

# Slangvolution: A Causal Analysis of Semantic Change and Frequency Dynamics in Slang

Anonymous ACL submission

## Abstract

All living languages are continually undergoing changes, and the mechanisms that underlie language change are still a matter of debate. In this work, we approach language change through the lens of causality in order to model not only how various distributional factors associate with language change, but how they causally affect it. In particular, we study slang, which is an informal language that is typically restricted to a specific group or social setting. We analyze the semantic change and frequency shift of slang words and compare them to those of standard, nonslang words. With causal discovery and causal inference techniques, we measure the effect that word type (slang/nonslang) has on both semantic change and frequency shift, as well as its relationship to frequency, polysemy and part of speech. Our analysis provides some new insights in the study of semantic change, e.g., we show that slang words undergo less semantic change but tend to have larger frequency shifts over time.<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction

Language is a continuously evolving system, constantly resculptured by its speakers. The forces that drive this evolution are many, ranging from phonetic convenience to sociocultural changes (Blank, 1999). In particular, the meanings of words and the frequencies in which they are used are not static, but rather evolve over time.

Several previous works, in both historical and computational linguistics, have described diachronic mechanisms, often suggesting causal relationships. For example, semantic change, i.e. change in the meaning of a word, has both been suggested to *cause* (Wilkins, 1993; Hopper and Traugott, 2003) and *be caused by* (Hamilton et al., 2016) polysemy, while also part of speech (POS)

<sup>1</sup>Code will be published with the camera-ready version.

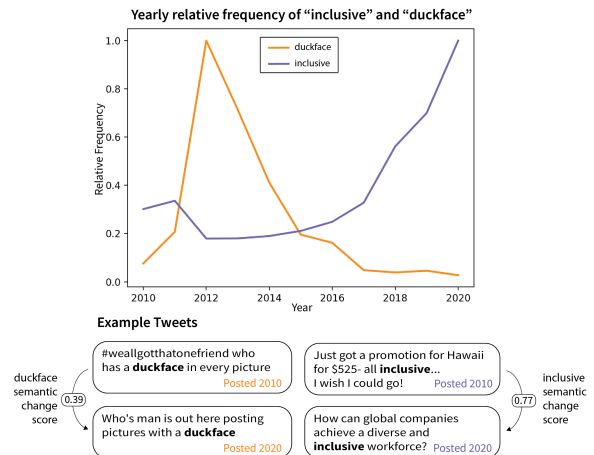


Figure 1: We observe very different change dynamics for the slang word “duckface” and the nonslang word “inclusive”. “Inclusive” has acquired a new meaning, reflected in a high semantic change score of 0.77 as measured by our model. “Duckface” undergoes little semantic change, scored 0.39 by our model, while its usage frequency varies greatly.

has been implied to be a causal factor behind semantic change (Dubossarsky et al., 2016). However, none of these studies perform a causal analysis to verify these claims of causal relationships. Causality allows us to not only infer causal effects between pairs of variables, but also model their interactions with other related factors.

In this work, we focus on the linguistic evolution of slang, defined as colloquial and informal language commonly associated with particular groups (González, 1998; Bembe and Beukes, 2007), and use a causal framework to compare the change dynamics of slang words to those of standard language. More specifically, we compare the *semantic change* as well as the changes in frequency, i.e. *frequency shift*, over time between slang words and standard, nonslang words. We learn a *causal graphical model* (Spirtes et al., 2000) to assess how these variables interact with other factors they have

059 been previously found to correlate with, such as  
060 *frequency*, *polysemy* and *part of speech*. Having  
061 discovered a graph, we proceed to use *do-calculus*  
062 (Pearl, 1995) to evaluate the causal effects of a  
063 word’s *type* (slang/nonslang) on semantic change  
064 and frequency shift.

065 Semantic change is measured using the average  
066 pairwise distance (APD) (Sagi et al., 2009; Giu-  
067 lianelli et al., 2020) between time-separated con-  
068 textualized representations, which were obtained  
069 from a Twitter corpus via a bi-directional language  
070 model (Liu et al., 2019). Our metric builds on re-  
071 cent semantic change literature (Schlechtweg et al.,  
072 2020), with novel additions of dimensionality re-  
073 duction and a combined distance function.

074 By deploying a causal analysis, we establish that  
075 there is not just an association, but a direct effect of  
076 a word’s type on its semantic change and frequency  
077 shift. We find that a word being *slang* causes it to  
078 undergo slower semantic change and more rapid  
079 decreases in frequency. To illustrate, consider the  
080 slang word “duckface” and the nonslang word “in-  
081 clusive” as shown in Figure 1. Our analysis also  
082 sheds light on a couple of previous findings in the  
083 diachronic linguistics literature. We find support  
084 for the S-curve theory (Kroch, 1989), showing a  
085 causal effect from a word’s polysemy to its fre-  
086 quency. This relationship is evident in the increase  
087 in frequency that the word “inclusive” displays in  
088 Figure 1 after it develops a new meaning (Merriam-  
089 Webster, 2019). However, similar to Dubossarsky  
090 et al. (2017), we do not find a causal link to seman-  
091 tic change from frequency, polysemy or POS as  
092 suggested in previous works (Hamilton et al., 2016;  
093 Dubossarsky et al., 2016).

094 In summary, our main contributions are three-  
095 fold: (i) we introduce tools from the causality lit-  
096 erature in order to analyze change dynamics in  
097 language; (ii) we propose a semantic change met-  
098 ric using contextualized word representations and  
099 (iii) we discover some interesting insights about  
100 slang words and semantic change – e.g. showing  
101 that the change dynamics of slang words are dif-  
102 ferent from those of nonslang words, exhibiting  
103 both more rapid frequency fluctuations and less  
104 semantic change.

## 105 2 Related Work

### 106 2.1 Semantic Change

107 A typical method for measuring semantic change  
108 is by comparing word representations across time

109 periods (Gulordava and Baroni, 2011; Kim et al.,  
110 2014; Jatowt and Duh, 2014; Kulkarni et al., 2015;  
111 Eger and Mehler, 2016; Schlechtweg et al., 2019).  
112 With this approach, previous research has proposed  
113 laws relating semantic change to other linguistic  
114 properties. For instance, Dubossarsky et al. (2016)  
115 find that verbs change faster than nouns, whereas  
116 Hamilton et al. (2016) discover that polysemous  
117 words change at a faster rate, while frequent words  
118 change slower. However, the validity of some of  
119 these results has been questioned via methods of  
120 case-control matching (Dubossarsky et al., 2017),  
121 highlighting the influence of word frequency when  
122 modeling change (Hellrich and Hahn, 2016). Such  
123 analyses can indeed help give stronger evidence for  
124 causal effects. In this work we take a methodologi-  
125 cally different approach, considering observational  
126 data alone for our causal analysis.

127 The aforementioned approaches rely on fixed  
128 word representations. Limited by assigning one  
129 vector to each word, fixed embeddings may fail  
130 to capture polysemous words properly, as well  
131 as certain contextual nuances. More recent ap-  
132 proaches (Hu et al., 2019; Giulianelli et al., 2020)  
133 have highlighted the limitations of using fixed rep-  
134 resentations and proposed semantic change mea-  
135 sures based on contextualized word embeddings  
136 (Peters et al., 2018; Devlin et al., 2019). This has  
137 lead to a further stream of work on semantic change  
138 detection with contextualized embeddings (Mart-  
139 inc et al., 2020; Kutuzov and Giulianelli, 2020;  
140 Schlechtweg et al., 2020; Montariol et al., 2021;  
141 Kutuzov et al., 2021; Laicher et al., 2021). We  
142 build upon this line of work and extend them using  
143 PCA and a combination of distance metrics.

### 144 2.2 Characterization and Properties of Slang

145 Slang is an informal, unconventional part of the  
146 language, often used in connection to a certain  
147 setting or societal trend (Dumas and Lighter, 1978).  
148 It can reflect and establish a sense of belonging to a  
149 group, (González, 1998; Bembe and Beukes, 2007;  
150 Carter, 2011) or to a generation (Citera et al., 2020;  
151 Earl, 1972; Barbieri, 2008).

