TUĞBA BOSTANCI

THE USE OF FORMULAIC LANGUAGE IN ASIAN AND EUROPEAN ELF CONTEXTS: A CORPUS BASED STUDY

A MASTER'S THESIS

BY

TUĞBA BOSTANCI

TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

NOVEMBER 2017

2017

The Use of Formulaic Language in Asian and European ELF Contexts: A Corpus Based Study

The Graduate School of Education
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

Tuğba Bostancı

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in
Teaching English as a Foreign Language

Ankara

November 2017

İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

The Use of Formulaic Language in Asian and European ELF Contexts: A Corpus Based Study

TUĞBA BOSTANCI

November 2017

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Foreign Language.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe (Supervisor)

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Foreign Language.

Prof. Dr. Julie Mathews-Aydınlı (Examining Committee Member)

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Foreign Language.

Prof. Dr. Yasemin Bayyurt (Examining Committee Member)

Approval of the Graduate School of Education

Prof. Dr. Alipaşa Ayas (Director)

ABSTRACT

THE USE OF FORMULAIC LANGUAGE IN ASIAN AND EUROPEAN ELF CONTEXTS: A CORPUS BASED STUDY

Tuğba Bostancı

The Program of Teaching English as a Foreign Language
Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe
November, 2017

This study aimed to examine the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in two different contexts, namely Europe and Asia. More specifically, the study investigated the use of formulaic language in Asian and European ELF interactions by gathering data from two ELF corpora; the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE). Selecting conversations from both academic and social domains, a subset of data comprising around 160.000 words was created. Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum was used as an analytical framework to determine the high-frequency and low frequency formulaic expressions in academic and social ELF interactions in both ELF contexts. The formulaic expressions occurring in the dataset were recorded in six categories; grammatical units, fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, situation-bound utterances, and idioms. Employing tokenization and frequency analysis, frequency of occurrence of each type of formulaic language as well as individual expressions within each category was identified paying close attention to the non-standard forms as well. Data were analyzed descriptively to identify similarities and

differences in the frequency of formulaic language in Asian and European ELF interactions.

The findings revealed that, European ELF was slightly more formulaic than Asian ELF overall. Furthermore, social ELF interactions were found to be a little more formulaic than academic interactions in both ELF contexts. Among the six categories of formulaic language, speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units were found to be the most frequent groups while situation-bound utterances and idioms were used least frequently in both Asian and European ELF irrespective of the speech domain. As for the non-standard forms of formulaic expressions, they were found to be slightly more frequent in Asian ELF than in European ELF. Among the most common sources of such unconventional forms were problems with the use of copula 'be', and the third person present tense marker '-s', use of lexis, overuse or omission of prepositions, article use and pluralization.

Concerning the results above, the study implied that the lexicogrammatical features of English as a lingua franca, from a formulaic language perspective, showed a great degree of similarity in Asian and European contexts. The study also implied that the teaching of speech formulas and semantic units must be prioritized as those were used more often than the other types of formulaic language in intercultural communication.

Key words: English as a lingua franca, formulaic language, corpus linguistics, lexicogrammar

ÖZET

ASYA VE AVRUPA'DA ORTAK DİL OLARAK KONUŞULAN İNGİLİZCE'DE KALIP İFADELERİN KULLANIMI: KORPUSA DAYALI ÇALIŞMA

Tuğba Bostancı

Yüksek Lisans, Yabancı Dil Olarak İngilizce Öğretimi
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe
Kasım, 2017

Bu çalışma, Avrupa'da ve Asya'da ortak dil olarak konuşulan İngilizce'nin sözcüksel ve dilbilgisel özelliklerini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Daha detaylı ifade etmek gerekirse, bu çalışmada the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) ve Asian Corpus of English (ACE) korpuslarından veri toplanarak, ortak dil olarak konuşulan İngilizce'de kalıp ifadelerin kullanımı incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma için, akademik ve gündelik konuşmalardan veri alınarak, yaklaşık 160.000 kelimelik bir veritabanı oluşturulmuştur. Kalıp ifadelerin analizi, Kecskes'in (2007) kalıp ifadeler sınıflandırması çerçevesinde gerçekleştirilmiş olup, Asya ve Avrupa'da ortak dil olarak kullanılan İngilizce'de hem akademik hem de gündelik konuşmalarda çok yaygın ve az yaygın kullanılan kalıp ifadeler belirlenmiştir. Verilerde gözlemlenen kalıp ifadeler, dilbilgisel yapılar, kalıplaşmış veya yarı-kalıplaşmış anlamca bağlı üniteler, öbeksi eylemler, konuşma yapıları, konuşma durumuna bağlı yapılar ve deyimler olmak üzere altı kategoride kaydedilmiştir. Kalıp ifadelerin analizi yapılırken, her kategoride kaç farklı yapının bulunduğu ve bu yapıların kaç kez kullanıldığı not edilmiş ve bu esnada standart olmayan yapılara da özellikle dikkat

edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada veriler tanımlayıcı, diğer bir deyişle betimleyici olarak analiz edilmiş ve Asya'da konuşulan ortak dil olarak İngilizce ile Avrupa'da konuşulan ortak dil olarak İngilizce'deki kalıpsal ifadeler arasındaki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar araştırılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, Avrupa'da ortak dil olarak konuşulan İngilizce'de kalıp ifadelerin Asya'da konuşulana göre nispeten daha sık kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Buna ek olarak, hem Asya hem Avrupa'da yer alan konuşmalarda, kalıp ifadelere akademik söyleşilere oranla gündelik sohbetlerde daha sık rastlanmıştır. Hem Asya'daki hem Avrupa'daki akademik ve gündelik konuşmalarda, altı kalıp ifade kategorisi arasından, en yaygın olarak rastlanan konuşma yapıları ve kalıplaşmış veya yarı-kalıplaşmış anlamca bağlı üniteler olup, konuşma durumuna bağlı yapılara ve deyimlere pek sık rastlanmamıştır. Standart olmayan yapılar ise Asya'daki konuşmalarda Avrupa'dakilere oranla nispeten daha sık kullanılmıştır. Bu yapıların kaynakları arasında fiillerin kullanımına (özellikle *olmak* fiili ve şimdiki zaman tekil şahıs eki), sözcük kullanımına, edat kullanımına ilişkin problemler ile tanımlık ve tekillik çoğulluk ile ilgili problemler başta gelmektedir.

Yukarıdaki buldular göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu çalışma ortak dil olarak kullanılan İngilizce'nin sözcüksel ve dilbilgisel yapısının Asya'da ve Avrupa'da büyük oranda benzerlik gösterdiğini vurgulamıştır. Ayrıca, çalışma kültürler arası iletişimde en sık kullanılan iki kalıp ifade kategorisi olduklarından, konuşma yapılarının ve anlamca bağlı ünitelerin öğretimine diğerlerine nazaran öncelik verilmesini vurgulamıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ortak dil olarak İngilizce, kalıp ifadeler, korpus dilbilimi, sözcük ve dilbilgisi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this thesis has been one of the most challenging yet most rewarding experiences of my life. I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the individuals who have supported me in different ways throughout this challenging process.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis advisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Deniz Ortaçtepe, for her excellent guidance, encouragement, and wisdom. It would have been impossible to complete this journey without her constructive feedback, and the insightful conversations we had at every step of this journey. I have been extremely lucky to have such an advisor who has been right there whenever I needed help, especially when I found myself in complete turmoil. She has been more than an academic consultant for me with her affectionate attitude, understanding, and continual inspiration.

Besides my advisor, I would also like to thank my committee members, Prof. Dr Julie Mathews-Aydınlı and Prof. Dr. Yasemin Bayyurt for their encouragement, perceptive comments and contributions to my study. I also wish to express my gratitude to my institution, Middle East Technical University, Department of Basic English, for providing me with the opportunity to take part in such a prestigious program.

I would like to offer my special thanks to my classmates in the MA TEFL program, Esma Kot, Kamile Kandıralı, Kadir Özsoy, Şeyma Kökçü, Güneş Tunç, and Nesrin Atak, for their contributions to my study as well as to my life. I wish to thank them for the stimulating discussions, sleepless nights and the supportive

atmosphere they created during this period. I feel so lucky to have gained such kind-hearted friends, with whom I shared so much fun in this challenging year. Your friendship means so much to me.

I am also grateful to my lifelong friends, Merve Şanal, Halime Yıldız, Neslihan Akşan, Sertaç Erbil, Amy Goodwin, Tuğba Boz and Güleyse Kansu for supporting me in this journey. Without their constant encouragement and trust in me, it would have been really difficult to survive in this challenging process. I would like to thank Merve Şanal, in particular, who has walked this path with me from beginning to end. I will always be grateful for her support from the day I was interviewed for the program until the day I defended my thesis. I also wish to thank Neşe Sahillioğlu, who has contributed to my study with her insightful comments and the thought-provoking discussions she had with me.

Last but not least, my eternal gratitude goes to my beloved family; my mother Cangül Bostancı, my father Mustafa Bostancı, and my sister Esra Bostancı for their unconditional love and trust in me not only in this project, but in every step I have taken in life. I am so lucky to have such a caring, and supportive family. I am particularly indebted to my sister, Esra Bostancı, who has been an endless source of encouragement in every venture I have embarked on.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

> "There are three kinds of English speaker: those who speak it as a first language, those for whom it is a second or additional language and those who learn it as a foreign language. Native speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future."
> (Graddol, 1997, p. 5)

Currently the speakers who use English as a second or foreign language outnumber those who speak it as their mother tongue (Graddol, 1997; 2006), which has led English to evolve into a global 'lingua franca.' Seidlhofer (2011) defines English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (p. 7). The fact that English is now spoken by increasingly diverse users across a variety of communities has resulted in a natural process of variation and change in the language (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). The distinctive features of ELF may show variation in different parts of the world since any language is influenced highly by its speakers. It is therefore important to conduct empirical research to explore the nature of ELF in different parts of the world such as Europe and Asia so as to better understand the varying features of this new lingua franca.

One way of exploring the nature of a language is to look at speakers' use of formulaic language since "formulaicity shapes languages" (Wray, 2012, p. 234).

Literature shows that most natural language consists of prefabricated 'sets' or 'frameworks', and as much as seventy percent of spoken or written language is in fact formulaic (Altenberg, 1990; Erman and Warren, 2000; Renouf and Sinclair, 1991). Also, formulaic units are highly culture-specific (Tannen & Öztek, 1981), and speakers of a language have preferred ways of saying things (Wray, 2002); therefore, there might be similarities in the ways the speakers who share similar cultures use formulaic expressions. In that sense, one way of exploring the variations in ELF spoken in different contexts such as in Asia and Europe is by looking into how formulaic language occurs in ELF interactions in those contexts. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the use of formulaic language in ELF both in European and Asian contexts by collecting data from two extensive ELF corpora; Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE).

Background of the Study

The term 'lingua franca' also known as *contact language, trade language, common tongue, or vehicular language*, has been described as "a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community" (Holmes, 2013, p. 82). During the times of the Roman Empire and Hellenistic civilization, Greek served as a common language in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and Latin was the lingua franca of the Catholic Church, becoming the universal language of prayer and worship. Numerous languages have served as lingua francas since then such as Spanish, Russian, Arabic, French and Chinese, for political, religious, commercial and cultural reasons. During the past few decades, largely because it is the main language of globalization, English has been the new lingua franca and is used most often as a contact language

by speakers of different first languages in new contexts of intercultural communication (Canagarajah, 2007; Jenkins & Leung, 2013).

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has been described in various ways by scholars. Firth's (1996) early definition of ELF as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language" (p. 240) seems to exclude native speakers of English (NSEs) from ELF communication. Seidlhofer (2001), on the other hand, defines ELF as "an *additionally acquired* language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different languages" (p. 146). Likewise, Jenkins and Leung (2013) state that ELF is used "among speakers from different first languages, particularly, *but not exclusively*, non-native English speakers" (p. 1607). These two definitions given for ELF do not exclude NSEs from ELF communication, which suggests that ELF must be acquired by NSEs, too.

With more non-native speakers than native speakers of the language, English as a lingua franca has gained increasing attention among researchers in the last two decades. The distinctive features of ELF from the English language used by its native speakers in the inner circle countries (i.e. the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) (Kachru, 1985) has led linguists to compile naturally occurring ELF interactions into an international corpus. A breakthrough in ELF research was the launch of the first ELF corpus, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) by Barbara Seidlhofer and her research team. VOICE was followed by the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), compiled by a research team led by Anna Mauranen in Finland. Each of the ELF corpora, which are comprised of ELF interactions mostly taking place in European settings, now includes over one million words and provides rich data for systematic empirical

investigation of ELF. In addition to these large-scale projects, Andy Kirkpatrick and his research team have recently completed the compilation of naturally occurring ELF interactions taking place in Asia and launched Asian Corpus of English (ACE). It is stated on ACE webpage (http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/Objectives.html) that one of the objectives of the project is to make it possible for researchers to identify common features of Asian ELF use and further explore the similarities and differences between European and Asian ELF.

English currently operates as a lingua franca on a global scale, and ELF speakers "manipulate the linguistic resources available to them in systematic and regular ways" (Jenkins and Leung, 2013, p. 288). What this means linguistically is the emergence of new or 'adaptive' patterns of lexical and grammatical forms in ELF interactions (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). However, for researchers to investigate ELF on a lexicogrammatical level was not possible in the early years of ELF studies, primarily due to the absence of a large corpus size. The VOICE project made it possible to identify typical and systematic linguistic patterns in ELF. In her state-of-the-art study, Seidlhofer (2004) provided a list of most salient lexicogrammatical characteristics of ELF such as dropping the third person present tense *–s*, and confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*. Cogo and Dewey (2012) pointed to additional 'innovative forms' found in ELF corpora, which include the use of prepositions, articles and collocations. Moreover, a number of studies have been conducted exploring the syntax of ELF, for example word order patterns (Dewey, 2007) and some other syntactic features including use of *if* clauses, existential *there is*, and embedded inversions (Ranta, 2009).

Formulaic language, commonly referred to as multi-word units that are stored and retrieved from memory as a single unit (Kecskes, 2007; Wray, 2002), has

recently been the focus of empirical studies in ELF. The widely held assumption that formulaic units are culture-bound and speakers depend on their shared experience when using those (Kecskes, 2007) has led researchers to investigate the use of formulaic language in ELF interactions given that ELF speakers do not belong to the same speech community. Kecskes (2007) has conducted a small-scale study on the use of formulaic language in ELF interactions. Categorizing formulaic language as a *continuum,* which includes grammatical units, fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, situation-bound utterances, and idioms, Kecskes (2007) found that fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, and speech formulas were the most frequent types of formulaic units used by the participants. One type of formulaic language that has gained increasing interest in ELF research is idioms given the fact that they are highly culture-specific. Pitzl (2009, 2012) shows that ELF speakers use idiomatic expressions quite differently than their equivalents in English as a Native Language (ENL). She states that idiomatic expressions in ELF might be entirely novel, formally related to existing English idioms with some variation, or created with other language idioms being transplanted into English (2009). Mauranen's (2009) study, by focusing on ELF speakers' use of chunks for managing interaction in academic conversations, found that although they deviated from native speaker conventions, they showed regularity, suggesting they were not random errors. While the data in previous studies were derived from spoken ELF interactions, Carey (2013) investigated the high-frequency chunks occurring in both spoken and written academic ELF interactions. Analyzing the data in ELFA, he found that '*as the matter of fact,'* '*from my point of view,'* '*on the other hand,'* and '*at the same time'* were among the most frequent chunks occurring in spoken and written ELF.

Statement of the Problem

With the growing interest in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in the past two decades (e.g., Canagarajah, 2007; Cogo, 2010; House, 1999; Jenkins, 2007; Mauranen, 2003, Seidlhofer, 2011), a considerable amount of research has explored the nature of ELF at a range of linguistic levels, particularly lexicogrammar (e.g., Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2004), pronunciation (e.g., Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins, 2000; Pickering, 2009) and pragmatics (e.g., Björkman, 2011; Mauranen, 2006). A few previous studies have investigated the use of formulaic language in ELF exploring either the pragmatic functions of formulaic units such as organizing interaction (Carey, 2013; Kecskes, 2007; Mauranen, 2009) or lexicogrammatical features of them, particularly linguistic variations or 'creativity' in their use (Pitzl, 2009, 2012). Mauranen (2009) and Carey (2013) analyzed speech events in academic contexts deriving their data from ELFA. Pitzl (2009, 2012) investigated the use of idioms and metaphors in ELF interactions occurring in academic, business and social contexts, which were captured in VOICE. No previous study, however, compared the use of formulaic expressions in academic and social ELF conversations, in which speakers' preferences might vary considering how context dependent formulaic expressions are (Wood, 2010). In a small-scale study with 13 participants, Kecskes (2007) investigated the use of formulaic expressions, categorizing them as a continuum, in naturally occurring ELF interactions. Based on a database consisting of over 13000 words, Kecskes found that ELF speakers used formulaic expressions less frequently than native speakers, and they used fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, and speech formulas more frequently than situation-bound utterances and idioms. However, it is difficult to make generalizations about ELF speakers' use of formulaic language based on this

study due to its limitations such as data being gathered from only one context and having a fairly small corpus.

In most studies exploring the nature of ELF, data have been derived from naturally occurring interactions in European contexts (e.g., Ahtiainen, 2013; Breitender, 2009; Mauranen, 2009), and relatively fewer studies have been conducted in Asian English as a lingua franca (e.g., Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006; Kirkpatrick & Subhan, 2014). Cogo and Dewey (2012) point to a need to move beyond the predominant focus of ELF research on European contexts. According to Pennycook (2012), the role English takes on in Europe is different from that in Asia, and what is missing in the ELF discussions is the differences between ELF in Europe and in Asia. Kirkpatrick (2010) states that it is one of their objectives in compiling an Asian ELF corpus to make it possible to compare the features of Asian ELF and European ELF. To the knowledge of the researcher, there have been no empirical studies that investigated the similarities and differences between the linguistic features of ELF, including the non-standard forms, in European contexts and Asian contexts. Furthermore, no previous study has compared the use of formulaic language in European ELF and Asian ELF, which is certainly an issue that needs to be addressed since formulaic units are very much related to the culture of the speakers, and the speakers who share similar cultures might use formulaic expressions in similar ways.

In Turkey, English is taught as a foreign language based on native speaker norms (Coşkun, 2010). Any deviations from the native speaker conventions are viewed as incorrect forms of language or simply errors even though they do not hinder communication. Based on the researcher's observations, there is little awareness of English as a lingua franca, mainly due to the fact that the majority of

the population speaks Turkish as their mother tongue and not much intercultural communication takes place. Öztürk, Çeçen and Altınmakas' (2009) study shows that Turkish pre-service EFL teachers view English as an inner-circle phenomenon, with its idealized American or British culture. Furthermore, in a study with international Turkish students in the US, Ortaçtepe (2012) found that Turkish students considered native speakers as the authority and native-speaker English as the norm, which was further supported by Kaypak (2012). There is a clear need to raise awareness of the current function of English as a lingua franca, which might challenge our existing beliefs about what it means to be a proficient user of English.

Research Questions

The purpose of this descriptive study is to examine the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in two different contexts, namely Europe and Asia, and to this end, ELF speakers' use of formulaic language will be investigated. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. How much of ELF talk is formulaic in both European and Asian settings?
2. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in academic interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
3. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in social interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
4. What are the sources of unconventional formulaic expressions in ELF?

Significance of the Study

Ever since English has taken a new role as a global lingua franca at the beginning of the 21st century, scholars have pointed to the need to understand this new language mode (e.g., Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004), and thus conducted studies at various levels to explore the distinctive features of English as a lingua franca from English as a native language. It must be noted that this paper is an attempt to understand English as a lingua franca further. With the purpose of providing a deeper understanding of ELF, this study can contribute to the literature in several ways. Firstly, by drawing data from two large ELF corpora, the findings of this research will expand the scope of Kecskes' (2007) study, and provide insights into the use of formulaic language in ELF interactions. Second, this study will help understand if and how ELF speakers' choice of language use varies depending on the context of the conversation by analyzing both academic and social ELF interactions. Furthermore, this cross-cultural study will bring a new perspective into ELF research by examining the similarities and differences between the lexical features of European ELF and Asian ELF, which remains to be a major gap in the field.

