

Measuring and Modeling Language Change

Sandeep Soni, Ian Stewart, Jacob Eisenstein

Georgia Institute of Technology

Objectives

In this tutorial, you will learn about:

- ▶ the questions that can be asked of time-stamped text, across linguistics, social science, and the humanities;
- ▶ statistical methods for answering these questions, via **hands-on replications**;
- ▶ how to validate these methods;
- ▶ limitations of current NLP approaches, and prospects for doing better.

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency
 - 2. Differences
 - 3. Word meaning
 - 4. Leaders and followers
 - 5. Cause and effect
- ▶ Future directions

Change as a constant

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones
are coral made.

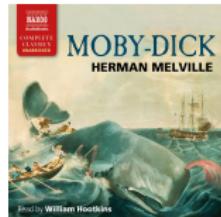


Change as a constant

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones
are coral made.



Aye, aye! it was that accursed white whale
that razed me; made a poor pegging lubber
of me for ever and a day!

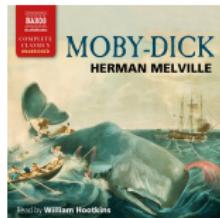


Change as a constant

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones
are coral made.



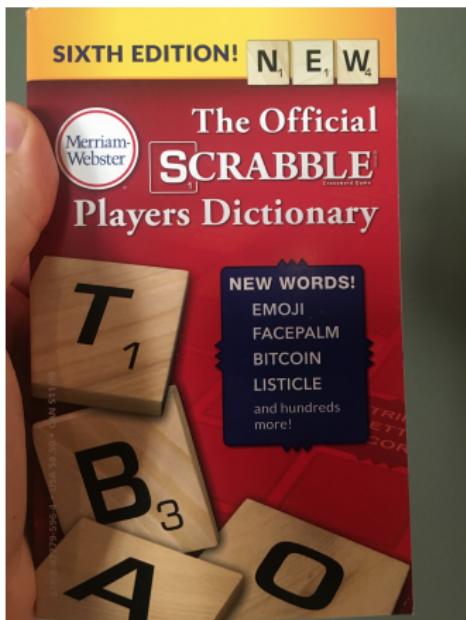
Aye, aye! it was that accursed white whale
that razed me; made a poor pegging lubber
of me for ever and a day!



Now if you'll excuse me, I'm going to go on
an overnight drunk, and in 10 days I'm going
to set out to find the shark that ate my friend
and destroy it.



Short term change



Even shorter term change

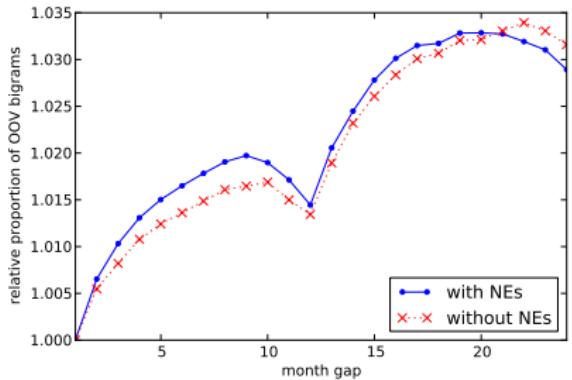


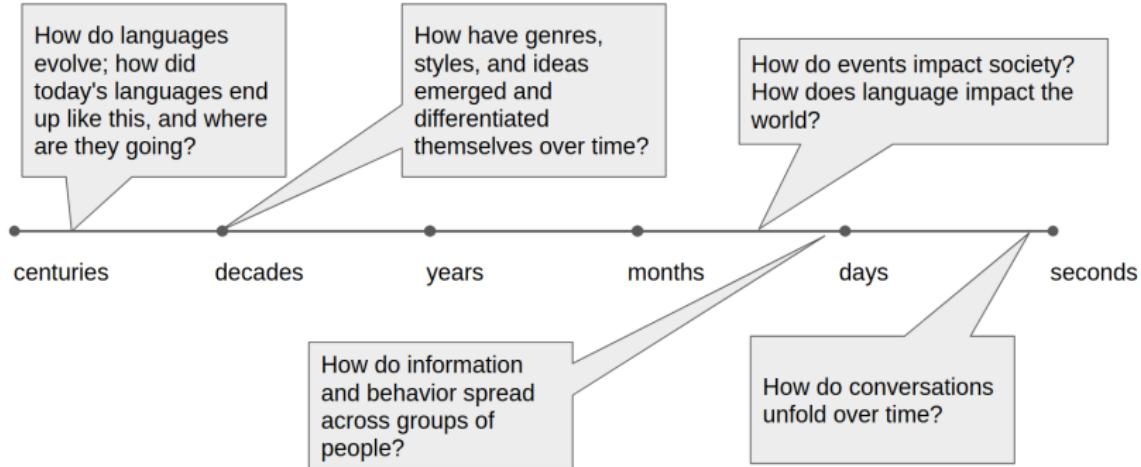
Figure: from Eisenstein (2013)

Screenshot of a Twitter search results page for 'New York Times' tweets containing the word 'first'. The results are filtered by 'Tweets & replies' and show several tweets from the New York Times account. The tweets are listed in chronological order, starting from the most recent at the top:

- Planned Tweet: New New York Times @NYT_first_said - 30 Jan 2018 (subtweeted)
- New: appropriate
- New: superchemist
- New: phytochemist
- New: eminatl
- New: hybrid
- New: ultraupscale
- New: phenobarbitone

Each tweet includes the number of likes, retweets, and replies.

Some questions about language change



What changed?

Systemic change: what counts as grammatical / coherent / felicitous / appropriate in a language.

- ▶ full fathom five thy father lies
- ▶ historical linguistics and sociolinguistics

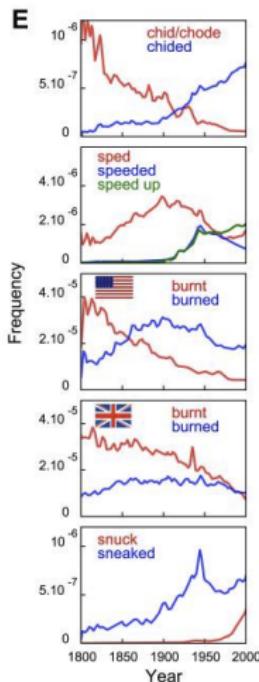


Figure: Michel et al.
2011

What changed?

Usage change: what people talk about.

- ▶ steam/electricity, horse/train
- ▶ digital humanities, computational social science, social computing

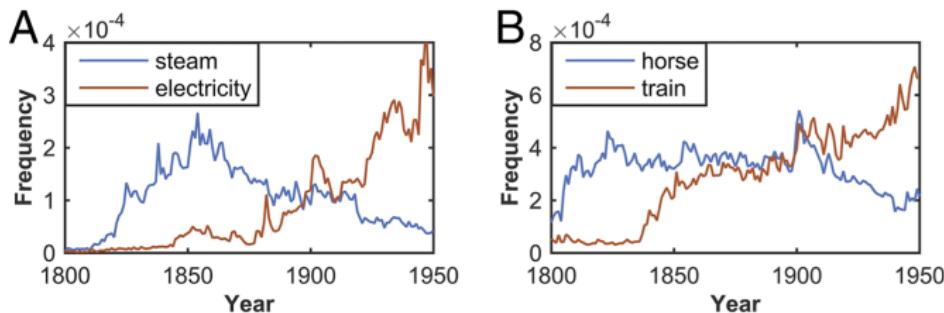


Figure: Lansdall-Welfare et al. 2017

Language change and sociolinguistics

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) present five problems:

- ▶ **Constraints:** what changes are possible?
- ▶ **Transition:** how does a change propagate in a community of speakers?
- ▶ **Embedding:** what implications does a change have for the larger linguistic system?
- ▶ **Evaluation:** what is the social meaning of a particular change?
- ▶ **Actuation:** why this change, and why now?

Sources of information about language change

- ▶ **Corpora:** time-stamped (“diachronic”) texts
- ▶ **Lexicons:** lists of word types or cognate sets
- ▶ **Simulation:** simple models and their ability to explain observed phenomena
- ▶ **Apparent time:** differences between individuals by age

Sources of information about language change

- ▶ **Corpora:** time-stamped (“diachronic”) texts
- ▶ **Lexicons:** lists of word types or cognate sets
- ▶ **Simulation:** simple models and their ability to explain observed phenomena
- ▶ **Apparent time:** differences between individuals by age

Gloss [†]	Fijian	Pazeh	Melanau	Inabaknon
star	kalokalo [§]	mintol	biten	bitu'on
to hold	taura	macra?	magem	kumkom
house	vale	xuma?	lebu?	ruma
bird	manumanu	aiam	manuk	manok
to cut, hack	tata	tattatak	tutek	hadhad
at	e	-	ga?	-
what?	cava	?axai	ua? inew	ay
this	oqo	?imini	itew	yayto
wind	cagi	vara	pajay	bariyo

Figure: Bouchard-Côté et al.
2013

Sources of information about language change

- ▶ **Corpora:** time-stamped (“diachronic”) texts
- ▶ **Lexicons:** lists of word types or cognate sets
- ▶ **Simulation:** simple models and their ability to explain observed phenomena
- ▶ **Apparent time:** differences between individuals by age

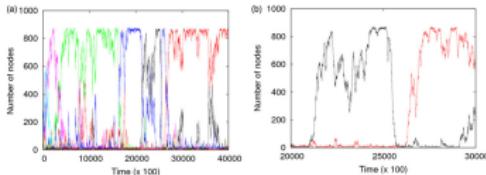


Figure: Fagyal et al. 2010

Sources of information about language change

- ▶ **Corpora:** time-stamped (“diachronic”) texts
- ▶ **Lexicons:** lists of word types or cognate sets
- ▶ **Simulation:** simple models and their ability to explain observed phenomena
- ▶ **Apparent time:** differences between individuals by age

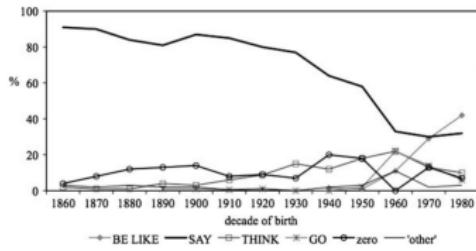


Figure: D'Arcy 2012

Language change beyond linguistics

- ▶ **Computational social science** (*text-as-data*)
public attention, political communication, information diffusion, issue framing
- ▶ **Digital humanities** (*distant reading*)
evolution of genres and writing styles, attitudes about race and gender, detection of influence
- ▶ **Human-computer interaction** (*social computing*)
impact of social media on well-being, effects of policy changes on online communities, formation of social norms online

Secret agenda

Most of these fields are interested in **explanation**, not **prediction**.¹

- ▶ Natural language processing can play an important role, by **operationalizing** variables of interest.
- ▶ But! Rigorously evaluating explanations is different and usually harder than evaluating predictions, and requires a different way of thinking.
- ▶ The tutorial includes several “case studies” to get you started.

¹Shmueli 2010; Hofman, Sharma, and Watts 2017.

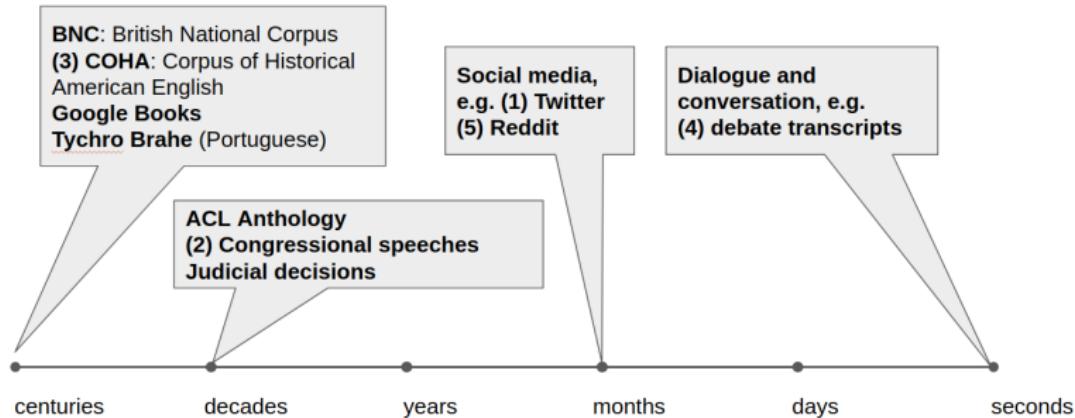
Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency
 - 2. Differences
 - 3. Word meaning
 - 4. Leaders and followers
 - 5. Cause and effect
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Case studies and data: a temporal view



Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

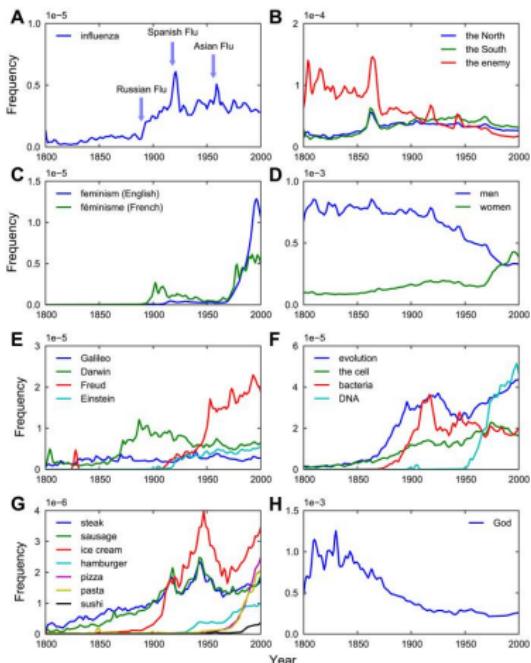
Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
 - ▶ Practical methods and case studies
-
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Word frequency | Are you happier on the weekend? |
| 2. Differences | Is polarization on the rise? |
| 3. Word meaning | When did peers apply pressure? |
| 4. Leaders and followers | Who is shaping the debate? |
| 5. Cause and effect | Should we feed the trolls? |
- ▶ Future directions

