

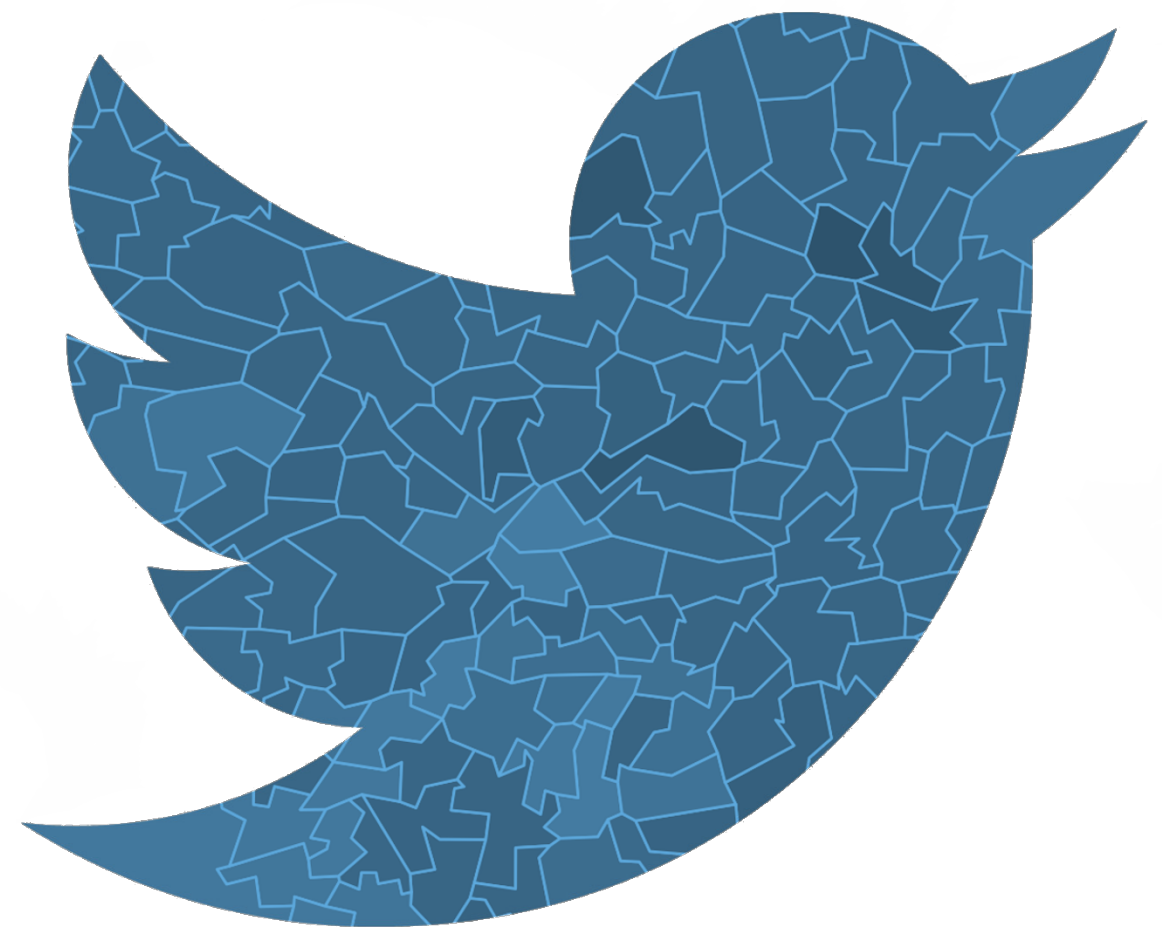
# **Tweetin' in your own voice**

## **Parallels between written and spoken (ing)**

**George Bailey**  
***University of York***

NWAV 49, University of Texas at Austin

23 October 2021



# This study

## cross-modal variation



phonetics



orthography

# Language variation and change on Twitter

A range of topics have been addressed using Twitter as a source of sociolinguistic data

Tracing lexical innovations

(Grieve, Nini & Guo 2017)

Morphosyntactic variation

(Stevenson 2016; Willis 2020)

Stylistic variation in orthography

(Ilbury 2019)

Written form of sociophonetic variables

(Eisenstein 2015; Tatman 2016)

# Language variation and change on Twitter

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Morphosyntactic  
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(Stevenson 2016;  
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sociophonetic  
variables

(Eisenstein 2015;  
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# Dialect writing

- *Dialect writing*: The representation of a ‘non-standard’ dialect in written form, involving one or more of the following:
  - dialectal lexis
  - dialectal morphosyntactic structures
  - dialectal ‘respellings’ to reflect phonological features

(Honeybone & Maguire 2020)



- Found across a range of texts, including poetry, novels, cartoons, tourist souvenirs, and **tweets**
- Studies of dialect writing lend insights into cultural salience of linguistic features, identity construction, and dialect enregisterment (Agha 2007)

# Wider context

Already established parallels in regional patterns of sociophonetic variation and phonetically-motivated orthography

## DIALECT WRITING AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND



EDITED BY  
PATRICK HONEYBONE  
AND  
WARREN MAGUIRE

**The graphical representation of phonetic dialect features of the North of England on social media**, in collaboration with:

- Andrea Nini (University of Manchester)
- Diansheng Guo (University of South Carolina)
- Jack Grieve (University of Birmingham)

**some examples...**



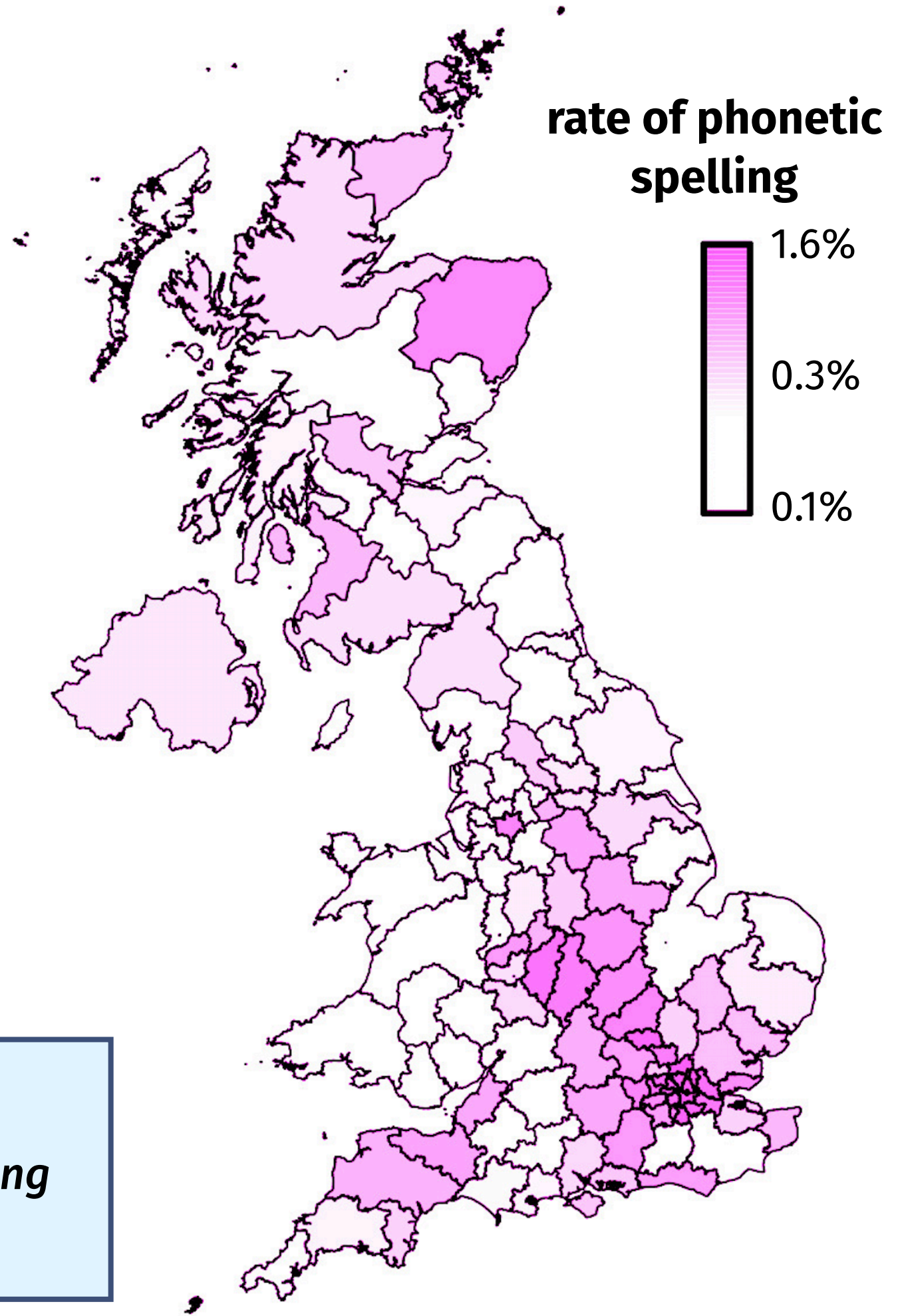
# TH-stopping

e.g. *then* [θ̥ɛn] ~ *den* [dɛn]

