

Abstract. A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of two Subreddits, r/fTM and r/MtF, illustrates how each community uses nomination strategies to index gendered stances and build coalitions. The use of singular first-person pronouns in r/fTM suggests that members prioritize individuality and maintaining stances of “cool solidarity,” while the use of plural first-person pronouns in r/MtF suggests that members prioritize co-construction of collective identity and intimacy in the face of systemic oppression. This contrast exemplifies how discursive practices emerge from the diverse, specific needs of communities of practice.

Keywords. transgender; queer linguistics; corpus linguistics; discourse analysis; pronouns

1. Introduction. Just like physical communities, online spaces can become viable sites for the development of shared repertoires of linguistic resources and co-constructions of group identity characteristic of sociolinguistic communities of practice. Virtual communities also present an advantage for researchers: vast archives of interaction are documented in text form, able to be parsed and analyzed using corpus software. This study takes the virtual community as a site of exploration, focusing on two Subreddit communities on the social media website Reddit. These communities are r/MtF, an acronym referring to transfeminine individuals, and r/fTM, an acronym referring to transmasculine individuals. Through a combination of corpus linguistics methods and discourse-analytic methods, I identify linguistic forms associated with politeness practices which are used to different degrees by each Subreddit community, particularly within contexts of advice-giving and advice-soliciting. While r/MtF users frequently use first-person plural pronouns in the instantiation of positive politeness practices, r/fTM users frequently use first-person singular pronouns in the instantiation of negative politeness practices. In my analysis, I demonstrate quantitatively and qualitatively how pronouns are embedded in the politeness practices of the two communities and offer possible explanations regarding the broader social function of these practices. Rather than characterizing these differences simply as performances of gendered stances, I offer the conclusion that these politeness practices are reflective of the different strategies which r/MtF and r/fTM users deploy to build solidarity and resist the specific forms of oppression which are relevant to their communities.

2. Background. The methodology of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) draws both on the quantitative methods of corpus linguistics (CL), and the qualitative methods of discourse analysis, in order to uncover phenomena which would be inaccessible through either method on its own. The central quantitative measures used in CL include keyness, collocation, and concordance analysis. Keyness is a measure of the frequency with which tokens of a word type appear in a target corpus compared to a reference corpus, expressed in log likelihood. Brezina (2018) identifies a keyness of over 3.4 as statistically significant, meaning that a word type appears significantly more frequently in one corpus than another. Collocates refer to word types which

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frequently appear next to other word types, while concordances refer to instances of a given word or cluster embedded within co-text. These methods are used to identify words and clusters of interest in large corpora, which can then be investigated in their local context using discourse-analytical frameworks such as positioning, framing, or politeness analysis.

This combination of broad and narrow focus is well-suited to capturing patterns of language use which occur infrequently, or which vary in frequency to an extent that is only visible at a large scale. For example, Baker et al. (2018) use CADS to investigate linguistic constructions of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants in a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers and tabloids; they use CL methods to establish the prominence of various phenomena in the corpus, then use stance analysis to explore how nuanced positive and negative biases regarding immigration are produced.

The corpora analyzed in this study are composed of text data retrieved from the threads and comments of two Subreddit forums on the social media website, Reddit. Unlike most communities which are analyzed in sociolinguistic research, Reddit is not a physical space but an online one. This opens a question: to what extent can text communication on these forums be interpreted as interactions within a community of practice? Herring (2004) identifies several structural, meaning-based, interactional, social, and participatory characteristics which are necessary to characterize an online space as a virtual community. First, participation in the community must be frequent, regular, and self-sustaining over time; community members must also engage in solidarity and conflict management practices. Interactions must be extended and reciprocal, and they should serve (among other purposes) to exchange knowledge and construct in-group identity. The thread and comment format of Reddit allows users to engage in extended exchanges with other identified users, creating a space in which users can exchange knowledge, construct solidarity, and manage conflict between individuals. The particular Subreddits selected for this study have a multi-year history, indicating that the communities established within them have been self-sustaining. These factors, along with the comembership inherent to communities established around a shared gender identity, justify the treatment of both Subreddits used in this study as virtual communities of practice.