At the local level, this research will help raise awareness of the current function of English as a lingua franca. It will hopefully help the English speaking or English learning community in Turkey to realize being a proficient speaker of English, especially in intercultural communication, does not mean gaining native-like proficiency, but rather acquiring the norms of intercultural interaction in English. In addition, this study will help raise awareness of ELF among the researchers in Turkey. As Turkey is not a linguistically diverse country, where intercultural communication in English rarely takes place, ELF has not been a focal point of research among Turkish scholars. This study will contribute to the existing body of

research on ELF, and hopefully lead to further studies in Turkey, which is clearly necessary considering the prolific growth in ELF use on a global scale.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an overview of the literature on English as a lingua franca (ELF) and formulaic language has been provided. Then, the statement of the problem, research questions, and the significance of the study have been presented respectively. The next chapter provides a detailed review of relevant literature on ELF, ELF corpora, ELF spoken in Asian and European contexts, and formulaic language.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the literature related to this research study exploring the use of formulaic language in Asian and European ELF contexts. In the first section, a general introduction to the term, English as a lingua franca (ELF), will be provided along with various definitions of ELF as well as the distinction between ELF and English as a foreign language (EFL), English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL). Next, the related studies exploring ELF at various levels, ELF corpus studies, and ELF spoken in different parts of the world will be covered. In the second section, an introduction to the term, formulaic language, will be provided along with its various definitions and approaches to its categorization. This part will continue with a discussion on the related studies on formulaic language in ELF.

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

Twenty years ago, Graddol (1997) prophesied "those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber first language speakers and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language" (p. 11). This prediction has already turned out to be true. English has long been spoken as a second language in outer circle countries like India and Nigeria (Kachru, 1985), and it is now serving as a common contact language in expanding circle countries, where it is neither the first nor the second language (Kachru, 1985). In our globalized world, people from a wide spectrum of linguistic and cultural backgrounds communicate with each other through the use of English as a lingua franca. As Seidlhofer (2011) states, English

"has reached truly global dimensions, across continents, domains, and social strata" (p. 7). English has achieved such a global status that it has been referred to as "the Latin of its time/our age/the modern world/the 20th (or 21st) century/the New Millennium/the masses" (Ostler, 2010, p.3).

English as a lingua franca (ELF) has been defined in various ways. Early definitions of ELF seemed to exclude native speakers. Firth (1996), for example, defined ELF as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language" (p. 240). According to House (1999), ELF interactions occur between two or more speakers from different linguistic backgrounds "for none of whom English is the mother tongue" (p. 74). However, Seidlhofer (2011) states that ELF interactions include interlocutors from inner and outer circles too and defines ELF as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (p. 7). Similarly, Jenkins (2012) refers to ELF as a means of communication between speakers with different first languages. In this study, the latter approach is adopted, in which English as a lingua franca is viewed as a contact language between speakers with different first languages, particularly, but not exclusively, non-native speakers of English.

In order to understand the concept of English as a lingua franca (ELF), it is useful to look at how it differs from English used as a native language (ENL), as a second language (ESL), and as a foreign language (EFL). It might be difficult to distinguish ELF from EFL as these two concepts bear several differences such as their speakers' goals and the context of interaction. Describing EFL as one of the Modern Foreign Languages just like Italian, and Japanese, Jenkins (2006) argues that

EFL is dependent on native speaker (NS) norms, and deviations from those norms are considered errors. She argues that ELF is part of World Languages, and ELF speakers communicate mainly with other nonnative speakers (NNSs). In ELF interactions, NS norms are not prioritized and deviations from those norms are seen as differences.

Extending Jenkins' (2006) description of the two concepts, Seidlhofer (2011) provides a detailed comparison of ELF and EFL based on the linguacultural norms of ELF and EFL, the processes the speakers go through, and their objectives (see Table 1).

Table 1

Conceptual Differences between EFL and ELF (adopted from Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 18)

	Foreign Language (EFL)	Lingua Franca (ELF)
Linguacultural norms	pre-existing, reaffirmed	ad-hoc, negotiated
Objectives	integration, membership in NS community	intelligibility, communication in a NNS or mixed NNS-NS interaction
Processes	imitation, adoption	accommodation, adaptation

As it can be seen in Table 1, English as a foreign language speakers aim to use the language as the native speakers do, and therefore conform to native speaker norms not only in terms of what is linguistically correct, but also of what is situationally appropriate. Contrary to EFL, which is composed of pre-existing norms that are adopted by the learner/speaker, ELF is adapted to the needs of intercultural communication, and ELF norms are established during the interaction. The main purpose of ELF speakers is to achieve understanding, which is only possible through

a language shared by all the speakers. In ELF interactions, speakers use their linguistic resources to meet the requirements of the task at hand and accommodate their language to achieve mutual intelligibility.

To provide a categorization of the English varieties across the world, Kachru (1985, 1986, 1992) introduced the concept of three concentric circles of World Englishes: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. The concepts of ENL, ESL, and ELF can be classified under Kachru's three circles (see Figure 1).

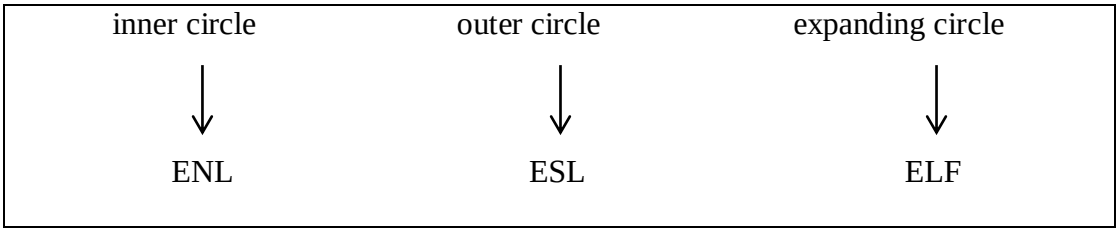


Figure 1. Kachru's Circles and the varieties of English spoken in those contexts; ENL (English as a Native Language), ESL (English as a Second Language), and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca).

In accordance with Figure 1, English functions as a native language (ENL) in the inner circle countries such as the USA, the UK, and Canada. The English-speaking nations of the inner circle have formed the traditional bases of English. The outer circle countries such as India, Philippines, and Nigeria are regions where English is spoken as an additional or second language (ESL) due to historical and political influence of inner circle countries. Kachru (1985) refers to these varieties of English spoken in these regions as *nativized* or *institutionalized* Englishes. English is spoken by a large speech community in the outer circle for a variety of purposes including education, and official purposes (Sharma, 2008). The expanding circle countries such as China, Japan, and Italy encompass the largest number of English speakers, who learn English as a foreign language. It is the expanding circle, as Kachru (1985) states, where English functions as an international language,

therefore, ELF can be classified under this category. As Jenkins (2007) and Sharma (2008) point out, English is used as a lingua franca in intercultural contact situations mostly in the expanding circle.

ELF in Europe and in Asia

English has spread all over the world as the predominant international language. The vast majority of lingua franca interactions worldwide are conducted in English as the language has gained importance in areas such as education, business, politics, science, and culture as well as the communication and information technologies. As Crystal (2003) suggests, English is the official or working language of most international political gatherings such as *The Association of South East Asian Nations*, *The Commonwealth*, and *The European Union*, many science organizations such as *the African Association of Science Editors*, and *Baltic Marine Biologists*, as well as several sporting organizations like *the African Hockey Federation*, and *the Asian Amateur Athletic Association.* The role of English in international encounters is not limited to the areas of politics and science, but extends to such areas as the press, the media, advertising, cinema, popular music, and the tourism industry as well. It goes without saying that English has become the language in education in many parts of the world (Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 1997). As Crystal (2003) states, many nations have made English their official language or chosen it as the chief foreign language in schools.

Although English is used as *the global language* in every part of the world, it has a crucial role particularly in Europe and in Asia. Studies have shown that English is not only the most widely spoken language in the European Union (EU), but it is also the language that is being used alongside the native languages in all the European countries (Coulmas 1991; Hartmann 1996; Cenoz & Jessner, 2000).

English is now the default language for communication between EU member states (Ammon, 2006), and the dominant lingua franca all over Europe. It is not only the preferred language for business, but also the dominant language in academic publishing and in higher education (Ammon, 1996; Cenoz, 2006, Graddol, 2006). The current status of English at the top hierarchy in Europe has even led some scholars to predict that a new variety called 'Euro-English' may arise (Jenkins, Modiano and Seidlhofer, 2001) although their emphases differ.

The role of English in Asia is rather different than in Europe. In addition to being used as a lingua franca in international encounters all across Asia just like in other parts of the world, English is spoken both as a second language in the outer circle countries such as India, Philippines, and Singapore, and as a lingua franca within The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN was established in 1967, and now has ten member states: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. English is the lingua franca of ASEAN, and has gained official status as the sole working language of ASEAN with the signing of the ASEAN Charter in 2009 (Kirkpatrick, 2010). In fact, English is the working language of the extended group ASEAN + 3, which includes the ten states of ASEAN plus China, Japan, Korea. Kirkpatrick (2007b) argued earlier that the use of English as an inter-regional lingua franca in the South East Asia raises the question of mutual intelligibility. He argues for the need to explore how people within this region understand each other given that they all speak different varieties of English including the new 'expanding circle Englishes'. In order to explore how interaction is achieved through English as a lingua franca in Asia and to identify the commonalities within the Asian ELF, Kirkpatrick along with scholars from some of the ASEAN countries started the ACE (the Corpus of Asian

English) project, the compilation of naturally occurring ELF conversations occurring in Asian regions.

In terms of ELF research, as Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2012) point out, two geographical strands have emerged: European (e.g., Cogo & Pitzl, 2016; Jenkins, 2000; Mauranen, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2011) and East Asian (e.g., Baker, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2007a, 2010). A vast majority of studies exploring several aspects of ELF from lexicogrammar to phonology, which has been mentioned above in the ELF studies section, have been conducted in Europe (e.g., Mauranen, 2006; Pitzl, 2005; Seidlhofer, 2004). This is partly because the two large ELF corpora; VOICE and ELFA, from which most empirical data is drawn, have been compiled in Europe and with most of the speakers having European first languages (see corpus statistics for speakers' first languages in both VOICE http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/stats/voice20_languages and ELFA http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfa_langs.html). Arguing for the need to describe the commonalities in Asian ELF, which might be quite different than the European ELF, Kirkpatrick (2007b) discussed the results of two earlier studies conducted on Asian ELF (Kirkpatrick, 2006, Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006). Kirkpatrick (2007b) provided an early description of the commonalities in Asian ELF in terms syntax, phonology and the communication strategies used. The compilation of ACE led to more studies on Asian ELF exploring it in a range of linguistic and pragmatic levels (e.g., Gu, Patkin & Kirkpatrick, 2014; Kirkpatrick, 2010; Kirkpatrick & Subhan, 2014). Comparing the findings of the two corpora; VOICE and ACE, Kirkpatrick (2013) argues that both corpora illustrate the zero marking of the third person singular, overuse of common verbs like have, the use of a uniform question tag, use of *this* with plural nouns, and the use of non-standard

prepositions. He mentions some differences, too. He states that while some non-standard forms are found more frequently in VOICE such as the interchangeability of relative pronouns who and which, flexibility in the use of definite and indefinite articles, and pluralizing uncountable nouns, some non-standard form occur more frequently in ACE than in VOICE, which include the omission or articles, the omission of the copula be, the omission of the plural –s, and the base form of the verb for past tense.

ELF Corpora

Seidlhofer (2001) argued strongly that while English was used most extensively as a lingua franca worldwide, there was little description of this new linguistic reality, and called for empirical research in the area. Stating the need to fill this 'conceptual gap,' she announced the compilation of the first ELF corpus, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). The compilation of the corpus started in 2001 by a research team led by Barbara Seidlhofer in Vienna, and VOICE was released in 2009. The corpus is now composed of over one million transcribed spoken ELF from educational, professional and leisure domains. VOICE comprises over 1000 ELF speakers with approximately 50 different first languages, most of which are European languages. ELF interactions in VOICE vary not only in terms of domain but also function (e.g., information exchange) and participant roles and relationships (e.g., symmetrical vs. asymmetrical). It is stated on the VOICE website (http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/what_is_voice) that "the ultimate aim of the VOICE project [is] to open the way for a large-scale and in-depth linguistic description of this most common contemporary use of English by providing a corpus of spoken ELF interactions which will be accessible to linguistic researchers all over the world." Providing an empirical basis for ELF research, VOICE has opened the

way for a number of studies investigating ELF interactions at various levels from pragmatics (e.g., Pitzl, 2005; Rischner, 2006) to phonology (e.g., Osimk, 2007, 2009).

Following VOICE was the launch of the second ELF corpus, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) in 2008. The ELFA corpus, which is comprised of over one million words, has been compiled by a research team directed by Anna Mauranen at the University of Helsinki. The data includes around 650 speakers with 51 different first languages from several continents. With a similar mission to that of VOICE, ELFA "offers a contribution towards an empirical basis for understanding this variety of English [ELF]" as stated on its website (http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/index.html). However, ELFA is different from VOICE in that it includes ELF interactions only at academic contexts. The ELFA research team recently also completed the compilation of the first written ELF corpus, the Written ELF in Academic Settings (WrELFA). The compilation of both spoken and written academic ELF interactions has facilitated a lot of research in the area (e.g., Carey, 2013; Hynninen, 2010; Mauranen, 2010).

The majority of ELF research to date, including the compilation of two large ELF corpora, has taken place in European settings (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011; Murata, 2015). While English operates as a lingua franca within Asia, especially in the East and South East Asian regions, little research has been done into the use of English as a lingua franca in these regions (Kirkpatrick, 2004, 2010). In order to make it possible for researchers to investigate the common features of Asian ELF and identify similarities and differences between ELF in Asia and in Europe, a research team under Andy Kirkpatrick's leadership has recently compiled the first Asian ELF corpus, the Asian Corpus of English (ACE). ACE is a one-million-word

corpus of naturally occurring, spoken ELF interactions in Asia. Like VOICE, ACE comprises ELF interactions in educational, social and business contexts. Although in its infancy, ELF research in Asia has gained momentum mainly due to the existence of a large corpus of Asian ELF (e.g., Gu, Patkin & Kirkpatrick, 2014; Kirkpatrick & Subhan, 2014).

Studies on ELF

The fact that English is being used as a lingua franca by an increasing number of people around the globe has generated a lot of discussions and research among linguists and English language teaching professionals starting from 1980s. The turning point in ELF research, however, occurred at the beginning of the 21st century with the works of two linguists; an empirical study of ELF pronunciation by Jenkins (2000) and a conceptual piece on ELF by Seidlhofer (2001). ELF research has gained momentum in the last two decades and a number of studies on ELF at a range of linguistic levels have been conducted. In this sub-section, an overview of research conducted on ELF use in educational, business and social domains will be provided along with research on ELF lexicogrammar, phonology, and pragmatics.

ELF studies across domains. ELF researchers scrutinized a number of domains of intercultural contact including those of business, education (especially higher education), casual talk (social/leisure), tourism, and technology. Business and educational domains have been researched most intensively among others as they are the contexts where most intercultural interactions take place nowadays. Although not researched as heavily as the first two, social domains have been the focus of a number of studies, too. Table 2 below presents a brief overview of ELF research studies across the three domains of intercultural communication; business, educational and social.

Table 2

Previous ELF Studies in Business, Educational and Social Domains

Educational	Baker, 2009; Björkman, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2014; Carey, 2013, 2014; House, 2013; Hynninen, 2011, 2013; Jenkins, 2011; Knapp, 2011; Komori-Glatz, 2015; Lorés-Sanz, 2016; Mauranen, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2014; Matsumoto, 2015; Ranta, 2006; Sung, 2016; Suviniitty, 2012
Business	Du-Babcock, 2013; Ehrenreich, 2009, 2010; Firth, 1996; Incelli; 2013; Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010; Kankaanranta, & Lu, 2013; Planken, 2005; Pitzl, 2005; Tsuchiya & Handford, 2014
Social	Kappa, 2016; Kecskes, 2007; Konakahara, 2015; Matsumoto, 2011; Meierkord, 1998, 2000; Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2015; Watterson, 2008

English, being widely accepted as the lingua franca of international business, has received much attention among researchers. Overall, research into Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF) reveals that BELF communication is content-oriented rather than form-focused and is considered to require domain specific knowledge. In addition, BELF studies show that intercultural communication skills are more important than conforming to native speaker forms in lingua franca interactions (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011). As English is the common language of academia, ELF use has been researched intensively in academic settings, too. Researchers have been interested in the use of English in a range of academic contexts from monolingual classes where the medium of instruction is English and multilingual classrooms to focused study groups and consultation sessions. Research into academic ELF provides rich data on both the linguistic features of ELF and the communication strategies used by its speakers. Although not studied as heavily as business and academic ELF use, social interactions have been the foci of ELF research, too. Research reveals that the features of ELF in social interactions are not

distinctly different from those in business and academic contexts, but more studies are needed to identify salient features of ELF in social interactions as the needs of the speakers are totally different in casual conversations as opposed to business and academic interactions which are more content oriented.

In this sub-section, an overview of orientations in ELF research in various domains has been provided. However, the details of these domain-based studies have not been discussed as the main focus of this research is the use of formulaic language in European and Asian ELF rather than the use of ELF in a specific domain.

ELF phonology. An early ground-breaking study into ELF phonology was that of Jenkins (2000). Jenkins' research explored pronunciation-based intelligibility problems and phonological accommodation strategies used between NNSs of English. Her corpus data showed that changes in certain English pronunciation features such as consonant sounds (apart from the dental fricatives /Θ/ and /ð/), initial consonant clusters, vowel length distinctions, and consonant deletion led to intelligibility problems in ELF interactions. On the other hand, other features such as weak forms, elisions and assimilations did not contribute to intelligibility. In other words, conforming to native speaker norms with these forms did not facilitate understanding; they rather caused communication problems when used in intercultural interactions. Given that most of the interactions in English occur among nonnative speakers of English now, Jenkins (2000) believes that the goal of pronunciation teaching should be to help learners ensure mutual intelligibility among nonnative speakers rather than helping them attain a native-like accent or promoting intelligibility to native speakers. In this respect, she proposes Lingua Franca Core (LFC) which is defined as "a pedagogical core of phonological intelligibility for speakers of EIL" (Jenkins, 2000, p. 124). LFC suggests prioritizing the teaching of

the ‘core’ features, the phonological items which are essential for intelligibility in international communication such as consonant sounds (except voiceless/voiced *th* and dark *l*), and vowel quantity (the distinction between long and short vowels), rather than ‘non-core’ features such as weak forms and word stress, which do not cause communication problems among NNSs. Jenkins’ (2000) study produced interesting findings on phonological accommodation, too. ELF speakers in her data were found to replace their ‘non-standard’ accents with more ‘standard’ features (in relation to ENL) when it was crucial for them to be understood, for example in an information exchange. However, when they regarded pronunciation less important, for example in social exchanges, they tended not to accommodate their ‘non-standard’ accents.

In a qualitative study with participants from different linguistic backgrounds, Matsumoto (2011) investigated the accommodation strategies that ELF speakers used in order to overcome communication problems caused by differences in pronunciation. She reports several pronunciation negotiation strategies the ELF speakers in her data used such as initiating repairs, acknowledging repair requests, and adjusting those pronunciations for clarification. She states that accommodation strategies seem to be the key to successful communication among ELF speakers in her data.

Building his study on Lingua Franca Core (LFC), Deterding (2010) aimed to determine which features of English pronunciation typically occurring among Chinese speakers should be prioritized by teachers. His findings are mostly in line with Jenkins’ (2000) argument on ‘core’ and ‘non-core’ pronunciation features of English in international communication. Deterding (2010) reports that some features of English pronunciation such as the voiced fricatives (apart from /ð/), final nasals,

vowel length distinctions, the distinction between /n/ and /l/, and the placement of nuclear stress are crucial for international intelligibility and therefore should be prioritized by teachers. However, dental fricatives, individual vowel quality, vowel reduction, rhythm or the pitch movement associated with intonation are among the features of English pronunciation that require less attention. Overall, the studies discussed above focus on the salient phonological features of English used in intercultural communication and suggest that focusing on these phonological features in the teaching of English could yield better learning outcomes.