- Strong ties to Multicultural London English but more strongly associated with performance of ethnic rather than regional identity (Drummond 2018)
- **On Twitter:** most frequent in London but also areas of the Midlands and Manchester

## Example tweets:

- *fam dis trip every day is jus a long ting*
- *dese man jus vexing my life*



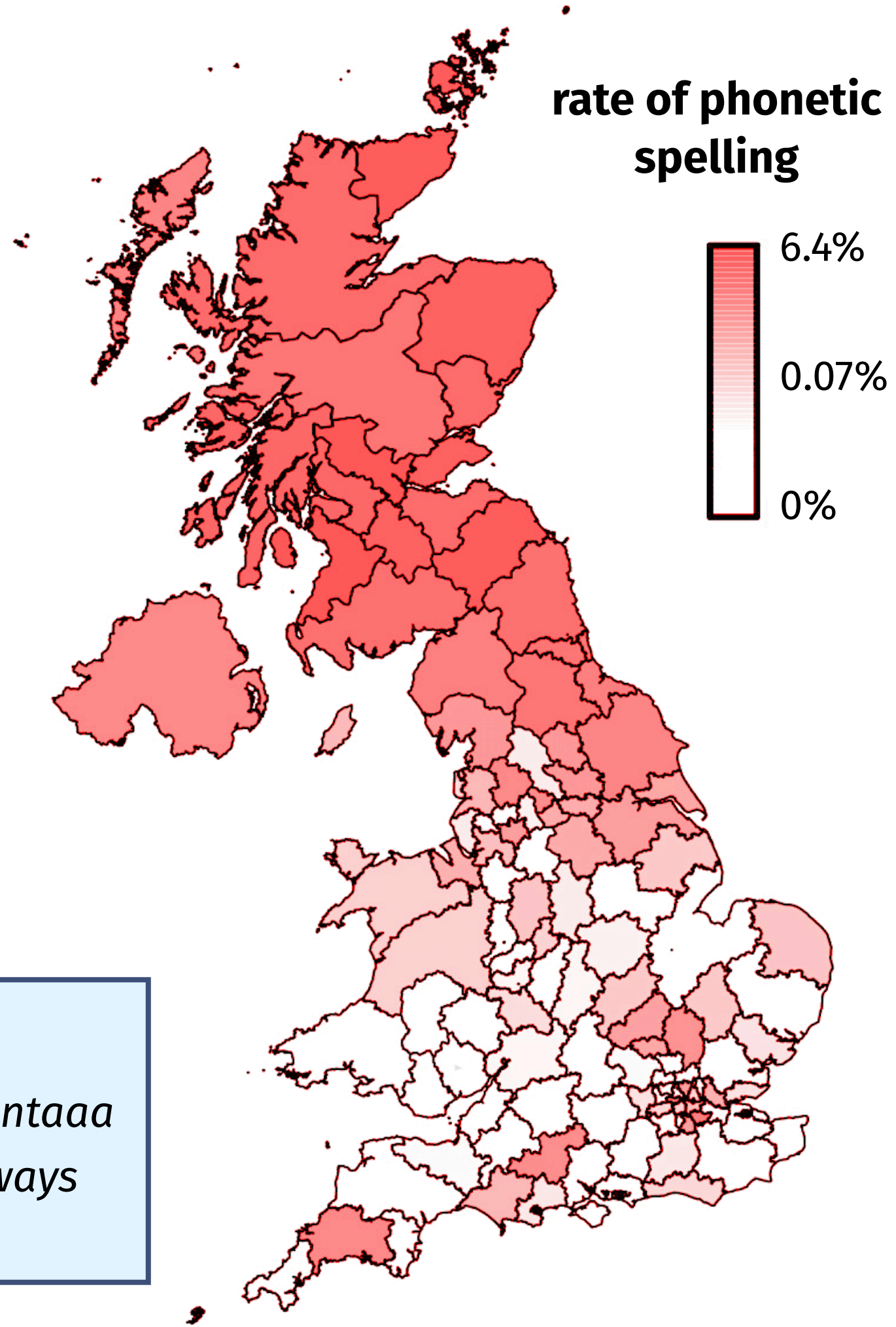
# MOUTH as /uː/

e.g. *down* [daun] ~ *doon* [duːn]

- Retention of /uː/ in MOUTH characteristic of Tyneside English (Hughes et al. 2012) and Scots (Johnston 1997)
- **On Twitter:** highest rates found in North East England, and Scotland

## Example tweets:

- *I miss you too and the **doon toon** bantaaa*
- *Was going to go for a nap but as always **coouncil** are cutting the grass*





# 'Dialect writing' on Twitter

Investigated regional patterns for the following variables:

T-to-R

HAPPY-laxing

(h)-dropping

MOUTH as /uː/

LETTER-backing

(th)-fronting

FOOT-STRUT split

g-dropping

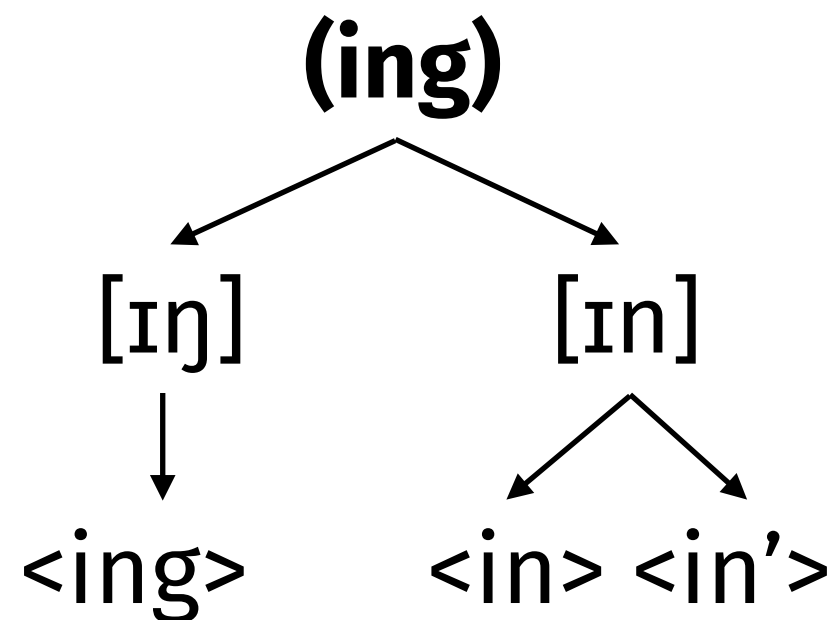
(th)-stopping

vowel reduction

consonant  
reduction

# This study

g-dropping



To what extent do the factors influencing (ing) variation **in speech** also play a role in this **orthographic** (ing) variation?