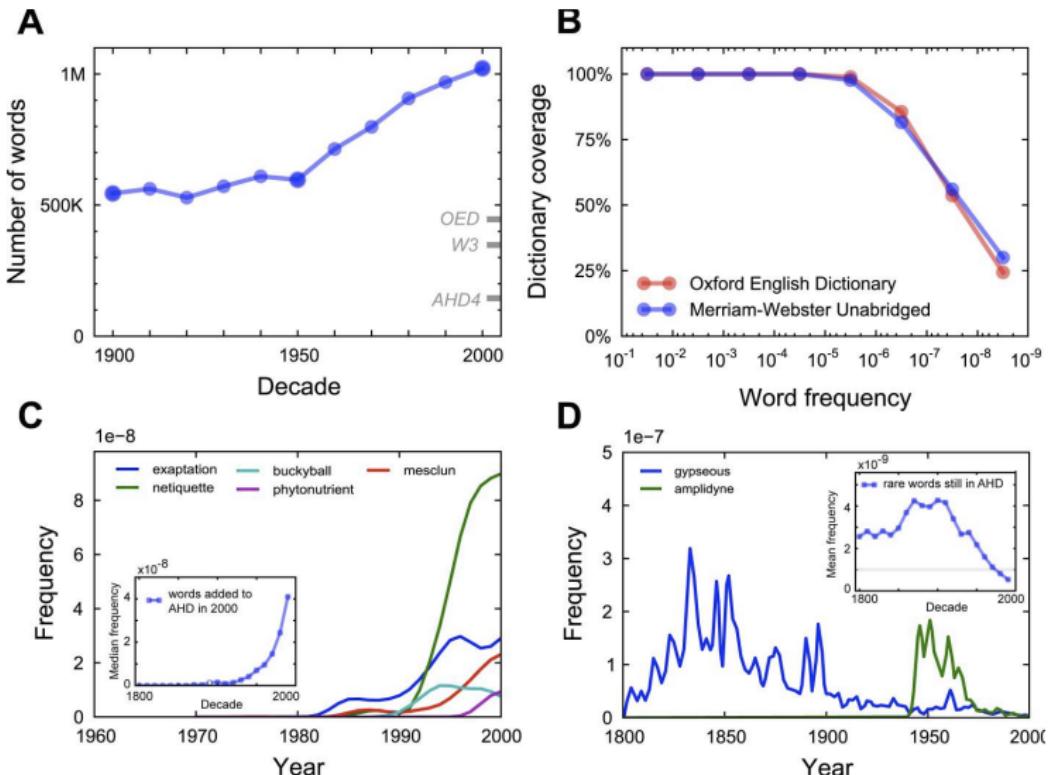
Big data and word frequency

Culturnomics: Quantitative analysis of culture using millions of digitized books (Michel et al. 2011)

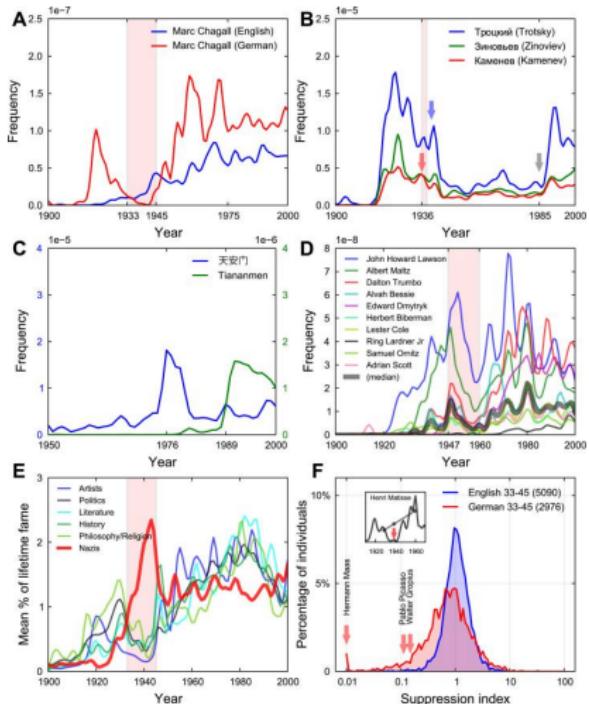
- ▶ 5M digitized books:
“4% of all books ever published”
- ▶ 500B word tokens, 361B in English



Culturnomical lexicography



Culturnomical political science



Questions

Seems pretty easy! But research on frequency trajectories invites a number of questions:

- ▶ Which words? (what even is a word?)
- ▶ Which texts?
- ▶ What to count?
- ▶ Word frequencies and events have timestamps, but did one really cause the other?

Problems recognizing characters



Figure: case vs cafe

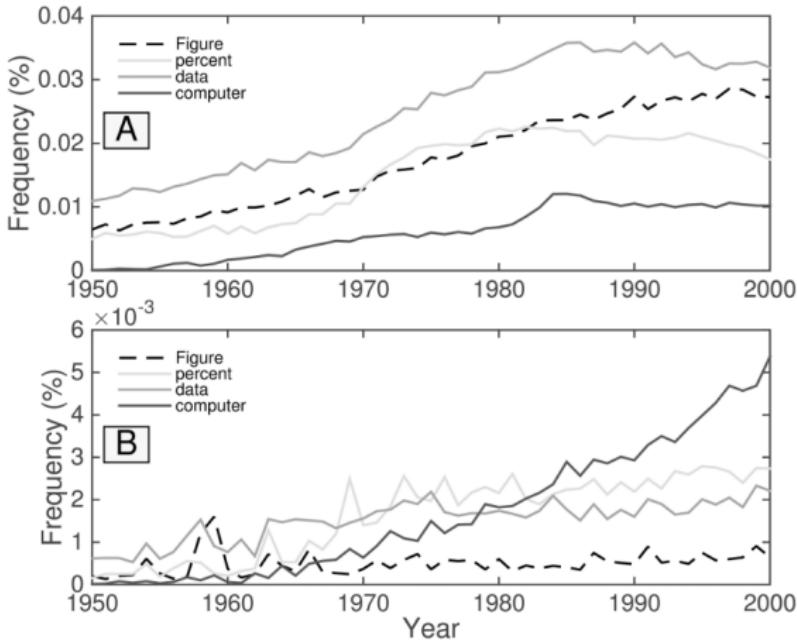


Figure: sunk vs funk

Liberman (2010) argues that OCR problems are a special case of a more general issue: Google Books' focus on strings.

Composition effects

Scientific articles occupy an increasing proportion of Google Books over time.²



²Pechenick, Danforth, and Dodds 2015.

Artisanal corpora

Corpus linguists have not produced datasets on the scale of Google books, but pay more attention to digitization and balance across genres and topics.

- ▶ Corpus of Historical American English (COHA; Davies 2012, 400M words)
- ▶ British National Corpus (BNC; Leech and Rayson 2014, 100M words)
- ▶ Global Web-based English Corpus (GlowBe; Davies and Fuchs 2015, 1.9B words)

Artisanal corpora

CHANGE TO VERTICAL CHART / CLICK TO SEE CONTEXT

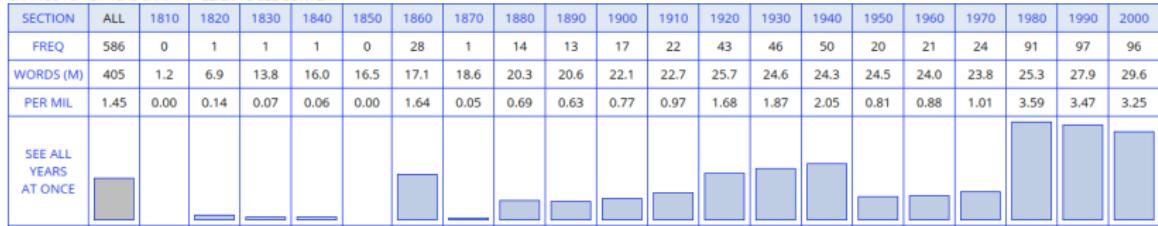
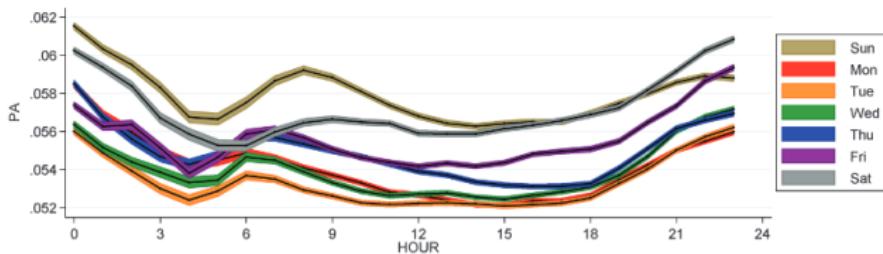


Figure: Frequency of **funk** in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)

A case study

Golder and Macy 2011: Diurnal and Seasonal Mood Vary with Work, Sleep, and Daylength Across Diverse Cultures



- ▶ Main question: how does mood shift across the day, week, and season?
- ▶ Text: positive and negative affect lexicons from LIWC³
- ▶ Notebook: see HappierOnTheWeekend.ipynb

³Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010.

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
 - ▶ Practical methods and case studies
-
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Word frequency | Are you happier on the weekend? |
| 2. Differences | Is polarization on the rise? |
| 3. Word meaning | When did peers apply pressure? |
| 4. Leaders and followers | Who is shaping the debate? |
| 5. Cause and effect | Should we feed the trolls? |
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
 - ▶ Practical methods and case studies
-
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Word frequency | Are you happier on the weekend? |
| 2. Differences | Is polarization on the rise? |
| 3. Word meaning | When did peers apply pressure? |
| 4. Leaders and followers | Who is shaping the debate? |
| 5. Cause and effect | Should we feed the trolls? |
- ▶ Future directions

The importance of difference

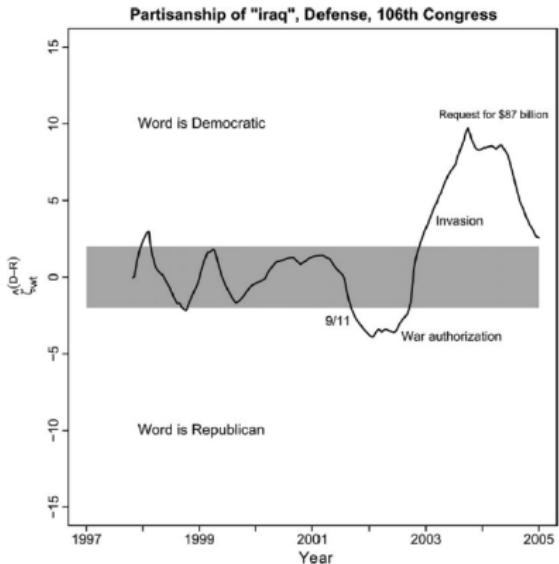
Many questions about time are questions about *difference*:

- ▶ Is political polarization increasing in debates? In online discussions?
- ▶ Is polarization becoming more about identity groups than policy ideas?⁴
- ▶ Are gender roles becoming less stereotypical in fiction?
- ▶ Are computational linguistics conferences becoming more or less similar?

⁴Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012.

Frequencies: polarization of single words

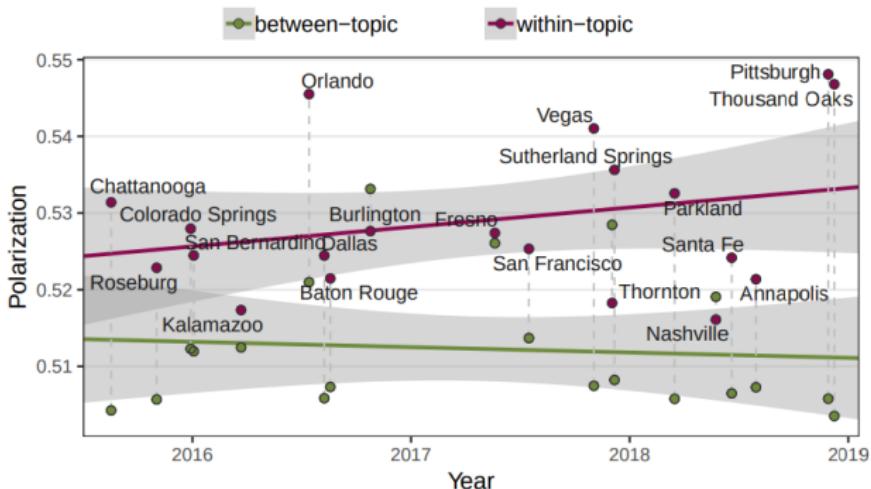
From Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn (2008), "Fightin' words"



We will replicate this figure!

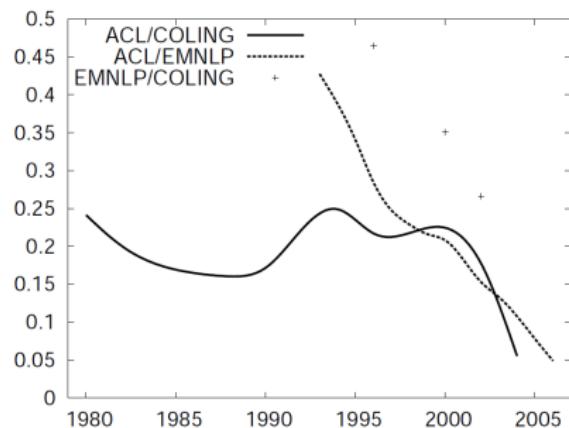
Polarization between and within topics

Demszky et al. (2019) combine lexical and topic analysis to show how polarization about mass shootings is increasing.



Topics: conferences over time

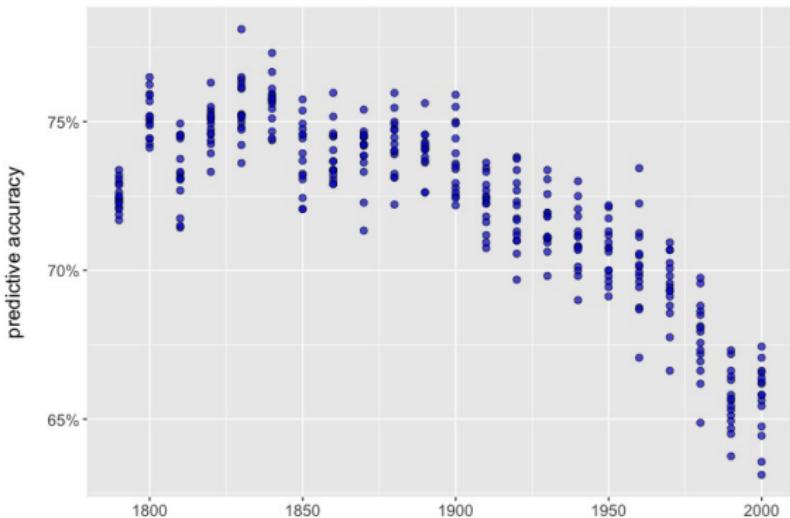
From Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning (2008)



Classifiers: gender stability of fictional characters

From Underwood, Bamman, and Lee (2018)

Accuracy of gender prediction, 1600-character samples



Quantifying differences

What to measure:

- ▶ word frequencies;⁵
- ▶ latent topics⁶
- ▶ classifier accuracy.⁷

⁵Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008; Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

⁶Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008; Tsur and Rappoport 2015; Barron et al. 2018.