152 Mattiello (2005) highlights the role slang plays  
153 in enriching the language with neologisms, and  
154 claims that it follows unique word formation pro-  
155 cesses. Inspired by this, Kulkarni and Wang (2018)  
156 propose a data-driven model for emulating the gen-  
157 eration process of slang words that Mattiello (2005)  
158 describes. Others have described the ephemeral-

ity of slang words (González, 1998; Carter, 2011), although this property has not been previously verified by computational approaches.

### 3 Causal Methodology for Change Dynamics

Examining change dynamics through a causal lens helps to determine the existence of direct causal effects, by modeling the interactions between variables. In this section, we first give a short overview on relevant work on causality, before presenting how we apply these concepts to word change dynamics.

#### 3.1 Overview of Causal Discovery and Causal Inference

A common framework for causal reasoning is through *causal directed acyclic graphs* (DAGs) (Pearl, 2009). A causal DAG consists of a pair  $(G, P)$  where  $G = (V, E)$  is a DAG and  $P$  is a probability distribution over a set of variables. Each variable is represented by a node  $v \in V$ , and the graph’s edges  $e \in E$  reflect causal relationships. There are two main tasks in causality. *Causal discovery* is the task of uncovering the causal DAG that explains observed data. Assuming a causal DAG, the task of *causal inference* then concerns determining the effect that intervening on a variable, often referred to as *treatment*, will have on another variable, often referred to as *outcome*.

The causal DAG is often inferred from domain knowledge or intuition. However, in cases where we cannot safely assume a known causal structure, causal discovery methods come in useful. Constraint-based methods (Spirtes et al., 2000) form one of the main categories of causal discovery techniques. These methods use conditional independence tests between variables in order to uncover the causal structure. To do so, they rely on two main assumptions: the global Markov assumption and the faithfulness assumption. Together they state that we observe conditional independence relations between two variables in the distribution if and only if these two variables are d-separated (Geiger et al., 1990) in the graphical model. For more details, we refer to Appendix D.1.

Causal inference is commonly approached with do-calculus (Pearl, 1995). We denote the intervention distribution  $\mathbb{P}(Y|do(X = x))$  to be the distribution of the outcome  $Y$  conditioned on an intervention  $do(X = x)$  which forces the treatment

variable  $X$  to take on the value  $x$ . Note that this is in general not necessarily equal to  $\mathbb{P}(Y|X = x)$ . When they are not equal, we say that there is *confounding*. Confounding occurs when there is a third variable  $Z$ , which causes both the treatment  $X$  and the outcome  $Y$ .

We say that there is a causal effect of  $X$  on  $Y$  if there exist  $x$  and  $x'$  such that

$$\mathbb{P}(Y|do(X = x)) \neq \mathbb{P}(Y|do(X = x')). \quad (1)$$

One way to quantify the causal effect is with the *average causal effect* (ACE):

$$\mathbb{E}[Y|do(X = x)] - \mathbb{E}[Y|do(X = x')]. \quad (2)$$

To estimate the causal effect using observational data, we need to rewrite the intervention distribution using only conditional distributions. Assuming a causal DAG, this can be done with the *truncated factorization formula* (Pearl, 2009),

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbb{P}(X_V|do(X_W = x_W)) &= \\ &= \prod_{i \in V \setminus W} \mathbb{P}(X_i|X_{pa(i)}) \mathbb{1}_{\{X_W = x_W\}}, \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

for  $W \subset V$ .

#### 3.2 Causality for Change Dynamics

In this work, we estimate the direct causal effect of a word’s type on its semantic change and frequency shift dynamics. In order to establish that such an effect exists, and to know which variables to control for, we turn to causal discovery algorithms. The variables in our causal graph additionally include frequency, polysemy and POS.

For learning the causal graph, we choose the constraint-based PC-stable algorithm (Colombo and Maathuis, 2014), an order-independent variant of the well-known PC algorithm (Spirtes et al., 2000), discussed in Appendix D.1. We are learning a mixed graphical model (Lauritzen, 1996; Lee and Hastie, 2015), consisting of both continuous (e.g. frequency) and categorical (e.g. type) variables.

Having learned the causal graph (Section 6.2), we proceed to estimate the ACE of word type on both semantic change and frequency shift using do-calculus (Section 6.3).

### 4 Slang and Nonslang Word Selection

We select 100 slang words and 100 nonslang words for our study, presented in Appendix E. In the trade-off between statistical significance and time spent

on computation and data collection, we found that a set of 200 words was enough to get highly significant results. However, we note that our methodology is general and can be applied to a larger set of words. The slang words are randomly sampled from the Online Slang Dictionary,<sup>2</sup> which provides well-maintained and curated slang word definitions as well as a list of 4,828 featured slang words as of June 2021. The scope of our study encompasses single-word expressions, and as such we filter out 2,169 multi-word expressions. To further clean the data, we also delete words with only one character and acronyms. Lastly, we limit the causal analysis to words that are exclusively either slang or non-slang, excluding “hybrid” words with both slang and non-slang meanings, such as “kosher” or “tool”. Including words of this type would have interfered with the causal analysis by creating a hardcoded dependency between word type and polysemy, as these words by definition are polysemous. We do however perform a separate analysis of the hybrid words in Appendix C.

For the reference set of standard, non-slang, words we sample 100 words uniformly at random from a list of all English words, supplied by the wordfreq library in Python (Speer et al., 2018).

## 5 Data Collection

We curate a Twitter dataset from the years 2010 and 2020, which we select as our periods of reference, and collect the following variables:

- **Word type:** Whether a word is slang or not
- **Word frequency:** The average number of tweets containing the word per day in 2010 and 2020 (Section 5.2)
- **Frequency Shift:** The relative difference in frequency the word has undergone between 2010 and 2020 (Section 5.3)
- **Polysemy:** The number of senses a word has (Section 5.4)
- **Part of speech:** A binary variable for each POS tag (Section 5.5)
- **Semantic change:** The semantic change score of the word from 2010 to 2020 (Section 5.6)

### 5.1 Twitter Dataset

As a social media platform, Twitter data is rich in both slang and non-slang words. The Twitter

<sup>2</sup><http://onlineslangdictionary.com/>

dataset we curated comprises 170,135 tweets from 2010 and 2020 that contain our selected words. Sampling tweets from two separate time periods allows us to examine the semantic change over a 10-year gap. For every slang and non-slang word, and each of the two time periods, we obtain 200-500 random tweets that contain the word and were posted during the corresponding year. We keep each tweet’s text, tweet ID, and date it was posted. As a post-processing step, we remove all URLs and hashtags from the tweets. To protect user privacy, we further replace all user name handles with the word “user.” On average, we have 346 tweets per slang word and 293 tweets per non-slang word.

### 5.2 Word Frequency

We approximate a word’s frequency by the average number of times it is tweeted within 24 hours. This average is calculated in practice over 40 randomly sampled 24 hour time frames in a given year, in each of which we retrieve the number of tweets containing the word. The frequencies are calculated separately for 2010 and 2020. Due to the growing popularity of social media, the number of tweets has significantly increased over the decade. Therefore, we divide the counts from 2020 by a factor of 6.4, which is the ratio between the average word counts in both years in our dataset. The frequencies from both years are then averaged to provide the *frequency* variable for the causal analysis.

### 5.3 Frequency Shift

We are now interested in analyzing the dynamics of frequency shifts. To evaluate the relative change in frequency for a given word  $w$  we take

$$\text{FreqShift}(w) = \log \frac{x_{2020}(w)}{x_{2010}(w)} \quad (4)$$

where,  $x_k(w)$  is the frequency of word  $w$  in year  $k$ . This has been shown to be the only metric for relative change that is symmetric, additive, and normed (Tornqvist et al., 1985). Importantly, this measure symmetrically reflects both increases and decreases in relative frequency. The mean relative changes in frequency were  $-0.486(\pm 1.644)$  for slang words and  $0.533(\pm 1.070)$  for non-slang words, where a positive score corresponds to an increase in frequency. As evident in Figure 2, not only did more slang words exhibit a decrease in frequency than non-slang ones, the words that showed the highest frequency increase are also slang.



