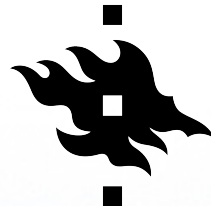


HOW DO WE WRITE IN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA?

ANNA MAURANEN

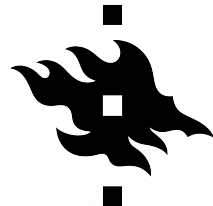
24 FEBRUARY 2016



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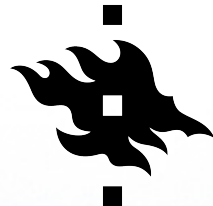
WHAT IS ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA (ELF)?

- ELF is **second language use (SLU)**
- Distinct from learner language (LL) or SLA



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- ELF much like dialect contact:
speakers of mutually comprehensible varieties
- The varieties, 'lects', (Finglish, Singlish, Chinglish, Dunglish...)
- result from **parallel** cross-linguistic influence
- **'similects'** (parallel lects)
- similects are parallel idiolects of speakers of a particular language background in another language they have all learned



Similects are the outcome of L2 learning. This is the affinity between SLA and ELF.

ELF 'lects' are not dialects,
< dialects develop in interaction in (local) communities

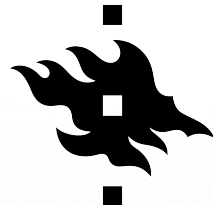
Similects remain first-generation hybrids

- Do not diversify, change, develop dialects and sociolects...
- But embody language contact
- -> **ELF a second-order contact between similects**
(including varieties and dialects of ENL speakers)



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- In ELF, as in dialect contact, spoken language central in negotiating meaning across differences
- But language change takes place from above and from below (e.g. Rissanen 2008; D'arcy & Tagliamonte 2015),
thus different modes need taking into account



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ELF AND OTHER ENGLISHES

Corpus-based studies:

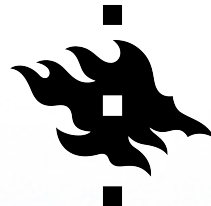
- Explicitation tendency in ELF

E.g. in negotiating topics, fronting ('left dislocation') particularly common (Mauranen 2007,2012)

wealthy people they are opposed to this monopoly insurance system

- Also more common in 'New Englishes' (Paulasto 2015)
- Laitinen (2015): multi-feature comparison of several varieties
- LL stands out, but ELF close to New Englishes;
- (Laitinen forthc.) ELF polarises the trends seen in core- Englishes modals

-> SLU distinct from SLA/LL



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FEATURES OF SPOKEN ELF (1)

Regularisation: Irregular and exceptional forms get proportionally rarer

Verbs (heard; losed)

Nouns uncountable -> countable (offsprings; furnitures)

Most frequent lexis proportionally even more frequent

Non-standard forms thrive

Articles: (in Polish language; in the real time)

Prepositions: (discuss about; in the first time ; it differs of those)



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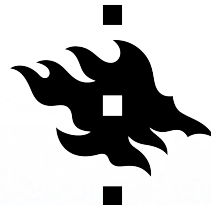
FEATURES OF SPOKEN ELF (2)

Morphology unusually **productive**

insuitable; unuseful; territorial; maximalise; standardisate;

Creative solutions: mediatic; far-away uncle; let's stop about it

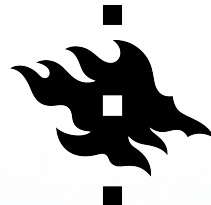
-> both simplification (regularisation) and complexification (increased variability)



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ACADEMIC CONTEXT (1)

- In academia, written genres carry most prestige
- Academic research publication
a highly **regulated** domain,
for **research quality**
and for **language**:
- Journals - 'texts checked by a native speaker'.
- Nevertheless, language revisers' comments can be trivial (Ventola & Mauranen, 1991),
- counterproductive (Owen, 2011),
- or lead to shifts in the knowledge claims authors wish to make (Lillis & Curry, 2010).



