# Tuiteamos o pongamos un tuit?



Comparing social factors in loanword integration on social media



Ian Stewart Georgia Institute of Technology 22 Sept 2020



## Loanwords in linguistics

Speakers of different languages often borrow words and phrases as a result of cultural contact (Haspelmath 2009), Which spurs language **change** (Poplack and Dion 2012).

A speaker's use of **loanwords** can reveal their phonological expectations (Kang 2011), L2 ability (Poplack 1988), and cultural expectations (Zenner et al. 2012).

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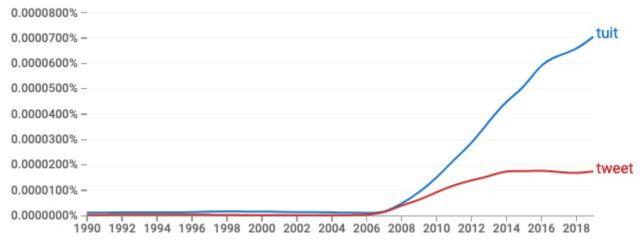


Diccionario de la lengua española Edición del Tricentenario Actualización 2019

#### tuit

#### Del ingl. tweet.

1. m. Mensaje digital que se envía a través de la red social Twitter® y que no puede rebasar un número limitado de caracteres.



#### Loanwords vs. code-switching

Loanwords are distinct from **code-switching**, which is the alternation between multiple varieties in the same utterance (Haspelmath 2009).

A loanword acts as an independent unit that follows the matrix language's grammar.

yo veo <u>un tweet</u> ≠ yo veo <u>a tweet</u>

#### Loanword integration

Speakers do not always adopt loanwords "as-is" but often **integrate** them to align to their native language grammar (Kang 2011).

- phonology (football => fútbol)
- morphology (tweet => tweetear)
- syntax (cool => los sombreros cools)

While loanwords' phonology is integrated gradually (Poplack et al. 1988), their morphology is integrated "instantly" (Poplack et al. 2012).

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#### less integrated

poner un tweet

(send a tweet)

<u>tweet</u>ear

(tweet)

more integrated

## Loanword integration: dynamic?

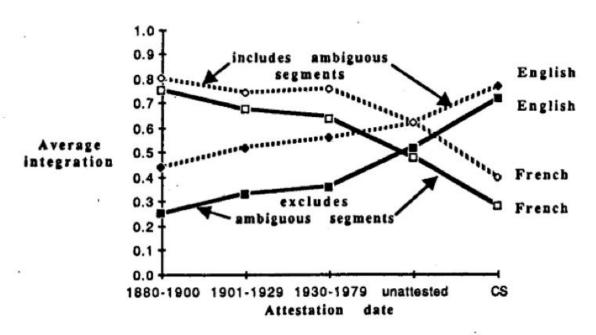


Figure 7. Average integration into French and English of loanwords of varying dates of attestation compared with unattested borrowings and code-switches

Poplack et al. (1988)

Older loanwords may be more **well-known** globally and therefore more likely to be integrated.

## Loanword integration: dynamic?

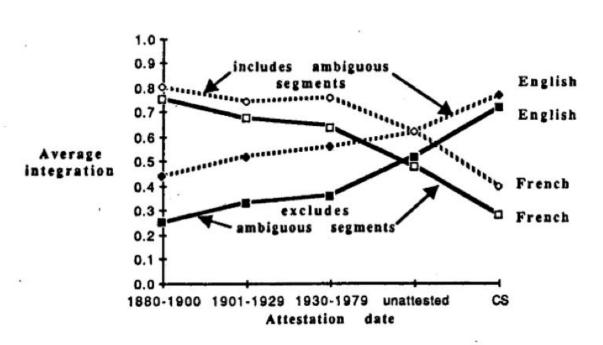
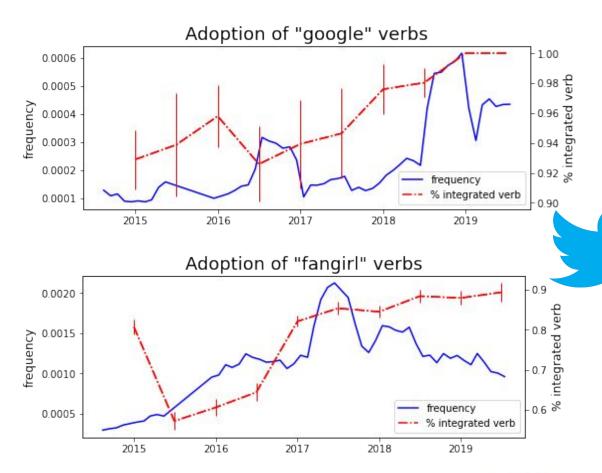


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#### Loanword integration: social factors?