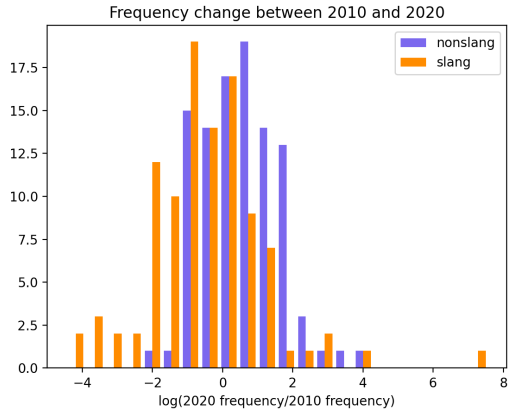


Figure 2: Relative shift in frequency from 2010 to 2020, where a positive score corresponds to an increase in frequency. We see that slang words present both the highest increases and the highest decreases in frequency. Moreover, a large frequency decrease is observed exclusively in a set of slang words, indicating these words faded from usage during the decade.

We also examine the absolute value of Eq. (4) to evaluate the degree of change, may it be a decrease or an increase. We find that, as expected, slang words have significantly higher changes in frequency than nonslang words ( $p < 0.05$ ). See Appendix C for more details.

## 5.4 Polysemy

We define a word’s polysemy score as the number of distinct senses it has<sup>3</sup>. For nonslang words we take the number of senses the word has in Merriam Webster and for slang words we take the number of definitions on the Online Slang Dictionary. We use two separate resources as we find that no dictionary encapsulates both slang and nonslang words. The mean polysemy scores are  $(2.074 \pm 2.595)$  for slang words and  $(3.079 \pm 2.780)$  for nonslang words with a significant difference in distribution ( $p < 0.05$ ) according to a permutation test, implying that the latter are used with a larger variety of meanings. In addition, the slang senses of the hybrid words exhibit a distribution similar to those of the slang words (Appendix C). More polysemous words tend to have a higher word frequency in our dataset – the log transform of frequency and polysemy display a highly significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) linear correlation coefficient of 0.350.

<sup>3</sup>Note that this definition also encapsulates potential cases of homonymy. We choose not to make a distinction between polysemy and homonymy in this analysis.

## 5.5 Part of speech

For each word, we retrieve four binary variables, indicating whether a word can be used as noun, verb, adverb or adjective, which were the four major POS tags observed in our data. To calculate these variables we run the NLTK POS tagger (Loper and Bird, 2002) on the tweets, and collect the distribution of POS tags for each word. Note that a word may have more than one POS tag, depending on the context in which it is used. Each of the binary variables is then set to be 1 if the word had the corresponding POS tag in at least 5% of its tweets and 0 otherwise.

## 5.6 Semantic Change Score

In this section we explain the details of how we obtain the semantic change scores. We start by fine-tuning a bi-directional language model on a slang-dense corpus (Section 5.6.1), after which we survey the literature and propose metrics (Section 5.6.2) that we use to perform an extensive experimentation study to find the most suitable one (Section 5.6.3). Finally, we apply this metric to our sets of slang and nonslang words on the Twitter data (Section 5.6.4).

### 5.6.1 Obtaining Contextualized Representations

We familiarize the bi-directional language model with slang words and the contexts in which they are used by fine-tuning it on the masked language modeling task. For this purpose we use a web-scraped dataset from the Urban Dictionary, previously collected by Wilson et al. (2020). After preprocessing and subsampling, the details of which can be found in Appendix A.1, we are left with a training set of 200,000 slang-dense text sequences.

As our bi-directional language model we select RoBERTa (Liu et al., 2019). Beyond performance gains compared to the original BERT (Devlin et al., 2019), we select this model since it allows for more subword units. We reason that this could be useful in the context of slang words since potentially some of the sub-units used in these words would not have been recognized by BERT. We choose the smaller 125M parameter base version for computational reasons. We train the model using the Adam optimizer (Kingma and Ba, 2015) with different learning rates  $\gamma$ . The lowest loss on the test set was found with  $\gamma = 10^{-6}$ , which we proceed with for scoring semantic change. For more details on training configurations, we refer to Appendix A.2.

## 5.6.2 Quantifying Semantic Change

In order to select a change detection metric, we evaluate our model on the SemEval-2020 Task 1 on Unsupervised Lexical Semantic Change Detection (Schlechtweg et al., 2020). This task provides the first standard evaluation framework for semantic change detection, using a large-scale labeled dataset for four different languages. We restrict ourselves to English and focus on subtask 2, which concerns ranking a set of 37 target words according to their semantic change between two time periods. The ranking is evaluated using Spearman’s rank-order correlation coefficient  $\rho$ .<sup>4</sup> Our space of configurations includes layer representations, dimensionality reduction techniques and semantic change metrics.

**Layer Representations:** Previous work (Ethayarajh, 2019) has shown that embeddings retrieved from bi-directional language models are not isotropic, but are rather concentrated around a high-dimensional cone. Moreover, the level of isotropy may vary according to the layer from which the representations are retrieved (Ethayarajh, 2019; Cai et al., 2021). This leads us to experiment with representations from different layers in our fine-tuned RoBERTa model, namely, taking only the first layer, only the last layer or summing all layers.

**Dimensionality Reduction:** To the best of our knowledge, only one previous semantic change detection approach (Rother et al., 2020) has incorporated dimensionality reduction, more specifically UMAP (McInnes et al., 2018). In addition to UMAP, we also experiment with PCA.

**Metrics for Semantic Change:** Given representations  $\mathcal{X}_t = \{\mathbf{x}_{1,t}, \dots, \mathbf{x}_{n_t,t}\}$  for a particular word in time period  $t$ , we define the average pairwise distance (APD) between two periods as

$$\text{APD}(\mathcal{X}_{t_1}, \mathcal{X}_{t_2}) = \frac{1}{n_{t_1} n_{t_2}} \sum_{\substack{\mathbf{x}_{i,t_1} \in \mathcal{X}_{t_1} \\ \mathbf{x}_{j,t_2} \in \mathcal{X}_{t_2}}} d(\mathbf{x}_{i,t_1}, \mathbf{x}_{j,t_2}), \quad (5)$$

for some distance metric  $d(\cdot, \cdot)$ , where  $n_{t_1}, n_{t_2}$  are the number of words in each time period. We experiment with Euclidean distance  $d_2(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2)$ , cosine distance  $d_{\cos}(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2)$  and Manhattan distance  $d_1(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2)$ . Furthermore, we propose a novel

<sup>4</sup>We note the caveat that our model is fine-tuned on Urban Dictionary text, while the older of the two English datasets of SemEval consists of text from 1810-1860.

Reduction	$h$	APD	Score
PCA	100	$d_2$ and $d_{\cos}$	<b>0.489**</b>
PCA	100	$d_{\cos}$	0.464**
PCA	100	$d_2$	0.298
None	768	$d_2$ and $d_{\cos}$	0.345*

Table 1: Spearman’s rank-order correlation coefficients between our semantic change scores and the ground truth across different dimensionality reduction techniques for APD (\*:  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*:  $p < 0.01$ ).

combined metric. Note that  $d_2(\cdot, \cdot) \in [0, \infty]$  and  $d_{\cos}(\cdot, \cdot) \in [0, 2]$ . Further note that

$$\|\mathbf{x}_1 - \mathbf{x}_2\|_2^2 \leq \|\mathbf{x}_1\|_2^2 + \|\mathbf{x}_2\|_2^2 \quad (6)$$

Normalizing both metrics for a support in  $[0, 1]$ , we get a combined metric with the same unit support to be the following average:

$$d_{2,\cos}(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2) = \frac{0.5 \cdot d_2(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2)}{\sqrt{\|\mathbf{x}_1\|_2^2 + \|\mathbf{x}_2\|_2^2}} + \frac{d_{\cos}(\mathbf{x}_1, \mathbf{x}_2)}{4} \quad (7)$$

We argue that this provides a more complete metric, capturing both absolute distance and the angle between vectors.

In addition to the APD metrics, we experiment with distribution-based metrics (see Appendix B.1).

## 5.6.3 Evaluating the Semantic Change Scores

We first compare the results for the three types of layer representations different APD metrics, and note that summing all layer representations yields the best results. Consequentially, we proceed with the rest of the experiments using only these representations. For both PCA and UMAP, we experiment with projecting the representations down to  $h \in \{2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100\}$  dimensions. These combinations are tested together with the APD metrics as presented in Section 5.6.2 as well as the distribution-based metrics described in Appendix B. The latter do not however in general display significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) correlations.