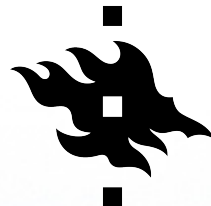
WRITING: DISCOURSES OF STANDARDS

Standard languages primarily constructed on the basis of the written text and for the written text.

Speaking and writing treated differently in spontaneous ELF language regulation in academia

Hynninen (2012), (SELF project):

- teachers and students make more comments on written than spoken text
- comments on writing more often concerned with correctness
 - > acceptability wider for speech than writing



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NEGOTIATING BOUNDARIES

S13: lecturer; other speakers: students; S5 giving presentation with slides (all L2 users)

<S5> ... again some benefits and **disbenefits** it's very rapid growth and very adaptable to er different climates [as well] </S5>

<S13> [er **disbenefit**] **is not an english word** so try to find something else </S13>

<S14> which one </S14>

<S13> er **disbenefit** so it's [er problems] <SU-3> [detriments] </SU-3> or detriments or whatever but <S14> oh yeah </S14> yeah </S13>

<S5> okay [i i didn't] <SU> [@(xx)@] </SU> come up that @one myself@ [but (xx)] </S5>

<S13> **[it's good to develop the english language] you can always do it** </S13>

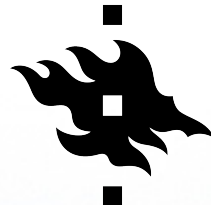
<S5> **yeah of course i can** </S5>

<SS> @@ </SS>



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- S13 in the extract is an academic, the others are students.
Native- English students present,
but were not consulted,
nor did they enter the discussion



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NEGOTIATING BOUNDARIES (2)

S1: [yeah] from time to time I think er it kind of er , first this law for that you can **registerate** your er how you say your (S5: sort of partnership) partnership er I think er you cannot argue for too much in in in Finland you have to , go li- by [steps] (S5:[(it was)]) yeah (S5: yes) with small steps so [that you can]

S5: [was it] in this , er

S1: it was [together]

S5: [this spring] , spring 2002 was it 2001 (S1:mhm) that it became possible in Finland that you can **register** you can't [get] (NS2: [ah]) married and you can't you can **register** yourself , to be partners [with]



S1: ...you can **registrate** your er how you say your...

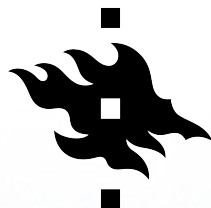
S5:... you can **register** you can't get married and you can't you can **register** yourself ...

S5:... very much against **this, er registration thing** because ...

S3: ... between **registration** and marriage so

S5:... got the right to **registrate** so I suppose in another ten years ...

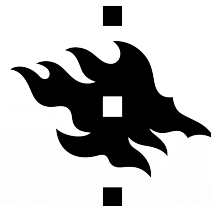
S1: ... er getting re- **registrated** was were kept together but then ...



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- Again, S1, the speaker who wins out is the academic who is the seminar leader.
- Academic status takes precedence over native language status

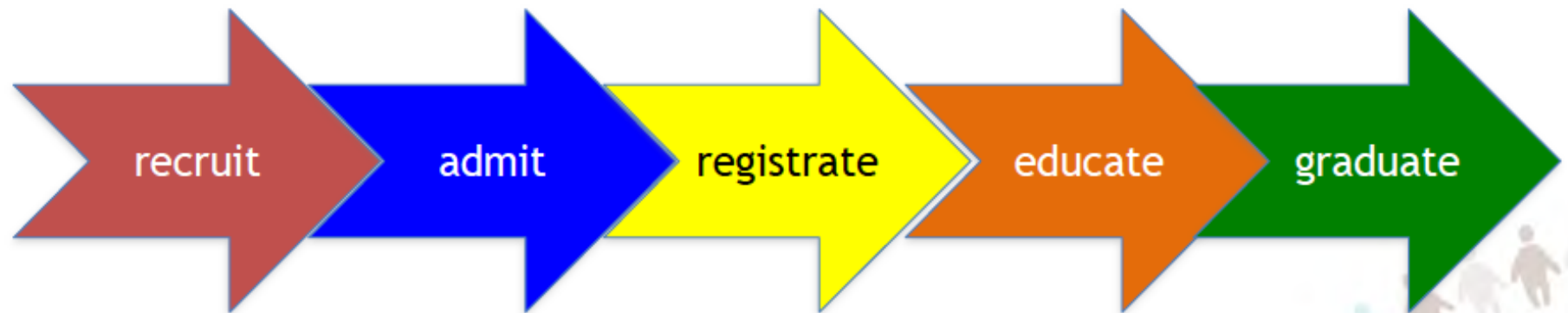
And in writing?