Within the interactional context of virtual communities, it becomes particularly valuable to look closely at the use of pronouns. Previous studies have shown that pronouns are capable of performing in interactional work associated with several features of virtual communities, including the construction of in-groups and social actors (Motschenbacher, 2020), and politeness practices instances of solidarity and conflict management (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Motschenbacher (2020) is also a notable example of CADS: he uses CL methods to identify a change in the keyness of personal pronouns in two corpora of queer men's narratives dating from before and after the Stonewall riots. This change in pronoun use is treated as illustrative of a shift in people's understandings of queerness, from an individual experience to a community-based experience.

In analysis of politeness practices, pronoun use represents just one of many strategies which participants adopt in order to manage the face, or public self-image, of themselves and others. Brown & Levinson (1987) divide face into positive and negative face, where positive face refers to an individual's self-image derived from desire to be approved of or appreciated, and negative face refers to one's self-image derived from desire for freedom of action or freedom from imposition. They define face-threatening acts as those acts which threaten a speaker or addressee's positive or negative face. For example, requests or suggestions threaten negative face by placing a demand or an obligation; meanwhile, expressions of disapproval or divisiveness threaten posi-

tive face. Politeness practices serve as redressive actions to minimize face threats, either by claiming common ground and cooperation or by avoiding coercion or assumption. Pronouns may appear in positive politeness contexts as in-group identity markers, forms of address, and assertions of reciprocity; in negative politeness contexts, pronouns may arise within conventionalized indirectness, hedging, or impersonal constructions.

Methods. I extracted the data for the two corpora compared in this study from two Subreddits, r/MtF and r/ftm. These two subreddits represent two of the largest forums on the Reddit website, in terms of number of users, for discussion of trans topics; at the time of writing, r/ftm hosts over two hundred thousand weekly visitors, and r/MtF hosts nearly four hundred thousand weekly visitors. More crucially, these two Subreddits represent the most well-trafficked gender-specific trans topic forums on the website. I extracted the text data using the R package `RedditExtractoR` (Rivera, 2023), which extracts ten pages of publicly available threads from a given Subreddit, as well as five hundred comments per thread. I made several ethical considerations when extracting the data: since `RedditExtractoR` does not connect to Reddit through a specific user account, private threads which would have been accessible to logged-in users were not able to be scraped, ensuring that non-public data was not included in the corpora. Additionally, the usernames of thread posters and commenters were removed from the data before corpus analysis, ensuring that no text could be easily connected to a specific individual. While the lack of attribution of utterances to specific individuals limits the scope of discourse analysis possible using data from these corpora, especially when addressing potential exchanges in thread comments, I made this trade-off to prioritize the safety and anonymity of posters' text data.

I conducted two scrapes of r/MtF and r/ftm: the first was run in June 2025, and the second was run six months later in December 2025. The text data was further processed by filtering out deleted threads and comments, as well as comments made by Reddit's AutoModerator, using the `_stringr` (Wickham, 2025) and `dplyr` (Wickham et al., 2023) R packages. All posts and comments consisting of embedded URLs were also filtered from the data. After filtering, the r/MtF corpus consisted of 1,152,208 tokens and 31,281 types; the June 2025 scrape produced 943 threads and 7,652 comments, and the December 2025 scrape produced 703 threads and 11,658 comments. Meanwhile, the r/ftm corpus consisted of 688,749 tokens and 21,649 types; the June 2025 scrape produced 976 threads and 1,854 comments, and the December 2025 scrape produced 564 threads and 6,181 comments. Note that while the number of threads in each corpus and scrape are comparable, the number of comments in each r/MtF scrape was greater than the number of comments in both r/ftm scrapes, resulting in an overall smaller number of tokens in the r/ftm corpus. However, the two corpora were deemed adequately comparable since they both reflected similar numbers of threads across similar spans of time.

I analyzed the cleaned r/MtF and r/ftm corpora using `AntConc` corpus analysis software (Anthony, 2025). r/MtF was treated as the reference corpus in order to determine the keyness of tokens in the r/ftm target corpus, and respectively the r/ftm corpus was treated as the reference in order to determine the keyness of tokens in the r/MtF corpus. This meant that the frequency of given tokens in each corpus were not being contrasted with a baseline of usage such as the British National Corpus or Corpus of Contemporary American English, but rather against the occurrence of that token in a different context of its use on Reddit, allowing for a direct comparison of language use between the two Reddit communities. Discourse analysis was performed on tokens in context using `AntConc`'s Keyword in Context (KWIC) function, which displays tokens within their co-text.

