

## Methodology

### Research Design

This study employs a qualitative case study approach, which is justified as it allows for an intensive examination of a contemporary phenomenon (idiom variation) within its real-life context (social media discourse) (Yin, 2018). The design is exploratory and aims for analytical depth rather than statistical generalizability. The unit of analysis is the individual instance of social media text featuring a creatively adapted idiom.

### Data Collection

A specialized corpus of approximately 50 textual instances was constructed to serve as the primary data for this study. The data collection process was guided by clear sources and stringent selection criteria, shown as follows:

**Sources:** Texts were systematically sourced from social media platforms known for linguistic creativity and wordplay. These included X (formerly Twitter), Reddit, and relevant sections of public Facebook groups or news comment sections. The collection period is from January to October in 2025 to ensure contemporaneity.

To be included in the corpus, a text instance had to meet the following criteria:

1. **Identifiable idiom base:** The text must be built upon a recognizable, conventional English idiom.
2. **Overt textual variation:** The idiom must undergo a deliberate text-based modification, such as lexical substitution, syntactic transformation, or elaboration.
3. **Contextual availability:** Sufficient contextual information (e.g., the full tweet, post thread, or associated news article) had to be available to infer the intended meaning and pragmatic function.

### Analytical Framework

The analysis of the selected texts was conducted using a systematic three-step analytical model.

**Step 1: Formal description:** The first step involved a fine-grained formal linguistic analysis. This included categorizing the type of idiom variation (e.g., lexical substitution and syntactic transformation) and describing its immediate co-text.

**Step 2: Cognitive analysis:** Building on the formal description, this step applied cognitive linguistic theories to explicate the mechanisms enabling new meaning construction. Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and Conceptual Blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) were used to model how the original idiom's meaning is integrated with the new contextual and lexical information to create novel emergent meaning.

**Step 3: Social-functional analysis:** The final step interpreted the social and pragmatic motivations behind

the variation. This involved inferring the communicative function (e.g., generating humor, constructing in-group identity, and providing cultural commentary) by situating the text within its specific digital communicative context.

## Discussion

### A Typology of Idiom Variation in Digital Texts

The analysis reveals that idiom variation in digital communication operates through several distinct formal strategies. We categorize these variations into three primary types.

**Lexical substitution.** This is the most prevalent form of variation, where one or more components of the original idiom are replaced with new lexical items.

1. Word substitution: A word is replaced to change the idiom directly to a specific, often topical, context. For instance, the idiom “elephant in the room” was adapted in a political commentary post to “Was #elonmusk in the room? Yes or no?” (Facebook), referring to an unaddressed issue concerning Elon Musk. In this variant, “#elonmusk” substitutes “elephant”, forming a typical pattern of idiomatic variation (analyzed later in the other session).

2. Semantic shift: The substitution alters the core meaning of the idiom for rhetorical effect, often through irony. The mutation of the optimistic “Every cloud has a silver lining” into the pessimistic “Every silver lining has a cloud” is a prime example. This inversion leverages the original construct’s structural framework to subvert its meaning, capturing a sentiment of cynical resignation.

**Structural reconfiguration.** Beyond simple word replacement, digital texts often manipulate the syntactic or morphological structure of the idiom itself.

1. Ellipsis: A part of the idiom is omitted, relying on the audience’s cultural literacy. A post on Facebook states, “When in Rome...La dolce vita and lots of gelato. Every stone here has cracks, and yet it still stands. I’m learning to do the same”. “When in Rome” implies “do as the Romans do”. The power lies in its incompleteness, creating a shared moment of understanding, which is verified by the last sentence “I’m learning to do the same”.

2. Syntactic blending: The idiom is fused with another well-known phrase or syntactic structure. For example, another Facebook post “Think it’s time to just bite the bullet... and my tongue”, blends “bite the bullet” (to endure pain or force yourself to do something unpleasant) with “bite one’s tongue” (to keep silent), compounding the sense of inevitability with the acknowledgment of failure.