⁷Peterson and Spirling 2018; Underwood, Bamman, and Lee 2018.

Quantifying differences

What to measure:

- ▶ word frequencies;⁵
 relies fairly directly on the original data, but word frequencies
 are high-variance and not really IID.
- ▶ latent topics⁶
- ▶ classifier accuracy.⁷

⁵Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008; Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

⁶Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008; Tsur and Rappoport 2015; Barron et al. 2018.

⁷Peterson and Spirling 2018; Underwood, Bamman, and Lee 2018.

Quantifying differences

What to measure:

- ▶ word frequencies;⁵
 relies fairly directly on the original data, but word frequencies
 are high-variance and not really IID.
- ▶ latent topics⁶
 aggregates related words, but may depend on idiosyncrasies of
 preprocessing and hyperparameters
- ▶ classifier accuracy.⁷

⁵Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008; Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

⁶Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008; Tsur and Rappoport 2015; Barron et al. 2018.

⁷Peterson and Spirling 2018; Underwood, Bamman, and Lee 2018.

Quantifying differences

What to measure:

- ▶ word frequencies;⁵
 relies fairly directly on the original data, but word frequencies
 are high-variance and not really IID.
- ▶ latent topics⁶
 aggregates related words, but may depend on idiosyncrasies of
 preprocessing and hyperparameters
- ▶ classifier accuracy.⁷
 powerful classifiers can relax IID assumption, but are
 computationally expensive and sensitive to dataset design

⁵Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn 2008; Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

⁶Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008; Tsur and Rappoport 2015; Barron et al. 2018.

⁷Peterson and Spirling 2018; Underwood, Bamman, and Lee 2018.

Aggregation and variance

Main challenge in measuring differences over time in word frequencies is high variance:

The number of phrases a speaker could choose is large relative to the total amount of speech we observe, so many phrases are said mostly by one party or the other purely by chance.

Naive estimators interpret such differences as evidence of partisanship, leading to a bias we show can be many orders of magnitude larger than the true signal in the data.⁸

Monroe, Colaresi, and Quinn (2008): use MAP estimate of word frequency rates rather than empirical frequencies.

⁸Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

Replication time!

Replication: measuring and aggregating word-level partisanship in *Fightin Words*.

```
jupyter-notebook SameDifference.ipynb
```

Partisanship by L1-regularized modeling

Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy (2016):

- ▶ For each group g , estimate probabilities for each word j at time t ,

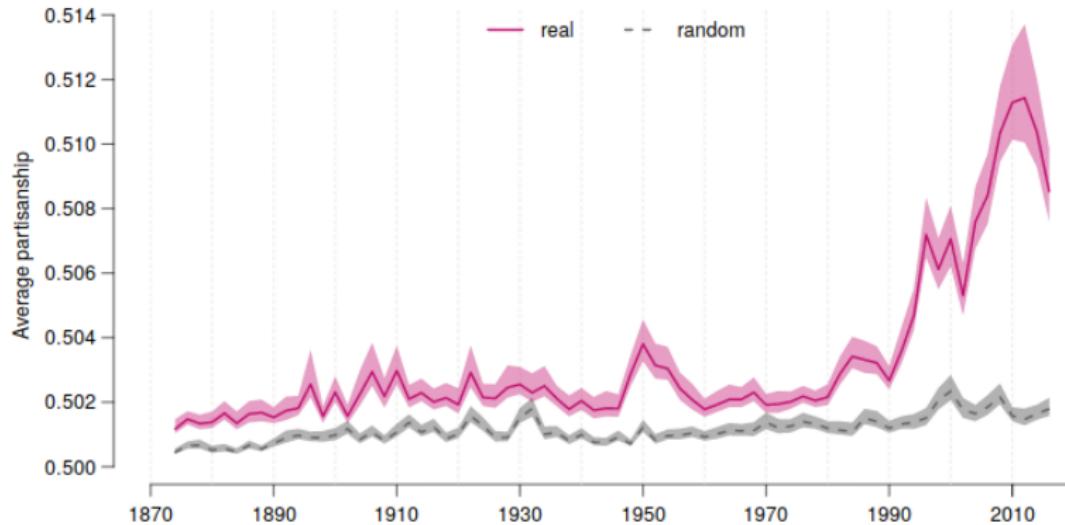
$$q_{t,j}^{(g)} \propto \exp(\mu_{t,j} + \phi_{t,j}^{(g)}), \quad (1)$$

with $\phi_t^{(g)}$ optimized under L1 regularization.⁹

- ▶ They then compute partisanship as the expected per-word classification accuracy of a Naive Bayes classification model.

⁹Eisenstein, Ahmed, and Xing 2011; Taddy 2013.

Partisanship by L1: results¹⁰

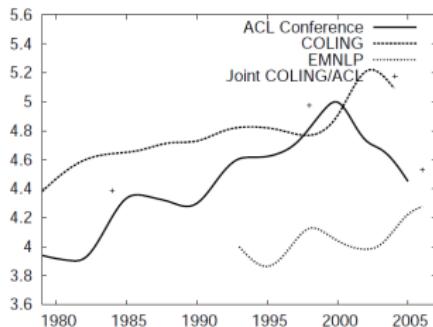


Confidence intervals require parametric bootstrap sampling,
using repeated estimation on random data subsets.

¹⁰Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Taddy 2016.

Information theoretic measures of difference

Entropy: how concentrated is probability mass over words/topics, $H(p) = -\sum_j p_j \log p_j$.



In this figure,¹¹ p is defined over latent topics rather than words.¹²

¹¹Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008.

¹²See also Doyle and Frank (2015) on entropy of tweets over the course of a baseball game.

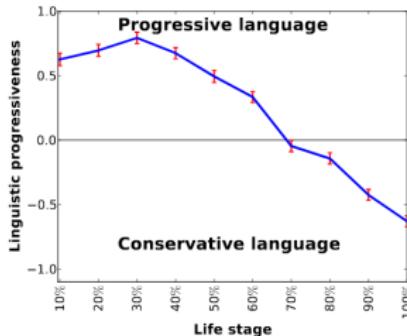
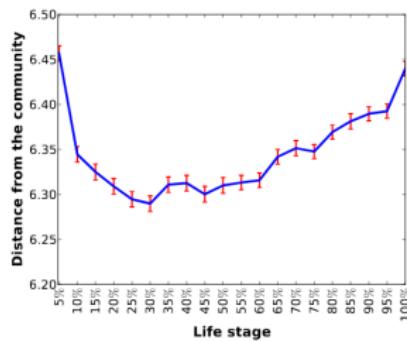
Individuals versus communities

How similar is an individual's language to the community?

- ▶ Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, West, et al. (2013) construct a “snapshot language model” for each month, and then compute the **cross-entropy**,

$$H(x_{t,i}, q_t) = -\frac{1}{N_{t,i}} \sum_j x_{t,i,j} \log q_{t,j}.$$

- ▶ *Progressiveness* is defined as the relative offset of the month that minimizes cross-entropy.



Information theoretic differences over time

- ▶ Kullback-Liebler (KL) divergence between p and q :

$$D_{\text{KL}}(p||q) = \sum_j p_j \log \frac{p_j}{q_j}, \quad (2)$$

also known as **relative entropy**.

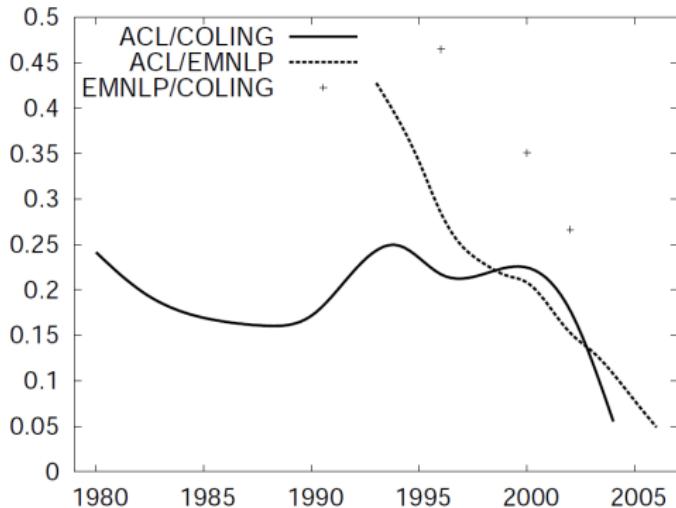
- ▶ The Jensen-Shannon divergence is a symmetric measure based on KL-divergence,

$$D_{\text{JS}}(p||q) = \frac{1}{2} D_{\text{KL}}(p||r) + \frac{1}{2} D_{\text{KL}}(q||r) \quad (3)$$

$$r = \frac{1}{2}p + \frac{1}{2}q. \quad (4)$$

Difference between conferences over time

Jensen-Shannon divergences between pairs of conferences,
based on latent topic proportions:¹³



¹³Hall, Jurafsky, and Manning 2008.

The information theory of the French Revolution

Application to a dataset of 40K speeches from the *Archives Parlamentaires* (1787-1794):¹⁴

- ▶ “the celebrated radicals Robespierre and Pétion” diverged from the past and shaped the future;
- ▶ comments by technical specialists diverged from both past and future;
- ▶ the right wing was similar to both the past and future.



¹⁴Barron et al. 2018.

Outline

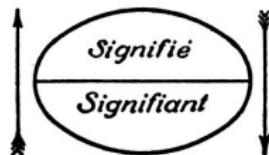
- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. **Differences** Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. **Word meaning** When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Change in the lexicon

Lexical innovation can happen on the level of new wordforms (signs) and new meanings (signifieds).



- ▶ Changes in a corpus may be driven by new real-world events and entities (e.g., *email*, *tablet*).
- ▶ Linguistic “fashions” involve new signs for existing meanings (*lol*).
- ▶ Existing signs can be repurposed to new meanings (*hot*, *actually*): “linguistic drifts” versus “cultural shifts”¹⁵

Changes can reverberate throughout the lexical system.¹⁶

¹⁵Traugott and Dasher 2001; Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky 2016a.

¹⁶Pierrehumbert 2010.

Meaning change in distributional semantics

Distributional representations of word meaning have a very long history in NLP:¹⁷

- ▶ latent semantic analysis
- ▶ Brown clusters
- ▶ word2vec

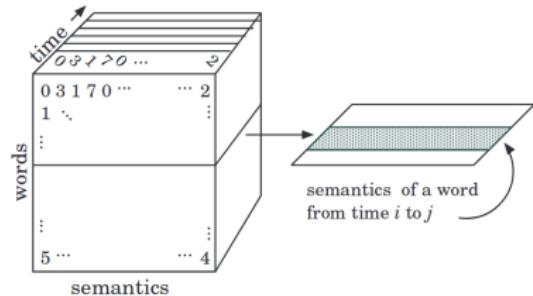


Figure: Jurgens and Stevens (2009)

Hypothesis: if the meaning of word w is summarized by a distributional representation \mathbf{u}_w , then changes in meaning should be reflected in \mathbf{u}_w .

¹⁷ Deerwester et al. 1990; Brown et al. 1992; Mikolov, Sutskever, et al. 2013.

Word embeddings and lexical semantics

For our purposes a **word embedding** has two properties:

- ▶ it is a fixed-length vector that is computed from the set of contexts in which a word appears;
- ▶ if words i and j are semantically similar, then the vector correlation is large:¹⁸

$$\text{corr}_{i,j} = \frac{\mathbf{u}_i \cdot \mathbf{u}_j}{\|\mathbf{u}_i\| \times \|\mathbf{u}_j\|}. \quad (5)$$

As a corollary, a change in a word's embedding implies a change in meaning.

¹⁸This property seems to hold at a coarse level (Mikolov, Yih, and Zweig 2013) but important questions remain (Antoniak and Mimno 2018; Wendlandt, Kummerfeld, and Mihalcea 2018).