3. Results. Keyword analysis of r/MtF and r/fm showed a clear and expected difference in the topics and themes most prevalent in each corpus. The token types which appeared most frequently in r/MtF compared to r/fm included “women,” “woman,” “girl,” “estradiol,” and “laser,” while the token types which appeared most frequently in r/fm compared to r/MtF included “men,” “man,” “guys,” “testosterone,” and “binder.” As well as referring to gender, these token types reference gender-affirming practices associated with transfeminine and transmasculine communities, respectively. More surprisingly, the keyword analysis showed a cross-corpus contrast in the use of singular and plural first-person pronouns. In the r/fm corpus the singular pronouns “my,” “I,” and “me,” as well as the negative polarity items “any” and “anyone,” emerged as key compared to the r/MtF reference corpus; meanwhile, in the r/MtF corpus the plural pronouns “we,” “us,” and “our,” and emerged as key. Additionally, the second person pronoun “you” was key in r/MtF compared to the r/fm reference, but this was only statistically significant in a comparison of the June 2025 subcorpora.

Word	Frequency	Normed Frequency	Keyness
we	3152	27.4	213.94
us	1731	15.0	427.16
our	883	7.7	101.58
you*	7300	144.1	170.02

Table 1. Key Pronouns in r/MtF. Normed frequency represents occurrence per ten thousand words. Note: “you” is only key in the June 2025 subcorpus.

Word	Frequency	Normed Frequency	Keyness
my	10072	146.2	150.01
I	32658	474.2	34.00
me	5053	73.36	5.21
any	1465	21.3	43.97
anyone	728	10.6	69.35

Table 2. Key Pronouns and NPIs in r/fm. Normed frequency represents occurrence per ten thousand words.

Table 1 displays the main findings of the quantitative analysis of the r/MtF target corpus, focusing on occurrence of plural first-person pronouns and “you.” For each token type, the table shows the absolute frequency of the type in the corpus, the normalized token frequency per ten thousand words, and the keyness of the type relative to the r/fm reference corpus. Table 2 focuses on the occurrence of first-person singular pronouns and the negative polarity items “any” and “anyone” in the r/fm target corpus relative to the r/MtF reference corpus.

This difference in frequencies of pronoun use across the two corpora implies a concomitant difference in the use of discourse styles and activity types which make use of pronouns; a close analysis of the co-text of singular and plural pronoun use in each corpus through collocation and concordance analysis is necessary in order to identify how these differences emerge in patterns of interaction. The next sections combine corpus and discourse-analytic methods to identify the interactive functions of singular and plural pronouns, as well as “any” and “anyone,” in each corpus.

3.1. PLURAL PRONOUNS IN THE R/MtF CORPUS. Close qualitative analysis of the contexts in which the plural pronouns “we,” “us,” and “our” appear in the r/MtF corpus shows that these pronouns are frequently deployed by users to construct in-group identity, both as users of the subreddit and as a broader transfeminine community. The five examples below are illustrative of the context in which first-person pronouns frequently appear; example 1 is taken from a thread text, while examples 2-3 are taken from comments.

- (1) Hey girls. I've been feeling so afraid lately. I've been super scared of how the world treats us. The politics of the world makes me feel so fragile.
- (2) something that to us is completely normal shit (e.g. our existence), is regarded as 'political' by others.
- (3) Either way there's a sizeable chunk of users like me not from the US, some of us are even living in theocratic fascist states where our existence is explicitly illegal. There's no competition of who has it worse, but we can be accommodating of each other without getting defensive. We're one community who's in this together.

In 1, the user takes a fearful affective stance towards “how the world treats us,” positioning herself as a member of a global transfeminine community. Similarly in 2, the user contrasts “us” with “others,” simultaneously constructing an in-group and out-group. She positively evaluates the in-group by assessing “our existence” as “normal shit,” while constructing the out-group’s treatment of this normal existence as dubious through the use of quotation marks around “political.” While examples 1-2 construct the in-group as a broad transfeminine community, example 3 negotiates the construction of an in-group identity for users of the Subreddit. Here, the user produces a metacommentary on the forum’s makeup, naming “a sizeable chunk of users like me not from the US.” Although she positions herself within this subgroup of users “like me,” later in the comment she re-integrates this group with the rest of the r/MtF community with first-person plural pronouns, “we can be accommodating of each other,” and “we’re one community.”