**Pragmatic recontextualization.** This category is paramount in digital text, where the standard form of the idiom is used, but its meaning is radically altered by the new conversational context.

1. Ironic deployment: The idiom is used in a situation that contradicts its literal or typical meaning. For example, this is a post on Facebook:

Example: “How ironic that I have this wonderful feeling of ‘I’m home sweet home’ syndrome when I arrived back in Fairview this afternoon from a week visit in my hometown Catarman!”

This blogger was definitely reckoning somewhere other than his hometown as sweet home.

2. Pragmatic integration: The idiom is placed alongside a pragmatic context that reframes it. New element could be a hashtag, or new word suiting the pragmatic purpose. For example, the phrase “Break a leg #BeforeJobInterview” takes the idiom from its theatrical context and applies it to the corporate world. The hashtag provides the crucial context that triggers the reinterpretation, demonstrating how platform-specific

features facilitate idiom variation.

The above typology shows that idiom variation in digital texts is a sophisticated process, from simple word swaps to complex structural and contextual manipulations, all facilitated by the interactive and fast-paced nature of online discourse.

### Cognitive Mechanisms

**Metaphor.** Lakoff and Johnson (1980) believed that conceptual metaphors represent cognitive mappings between source domain and target domain. That is to say, complex and abstract domains could be understood by referring to more familiar and embodied prior knowledge. This also works well in the understanding of idiomatic variant.

For example, “Paint Nottingham tavern pink”. The original idiom construct is “Paint the town red”, meaning “to go out and celebrate wildly”. New, context-decided elements “Nottingham tavern” and “pink” brought new meanings in the target domain. Combining with the source domain of the original idiom construct “paint the town red”, new meaning of the whole variant was emerged in the target domain, as it is shown in the following Figure 1.

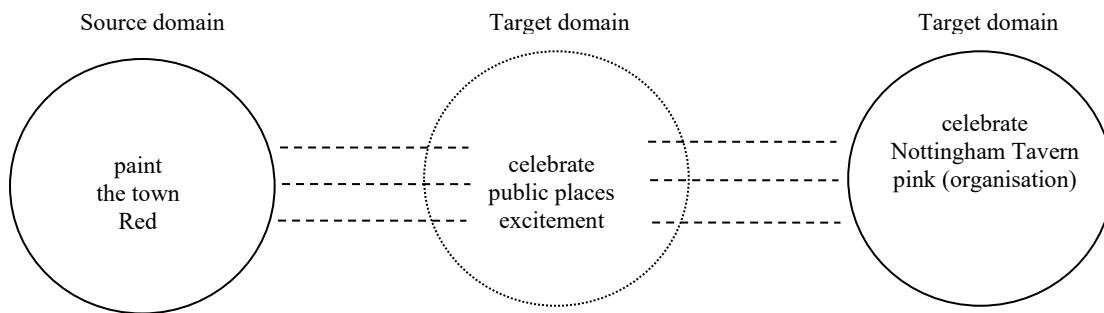


Figure 1. Mapping between source domain and target domain.

**Conceptual Blending.** The formal variations described in the above sessions are not merely surface-level alterations; they are the visible output of complex cognitive processes. Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) provides a powerful model for understanding how these texts creatively manipulate idioms. A conceptual blend involves the selective integration of elements from two or more mental “input spaces” into a new, emergent structure in a “blended space”, which develops its own unique logic.

To illustrate this process, the variant in “Was #elonmusk in the room? Yes or no?” is analyzed as follows:

**Input Space 1**—The idiomatic concept (“elephant in the room”): This space contains the structure and meaning of the original idiom construct. Key elements include a group of people in a room, an “obvious problem” (elephant), and a state of “avoidance” (ignoring the elephant) and shame (in the closet). The primary conceptual metaphor at work is “an obvious problem is a large, visible object in a shared space”.