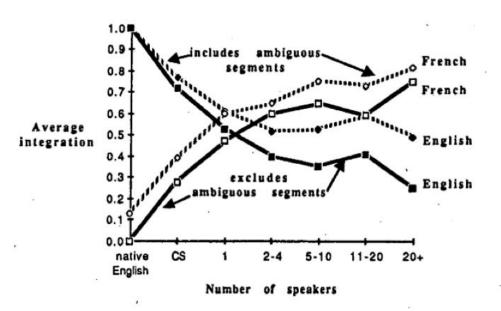


Table 3. Tendency toward phonological integration by proficiency in English<sup>26</sup>

| Proficiency in English | Tendency to integrate: |            |          | N  |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------|----------|----|
|                        | Low (%)                | Medium (%) | High (%) |    |
| Low                    | 17                     | 32         | 51       | 71 |
| High                   | 37                     | 49         | 14       | 49 |

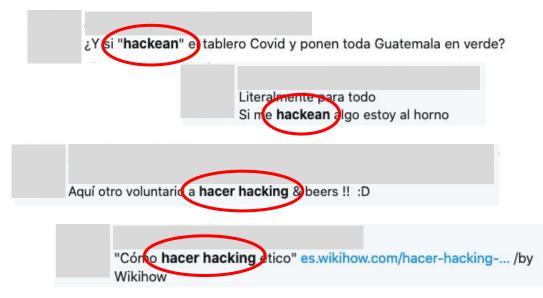
Figure 6. Average integration into French and English of loanwords used by varying numbers of speakers, compared with code-switches and native usage

Poplack et al. (1988)

Speaker-level social factors may also play a role in loanword integration! E.g. social acceptance and language ability.

## Formal register?





https://www.elsoldemexico.com.mx/mexico/justicia/hackean-cuenta-de-twitter-de-alcaldia-de-coyoacan-4067223.html

Loanword integration is often viewed as a **natural** process for native speakers (Poplack and Dion 2012), may represent more **formal register**.

## Formal register?



Literalmente para todo
Si me hackean algo estoy al horno

Aquí otro voluntarid a hacer hacking & beers !! :D

"Córko hacer hacking etico" es.wikihow.com/hacer-hacking-... /by
Wikihow

Loanword integration is often viewed as a **natural** process for native speakers (Poplack and Dion 2012), may represent more **formal register**.

1. Does loanword integration correlate with formal or informal writing domain?

#### Speaker factors?

Speakers who feel more aligned to their **native language's culture** (Lev-Ari and Peperkamp 2014) may also adhere to more formal language standards.

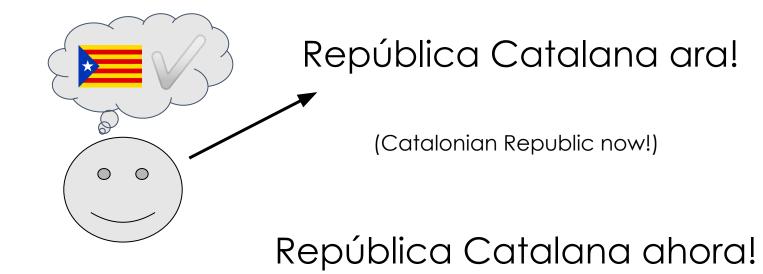
If integration is considered more formal, then more **pro-native culture speakers** may use integrated verbs more often.

#### Speaker factors: social attitudes

Positive or negative evaluation that a speaker expresses regarding a social group to which they belong or don't belong (Olson and Zanna 1993).

Multilingual speakers may choose between languages based on attitudes connected to culture (Auer 2013).

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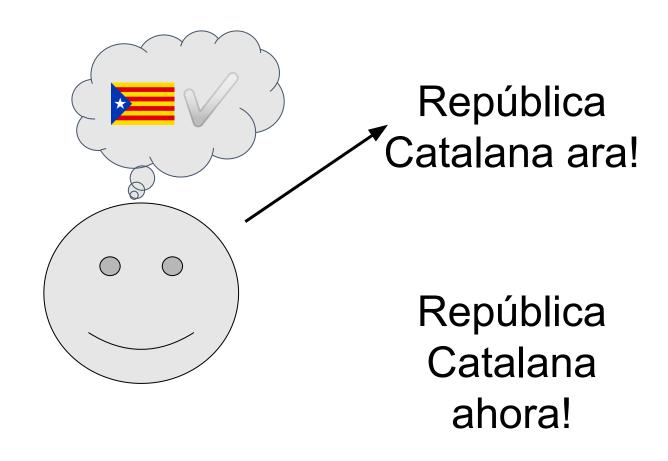
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2. What (a) demographic and (b) attitude-related speaker attributes explain integration in loanwords and native words?

#### Social attitudes



A multilingual speaker's choice of language can reflect their **attitudes** about other social groups (Auer 2013); not easily quantified in spoken studies.

## Study goals

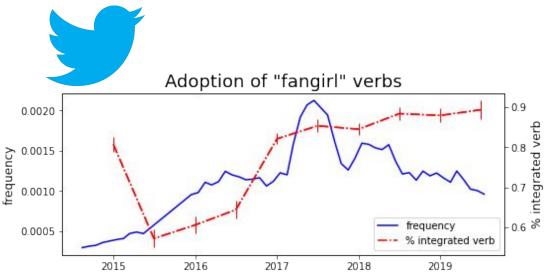
RQ1: Does loanword integration correlate with formal or informal writing domain?

RQ2: Which (a) demographic and (b) attitude-related speaker attributes explain integration in loanwords and native words?

#### Data

In spoken language (e.g. interviews), loanwords are often rare (Poplack and Dion 2012), difficult to study from a quantitative social perspective.

**Social media** provides (1) a large **volume** of data to sample loanword use and (2) rich **background** for speakers, e.g. sociolinguistic background.



We focus on alternation between integrated loanword verbs and light verb constructions (tweetear vs. poner un tweet).

We need a **control** condition to determine whether social factors affect just loanwords or **verb** integration in general.