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University / faculty

faculty



administration

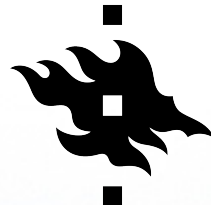
academic



Leadership Forum in Higher Education

RESEARCH QUALITY IS PRIMARY

- In 2012, *Cell* editorial argued that editors and reviewers should not criticize non-native writers for their grammar, but look beyond language errors and evaluate the science:

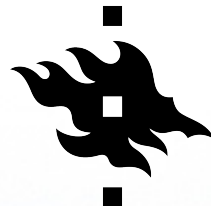


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1. Nonnative speakers of English can write effective manuscripts, despite errors of grammar, syntax, and usage, if the manuscripts are clear, simple, logical, and concise. (We note that native speakers of English sometimes write manuscripts exhibiting good grammar, yet filled with muddled and confusing logic.)
2. When possible, reviewers and editors of manuscripts should look beyond errors in grammar, syntax, and usage, and evaluate the science.
3. It is inappropriate to reject or harshly criticize manuscripts from nonnative speakers of English based on errors of grammar, syntax, or usage alone.

[...]

(Editorial of *Cell*, Drubin & Kellogg 2012)

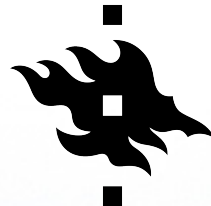


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THE DIGITAL AGE

- Landscapes of writing have undergone major change as digital communication has altered the practices and forums of public writing, and its gatekeeping activities.
- Boundaries of public and private spheres have shifted
- Linguistic borderlines less distinct:
- Language mixing is common, web texts need not be in native or local languages, the distinction between speech and writing has become blurred:

Texts, tweets, blogs and chats have many speech-like qualities, transforming print-based notions of genre, register and audiences



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BLOGS CROSS LANGUAGES

FROM A COMMENT THREAD:

(C – commenter B – blogger)

<C2 ON 19.06.2011>

J'avais écrit en anglais, mais visiblement, vous parlez français. Je reprends donc en français.

Je tombe sur votre étude sur twitter, par hasard, et je suis un peu étonné des résultats, pour ne pas dire dubitatif. /.../

Fact 1 / 2 : je suis presque sûr que l'âge moyen des SNS (en particulier facebook) baisse. beaucoup d'utilisateurs sont des ados ou pré-ados qui /.../

Fact 3 : *Why not...*

Fact 4 : oui, effectivement, cette étude n'apporte rien de nouveau sur la force des liens faibles et notions dérivées.



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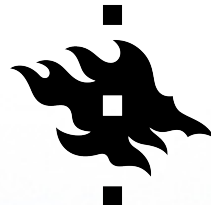
<B1 ON 22.06.2011>

Hiya, you are more comfortable with French -- understandably. Yet, for the English-speaking readers of this blog to benefit from your comment, my reply will be in the same language of the post.

First, let me state that this is not -- as you imply --

/.../ Instead you focus on the results -- mainly dismissing them, or countering them via anecdotal evidence /.../ have little if any relevance to the matter at hand.

Moreover, could you please substantiate the following statement « I am *almost* sure that the average age of SNS users (especially FB) is decreasing » (« je suis presque sur que l'age moyen des SNS (en particulier facebook) baisse»)?