Anecdotal evidence

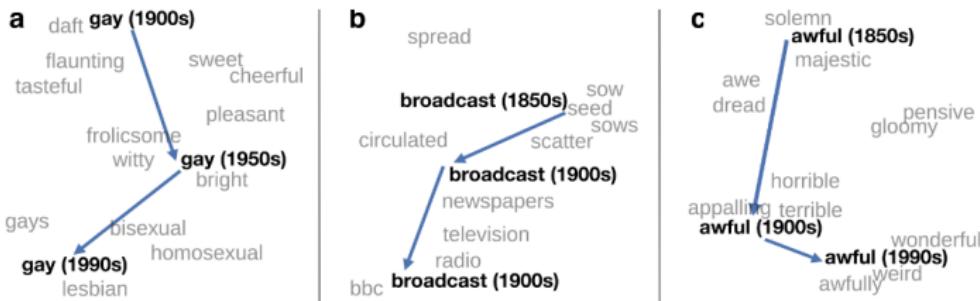


Figure: Figure from Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016). For a closely related idea using raw word-context counts, see Gulordava and Baroni (2011); for an early clustering-based approach, see Wijaya and Yeniterzi (2011)

Anecdotal evidence

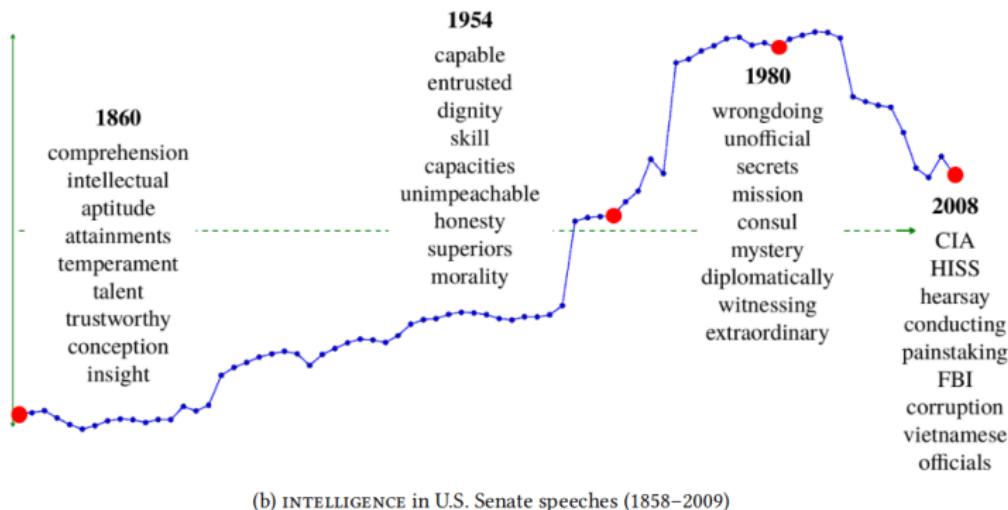


Figure: Figure from Rudolph and Blei (2018)

Research timeline

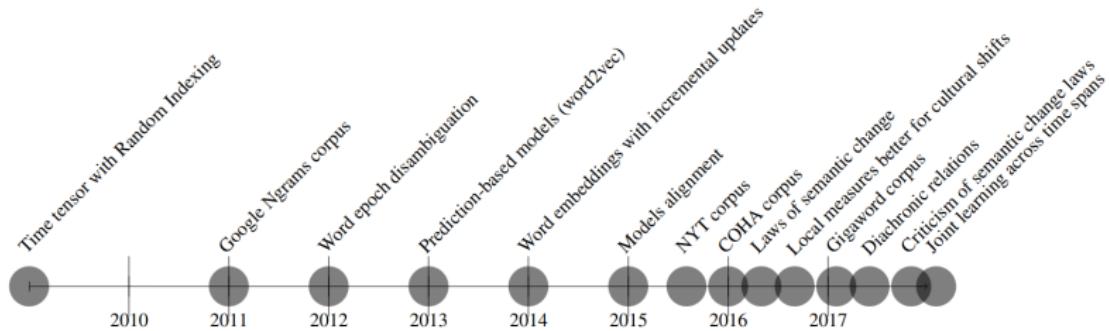


Figure: Kutuzov et al. 2018

Lots of work in this area!

- ▶ We will focus on a few relatively simple techniques.
- ▶ For much more, there are several recent surveys.¹⁹.

¹⁹Kutuzov et al. 2018; Tahmasebi, Borin, and Jatowt 2018; Tang 2018.

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $u_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{u_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Estimating temporal word embeddings

Most papers divide the corpus into “epochs”, and estimate embeddings separately in each epoch.²¹

- ▶ The embeddings must be *aligned* to be comparable.
- ▶ The epochs should be similar in size and composition.

There are a few models that operate over the entire corpus:

- ▶ Bayesian priors:²² $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)} \sim f(\mathbf{u}_i^{(t-1)})$.
- ▶ Refinement by feedforward network:²³ $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)} = g(t, \overline{\mathbf{u}}_i)$.

²¹e.g., Kulkarni et al. 2015; Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky 2016b.

²²Bamler and Mandt 2017; Rudolph and Blei 2018.

²³Rosenfeld and Erk 2018.

Procrustes alignment of word embeddings

- ▶ Cross-epoch embeddings may be superficially different but fundamentally the same – just permute the columns!
- ▶ To align word embeddings across epochs, we solve the orthogonal Procrustes problem,

$$\min_{\Omega^\top \Omega = \mathbb{I}} \|\Omega A - B\|_F,$$

where $\|M\|_F$ is defined as $\sqrt{\sum_i \sum_j m_{i,j}^2}$.

- ▶ The solution is obtained by singular value decomposition,

$$\begin{aligned} U\Sigma V^\top &= \text{SVD}(BA^\top) \\ \Omega &= UV^\top. \end{aligned}$$

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $u_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{u_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $u_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{u_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Aggregating word embedding differences

Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016) distinguish *global* and *local* metrics for embedding differences over time:

- ▶ **Global:** compare $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}$ and $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t')}$ (after projection), e.g.,

$$\psi_{t,i}^{(G)} = 1 - \cos(\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}, \mathbf{u}_i^{(t+\delta)}) \quad (6)$$

- ▶ **Local:**²⁴
 1. identify nearest neighbors of i at times t and t' ;
 2. compute similarity to each of these neighbors, arrange as vector $\mathbf{s}^{(t)}$;
 3. compute $\psi_{t,i}^{(L)} = 1 - \cos(\mathbf{s}^{(t)}, \mathbf{s}^{(t')})$.

²⁴See Kulkarni et al. (2015) for an alternative neighbor-based approach.

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $u_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{u_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Detecting changes in meaning

General recipe:

1. Estimate temporal word embeddings, $\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}$.
2. Aggregate embeddings into a single score,
 $\{\mathbf{u}_i^{(t)}\}_{t=1}^T \mapsto \psi_i$.
3. Evaluate against a small list of known semantic changes
in English.²⁰

²⁰<https://languagechange.org/semeval/>, see also Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016)

Validation

Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016): 28 word pairs, distinguish whether they are moving together or apart.

Word	Moving towards	Moving away	Shift start	Source
gay	homosexual, lesbian	happy, showy	ca 1920	(Kulkarni et al., 2014)
fatal	illness, lethal	fate, inevitable	<1800	(Jatowt and Duh, 2014)
awful	disgusting, mess	impressive, majestic	<1800	(Simpson et al., 1989)
nice	pleasant, lovely	refined, dainty	ca 1900	(Wijaya and Yeniterzi, 2011)
broadcast	transmit, radio	scatter, seed	ca 1920	(Jeffers and Lehiste, 1979)
monitor	display, screen	—	ca 1930	(Simpson et al., 1989)
record	tape, album	—	ca 1920	(Kulkarni et al., 2014)
guy	fellow, man	—	ca 1850	(Wijaya and Yeniterzi, 2011)
call	phone, message	—	ca 1890	(Simpson et al., 1989)

²⁵Mihalcea and Nastase 2012; Popescu and Strapparava 2015.

Validation

Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016): 28 word pairs, distinguish whether they are moving together or apart.

Word	Moving towards	Moving away	Shift start	Source
gay	homosexual, lesbian	happy, showy	ca 1920	(Kulkarni et al., 2014)
fatal	illness, lethal	fate, inevitable	<1800	(Jatowt and Duh, 2014)
awful	disgusting, mess	impressive, majestic	<1800	(Simpson et al., 1989)
nice	pleasant, lovely	refined, dainty	ca 1900	(Wijaya and Yeniterzi, 2011)
broadcast	transmit, radio	scatter, seed	ca 1920	(Jeffers and Lehiste, 1979)
monitor	display, screen	—	ca 1930	(Simpson et al., 1989)
record	tape, album	—	ca 1920	(Kulkarni et al., 2014)
guy	fellow, man	—	ca 1850	(Wijaya and Yeniterzi, 2011)
call	phone, message	—	ca 1890	(Simpson et al., 1989)

- ▶ Precision-based evaluations: are the changes that the model identifies meaningful?
- ▶ Predictive evaluations: given a passage, when was it written?²⁵

²⁵Mihalcea and Nastase 2012; Popescu and Strapparava 2015.

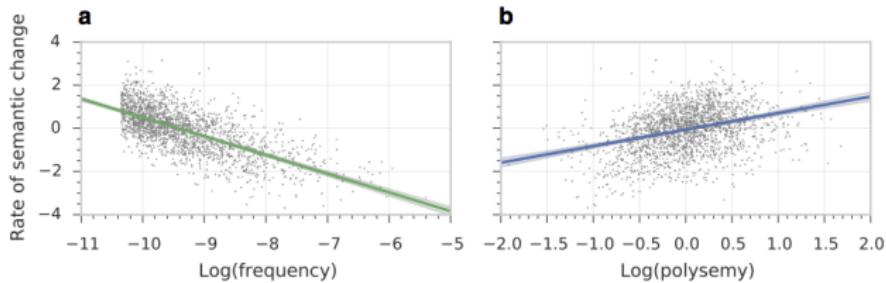
Replication time!

Replication: measuring and aggregating semantic change.²⁶

```
jupyter-notebook DirtyLaundering.ipynb
```

²⁶Data from Hamilton (2016), who is hereby nominated for the replicability hall of fame.

Laws of semantic change



Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky (2016):

- ▶ **Conformity:** frequently-used words are more stable.
- ▶ **Innovation:** polysemous words change more quickly.

Eger and Mehler (2016):

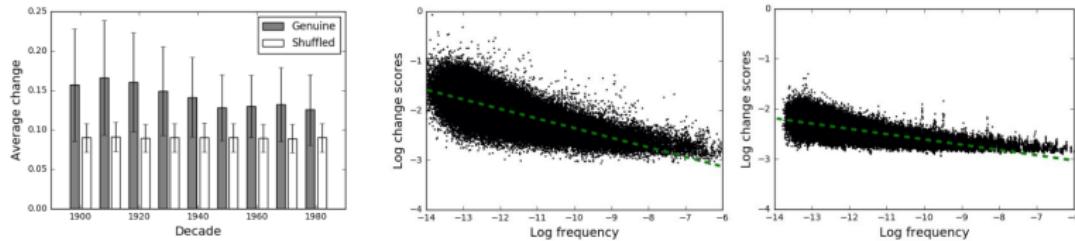
- ▶ **Linearity:** self-similarity decays linearly over time.

Robustness check

Dubossarsky, Weinshall, and Grossman (2017): randomly shuffle timestamps, see if these laws still hold.

Robustness check

Dubossarsky, Weinshall, and Grossman (2017): randomly shuffle timestamps, see if these laws still hold.



- ▶ Original data: $r = -0.748$, shuffled data: $r = -0.747$
- ▶ Similar findings for polysemy.
- ▶ These results are for SVD-based word embeddings, not tested for skipgrams.

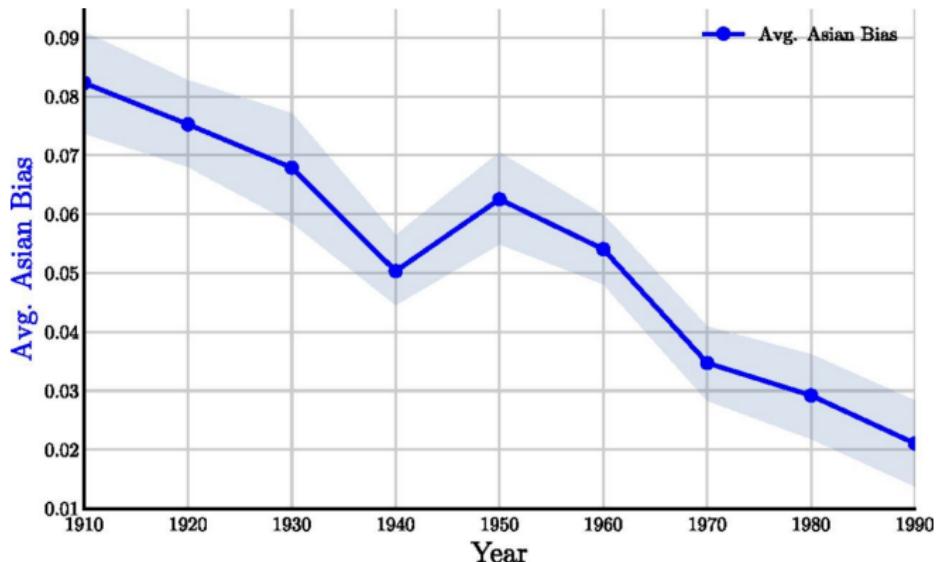
Diachronic word embeddings and bias

Garg et al. (2018): words whose embeddings are more similar to the embeddings of Asian-American last names than White-American last names, based on COHA embeddings.

1910	1950	1990
Irresponsible	Disorganized	Inhibited
Envious	Outrageous	Passive
Barbaric	Pompous	Dissolute
Aggressive	Unstable	Haughty
Transparent	Effeminate	Complacent
Monstrous	Unprincipled	Forceful
Hateful	Venomous	Fixed
Cruel	Disobedient	Active
Greedy	Predatory	Sensitive
Bizarre	Boisterous	Hearty

Diachronic word embeddings and bias

Garg et al. (2018): similarity between Asian-American name embeddings (COHA) and a lexicon of words characterizing “outsiders.”



Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. **Word meaning** When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did **peers** apply pressure?
 - 4. **Leaders and followers** Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Language change and sociolinguistics

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) present five problems:

- ▶ **Constraints:** what changes are possible?
- ▶ **Transition:** how does a change propagate in a community of speakers?
- ▶ **Embedding:** what implications does a change have for the larger linguistic system?
- ▶ **Evaluation:** what is the social meaning of a particular change?
- ▶ **Actuation:** why this change, and why now?

Language change and sociolinguistics

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) present five problems:

- ▶ **Constraints:** what changes are possible?
- ▶ **Transition:** how does a change propagate in a community of speakers?
- ▶ **Embedding:** what implications does a change have for the larger linguistic system?
- ▶ **Evaluation:** what is the social meaning of a particular change?
- ▶ **Actuation:** why this change, and why now?

Who leads? Who follows? Who resists?

Language change on the social network: nodes

- ▶ Language change is transmitted across a social network of individuals.
- ▶ The likelihood of a speaker to adopt a change, and their success at propagating a change, depends on their position in the network.²⁷

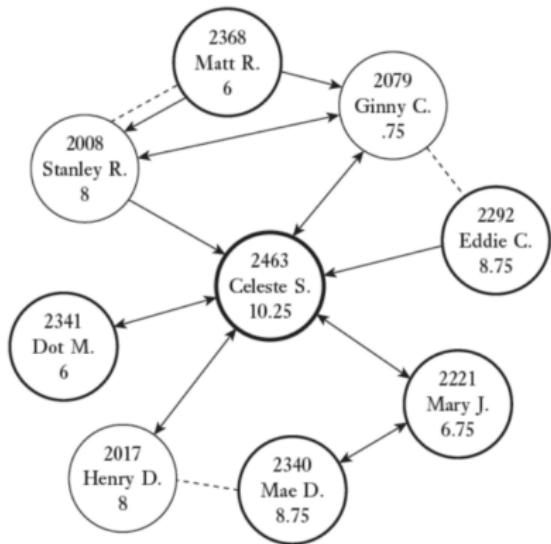


Figure: Labov (2001)

²⁷Labov 2001; Milroy 1991.