Data goal: identify loanword verb pairs and **native verb** verb pairs.

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less integrated

poner un tweet

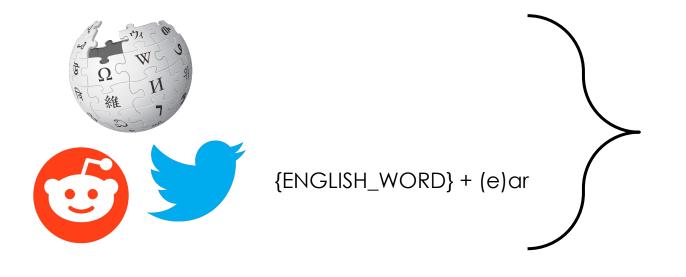
hacer la compra

<u>tweet</u>ear

comprar

more integrated



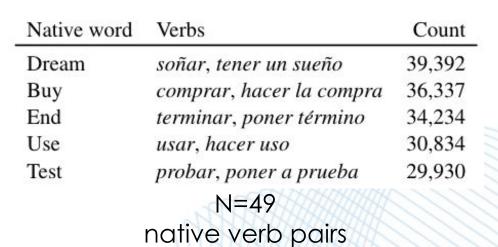


| Loanword | verus                        | Count  |
|----------|------------------------------|--------|
| Like     | likear, dar un like          | 13,154 |
| Connect  | conectear, hacer un conexión | 7857   |
| Flip     | flipear, hacer flip          | 6904   |
| Stalk    | stalkear, ser un stalker     | 5508   |
| Tweet    | tweetear, poner un tweet     | 5294   |
|          | N=124<br>loanword verb pairs |        |

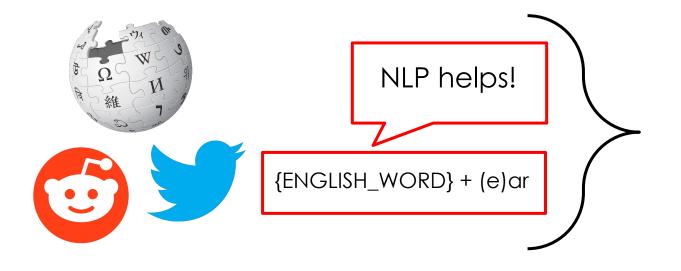
Loanword

Verhe





Count



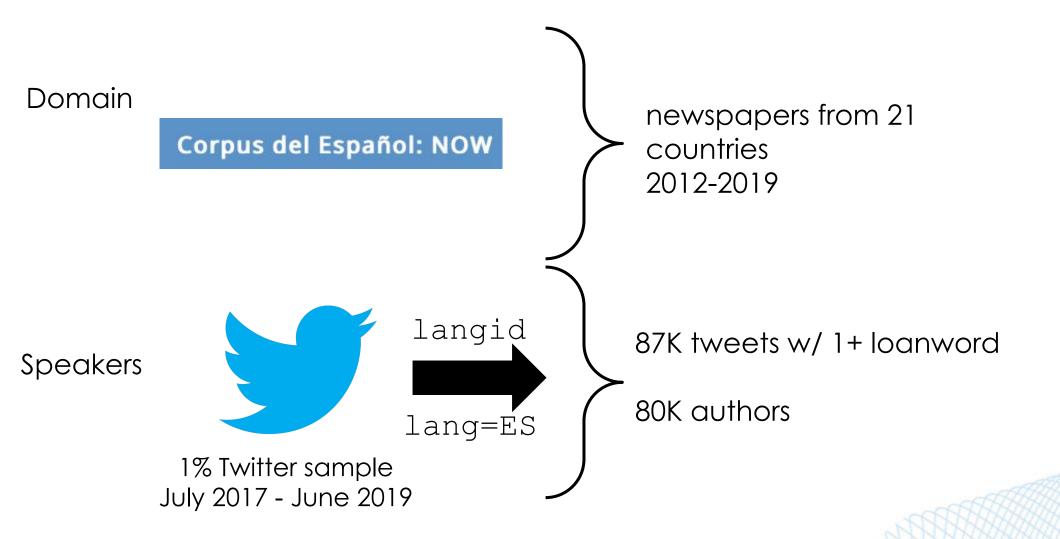
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loanword verb pairs