These examples are valuable as demonstrations of r/MtF’s status as a viable virtual community in Herring’s (2004) conception: they illustrate both management of in-group identity and conflict management. Beyond constructing an in-group identity for users of the Subreddit, these examples also show how users construct the broader transfeminine community as a cohesive entity with shared experiences and shared stakes. A collocation analysis of words which appear most frequently as objects of the possessive pronoun “our” illuminates the nature of these shared stakes – that is, the entities which users make collective claims over. Among the top ten collocates of in an immediate righthand position to “our” are the words “bodies,” “rights,” “existence,” “lives,” and “community.” Indeed, “our existence” appears in example 2 above. Thus, comembership in the community is determined on grounds not only of gender or transgender status, but on shared embodied experiences and political status.

The construction of a forum-level and transfeminine community-level in-group through plural first person pronoun usage serves to build solidarity amongst users; solidarity is also produced at the turn level through the use of the second person pronoun “you.” The word “you” was key relative to the r/ftm subcorpus only in the June 2025 scrape; nonetheless, its usage remains qualitatively valuable to explore in conjunction with other structural features. Consider the following examples from comments, where unlike in the main threads, there is space for users to engage in extended back-and-forth exchanges, such that “you” is available for use to refer to specific interactants.

- (4) Hey ! we all have bad days it's ok hun >ö<û I don't know your age but you can look at it this way if you can start in 6month in your lifespan it's not that much of a long time for you to start to journey to finally be yourself.
- (5) Fools that make anyone feel bad for who they are, are assholes trying to fill their insecurity void with our tears. Fuck them. If you want to do HRT great. If you dont great. Just be yourself and follow your own authentic path. We love you sister >ö>/=

These examples are representative of the context in which “you” most frequently appears: within the frame of advice-giving, as in “you can look at it this way” (4) and “just follow yourself and follow your own authentic path” (5). “You” as a direct, high-intimacy form of address is coupled with address terms like “hun” (4) and “sister” (5), as well as emojis conveying positive affect, which further establish solidarity between users. Note that the first-person plural pronoun “we” is also present in these examples, again serving to construct in-group and out-group identity, “we all have bad days” (4) and “assholes trying to fill their insecurity void with our tears” (5), and to define and animate a cohesive transfeminine community, “we love you sister” (5).

These two structural features associated with pronoun use – positioning within a collective in-group identity, and high-intimacy advice-giving practices – both serve in the management of users’ positive face, their self-image derived from desire to be approved of or appreciated. By constructing a shared identity through the use of “we,” “us,” and “our,” users claim common ground with each other, while the use of emojis, terms of endearment, and the second-person pronoun “you” functions to perform exaggerated affiliation; both of these practices are identified in Brown & Levinson (1987) as components of positive politeness.

3.2. SINGULAR PRONOUNS AND NPIS IN THE R/FTM CORPUS. In contrast to the management of positive face in the r/MtF corpus, the practices associated with pronoun use in the r/ftm corpus suggest an orientation towards management of negative face. In particular, the use of first-person singular pronouns in the corpus occurs in moments of narrative production, which are deployed in activity types including advice-seeking, advice-giving, and responding. In the examples below, users in r/ftm engage in different activity types by producing narrative discourse types.

- (6) Thats okay. I plug the vibe in to charge and fall asleep. Lol. I still had a bit of fun and pleasure. Anywhoo, I suggest trying to take away the pressure of always having to finish
- (7) i live in a conservative asian country so being able to switch between a guy and girl voice is helpful for me to avoid discrimination
- (8) I am 5'0, I get reallyyyy dysphoric about my height... but ngl this post makes me feel a little bit better about that

Example 6 represents an instance of advice-giving extracted from comment text. While this user does “suggest” directly, he does not refer specifically to the addressee using the practices (second-person pronouns, address terms) which are visible in the r/MtF corpus. Instead, he frames his advice as a narrative, constructing himself as a figure in that narrative using the first-person singular pronoun “I,” as in “I plug in the vibe” and “I still had a bit of fun.” This narrative serves as an exemplar which the addressee has the option to follow, but which carries less force than explicit modal verbs such as “you should.” Example 7 is taken from a thread post where the user asks for advice on whether to restart testosterone therapy; the user embeds his request for advice into a narrative of his past experiences with testosterone, positioning his experience, as well as the stances he takes as a character within the narrative, as particular rather than shared or universal. In example 8, a user comments on another post to express an affiliative stance. Rather than

using the comment section as an opportunity to produce more conversational discourse through the use of “you,” he constructs “the post” as the subject of his affiliation and describes its effect using the first-person singular pronoun “me,” again constructing his experience as particular rather than shared with other users or with the transmasculine community as a whole.