ELF Pragmatics. As Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey (2012) point out, a thriving body of research has been involved in exploring how successful interactions are achieved in multilingual communities. A major characteristic of ELF interactions is found to be a high degree of cooperation and resourcefulness that ELF speakers demonstrate in achieving successful interactions (e.g., Firth, 1996; Meierkord, 1998, 2000; Pitzl, 2005). In one of the earliest pragmatics studies, Firth (1996) pointed to a strong orientation of ELF speakers towards maintaining interactional flow despite the occurrence of non-standard language use by employing 'let-it-pass' and 'make-it-normal' strategies. Similarly, Pitzl (2005) reported how the ELF speakers in her data tried not to disrupt the ongoing interaction and negotiated non-understanding with a high degree of pragmatic and communicative competence. House (1999) suggests that the 'let-it-pass' and 'make-it-normal' strategies show the supportive and cooperative nature of the ELF speaker's interactional behavior. Backchannels and laughter are also found to create a supportive and collaborative atmosphere in ELF interactions (Meierkord, 1998, 2000). Among other common features of ELF interactions are utterance completions and cooperative overlaps, which show

engagement and interest in the ongoing interaction and mutual support (Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Konakahara, 2015).

ELF speakers, who belong to various linguacultural backgrounds, develop particular strategies during interaction to achieve understanding rather than depending on pre-determinable pragmatic resources, (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). In order to ensure communicative effectiveness, speakers do both pre- (prospective) and post- (retrospective) work. Research has found that ELF speakers employ a range of 'proactive' or 'pre-empting' strategies such as clarification, confirmation checks, paraphrasing, repetition and self-repair in order to avert potential problems and ensure understanding (Cogo & Pitzl, 2016; Kaur 2009, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2007a; Mauranen, 2006, 2007). These strategies show how shared understanding in ELF is not taken for granted and speakers engage in a joint effort to monitor understanding even before problems arise (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011). Furthermore, ELF speakers exhibit a high degree of interactional competence when non-understanding occurs, too. One might assume that misunderstanding occurs quite frequently in ELF talk given the diversity in the speakers' language proficiency and culture. It has been reported, however, that misunderstanding occurs quite rarely in ELF interactions despite the common assumption (e.g., House, 2002; Mauranen, 2006; Pitzl, 2005). In the instances when misunderstanding or non-understanding occur, ELF interlocutors skillfully signal and resolve the problem by employing several strategies. Repetition has been identified as one of the most common strategies in negotiating non-understanding in various studies (e.g., Cogo 2009; Lichtkoppler 2007; Matsumoto, 2011; Watterson 2008). Watterson (2008) states that the speakers in his data show a strong tendency to rely on repetition both to indicate and to respond to non-understanding. Reformulations, requests for clarification and self- and other- initiated

repairs are reported to be among other common strategies that ELF speakers employ to ensure mutual intelligibility (Kaur, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2007a; Ollinger, 2012).

ELF speakers resort to a number of resources when constructing meaning. One common strategy that ELF speakers use in their collaborative construction of meaning is the exploitation of plurilingual resources. Various scholars (e.g., Cogo, 2009; Hülmbauer, 2009; Luzon, 2016; Smit, 2010; Vettorel, 2014) have pointed to code-switching used by ELF speakers as a creative way of accommodating linguistic and cultural differences. Code-switching seems to be an intrinsic part of ELF communication, and is often used to signal a multilingual identity and to show membership in the ELF community of practice (Cogo, 2009; Klimpfinger, 2009; Vettorel, 2014). Research (Cogo, 2009; Klimpfinger, 2009) has found that code-switching doesn't always result from a lack of linguistic ability, and speakers can switch to either their first language or that of their interlocutor's in an attempt to indicate rapport and create a friendly atmosphere.

ELF Lexicogrammar. ELF speakers, who belong to different lingua-cultural communities across the globe, make use of the linguistic resources they have in the best way possible in order to achieve shared understanding, which results in the emergence of new lexical and grammatical patterns in the language (Cogo & Dewey, 2012). ELF research has been concerned with describing the salient lexicogrammatical features of ELF which show typicality and can be considered communicatively effective in that they do not hinder communication. In her state-of-the-art empirical study, Seidlhofer (2004) provided a list of common linguistic features of ELF which do not cause any problems in communication. These are summarized as:

• Dropping the third person present tense –s

• Confusing the relative pronouns *who* and *which*

• Omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL

• Failing to use correct forms in tag questions (e.g., *isn't it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?*)

• Inserting redundant prepositions, as in *We have to study about…)*

• Overusing certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do, have, make, put, take*

• Replacing infinitive-constructions with *that*-clauses, as in *I want that*

• Overdoing explicitness (e.g., *black color* rather than just *black*)

(Seidlhofer, 2004, p. 220)

Seidlhofer's (2004) findings gave direction to a number of subsequent studies conducted in the field. In a corpus-based study, Breitender (2005) looked at the case of third person present tense marker –s in ELF interactions. Although there was a tendency among ELF speakers to conform to the norms of standard ENL (80% of the verbs in her data showed –s marking), she found 29 occurrences of zero marking of the third person –s out of 141 instances. Similarly, Cogo and Dewey (2006) report variability in the use of third person present tense marker –s, but they find a fairly even distribution of –s and the zero form (48% and 52% respectively). They also found that the distribution of third person –s and zero form is affected by the presence and absence of native speakers in the conversation and reported that the zero form occurred more frequently when there was no native speaker in the conversation. Cogo and Dewey (2012) report additional salient aspects of grammar and lexis found in ELF corpora. The typical patterns that they found include

omission of prepositions, innovative preposition use, omission of articles where they are necessary in ENL, overuse of certain verbs like *do, take* and *get*, innovative collocations, and variations in the use of relative pronouns, *which, who* and *that*.

Carrying ELF lexicogrammar research one step further, Hülmbauer (2007) investigated the relationship between lexicogrammatical correctness and communicative effectiveness (i.e., achieving the communicative purpose) in ELF, and found that seemingly incorrect expressions work well in the sense that they don't inhibit understanding in lingua franca communication. In a study of ELF morphosyntax in a university setting, Björkman (2008) reported similar findings to those of Hülmbauer (2007). She found numerous non-standard usages at word and sentence level, which would be considered incorrect in standard ENL. She reported, however, that although there was a high level of divergence from standard forms, there were very few cases of overt disturbance, i.e. breakdown, in communication.

Looking more specifically at ELF lexis, Pitzl (2009, 2012) shows how idiomatic expressions are used very differently in ELF as opposed to ENL. She states that idiomatic expressions show linguistic variations, but this does not inhibit their functionality. She mentions three types of variations in idiomatic expressions in ELF: (1) they might be entirely novel, (2) they could be related to existing English idioms and reintroduced via formal variation of the expression, and (3) they might be created transplanting other language idioms into English (Pitzl, 2009). All in all, ELF research conducted at a range of linguistic levels point to a number of salient features of ELF which show regularity and do not hinder communication, which suggests that unconventional ELF forms are more than random errors and could be considered legitimate variants.

As mentioned earlier, in most of the previous studies exploring the lexicogrammatical features of ELF, data have been gathered from interactions taking place in European settings, and there is little description of the differences between the lexicogrammatical features of ELF in Asia and in Europe (Kirkpatrick, 2013). This research aims to fill this gap in the literature by investigating the use of formulaic language in ELF in Asia and in Europe. It is believed that lexicogrammatical variations in a language can be explored within a formulaic language framework as most natural language consists of prefabricated or formulaic units (Altenberg, 1990; Wray, 2012). In the next sub-section, an overview of literature on formulaic language and previous studies on formulaic language in ELF will be provided.

Formulaic Language

Formulaic language, commonly referred to as multi-word structures that are processed and recalled as a single unit, has long been an area of interest across a number of domains of enquiry, including discourse analysis, phraseology, psycholinguistics, corpus linguistics, first language acquisition, second language acquisition, and others (Wray, 2012). Why formulaic units are of particular importance in language research is that most of the spoken or written language is formulaic in nature (Altenberg, 1990; Erman & Warren, 2000; Renouf & Sinclair, 1991). Hymes (1962) proposed that a large amount of verbal behavior consists of linguistic routines. Likewise, Fillmore (1979) argued that "a very large portion of a person's ability to get along in a language consists in the mastery of formulaic utterances" (p. 92). The idea that "formulaicity shapes languages" (Wray, 2012, p. 234) led to numerous studies in first language, second language and in English as a

lingua franca. Below is an overview of various terms and definitions of formulaic language, approaches to its categorization, and its relevance in ELF research.

Various Terms and Definitions of Formulaic Language

There have been numerous attempts by various researchers to define and categorize formulaic language. Consequently, literature now bears various terms and definitions of formulaic language. Stating that there is a practical terminological problem in the literature, and a huge set of terms "can give the unwary a false impression that what has been found in one type of speaker is the same as, or definitely different from, what has been found in another" (Wray, 2000, p. 464), Wray (2000) provides a list of the terms found in the literature to describe formulaic sequences and formulaicity (see Table 3 below).

Table 3

Terms Used to Describe Aspects of Formulaicity in the Literature (adopted from Wray, 2000, p. 465)

Amalgams	Gambits	Preassembled speech
Automatic	Gestalt	Prefabricated routines and
Chunks	Holistic	patterns
Clichés	Holophrases	Ready-made expressions
Composites	Idiomatic	Ready-made utterances
Co-ordinate constructions	Idioms	Rote
Collocations	Irregular	Routine formulae
Conventional forms	Lexical(ised) phrases	Schemata
*FEIsa	Lexicalised sentence stems	Semi-preconstructed phrases
Fixed expressions	Multiword units	that constitute single choices
Formulaic language	Non-compositional	Sentence builders
Formulaic speech	Non-computational	Stable and familiar expressions
Formulas/formulae	Non-productive	with specialized subsenses
Fossilized forms	Petrification	Synthetic
Frozen phrases	Praxons	Unanalysed chunks of speech

* Fixed expressions including idioms (Moon, 1998)

Hyland (2012) uses the term *formulaic sequences* and defines them as "extended collocations that appear more frequently than expected by chance, helping to shape meanings in specific contexts and contributing to our sense of coherence in a text" (p. 150). Hyland's (2012) definition highlights the frequency of formulaic expressions in language. Wood's (2002) definition of *formulaic sequences* is "multi-word or multi-word strings produced and recalled as a chunk, like a single lexical item, rather than being generated from individual items and rules" (p. 3). Kecskes (2007) uses the term *formulaic language*, and defines it as "multi-word collocations which are stored and retrieved holistically rather than being generated de novo with each use" (p. 3). Both definitions seem to highlight how formulaic expressions are stored and retrieved from memory as a single unit. Although a variety of definitions have been provided for formulaic language, the most common and most accepted definition of the term is that of Wray (2002):

> a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar. (p. 9)

Another term used for formulaic language is *lexical phrases*. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) define *lexical phrases* as "multiword lexical phenomena that exist somewhere between the traditional poles of lexicon and syntax, conventionalized form/function composites that occur more frequently and have more idiomatically determined meaning than language that is put together each time" (p. 1). Lastly, Erman and Warren (2000) use the term *prefab*, define it as "a combination of at least two words favored by native speakers in preference to an alternative combination

which could have been equivalent had there been no conventionalization" (pp. 31–32). Based on these definitions, in this study formulaic language is viewed as multi-word strings that are stored and retrieved from memory as a chunk and that appear more frequently than language that is put together each time of use.

Although it is hard to provide a single definition of formulaic language due to the existence of various definitions, it is possible to talk about common characteristics of formulaic expressions. Coulmas (1979) states that in order to be classified as formulaic language, word phrases must consist of multi-morphemes and must be uttered without pauses and hesitation. Furthermore, Moon (1997) suggests that institutionalization (the phrase being recognized by its speakers, or being frequently used), fixedness (grammatical or lexical components of the phrase being wholly or partly fixed), and non-compositionality (non-literality, or semantic opacity) are key characteristics of multi-word items (as cited in Schmitt & Carter, 2004, p. 2). Similarly, Schmitt and Carter (2004) point to frequency of occurrence as an important characteristic of formulaic language. They state that for a sequence to be regarded as formulaic, it must be frequent in a corpus, which indicates that it is conventionalized by the speech community. Other characteristics of formulaic language provided by Schmitt and Carter (2004) are as follows:

- Formulaic sequences appear to be stored in the mind as holistic units, but they may not be acquired in an all-or nothing manner (p. 4);
- Formulaic sequences can have slots to enable flexibility of use, but the slots typically have semantic constraints (p. 6);
- Formulaic sequences can have semantic prosody (p. 7);
- Formulaic sequences are often tied to particular conditions of use (p. 9).

Although various definitions of formulaic language exist in literature, it is possible to make sense of the phenomenon by focusing on its common characteristics provided by various scholars.

Categorization of Formulaic Language

Many scholars have offered types or categorizations of formulaic language in adult native language, and they have provided either a form-based or functional-based classification. To start with, Becker (1975, as cited in Wray & Perkins, 2000, p. 4) makes a form-based classification and categorized formulas as a) polywords (e.g., *the oldest profession, to blow up*); b) phrasal constraints (e.g., *by sheer coincidence*); c)meta-messages (e.g., *for that matter... (message: `I just thought of a better way of making my point'); ...that's all (message: `don't get flustered')*); d) sentence builders (e.g., *(person A) gave (person B) a long song and dance about (a topic)*); e) situational utterances (e.g., *how can I ever repay you*); f) verbatim texts (e.g., *better late than never; How ya gonna keep 'em down on the farm?*). Wray and Perkins (2000), however, state that they find this classification problematic as they believe the distinction between form and function is not clear. Boers and Lindstromberg (2012) also offer a form-based classification and categorize formulaic language as collocations (e.g., *blow your nose, running water;* and complex verbs (e.g., *give up, talk it over*); exclamations: (e.g., *what the heck, no kidding*); idioms: (e.g., *get an even break, jump the gun*); pragmatic formulae (e.g., *See you later, I'm so sorry to hear that*) and discourse organizers: (e.g., *on the other hand, having said that*). A functional-based classification was provided by Yorio (1980), who categorized formulaic language as situational formulas (e.g., *how are you?*), stylistic formulas (e.g., *in conclusion*), ceremonial formulas (e.g., *ladies and gentlemen*), and gambits (e.g., *what do you think?*).

Apart from form-based and functional-based classifications, some scholars have developed continua of formulaicity. Howarth (1998, as cited in Wray & Perkins, 2000, p. 5), for example, offered a continuum which includes a) functional expressions (sequences with a discourse role such as openers; proverbs, slogans and so on); b) composite units (which retain a syntactic function); c) lexical collocations (consisting of two open class items, such as ulterior motive); and d) grammatical collocations (consisting of one open and one closed class item, such as in advance). Another continuum of formulaic language was offered by Kecskes (2007), which will be used as a framework in this study. As can be seen in Table 4, Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum includes grammatical units, fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, situation-bound utterances, and idioms. The gap between the compositional meaning and the actual situational meaning of the expressions become wider the more we move to the right on the functional continuum (Kecskes, 2007).

Table 4

Formulaic Continuum (taken from Kecskes, 2007, p. 193)

Grammatical Units	Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms
be going to	*as a matter of fact*	*put up with*	*going shopping*	*welcome aboard*	*kick the bucket*
have to	*suffice it to say*	*get along with*	*not bad*	*help yourself*	*spill the beans*

Kecskes' continuum will be used as a framework in this study for three main reasons. First, the continuum provides a categorization of formulaic language based on its function and the degree to which the phrase is semantically transparent, which is critical when investigating the preferences of nonnative speakers of English in intercultural communication. Second, this research aims to expand the scope of

Kecskes' (2007) study by collecting data from a larger corpus. Therefore, it is vital to use the same continuum as a framework for the findings to be comparable. Third, most of the previous studies on formulaic expressions or chunks in ELF have focused on one aspect or type of formulaic language, for example idioms (Pitzl, 2009). Using a continuum of formulaic language, on the other hand, provides a spectrum of expressions with several functions, and therefore, allows for an investigation of all aspects of formulaic language in ELF.

Formulaic Language and ELF

Formulaic language is highly culture-specific and speakers depend on their shared background knowledge when using them (Kecskes, 2007). This unique feature of formulaic language has led a number of researchers to investigate ELF speakers' use of formulaic language, since shared experience is very little in lingua franca communication. Kecskes (2007) was among the first researchers who investigated the use of formulaic language in ELF communication. With the purpose of finding out how the use of formulas relates to the ad hoc generated expressions, what type of fixed expressions the subjects prefer, and what formulas the speakers create on their own, Kecskes (2007) collected data in naturally occurring ELF interactions among 13 adult nonnative speakers. Analyzing the database consisting of 13,726 words, he found that formulaic language occurred less frequently in ELF communication when compared to native speaker interactions. Among the formulaic units in the continuum, fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, and speech formulas were the most frequent types of formulaic language used by the participants. The 'think aloud' sessions revealed that the ELF speakers in the data avoided the use of formulaic expressions, especially situation-bound utterances and idioms, not because they did not know them, but because they were worried their interlocutors would not

understand them properly. Kecskes (2007) concludes that semantic transparency plays a decisive role in lingua franca communication since fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs, which were used more frequently than situation-bound utterances and idioms, were more transparent semantically, that is there is not a wide gap between their compositional meaning and actual situational meaning when compared to highly figurative expressions like idioms. He also found that ELF speakers tended to create their own formulas such as 'native Americans' instead of 'native speakers of English', and in some instances other speakers picked up the coined expression and kept on using it in the conversation. Kecskes (2007) states that even though the speakers knew the conventional/correct formula, they chose to use the erroneous one produced by one of the speakers since this "created a special feeling of camaraderie in the group" (p. 202).

Idiomatic expressions have been another area of interest among ELF researchers (e.g., Pitzl, 2009, 2012; Prodromou, 2005) since they convey a meaning that is quite different than the literal meaning of the expression, and using them requires a shared background experience, which is quite rare among ELF speakers. Pitzl (2009) examined the use of idiomatic expressions in naturally occurring ELF interactions gathering data from VOICE. Pitzl (2009) showed that idioms in ELF occur quite differently than their ENL equivalents; however, they don't lose their functionality, and don't cause non-understanding. Pitzl (2009) states that the 'creative idioms' in ELF talk emerge in different ways: they might be a) entirely novel where the speaker creates ad hoc with a metaphorical image, b) formally related to existing English idioms such as "*we should not wake up any dogs"* instead of the English equivalent "*let sleeping dogs lie*", c) created with other language idioms being transplanted into English like "*put my hands into the fire for it*" being

transferred from Dutch "*de hand voor iemand in he vurr steke*n" which does not have an English correspondent. Pitzl argues that although the idiomatic expressions in ELF formally vary from their ENL equivalents, there are no signals of communication breakdowns in the data. Investigating the reasons for the low occurrence of idiomatic expressions in ELF communication, Prodromou (2005) reaches several factors. He states that the difficulty of idiomaticity in ELF is a result of several factors, among which are the contradiction between the literal and the contextualized meanings of the phrase, the shared knowledge that idiomatic expressions evoke, and the idiomatic expressions deriving from particular cultures. His findings seem to be in line with what Kecskes (2007) found in his study.

Another study conducted on formulaic language in ELF was that of Mauranen (2009), who investigated the utilization of chunks by ELF speakers to co-construct successful discourse. She collected data from the ELFA corpus, which comprises spoken ELF discourse recorded in university settings. The interactive phraseological patterns in her data vary from short and fixed expressions to units of around five words, and she reports that the more words the expression is composed of the more variation in its form occurs (e.g., *in my point of view*). Mauranen (2009) states that although such chunks deviate from native speaker forms, they do not hinder communication. She also states that these unconventional forms are used by a number of speakers with different first languages, and therefore show regularity, which suggests that they are not random errors. One other study conducted on chunks in ELF was that of Carey (2013), who investigated the high frequency organizing chunks in both spoken and written academic ELF interactions. He gathered data from ELFA and the nascent corpus of written ELF, WrELFA, and took the ENL comparison data from the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English

(MICASE). He found that the higher frequency organizing chunks such as *on the other hand* and *at the same time* occurred in their conventional forms while the approximations of the conventional chunk from my point of view like *in my view point, to my view, in my eyes* are quite infrequent. Carey (2013) concludes that the majority of the chunks investigated in his study conform to convention, both in their function and form, which can be taken as evidence that ELF speakers store and retrieve these chunks as a whole unit in the same way as native speakers do.