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WHAT IS WRITTEN ACADEMIC ELF LIKE? PROCESSES

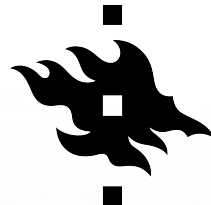
The overarching driver of lexicogrammatical change is the process of **approximation** (Mauranen 2012) and its counterpart **fixing** (Vetchinnikova 2014)

(*approximation* – rough equivalents of target elements recognizable on the basis of function, form, or meaning)

(*fixing* - settling on a preferred expression for a given meaning)

The processes in speech and writing the same

Central processes result in **simplification** as well as **complexification**



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THE WRELFACORPUS

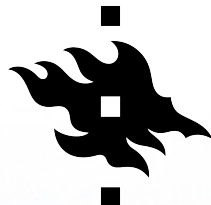
Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

www.helsinki.fi/elfa

The first corpus of written ELF
Completed 2015; 1.7 million words of written ELF

Three parts:

- (1) PhD examiner's reports (from UH)
- (2) Research blogs (+ comments)
- (3) Academic research articles (< SciELF corpus, international collaboration)



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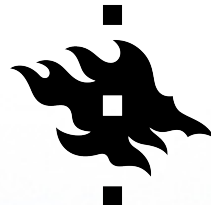
SIMPLIFICATION

- **Regularisation of morphology**

*...have improved the toughness and **stabilities**, but also show higher proton conductivity than that of the m-PBI membrane.*

*There are **evidences** that WBV training improves strength and power the blend membranes were studied **in details**, which were considered to be suitable for PEMs materials in*

*It **striked** me that the few summaries I checked were very unstructured and short, unlike most summaries I see.*



SIMPLIFICATION

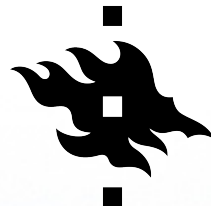
- **Syntactic shortcuts**

*After **reported first** by Wainright et al. in 1995 [4], the application of PA-PBI has been extensively studied*

*...however the flight time was generally much **longer that of direct transfer.***

*This complication **provokes that** the spillage factor **be** generally scaled from accurate calculations only made for some particular cases.*

- **Concentration of usage on the most frequent lexis**



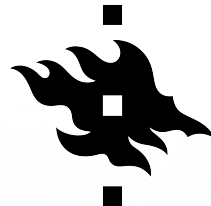
COMPLEXIFICATION

- **Morphological ‘overproductivity’**

*this approach would be rather **unappropriate** for heliostats located at the south of the tower*

"that's the window when Mecp2 is dramatically **upregulated**" in the brain.

This **unvisualised** "sample" is taken care by the passengers thoroughly,
the number of dated landslides throughout the world increased **severalfold**
and introduction of modern dating methods



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- **Morphological approximation**

and a p-value for each result, to *quantificate* how much the alignment between the query sequence and the target is good.

a collection of *top-nodge* articles previously published or accepted for publication

- **Word class flipping**

...differ substantially from lowland rivers due to *often* occurrence of vertically oscillating bedforms

The main proposal of this work is that, with the *nowadays* computation power,

Based on the bakhtinian *presuppose* that every utterance reflects and refracts reality, it is possible to suggest that



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Lack of agreement

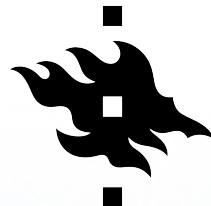
besides **this** methodological and historiographical **problems**
new **particle are** introduced
the **simulations suggests** tens of keV O+ energies
an ambitious project, as **it raise** philosophical, aesthetics and musical
issues

Tense slips

The study clearly **shown** that

Voice flips

it **was discover** that
can be consider a kind of



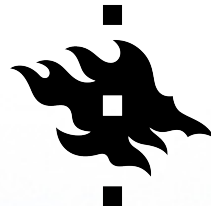
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Approximate use of articles,

relevant for **researcher** working on nanomagnetism
question of **an genuine** “Austrian philosophy”
the idea of **a intellectual** virtue,

prepositions

unfortunate impression that the thesis now sometimes **conveys of** has the
four thinkers
the neighbouring heliostats **affecting to** the analysed one
these new cultivars may **contribute for** the effective reduction of crop
losses