We present a small subset of the scores resulting from the APD configurations in Table 1, highlighting our finding that both PCA dimensionality reduction and using a combined the metrics and improve the performance. More results and comparisons to baselines are presented in Appendix B.3. We observe that the proposed combined metric consistently outperforms both  $d_2$  and  $d_{\cos}$  across values

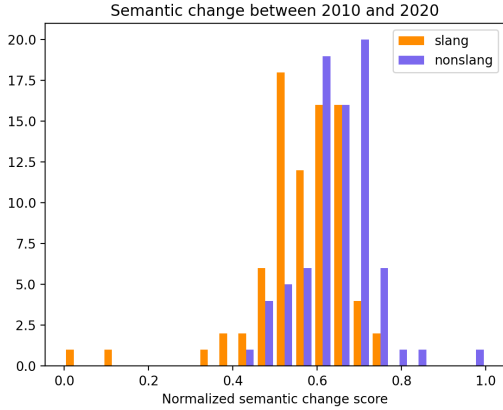


Figure 3: Semantic change scores between 2010 and 2020. We see that nonslang words typically underwent larger changes in meaning throughout the decade.

of  $h$  for PCA. We also note that UMAP projections perform poorly with the APD metrics and that projecting down to 50-100 dimensions seems to be optimal, which maintains 70-85% of the variance as we illustrate in Appendix B.2. In addition, both norm-based metrics  $d_1$  and  $d_2$  perform worse with dimensionality reduction. As our final metric, we choose the best performing configuration on SemEval, with PCA  $h = 100$  and the combined metric, as seen in Table 1.

#### 5.6.4 Semantic Change Scores for Slang and Nonslang Words on the Twitter Dataset

We obtain semantic change scores using the Twitter dataset described in Section 5.1. For the semantic change analysis, we exclude words that have less than 150 tweets in each time period within the dataset, which leaves us with 80 slang and 81 nonslang words. We also normalize the scores according to the sample. The resulting semantic change scores are shown in Figure 3. The mean semantic change scores are  $0.564(\pm 0.114)$  for slang words and  $0.648(\pm 0.084)$  for nonslang words. The difference in semantic change score distributions is significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) via a permutation test. The word with the highest semantic change score of 1 is “anticlockwise”, and the word with the lowest score of 0 is “whadjja”.

## 6 Causal Analysis

### 6.1 Preparation for Causal Discovery

PC-stable is constraint-based and thus makes use of conditional independence tests. In the case of continuous Gaussian variables, we can perform

partial correlation tests to assess conditional independence, since zero partial correlation in this case is equivalent to conditional independence (Baba et al., 2004). As word frequency has been suggested to follow a lognormal distribution (Baayen, 1992), we take the log transform of it. The continuous variables *semantic change*, *frequency change* and *log-frequency* are then all assumed to be approximated well by a Gaussian distribution, which is confirmed by diagnostic density and Q-Q plots (displayed in Appendix D.2).

We categorize the discrete polysemy variable, experimenting with nine different plausible categorizations for the sake of robustness of the results. Word type and POS are categorical in nature. For the categorical variables and for mixes of categorical and continuous variables, we perform chi-squared mutual information based tests (Edwards, 2000), since the approximate null distribution of the mutual information is chi-squared (Brillinger, 2004). For all conditional independence tests we experiment with significance levels  $\alpha \in \{0.01, 0.03, 0.05\}$ .

### 6.2 Resulting Causal Structure

In Figure 4 we see the result from the above approach, with dotted lines representing edges that were apparent in most but not all of the configurations. See Appendix D.3 for a sensitivity analysis.

We first observe that word type has a direct causal effect on both the semantic change score and the frequency shift, without any confounders. We also note that none of the four POS categories, which are all gathered in one node in Figure 4, have a causal link to any of the other variables. We additionally observe a dependency between word type and polysemy. This edge could not be oriented by the PC-stable algorithm, however we manually orient it as outgoing from type and ingoing to polysemy, since an intervention on type should have a causal effect on the number of word senses and not vice versa. It is also interesting to note that polysemy does not seem to have a causal effect on semantic change. Its association with semantic change ( $p < 0.05$ , rejecting the null hypothesis of independence between polysemy and semantic change) is instead confounded by word type.

### 6.3 Causal Effects

In our case of no confounders, evaluating the ACE of word type on semantic change is straightforward, as it reduces to the difference between the

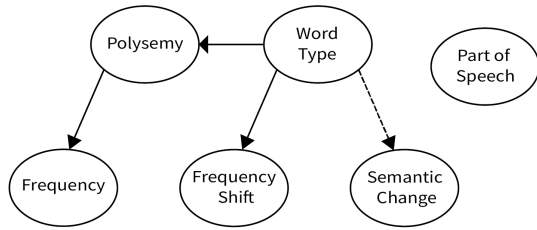


Figure 4: DAG representing the causal relationships in our dataset.

conditional expectations:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbb{E}[S|do(T = \text{nonslang})] - \mathbb{E}[S|do(T = \text{slang})] &= \\ &= \mathbb{E}[S|T = \text{nonslang}] - \mathbb{E}[S|T = \text{slang}] \end{aligned} \quad (8)$$

See Appendix D.4 for a derivation. The case of frequency shift is analogous.

We estimate the expectations by the sample means on the normalized values and get an average causal effect of 0.084, which is a highly significant value ( $p < 0.001$ ) based on a t-test. For the observed changes in relative frequency, calculated according to Eq. (4), we get an average causal effect of 1.017 ( $p < 0.001$  via a t-test).

## 7 Discussion

We analyze the dynamics of frequency shift and semantic change in slang words, and compare them to those of nonslang words. Our analysis shows that **slang words change slower in semantic meaning, but adhere to more rapid frequency fluctuations, and are more likely to greatly decrease in frequency**. Our study is the first computational approach to confirm this property in slang words (González, 1998; Carter, 2011).

To ensure that this is the result of a causal effect, and not mediated through another variable or subject to confounders, we model the data with a causal DAG, by also considering the potential interacting variables polysemy, frequency and POS. We discover that there is no influence of confounders, nor are there mediators between a word’s type and its semantic change or its frequency shift, which **confirms a direct causal effect**.

Our results are consistent with those of Dubossarsky et al. (2017), which found that neither the law relating semantic change to frequency, polysemy (Hamilton et al., 2016) nor prototypicality (Dubossarsky et al., 2015) were found to be as strong as previously thought after a case-control

study using a scenario without semantic change. Indeed, there is no directed path from polysemy or frequency to semantic change in our causal graph, but they are both influenced by word type. We leave for future research to explore whether other categorizations of words sustain this result.

In addition, our analysis does not support the claim that POS could underlie semantic change (Dubossarsky et al., 2016). We note however that as our vocabulary contains 50% slang words, the results need not be consistent with results obtained with a word sample drawn from standard language.

Moreover, in the causal structure we discover that **word polysemy has a direct effect on word frequency**, which is in line with previous linguistic studies showing that a word’s frequency grows in an S-shaped curve when it acquires new meanings (Kroch, 1989; Feltgen et al., 2017), as well as a known positive correlation between polysemy and frequency (Lee, 1990; Casas et al., 2019). We emphasize that this relationship is not merely an artifact of contextualized word representations being affected by frequency (Zhou et al., 2021), since our polysemy score does not rely on word representations as in Hamilton et al. (2016). Our approach is however not without drawbacks – the polysemy variable is collected from dictionaries, which may be subjective in their assignments of word senses.

**Limitations:** Our study, along with previous work on the dynamics of semantic change, are all limited by only considering distributional factors. For instance, linguists have suggested that sociocultural, psychological and political factors (Blank, 1999; Bochkarev et al., 2014) all drive word change dynamics, and slang words are not an exception. Returning to our example “duckface”, it may be that its rapid decrease in frequency is also due to social factors (Miller, 2011). Phrased differently, our causal analysis is not immune to issues with missing variables. Nonetheless, we do believe that such a causal analysis provides a useful tool to understand the underlying mechanisms of language.

## 8 Conclusion

In this work, we have analyzed the diachronic mechanisms of slang language with a causal methodology. This allowed us to establish that a word’s type has a direct effect on its semantic change and frequency shift, without mediating effects from other distributional factors.