Language change on the social network: dyads

- ▶ The transmission of an innovation between two individuals requires a communication channel and a social evaluation.
- ▶ Diachronic text data makes it possible to reconstruct the latent network of linguistic influence.



Figure: Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. (2014)

Language change on the social network: attributes

- ▶ Social connections and status are shaped by attributes such as race, class, and gender.
- ▶ Diachronic language data can help to unpack the social meaning of such attribute through their influence on language change.

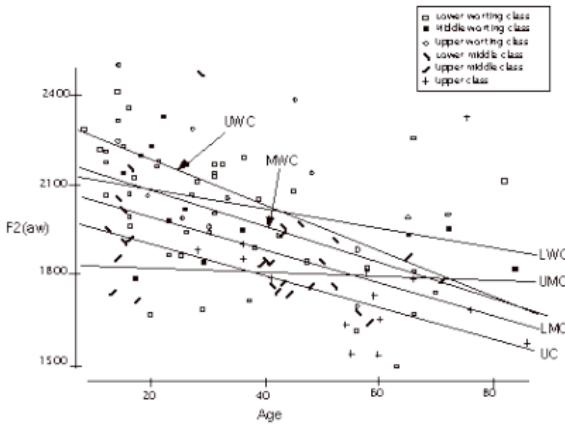


Figure: Labov (2001)

Leadership and influence across time scales

- ▶ **Decades:** systemic change in phonology and syntax²⁸
- ▶ **Years:** usage change in subcommunities such as scientific research articles²⁹
- ▶ **Months:** adoption of conventions and styles, e.g., in social media³⁰
- ▶ **Days:** spread of news stories and memes³¹
- ▶ **Minutes:** linguistic accommodation³² and topic control³³

²⁸Labov 2001.

²⁹e.g., Gerow et al. 2018.

³⁰e.g., Kooti et al. 2012; Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014; Goel et al. 2016; Del Tredici and Fernández 2018; Stewart and Eisenstein 2018.

³¹e.g., Leskovec, Backstrom, and Kleinberg 2009.

³²Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil and Lee 2011.

³³Nguyen et al. 2014.

Estimating influence from diachronic data

- ▶ Goal is to estimate parameters $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}$ for all i, j in population \mathcal{I} .
- ▶ Given covariates $\{\mathbf{x}_i\}_{i \in \mathcal{I}}$, we may set $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j} = f(\mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{x}_j)$.
- ▶ Observed data:
 - ▶ **Time series:** counts or proportions $\mathbf{y}_{t,i}$ at each $t = (1, 2, \dots, T)$.
 - ▶ **Event cascades:** a set of events $\mathcal{E} = \{(s_n, t_n)\}$, where $s_n \in \mathcal{I}$ is the source and $t_n \in \mathbb{R}_+$ is the timestamp.
- ▶ Typically, we optimize $\{\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}\}$ to assign high likelihood to the observations in some probability model.

Estimating influence from diachronic data

- ▶ Goal is to estimate parameters $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}$ for all i, j in population \mathcal{I} .
- ▶ Given covariates $\{\mathbf{x}_i\}_{i \in \mathcal{I}}$, we may set $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j} = f(\mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{x}_j)$.
- ▶ Observed data:
 - ▶ **Time series**: counts or proportions $\mathbf{y}_{t,i}$ at each $t = (1, 2, \dots, T)$.
 - ▶ **Event cascades**: a set of events $\mathcal{E} = \{(s_n, t_n)\}$, where $s_n \in \mathcal{I}$ is the source and $t_n \in \mathbb{R}_+$ is the timestamp.
- ▶ Typically, we optimize $\{\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}\}$ to assign high likelihood to the observations in some probability model.

Dynamical systems

A latent variable time series model:

$$\mathbf{z}_{t,i} \sim f \left(\sum_{j \in \mathcal{I}} \alpha_{j \rightarrow i} \mathbf{z}_{t-1,j} \right) \quad (7)$$

$$\mathbf{y}_{t,i} \sim g(\mathbf{z}_{t,i}). \quad (8)$$

Lots of interesting special cases:

- ▶ **Kalman filter/smooth****er**: f and g are affine+Gaussian
- ▶ **Generalized Kalman**: f and g are affine+other³⁴
- ▶ **Dynamic topic model**: g is a topic model, f models changes in topic *proportions*³⁵ or *content*³⁶

³⁴Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014.

³⁵Nguyen et al. 2014.

³⁶Gerrish and Blei 2010; Gerow et al. 2018.

Dynamical systems

A latent variable time series model:

$$\mathbf{z}_{t,i} \sim f \left(\sum_{j \in \mathcal{I}} \alpha_{j \rightarrow i} \mathbf{z}_{t-1,j} \right) \quad (7)$$

$$\mathbf{y}_{t,i} \sim g(\mathbf{z}_{t,i}). \quad (8)$$

Lots of interesting special cases:

- ▶ **Kalman filter/smooth****er**: f and g are affine+Gaussian
- ▶ **Generalized Kalman**: f and g are affine+other³⁴
- ▶ **Dynamic topic model**: g is a topic model, f models changes in topic *proportions*³⁵ or *content*³⁶

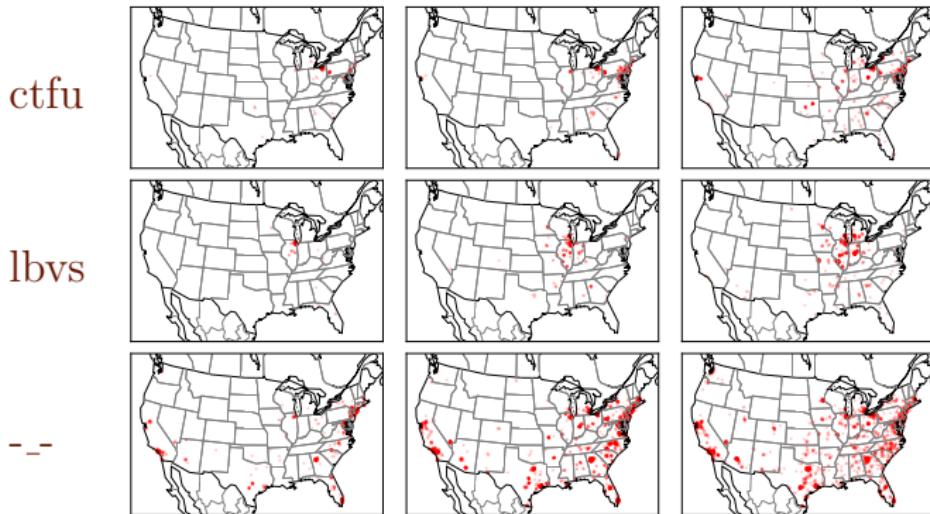
³⁴Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014.

³⁵Nguyen et al. 2014.

³⁶Gerrish and Blei 2010; Gerow et al. 2018.

City-to-city influence from Twitter data³⁷

Thousands of words have changing frequencies.

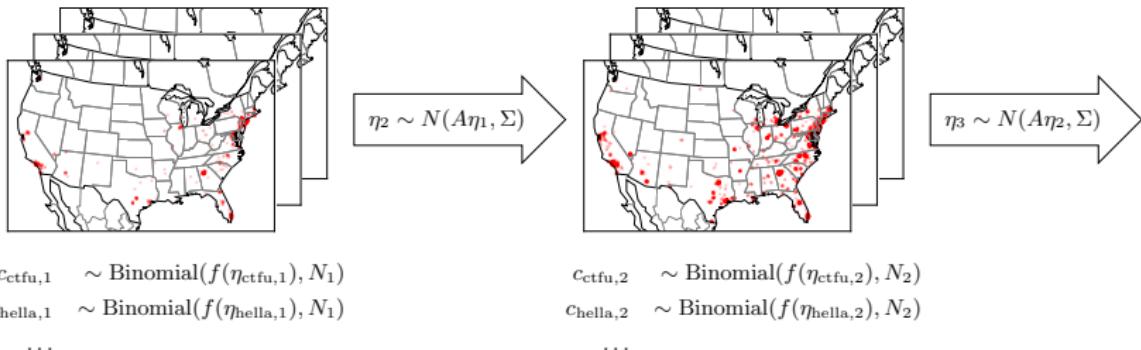


- ▶ Each spatiotemporal trajectory is idiosyncratic.
- ▶ What's the aggregate picture?

³⁷Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014.

Language change as an autoregressive process

Raw data: counts for thousands of words, binned into 200 metro areas and 165 weeks.



- ▶ The dynamics matrix A encodes city-to-city linguistic influence.
- ▶ It can be estimated by Monte Carlo Estimation Maximization

Aggregated city-to-city influence



Weights on demographic features can then be estimated by regressing the city-to-city parameters $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}$ on city-level covariates such as population, race, wealth, and age.

Dynamical systems

A latent variable time series model:

$$\mathbf{z}_{t,i} \sim f \left(\sum_{j \in \mathcal{I}} \alpha_{j \rightarrow i} \mathbf{z}_{t-1,j} \right) \quad (7)$$

$$\mathbf{y}_{t,i} \sim g(\mathbf{z}_{t,i}). \quad (8)$$

Lots of interesting special cases:

- ▶ **Kalman filter/smooth****er**: f and g are affine+Gaussian
- ▶ **Generalized Kalman**: f and g are affine+other³⁴
- ▶ **Dynamic topic model**: g is a topic model, f models changes in topic *proportions*³⁵ or *content*³⁶

³⁴Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014.

³⁵Nguyen et al. 2014.

³⁶Gerrish and Blei 2010; Gerow et al. 2018.

Dynamical systems

A latent variable time series model:

$$\mathbf{z}_{t,i} \sim f \left(\sum_{j \in \mathcal{I}} \alpha_{j \rightarrow i} \mathbf{z}_{t-1,j} \right) \quad (7)$$

$$\mathbf{y}_{t,i} \sim g(\mathbf{z}_{t,i}). \quad (8)$$

Lots of interesting special cases:

- ▶ **Kalman filter/smooth****er**: f and g are affine+Gaussian
- ▶ **Generalized Kalman**: f and g are affine+other³⁴
- ▶ **Dynamic topic model**: g is a topic model, f models changes in topic *proportions*³⁵ or *content*³⁶

³⁴Eisenstein, O'Connor, et al. 2014.

³⁵Nguyen et al. 2014.

³⁶Gerrish and Blei 2010; Gerow et al. 2018.

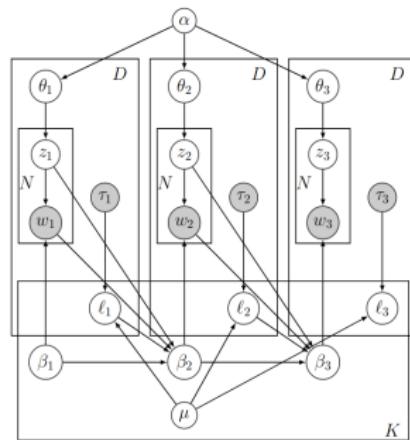
Influence on scientific topics³⁸

Each document has:

- ▶ a bag-of-words generated from a latent topic model;
- ▶ an influence parameter, which is a function of its covariates.

Topics

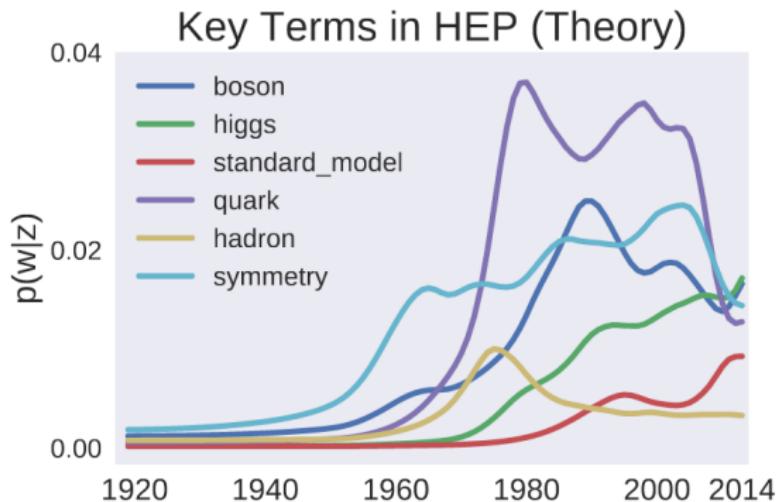
- ▶ are smoothly evolving vectors, $\beta_{t,k} \in \mathbb{R}^V$, where
- ▶ each $\beta_{t,k}$ depends on $\beta_{t-1,k}$ and the words used in influential documents at $t - 1$.



³⁸Gerow et al. 2018.

Evolution of a scientific topic³⁹

From a topic model of physics research papers:



³⁹Gerow et al. 2018.

Attribution of leadership to authors⁴⁰

From a topic model of the ACL anthology:

Parsing & Grammar	Information Retrieval
tree	document
grammar	term
node	query
structure	text
feature	topic
language	retrieval
figure	collection
form	result
constituent	information
set	sentence

Parsing & Grammar		Information Retrieval	
Parameter	Value in $\hat{\mu}_k$	Parameter	Value in $\hat{\mu}_k$
Gerald Gazdar	0.00013	Donna Harman	0.00017
Robert C. Berwick	0.00012	G. Vladutz	0.00014
Monique Rolbert	0.00012	Gerard Salton	0.00013
J. N. Verastegui-Carvajal	0.00011	Jade Goldstein	0.00012
C. Raymond Perrault	0.00001	Chris Buckley	0.00011
Jan Landsbergen	0.00009	David D. Lewis	0.00011
James Kilbury	0.00008	Tomek Strzalkowski	0.00010
Luis Damas	0.00008	K. L. Kwok	0.00009
R. C. Bainbridge	0.00008	John Broglie	0.00009
C. S. Mellish	0.00008	Andy Lauriston	0.00007

⁴⁰Gerow et al. 2018.