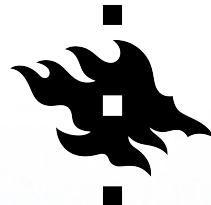
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and phraseology

In this way the manuscript **has an smooth reading.**
which could **put some constrain to** their discussion

Nonstandard quantifiers

a significant **amount of considerations**
the overall **number of data**



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ENHANCED VARIABILITY

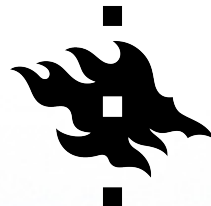
3rd person marking

*This work **present** experimentally determined heat of absorption*

*This means that government insurance covers potential loss from defaults of such loans and may **affects** its approval process.*

*Several studies **emphasises** the sensitivity of dragonflies*

*Section 5 addresses the economic significance of the different forecasts and **show** how it varies in different market conditions.*



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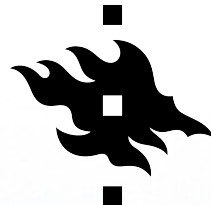
- **Variable expressions for the same meaning**

On the opposite, according to previous studies, AC can act as reaction site,

Opposite of some other studies,

In contrary to previous investigations on the topic,

...higher channel gradients, coarser sediments and *contrary*, pool-riffles had greater width/depth ratios



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Morphological approximations further from the target

... internal dynamics of *adjacted* slopes (Chiverrell et al. 2009).

...simulated training system which is distributed and *visibilitted*.

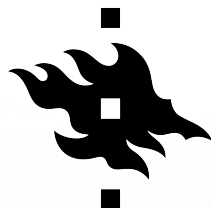
...energetic factors may *variate* during such search.

Variable spelling

Another exposed category is *do-it-your-self* insulators
during *the 1970-ties* / *1970ies*,

Since *'90*, the most popular; Wittgensteins's, *mens* and *womens* eating
patterns,

This, in *it self*; a healthier *life style*

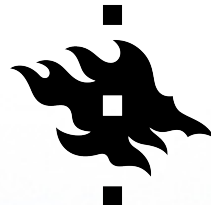


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SOMETIMES CONTEXT ILLUMINATES THE FORMATION PROCESS

- Back-formation:

bed sediments of headwater channels of Appalachian Mountains are strongly *predisposed* by an ultra-fine-scale dynamic equilibrium with bedrock erodibility (...variance in resistance of individual geological units was recognised as one of the downstream coarsening *predisposition*.)

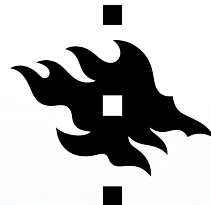


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-> USING ELF CHANGES ENGLISH:

Approximation paves the way by opening up well-entrenched conventions;

Fixing settles new preferences
(e.g. *so to say*)



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Concordance Results 2:

Concordance Hits 21

Hit	KWIC	File
1	their fermionic superpartners, so to say, and vice versa. The	BDIS_TRF19 copy.txt 18 1
2	nhagen and Paris, and in doing so to say something about their	B11A copy.txt 102 1
3	ased on love and cohabitation (so to say, based on the fact	SSH62.txt 481 1
4	egal marriage itself has been, so to say, "emptied" of its pre	SSH62.txt 481 2
5	different legal ways for the, so to say, "institutionalisatio	SSH62.txt 481 3
6	These Laws usually establish, so to say, "non-marital" impedi	SSH62.txt 481 4
7	onclusion is that from this -- so to say -- functional perspec	SSH62.txt 481 5
8	anus takes from Statilius are, so to say, 'rare' words, with t	SSH65.txt 484 1
9	pear at the end, after some -- so to say -- less regular or le	SSH65.txt 484 2
10	cept of sa-dpyad , that is -- so to say -- the traditional Ti	UDEFS18A copy.txt 516 1
11	happen isn't in my toolbox, so to speak. So if you don'	BDIS_TRF02 copy.txt 1 1
12	hey perturb with their fingers so to speak -- which make real	BDIS_TRF05 copy.txt 4 1
13	have a light shone on it, so to speak, the better off for	BDIS_TRF05 copy.txt 4 2
14	he is the Gauss of physics so to speak. 'T	B01C copy.txt 28 1
15	not an octave but a nonave , so to speak. Meanwhile I alw	B03F copy.txt 43 1
16	after "stumbling upon myself", so to speak. Reference	B06G copy.txt 68 1
17	arkey's intellectual opponent, so to speak, was Owen Jones who	B12G copy.txt 116 1
18	ence be put on the backburner, so to speak. So what has thi	B26B copy.txt 223 1
19	relationship with the church, so to speak. They hammered the	SSH58.txt 477 1
20	coherent -- in its own right, so to speak. Still, during the	SSH68.txt 487 1
21	rn. The performance reiterates so to speak the painting on the	SSH70.txt 489 1

Concordance Results 1:

Concordance Hits 10

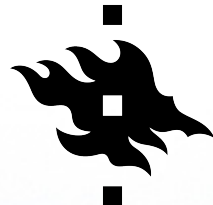
Hit	KWIC	File
1	their fermionic superpartners, so to say, and vice versa. The	BDIS_TRF19 copy.txt 18 1
2	nhagen and Paris, and in doing so to say something about their	B11A copy.txt 102 1
3	ased on love and cohabitation (so to say, based on the fact	SSH62.txt 481 1
4	egal marriage itself has been, so to say, "emptied" of its pre	SSH62.txt 481 2
5	different legal ways for the, so to say, "institutionalisatio	SSH62.txt 481 3
6	These Laws usually establish, so to say, "non-marital" impedi	SSH62.txt 481 4
7	onclusion is that from this -- so to say -- functional perspec	SSH62.txt 481 5
8	anus takes from Statilius are, so to say, 'rare' words, with t	SSH65.txt 484 1
9	pear at the end, after some -- so to say -- less regular or le	SSH65.txt 484 2
10	cept of sa-dpyad , that is -- so to say -- the traditional Ti	UDEFS18A copy.txt 516 1

Variable expressions (one standard, one approximate)
for the same sense

=> **Approximation** (*so to speak* > *so to say*)

and **fixing** (preference for *so to say*)
at work

(< *so to say* close to some European similects; easily shared)



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Concordance Results 6:

Concordance Hits 3

Hit	KWIC	File
1	ly from lowland rivers due to often occurrence of vertically	Sci17.txt 358 1
2	ited torrent, characterised by often occurrence of bedrock out	Sci17.txt 358 2
3	C groups include reaches with often occurrence of shallow slo	Sci23.txt 364 1

Concordance Results 4:

Concordance Hits 10

Hit	KWIC	File
1	s were evaluated as stage "1", on the opposite, high occurrence	Sci17.txt 358 1
2	nly broken by the valley, and, on the opposite side, the flat	Sci20.txt 361 1
3	during high-magnitude floods. On the opposite, boulders with	Sci22.txt 363 1
4	fluvially dominated channels. On the opposite, relatively lar	Sci22.txt 363 2
5	on recently prevails (Fig. 5). On the opposite, the most downs	Sci22.txt 363 3
6	sin area than other groups and on the opposite, very poor depe	Sci23.txt 364 1
7	form: $W=3.228A^{0.20}$ ($R^2=0.49$). On the opposite, bankfull depth	Sci23.txt 364 2
8	ith steeper resulted trend and on the opposite, lower calculat	Sci23.txt 364 3
9	Rivera-Utrilla et al., 2011). On the opposite , according to	Sci39.txt 380 1
10	res and the new martyrs stood on the opposite side of the mar	SSH41.txt 460 1