664	<b>Ethical Considerations</b>		
665	Our dataset is comprised solely of English text,		
666	and our analysis therefore applies uniquely to the		
667	English language, and results may differ in other		
668	languages. Moreover, for the purpose of this study,		
669	we curated a dataset of 170, 135 tweets. To protect		
670	the anonymity of users, we remove author IDs from		
671	the data, and replace all usernames with the general		
672	token “user.” In the Urban Dictionary dataset we		
673	received from <a href="#">Wilson et al. (2020)</a> , we similarly		
674	remove the author IDs and only consider the entry		
675	text.		
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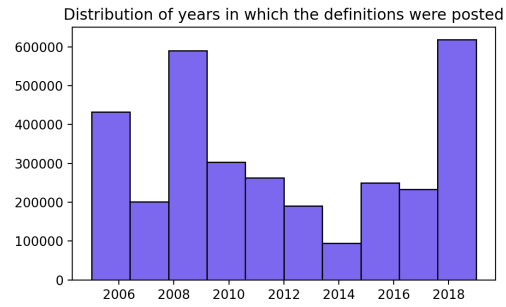


Figure 5: Frequency counts over years in Urban Dictionary data

## A Appendix – Fine-tuning with Urban Dictionary data

### A.1 Preprocessing

The full Urban Dictionary data contains 3, 534, 966 word definitions. In the dataset provided by Wilson et al. (2020), each entry contains a definition, examples in which the word occurs, number of upvotes & downvotes from website visitors, username of the submitter and a timestamp. As the data is crowd-sourced, many of these entries are noisy and of low quality, and we therefore decided to filter these out and fine-tune RoBERTa only on the best quality definitions. After performing data exploration, we came up with two criteria that we found the most indicative of a definition’s quality: the number of upvotes it got, and its upvote/downvote ratio. The distribution of upvotes, downvotes and the upvote/downvote ratios in the dataset can be seen in Figure 6 below. We also note that the number of submissions to Urban Dictionary is relatively well-spread, see Figure 5. This implies that we do not have a strong bias towards more recently popularized slang terms in the dataset, and that we do have representation of the entire time span of interest; 2010 – 2020.

We keep the entries having more than 20 upvotes and an upvote/downvote ratio of at least 2. This leaves us with 488, 010 Urban Dictionary entries, out of which we randomly sample 100, 000 to reduce the computation time in the fine-tuning process. We use both the definitions and the word usage examples for fine-tuning, producing a final dataset of 200, 000 sequences.

### A.2 Training

We randomly split the data into 80% train and 20% test, before training for 10 epochs with an early stopping with patience 3. The batch size was set to



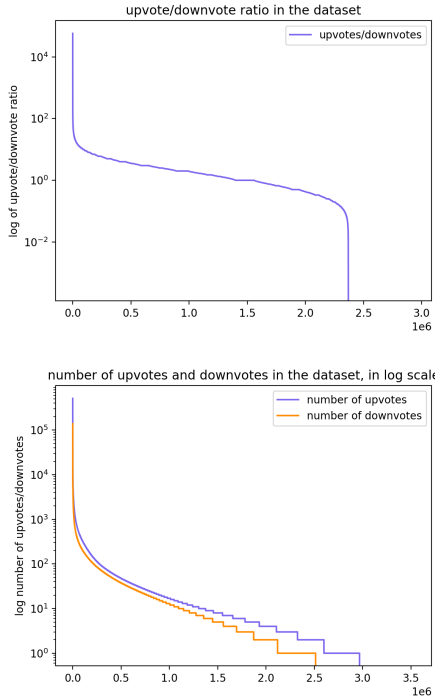


Figure 6: The distributions of (a) upvote/downvote ratio, (b) number of upvotes and number of downvotes among definitions in the dataset in log-scale.

1 in the interest of memory constraints. Following the setup from the pre-training stage as explained in Liu et al. (2019), we use the Adam optimizer (Kingma and Ba, 2015) with  $\epsilon = 10^{-6}$ ,  $\beta_1 = 0.9$  &  $\beta_2 = 0.98$  and a linear learning rate decay. For the learning rate, we argue that since the initialized parameters should provide a solution which is already close to the optimum when evaluating on our dataset (our fine-tuning being the very same masked language modeling task as RoBERTa has already been trained on), the learning rate should be smaller. Thus, instead of picking the learning rate  $\gamma = 6 \cdot 10^{-4}$  as was done by Liu et al. (2019), we experiment with  $\gamma \in \{10^{-4}, 10^{-5}, 10^{-6}, 10^{-7}\}$ . Training was done using an NVIDIA GeForce GTX 1080 8GB GPU and took around 1 to 1.5 days per model.

## B Appendix – Experiments on SemEval-2020

### B.1 Distribution-based Metrics

**Method:** In addition to the distance-based APD metrics, we experiment with two distribution-based ones, namely entropy difference (ED) & Jensen-Shannon Divergence (JSD) (Giulianelli et al., 2020).

We assume a categorical distribution over a set of  $K_w$  word senses for word  $w$  and time period  $t$ . The word sense  $s_i^w$  of an occurrence  $i$  is then given by:

$$s_i^{wt} \sim \text{Cat}(\alpha_1^{wt}, \dots, \alpha_{K_w}^{wt}) =: P^{wt}$$

Given two time periods of word sense distributions, we define the ED metric as

$$|H(s^{wt_2}) - H(s^{wt_1})|$$

with entropy  $H(\cdot)$ . The JSD is given as:

$$\frac{1}{2}KL(P^{wt_1}||M) + \frac{1}{2}KL(P^{wt_2}||M)$$

with  $M = \frac{P^{wt_1} + P^{wt_2}}{2}$  and  $KL(\cdot||\cdot)$  being the KL-divergence.

We obtain the word sense distributions via a clustering of the representations from both time periods. We experiment with K-Means and Gaussian Mixture Models (GMMs), the latter proposed due to its ability to find more general cluster shapes. We also experiment briefly with Affinity Propagation, which has been used in previous semantic change detection work (Martinc et al., 2020; Kutuzov and Giulianelli, 2020; Montariol et al., 2021). However, we find it to be ill-suited for our purposes since it results in an excessive amount of clusters in comparison to how a human would classify word senses.

For both K-means and GMM, we experiment with selecting the optimal  $K_w \in [1, 10]$  through two different procedures. The first one is a slight extension of the method from Giulianelli et al. (2020) – we select the  $K_w$  which optimizes the silhouette score (Rousseeuw, 1987) for a set of different initializations. Their approach does not consider the single cluster case however, so we extend it by setting  $K_w = 1$  when the best silhouette score is below a threshold of 0.1. For K-Means, we further experiment with an automatic elbow method<sup>5</sup> for

<sup>5</sup>See <https://kneed.readthedocs.io/en/stable/index.html>

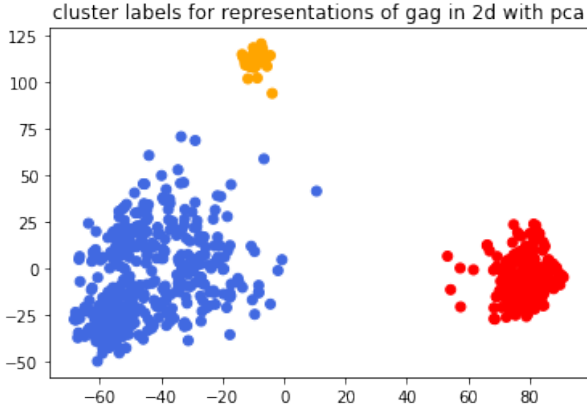


Figure 7: Clusters found with GMM from 2-dimensional PCA representations of the word **gag**.

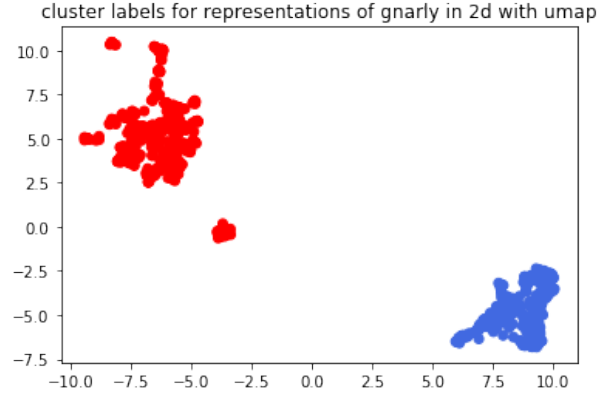


Figure 8: Clusters found with GMM from 2-dimensional UMAP representations of the word **gnarly**.