# (ing)

- Very well-studied in speech, in both American and British varieties of English
- The ‘staple’ sociolinguistic variable (Hazen 2006) with many conditioning factors:

## part of speech

- ‘Nominal-verbal continuum’ widely reported
- General trend: more nominal categories favour **-ing**, more verbal categories favour **-in**
- Attested in American English (Labov 2001, Forrest 2017), British English (Houston 1985, Tagliamonte 2004), Australian English (Shnukal 1982) and New Zealand English (Bell & Holmes 1992)

# (ing)

- Very well-studied in speech, in both American and British varieties of English
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## region

- *-in* said to be favoured in the North of England and Scotland (Labov 2001: 90)
- Regional pattern mirrors isogloss for regions that first underwent *-inde* → *-ynge* replacement in OE/ME period (Houston 1985, 1991; Moore et al. 1935)

# (ing)

- Very well-studied in speech, in both American and British varieties of English
- The ‘staple’ sociolinguistic variable (Hazen 2006) with many conditioning factors:

## phonological environment

- Regressive assimilation: **-in** favoured before **alveolar** consonants, **-ing** favoured before **velar** consonants
- Progressive dissimilation: **-in** favoured after **velar** consonants, **-ing** favoured after **alveolar** consonants
- Fully (or at least partially) attested in many varieties (Houston 1985; Shuy et al. 1968; Cofer 1972; Watts 2005; Schleef et al. 2011; Bailey 2018)



# (ing)

- Very well-studied in speech, in both American and British varieties of English
- The ‘staple’ sociolinguistic variable (Hazen 2006) with many conditioning factors:

## lexical frequency

- Evidence that **-in** is favoured in ‘everyday’ words, disfavoured in ‘specialised’ or ‘learned’ words (Wald & Shopen 1981; Tagliamonte 2004)
- No effect of frequency in Philadelphia (Abramowicz 2007), Edinburgh or London (Schleef et al. 2011), but significant effect reported in Raleigh, NC (Forrest 2017)

# Methodology

# Corpus creation

- Tweets collected in a 4-month period in 2016 using the Streaming API
  - sample of all tweets sent in real time, no filter on content
  - only geotagged tweets sent from within the UK
  - filtered out tweets sent from bot accounts (e.g. automated weather forecasts, traffic updates etc)
  - **16 million tweets ~ 183 million words**
- Ran each tweet through automated POS tagger
  - **twitie-tagger** (Derczynski et al. 2013) uses the Penn Treebank tagset
  - 91% accuracy rate, can deal with Twitter-specific 'words' such as `https://` hyperlinks, `@` usernames and `#` hashtags

# Data collection

- Python script to extract (ing) tokens: search for all words ending with <in> or <ing>
- Cross-referenced with CMU pronouncing dictionary to check phonemic transcription ends in IH0/AH0 /ɪ, ə/ then N/NG /n, ŋ/
- Still lots of false positives:
  - names (e.g. *Dustin*, *Turing*) and polysemy (e.g. *puffin*, the bird!)
- Semi-automated cleaning:
  - removed individual words, and tokens in tweet-medial position where only the initial character is capitalised
- Each token coded for POS, audience (open vs. @-reply), preceding/following 'segment' (based on CMU pronouncing dictionary), and lexical frequency (based on SUBTLEX-UK corpus)

# Results



# Overview

4.4 million tokens of (ing)