Concordance Results 5:

Concordance Hits 12

Hit	KWIC	File
1	's pedagogy was seen as an opposite to the former model of	SSH28.txt 447 1
2	in MSSM. The sign factor is opposite to that in MSSM becaus	B39H copy.txt 333 1
3	cts" is possible. This idea is opposite to the different manif	SSH66.txt 485 1
4	second one as more persuasive. Opposite to the experience with	SSH49.txt 468 2
5	ons; an exchange pattern quite opposite to that with the large	SSH69.txt 488 1
6	s Van der Rohe (2009, 38-40). Opposite to the Chicago releva	SSH64.txt 483 1
7	elementary and high school. Opposite to Mar, Ra and Se do	SSH49.txt 468 3
8	values of both factors in the opposite to group of rapids, wh	Sci17.txt 358 1
9	sappear. It would be quite the opposite to the foundation of i	SSH62.txt 481 1
10	opaque contexts, which is the opposite to the interpretation	SSH65.txt 484 1
11	ror they were experiencing was opposite to the error they had	SSH38.txt 457 1
12	of proximal development (ZPD). Opposite to the criticised dual	SSH49.txt 468 1

Concordance Results 3:

Concordance Hits 7

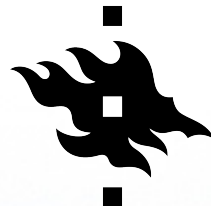
Hit	KWIC	File
1	blend membranes were studied in details , which were conside	Sci04.txt 345 1
2	d its animation were discussed in details. And finally, the ho	Sci06.txt 347 1
3	ly, we set different criteria in details for different subje	SSH04.txt 423 1
4	The present work, clarifying in details the pathology of the	SSH44.txt 463 1
5	useful area to explore further in details. 2. Heritability	UDEFS58 copy.txt 569 1
6	methods applied are discussed in details and adequately. ,	UDEFS58 copy.txt 569 2
7	te's reflexivity: she explains in details how her own positior	UDEFS156A copy.txt 682 1

Concordance Hits 28

Hit	KWIC	File
1	ing closely at those pictorial	evidences makes you wonder and B04G copy.txt 52 1
2	sources and iconographical	evidences . With a rich conclus B04G copy.txt 52 2
3	riptional , and archaeological	evidences. Cline focuses to the B04H copy.txt 53 1
4	ne archaeological and literary	evidences that angelos (the G B04H copy.txt 53 2
5	because I don't know the	evidences or don't have intuiti B22H copy.txt 197 1
6	venience. The experimental	evidences highlight the complex Sci47.txt 388 1
7	ty (Heyward, 2006). There are	evidences that WBV training in Sci69.txt 410 1
8	on) [IMF 2013a]: in this area	evidences are not always univc SSH43.txt 462 1
9	2012]. [insert debate and	evidences] Table 5 shows ir SSH43.txt 462 2
10	(1990, 2004) used linguistic	evidences to support the charc SSH44.txt 463 1
11	ion of textual and linguistic	evidences (Peacock, 2002: 485) SSH44.txt 463 2
12	ock, 2002: 485) was used. The	evidences were verbs, discursi SSH44.txt 463 3
13	and pursuit of consensus. The	evidences for doubt were "argu SSH44.txt 463 4
14	os, adjectives and nouns. The	evidences for the relationship SSH44.txt 463 5
15	ality (Neves, 2007: 200). The	evidences for the search of cc SSH44.txt 463 6
16	ple 4: Examples of linguistic	evidences of argumentation: th SSH44.txt 463 7
17	ical moves and the linguistic	evidences were combined. In sc SSH44.txt 463 8
18	assertiveness. There were no	evidences of modalisation or h SSH44.txt 463 9
19	, together with the objective	evidences , there is a higher c SSH44.txt 463 10
20	y means of "would". All those	evidences together seem to sug SSH44.txt 463 11
21). In sum, the linguistic	evidences of the first period SSH44.txt 463 12
22	here are a lot of objectivity	evidences , but the text shows SSH44.txt 463 13
23	the network of peers) are all	evidences for the participatic SSH44.txt 463 14
24	Olteanu, 2008), there are low	evidences that CSR is treated i SSH52.txt 471 1
25	GRAPH 1 ABOUT HERE Graph 2	evidences that the greatest par SSH63.txt 482 1