1108 the sum of squared distances to the cluster cen-  
 1109 troids, which decreases monotonically with the  
 1110 number of clusters. We again select the cluster  
 1111 assignments with the largest silhouette score for  
 1112 multiple random initializations. For GMM, we fur-  
 1113 ther experiment with taking the model which corre-  
 1114 sponds to the best Bayesian Information Criterion  
 1115 (Schwarz, 1978).

1116 **Clustering examples:** In Figure 7 we see three  
 1117 clusters found for “gag.” They do not seem to  
 1118 correspond to word senses however: An example  
 1119 from the first cluster is “user i need a pic of you  
 1120 begging if i ’ m boiling these because boiled eggs  
 1121 make me gag . :d,” an example from the second  
 1122 cluster is “lmao rt user user user so i tried that tuna  
 1123 with cheese and my gag reflexes were in full affect  
 1124 !” and an example from the third cluster is “gag  
 1125 me with a spoon” – all seemingly referring to the  
 1126 sensation of being about to vomit.

1127 We show another example in Figure 8 of the  
 1128 word “gnarly,” this time reduced to 2 dimensions  
 1129 using UMAP. Gnarly has three meanings according  
 1130 to the Online Slang Dictionary: It can either mean  
 1131 very good / excellent / cool, gross / disgusting or  
 1132 painful / dangerous. These three word senses are  
 1133 not separated by UMAP and GMM, for instance  
 1134 both “its a good thing one of my roomies is a dude  
 1135 , who else would kill gnarly spiders in my room  
 1136 when i start to hyperventilate” and “rt user bro my  
 1137 wreck on the scooter was so gnarly like it was fun  
 1138 i love shit like that . i wish i could’ve been on  
 1139 jackass” are put in the first cluster.

Baseline	Score
Combined APD PCA100	0.489
Kutuzov and Giulianelli (2020)	0.605
Kaiser et al. (2020)	0.461
Rother et al. (2020)	0.440

Table 2: Comparison to the three highest performing previous works on the SemEval-2020 Task 1 subtask 2 for the English dataset.

## B.2 Variance Explained by PCA components 1140

1141 Consider Figure 9 for example plots of how much  
 1142 variance is preserved with PCA on the contextual-  
 1143 ized representations.

## B.3 Results 1144

1145 We further present more results of the experimen-  
 1146 tation on the SemEval-2020 Task 1 Subtask 2. All  
 1147 tables show the Spearman’s rank-order correlation  
 1148 between the change metrics and the ground truths.

1149 In Table 2 we compare our best performing setup  
 1150 to the three best performing previous approaches on  
 1151 SemEval-2020 Task 1 Subtask 2. We see that only  
 1152 Kutuzov and Giulianelli (2020) display a higher  
 1153 score, which might be partially explained by the  
 1154 fact that they fine-tune their model on the SemEval  
 1155 test corpora. We do not do this since our main goal  
 1156 is not to beat state-of-the-art on the shared task,  
 1157 but rather to find a good enough model to detect  
 1158 semantic change in slang.

1159 The results comparing the layer representations  
 1160 can be observed in Table 3. As a side observation  
 1161 we also note that the less isotropic first layer rep-  
 1162 resentations seem to perform better than the more  
 1163 isotropic last layer representations.

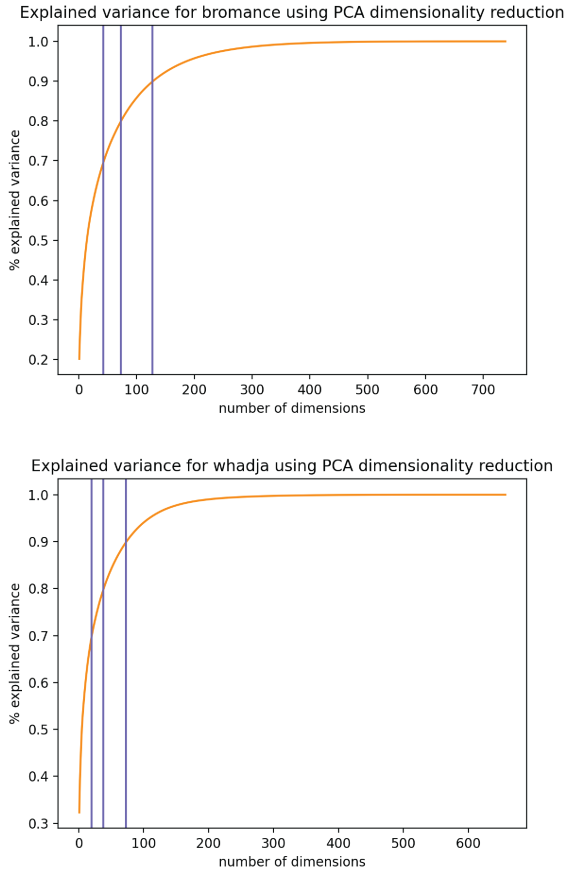


Figure 9: Explained variance by number of components used in PCA for the slang words bromance and whadja

In Table 4 we present a comparison across different layer representations for both APD-based and distribution-based metrics. We observe that none of the distribution-based metrics give significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) results, which dimensionality reduction techniques do not manage to improve. While a few of them do have a slight positive correlation, we omit this approach altogether. The APD results on the other hand show a high correlation for many of the configurations, providing an indication of the APD’s robustness in detecting semantic change. We show a selection of these in Table 6.

	$d_2$ APD	$d_{\cos}$ APD
First layer	0.22	0.234
Last layer	0.07	0.2
Sum of all layers	<b>0.336*</b>	<b>0.332*</b>

Table 3: Spearman’s rank-order correlation coefficients between our semantic change scores and the ground truth across different layer representations ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Reps	Clustering	Metric	Score	$p$
First	-	APD $d_2$	0.220	0.190
First	-	APD $d_{\cos}$	0.234	0.164
First	K-Means	ED	-0.079	0.644
First	K-Means	JSD	0.059	0.73
First	GMM	ED	0.051	0.764
First	GMM	JSD	0.072	0.67
Last	-	APD $d_2$	0.007	0.966
Last	-	APD $d_{\cos}$	0.20	0.236
Last	K-Means	ED	-0.001	0.955
Last	K-Means	JSD	0.202	0.231
Last	GMM	ED	-0.067	0.695
Last	GMM	JSD	-0.096	0.571
All	-	APD $d_2$	0.336	0.042
All	-	APD $d_{\cos}$	0.332	0.045
All	K-Means	ED	0.033	0.846
All	K-Means	JSD	0.089	0.599
All	GMM	ED	-0.133	0.433
All	GMM	JSD	0.0	0.999

Table 4: Comparison across different layer representations with APDs and distribution metrics, with  $K_w$  selected through silhouette scores.

## C Appendix – Hybrid Words

We define hybrid words as words that have both a slang and nonslang meaning, i.e. occurring in both Online Slang Dictionary (OSD) and Merriam Webster (MW). In this section, we compare the polysemy, semantic change, frequency shift as well as the absolute frequency change patterns of hybrid words to slang and nonslangs.

Polysemy is collected for hybrid words from OSD and MW separately. Since the MW dictionary may also contain slang meanings, we filter out definitions labeled as slang, informal or vulgar from these scores. The mean polysemy scores of the slang words are ( $2.074 \pm 2.568$ ) and the mean OSD polysemy scores of the hybrid words are ( $2.580 \pm 2.178$ ), with a non-significant difference ( $p > 0.05$ ) in distribution according a permutation test. This tells us that we are not biasing the

APD	Score	$p$
$d_2$	0.336	0.042
$d_{\text{cos}}$	0.332	0.045
$d_1$	0.409	0.012
$d_2$ and $d_{\text{cos}}$	0.345	0.037
$d_2, d_{\text{cos}}$ and $d_1$	0.398	0.015

Table 5: Comparison across APD metrics for original representations. Representations are sums across all layers.