**<-ing>**

~4,300,000

98.27%

**<-in>**

~69,000

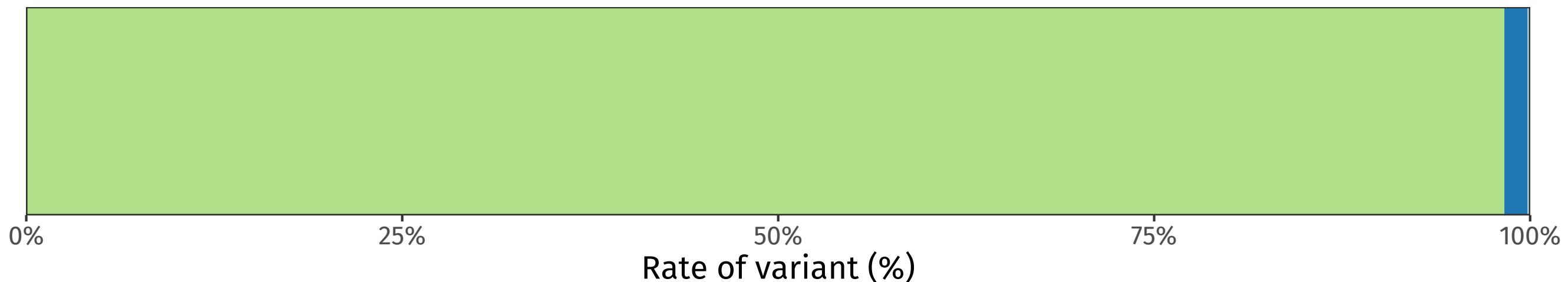
1.56%

**<-in'>**

~7,000

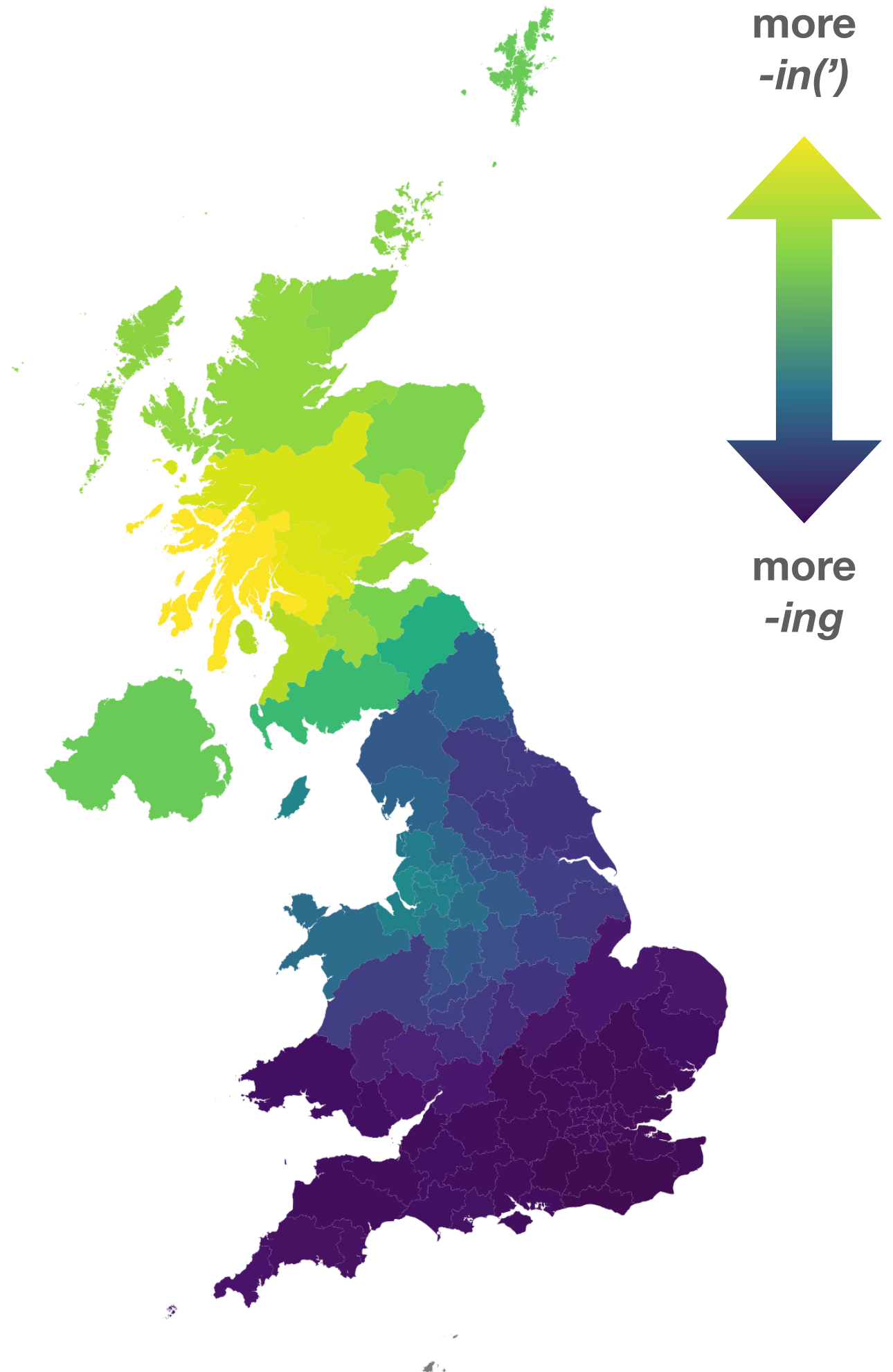
0.16%

Variant  <-ing>  <-in>  <-in'>



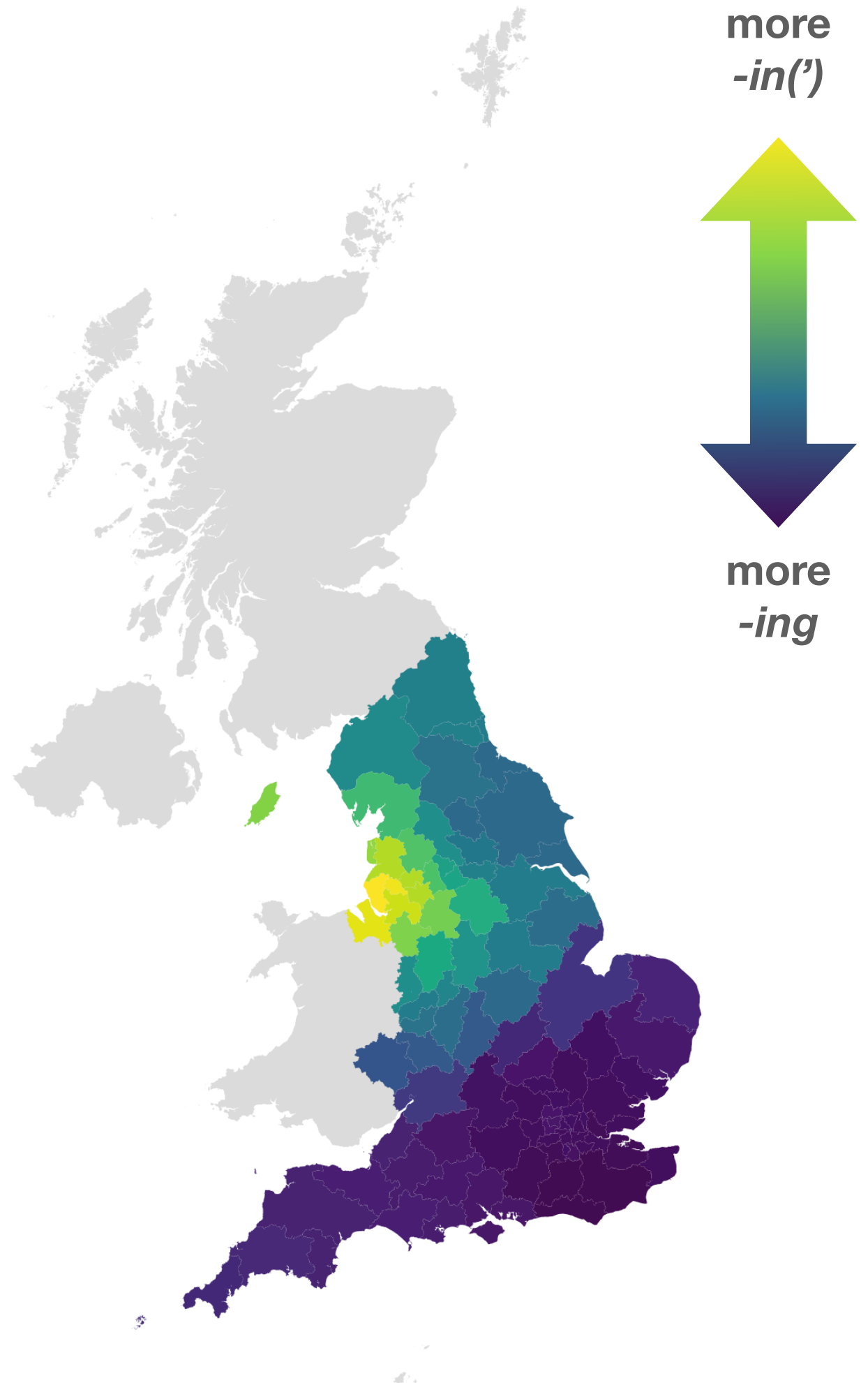
# Region

- Hotspot analysis based on Getis-Ord  $G_i^*$  local spatial autocorrelation
- Regional pattern mirrors that of spoken (ing)
- Highest rates of *-in* found in Scotland and the North of England



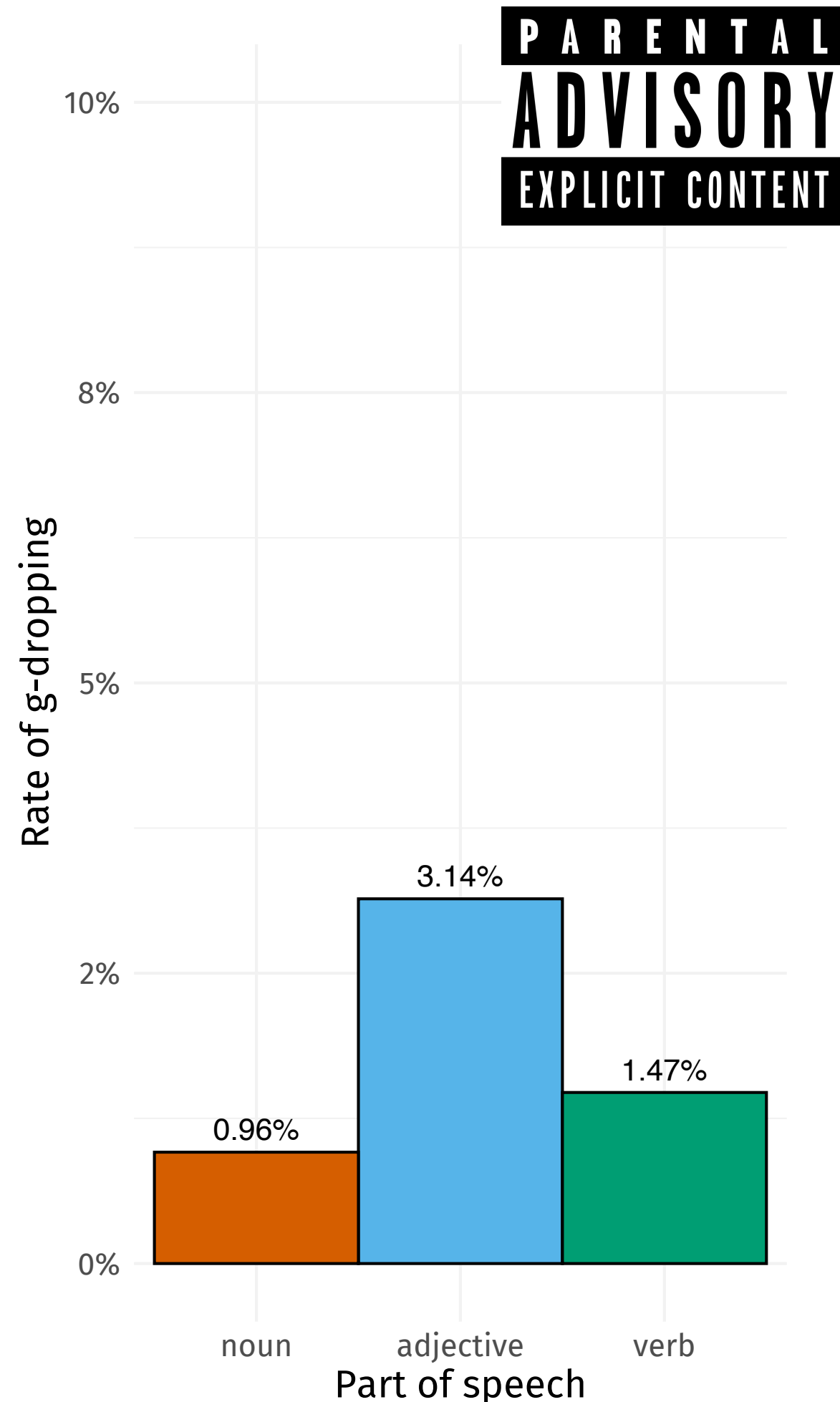
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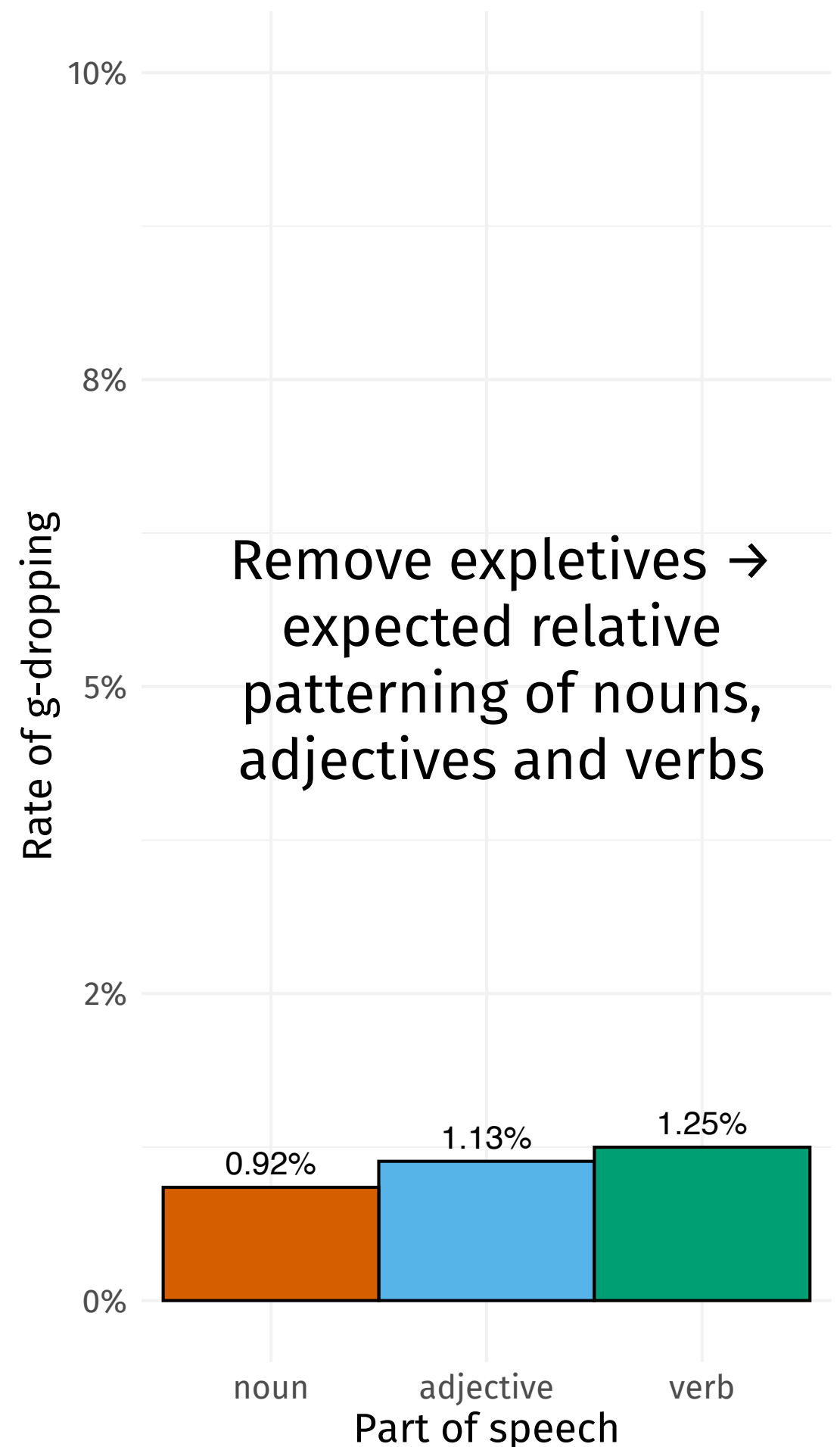
# Part of speech