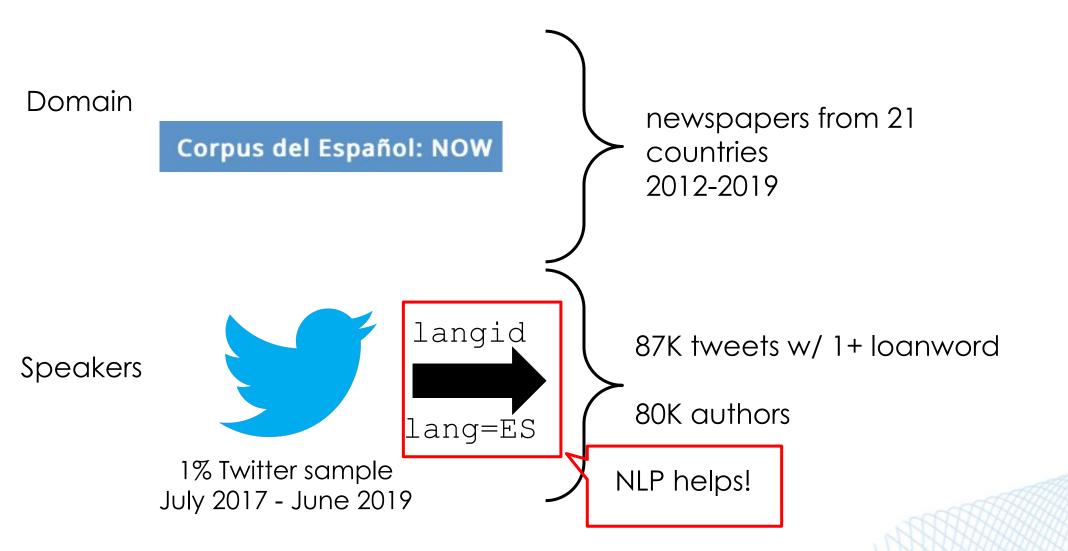


| Native word | Verbs                    | Count  |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------|
| Dream       | soñar, tener un sueño    | 39,392 |
| Buy         | comprar, hacer la compra | 36,337 |
| End         | terminar, poner término  | 34,234 |
| Use         | usar, hacer uso          | 30,834 |
| Test        | probar, poner a prueba   | 29,930 |
|             | N=49                     |        |
|             | native verb pairs        |        |

## Data: identifying domains, speakers



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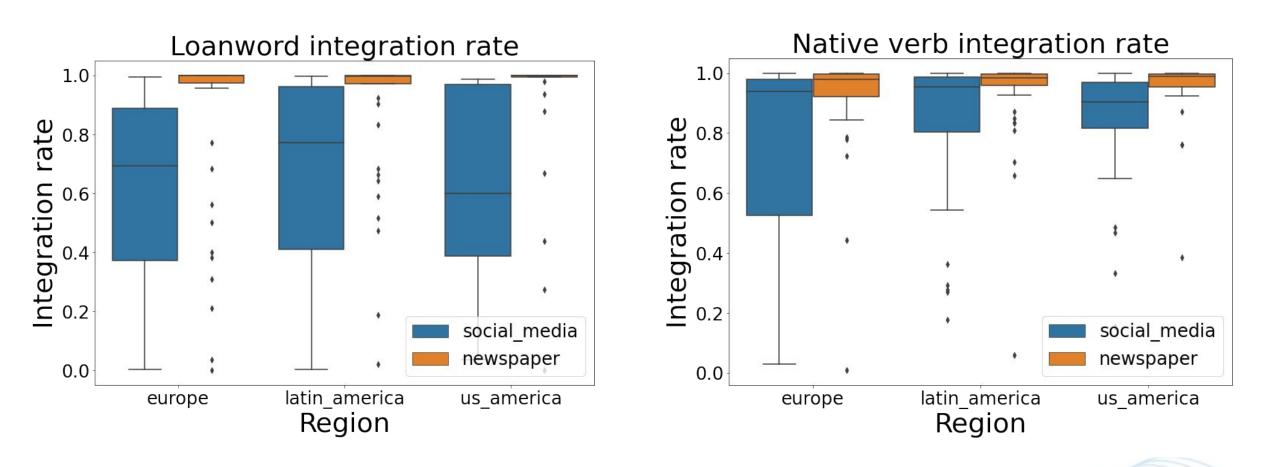
#### RQ1: integration across domains?

Test: compare rate of integration for loanwords, native verbs between **newspapers** and **social media**.

#### RQ1: domain differences

Newspapers use integrated verbs at **higher rate** than social media, i.e. integration relates to **formality**.

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#### RQ1: domain differences

Newspapers tend to integrate technology-related loanwords much more often than social media.

Newspaper writers may assume that some loanwords need to be treated more formally to justify choosing loanword over native equivalent.

E.g. likear vs. gustar.

| Word    | $I_{w,  m social\ media}$ | $I_{w,\mathrm{newspaper}}$ | $\Delta I_w$ |
|---------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| block   | 0.105                     | 0.857                      | -0.752       |
| hype    | 0.267                     | 0.995                      | -0.728       |
| link    | 0.227                     | 0.872                      | -0.645       |
| like    | 0.051                     | 0.649                      | -0.598       |
| perform | 0.065                     | 0.561                      | -0.496       |
| access  | 0.523                     | 1.000                      | -0.477       |
| tweet   | 0.129                     | 0.598                      | -0.470       |
| boycott | 0.593                     | 0.989                      | -0.396       |
| fangirl | 0.632                     | 1.000                      | -0.368       |
| post    | 0.676                     | 0.999                      | -0.323       |

#### RQ2: methods for attitudes

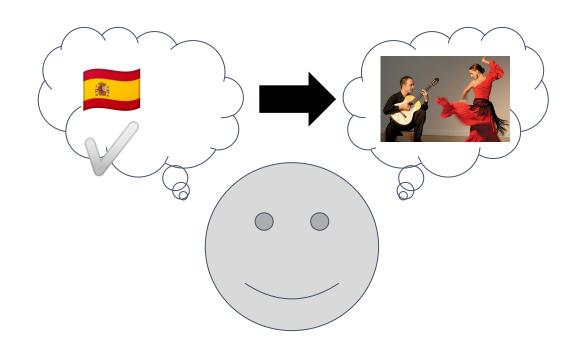
We know that integration relates to formality. Does this imply that integration relates to more formal speaker attributes (e.g. attitude)?