Dim	APD	Score	$p$
PCA2	$d_2$	-0.153	0.367
UMAP2	$d_{\text{cos}}$	-0.136	0.424
PCA5	$d_{\text{cos}}$	0.209	0.215
PCA5	$d_2$ and $d_{\text{cos}}$	0.268	0.109
UMAP5	$d_2, d_{\text{cos}}$ and $d_1$	-0.146	0.39
PCA20	$d_2$ and $d_{\text{cos}}$	0.42	0.010
PCA50	$d_2, d_{\text{cos}}$ and $d_1$	0.344	0.037
UMAP50	$d_2$	-0.158	0.35
PCA100	$d_1$	0.297	0.074
PCA100	$d_2$ and $d_{\text{cos}}$	0.489	0.002
UMAP100	$d_{\text{cos}}$	-0.133	0.433

Table 6: Comparison across different dimensions with PCA and UMAP for APD metrics. Representations are sums across all layers.

polysemy scores of the slang words by excluding hybrid words.

As for the nonslang meanings of the hybrid words, we get a mean polysemy score of  $(6.880 \pm 6.080)$  which is significantly different ( $p < 0.001$ ) from those of the nonslang words  $(3.079 \pm 2.780)$ . This is an interesting observation, implying that had we included nonslang words with hybrid meaning in our nonslang words sample, the difference in polysemy between slang and nonslang words would have been larger. Some example words of this category with high MW polysemy scores include “split”, “down” and “walk”.

For the relative frequency changes, we present the results as histograms in Figure 10. The frequency change in hybrid words seems to fall between those of the slang words and the nonslang words. We observe a mean and standard deviation of  $-0.154$  and  $0.608$  respectively.

In addition, we compare the absolute relative frequency changes as described in Section 5.3 across slang, nonslang and hybrid words. The histograms are presented in Figure 11. We observe, respectively, a mean and standard deviation of  $1.246$  &

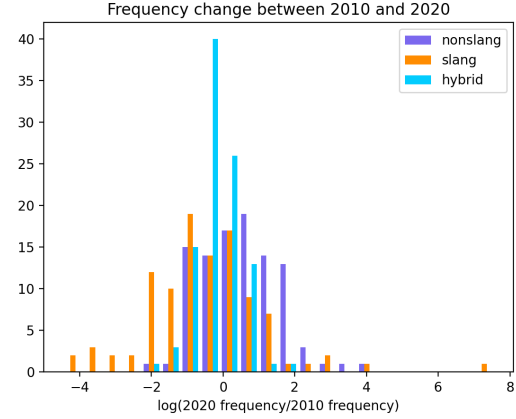


Figure 10: Relative difference in frequency between 2020 and 2010, for slang, nonslang and hybrid words, where a positive score corresponds to an increase in frequency.

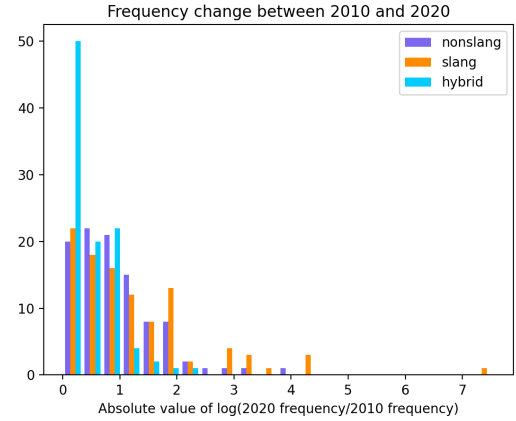


Figure 11: Absolute value of relative difference in frequency between 2020 and 2010, for slang, nonslang and hybrid words, where a larger score corresponds to a larger absolute increase in frequency.

1.180 for the slang words, 0.950 & 0.724 for the nonslang words and 0.482 & 0.402 for the hybrid words. The difference in mean is significant between the slang and nonslang words ( $p < 0.05$ ), indicating that slang words have undergone a larger absolute change in frequency. Furthermore, we note a highly significant difference ( $p < 0.001$ ) in the mean of the hybrid words compared to both the slang and nonslang word means.

We compare the normalized semantic change scores between the slang, nonslang and hybrid words. Histograms over the semantic change scores are shown in Figure 12. We observe that the distribution over hybrid change scores seem again to be centered between the slang and nonslang dis-

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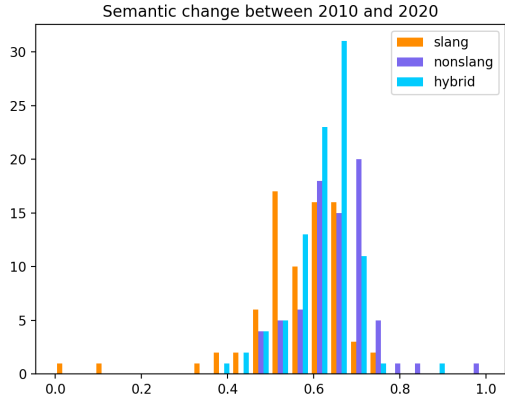


Figure 12: Difference in semantic change score between 2010 and 2020 for slang, nonslang and hybrid words, where a larger score corresponds to a more pronounced semantic change.

1233 tributions, with mean  $0.621 \pm 0.073$ . Both the  
 1234 difference in mean compared to slang words and  
 1235 to nonslang words are significant according to per-  
 1236 mutation tests ( $p < 0.001$  for difference to slang  
 1237 words and  $p < 0.05$  for difference to nonslang  
 1238 words).

## D Appendix – Causal Analysis 1239

### D.1 Preliminary on Constraint-based Causal Discovery 1240

1241  
 1242 **Assumptions** The constraint-based causal dis-  
 1243covery algorithms make use of two main assump-  
 1244tions, namely the global Markov assumption and  
 1245the faithfulness assumption. The global Markov  
 1246assumption (Peters et al., 2017) states that all d-  
 1247separations (defined below) encoded in the causal  
 1248graph imply conditional independencies in the dis-  
 1249tribution over the variables contained in the graph.  
 1250More formally, for a graph  $G = (V, E)$  and distri-  
 1251bution  $\mathbb{P}$  over the variables  $\mathbf{X}_V$  it holds that for any  
 1252disjoint subsets  $A, B$  and  $C$  of  $V$

$$\mathbf{X}_A \perp_d \mathbf{X}_B | \mathbf{X}_C, \quad \text{in } G \quad 1253$$

$$\Rightarrow \mathbf{X}_A \perp\!\!\!\perp \mathbf{X}_B | \mathbf{X}_C, \quad \text{in } \mathbb{P} \quad 1254$$

1255  
 1256 The faithfulness assumption states the converse  
 1257of the global Markov assumption: All conditional  
 1258independencies in the distribution are encoded by  
 1259d-separations in the graph.

1260 **d-separation** Two nodes  $A, B \in V$  are said to  
 1261be *d-separated* (Geiger et al., 1990) by a set of  
 1262nodes  $Z \subset V$  if for all paths between  $A$  and  $B$ , at  
 1263least one of the following holds:

- 1264 • The path contains a directed chain  
 1265  $A \cdots \rightarrow C \rightarrow \cdots B$  or  
 1266  $A \cdots \leftarrow C \leftarrow \cdots B$  such that  $C \in Z$
- 1267 • The path contains a fork  $A \cdots \leftarrow C \rightarrow \cdots B$   
 1268 such that  $C \in Z$
- 1269 • The path contains a collider  
 1270  $A \cdots \rightarrow C \leftarrow \cdots B$  such that  $C \notin Z$   
 1271 or  $C' \notin Z \quad \forall C' \in \text{desc}(C)$  (i.e. neither  $C$   
 1272 nor any of its descendants is in  $Z$ )

1273 **Markov Equivalence** Constraint-based algo-  
 1274rithms use conditional independency tests in order  
 1275to identify a *Markov equivalence class* of DAGs.  
 1276Two DAGs are defined to be Markov equivalent  
 1277if they have the same skeleton (edges omitting di-  
 1278rection) and v-structures. The three vertices  $A, B$   
 1279and  $C$  form a v-structure if  $A \rightarrow B \leftarrow C$  and  $A$   
 1280and  $C$  are not directly connected by an edge. Alter-  
 1281natively, two DAGs are Markov equivalent if they  
 1282describe the same set of d-separation relationships.  
 1283A Markov equivalence class is the set of all Markov  
 1284equivalent DAGs.