- More *-in* found in verbs (N=3.4m) than nouns (N=600k), mirroring the spoken variable
- But adjectives (N=300k) show a surprisingly high rate of g-dropping
- Driven by *expletives* tagged as adjectives: *fucking, motherfucking, freaking, frigging, fricking*



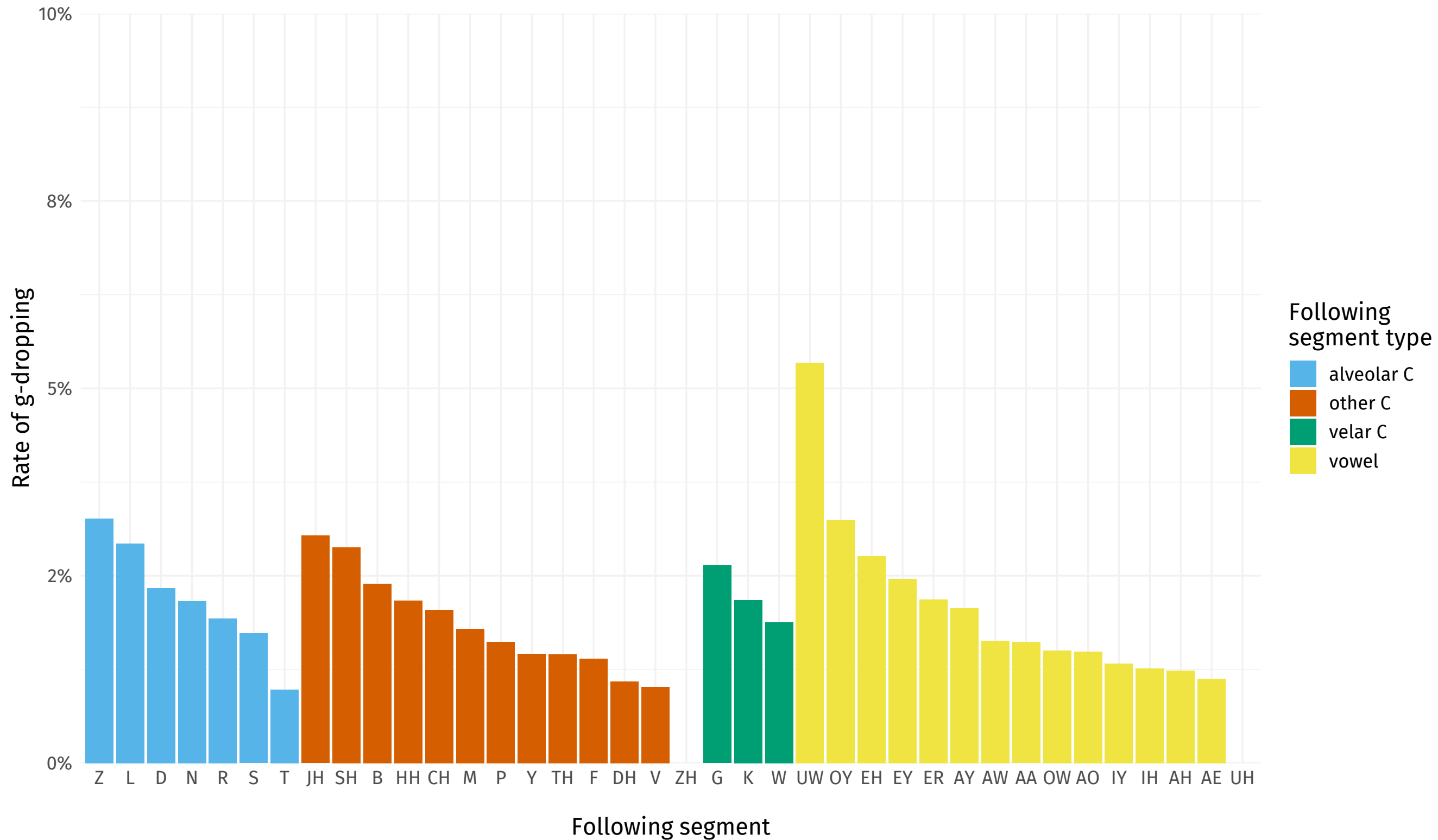
# Part of speech (SFW)

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- But adjectives (N=300k) show a surprisingly high rate of g-dropping
- Driven by *expletives* tagged as adjectives: *fucking, motherfucking, freaking, frigging, fricking*
- Small effect, but this mirrors work in BrEng anyway (Watts 2005 in Colshaw and Wilmslow, Bailey 2018 in Manchester and Blackburn, Schleef et al. 2011 in Edinburgh and London)