Attitude: support of the **culture** associated with one's native language over another language's culture.

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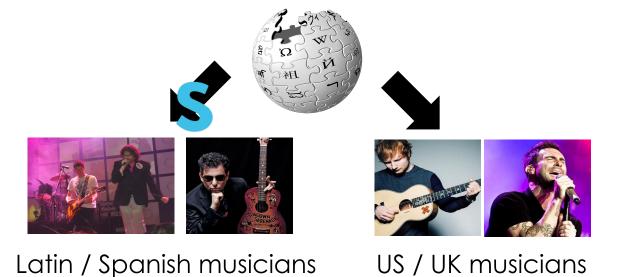


We approximate attitude with **music** sharing:

- No linguistic, financial barrier
- Popular across demographics
- Strong connection with sociolinguistic attitudes (Low et al. 2009; Dubois and Horvath 1999; Hernandez 2010)

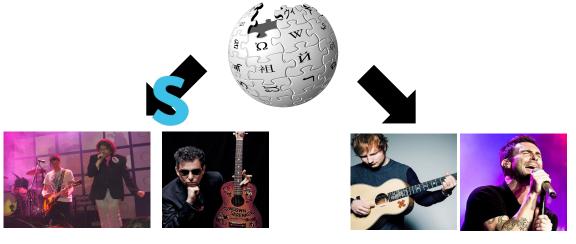
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Latin / Spanish musicians US / UK musicians



SLA media sharing = (# Spanish/Latin links) / (# Spanish/Latin links + # US/UK links)

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## Attitude: construct validity

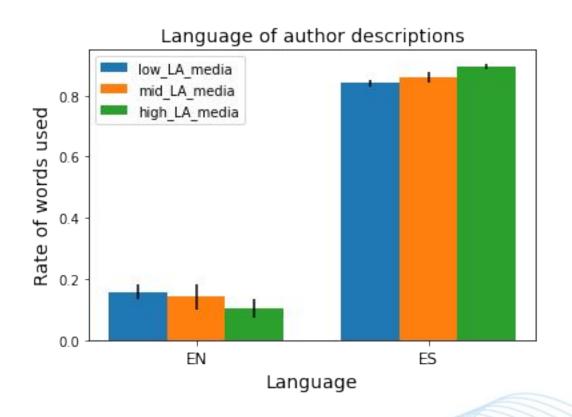
How do we know that people who share Spanish/Latin
American media have consistent pro-Spanish culture attitude?

High SLA media authors use more standard Spanish words in their **profile descriptions** (compared to low-media authors).

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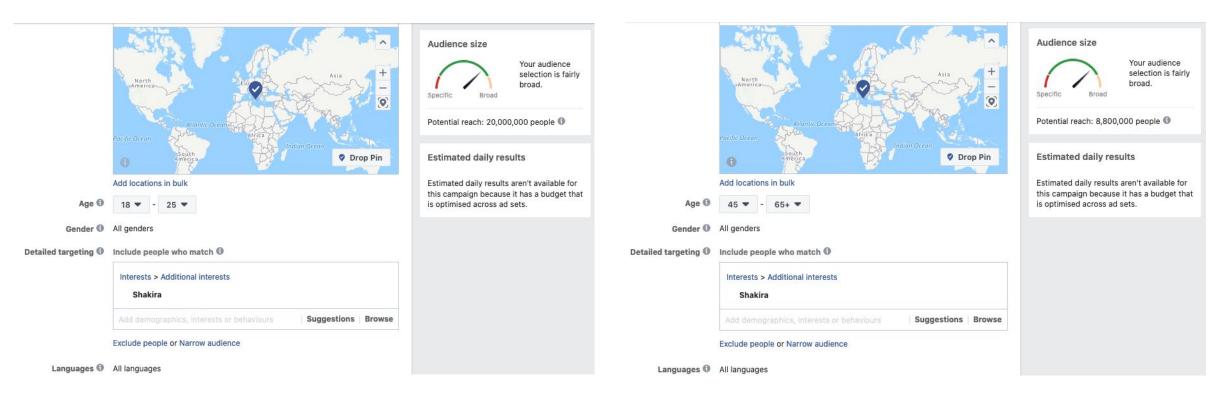


### Addressing music confounds

A person may share a media link because they are a fan of the musician (Katz 2017), not necessarily because they identify with culture.

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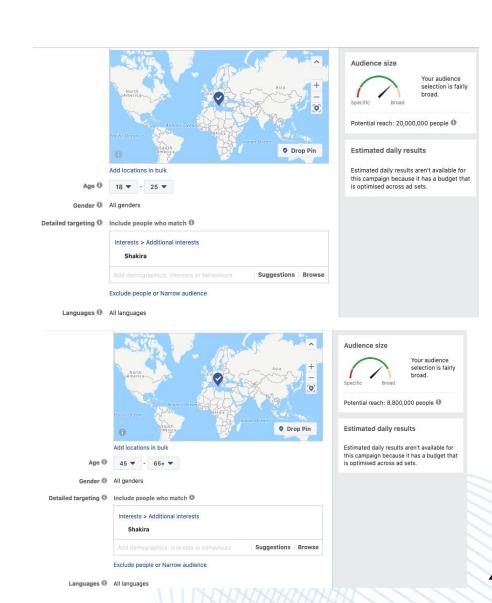
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### Balancing by age

A person may share a media link because they are a fan of the musician (Katz 2017), not necessarily because they identify with culture.