Estimating influence from diachronic data

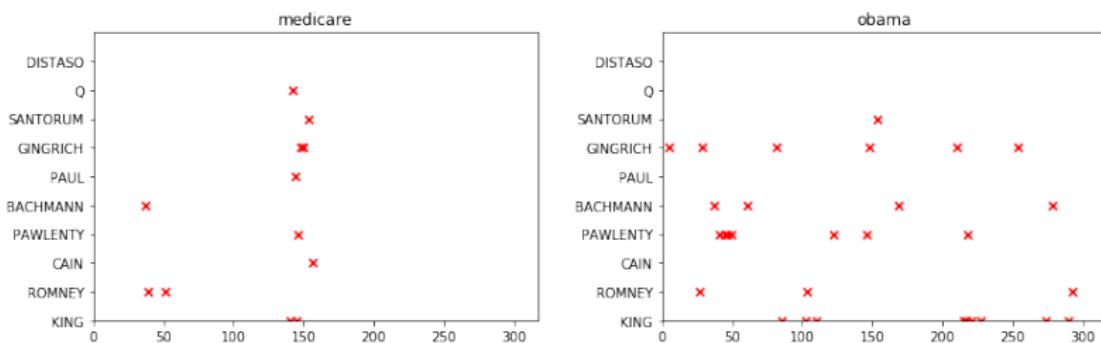
- ▶ Goal is to estimate parameters $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}$ for all i, j in population \mathcal{I} .
- ▶ Given covariates $\{\mathbf{x}_i\}_{i \in \mathcal{I}}$, we may set $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j} = f(\mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{x}_j)$.
- ▶ Observed data:
 - ▶ **Time series**: counts or proportions $\mathbf{y}_{t,i}$ at each $t = (1, 2, \dots, T)$.
 - ▶ **Event cascades**: a set of events $\mathcal{E} = \{(s_n, t_n)\}$, where $s_n \in \mathcal{I}$ is the source and $t_n \in \mathbb{R}_+$ is the timestamp.
- ▶ Typically, we optimize $\{\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}\}$ to assign high likelihood to the observations in some probability model.

Estimating influence from diachronic data

- ▶ Goal is to estimate parameters $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}$ for all i, j in population \mathcal{I} .
- ▶ Given covariates $\{\mathbf{x}_i\}_{i \in \mathcal{I}}$, we may set $\alpha_{i \rightarrow j} = f(\mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{x}_j)$.
- ▶ Observed data:
 - ▶ **Time series**: counts or proportions $\mathbf{y}_{t,i}$ at each $t = (1, 2, \dots, T)$.
 - ▶ **Event cascades**: a set of events $\mathcal{E} = \{(s_n, t_n)\}$, where $s_n \in \mathcal{I}$ is the source and $t_n \in \mathbb{R}_+$ is the timestamp.
- ▶ Typically, we optimize $\{\alpha_{i \rightarrow j}\}$ to assign high likelihood to the observations in some probability model.

Event cascade data

From a 2012 Republican Presidential Primary debate:



How can we discern leaders, followers, and resisters from this type of data?

The Poisson Process probability model

- ▶ Consider a set of event times, $\{t_n\}_{n=1}^N$.
- ▶ The number of events in any interval $(t_1, t_2]$ can be modeled as a draw from a Poisson distribution:

$$n(t_1, t_2) \sim \text{Poisson}(\mu_{t_1, t_2}) \quad (9)$$

$$\mu_{t_1, t_2} = \int_{t_1}^{t_2} \lambda(\tau) d\tau, \quad (10)$$

where $\lambda(\tau)$ is an **intensity function**.

- ▶ This is a very general framework for modeling sequences of events. Let's explore a special case that is appropriate for our research questions.⁴¹

⁴¹For more on temporal point processes, see the 2018 ICML tutorial by Gomez-Rodriguez and Valera (2018).

The Hawkes Process

A Hawkes Process is a **self-exciting** Poisson process,⁴² in which the intensity function depends on the previous events,

$$\lambda(\tau) = \lambda_0 + \alpha \sum_{t_n < \tau} \kappa(\tau - t_n), \quad (11)$$

where,

- ▶ the sum is over all events before time τ ;
- ▶ $\kappa : \mathbb{R}_+ \rightarrow \mathbb{R}_+$ is a kernel decay function, typically monotonically decreasing in the temporal gap $\tau - t_n$, e.g. $\kappa(\delta t) = \beta \exp(-\delta t / \gamma)$.⁴³
- ▶ $\alpha \in \mathbb{R}$ is a scalar excitement parameter.

⁴²Hawkes 1971.

⁴³This function can be much more expressive! (Du et al. 2015; Mei and Eisner 2017)

Multivariate Hawkes Processes

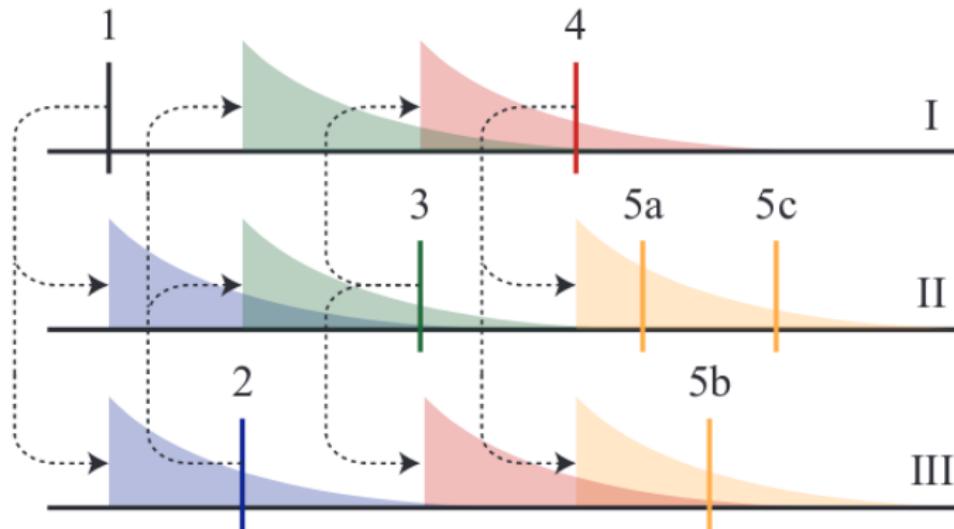
In a multivariate Hawkes Process, each event is marked with a **source** s_n , and each source exerts a different level of excitement on its neighbors:

$$\lambda_i(\tau) = \lambda_{i,0} + \sum_{t_n < \tau} \alpha_{s_n \rightarrow i} \kappa(\tau - t_n), \quad (12)$$

where

- ▶ $\lambda_i(\tau)$ is the excitement function for individual i ;
- ▶ $\alpha_{s_n \rightarrow i}$ quantifies how much events from s_n tend to excite events in i .

A multivariate Hawkes Process⁴⁴



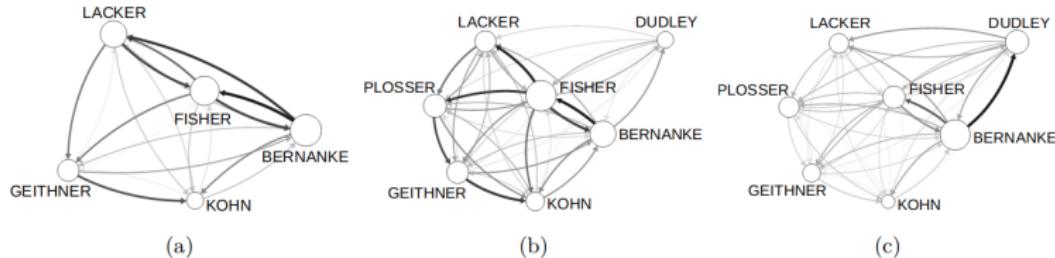
⁴⁴Linderman and Adams 2014.

Notebook time!

Notebook: leaders and followers in the 2012 Republican Presidential Primary debates.

```
jupyter-notebook FollowTheLeader.ipynb
```

Point process models of language change⁴⁸



- ▶ Accommodation and influence in multiparty dialogues⁴⁵
- ▶ Spread of new words over the Twitter social network⁴⁶
- ▶ Variable temporal kernels for different types of events in social media⁴⁷

⁴⁵Blundell, Beck, and Heller 2012; Guo et al. 2015.

⁴⁶Goel et al. 2016.

⁴⁷Du et al. 2015.

⁴⁸Figure from Guo et al. (2015)

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did **peers** apply pressure?
 - 4. **Leaders and followers** Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. **Cause and effect** Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Explanations and causes

- ▶ Did the restaurant lose business because of the bad reviews?⁴⁹
- ▶ Did the introduction of emojis cause people to use fewer emoticons?⁵⁰
- ▶ Did the lobbying group's "model legislation" cause the bill to be written differently?⁵¹
- ▶ Did censorship cause people to change spelling?⁵²

⁴⁹Luca 2016.

⁵⁰Pavalanathan and Eisenstein 2016.

⁵¹Burgess et al. 2016.

⁵²Wang, Juffermans, and Du 2016; Stewart, Chancellor, et al. 2017.

The Randomized Controlled Trial (RCT)

The “gold standard” of causal inference.⁵³

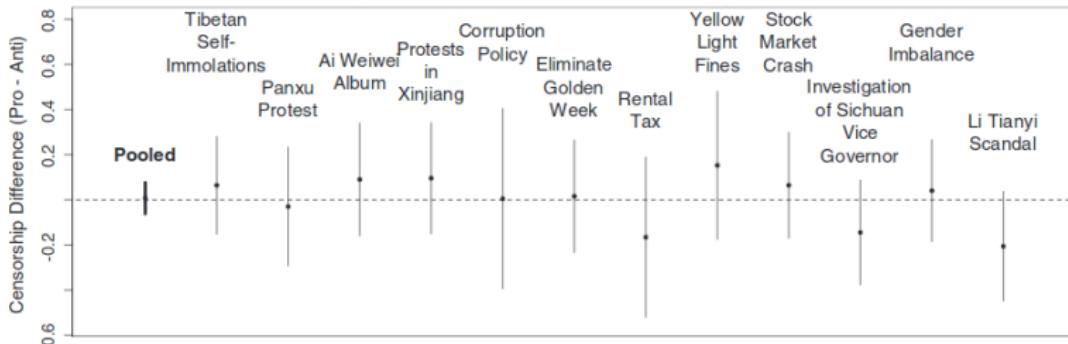
- ▶ Does the **treatment** affect the **outcome**?
The challenge is that each unit (e.g., patient) is either treated or not; we do not observe the counterfactual.
- ▶ Solution: ensure treatment and **control** groups are similar on average, by assigning the treatment randomly.⁵⁴
- ▶ **Average Treatment Effect:** difference in average outcome between the treatment and control groups.

⁵³Rosenbaum 2017.

⁵⁴Further assumptions: treatment of one unit does not affect outcome for another; all treatments are identical.

Example: Censorship in Chinese social media

- ▶ **Treatment:** whether the post is pro- or anti-government
- ▶ **Outcome:** whether the post is censored
- ▶ Many potential **confounds:** previous history of the author, their social network, the platform...
- ▶ Therefore King, Pan, and Roberts (2014) randomly assigned posts to (fake) user accounts.



Problems with RCTs

- ▶ **Impossible:** we cannot randomly assign legislation to be treated with lobbying.
- ▶ **Expensive:** King, Pan, and Roberts (2014) had to hire a team to write 1200 unique social media posts.
- ▶ **Unethical:**⁵⁵ it would be wrong to randomly assign bad reviews to restaurants.
- ▶ **Not representative:** RCTs typically rely on participants who are often drawn from pools that are notoriously different from the larger population.

⁵⁵see also Kramer, Guillory, and Hancock 2014; Verma 2014.

Causation from observation

Impossible in general, but acceptable under some conditions.

A non-exhaustive list of approaches:

- ▶ **Matching:** try to enumerate all covariates, select treatment and control groups to be balanced.⁵⁶
- ▶ **Natural experiments:** identify some exogenous factor that affects probability of treatment but is assigned at random (e.g., the weather).⁵⁷
- ▶ **Interrupted time series:** compare outcome before and after the treatment, correcting for temporal trends.⁵⁸

⁵⁶e.g., De Choudhury et al. 2016; Pavalanathan and Eisenstein 2016.

⁵⁷e.g., Coviello et al. 2014.

⁵⁸Bernal, Cummins, and Gasparrini 2017.

Causation from observation

Impossible in general, but acceptable under some conditions.

A non-exhaustive list of approaches:

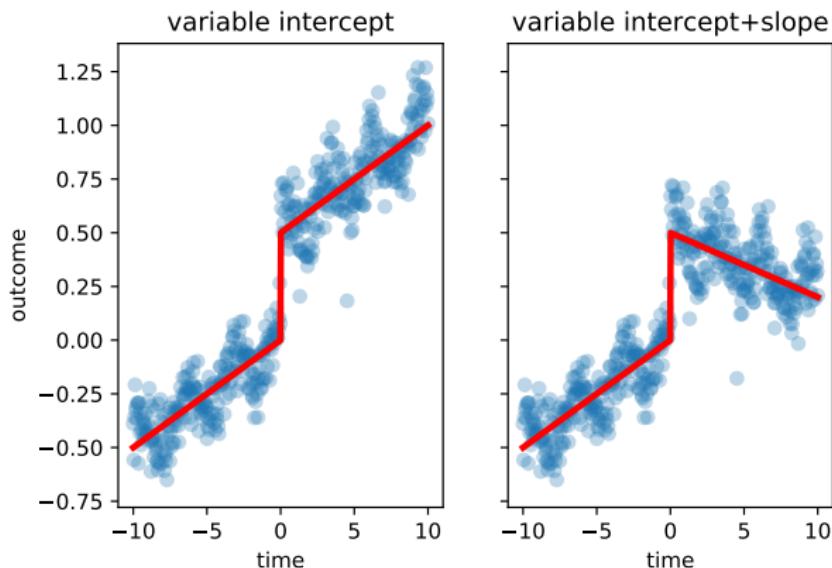
- ▶ **Matching:** try to enumerate all covariates, select treatment and control groups to be balanced.⁵⁶
- ▶ **Natural experiments:** identify some exogenous factor that affects probability of treatment but is assigned at random (e.g., the weather).⁵⁷
- ▶ **Interrupted time series:** compare outcome before and after the treatment, correcting for temporal trends.⁵⁸

⁵⁶e.g., De Choudhury et al. 2016; Pavalanathan and Eisenstein 2016.

⁵⁷e.g., Coviello et al. 2014.