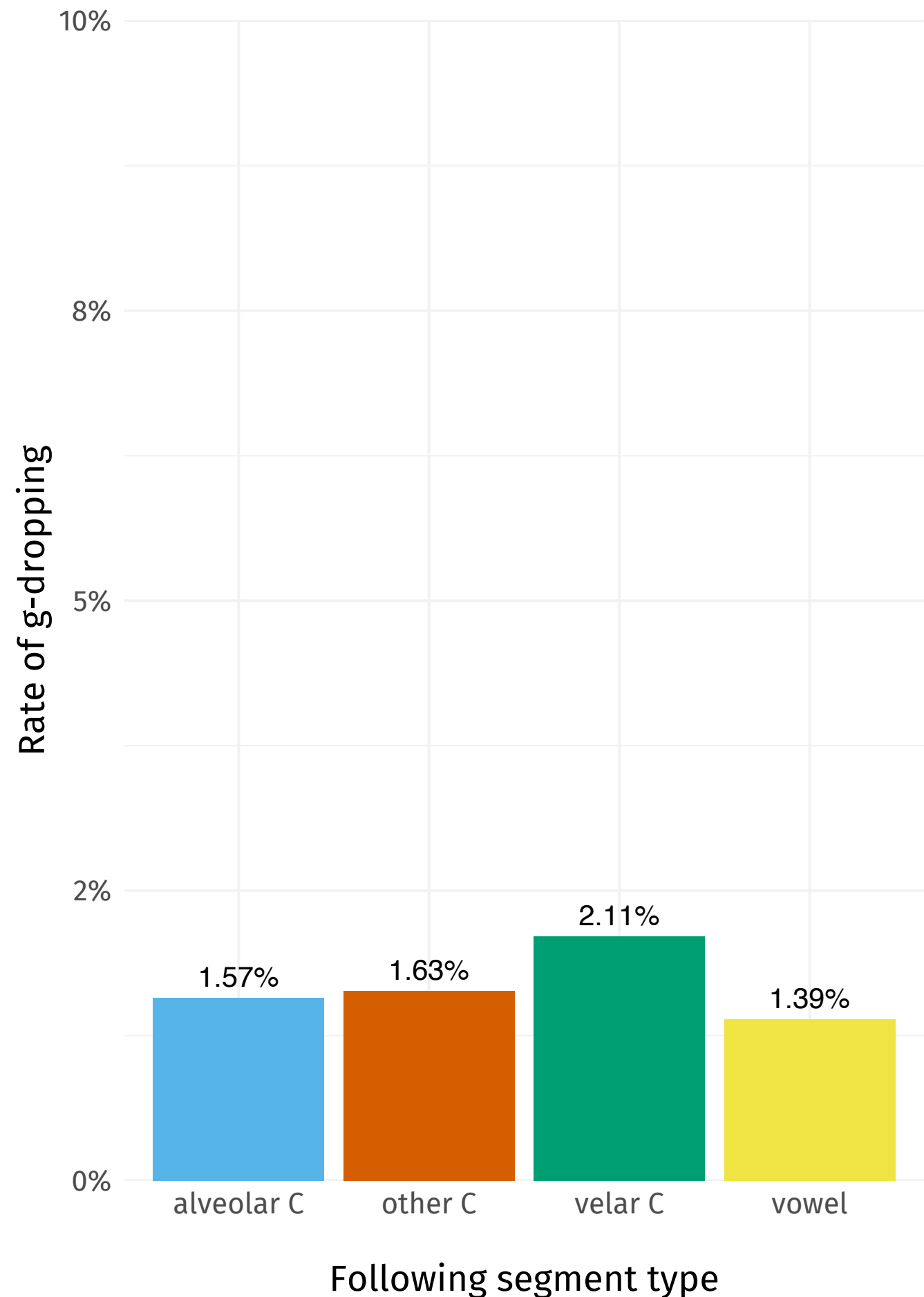


# Following 'segment'

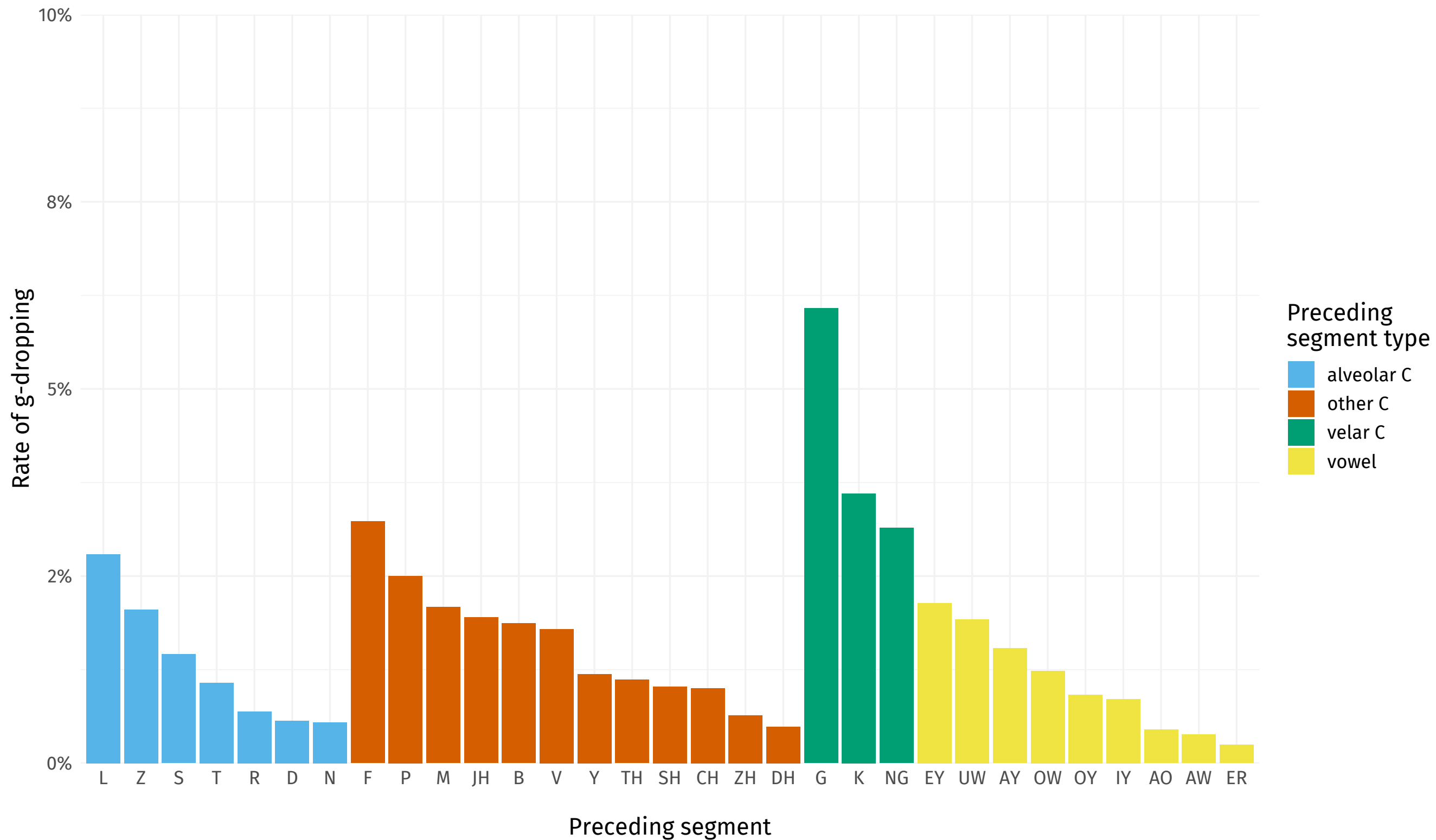


# Following 'segment'

- Not really an effect of following 'segment'
- Slightly more *-in* before velar-initial words, contrary to results in speech