Literature shows that ELF is not as formulaic as a natural adult first language in that ELF speakers rely less on prefabricated units. Furthermore, ELF speakers use formulaic units that are not semantically transparent such as idioms less frequently than native speakers of English and when they do, they do not conform to the conventional forms. One common finding reported in a number of studies is that although formulaic units show variation in form, they do not hinder communication.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the relevant literature on English as a lingua franca (ELF) and formulaic language has been provided in detail. The studies touched upon in this chapter reveal that the linguistic, phonological and pragmatic features of ELF are quite different from those of English as a native language (ENL). Moreover, the English spoken as a lingua franca in different parts of the world may show differences as language use is highly related to its speakers' cultural backgrounds. Therefore, this research intends to provide a clear insight into how the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in different parts of the world, namely in Europe and Asia, differ by investigating the use of formulaic language in European ELF and Asian ELF. The next chapter will focus on the methodology of this study

including the research design, materials and instruments, and finally procedures and data analysis.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this descriptive study is to examine the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in two different contexts, namely Europe and Asia, and to this end, ELF speakers' use of formulaic language will be investigated. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. How much of ELF talk is formulaic in both European and Asian settings?
2. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in academic interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
3. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in social interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
4. What are the sources of unconventional formulaic expressions in ELF?

This chapter consists of four main sections as data sources, data extraction, data analysis, and operationalization of formulaic language. In the first section, the data sources, which are the two ELF corpora VOICE and ACE, are introduced in detail. In the second section, how the data for this study are extracted from the two corpora is explained. In the third section, the data analysis procedure is discussed in detail. In the final section, detailed information on the operationalization of formulaic language is provided.

Data Sources

Currently, there are three large ELF corpora to be used for research purposes, namely the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), and Asian Corpus of English (ACE). VOICE and ELFA are comprised of ELF interactions taking place in European settings, with most of their speakers belonging to European lingua-cultural backgrounds. While VOICE includes speech events taking place in educational, professional and social settings, ELFA is the compilation of ELF interactions occurring in academic settings only. Since the purpose of this study is to investigate the use of formulaic language both in academic and social ELF interactions, data for European ELF were collected from VOICE instead of ELFA. To explore the use of formulaic language in Asian ELF, data were drawn from the only large Asian ELF corpus ACE, which includes ELF interactions taking place in educational, professional and social contexts. The ACE team collected and transcribed the corpus following VOICE protocols and the transcription software, VoiceScribe, developed by the VOICE team, in order to allow researchers to reliably and easily compare data from both corpora (Kirkpatrick, 2013). Detailed information about the two corpora is provided in the following section.

The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)

The first set of data for this research comes from the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/index.php). VOICE is the first computer-readable corpus capturing spoken ELF interactions. The corpus currently contains over 1 million words of transcribed speech recorded at the Department of English at the University of Vienna. VOICE is compiled from naturally occurring, face-to-face

speech situations where English is used as a contact language between speakers who do not share a native language. VOICE includes over a thousand ELF speakers, who come from over 50 different first language backgrounds (e.g., Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, and Slovenian). As stated on its website, the speakers in VOICE are mainly, though not exclusively, European ELF speakers. Native speakers are occasionally present in ELF interactions recorded in VOICE, who only make up about seven per cent of all speakers. The interactions are complete speech events from educational, leisure, and professional domains, and of different speech event types (conversation, interview, meeting, panel, press conference, question-answer session, seminar discussion, service encounter, working group discussion, workshop discussion). The interactions also vary in terms of function (exchanging information, enacting social relationships), and participant roles and relationships (acquainted vs. unacquainted, symmetrical vs. asymmetrical). The audio-recordings in VOICE are supplemented by detailed information about the nature of the speech event and the speakers engaged in these ELF conversations.

Asian Corpus of English (ACE)

The second set of data comes from Asian Corpus of English (ACE), the corpus of naturally occurring spoken English used as a lingua franca in Asian settings (http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/index.php?m=news&a=index). The data in both VOICE and ACE are authentic in the sense that they occur naturally, and are not elicited for research purposes. The majority of the participants in ACE are multilingual Asians, primarily from ASEAN + 3 (China, Japan, and Korea), and native speakers constitute only a small minority in the corpus. ACE now comprises about one million words, equaling approximately 110 hours of transcribed speech. The ACE team ensured the corpus was comparable with and complementary to

VOICE, and therefore used the same transcription software (VoiceScribe) developed by the VOICE team in order to enable researchers to compare the features and use of Asian ELF with those of European ELF. Just like in VOICE, the ELF interactions in ACE cover a range of different speech events in terms of domain (professional, educational, leisure), and types (interviews, press conferences, service encounters, seminar discussions, working group discussion, workshop discussions, meetings, panels, question-and-answer sessions, conversations, etc.). Among the objectives of the ACE project are investigating the common features of Asian ELF use, and identifying any similarities and differences between European and Asian ELF, which is the very purpose of this study.

Data Extraction

This study aims to investigate the use of formulaic language in academic and social interactions in European and Asian contexts. In this respect, speech samples of interactions from educational and leisure domains were collected from VOICE and ACE, and a subset of data was created. The researcher ensured the dataset included a variety of speech event types from question and answer sessions to working group discussions, and selected interactions from each domain and speech event type randomly. The researcher analyzed 42 interactions in total, choosing 23 interactions from ACE and 19 interactions from VOICE. The researcher ensured the data extracted from each corpus were more or less equal in terms of both word count and duration. Particular attention was paid for the word count to be as equal as possible since the analysis in this study is based on tokens and frequencies of lexical sets. Approximately 40.000 words from each domain in each corpus were analyzed, equaling around 160.000 words in total. The interactions analyzed are not precisely equal in terms of word count because the researcher did not prefer to leave some

parts of the interactions aside just for the sake of reaching the exact same word count across domains and contexts. In total, 1100 minutes of speech were analyzed, which is around 270 minutes of speech from each domain in each context. See Table 5 below for more detailed information on the interactions extracted for analysis.

Table 5

General Information on the Interactions in the Database

	Asian ELF		European ELF	
Domain	Academic	Social	Academic	Social
Number of words	40034	39983	39891	40044
Duration	278 mins	272 mins	260 mins	293 mins
Number of interactions	13	10	8	11
Number of first language backgrounds	30	12	22	18
Type of speech event	conversation, interview, question-answer session, seminar discussion, workshop discussion	conversation	conversation, interview, seminar discussion, service encounter, working group discussion, workshop discussion	conversation, interview

The researcher ensured the database included speakers from a wide range of first language backgrounds both in European and Asian settings, including the native English speakers (NES). The native speakers are present in both corpora, comprising seven percent of all speakers in VOICE and ten percent in ACE. In the present study, the researcher decided to limit the representation of the native speakers of English in the data to no more than six percent for the following reasons. First, the researcher believed that the dominance of the native speakers in the dataset might make it

difficult to make claims about the lexicogrammatical features of ELF as the English they speak would still be considered English as a native language (ENL) although there is lots of accommodation in the language. Second, focusing on ELF use in different parts of the world required the researcher to analyze ELF used by speakers belonging to those lingua-cultural backgrounds in particular. Table 6 below presents the list of first languages backgrounds in the dataset.

Table 6

The First languages of the Speakers in the Database

Asian ELF		European ELF	
First Languages	# of Speakers	First Languages	# of Speakers
Arabic	3	Albanian	1
Bahasa Indonesia	1	Bulgarian	1
Bengali	1	Catalan	1
Bruneian Malay	1	Czech	2
Burmese	6	Danish	1
Cantonese	1	Dutch	6
Cebuano	2	English	7
Chinese	4	Finnish	2
English	2	French	10
Filipino	3	German	29
Fuzhou	1	Greek	2
Garo	1	Hungarian	1
Hainanese	1	Italian	9
Hakka	1	Kirghiz	2
Ilocano	1	Korean	1
Indonesian Malay	2	Latvian	2
Japanese	5	Macedonian	3
Kemak	1	Maltese	13
Khmer	2	Polish	7
Korean	2	Portuguese	1
Lao	3	Romanian	2
Malaysian Malay	6	Russian	2
Mandarin	3	Serbian	5
Patani Malay	1	Slovak	1
Putonghua	3	Spanish	8
Tagalog	2	Swedish	2
Tamil	4		
Thai	15		
Tongan	1		
Vietnamese	12		
Waray	1		

Note. The tokens of speakers with more than one first language are counted under each of those languages, just as in the corpus data.

Data Analysis

Corpus-based analysis as an empirical method is used in linguistics research to examine the actual patterns of language use by utilizing a large collection of natural texts as well as making use of computers for analysis (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998). In the present study, data gathered from two corpora, VOICE and ACE, were analyzed through descriptive statistics, and two bottom-up corpus analysis methods, namely tokenization (token analysis) and frequency analysis, were employed. Through tokenization, the types of formulaic language that are present in the subset of data gathered from both corpora were identified by using Kecskes' (2007) formulaic language continuum as an analytical framework (See Table 7). The frequency of occurrence of formulaic units in each category was further identified through frequency analysis.

Table 7

Formulaic Continuum (Adopted from Kecskes, 2007, p. 193)

Grammatical Units	Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms
be going to	*as a matter of fact*	*put up with*	*going shopping*	*welcome aboard*	*kick the bucket*
have to	*suffice it to say*	*get along with*	*not bad*	*help yourself*	*spill the beans*

The researcher did tokenization and frequency analysis both on paper and on a Microsoft Excel sheet (see Appendix A for the chart used when recording the formulaic expressions and their frequency). The formulaic expressions that appeared in the data were categorized under the types specified in the formulaic continuum. Each time the same expression appeared in the data, the researcher made notes of its occurrence in a separate column next to the expression. The researcher preferred to

record the tokens and frequencies on paper first and then transfer them onto a Microsoft Excel sheet as it enabled double-checking. In order to confirm the categorization of the formulaic expressions, the researcher used five comprehensive dictionaries; *Cambridge Dictionary Online* (*http://dictionary.cambridge.org/*), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* (*http://www.ldoceonline.com/*), *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (2005), *Collins Cobuild idioms dictionary* (2002) and *Cambridge Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2006). To assure inter-rater reliability, 20 % of the data was analyzed by the thesis supervisor in the beginning of the data analysis process. The findings were compared and discrepancies were negotiated before the rest of the data were analyzed in order to make sure the data were analyzed in a reliable manner.

The researcher conducted the data analysis first conversation by conversation, and then compiled the formulaic expressions, together with information regarding their frequencies, in four main groups; the formulaic units in Asian academic ELF, in European academic ELF, in Asian social ELF, and in European social ELF. The researcher reached the total numbers regarding tokens and frequencies in each of the four groups, which enabled making comparisons across ELF contexts and domains. At this stage of the data analysis the non-standard forms of formulaic expressions were included in the total numbers, but they were analyzed separately to answer the fourth research question. While recording the formulaic expressions occurring in the data, the non-standard forms were noted down in the relevant category and marked with an asterisk. A separate row was created for the unconventional forms on the Microsoft Excel sheet to make it more practical and easier to analyze them separately for the fourth research question.

To determine the sources of non-standard forms, all the expressions deviating from conventional forms were examined one by one focusing on the lexicogrammatical change in the expression. Based on what part of the expression deviated from the conventional form of the expression, the source of deviation was determined. For example, the source of deviation in the expression *find job* was determined to be the omission of the article when necessary in English as a native language (ENL) as the expression would appear as *find a job* in ENL. To confirm how the expressions appear in English as a native language (ENL), they were checked in two ENL corpora; Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and British National Corpus (BNC). This procedure was followed for all the unconventional expressions found in the data, and the main sources of unconventional forms were determined (e.g., overuse or omission of copula 'be'). In the expressions where the deviation stems from two different areas of lexicogrammatical change, the expression was noted under two different categories. For instance, the expression *it's depend on* was categorized as both *overuse of copula 'be'* and *dropping 3rd person singular –s*.

An inductive approach to data analysis was employed in that the researcher drew conclusions based on the data gathered. The researcher compared the patterns in formulaic language use in ELF in the two contexts and identified any similarities and differences between them, paying close attention to the non-conventional forms as well. The researcher aimed mainly at describing patterns focusing on similarities and differences, rather than trying to explain these patterns of language use by cultural differences or geographical or cultural proximity to the native speaking countries.

Operationalizing Formulaic Language

In this study, Kecskes' (2007) formulaic language continuum is used as an analytical framework (see Table 7 above), and the operational definition of formulaic language is developed based on his definition. Kecskes (2007) defines formulaic language as "*multi-word collocations* which are stored and retrieved holistically rather than being generated de novo with each use" (p. 3, italics added). It is clear from the definition that according to Kecskes (2007) for a lexical set to be considered formulaic it must comprise more than one word. However, in this study certain single word items such as words with particular pragmatic functions (e.g., *sorry*, *thanks*), minimal responses (e.g., *right*, *okay*, *sure*), and hedges (e.g., *maybe*) are considered formulaic, too, since they possess the characteristics of formulaic language. First, they occur highly frequently in spoken interactions, and contribute to the flow of conversation. Second, they are uttered without pauses and hesitation just as multi-word strings that are retrieved from memory as chunks. Lastly, they are highly conventionalized, that is, they are uttered in preference to other words which could serve the same purpose during the conversation. For these reasons, certain single word items are considered formulaic, and therefore included in the data. One other study on formulaic language was that of Ortaçtepe (2012), and she too considered certain single word items such as *thanks*, *hello*, and *alright* as formulaic, and therefore included them in her data as well.

Kecskes (2007) provides six categories of formulaic language; grammatical units, fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, situation-bound utterances, and idioms, and offers examples for each category. In this study, Kecskes' (2007) formulaic language continuum is adapted when analyzing the data, and each category is operationally (re)defined to enhance the understanding of the

units of formulaic language (see Table 8 below). For instance, for the second category, fixed semantic units, Kecskes (2007) provides two examples; *as a matter of fact*, and *suffice it to say*. Both expressions are formally fixed, which allow for no lexical change. In this study, collocations that allow for partial change in the structure such as *take an exam* (where the verb *take* could be replaced by *sit* or *write*) are listed under this category, too and therefore this category is renamed as fixed and semi-fixed semantic units. Kecskes (2007) categorizes verbs with a preposition such as *be worried about* and *take care of* as phrasal verbs. Phrasal verbs in this study are defined as verbs with a particle, not with a preposition, and therefore lexical units like *be worried about* are listed under fixed and semi-fixed semantic units instead of phrasal verbs. Furthermore, the researcher confirmed if such units can be considered as phrasal verbs or not by referring to several dictionaries such as *Cambridge Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* (2006) and *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* (http://www.ldoceonline.com/), and listed only those which were classified as phrasal verbs in those dictionaries under that category.

Table 8

Operational Definition of the Formulaic Continuum

	Definition	**Examples**
Grammatical units	lexical items that are grammaticalized	*be going to, have to*
Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	multi-word units that allow for partial or no change	*after a while, sit an exam*
Phrasal verbs	verbs with a particle (not with a preposition)	*find out, come up with*
Speech formulas	function-bound conversational routines	*you know, I mean*
Situation-bound utterances	expressions that are closely associated with a particular situation	*welcome aboard, help yourself*
Idioms	multi-word expressions that have a conventionalized and figurative meaning	*food for thought, spill the beans*

Conclusion

In this methodology chapter, general information on the data sources was given, and the data extraction procedure of the study was described in detail. Then, a general introduction to the methods of data analysis was provided. Finally, detailed information on the operationalization of formulaic language was given. The next chapter will present an in depth analysis of the data gathered from the two ELF corpora; VOICE and ACE.

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of this descriptive study was to examine the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in two different contexts, namely Europe and Asia, and to this end, ELF speakers' use of formulaic language was investigated. The study addressed the following research questions:

1. How much of ELF talk is formulaic in both European and Asian settings?
2. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in academic interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
3. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in social interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
4. What are the sources of unconventional formulaic expressions in ELF?

In this descriptive study, data were gathered from two ELF corpora; the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE). A subset of corpus was created by selecting academic and social interactions from both corpora randomly. In a dataset of around 160.000 words, the use of formulaic language was investigated using Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum as an analytical framework. The formulaic expressions occurring in academic and social ELF conversations both in European and Asian contexts were

listed under six categories; grammatical units, fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, situation-bound utterances, and idioms. Tokenization and frequency analysis were employed in the descriptive analysis of the data. A comparison of the frequency of occurrence of formulaic language was made between European and Asian ELF interactions both in academic and in social domains.

In this chapter, the salient findings emerging out of the data analysis will be presented in reference to the research questions. In the first section, the overall extent of formulaicity of ELF talk in both Asian and European contexts will be discussed. In the second section, formulaic language in academic ELF interactions will be analyzed in detail. First, the frequency of the types of formulaic units occurring in both European and Asian contexts will be presented comparatively, and then the high-frequency and low-frequency expressions in each category will be provided in detail. The third section will cover formulaic language in social ELF interactions. First, a frequency analysis of the types of formulaic units will be provided, and then the individual expressions within each category will be presented in detail. In the final section, the frequencies and sources of unconventional, or non-standard, forms of formulaic language will be presented in detail.

Section I: Formulaicity of ELF Talk in European and Asian Contexts

In order to see how formulaic ELF talk is in European and Asian settings, a content analysis of the interactions extracted from the two corpora was conducted. Data were extracted in four groups; academic interactions in Asian ELF, academic interactions in European ELF, social interactions in Asian ELF, and social interactions in European ELF. All the formulaic expressions in these interactions were listed under the relevant categories, and then the ratio of formulaic units to the

total word count in each of the four groups was calculated. This enabled the researcher to see how formulaic ELF talk was in both academic and social interactions in Asian and European ELF. Figure 2 shows the percentage of formulaic expressions in academic and social ELF interactions in both settings.

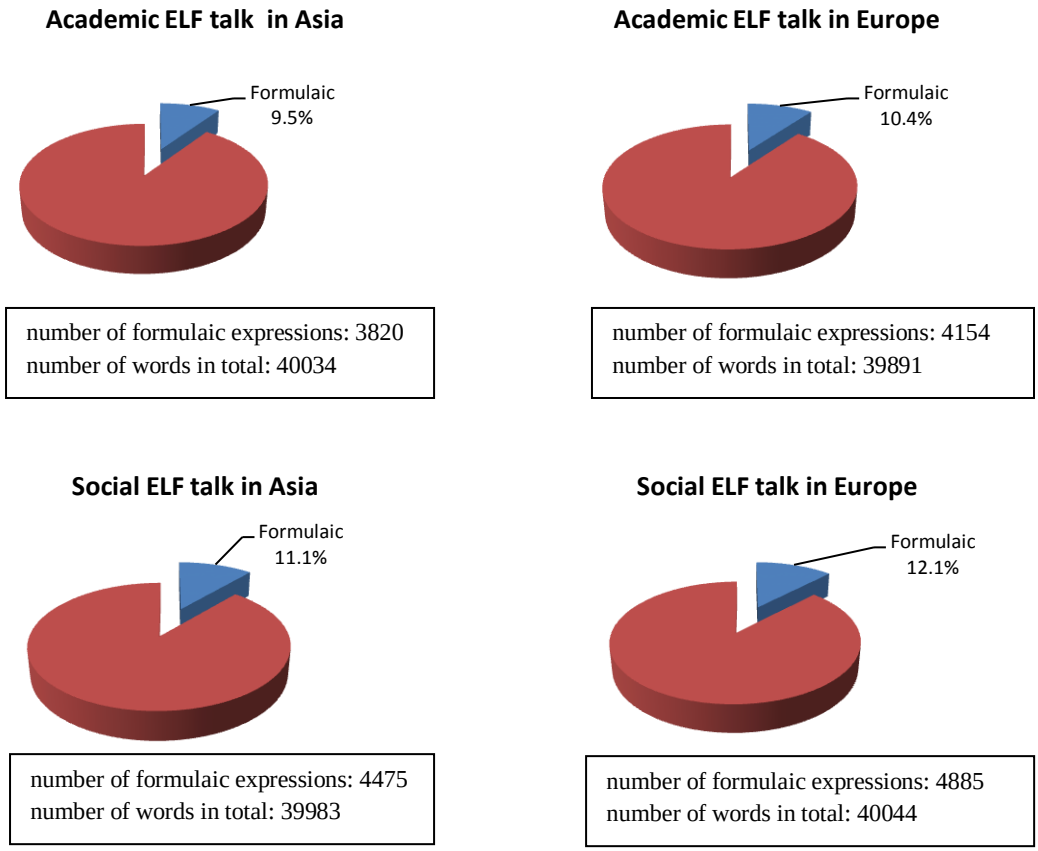


Figure 2. The percentage of formulaic expressions in ELF interactions

As shown in Figure 2, the level of formulaicity in ELF talk is nearly 10 % on average in both domains in both Asian and European ELF. Overall, formulaic language is used slightly more frequently in social interactions when compared to academic interactions in both contexts. While 9.5 % of ELF seems to be formulaic in academic ELF interactions in Asia, the percentage goes up to 11.1 in social exchanges. Similarly, the percentage of formulaic expressions in academic ELF in Europe is 10.4 whereas it is 12.1 in social interactions.