We can address this partly by controlling for age: younger people will generally share music from younger musicians.

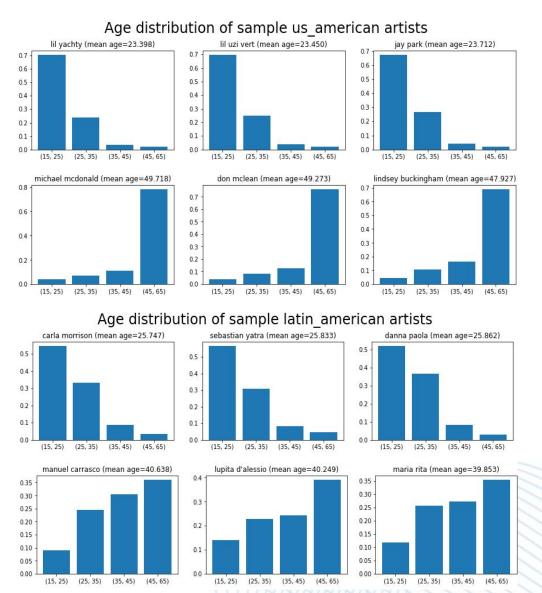
We compute age distributions from Facebook advertising audience estimates.



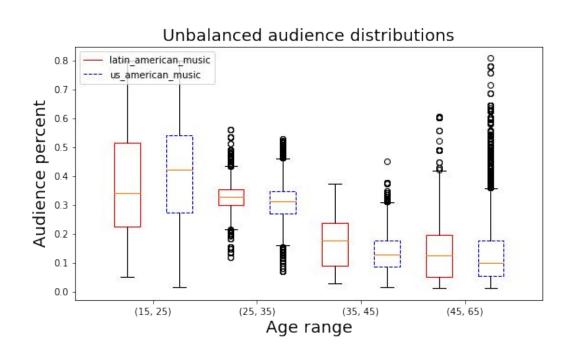
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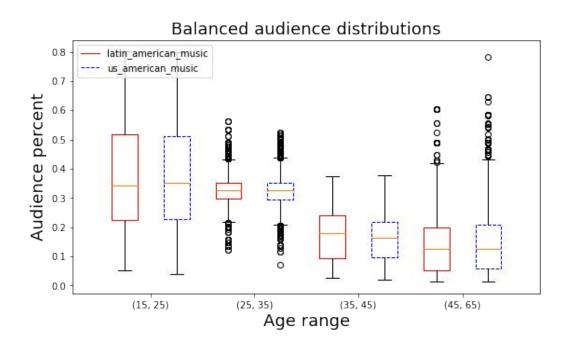
We collect global age counts for all musicians in data, using four age bins: 15-25, 25-35, 35-45, 45-65+.

Age distributions reliably identify musicians with known younger fan bases (e.g. Lil Yachty) and older fan bases (Don McLean).



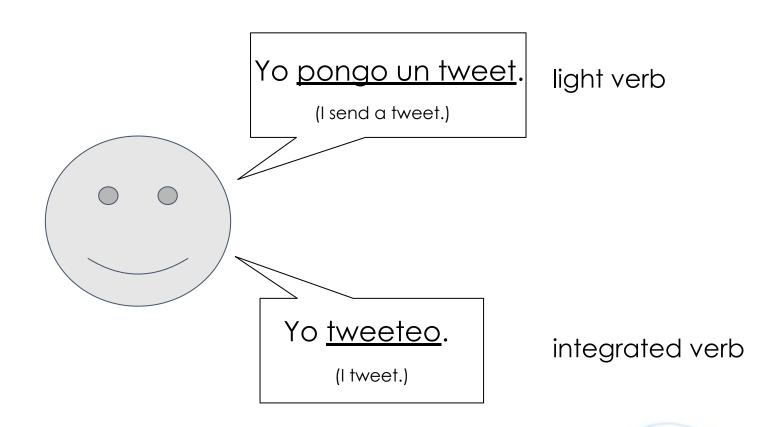
### Balancing by age





We balance the age distributions by (greedy) pairing each US American link with a Latin American link with the most similar age distribution (lowest distance).