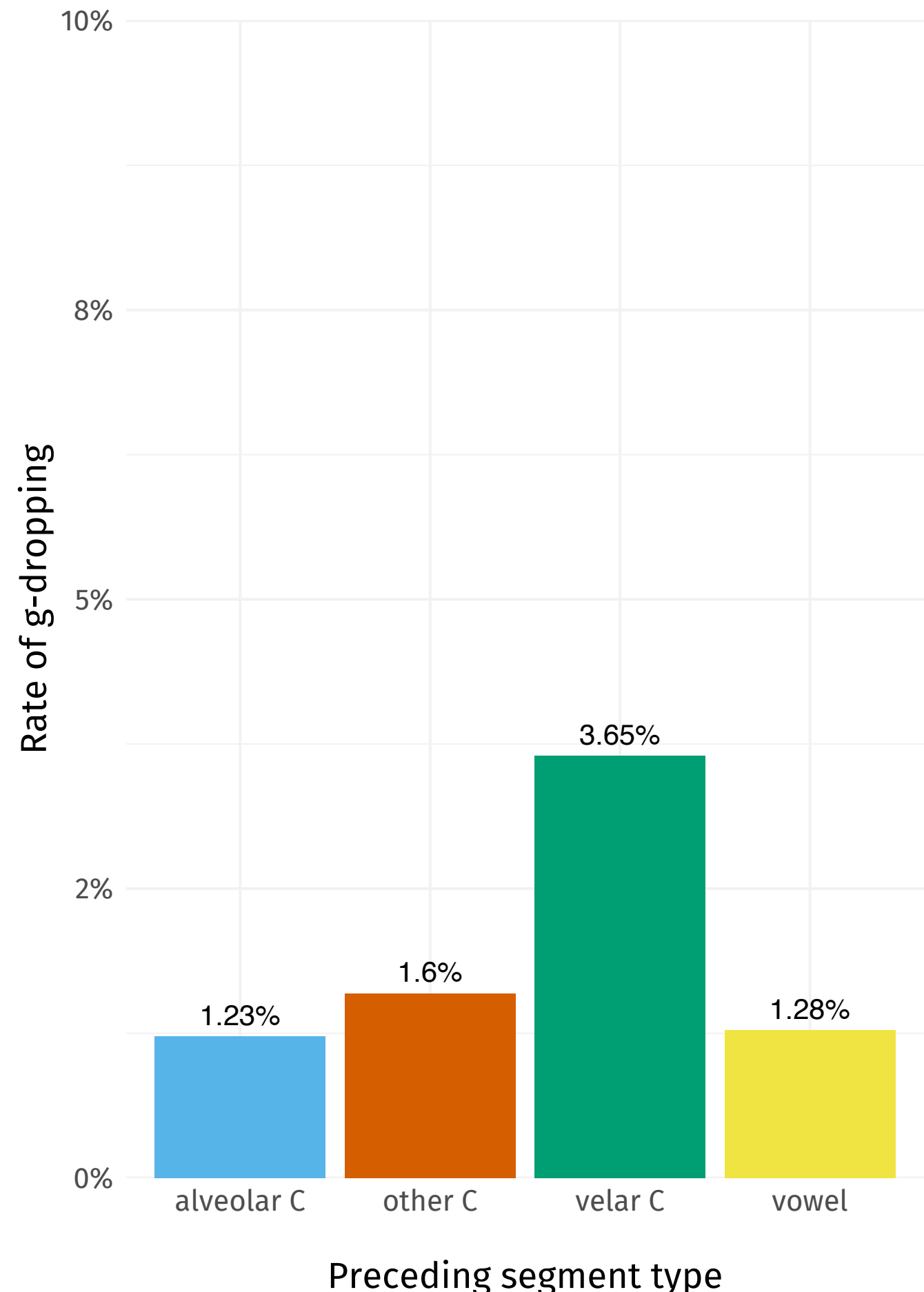


# Preceding 'segment'



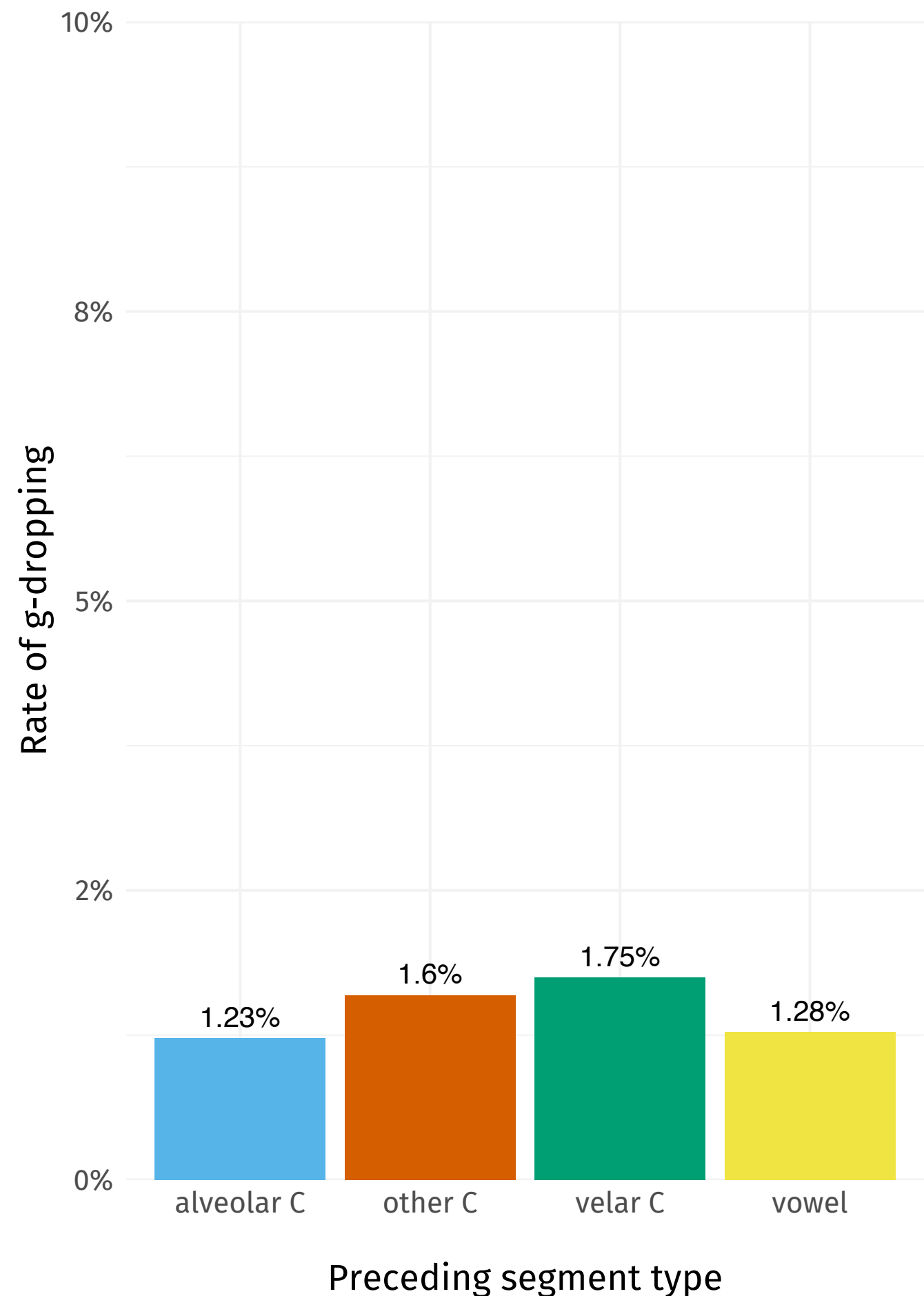
# Preceding 'segment'

- Evidence for a preceding segment effect, with more *-in* after velar consonants
- Why would we even expect this effect in written (ing)?
- Stronger effect for *preceding* segment, which is word internal, may reflect phonetically-rich representations at the word level