As a second step, the number of formulaic expressions in both academic and social interactions was summed up to see the level of formulaicity overall in Asian and European ELF. Figure 3 illustrates the percentage of formulaic expressions in Asian and European ELF.

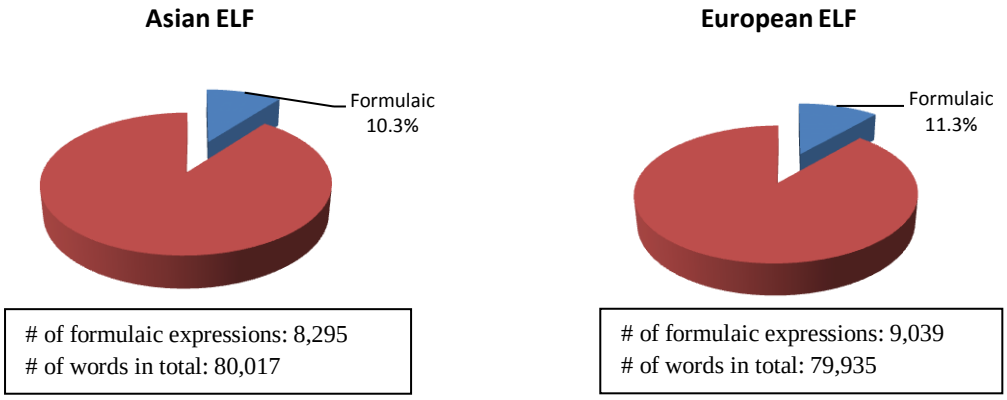


Figure 3. The percentage of formulaic expressions in Asian and European ELF

As presented in Figure 3, the degree of formulaicity in European ELF is slightly higher than that in Asian ELF. While around 10.3 % of ELF conversations taking place in Asian settings is formulaic, the percentage is 11.3 in European ELF.

These findings indicate that there is not a big difference between the degree of formulaicity in Asian ELF and that in European ELF. The results also indicate that social ELF interactions seem to be more formulaic when compared to academic ELF interactions in both Asian and European ELF. This section provided an overall analysis of formulaicity in Asian and European ELF interactions. The next section will focus on the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language in academic ELF in detail and provide a discussion of the most frequent expressions together with information regarding their frequency in each of the six categories.

Section II: High-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language in academic interactions

In order to see the most and least frequently used types of formulaic language, the number of formulaic expressions occurring in the data was calculated, and the total number of expressions from each category was provided (See Figure 4).

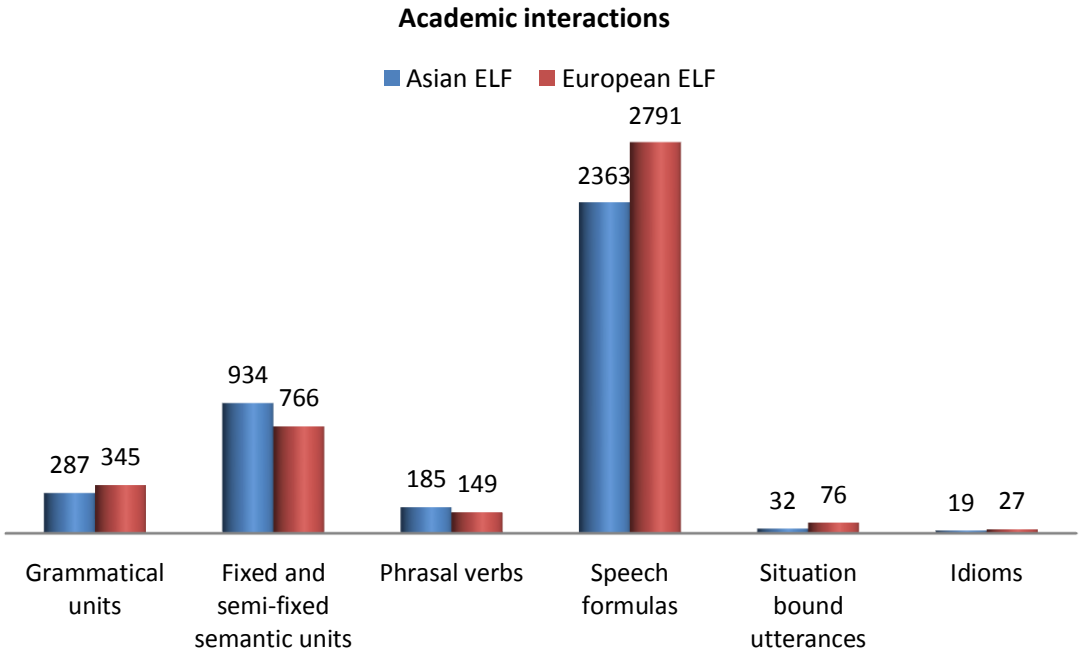


Figure 4. Frequency of occurrence of formulaic language

As seen in Figure 4, speech formulas represent the largest group in the data in both contexts, being used 2363 times in Asian ELF and 2791 times in European ELF. Speech formulas are followed by fixed and semi-fixed semantic units as the second most frequent group both in Asian (N = 934) and in European ELF (N = 766). Forming the third most frequent type of formulaic expressions, grammatical units (N = 287 in Asian ELF, N = 345 in European ELF) are used more frequently than phrasal verbs (N = 185 in Asian ELF, N = 149 in European ELF) in both contexts. Lastly, the least frequent type of formulaic language in both contexts is idioms being used 19 times in Asian ELF and 27 times in European ELF, which is preceded by

situation-bound utterances occurring 32 times in Asian ELF and 76 times in European ELF. More interestingly, the ranking of the types of formulaic language from the most frequent to the least frequent is the same in both Asian ELF and European ELF (speech formulas > fixed and semi-fixed semantic units > grammatical units > phrasal verbs > situation-bound utterances > idioms).

However, an in-depth examination of the different expressions within the group shows that two speech formulas *okay* and *yeah* account for around 43 % of all speech formulas counted in this group in both Asian (1033 out of 2363 expressions) and European ELF (1184 out of 2791 expressions). Thus, being considered outliers, these two speech formulas, *okay* and *yeah*, are excluded from the rest of the discussion in this paper. Figure 5 demonstrates the frequency of occurrence of formulaic expressions without the two outliers *okay* and *yeah*.

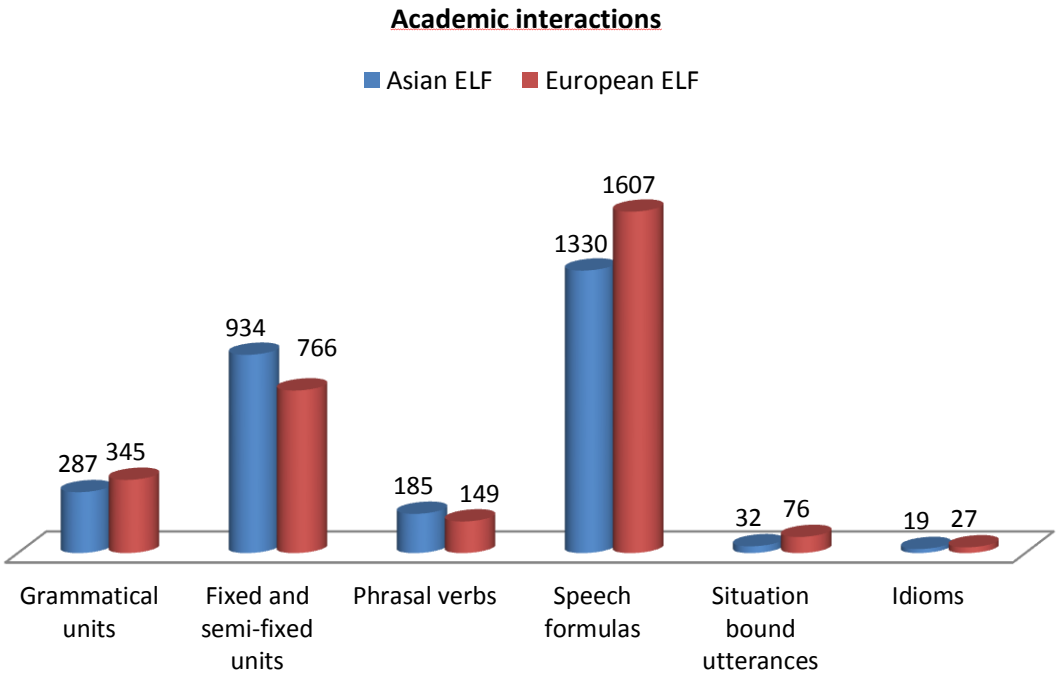
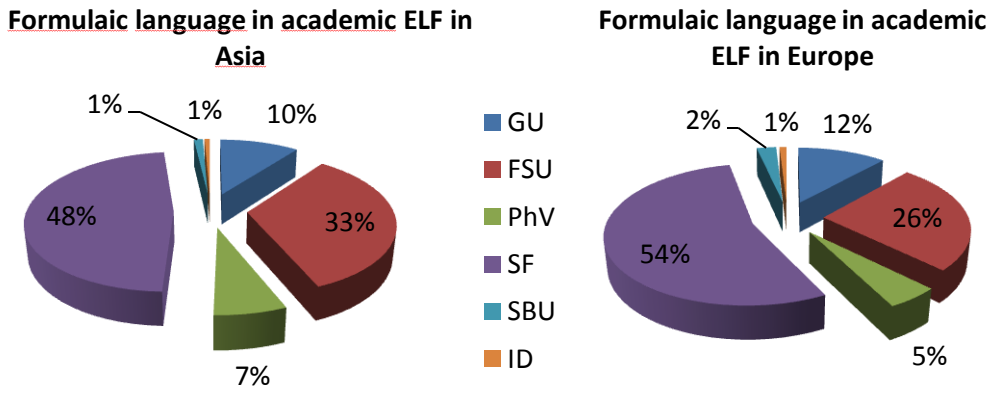


Figure 5. Frequency of occurrence of formulaic language without *okay* and *yeah*

As can be seen in Figure 5, speech formulas still represent the largest group of formulaic expressions in both ELF contexts without the two outliers *okay* and *yeah*.

An overall examination of the data shows that fixed and semi-fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs are the only two groups that were used more frequently in Asian academic ELF than in European academic ELF. The other types of formulaic language - speech formulas, grammatical units, situation-bound utterances, and idioms – appeared more frequently in European academic ELF than in Asian academic ELF. After examining the frequencies in each category, the researcher looked at the percentage distribution of formulaic language in academic ELF interactions in both contexts. Figure 6 below illustrates the distribution of formulaic language types in both European and Asian ELF in percentage terms.



*GU: Grammatical units, FSU: Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, PhV: Phrasal verbs, SF: Speech formulas, SBU: Situation bound utterances, ID: Idioms

Figure 6. The percentage distribution of formulaic language in Asian and European academic ELF interactions

As can be seen in Figure 6, speech formulas account for more than half of all formulaic units in European academic ELF (54 %) while they account for 48 % of all formulaic expressions in Asian academic ELF. Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, however, occurred more frequently in Asian academic ELF than in European ELF, accounting for 33 % and 26 % of all formulaic units respectively. While the percentages are similar, grammatical units were used slightly more frequently in

European ELF and phrasal verbs occurred a bit more frequently in Asian ELF. As to the two least frequent groups, idioms account for 1 % of all formulaic units in both contexts while situation-bound utterances account for 1 % of all units in Asian ELF and 2 % in European ELF.

The next stage of data analysis focused on the tokens and frequencies of formulaic expressions within each of the six categories in academic ELF interactions. The following part of this section focuses on each type of formulaic language separately and presents the most frequent expressions within formulaic language categories (See the appendices for the full list of formulaic units). The non-standard forms of formulaic language within each category will be presented in Section IV.

Grammatical Units

The overall use of grammatical units in Asian and European academic ELF interactions mostly revealed similarities with a few differences. Table 9 presents all the grammatical units found in the data together with information regarding their frequency of use.

Table 9

Grammatical Units in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Grammatical units	Frequency	Grammatical units	Frequency
there [be]	108	there [be]	136
have to	81	have to	110
need to	28	be going to	16
be going to	17	be gonna	15
have been $V_{progressive}$	10	need to	15
used to	8	there [modal] be	13
be able to	7	used to	12
have got	5	be able to	11
tend to	5	[modal] have $V_{past\ participle}$	4
there [modal] be	5	more/less … than	3
as … as	3	as … as	2
[modal] have $V_{past\ participle}$	2	so … that	2
have got to	1	ought to	1
seem to	1	had better	1
more … than	1	have got to	1
		have been $V_{progressive}$	1
		have got	1
TOTAL			
19	287	18	345

Note. One single entry is provided for all forms (affirmative, negative and interrogative) of a grammatical structure. For example, there [be] encompasses structures like *there was, is there* etc. $V_{progressive}$ refers to a verb in progressive form such as *running*, and $V_{past\ participle}$ refers to the past participle form of a verb such as *spoken*. Also, the total numbers representing tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As illustrated in Table 9, a similar number of grammatical units were used in Asian and European academic ELF interactions (19 and 18 respectively) in total; however, they were used more frequently in European ELF (N = 345) than in Asian ELF (N = 287). What is similar between Asian and European ELF is that the first and the second most frequently used grammatical units are the same. *There [be]* is the highest-frequency grammatical unit in both contexts occurring 108 times in Asian ELF and 136 times in European ELF, followed by *have to*, which was used 81 times

in Asian ELF and 110 times in European ELF. The next most frequent expressions seem to be *need to* and *be going to* in both contexts. What is different is that *be gonna,* the short form of talking about the future, occurred 15 times in academic interactions in European ELF while there was no occurrence of the structure in Asian ELF.

As can be seen in Table 9, expressions like *used to*, *be able to*, *as … as*, and *more … than* are more or less equally frequent in Asian and European ELF. However, the grammatical structure *have been Vprogressive* was used a lot more frequently in Asian ELF than in European ELF. As to the expressions used for giving advice, a wider range of structures were observed in European ELF (*ought to* and *had better*) than in Asian ELF. On the other hand, introductory verbs used for hedging purposes such as *tend to* and *seem to* have been observed in Asian ELF interactions while there was no incidence of them in European ELF.

Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units

A total of 313 different fixed and semi-fixed semantic units occurred in Asian academic ELF data, which were used 934 times altogether whereas a fewer number of expressions, 274 different semantic units, were found in European academic ELF interactions, which were used 766 times in total. Table 10 below demonstrates the 20 most frequent expressions recorded in this category (See Appendix B for the full list of fixed and semi-fixed semantic units in both Asian and European academic ELF).

Table 10

Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency	Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency
lots of/a lot of	80	for example	43
as well	35	a (little) bit	32
some of (the)	32	a lot of/lots of	31
in terms of	28	as well	25
because of	23	all the	18
a (little) bit	22	(it) depends on …	16
all the	20	part of …	15
one of (the) …	17	so that	14
for example	17	one of (the)…	13
most of (the)	13	a/the/that/this kind of …	12
so many/much	12	loss of	12
part of	12	so many/much	10
a/this/that/the same kind of …	12	point(s) of view	10
what kind(s) of …	12	something/somebody else	10
even if/though	12	(a/the) way of … / ways of …	10
this and that	11	at one/that/a certain time	9
(quite) a lot	10	in order to	9
find something (hard/amusing)	9	because of …	8
right now	9	first of all	8
rather than	8	get/have/receive feedback	8
…		…	
TOTAL			
313	934	274	766

Note. The total numbers of tokens and frequencies include the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As can be seen in Table 10, there is not much parallelism in terms of the semantic units and their frequency of occurrence between the two contexts. The most frequently used semantic units in Asian and European academic ELF are not the same, which are *lots of/a lot of* and *for example*, respectively. While *for example* is the most frequent expression in European academic ELF, occurring 43 times in the data, it was used only 17 times in Asian academic ELF, ranking as the 9th most

frequent expression. Similarly, while the semantic unit *some of (the)* was used 32 times and ranks as the third most frequent expression in Asian ELF, it is not even within the first 20 items that are the most frequent in European academic ELF. However, although their ranking in the list of frequency is different, a number of fixed and semi-fixed semantic units are among the most frequent expressions in both contexts such as *for example, lots of/a lot of , a (little) bit, as well, (it) depends on…, all the, so many/much,* and so on. Also, as far as these most frequent expressions in both contexts are concerned, it is observed that they are composed largely of expressions used to talk about amount and number, such as *lots of*, *one of* and *part of*, and secondly connectors and linkers like *for example, so that,* and *because of.* A large number of collocations, for example verb + noun (e.g., *play the guitar*), or verb + preposition (e.g., *graduate from*) combinations, are recorded in this category as well, however, such combinations are used once or twice, three times at best in the whole data (see Appendix B). Therefore, they are among the least frequent expressions in the list. This pattern could be explained by the high semantic load of such expressions as opposed to connectors or linkers which have a rather discursive function and therefore can be used in any topic of conversation. The chance of *because of* to be used in a variety of topics of conversation is much higher when compared to a content word such as *shower* along with its verb collocation *take*.

The only exception to the aforementioned issue about collocations seems to be the high-frequency expressions *find something (hard/amusing etc.)* in Asian academic ELF, and *get/have/receive feedback* in European academic ELF. It is usual for such an expression as *get feedback* to occur frequently in the data as all the conversations analyzed took place in academic settings. As to *find something interesting/difficult*, seven out of nine incidences of this collocation were found in

one single conversation where two speakers, a Japanese and a Bruneian, talked about their experiences in their first time in Brunei. They used this collocation when they were expressing their opinions about movies, classes, and so on.

Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs are another group that occurred more frequently in Asian academic ELF (N = 185) than in European academic ELF (N = 149), and as far as the number of expressions are concerned, there were a wider range of phrasal verbs in Asian academic ELF (73 phrasal verbs) than in European academic ELF (64 phrasal verbs) (see Table 11 for the 20 most frequent phrasal verbs noted in this category).

Table 11

Phrasal Verbs in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Phrasal verbs	Frequency	Phrasal verbs	Frequency
pick up	19	come from	16
come from	15	think of	11
deal with	12	write down	11
think of	10	go on	6
go back to	7	look for	5
come back	6	sign in	5
come out	5	put down	5
come up with	5	come up	4
go through	5	fill out	4
find out	5	fill in	4
get in	4	come back	4
come over	4	go back	4
go out	3	give up	3
look for	3	go into	3
bring up	3	get up	2
figure out	3	made of	2
take up	3	go through	2
keep on	3	go with	2
grow up	3	stand by	2
go on	2	head towards	2
…		…	
TOTAL			
73	185	64	149

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As illustrated in Table 11, the four highest-frequency phrasal verbs in Asian ELF (*pick up*, *come from*, *deal with*, and *think of*) were used 56 times in the data while those in European ELF (*come from*, *think of*, *write down*, and *go on*) occurred 44 times. However, it is difficult to make generalizations based on this finding because the most frequent phrasal verb in Asian academic ELF *pick up* was used 13 times in one conversation when the speakers were talking about learning a language. Similarly, 11 out of 16 occurrences of *come from* in the European academic ELF data

were recorded in one conversation. In addition, the phrasal verb *deal with* was used 12 times in Asian ELF data and all these instances were recorded in one single conversation. Yet, it is possible to claim that to some extent there is similarity between Asian and European academic ELF in terms of the most frequent phrasal verbs. *Come from* and *think of* seem to be two of the most frequent phrasal verbs in both contexts. However, *pick up* did not occur in the European ELF data while it is at the top of the list in Asian academic ELF. Similarly, *write down*, one of the most frequent phrasal verbs in European academic ELF, was not found in the Asian ELF data (See Appendix C for the full list of phrasal verbs).

Overall, phrasal verbs composed of the verb *come* and *a particle* (e.g., *come from*, *come back*) are the most frequently used ones in both Asian (N = 41) and European (N = 29) ELF contexts, followed by *go + particle* combinations such as g*o on* and *go back*, which are used 28 times in Asian academic ELF and 23 times in European contexts (See Appendix C). In other words, around 20 % of all phrasal verbs are *come + particle* combinations, and 15 % are *go + particle* combinations in both contexts.