⁵⁸Bernal, Cummins, and Gasparrini 2017.

Interrupted time series schematics



Variable intercept model as segmented regression

$$y_{t,i} \sim f(\beta \cdot \mathbf{x}_{t,i} + \gamma \delta(t > \tau)), \quad (13)$$

where,

- ▶ f is a probability function;
- ▶ $y_{t,i}$ is the outcome for individual i at time t ;
- ▶ $\mathbf{x}_{t,i}$ is a vector of covariates, including t ;
- ▶ β is a vector of parameters;
- ▶ $\delta(t > \tau)$ indicates if t is in the post-treatment period;
- ▶ γ quantifies the causal impact of the treatment on the intercept.

Variable intercept+slope model

$$y_{t,i} \sim f(\beta \cdot \mathbf{x}_{t,i} + \gamma \delta(t > \tau) + \omega \delta(t > \tau)t), \quad (14)$$

where,

- ▶ ω quantifies the causal impact of the treatment on the slope;
- ▶ all other terms are the same as in the variable intercept model.

Assumptions

If $\gamma < 0$, can we conclude that the treatment causes the outcome to decrease? Some assumptions are needed:

- ▶ **Ignorability:** there is no latent covariate that is associated with both the treatment and the outcome.
For example, suppose Reddit's decision to censor hate speech coincided with a widespread internet outage. This concern can be alleviated by adding a control group.
- ▶ **Correct specification:** the functional form of the regression model is correct.
- ▶ **No autocorrelation:** $y_{t,i}$ depends only on the covariates and treatment, and not on $y_{t' < t,i}$. Autocorrelation can usually be tested for and removed.

Replication time!

Replication: does banning hate speech forums reduce the overall amount of hate speech on Reddit?⁵⁹

```
jupyter-notebook DontFeedTheTrolls.ipynb
```

⁵⁹Chandrasekharan et al. 2018.

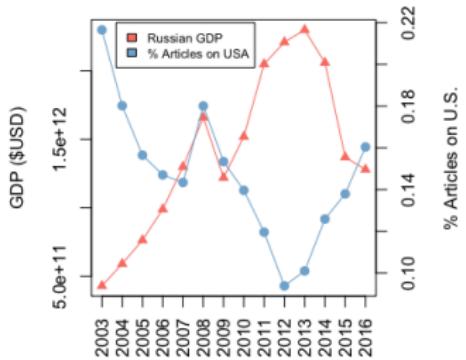
Granger causation

Granger causation is assessed by comparing two predictors of each element in a time series y_t :

1. the previous history $y_{1:t-1}$;
 2. the previous histories $x_{1:t-1}, y_{1:t-1}$.
- ▶ The time series x **Granger-causes** y if prediction 2 is significantly more accurate.
 - ▶ **Warning:** it is possible to have Granger causation without “real” causation. Interpret cautiously!

Granger causation of news coverage

Decline in Russia GDP predicts increase in U.S. news coverage (often with negative frames):⁶⁰



The Russian state media appears to frame U.S. issues strategically to draw attention away from domestic and economic problems.

⁶⁰Field et al. 2018.

Text as cause, text as consequence

Many possible roles for text in causal inference⁶¹:

- ▶ outcome (e.g., hate speech in Reddit);
- ▶ treatment (e.g., pro- or anti-government stance in Chinese social media);⁶²
- ▶ deconfounding;⁶³
- ▶ correcting for missing data and measurement error.⁶⁴

Watch this space!

⁶¹Egami et al. 2018.

⁶²see also Landeiro and Culotta 2018.

⁶³Roberts, Stewart, and Nielsen 2018; Mozer et al. 2018; Veitch, Sridhar, and Blei 2019.

⁶⁴Wood-Doughty, Shpitser, and Dredze 2018.

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. **Cause and effect** Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Outline

- ▶ Motivations and perspectives on language change
- ▶ Practical methods and case studies
 - 1. Word frequency Are you happier on the weekend?
 - 2. Differences Is polarization on the rise?
 - 3. Word meaning When did peers apply pressure?
 - 4. Leaders and followers Who is shaping the debate?
 - 5. Cause and effect Should we feed the trolls?
- ▶ Future directions

Broadening the scope

- ▶ Beyond English⁶⁵
- ▶ Beyond the lexicon
- ▶ New collaborative models

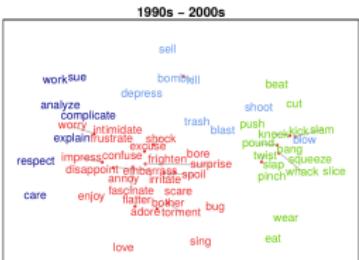
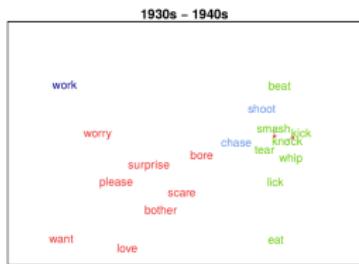
⁶⁵Hamilton, Leskovec, and Jurafsky 2016b; Moscoso del Prado Martin and Brendel 2016; Garley and Hockenmaier 2012.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.

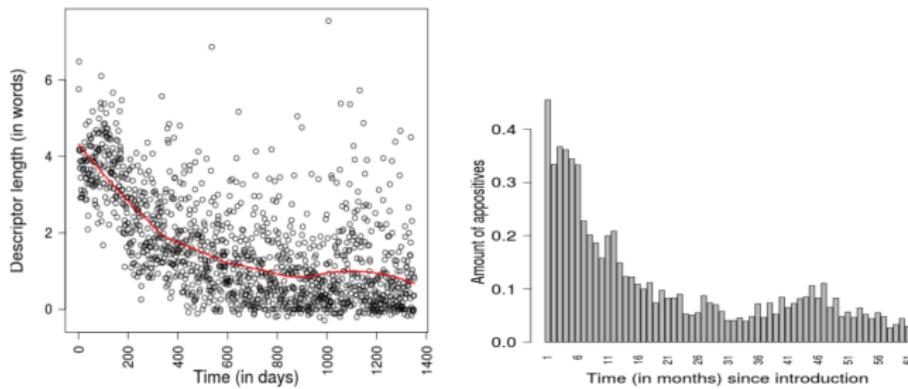
Measuring syntactic change: specific constructions

- ▶ Perek (2014):
 - ▼ the hell out of NP
 - ▶ snakes scare the hell out of me
 - ▶ you drove the hell out of it
 - ▶ Increasing productivity throughout the 20th century, with new cases tending to occur in denser parts of embedding space.
 - ▶ Identifying this construction requires part-of-speech tagging and lemmatization (Schmid 1995).



Forms of referring expressions over entity lifespans

Staliūnaitė et al. (2018): referring expressions reflect information status of entities.



Uses CoreNLP for constituency parsing and coreference.⁶⁶

⁶⁶Manning et al. 2014.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.

How good is syntactic analysis on historical text?

We can assume some transfer loss when moving trained systems to historical text, but how much?

- ▶ There is not much evidence about this, as almost all labeled data is from the 20th century.
- ▶ **English:** Penn Parsed Corpus of Historical English: great resource, but idiosyncratic tagset and purchasing model.
- ▶ **Portuguese:** Tycho Brahe corpus uses a single annotation system over several centuries.⁶⁷

Yang and Eisenstein (2015):
POS error rate doubles for older texts.

The concern: are syntactic effects real, or are they an artifact of changes in tagger performance?

⁶⁷ Galves and Faria 2010.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.
2. Make NLP systems more robust to language change, without labeling thousands of documents.

Construct validity challenges

Construct validity (whether a metric measures a phenomenon correctly) is not just a problem for syntax!

- ▶ We want to use diachronic corpora to make claims, e.g., about changing ideas, beliefs, agendas, etc.
- ▶ Some of these constructs will be visible to the tools we have (which are mostly lexical), some won't.
- ▶ In many historical corpora, digitization creates its own measurement artifacts.⁶⁸
- ▶ Most statistical methodology is designed to quantify uncertainty due to finite samples, not variable measurement error.

⁶⁸Soni, Klein, and Eisenstein 2019.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.
2. Make NLP systems more robust to language change, without labeling thousands of documents.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.
2. Make NLP systems more robust to language change, without labeling thousands of documents.
3. Better account for errors, especially when those errors are unevenly distributed over time.

Toward new collaborative models

- ▶ Many text mining tools are becoming “commoditized.”⁶⁹
- ▶ There are good reasons for practitioners to prefer standard tools (like LDA and LIWC) over bespoke solutions.
- ▶ Yet there remains a need for computationally-augmented access to large-scale corpora **in human terms**:
lexicons, POS patterns, dependency subtrees, . . .

⁶⁹Brooke, Hammond, and Hirst 2015.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.
2. Make NLP systems more robust to language change, without labeling thousands of documents.
3. Better account for errors, especially when those errors are unevenly distributed over time.

Challenges for future work

1. Elaborate the connection between lexical change and other forms of systemic language change.
2. Make NLP systems more robust to language change, without labeling thousands of documents.
3. Better account for errors, especially when those errors are unevenly distributed over time.
4. Allow non-specialists to tell NLP systems what they want without labeling thousands of examples.

Opportunities for computational social science

- ▶ Language changes constantly and reflects societal trends as well as inherent linguistic trends.
- ▶ If you are studying text data, consider looking at the time angle! You could be surprised at what you find.
- ▶ Linguists and social scientists have a lot to offer one another in terms of methods, questions and theory.

Thank you!

Thank you!

- ▶ **Collaborators:** Eshwar Chandrasekharan, Munmun De Choudhury, Fernando Diaz, Lauren F. Klein, Eric Gilbert, Rahul Goel, Naman Goyal, Adam Glynn, Xiaochuang Han, Brendan O'Connor, John Paparrizos, Umashanthi Pavalanathan, Noah A. Smith, Hanna Wallach, Eric Xing, Yi Yang.
- ▶ **Sponsors:** National Endowment for the Humanities, National Science Foundation, National Institutes for Health, Air Force Office of Scientific Research, Google.

References I

-  Antoniak, Maria and David Mimno (2018). "Evaluating the stability of embedding-based word similarities". In: *Transactions of the Association of Computational Linguistics* 6, pp. 107–119.
-  Bamler, Robert and Stephan Mandt (2017). "Dynamic Word Embeddings". In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML)*.
-  Barron, Alexander TJ et al. (2018). "Individuals, institutions, and innovation in the debates of the French Revolution". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115.18, pp. 4607–4612.

References II

-  Bernal, James Lopez, Steven Cummins, and Antonio Gasparrini (2017). "Interrupted time series regression for the evaluation of public health interventions: a tutorial". In: *International journal of epidemiology* 46.1, pp. 348–355.
-  Blundell, Charles, Jeff Beck, and Katherine A Heller (2012). "Modelling Reciprocating Relationships with Hawkes Processes". In: *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems* 25. Ed. by F. Pereira et al. Curran Associates, Inc., pp. 2600–2608.
-  Bouchard-Côté, Alexandre et al. (2013). "Automated reconstruction of ancient languages using probabilistic models of sound change". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, p. 201204678.

References III

-  Brooke, Julian, Adam Hammond, and Graeme Hirst (2015). “GutenTag: an NLP-driven tool for digital humanities research in the Project Gutenberg corpus”. In: *Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop on Computational Linguistics for Literature*, pp. 42–47.
-  Brown, Peter F et al. (1992). “Class-based n-gram models of natural language”. In: *Computational linguistics* 18.4, pp. 467–479.
-  Burgess, Matthew et al. (2016). “The Legislative Influence Detector: Finding Text Reuse in State Legislation”. In: *Proceedings of Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining (KDD)*, pp. 57–66.

References IV

-  Chandrasekharan, Eshwar et al. (2018). "You Can't Stay Here: The Effectiveness of Reddit's 2015 Ban Through the Lens of Hate Speech". In: *Proceedings of Computer-Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*.
-  Coviello, Lorenzo et al. (2014). "Detecting emotional contagion in massive social networks". In: *PloS one* 9.3, e90315.
-  Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Cristian and Lillian Lee (2011). "Chameleons in imagined conversations: A new approach to understanding coordination of linguistic style in dialogs." In: *Proceedings of the ACL Workshop on Cognitive Modeling and Computational Linguistics*.

References V

-  Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Cristian, Robert West, et al. (2013). “No country for old members: User lifecycle and linguistic change in online communities”. In: *Proceedings of the Conference on World-Wide Web (WWW)*, pp. 307–318.
-  D'Arcy, Alexandra (2012). “The diachrony of quotation: evidence from New Zealand English”. In: *Language Variation and Change* 24.3, pp. 343–369.
-  Davies, Mark (2012). “Expanding horizons in historical linguistics with the 400-million word Corpus of Historical American English”. In: *Corpora* 7.2, pp. 121–157.
-  Davies, Mark and Robert Fuchs (2015). “Expanding horizons in the study of World Englishes with the 1.9 billion word Global Web-based English Corpus (GloWbE)”. In: *English World-Wide* 36.1, pp. 1–28.

References VI

-  De Choudhury, Munmun et al. (2016). "Discovering shifts to suicidal ideation from mental health content in social media". In: *Proceedings of Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI)*, pp. 2098–2110.
-  Deerwester, Scott C. et al. (1990). "Indexing by latent semantic analysis". In: *Journal of the American society for information science* 41.6, pp. 391–407.
-  Del Tredici, Marco and Raquel Fernández (2018). "The Road to Success: Assessing the Fate of Linguistic Innovations in Online Communities". In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Computational Linguistics (COLING)*, pp. 1591–1603.

References VII

-  Demszky, Dorottya et al. (2019). "Analyzing Polarization in Social Media: Method and Application to Tweets on 21 Mass Shootings". In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*.
-  Doyle, Gabriel and Michael C Frank (2015). "Shared common ground influences information density in microblog texts". In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*.
-  Du, Nan et al. (2015). "Dirichlet-hawkes processes with applications to clustering continuous-time document streams". In: *Proceedings of Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining (KDD)*, pp. 219–228.