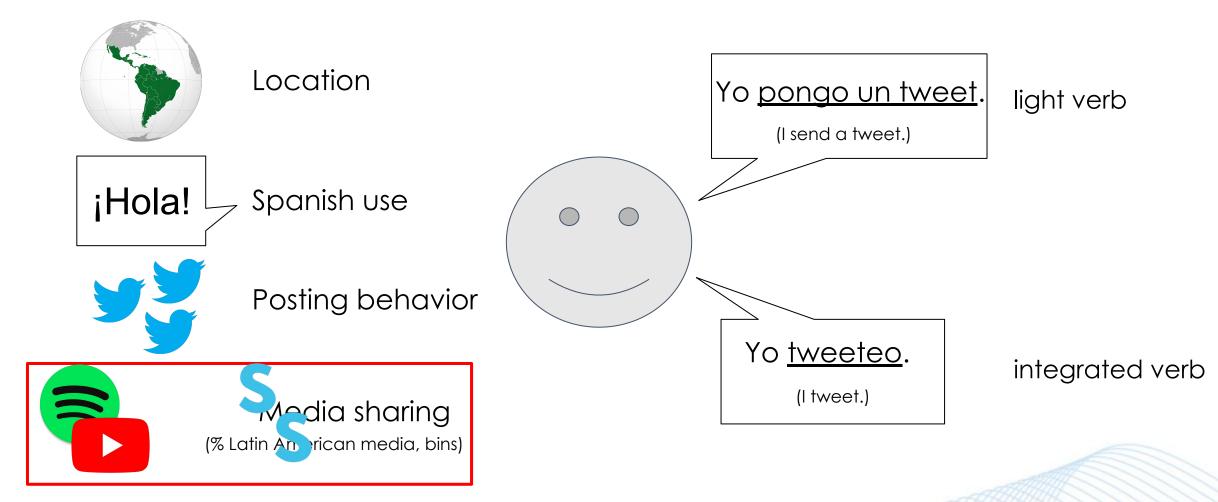
#### RQ2: evaluation



#### Logistic regression

(verb = integrated) ~ speaker attributes + fixed effects

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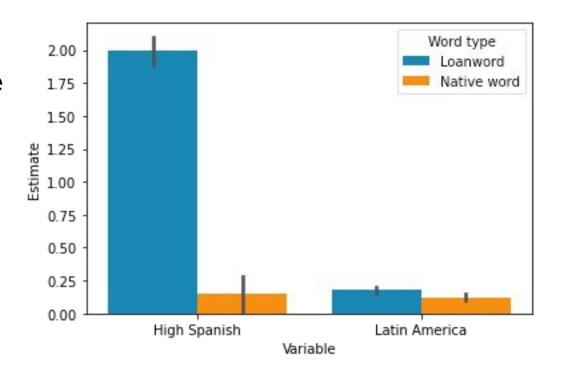
(verb = integrated) ~ speaker attributes + fixed effects

### RQ2: demographic results

High Spanish authors use more integrated loanwords (β=1.99, p < 0.001), following hypothesis about conservative linguistic behavior (Poplack et al. 1988).

**Latin American** authors use more integration ( $\beta$ =0.177, p<0.001;  $\beta$ =0.124, p<0.001).

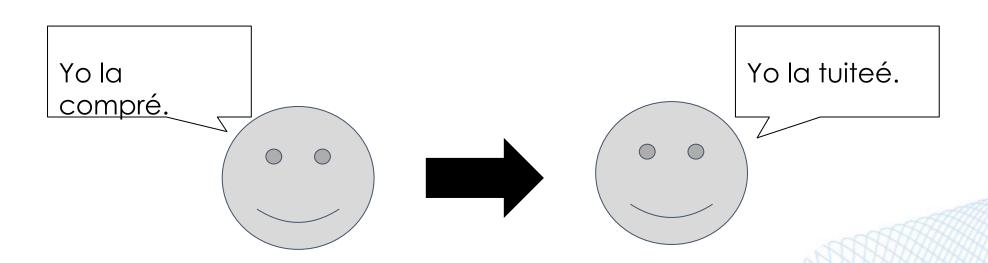
 Possible reason: LA dialects are more conservative, less idiosyncratic than expected (Buckingham 2011).



### RQ2: speaker results

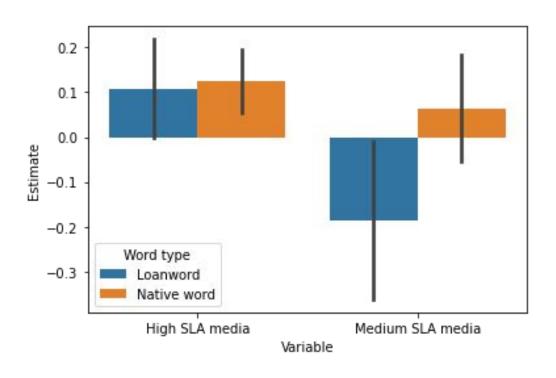
For media-sharing authors, more prior use of integrated native verbs leads to less integration for loanword verbs ( $\beta=-0.168$ , p < 0.01).

 Integrated loanword verbs ("likear") are often used as default in oline platforms, may sound less formal than light verbs ("dar un like").



#### RQ2: attitude results

Media does not explain loanword integration ( $\beta=0.108, p>0.05$ ) but does explain **native verb integration** ( $\beta=0.126, p<0.01$ ).



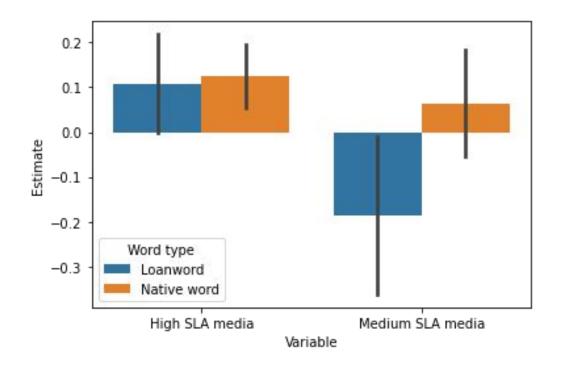
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Medium SLA media = 10-50% Spanish/Latin American links