Speech Formulas

Overall, speech formulas occurred more frequently in European academic ELF (N = 1606) than in Asian academic ELF (N = 1330). In parallel with the numbers representing the frequency of occurrence, a total of 156 different speech formulas were used in Asian academic ELF while the number was 208 in European academic ELF. Similar to grammatical units, there is a considerable degree of overlap between Asian and European academic ELF in terms of the most frequent expressions used (see Table 12 for the most frequent 23 expressions in the data and for the full list of speech formulas please see Appendix D).

Table 12

Speech Formulas in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Speech formulas	Frequency	Speech formulas	Frequency
you know	196	I think	186
I think	130	you know	155
like	86	I mean	121
maybe	81	like	120
right	68	maybe	69
and then	62	of course	52
well	42	thank you (so/very much) /thanks (a lot)	48
thank you (very much)/thanks	42	and then	48
I mean	38	it's like	40
I see	38	well	33
that's why	29	exactly	23
How/what about …?	23	all right	21
(it's/that's) all right	21	sorry/ oh sorry / I'm sorry	20
(oh) really	21	I don't know	20
(things/something/stuff) like that	20	kind of	20
sorry/ I'm sorry	19	(that's) (very)nice/good/great	20
of course	19	I guess/suppose/assume	19
(that's/oh) good/great/nice	15	(or) something/anything/things /stuff like that	19
I don't know	15	I/we would like to …	17
sort of	13	right	15
(oh) my god	11	I see	14
it's like	11	or/and something/anything	13
say /let's say	10	so	13
…		…	
TOTAL			
156	1330	208	1606

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As demonstrated in Table 12, the two most frequent speech formulas in both contexts are *I think* and *you know* although the ranking is different. It is not only *I think* and *you know* which are used almost equally frequently in Asian and European academic ELF, there are over ten more expressions that are in the list of 20 most frequent speech formulas and used almost equally frequently (e.g., *like, maybe, and then*,

thank you/thanks, I mean, well, all right, sorry, I don't know). However, not all expressions were used in equal amounts. For example, *I mean* occurred a lot more frequently in the European academic ELF data (N = 121) than in Asian academic ELF data (N = 38). Similarly, *of course* was used 52 times in the European ELF data while it was less frequent, occurring 19 times, in the Asian ELF data. On the other hand, speech formulas like *right* and *I see* were found more frequently in Asian academic ELF (N = 68 and N = 38 respectively) than in European academic ELF (N = 15 and N = 14 respectively).

As can be seen in Table 12, among the most frequent speech formulas in both contexts are discourse markers used to express opinions (e.g., *I think*), repair markers (e.g., *I mean, you know, well*), fillers (e.g., *well, like*), response/reaction markers (e.g., *really, of course*), sequence markers (e.g., *and then*), and hedges (e.g., *maybe, kind of*). It must be noted that the examples given are not conclusive. To clarify, one expression was used to serve different functions in the data. For example, *right* was used both to check understanding as in "i see here that you have presented that you have seventy languages spoken in Thailand, right?" and to check listenership as in "if they are happy with the way they are taught, right, they will become a teacher".

Situation-Bound Utterances

Situation-bound utterances are the second least frequent type of formulaic language in both ELF contexts, occurring 76 times in European academic ELF and 32 times in Asian academic ELF. Just as the frequency of occurrence, the number of situation-bound utterances used in European academic ELF (N = 40) was higher than that in Asian academic ELF (28). Table 13 below shows 20 of the most frequent situation-bound utterances found in the dataset from the most frequent to the least (See Appendix E for the full list of situation-bound expressions).

Table 13

Situation-Bound Utterances in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Situation-bound utterances	Frequency	Situation-bound utterances	Frequency
It's sad	3	Hello/hi!	15
How/what about you?	2	Come on	7
There you go	2	Say no more	6
What's wrong?	1	You're welcome	4
if you don't mind	1	Good morning (everyone)	3
Thanks for the time	1	We are happy/glad to be here	3
Hello!	1	What's the name/surname?	3
Let's move on!	1	Sorry to interrupt but/sorry but	2
Please give me advice!	1	Bye-bye!	2
Who'd like to answer that?	1	That's sad but true	1
Let's listen to …	1	That's life	1
Is it a suggestion?	1	Good luck!	1
One more question	1	all over again	1
Well done!	1	Do you need some?	1
How about that?	1	like I know	1
Let me rephrase the question!	1	Can I help you?	1
Just a couple of minutes	1	Good for you	1
It's just about time for lunch	1	Take your time	1
Enjoy your lunch!	1	That's what I told you	1
Please be seated!	1	Ladies and gentlemen!	1
TOTAL			
28	32	40	76

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As shown in Table 13, there is almost no overlap between Asian and European academic ELF in terms of the situation-bound utterances used. The only expression found in both ELF contexts is *hello/hi*, occurring a lot more frequently in European ELF (N = 15) than in Asian ELF (N = 1). At this point it is important to note that nine times of the occurrences of *hello* in European academic ELF was during one single interaction where a number of speakers were introducing themselves to the workshop group. The other six instances of the expression were noted during another

interaction where a few of the speakers joined the conversation later and saluted the other members. Similarly, the second most frequent situation-bound utterance in European academic ELF *come on* occurred six times in one single interaction, and *say no more* was repeated six times by one ELF speaker. Therefore, it is difficult to reach a conclusive claim about these three expressions being the most frequent ones in European academic ELF as opposed to Asian academic ELF. However, even without these three situation-bound utterances, the number of expressions used in European academic ELF is higher than the number of those in Asian academic ELF.

The situation-bound utterances found in the data vary in terms of their meaning and function. Among the most frequent expressions found in the data are greetings and farewells (e.g., *Hello!, Good morning!, Bye-bye!, Maybe I see you again**), wishes (e.g., *Good luck!*, *Enjoy your lunch!*), expressions used for information exchange (e.g., *What's the name?*, *Can I have your name again?*), and discourse markers used for topic management (e.g., *Let's move on*, *Sorry to interrupt, but …*). As far as the functions of situation-bound utterances are concerned, they are not always equally frequent in both ELF contexts. For example, discourse markers used for topic management such as "*Let's listen to…"*, "*Who'd like to answer that?"*, and "*Let me rephrase the question!"* occurred more frequently in Asian academic ELF while expressions used for information exchange such as "*What's the name?*, and *Can you tell me your name?* were used more frequently in European academic ELF. This difference must be due to the nature and purpose of each conversation analyzed considering how context and situation dependent situation-bound utterances are. Therefore, it is difficult to claim that situation-bound utterances that function as turn-takers or turn-givers, for example, are used more frequently in Asian academic ELF than in European academic ELF.

Idioms

The least frequent type of formulaic language in both contexts, idioms, occurred 19 times in Asian academic ELF and 27 times in European academic ELF. While a total of 14 different idioms were used in Asian ELF, 22 were used in the European context. Overall, idioms mostly appeared in single occurrences just like situation-bound utterances. Table 14 below demonstrates all the idioms from the most frequent to the least.

Table 14

Idioms in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Idioms	Frequency	Idioms	Frequency
out of tune	5	off the record	2
on the go	2	come into/to mind	2
cut the long story short	1	cross one's mind	2
That would be a way out	1	cannot speak a word	2
keep in mind	1	loosen the grip on someone	2
not a big deal	1	black market	1
That'd be a way to go	1	butcher around	1
This is a stepping stone	1	I was wasted	1
out of nowhere	1	give my word	1
first hand	1	food for thought	1
There is no way out	1	fuel the debate	1
an eye opener	1	have a say	1
eye opening	1	keep in mind	1
		do a good job	1
		not give a sh*t about …	1
		getting out of hand	1
		strike a bargain	1
		tighten the grip on someone	1
		to be on the right track	1
		Where is my mind?	1
		in the hands of…	1
		Bullsh*t	1
TOTAL			
14	19	22	27

Note. *Open-mind* was used as an adjective (instead of *open-minded*) during the conversation. Also, the total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As can be seen in Table 14, apart from *out of tune*, the most frequent idioms in both contexts are the ones occurring twice, and the others appeared only once. To start with, the idiom *out of tune* appeared 5 times in a single conversation, where the speakers were talking about how they sound when they speak a dialect of Mandarin. Similarly, the idioms *on the go*, *off the record* and *loosen the grip*, which were used twice, occurred during one single conversation. On the other hand, the idioms *come to mind*, *cross one's mind*, and *cannot speak a word* were used by different speakers during two different conversations. Being used during one single conversation or two different conversations does not mark a considerable difference in the case of these idioms because they occurred only twice, yet it is still an important point to emphasize. The other idioms recorded in this category occurred once only, which could be because idioms, unlike grammatical units and speech formulas, are highly context and situation dependent and usually are not uttered randomly in any situation. Due to the very same reason, it is difficult to find parallelism in the idioms used in both ELF contexts. The context and the situation in each conversation, whether in Asian or European ELF, are unique; therefore, it is natural that there are not many idioms that appeared in both ELF contexts. The only idiom that was found in both Asian and European academic ELF data is *keep in mind*.

This section presented findings regarding high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language in academic ELF conversations in both Asian and European contexts. In addition, information regarding the most and least frequent expressions in each of the six categories was provided. The next section will focus on formulaic language in social ELF conversations. Findings concerning the most and least frequent types of formulaic language will be provided as well as an in-depth analysis of expressions within each category.

Section III: High-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language in social interactions

After examining the use of formulaic language in academic ELF interactions, the researcher analyzed social ELF interactions in both Asian and European contexts to find out the most and least frequent types of formulaic language. The number of formulaic expressions occurring in the social ELF interactions was calculated, and the total number of expressions from each category was provided (See Figure 7).

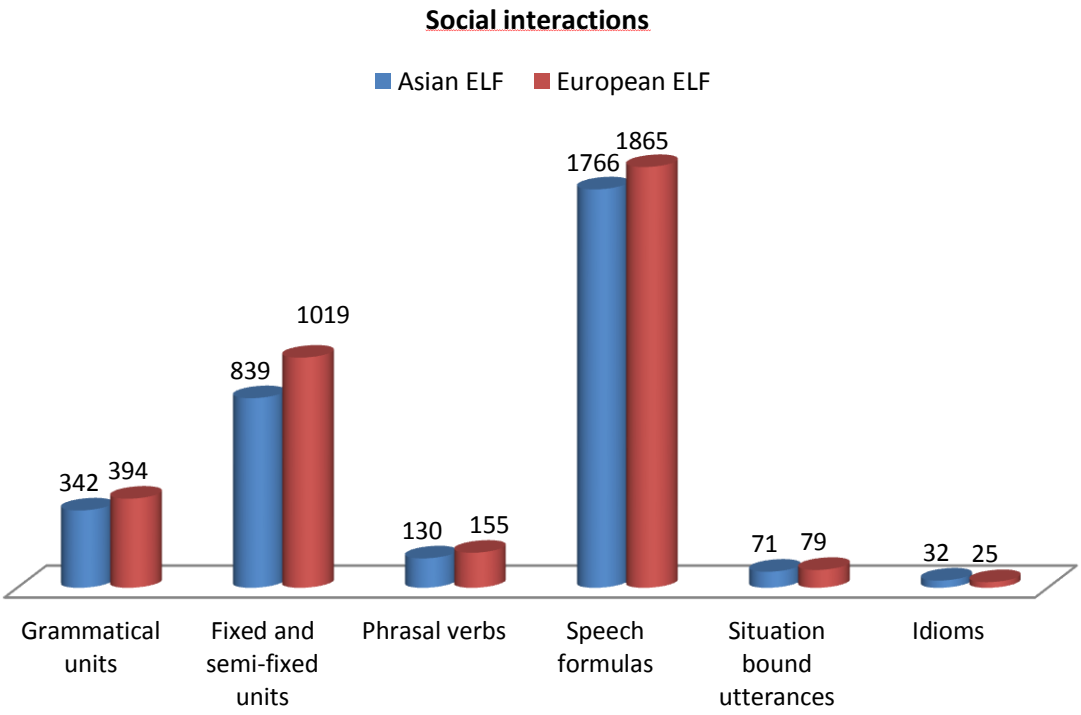
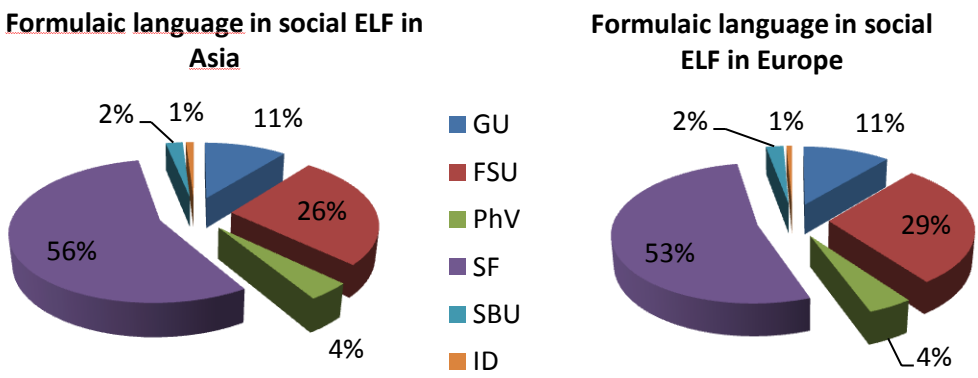


Figure 7. Frequency of occurrence of formulaic language

As seen in Figure 7, the ranking of the types of formulaic language from the most frequent to the least is the same in both Asian and European social ELF interactions (speech formulas > fixed and semi-fixed semantic units > grammatical units > phrasal verbs > situation-bound utterances > idioms), which was the same in academic interactions as well. The most frequent type of formulaic language, speech formulas, occurred 1865 times in European social ELF and 1766 times in Asian

social ELF interactions. At this point, it is important to point out that these figures do not include the two outliers *okay* and *yeah*. Initially, a total of 3053 (in Asian ELF) and 3211 (in European ELF) speech formulas were recorded. However, since these two expressions account for nearly 42% of all speech formulas in both Asian (1287 out of 3053) and European (1346 out of 3211) contexts, they were excluded from the rest of the discussion in this paper. Following speech formulas are fixed and semi-fixed semantic units to be the second most frequent group. Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units were used 839 times in Asian ELF and 1019 times, a little more frequently, in European ELF. Grammatical units formed the third most frequent group occurring 342 times in Asian ELF and 394 times in European ELF. Among the least frequent types of formulaic language was phrasal verbs, which appeared 130 times in Asian ELF and 155 times in European ELF. Situation-bound utterances are the second least frequent group in both Asian (N = 71) and European (N = 79) social ELF. Lastly, the least frequent group, idioms, occurred 32 times in Asian ELF and 25 times in European ELF.

As demonstrated in Figure 7, idioms are the only type of formulaic language that occurred more frequently in Asian ELF than in European ELF. Speech formulas, fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, grammatical units, phrasal verbs, and situation-bound utterances appeared more frequently in European social ELF than in Asian social ELF. After recording the total number of expressions in each category, a further analysis was carried out to find out how many percent of the formulaic expressions in total each category accounted for. Figure 8 below shows the distribution of formulaic language types in both European and Asian ELF in percentage terms.



*GU: Grammatical units, FSU: Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, PhV: Phrasal verbs, SF: Speech formulas, SBU: Situation bound utterances, ID: Idioms

Figure 8. The percentage distribution of formulaic language in Asian and European social ELF interactions

As illustrated in Figure 8, speech formulas account for more than half of all formulaic expressions in both ELF contexts. The percentage of speech formulas in Asian ELF (56 %) is higher than in European ELF (53 %), which is in contrast with the frequencies (N = 1766 in Asian ELF, N = 1865 in European ELF). With fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, however, the percentages (26 % in Asian ELF, 29 % in European ELF) are in line with frequencies (N = 839 in Asian ELF, N = 1019 in European ELF). The percentages of grammatical units, phrasal verbs, situation-bound utterances, and idioms to the total number of formulaic units are equal in Asian and European social ELF interactions (11 %, 4 %, 2 %, and 1 % respectively – the numbers rounded).

After an overall analysis was conducted for frequencies and percentages, the high-frequency and low-frequency formulaic expressions within each of the six categories were examined in detail. The following part of this section focuses on each type of formulaic language separately and presents the tokens and frequencies of formulaic expressions within each of the six categories in social ELF interactions.

The findings regarding the non-standard forms of formulaic language within each category will be introduced in Section IV.

Grammatical Units

The analysis of the use of grammatical units in social ELF conversations yields a number of differences between Asian and European contexts unlike the case with academic ELF interactions, where the results were mostly similar. Table 15 below presents all of the grammatical units found in the data along with information regarding their frequency of use.

Table 15

Grammatical Units in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Grammatical units	Frequency	Grammatical units	Frequency
have to	176	there [be]	172
there [be]	69	have to	95
be going to	34	have got	26
used to	16	be going to	24
need to	20	used to	19
have got	5	need to	15
be gonna	5	[modal] have $V_{past\ participle}$	12
be able to	4	as … as	7
there [modal] be	3	be gonna	6
as … as	3	be able to	5
have been Vprogressive	2	there [modal] be	4
tend to	1	more/less … than	3
have got to	1	have been $V_{progressive}$	2
		tend to	2
		so … that	1
		have got to	1
TOTAL			
14	342	16	394

Note. One single entry is provided for all forms (affirmative, negative and interrogative) of a grammatical structure. For example, there [be] encompasses structures like *there was, is there* etc. $V_{progressive}$ refers to a verb in progressive form such as *running*, and $V_{past\ participle}$ refers to the past participle form of a verb such as *spoken*. Also, the total numbers for tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As demonstrated in Table 15, a total of 14 different grammatical units were used in Asian social ELF, and 16 grammatical units were used in European social ELF interactions. In parallel with the tokens, grammatical units were used more frequently in European social ELF (N = 394) than in Asian social ELF (N = 342). Although the two most frequent units in both contexts are the same; *there [be]* and *have to*, there is a significant difference in their frequency of use. The grammatical unit *have to* occurred 95 times in European social ELF while it was used nearly twice as many times in Asian social ELF (N = 176), and is the most frequent grammatical unit in this context. Similarly, the most frequent grammatical unit in European social ELF, *there [be]*, was used 172 times while it occurred only 69 times in Asian social ELF. Another difference regarding the frequency of the grammatical units is the occurrence of *have got* in these two ELF contexts. While it was used 26 times in European social ELF, it appeared only 5 times in Asian social ELF interactions. One other interesting difference is about the use of [modal] have $V_{\text{past participle}}$. While it was used 12 times in European social ELF, no occurrence of the expression was observed in Asian social ELF conversations.

Data analysis yielded some similarities, too. As can be seen in Table 15, the ranking of grammatical units from the most frequent to the least apart from the afore-mentioned expressions (there [be], have to, have got, and [modal] have $V_{\text{past participle}}$) is considerably similar. Most of the grammatical units in the two contexts (be going to, *used to, need to, be gonna, be able to, there [modal] be, as … as, have been* $V_{progressive}$, *tend to*, and *have got to*) show similarity in their frequency of use, and therefore are ranked more or less in the same order in the list of frequency. What is interesting in this list is the occurrence of *be gonna* in Asian ELF. *Be gonna* did not appear in any of the academic Asian ELF interactions, which could mean either it

was never used by the ELF speakers in the interactions analyzed, or the ACE transcription team transcribed all the "*be gonna*"s as *be going to*. However, 5 incidences of *be gonna* were observed in the social ELF interactions in the dataset.

Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units

The findings revealed that fixed and semi-fixed semantic units occurred more frequently in European social ELF (N = 1019) than in Asian social ELF (839). While a total of 275 different semantic units were used in the Asian contexts, 373 different expressions occurred in the European social ELF contexts. Table 16 below presents a list of the most frequent semantic units in both contexts (See Appendix F for the full list of fixed and semi-fixed semantic units).