Instances of advice solicitation in r/ftm also show frequent use of the negative polarity items “any” and “anyone,” which are key in comparison to the r/MtF corpus. The following examples are illustrative of key structural features present in advice-soliciting; in both cases, users solicit advice regarding best practice for administering hormone injections.

(9) My surgeon said its safe but I wanted to know if anyone else had similar experience.

Thank you =G<

(10) Its very possible my technique has changed, so if anyone has any tips on getting into better injection habits that would be great

In both examples, the users frame their advice-soliciting acts within narratives of particularity marked by first-person pronouns: “my surgeon said it’s safe” (9) and “its very possible my technique has changed” (10). The solicitation acts are further embedded in moments of conventionalized indirectness, “I wanted to know if” (9) and “if anyone has any tips on... that would be great” (10) that lower the deontic status (Curl & Drew, 2008) of the speakers, positioning them as less entitled to make demands (ask advice) of others. Moreover, the use of the negative polarity item “anyone” avoids selecting a particular individual as the addressee of the advice-solicitation, following the negative politeness principle which prioritizes the maintenance of negative face through avoiding imposition and giving options (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

The use of singular first-person pronouns in narrative production, as well as their use alongside negative polarity items in conventionally indirect advice solicitation, function to manage the Subreddit users’ the negative face, their self-image derived from the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition. This avoidance of imposition upon other users is achieved through the use of narratives which frame experiences as particular rather than shared, and through the use of conventionalized indirectness and negative polarity items in advice-soliciting activities which lower the entitlement of the speaker to receiving advice; Brown & Levinson (1987) identify these practices as aspects of negative politeness.

4. Discussion and Conclusions. It has been established that the users of r/MtF and r/ftm engage in different patterns of politeness practices, which manifest linguistically as a statistically significant difference in the frequency of singular and plural first person pronouns across the two corpora. Note that this pattern does not imply the complete absence of positive politeness practices in r/ftm or of negative politeness practices in r/MtF, but rather a difference in the distribution of the specific acts associated with the pronouns which are key in each corpus. It is more difficult, however, to put a finger on the social function which these politeness practices serve in each community.

Within a Western cultural matrix, positive politeness practices – shows of support, approval, and intimacy – are associated with femininity, and negative politeness practices – sensitivity to others’ need not to be intruded upon – are associated with masculinity. The association between nonchalant stances and masculinity in Western fraternity contexts has been well established by Kiesling (2004), suggesting that users of r/ftm may be using negative politeness to index a similar stance of “cool solidarity.” But cultural norms are not universal. Ochs (1992) shows that associations between linguistic forms, the practices in which they are embedded, and the (gendered) identities which they index are mediated by the culture-specific norms. The Subreddits

analyzed in this study represent cohesive virtual communities of practice, but their members do not come from the same cultural contexts – although most discourse in these Subreddits is conducted in English, there is substantial discussion of the experiences of members outside the United States and Global North. Can it be fairly asserted, then, that users of r/MtF are doing femininity by using positive politeness, or that users of r/ftm are doing masculinity by using negative politeness?

I urge caution in attributing the intention of doing gender to acts, stances, and linguistic forms which have gendered cultural associations. While evidence that the users of these Subreddits do indeed associate their linguistic practices with their gender could be used to draw a stronger conclusion, there are not grounds to make such a strong claim in the current corpus analysis. It is more reasonable to conclude that these practices are not direct and intentional indexes of gender, but rather strategies which each community has developed in order to build solidarity in resistance to the different forms of oppression which they face. Trans women are much more visible in the media and politics of 2025 than trans men, and often face discrimination even within queer spaces. It is reasonable that the formation of a close-knit, affirming community would become a form of survival and resistance for users of r/MtF. This hypothesis could be further tested through the collection of additional dated supcorpora in subsequent months and years as the trans people's sociopolitical circumstances evolve.

This study also highlights the ability of CADS to investigate phenomena which CL or discourse-analytical methods alone could not address. The choice to focus the discourse-analytic portion of the study on pronoun use was decided based on the quantitative results of the corpus analysis; without the discourse-analytic portion, there would be no explanation for the keyness of singular and plural pronouns in each corpus.

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