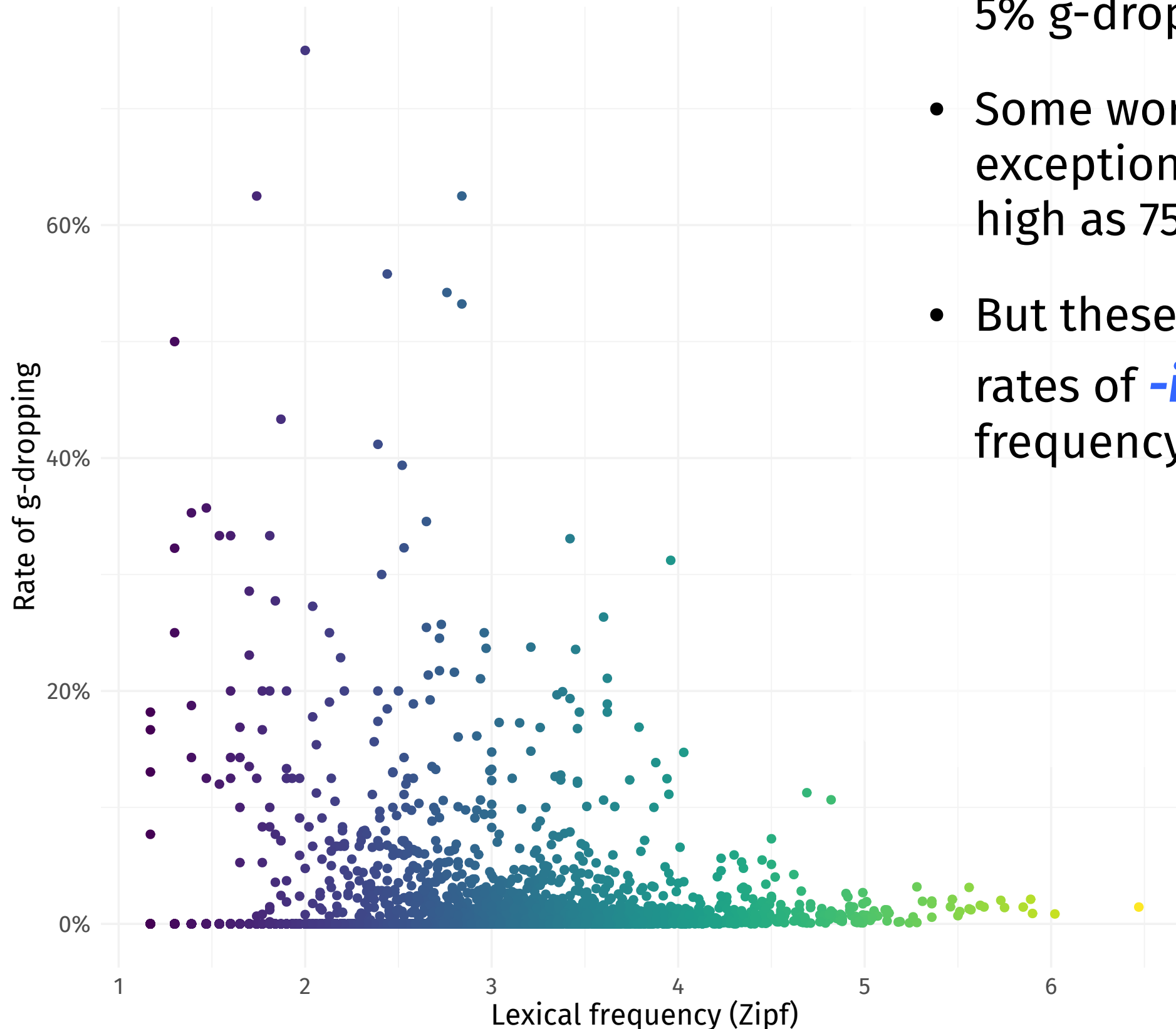
# Preceding 'segment'

- Remove expletives and this effect becomes much smaller in magnitude



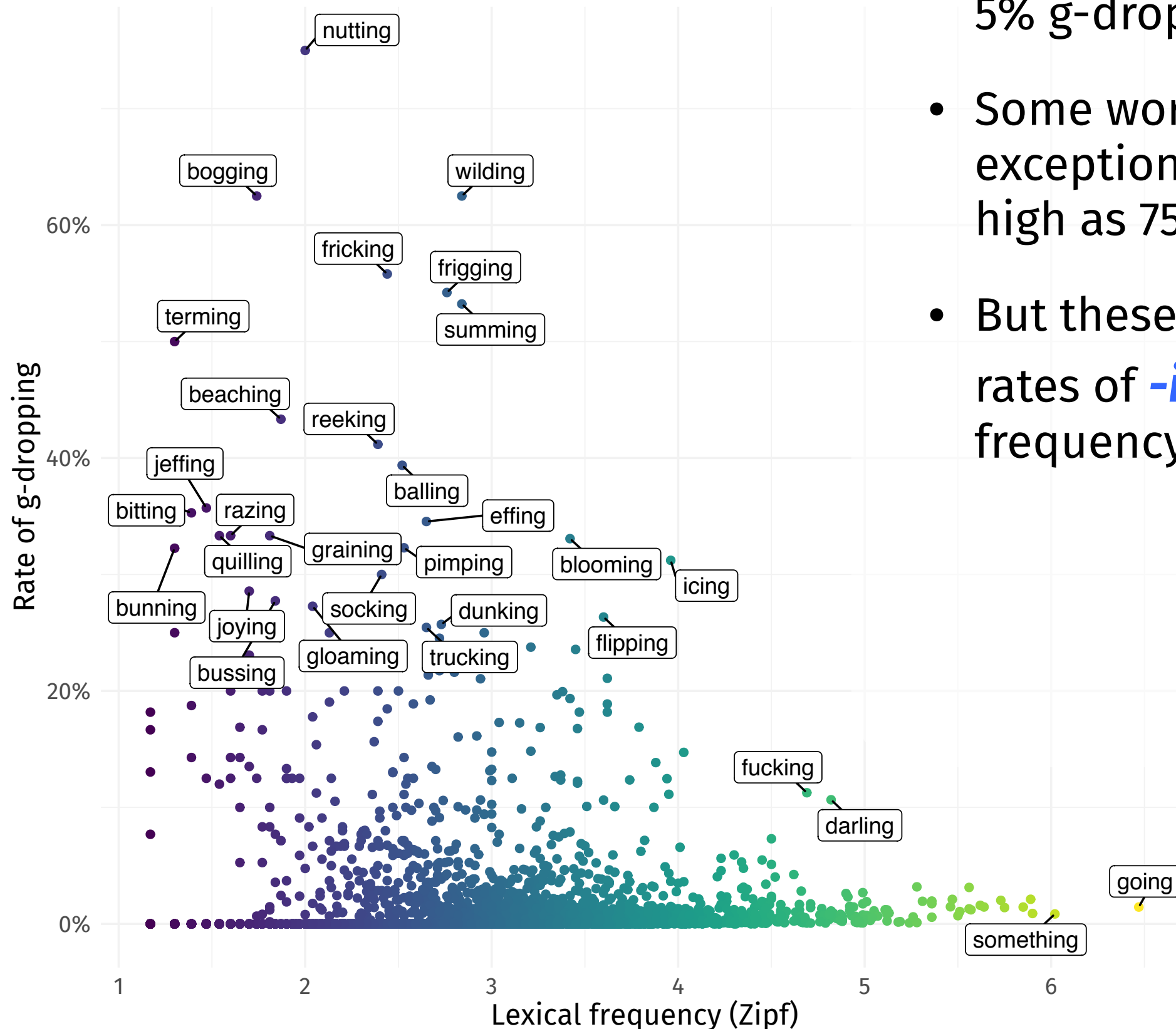


# Lexical frequency



- Most words have between 0–5% g-dropping overall
- Some words show exceptionally high rates, as high as 75%
- But these words with highest rates of *-in* tend to be *lower* frequency

# Lexical frequency



- Most words have between 0–5% g-dropping overall
- Some words show exceptionally high rates, as high as 75%
- But these words with highest rates of *-in* tend to be *lower* frequency:

- *nuttin'*
- *boggin'*
- *wildin'*
- *summin'*
- *reekin'*
- *ballin'*
- *bussin'*

# Co-variation

- Some of these forms represent co-variation between (ing) and other sociophonetic variables
  - ▶ (ing) and **(th)-stopping** in *nothing* → <**nuttin**>



Got **nuttin** but positive vibes



hope they lose again, got **nuttin** against them but their fans are annoying

# Co-variation

- Some of these forms represent co-variation between (ing) and other sociophonetic variables
  - ▶ (ing) and **(th)-dropping** in *something* → <**summin**>



Gettin told **summin** bad when your at work is not what u want

- Much lower rates of **-in** when used as the verb *summing*:



Woeful defending **summing** up our season. Out of our hands now

# Conclusions

- Evidence for systematic (ing) variation on Twitter, but only *some* parallels between phonetic and orthographic variation
- Linguistic constraints play only a minor role, suggesting that social factors might be more central in cross-modal variation
- Stylistic nature of g-dropping on Twitter quite performative compared with its relatively low social profile in British English (Levon & Fox 2014)
- g-dropping rarely used in isolation but rather as part of a wider stylistic repertoire with other phonetic spellings in a socially meaningful way

# Thanks for watchin'



Tweet



@grbails

[george.bailey@york.ac.uk](mailto:george.bailey@york.ac.uk)