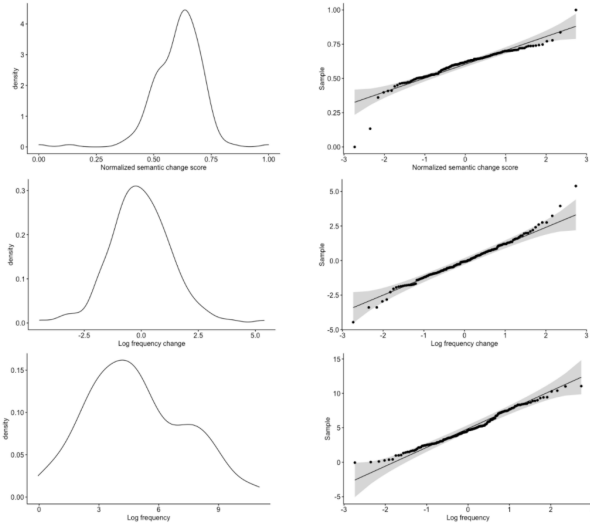


Figure 13: Diagnostic plots for continuous variables, displaying approximate Gaussian shape.

**PC Algorithm** One common constraint-based algorithm is the PC algorithm (Spirtes et al., 2000). Starting with a full DAG, it eliminates an edge between adjacent vertices  $i$  and  $j$  if  $X_i$  and  $X_j$  are conditionally independent given some subset of the remaining variables. This process, including the conditional independence tests, is conducted iteratively starting from a conditioning set of  $k = 0$  to  $k = |V| - 2$ . In addition to the global Markov and faithfulness assumptions, the PC algorithm also assumes causal sufficiency, namely the absence of unobserved confounders. With these assumptions satisfied and access to correct conditional independence relations, it is guaranteed to be sound, complete and uniformly consistent (Kalisch and Bühlmann, 2007).

**PC-stable** PC-stable is an order-independent extension with the same guarantees as the original (Colombo and Maathuis, 2014).

## D.2 Diagnostic Plots

In Figure 13 we present the density and Q-Q plots for semantic change score, log of word frequency and log of frequency change.

## D.3 Sensitivity Analysis on Polysemy

Polysemy is a discrete variable which we treat as an ordered factor in the analysis by splitting it into categories. Since polysmey can be plausibly categorized in different ways, we experiment with 9 different categorizations of it and examine the stability of the resulting graphs. For each categorization,

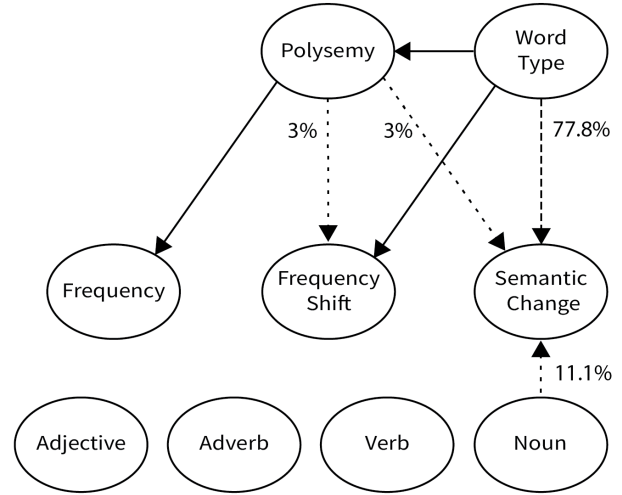


Figure 14: DAG of causal relationships, with the percentage of experiments that found each edge, across different configurations of  $\alpha$  and different categorizations of the polysemy score. Solid edges appeared in 100% of the output graphs.

we run PC-stable with the three significance levels  $\alpha \in \{0.05, 0.03, 0.01\}$ . In Figure 14 we present the results of this sensitivity analysis. We see that the edges Between word type and polysemy, from word type to frequency change, as well as the edge from polysemy to frequency, are apparent in all of the configurations. The edge from word type to semantic change is apparent in 21/27 (77.8%) of the configurations. We also observe a few edges very rarely, and therefore label them as noise and do not take them into account for the causal analysis. These consist of an edge from the POS *Noun* to semantic change in 3/27 (11.1%) of the configurations, and edges from polysemy to frequency shift and from polysemy to semantic change each apparent in 1/27 (3.7%) of the configurations.

By inferring the causal graph from a set of categorizations, we make up for the possible noise in the polysemy variable and ensure that the graph isn't sensitive to small variations in the words' polysemy scores.

## D.4 Causal Inference

Given the causal DAG in Figure 4, we derive the expression for the average causal effect of word type on semantic change. Define the following random variables:  $T =$  word type,  $X =$  polysemy,  $Y =$  frequency,  $Z =$  frequency change and  $S =$  semantic change, with respective probability mass functions  $P_T$  &  $P_X$  and probability density functions  $f_Y$ ,  $f_Z$  &  $f_S$ .

Note that  $t' \in \{\text{slang, nonslang}\}$ . By the truncated factorization for the connected component of the causal DAG (i.e. excluding POS), we have that

$$\begin{aligned} &\mathbb{P}(s, t, x, y, z | do(T = t')) = \\ &f_{Y|X}(y|x) f_{Z|T}(z|t) f_{S|T}(s|t) P_{X|T}(x|t) \mathbb{1}_{\{t=t'\}} \end{aligned}$$

Marginalizing over  $T$ , we get

$$\begin{aligned} &\mathbb{P}(s, x, y, z | do(T = t')) = \\ &= f_{Y|X}(y|x) f_{Z|T}(z|t') f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') \end{aligned}$$

Next, marginalize over the continuous random variables  $Y$  and  $Z$  to get

$$\begin{aligned} &\mathbb{P}(s, x | do(T = t')) = \\ &\int_y \int_z f_{Y|X}(y|x) f_{Z|T}(z|t') f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') dz dy = \\ &\int_y f_{Y|X}(y|x) f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') \underbrace{\left( \int_z f_{Z|T}(z|t') dz \right)}_{=1} dy = \\ &f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') \underbrace{\int_y f_{Y|X}(y|x) dy}_{=1} = \\ &f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') \end{aligned}$$

Finally

$$\begin{aligned} &\mathbb{P}(s | do(T = t')) = \\ &\sum_x f_{S|T}(s|t') P_{X|T}(x|t') = f_{S|T}(s|t') \end{aligned}$$

Taking the expectation, we get

$$\mathbb{E}[S | do(T = t')] = \mathbb{E}_{S|T}[S|t']$$

## E Appendix – Selected Words

In Appendix E we list all the slang and nonslang words used in this study.

Slang	Nonslang
a-list	admitting
badass	adulterous
blankie	agenda
bling	allotted
blowjob	anticlockwise
blumpkin	avoiders
bonehead	awesome
bro	banzai
bromance	bright
bumfuck	butane
bupkis	calorie
chillax	chug
chones	committeeman
colitas	competencies
compo	contenders
conniption	conventionally
crappy	copyediting
dang	deathblow
dis	decomposition
dogg	despoil
duckface	didot
dudette	doubleheader
fanboy	echo
fap	enhancements
gangsta	epilator
glitterati	estimated
gorp	fiddled
gotsta	galavant
gunt	glutton
hasbian	greeting
horribad	grisly
jabroni	groans
jalopy	haircut
jerkwad	heaviest
lame-o	humblest
lemme	ignites
lowkey	inclusive
mcdreamy	intimidator
meme	jugglers
mosey	jute
motherfucking	lawlessness
mozzie	legalist
netizen	milepost
nuker	mistreatment
pedo	moldovan
peeps	morphology
plastered	mushroom
poopy	nonskid
preemie	outlawing
pregos	pantsuit
prettyful	peppy
rapey	performative

<b>Slang</b>	<b>Nonslang</b>
rehab	postural
relly	protocol
roofie	repentant
roshambo	rump
sesh	sabertooth
shart	sailor
shiesty	scallywag
shtick	scheme
sicc	sculptured
sinse	scummiest
skeevy	shield
skyrocket	shylock
slore	snug
snitch	squall
soused	steeple
spam	strap
spec	superabundance
spec-ops	sympathizer
sucky	telogen
tenner	terrifies
thingamabob	trampolining
trisexual	underpainting
tweaker	underrated
twit	unicorn
whadja	unlike
workaround	unmatched
wut	upgrade
zooted	vanadium

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