Table 16

Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency	Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency
a lot of / lots of	61	as well	58
do/take/have/give/pass a test	29	a lot of /lots of	39
this/any/the/that/a/the same/some kind of …	23	a (little) bit	32
(quite) a lot	21	one of (the) …	20
because of	17	(quite) a lot	18
most of (the) …	13	in the evening/morning/ afternoon	16
have a baby	13	look like …	16
one of (the) …	13	all the	15
at home	12	at least	13
take care of	12	over there/here	13
no/not … at all	12	for example	13
at the/that/the same time	12	(way/a bit) too much /that much	11
a (little) bit	12	because of	11
full/part-time	11	be supposed to	10
the first/second/third/last time	10	at/in the beginning/end	10
too much/many	10	(much) more/less than	10
get/have a (bachelor's/master's) degree	10	in fact	10
for example	10	so many/much	9
per hour/week /month	9	a (little) bit of …	8
do/take a course	9	put something in the oven/microwave	8
every day/morning	8	very/really well	7
as well	8	at home	7
…		…	
TOTAL			
275	839	373	1019

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As seen in Table 16, there is not much similarity between Asian and European social ELF in terms of the most frequent semantic units used. To start with, the most frequent semantic unit in European social ELF, *as well*, which occurred 58 times, was used only 8 times in Asian social ELF data. Similarly, the expression

do/take/have/give/pass a test, which was used 29 times in the Asian ELF data, appeared only 5 times as *pass/do/take an exam* in the European ELF data (See Appendix F). Moreover, while the expression *this/the/a kind of …* occurred 23 times in Asian social ELF, it was used only 7 times in European social ELF. Moreover, *all the* was used only in European social ELF, and did not appear at all in the Asian social ELF data. Some of the expressions that were used most frequently in one context than the other actually occurred in one single conversation. For example, all the incidences of the expression *have a baby* were found in one single conversation in the Asian ELF data. *Get/have a (bachelor's/master's) degree* is another expression that occurred in one conversation only. In addition, 6 out of 8 occurrences of the expression *put something in the oven/microwave* were found in one single conversation, which seems to be noteworthy considering the total frequency of the expression (N = 8).

When it comes to the similarities that the two contexts share, it is observed that *a lot of/lots of* is among the most frequent expressions in both contexts, occurring 69 times in Asian social ELF, thereby ranking highest in the list, and a little less frequently, 39 times, in European social ELF. The semantic units *a (little) bit, one of (the)…, (quite) a lot, because of, at home, for example,* and *too much* are among the expressions that were used more or less equally frequently in the two ELF contexts. When examined closely, it is observed that the most frequent semantic units in both contexts are composed largely of expressions used to talk about amount and number (e.g., *lots of, one of, a bit*), connectors and linkers (e.g., *for example, because of*), adverbs of time, place etc. (e.g., *every day*, *over there*), and collocations (e.g., *take a test, have a baby*, *full-time*). Most of the high-frequency collocations seem to be verb + noun combinations such as *take a course*, *put something in the*

microwave, and *have a baby* and prepositional phrases like *in the evening*, *at home*, and *at the end*.

Phrasal Verbs

Overall, phrasal verbs occurred more frequently in European social ELF (N = 155) than in Asian social ELF (N = 130). While a total of 55 different phrasal verbs were used in the Asian ELF data, a higher number of phrasal verbs, more specifically 77, were found in the European ELF data. Table 17 illustrates the most frequent 25 phrasal verbs recorded in the two contexts (See Appendix G for the full list of phrasal verbs in Asian and European social ELF interactions).

Table 17

Phrasal Verbs in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Phrasal verbs	Frequency	Phrasal verbs	Frequency
deal with	16	go out	14
go back	11	come from	12
go back to	11	think of	5
work on	10	get out	5
ask for	9	get to	4
come back	7	go through	4
come from	4	fill in	4
look up	3	take out	4
send in	3	take over	4
cope with	3	come back	4
get back to	2	pass away	4
get into	2	wake up	3
wake up	2	go back	3
break up	2	go on	3
get out	2	pick up	3
pick up	2	look for	3
think of	2	look up	2
fill up	2	look forward to	2
move around	1	look back	2
move out	1	fill up	2
look at	1	find out	2
look for	1	fold up	2
look after	1	put on	2
look into	1	go away	2
listen in	1	go around	2
…		…	
TOTAL			
55	130	77	155

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

A variety of phrasal verbs occurred in the Asian and European social ELF data, 55 and 77 respectively, 21 of which were mutual. Among the phrasal verbs found in the dataset of both contexts are *come back*, *find out*, *get out of*, *look up* and wake up, to name a few (See Appendix G for the full list of phrasal verbs). As far as the most frequent phrasal verbs are concerned however, there is not much similarity between

the two contexts. The only phrasal verbs which can be said to be frequent in the data of both contexts are *come from* (N = 4 in Asian social ELF, N = 12 in European social ELF), and *come back* (N = 7 in Asian social ELF, N = 4 in European social ELF). The most frequent phrasal verb in Asian social ELF, *deal with*, was used 16 times in the data, but occurred only once in European social ELF. Similarly, the phrasal verb *go out* was used 14 times in European social ELF and ranks as the most frequent, but it occurred only once in the Asian social ELF data. Moreover, while go back occurred 11 times in Asian social ELF, it was used only three times in the European social ELF data. As far as the most frequent phrasal verbs in Asian social ELF are concerned, there is one thing that distinguishes *deal with* from the others. While the phrasal verbs *go back to*, *go back*, *work on* and *ask for* appeared in a variety of conversations, 12 out of 16 occurrences of deal with were recorded in one single conversation, being used mostly by one of the ELF speakers. There is no such case with the high-frequency phrasal verbs in European social ELF as they occurred in various interactions.

Overall, around 19 % of all phrasal verbs are *go + particle* combinations in both contexts. Phrasal verbs composed of the verb *go* and *a particle* (e.g., *go back*, *go out*) are the most frequently used ones in both Asian (N = 24) and European (N = 31) social ELF. *Come + particle* combinations (e.g., *come back*, *come from*) form the second most frequent group in both contexts, accounting for 10 % of all phrasal verbs in the Asian social ELF data and 18 % in the European social ELF data. Among other most frequent types of phrasal verbs are *get + particle* (e.g., *get out*) and *look + particle* (e.g., *look for*) combinations.

Speech Formulas

Speech formulas are another type of formulaic language that occurred more frequently in European social ELF (N = 1865) than in Asian social ELF (N = 1766). While a total of 197 speech formulas were found in the Asian social ELF data, the number was 229 in European social ELF. Unlike those in academic ELF interactions, speech formulas in social ELF do not show much similarity in terms of frequency across the two contexts. Table 18 below demonstrates the 25 most frequent speech formulas in both Asian and European social ELF (See Appendix H for the full list of speech formulas).

Table 18

Speech Formulas in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Speech formulas	Frequency	Speech formulas	Frequency
you know	244	you know	151
right	170	I think	149
and then	106	like	130
I think	92	well	110
like	85	and then	86
like this/that	77	I mean/meant	83
maybe	58	maybe	64
that's why	55	thank you (very/so much) /	53
I mean/meant	44	thanks (a lot)	
I see	43	(oh) really	43
It's/that's okay	33	I don't know	36
(It's) (so/ quite/not) good/nice	29	(It's) alright	33
thank you (very/so much)	27	that/it is/was (just/more) like	30
/thanks (for…)		exactly	28
(oh) really	26	right	28
of course	25	(that's/it's) great	27
well	25	of course	26
you see	25	actually	25
(oh) my god/goodness	24	that's /it's (absolutely) true	24
I/he said	23	I know	23
you know like	22	(oh) (my) god/gosh/goodness	21
It's (just/not)/ that's like	21	(that's/it's)(quite/really) cool/	21
How/what about …?	19	good/ nice (to/that…)	
no problem (at all)	17	or/and something/anything/	21
I don't know	16	everything	
(I'm) (so)sorry	16	(I'm) sorry (but…)	21
		I (just/always/never) thought …	19
		sort of	18
		TOTAL	
197	1766	229	1865

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As seen in Table 18, *you know* ranks as the most frequent speech formula in both contexts, being used more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 244) than in European social ELF data (N = 151). As far as the high-frequency speech formulas are concerned, *I think*, *and then*, and *like* occurred highly frequently in both contexts.

I think and *like* were used more frequently in European social ELF (N = 149 and N = 130 respectively) than in Asian social ELF (N = 106 and N = 92 respectively). *And then*, on the other hand, occurred more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 106) than in European social ELF (N = 86). An interesting finding regarding social ELF interactions is that the speech formula *right*, which was used 170 times in Asian social ELF and therefore ranks as the second most frequent speech formula in the data, occurred only 28 times in European social ELF. Another major difference between the two ELF contexts is that European speakers used the speech formula *well* considerably more frequently (N = 110) than Asian ELF speakers did (N = 25). Based on these findings, it would be reasonable to suggest that while most high-frequency speech formulas occurred more or less equally frequently in the two ELF settings, *right* and *well* stood out in one geographical ELF context.

While a number of speech formulas occur a lot more frequently in one context than the other, some in the list of high-frequency speech formulas are almost equally frequent in both contexts. The speech formulas *maybe*, *of course*, *oh my god/goodness*, *it's like*, and *that's good/nice* seem to be more or less equally frequent in both Asian and European social ELF data. For example, *maybe* occurred 58 times in Asian social ELF and 64 times in European social ELF. In addition, *oh my god/goodness* was used 24 times in Asian social ELF and 21 times in the European social ELF data. Although there is not a striking difference in their frequency of occurrence, a number of speech formulas still seem to be more frequently used in one ELF context than the other. *I mean*, for instance, appeared more frequently in European social ELF (N = 83) than in Asian social ELF (N = 44). *That's why*, on the other hand, occurred less frequently in European social ELF (N = 18) than in Asian social ELF (N = 55).

As demonstrated in Table 18, the list of high-frequency speech formulas are composed of discourse markers used to express opinions (e.g., *I think, I thought*) and to check understanding/listenership (e.g., *right*), fillers (e.g., *well, like*), repair markers (e.g., *actually, I mean, you know, well*), sequence markers (e.g., *and then*), response/reaction markers (e.g., *good, cool, exactly, of course*), and hedges (e.g., *maybe, sort of*). When the frequencies of the speech formulas are examined, it is observed that fillers are used more frequently in European social ELF than in Asian social ELF. The fillers *well* and *like* are used 230 times in European social ELF while they occurred 110 times in Asian social ELF. It is also observed that Asian social ELF speakers check listenership more often than European ELF speakers. The discourse marker right, for instance, was used more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 170) than in European social ELF (N = 28). The following excerpt is a sample of how *right* is used to check listenership in an Asian social ELF interaction:

Table 19

Excerpt 1: The Use of 'Right' to Check Listenership

S1: because of course when you graduate from Thailand you know and if you learn from non-native speakers some words you know you pronounce incorrectly, and when you speak to the native speaker they don't understand it right? So i try to imitate and luckily that all my friends my American friends help to correct my pronunciation so maybe that's it yeah

As can be seen in Excerpt 1, the speakers use the speech formula *right* to make sure the others are following them. However it is not always used to check listenership. The ELF speakers use *right* to check understanding, too. An example of the use of *right* by Asian ELF speakers to check understanding is as follows:

Table 20

Excerpt 2: The Use of 'Right' to Check Understanding

S1: my husband would uh i think would get along very well with you and your husband too

S2: oh? really?

S1: he's a businessman

S2: and he travels a lot right?

S1: he travels a lot

S2: well ok i think if he likes traveling good for him

As can be seen in Excerpt 2, the speaker (S2) uses *right* so that the listener (S1) confirms what s/he knows to be true. European ELF speakers used right to check understanding and listenership too, but not as frequently as Asian ELF speakers did.

Situation-Bound Utterances

Overall, situation-bound utterances were used more frequently in European social ELF interactions (N = 80) than in Asian social ELF interactions (N = 71). In line with the numbers representing frequency, a wider range of situation-bound utterances occurred in European social ELF (N = 43) than in Asian social ELF (N = 39). Table 21 below presents 20 of the most frequent the situation-bound utterances found in the data from the most frequent to the least (See Appendix I for the full list of situation-bound utterances).

Table 21

Situation-Bound Utterances in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Situation-bound utterances	Frequency	Situation-bound utterances	Frequency
I'm full (now)	9	Hi/hello!	8
Enjoy your meal/lunch/food!	5	Would you like some (wine)/	6
Excuse me!	4	something to drink?	
You too!	4	(It's been) nice meeting you!	5
Bye-bye! / Goodbye!	4	Poor thing /you/me!	5
Good luck!	3	Don't panic!	4
Hi/hello!	3	Could you pass me …,	4
Me too!	3	please?	
(Please) enjoy it	2	Let's go!	4
Oh honey/dear!	2	Take your time	3
Listen to me!	2	Bye!	2
I am good/fine (today)	2	I'm (name)	2
What about you?/And you?	2	How are you?	2
Good luck to you!	1	(I) hope to see you again	2
Just kidding	1	Wish you a great time here	2
This is (name)	1	Enjoy your time / it	2
What's up?	1	Welcome!	1
Is it time?	1	I wish you the same	1
I'll see you!	1	Have fun with …	1
You're welcome!	1	Good luck!	1
		You'll be fine	1
		Oh come on!	1
TOTAL			
39	71	43	80

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As demonstrated in Table 21, the range of situation-bound utterances and their frequencies are not strikingly different across the two ELF contexts. However, the expressions themselves and their frequencies are not very similar. The most frequent situation-bound utterance in Asian social ELF, *I'm full (now)* was used 9 times, but it did not appear at all in the European social ELF data. Similarly, while *hi/hello* was

used 8 times in European social ELF and ranks as the most frequent one, it occurred only 3 times in Asian social ELF. Moreover, the situation-bound utterance *would you like some…?* was used 6 times in European social ELF whereas it did not occur at all in the Asian social ELF data. There are two things that need to be pointed out regarding these high-frequency situation-bound utterances. First, most of the high-frequency situation-bound utterances occurred in one single interaction or two. For example, all instances of *would you like some…?* and *it's been nice meeting you* were found in one single conversation. Also, 5 of the 9 occurrences of *I'm full (now)* and 7 occurrences of *hi/hello* were found in one conversation only. If one other interaction had been analyzed instead of the one in which *would you like some…?* occurred 6 times, there would have been major changes in the list of high-frequency situation-bound utterances. Second, situation-bound utterances are highly context- and situation- dependent, that is, the choice of a situation-bound utterance depends highly on the speech situation or the context, which chances from conversation to conversation both across and within the ELF contexts. Based on these two points mentioned, it is necessary to point out that no generalizations must be made regarding the individual expressions and their frequency of use across two ELF contexts. To clarify, it is difficult to make claims such as *I'm full* is used more frequently in Asian social ELF than in European social ELF as all instances of the expression was found in one single conversation.

As far as the speech situations are concerned, situation-bound utterances used at the dinner table as well as greetings and farewells appear to be the most frequent ones in social ELF interactions in both contexts. When examined closely, it is observed that situation-bound utterances used when eating (e.g., *Enjoy your lunch!*, *And something else?*, *Could you pass me …, please?*) were found more frequently in

Asian social ELF (N = 21) than in European social ELF (N = 13). On the other hand more instances of greetings and farewells (e.g., *Hello!*, *It's been nice meeting you!*, *How are you today?*, *Bye!*) were found in European social ELF (N = 21) than in Asian social ELF (N = 13). In addition to food related situation-bound utterances and greetings, utterances that express good wishes (e.g., *Good luck*, *Wish you a great time here*) occurred quite frequently in the data. Among other high-frequency situation-bound utterances are expressions used to show empathy (e.g., *poor you*, *that's too bad*, *oh dear!*) and appreciation (e.g., *It was nice of you*, *Thanks for having us*).

Idioms

Idioms are the only type of formulaic language which occurred more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 31) than in European social ELF (N = 25). While a total of 23 idioms were used in the Asian social ELF data, a slightly fewer number of idioms, 20 in total, occurred in the European social ELF data. Table 22 below demonstrates all the idioms found in the data from the most frequent to the least.

Table 22

Idioms in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Idioms	Frequency	Idioms	Frequency
second-hand	6	get tired of …	2
be a bridge	3	take for granted	2
get sick of …	2	all over the place	2
a morning person	1	in my/our dreams!	2
one more year to go	1	take ages	2
do your best	1	brand new	1
use … as a bridge	1	get on one's nerves	1
be sick of …	1	not a big deal	1
dark situation	1	it just clicked	1
a hot issue	1	drive someone crazy	1
black magic	1	it never hurts	1
iron hand	1	… is a different story	1
change your mind	1	it's a nightmare	1
once a … always a …	1	be sick and tired of …	1
run in the blood	1	drive someone mad	1
from A to Z	1	laugh one's head off	1
all over the place	1	be on the right track	1
I couldn't breathe	1		
TOTAL			
23	31	20	25

Note. The total number of tokens and frequencies includes the non-standard forms, too, which will be discussed in section IV.

As shown in Table 22, except for *second-hand* and *be a bridge*, the most frequently used idioms are the ones that occurred only twice in both ELF contexts. As far as the high-frequency idioms are concerned, those occurring twice in this case, almost all of them appeared in one single conversation. All six occurrences of *second-hand*, for example, were found in one interaction where the speakers were talking about cars. Similarly, all instances of the idioms *be a bridge*, *get tired of*, and *take for granted* were recorded in one single interaction. The two exceptions are the occurrences of *in my/our dreams* and *take ages* which appeared in different conversations being uttered by different ELF speakers. Apart from these, all the idioms occurred only once in

both ELF contexts. When it comes to the similarities between the two ELF contexts, two idioms seem to have appeared in both Asian and European social ELF interactions. *All over the place* and *be/get sick of* or *tired of* were found in both Asian and European social ELF datasets.

Section IV: Non-Standard Forms of Formulaic Language

To be able to explore the sources of the unconventional formulaic expressions, this section will first present the frequencies of the non-standard forms found in the data. Once the frequencies are presented, the sources will be discussed in detail. Figure 9 below demonstrates the total number of unconventional formulaic expressions within each of the six formulaic language categories.

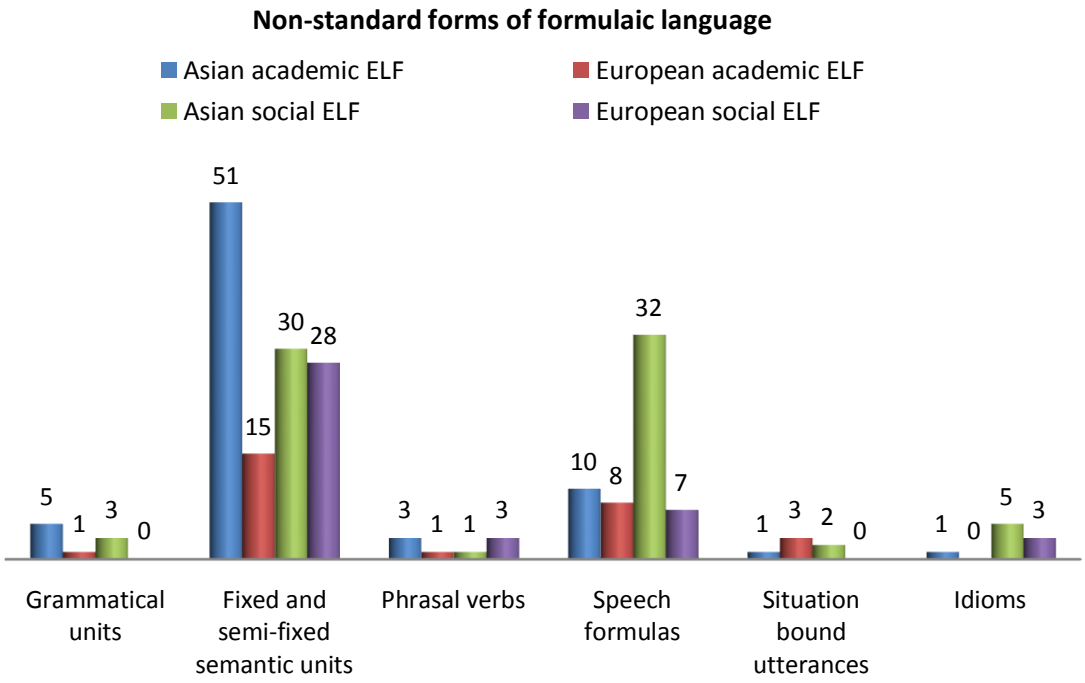


Figure 9. Frequency of occurrence of non-standard forms

Figure 9 demonstrates the total number of occurrence of unconventional formulaic expressions in each category in each ELF context; Asian academic ELF, European academic ELF, Asian social ELF, and European social ELF. As can be seen in Figure

9, a similar number of non-standard forms occurred in the four ELF contexts in terms of grammatical units, phrasal verbs, situation-bound utterances, and idioms. However, a higher number of nonstandard forms of fixed and semi-fixed semantic units occurred in Asian academic ELF interactions (N = 51) than in European academic ELF (N = 15). Another outstanding number is that of non-standard speech formulas occurring in Asian social ELF. While deviations from conventional speech formulas occurred 8 or 9 times on average in the other contexts, the unconventional forms occurred 32 times in Asian social ELF. When Figure 9 is examined, it seems like more non-standard forms occurred in fixed and semi-fixed semantic units and speech formulas. However, it must be noted that a higher number of expressions were recorded in the two categories in total. Therefore, to make a valid comparison between each ELF context in terms of the frequencies, the percentages of non-standard forms to the total number of expressions were calculated. Table 23 below demonstrates the overall percentages of unconventional forms in both academic and social domains in both ELF contexts.