**Input Space 2**—The political hearing scenario: This space draws on a specific context of a Senate confirmation hearing as well as the consequent public and media reaction to it. Key elements include the context (a Senate hearing for a NASA administrator), the “core issue” (the nominee’s profound and problematic ties to a powerful private entity, Elon Musk), and the “public perception” (a sense that Musk’s influence is the dominant, unspoken force in the proceedings, even in his physical absence).

**Generic space**—The abstract commonality between the two inputs is the concept of a “significant, unacknowledged presence within a gathered group”.

**Blended space**—In the blended space, elements from both inputs are selectively projected and fused to create

a new, emergent meaning. Firstly, the “obvious problem” (the elephant) from Input Space 1 is mapped onto and replaced by the “absent but influential figure” (Elon Musk) from Input Space 2. This is the core creative leap. Secondly, the “group” in the room becomes the specific participants in the Senate hearing. Thirdly, the state of “collective pretense” is projected onto the hearing’s failure to directly address Musk’s pervasive influence.

Hence, an “emergent meaning” arises from this blend, i.e., the question of “invisible influence”. While the original idiom construct is about a visible but ignored object, this blend introduces the more nuanced idea of an (possibly) absent individual whose power and influence are so obvious that it is as if they were physically present. The “Yes or no?” framing borrows the binary, forceful language of a political hearing to satirize the impossibility of a simple answer, thereby highlighting the complexity and depth of the problem.

### Pragmatic Functions

The cognitive capacity for variation and the formal strategies employed are ultimately driven by powerful social and pragmatic functions. The creation and sharing of idiom variants serve specific pragmatic functions within digital communities, primarily functioning as tools for identity construction, humor generation, and cultural commentary.

**Identity and community cohesion.** The use of creative idiom variants acts as a powerful in-group marker. Understanding a variant like “the Elon in the room” requires not only knowledge of the base idiom, but also shared cultural knowledge about Elon Musk and his pervasive influence. Successfully interpreting and using such variants signals membership within a specific and digitally literate community. This shared word play fosters a sense of belonging and collective intelligence, strengthening community bonds. It is a way of saying, “We speak the same language”, both literally and culturally.

**Generation of humor and incongruity.** Humor is a primary engine of online engagement, and idiom variation is a potent source of it. The mechanism, as detailed by the Semantic Script Theory of Humor (SSTH), often involves a script opposition. For instance, the variant “paper hands” creates humor by word substitution. This example is very special because it goes through two adaptations. First, “diamond hands” is adapted from a conventional idiom “green hand” (someone with no previous working experience). Then through another process of word substitution, “paper” changed “diamond”, forming semantic opposition. The variant “diamond hands” refers to fortitude in continuing to hold an extremely risky financial position, while “paper hands” refer to a trader who gets scared and sells.

**Cultural and critical commentary.** Idiom variants are often used as concise and impactful tools for social and political critique. The change from “Every cloud has a silver lining” into “Every silver lining has a cloud” is more than just a clever inversion; it is an also brief philosophical statement. It sums up a skeptical worldview and serves as a critical review on relentless optimism, reflecting the emotions of a generation affected by economic and environmental crises. By subverting a traditional piece of wisdom, this variant challenges established perspectives and enables users to express shared frustrations or criticisms in a culturally embedded and instantly recognizable format.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, the variation of idioms in digital texts is far from random. It is a motivated, multi-layered phenomenon. It is formally diverse, cognitively sophisticated, and socially potent. These variations are not a sign of linguistic decay but are vibrant indicators of a living language, actively being reshaped by its users to navigate,

critique, and find community within the complexities of the modern world. The application of Conceptual Blending theory is useful in explaining the cognitive mechanism underlying the linguistic phenomenon of idiomatic variation. This process also represents how internet users perform complicated mental operations to integrate conventional idioms with novel elements in specific context and emerge creative meaning to fulfil certain pragmatic appeals. Limited to the length of this paper, database of real-time idiomatic variation is also restrained. In further research, more data could be collected and analyzed to generalize more cognitive patterns of this intriguing linguistic phenomena.

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