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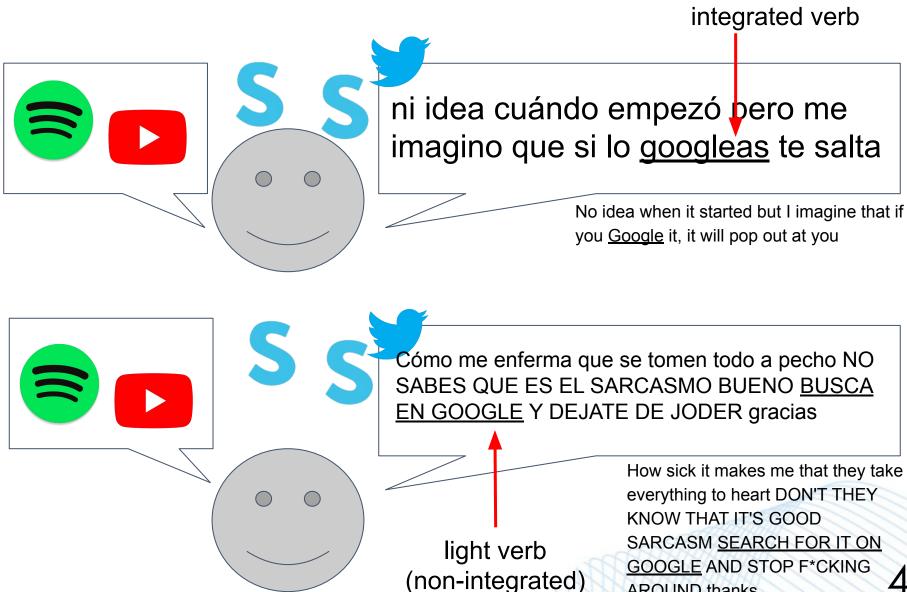
- Same effect holds even after **filtering** for only high-Spanish authors.
- Native verbs are more well-known among speakers and therefore may have stronger connection to language norms and latent social attitudes.



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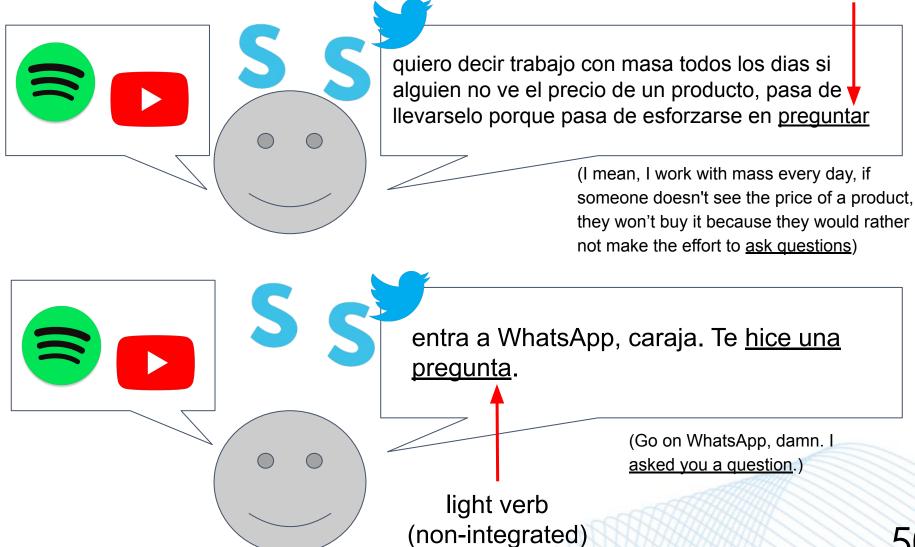
# RQ2: qualitative results (loanword)



**AROUND thanks** 

## RQ2: qualitative results (native)

#### integrated verb



#### Results

RQ1: Loanword integration, like native verb integration, is likely considered more **formal**.

RQ2: Author **demographics** (Spanish use, location) are surprisingly important for explaining integrated verbs.

RQ2: Authors who share more Spanish/Latin American music use more native integrated verbs: **stronger connection between attitude and formality** for (well-attested?) native verbs.

#### Results: cultural attitudes

# Cultural attitudes may not explain integration in **loanwords** because:

- 1. Music sharing is **less clear signal** of social attitude than e.g. political content sharing: people may share music for enjoyment (context collapse; Marwick and boyd 2011).
- 2. Loanword integration is not strongly marked as a multilingual choice, as compared to e.g. code-switching which is generally **marked** as a social signal (Myers 1988).

#### less marked

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integrated vs. light verb

loanword spelling

code-switching

metalinguistic commentary ("English is awesome")

more marked

#### Conclusion

This study provides **quantitative evidence** to explain how loanwords become integrated.

- Social factors and especially formality play a role; morphological integration is not just "instant" (Poplack and Dion 2012).

The study proposes a **new method** for understanding possible motivations for multilingual choices, i.e. music sharing.

### Future work: types of integration

This study focuses on just one form of loanword integration, i.e. **morphological** integration of verbs.

Alternation between integrated and light verbs may fall on **spectrum** of language choices.

Future work should use variety of data available online to compare **different forms** of integration.

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less integrated

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yo lo <u>tweet</u>

yo pongo un tweet

study

<u>tweet</u>ear

yo envío un mensaje en <u>Twitter</u>





more integrated

#### Future work: cultural attitudes

This study focuses on music as a highly available, flexible expression of cultural attitudes (Dubois et al. 2018).

Potential **problems**: context collapse (e.g. sharing music for fun), low coverage, possible population bias.

Multilingualism intersects with many aspects of cultural identity (Auer 2013): sports, film/TV, politics, food...

Need more **generic/scalable metrics** for cultural attitude to understand sociolinguistic variation.