References VIII

-  Dubossarsky, Haim, Daphna Weinshall, and Eitan Grossman (2017). "Outta Control: Laws of Semantic Change and Inherent Biases in Word Representation Models". In: *Proceedings of Empirical Methods for Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*, pp. 1136–1145.
-  Egami, Naoki et al. (2018). "How to make causal inferences using texts". In: *arXiv preprint arXiv:1802.02163*.
-  Eger, Steffen and Alexander Mehler (2016). "On the Linearity of Semantic Change: Investigating Meaning Variation via Dynamic Graph Models". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*, pp. 52–58.
-  Eisenstein, Jacob (2013). "What to do about bad language on the internet". In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*, pp. 359–369.

References IX

-  Eisenstein, Jacob, Amr Ahmed, and Eric P. Xing (2011). “Sparse Additive Generative Models of Text”. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML)*, pp. 1041–1048.
-  Eisenstein, Jacob, Brendan O'Connor, et al. (2014). “Diffusion of Lexical Change in Social Media”. In: *PLoS ONE* 9.
-  Fagyal, Zsuzsanna et al. (2010). “Centers and peripheries: Network roles in language change”. In: *Lingua* 120.8, pp. 2061–2079.
-  Field, Anjalie et al. (2018). “Framing and Agenda-setting in Russian News: a Computational Analysis of Intricate Political Strategies”. In: *Proceedings of the 2018 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing*, pp. 3570–3580.

References X

-  Galves, Charlotte and Pablo Faria (2010). *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese*. <http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus/en/index.html>.
-  Garg, Nikhil et al. (2018). "Word embeddings quantify 100 years of gender and ethnic stereotypes". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115.16, E3635–E3644.
-  Garley, Matt and Julia Hockenmaier (2012). "Beefmoves: dissemination, diversity, and dynamics of English borrowings in a German hip hop forum". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*, pp. 135–139.
-  Gentzkow, Matthew, Jesse Shapiro, and Matt Taddy (2016). *Measuring polarization in high-dimensional data: Method and application to congressional speech*. Tech. rep. 22423. NBER Working Papers.

References XI

-  Gerow, Aaron et al. (2018). "Measuring discursive influence across scholarship". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, p. 201719792.
-  Gerrish, Sean and David M Blei (2010). "A Language-based Approach to Measuring Scholarly Impact". In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML)*, pp. 375–382.
-  Goel, Rahul et al. (2016). "The Social Dynamics of Language Change in Online Networks". In: *The International Conference on Social Informatics (SocInfo)*.
-  Golder, Scott A and Michael W Macy (2011). "Diurnal and seasonal mood vary with work, sleep, and daylength across diverse cultures". In: *Science* 333.6051, pp. 1878–1881.
-  Gomez-Rodriguez, Manuel and Isabel Valera (2018). ICML tutorial, <http://learning.mpi-sws.org/tpp-icml18/>.

References XII

-  Gulordava, Kristina and Marco Baroni (2011). "A distributional similarity approach to the detection of semantic change in the Google Books Ngram corpus." In: *Proceedings of the GEMS 2011 Workshop on GEometrical Models of Natural Language Semantics*. Edinburgh, UK: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp. 67–71.
-  Guo, Fangjian et al. (2015). "The Bayesian Echo Chamber: Modeling social influence via linguistic accommodation". In: *Proceedings of Artificial Intelligence and Statistics (AISTATS)*.
-  Hall, David, Daniel Jurafsky, and Christopher D Manning (2008). "Studying the history of ideas using topic models". In: *Proceedings of Empirical Methods for Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*, pp. 363–371.
-  Hamilton, William L (2016).

References XIII

-  Hamilton, William L, Jure Leskovec, and Dan Jurafsky (2016a). "Cultural shift or linguistic drift? comparing two computational measures of semantic change". In: *Proceedings of the Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing. Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing*. Vol. 2016. NIH Public Access, p. 2116.
-  Hamilton, William, Jure Leskovec, and Dan Jurafsky (2016b). "Diachronic Word Embeddings Reveal Statistical Laws of Semantic Change". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*.
-  Hawkes, Alan G (1971). "Spectra of some self-exciting and mutually exciting point processes". In: *Biometrika* 58.1, pp. 83–90.

References XIV

- Hofman, Jake M, Amit Sharma, and Duncan J Watts (2017). "Prediction and explanation in social systems". In: *Science* 355.6324, pp. 486–488.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes (2012). "Affect, not ideology a social identity perspective on polarization". In: *Public opinion quarterly* 76.3, pp. 405–431.
- Jurgens, David and Keith Stevens (2009). "Event Detection in Blogs using Temporal Random Indexing". In: *Proceedings of the Workshop on Events in Emerging Text Types*. Borovets, Bulgaria: Association for Computational Linguistics, pp. 9–16.

References XV

-  King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E Roberts (2014). "Reverse-engineering censorship in China: Randomized experimentation and participant observation". In: *Science* 345.6199, p. 1251722.
-  Kooti, Farshad et al. (2012). "The Emergence of Conventions in Online Social Networks". In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM)*, pp. 194–201.
-  Kramer, Adam DI, Jamie E Guillory, and Jeffrey T Hancock (2014). "Experimental evidence of massive-scale emotional contagion through social networks". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111.24, pp. 8788–8790.
-  Kulkarni, Vivek et al. (2015). "Statistically Significant Detection of Linguistic Change". In: *Proceedings of the Conference on World-Wide Web (WWW)*, pp. 625–635.

References XVI

-  Kutuzov, Andrey et al. (2018). "Diachronic word embeddings and semantic shifts: a survey". In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Computational Linguistics (COLING)*, pp. 1384–1397.
-  Labov, William (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change*. Vol. 2: Social Factors. Wiley-Blackwell.
-  Landeiro, Virgile and Aron Culotta (2018). "Robust Text Classification under Confounding Shift". In: *Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research* 63, pp. 391–419.
-  Lansdall-Welfare, Thomas et al. (2017). "Content analysis of 150 years of British periodicals". In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114.4, E457–E465.
-  Leech, Geoffrey and Paul Rayson (2014). *Word frequencies in written and spoken English: Based on the British National Corpus*. Routledge.

References XVII

-  Leskovec, Jure, Lars Backstrom, and Jon Kleinberg (2009). "Meme-tracking and the dynamics of the news cycle". In: *Proceedings of Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining (KDD)*, pp. 497–506.
-  Liberman, Mark (2010). *More on culturnomics*. accessed May 2019.
-  Linderman, Scott and Ryan Adams (2014). "Discovering latent network structure in point process data". In: *International Conference on Machine Learning*, pp. 1413–1421.
-  Luca, Michael (2016). "Reviews, reputation, and revenue: The case of Yelp. com". In: *Com (March 15, 2016). Harvard Business School NOM Unit Working Paper 12-016*.

References XVIII

-  Manning, Christopher D. et al. (2014). “The Stanford CoreNLP Natural Language Processing Toolkit”. In: *Proceedings of 52nd Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics: System Demonstrations*, pp. 55–60.
-  Mei, Hongyuan and Jason M Eisner (2017). “The neural hawkes process: A neurally self-modulating multivariate point process”. In: *Neural Information Processing Systems (NIPS)*, pp. 6754–6764.
-  Michel, Jean-Baptiste et al. (2011). “Quantitative analysis of culture using millions of digitized books”. In: *science* 331.6014, pp. 176–182.

References XIX

-  Mihalcea, Rada and Vivi Nastase (2012). "Word epoch disambiguation: Finding how words change over time". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*, pp. 259–263.
-  Mikolov, Tomas, Ilya Sutskever, et al. (2013). "Distributed representations of words and phrases and their compositionality". In: *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems*, pp. 3111–3119.
-  Mikolov, Tomas, Wen-tau Yih, and Geoffrey Zweig (2013). "Linguistic Regularities in Continuous Space Word Representations". In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*, pp. 746–751.
-  Milroy, Lesley (1991). *Language and Social Networks*. 2nd ed. Wiley-Blackwell.

References XX

-  Monroe, Burt L., Michael P. Colaresi, and Kevin M. Quinn (2008). "Fightin'words: Lexical feature selection and evaluation for identifying the content of political conflict". In: *Political Analysis* 16.4, pp. 372–403.
-  Moscoso del Prado Martin, Fermin and Christian Brendel (2016). "Case and Cause in Icelandic: Reconstructing Causal Networks of Cascaded Language Changes". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*, pp. 2421–2430.
-  Mozer, Reagan et al. (2018). "Matching with Text Data: An Experimental Evaluation of Methods for Matching Documents and of Measuring Match Quality". In: *arXiv preprint arXiv:1801.00644*.

References XXI

-  Nguyen, Viet-An et al. (2014). "Modeling topic control to detect influence in conversations using nonparametric topic models". In: *Machine Learning* 95.3, pp. 381–421.
-  Pavalanathan, Umashanthi and Jacob Eisenstein (2016). "More emojis, less :) The Competition for Paralinguistic Functions in Microblog Writing". In: *First Monday* 22.11.
-  Pechenick, Eitan Adam, Christopher M Danforth, and Peter Sheridan Dodds (2015). "Characterizing the Google Books corpus: Strong limits to inferences of socio-cultural and linguistic evolution". In: *PLoS one* 10.10, e0137041.
-  Perek, Florent (2014). "Vector spaces for historical linguistics: Using distributional semantics to study syntactic productivity in diachrony". In: *Proceedings of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL)*, pp. 309–314.

References XXII

-  Peterson, Andrew and Arthur Spirling (2018). "Classification accuracy as a substantive quantity of interest: Measuring polarization in Westminster systems". In: *Political Analysis* 26.1, pp. 120–128.
-  Pierrehumbert, Janet B. (2010). "The dynamic lexicon". In: *Handbook of Laboratory Phonology*. Ed. by A. Cohn, M. Huffman, and C. Fougeron. Oxford University Press, pp. 173–183.
-  Popescu, Octavian and Carlo Strapparava (2015). "Semeval 2015, task 7: Diachronic text evaluation". In: *Proceedings of the 9th International Workshop on Semantic Evaluation (SemEval 2015)*, pp. 870–878.
-  Roberts, Margaret E, Brandon M Stewart, and Richard A Nielsen (2018). *Adjusting for confounding with text matching*.

References XXIII

-  Rosenbaum, Paul R (2017). *Observation and experiment: an introduction to causal inference*. Harvard University Press.
-  Rosenfeld, Alex and Katrin Erk (2018). “Deep Neural Models of Semantic Shift”. In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*, pp. 474–484.
-  Rudolph, Maja and David Blei (2018). “Dynamic Embeddings for Language Evolution”. In: *Proceedings of the 2018 World Wide Web Conference on World Wide Web*. International World Wide Web Conferences Steering Committee, pp. 1003–1011.
-  Schmid, Helmut (1995). “Improvements in Part-of-Speech Tagging with an Application to German”. In: *Proceedings of SIGDAT*.

References XXIV

-  Shmueli, Galit (2010). “To explain or to predict?” In: *Statistical science* 25.3, pp. 289–310.
-  Soni, Sandeep, Lauren F. Klein, and Jacob Eisenstein (2019). “Correcting Whitespace Errors in Digitized Historical Texts”. In: *Proceedings of LaTECH*.
-  Staliūnaitė, Ieva et al. (2018). “Getting to “Hearer-old”: Charting Referring Expressions Across Time”. In: *Proceedings of Empirical Methods for Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*.
-  Stewart, Ian, Stevie Chancellor, et al. (2017). “#anorexia, #anarexia, #anarexyia: Characterizing Online Community Practices with Orthographic Variation”. In: *Proceedings of IEEE Big Data: Workshop on Natural Language Processing for Social Media (SocialNLP)*.

References XXV

-  Stewart, Ian and Jacob Eisenstein (2018). "Making "fetch" happen: The influence of social and linguistic context on the success of lexical innovations". In: *Proceedings of Empirical Methods for Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*.
-  Taddy, Matt (2013). "Multinomial inverse regression for text analysis". In: *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 108.503, pp. 755–770.
-  Tahmasebi, Nina, Lars Borin, and Adam Jatowt (2018). "Survey of Computational Approaches to Diachronic Conceptual Change". In: *arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.06278*.
-  Tang, Xuri (2018). "A state-of-the-art of semantic change computation". In: *Natural Language Engineering* 24.5, pp. 649–676.

References XXVI

-  Tausczik, Yla R and James W Pennebaker (2010). "The psychological meaning of words: LIWC and computerized text analysis methods". In: *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29.1, pp. 24–54.
-  Traugott, Elizabeth Closs and Richard B Dasher (2001). *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge University Press.
-  Tsur, Oren and Ari Rappoport (2015). "Don't Let Me Be# Misunderstood: Linguistically Motivated Algorithm for Predicting the Popularity of Textual Memes." In: *ICWSM*, p. 426.
-  Underwood, Ted, David Bamman, and Sabrina Lee (2018). "The Transformation of Gender in English-Language Fiction". In: *Cultural Analytics*.

References XXVII

-  Veitch, Victor, Dhanya Sridhar, and David M. Blei (2019).
Using Text Embeddings for Causal Inference.
<https://arxiv.org/abs/1905.12741>.
-  Verma, Inder M. (2014). “Editorial Expression of Concern: Experimental evidence of massivescale emotional contagion through social networks”. In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111.29, pp. 10779–10779. eprint:
<https://www.pnas.org/content/111/29/10779.1.full.pdf>.
-  Wang, Xuan, Kasper Juffermans, and Caixia Du (2016). “Harmony as language policy in China: An Internet perspective”. In: *Language Policy* 15.3, pp. 299–321.

References XXVIII

-  Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov, and Marvin Herzog (1968). “Empirical foundations for a theory of language change”. In: *Directions for historical linguistics*. Ed. by W. P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel. University of Texas Press, pp. 97–188.
-  Wendlandt, Laura, Jonathan K. Kummerfeld, and Rada Mihalcea (2018). “Factors Influencing the Surprising Instability of Word Embeddings”. In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*, pp. 2092–2102.
-  Wijaya, Derry Tanti and Reyyan Yeniterzi (2011). “Understanding semantic change of words over centuries”. In: *Proceedings of the 2011 international workshop on DETecting and Exploiting Cultural diversiTy on the social web*. ACM, pp. 35–40.

References XXIX

-  Wood-Doughty, Zach, Ilya Shpitser, and Mark Dredze (2018). “Challenges of Using Text Classifiers for Causal Inference”. In: *Proceedings of Empirical Methods for Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*, pp. 4586–4598.
-  Yang, Yi and Jacob Eisenstein (2015). “Unsupervised Multi-Domain Adaptation with Feature Embeddings”. In: *Proceedings of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics (NAACL)*.