OBSERVATIONS FROM TEXTUAL ORGANISATION OF SCIENCE ARTICLES

- Many papers rhetorically relatively implicit, and seem to rely on the logic of organising the content
- CARS type basic pattern common
- Typical paragraph structuring: start with prospective generalisations, then move on to specifications. Specifications typically report previous research
- Standardness of English varies, but relatively infrequent morphosyntactic non-standard phenomena apart from syntactic shortcuts and ignoring verb-noun agreement

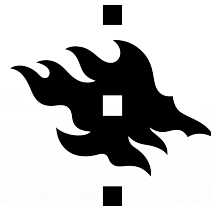


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ELF TEXT (1)

INTRODUCTION, 2ND PARAGRAPH

Apart from the very low cost transfers in [10], there are generally two types of transfers, the direct transfer and the weak stability boundary (WSB) transfer. The direct transfer usually takes 3-15 days of flight time and needs about 3600 - 4100 m/s of manoeuvre velocity according to the libration point, the size of Halo orbits, and the flight time. The weak stability boundary transfer which has been applied successfully in saving the Japanese lunar satellite Hiten was first discovered by Belbruno and Miller[11], and then explained by Koon et al [12] using the dynamical systems theory. The weak stability boundary transfer to lunar Halo orbits needs about 3200 m/s of manoeuvre velocity; however the flight time is generally about 80-150 days.

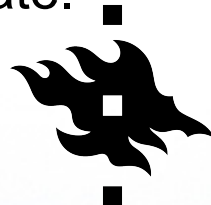


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ELF TEXT (2)

INTRODUCTION, FINAL PARAGRAPH

This work present experimentally determined heat of absorption, using calorimetry, for an absorption solution consisting of an amine, 2-amino-2-methyl-1-propanol (AMP), and an organic solvent, N-methyl-2-pyrrolidone (NMP) or triethylene glycol dimethyl ether (TEGDME). The heat of absorption of CO₂ in the pure solvents was also determined. In the studied system precipitation of the AMP carbamate occurs under certain conditions for some of the solutions studied. The objective of this study was to determine the heat of absorption for the described absorption systems and how it was affected by the CO₂-loading of the solution, the temperature and precipitation of the AMP carbamate.



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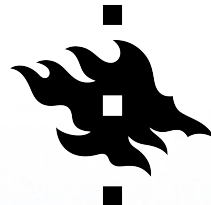
AN ACADEMIC TEXT AND AN INTERNATIONAL READERSHIP?

- **Lexicogrammatical features**

- E.g. the use of tenses: many European languages differ from English -> following L1-influenced practices may not reduce intelligibility.
Similarly, relatively infrequent use of anaphoric *this* shared at least across Spanish and Finnish writers.

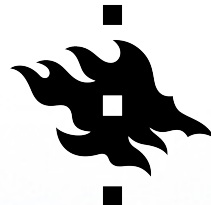
- **Rhetorical attractiveness**

- the practice of being less personal, (fewer person references to author, etc.) is common in many cultures,
- using longish sentences, or using lots of rhetorical questions
- Or not stating the main point at the outset - > may not reduce the rhetorical attractiveness of a text from an international point of view



INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH COMMUNITY AND ELF

- As scientific English adapts to the needs of contemporary scientific community, it reflects the international, dynamic, fast-moving nature of research communication today
- => Major changes in English:
 - < number of academics using ELF
 - < changes in publication practices for a digitalised multi-modal academia
 - < changing power relations in the world
- Spontaneous norms vs. imposed norms (standards):
 - ELF changes English (spontaneous) norms relatively fast, even if standards follow more slowly



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THANK YOU!