Table 23

The percentage of unconventional forms to the total formulaic units

Unconventional Forms	GU	FSU	PhV	SF	SBU	ID	Total
Asian Academic ELF							
f	5	51	3	10	1	1	71
%	1.7	5.4	1.6	0.7	3	5.2	2.54
European Academic ELF							
f	1	15	1	8	3	0	28
%	0.2	1.9	0.6	0.4	3.9	0	0.94
Asian Social ELF							
f	3	30	1	32	2	5	73
%	0.87	3.5	0.76	1.8	2.8	16.1	2.29
European Social ELF							
f	0	28	3	7	0	3	41
%	0	2.74	1.9	0.37	0	12	1.15

Note. f: Frequency, GU: Grammatical units, FSU: Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, PhV: Phrasal verbs, SF: Speech formulas, SBU: Situation bound utterances, ID: Idioms

As illustrated in Table 23, a slightly higher number of unconventional or non-standard forms of formulaic language occurred in Asian ELF (2.54% in academic interactions and 2.29% in social interactions) than in European ELF (0.94% in academic interactions and 1.15% in social interactions). On average, 2.41% of all formulaic units used by Asian ELF speakers deviated from standard forms while the percentage was 1.04 with European ELF speakers. Overall the highest percentage of unconventional forms occurred in idioms. However, it must be noted that the numbers representing frequencies are quite low, but given the total number of idioms, a high percentage of expressions were unconventional. One interesting finding is that a high percentage of fixed and semi-fixed semantic unit deviated from standard norms in Asian academic ELF interactions. Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units and speech formulas are the two categories in which, after idioms, the highest percentage of non-standard forms occurred. It is not possible to claim that more non-standard forms occurred in academic interactions than in social ones, and vice versa.

However, overall a higher percentage of non-standard forms occurred in Asian ELF interactions than in European ELF in both domains. The following sub-section will present the formulaic expressions deviating from conventional forms in each formulaic language category.

Non-Standard Expressions across the Formulaic Continuum

The findings regarding the non-standard formulaic expressions will be presented in the same manner as all formulaic expressions were in sections II and III; that is first the unconventional forms found in academic ELF interactions and then those in social ELF interactions will be presented. Table 24 below demonstrates 10 most frequent non-standard formulaic expressions occurring in academic ELF interactions (See Appendix J for the full list of unconventional forms occurring in the data).

Table 24

Non-Standard Formulaic Expressions in Academic ELF Interactions

	Asian academic ELF		European academic ELF	
	Expression	f*	Expression	f*
Grammatical units	do able to	2	Don't has to	1
	(you) able to	1		
	will able to	1		
	very difficult than	1		
		5		**1**
Fixed and semi-fixed units	give comment on	3	put in disadvantage	2
	ankle wetting	3	the way how we	1
	as compared to	3	have a success	1
	have the rights to	2	in the front of the chair	1
	speak fluent	2	learn language	1
	undergo a program	2	at the middle of (january)	1
	perform/do demonstration	2	on the start	1
	give … impression	2	depends from	1
	make use something	2	point of views	1
	go to shopping	1	make mistake	1
	…		…	
		51		**15**
Phrasal verbs	look up on	1	show up	1
	go beyond of	1		
	stick on to	1		
		3		**1**
Speech formulas	it's mean	2	it's very interesting point	1
	I'm not too sure	2	basically speaking	1
	What you mean?	1	I don't know what are you	1
	it doesn't means that …	1	thinking but …	
	it'd be interested to look at ..	1	it's no point in …	1
	it's seem that	1	somehow or another	1
	do you prefer … than …	1	that's good that …	1
	she feel like	1	I just was trying to	1
			thanks you	1
		10		**8**
Situation-bound utterances	Congratulation!	1	I would kindly give the word to somebody else	1
			Maybe i see you again	1
			It's totally different thing	1
		1		**3**
Idioms	Open-mind	1		
		1		**0**
Total		**71**		**28**

*f: Frequency

As seen in Table 24, overall non-standard formulaic expressions occurred more frequently in Asian academic ELF (N = 71) than in European academic ELF (N = 28). Situation bound-utterances are the only type of formulaic language where more deviations from conventional forms occurred in European ELF than in Asian ELF. When the individual expressions are analyzed, it can be seen that most of the non-standard grammatical units occurred with the structure be able to, and speakers used approximations of the structure either with a word missing (will able to) or a different word (do able to). When it comes to fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, deviations from conventional forms are largely due to pluralization (e.g., differents, a lots of), use of prepositions (e.g., get contact with, depend from), word form (e.g., in generally, speak fluent), and article use (learn language, in the consequence).

As far as the unconventional forms of phrasal verbs are concerned, they occurred quite rarely in the data. Three phrasal verbs *look up on*, *go beyond of*, and *stick on to* deviated from the conventional forms *look up to*, *go beyond* and *stick to* in Asian academic ELF. When it comes to European academic ELF, it was only 1 phrasal verb, *show up*, which was semantically misused during the conversation (… and he started er like showing up ketchup senf ketchup senf). Although the use of the phrasal verb show up instead of the verb show caused a change in meaning, communication was not hindered during the interaction. When it comes to unconventional forms of speech formulas, they occurred slightly more frequently in Asian academic ELF (N = 10) than in European academic ELF (N = 8). Among the sources of such deviations are the use of verb be when not necessary (e.g., *it's seem that*), the use of wrong word (e.g., *basically speaking*), and problems with subject verb agreement (e.g., *she feel like*). When the dataset was examined closely, slight differences between Asian and European ELF were observed in terms of the sources

of these unconventional forms. It was observed that Asian ELF speakers had more problems with the third person present tense –s and verb be (e.g., *it's mean…, it's seem that…, it doesn't means that …, she feel like*) than European ELF speakers, who, on the other hand, struggled more with using the right word (e.g., *basically speaking, it's no point in…, somehow or another*). However, the numbers are too small to make generalizations based on such differences between the two ELF contexts. These unconventional forms just as those found in other types of formulaic expressions seemed to cause no communication breakdown during the conversations.

As to the unconventional forms recorded in situation-bound utterances, they occurred more frequently in European academic ELF (N = 3) than in Asian academic ELF (N = 1).One situation-bound utterance in the Asian academic ELF data "*Congratulation!*" was different from the conventional expression "*Congratulations!*", but it did not hinder communication. Similarly, those in the European academic ELF data "*I would kindly give the word to somebody else*", "*Maybe i see you again*", and "*It's totally different thing*" did not cause any communication problems. Lastly, as far as the unconventional idioms are concerned, only one such occurrence was observed. During a conversation in Asian academic ELF, *open-mind* was used as an adjective, instead of the conventional form *open-minded*, which caused no breakdown in communication.

After the non-standard forms in academic ELF interactions were analyzed, those occurring in Asian and European social ELF were compiled and analyzed in the same manner. Table 25 illustrates 10 most frequent non-standard formulaic expressions found in social ELF interactions (See Appendix K for the full list of unconventional forms occurring in the social ELF data).

Table 25

Non-Standard Formulaic Expressions in Social ELF Interactions

	Asian social ELF		European social ELF	
	Expression	f*	Expression	f*
Grammatical units	(you) no need to	3		
		3		**0**
Fixed and semi-fixed units	say lie	2	lot of	3
	by our/your own	2	make a project	2
	it's depends on …	2	of my/your own	2
	use of the time	2	different to	2
	get into the university	2	find something injust	1
	go to swim	2	up to dates	1
	find job	1	rise one's hand	1
	earn the money	1	on the long term	1
	be interested to	1	take rest	1
	keep contact	1	jump from the window	1
	…		…	
		30		**28**
Phrasal verbs	move out from	1	come out from	1
			mix up with	1
			look forward	1
		1		**3**
Speech formulas	How many years have you …?	4	thanks you	1
	that's the way how …	3	oh my goodness sake	1
	it mean that	3	I can't say I'm agree or I'm	1
	How many time a month …?	2	disagree	
	that's mean	2	How do you call this in …?	1
	it's mean	2	next step is that	1
	it's mean that	2	Das ist a good question	1
	it mean	1	it's why …	1
	I'm for sure	1		
	I'm not sure that whether	1		
	…			
		32		**7**
Situation-bound utterances	Good lucks for you	1		
	I catch you later	1		
		2		**0**
Idioms	the birds of the same feather gather together	1	not in my taste	1
			I had my way with her	1
	blind talk	1	There's no place in your head to remember	1
	come to think of this	1		
	come to think of that	1		
	telling in the wind	1		
		5		**3**
Total		**73**		**41**

* f: Frequency

As shown in Table 25, overall non-standard formulaic expressions occurred more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 73) than in European social ELF (N = 41). In the social ELF data, phrasal verbs are the only type of formulaic language where more unconventional forms occurred in European ELF than in Asian ELF. Unlike phrasal verbs, while no unconventional forms of grammatical units were observed in European ELF interactions, 3 occurred in Asian ELF. The negative form of the modal verb *need to* was used in unconventional ways in the Asian context. Instead of the negative auxiliary verb *don't/doesn't*, the speakers used *no* only to express no obligation/necessity. It is important to note that the three incidences of *no need to* instead of *don't need to* were found in different conversations uttered by different ELF speakers. However, the use of *no need to* did not cause any misunderstanding or non-understanding in the conversations analyzed. When it comes to fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, a similar number of unconventional forms occurred in Asian social ELF (N = 30) and European social ELF (N = 28). Most of the deviations from conventional forms, 20 out of 58 occurrences to be exact, are due to problems with the articles *a* and *the* (e.g., *find job*, *have the difficulty*, *little bit*, *have a time to...*), where the speakers either did not use them when necessary or overused them (See Appendix K for all the unconventional forms found in the social ELF data). Among other sources of deviations from conventional forms are use of wrong word and wrong form of a word (e.g., *say lie*, *go to swim*, *get annoyance*, *rise your hand*) and use of prepositions (e.g., *be interested to*, *by your own*, *on the long term*, *turn to the left*). One specific expression, for which the speakers used different forms, is *lots of*. Such forms as *lot of* and *lot and lot of* have been observed in the data which occurred 4 times in total. As with the other cases with unconventional forms, no communication problems were observed.

Deviations from conventional forms in phrasal verbs occurred quite rarely. Only one phrasal verb *move out from* deviated from the conventional form *move out of* in the Asian social ELF data. As to European social ELF, three forms *look forward*, *mix up with*, and *come out from* appeared instead of the phrasal verbs *look forward* to, *mix (something) with (something else)* and *come out of*. In none of these instances was communication hindered. When it comes to speech formulas, they occurred a lot more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 32) than in European social ELF (N = 7). As far as the sources of such deviations are concerned, they range from missing words/articles (e.g., *next step is tha*t... -the missing) and inserting extra words (e.g., *I'm for sure*, *I'm not sure that whether…*) to problems with the use of verb be (e.g., *I afraid…*, *It's mean that...*) and problems with the third person singular –s (e.g., *What happen if…?*, *It depend*). When examined closely, most of the unconventional forms found in the Asian social ELF data are due to problems with the use of verb be and the third person singular –s (N = 14, combined). Furthermore, it is observed that almost all of these problems (N = 12) occurred with the two structures "It depends", and "It means (that)…". The Asian ELF speakers used approximations of these two structures such as *it mean that…*, *that's mean*, *it depend*, and *it's depend*. When it comes to samples from the European social ELF data, it is observed that approximations of the standard structures were formed by combining two different phrases. *Thanks you*, for example, seems to be a combination of *thank you* and *thanks*. Similarly, *oh my goodness sake* appears to be a combination of *oh my goodness* and *for goodness sake*. Even though the ELF speakers did not use the conventional forms, communication was not hindered in any of these instances.

Non-standard forms of situation-bound utterances occurred quite rarely in the data. While no such forms were found in the European social ELF data, two

approximations of standard situation-bound utterances occurred in Asian social ELF. The two unconventional forms which occurred in the same conversation are demonstrated in Excerpt 3 below:

Table 26

Excerpt 3: Deviations from Standard Situation-Bound Utterances

S1: so you also starts (.) that's good (.) good lucks for you
S2: thank you
S1: alright so thank you for the chat today
S2: o k
S1: er: i catch you later
S2: o k
S1: thank you bye bye

Note. (.) is used to mark pauses

As shown in Excerpt 3, the first of these forms was *good lucks for you* instead of the conventional form *good luck to you*, and the second was *I catch you later* where the speaker either omitted the future modal *will* or used *I* which was not necessary. As can be seen in Excerpt 3, in neither of the two instances was communication hindered.

As for the unconventional idioms, they occurred slightly more frequently in Asian social ELF (N = 5) than in European social ELF (N = 3). Some of these unconventional idioms are the approximations of the actual idiomatic expressions with a change in the structure. *The birds of the same feather gather together*, for instance, is formally related to the existing English idiom *birds of a feather flock together*, and does not lose its functionality. Likewise, the Asian ELF speakers used the expression *come to think of this/that* instead of its English equivalent *come to*

think of it, and the novel idiomatic expression still served its communicative function. Furthermore, the idiomatic expression *not to my taste* appeared slightly differently in European social ELF talk as *not in my taste* while the speakers were talking about the looks of a person, and this different form of the idiomatic expression caused no problems in understanding. Not all the deviations from conventional forms were a result of a change in the structure. In fact, some expressions were entirely novel. An Asian ELF speaker, for example, used a novel expression *telling in the wind* instead of the idiom *waste your breath*. Excerpt 4 below demonstrates the use of the expression tell in the wind in an ELF interaction.

Table 27

Excerpt 4: Use of an Unconventional Idiomatic Expression 'Tell in the Wind'

S1: but is it okay if we ask the students to prepare the vocabulary home

S2: no they are lazy students @@@

S3: oh my goodness miss [first name3] you tell your students like that and in the classroom you will see nothing at all like just telling in the wind

S1: oh:

S3: you won't expect the student doing their homework (.) no

S2: yeah

S3: that's why i hate giving my students homework that's the reality if the students say that or if if if if some teachers say why don't you give the homework so reinforce learning huh (.) even finishing work they will they won't do at home they will do at- they will do in the school (.)very lazy

Note. (.) is used to mark pauses, and the symbol @ marks laughter

As shown in Excerpt 4, the use of the expression *telling in the wind* instead of *wasting your breath* did not cause any communication breakdowns. The speakers carried on talking about how lazy the students were. One of the instances of unconventional forms is the use of *I had my way with her*, where the expression was structurally correct, but used to mean something totally different from what it actually means. Excerpt 5 shows the use of the expression *I had my way with her* during a European ELF interaction.

Table 28

Excerpt 5: Use of an Unconventional Idiomatic Expression 'I Had My Way with Her'

S1:	and i just explained the tables without saying listen this is table forty-three or this is table forty-four so obviously she got a bit worried she told me listen change them but now thank god when she saw it already she was happy so i said at least you know
S2:	@@
S1:	@@ at least that's another thing done basically
S2:	i'm glad i had my way with her @@ really
S1:	she is very nice xxx us
S2:	yeah yeah she is definitely
S1:	but she worries a lot mind you
S2:	i came when it was very chao- chaotic

Note. The symbol @ marks laughter

As demonstrated in Excerpt 5, the ELF speaker most probably did not mean they had sex with her, but used the expression *I had my way with her* to refer to how they are on good terms now. Although there is not much clue as to what they actually meant by the expression, it clearly does not refer to a sexual relationship.

In this sub-section, a detailed analysis of the non-standard forms of formulaic language found in both academic and social ELF interactions was provided. The following sub-section will give an in-depth analysis of the sources of these non-standard forms.

Sources of Non-Standard Formulaic Expressions

All the formulaic expressions deviating from standard forms in the data were analyzed to determine the main sources of such unconventional forms of formulaic language. Table 29 below shows the list of sources of unconventional forms in the data from the most frequent to the least.

Table 29

The Sources of Unconventional Forms

Source of non-standard forms	Frequency			Example
	Asian ELF	European ELF	Total	
Verb use				
- Failing to use the correct verb	23	8	31	say lie
- Overuse or omission of copula 'be'	15	1	16	it's depend, I afraid
- Dropping 3rd person singular –s	17	0	17	it mean, she feel like
Preposition use				
- Using the wrong preposition	11	10	21	move out from, by your own
- Omission of prepositions	11	3	14	apart that, keep contact
- Inserting redundant prepositions	5	4	9	go beyond of, I'm for sure
Lexis use				
- Failing to use the correct word	4	7	11	I'm not too sure, basically speaking
- Failing to use the correct word form	9	1	10	speak fluent, free of speech
- Inserting redundant words	5	1	6	the way how we…
Article use				
- Omission of article where necessary in ENL	8	8	17	find job, do laundry
- Using articles where not used in ENL	11	7	18	earn the money, lose the contact
Pluralization	11	8	19	a signs of, up to dates, have the rights to, thanks you, make mistake
Creative idioms	3	3	6	the birds of the same feather gather together
Creative expressions	5	0	5	ankle water feet swimming, duck walking
Redundant possessive adjectives	4	0	4	lose my body weight, out of my curiosity
Gerund/infinitive	5	0	5	go to swim
Word order	1	2	3	I just was trying to…, I don't know what are you thinking but…
TOTAL	148	63	211	

Note. ENL: English as a Native Language

As illustrated in Table 29, among the main sources of non-standard forms found in the data are problems with verb use, prepositions, lexis, article use and pluralization. The ELF speakers in the data, especially in Asian ELF, seemed to overuse or delete the copula 'be' where necessary as in *it's depend*, and *I afraid*, and drop third person singular –s as in *it mean*, and *she feel like*. There were a high number of instances where the ELF speakers used an unconventional verb in the formulaic expression such as *say lie*. The second area where the ELF speakers had problems with was the use of prepositions. They either inserted redundant prepositions (e.g., *go beyond of*) or omitted prepositions when necessary (e.g., *apart that*). A number of instances were recorded regarding problems with article use, where the speakers either overused articles or omitted them when necessary (e.g., *find job, earn the money*). One other area where the ELF speakers had problems was pluralization, and such expressions as *a signs of*, *up to dates*, and *make mistake* were found in the data.

As for the unconventional idioms, the data include an entirely novel expression (*telling in the wind* instead of *wasting your breath*), expressions formally related to an already existing idiom (*the birds of the same feather gather together* instead of *birds of a feather flock together*, and *come to think of this/that* instead of *come to think of it*) and possibly an idiomatic expression formed by transplanting words from the speaker's first language (*ankle water feet swimming*).

When it comes to a comparison of Asian and European ELF in terms of the non-standard forms, the findings of the present study shows that Asian speakers used more non-standard forms than European ELF speakers in the following areas:

- failing to use the correct verb,
- overuse or omission of copula 'be' where it is obligatory in ENL,
- dropping 3rd person singular present tense –s,

- omission of prepositions where necessary in ENL,
- inserting redundant prepositions,
- creative expressions,
- redundant possessive adjectives, and
- using gerund and infinitive forms of verbs interchangeably.

The areas where more non-standard forms were observed in European ELF were failing to use the correct word and problems with word order, with a slight difference in numbers.

It must be noted at this point that the current study focused solely on the use of formulaic language in ELF interactions, and therefore the unconventional forms are the ones only encountered in formulaic expressions. The above list does not illustrate all the non-standard forms in the data analyzed, but the ones found only in formulaic expressions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the data gathered from two ELF corpora; the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE) were analyzed descriptively and discussed in three main sections. In the first section, the overall degree of formulaicity in ELF interactions was presented. The findings revealed that European ELF talk was overall more formulaic than Asian ELF talk. Moreover, ELF speakers tended to use formulaic language more frequently in social interactions than they did in academic interactions in both Asian and European ELF interactions. The second section presented the results of the data analysis regarding the use of formulaic language in academic ELF interactions in terms of Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum. The results showed that speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units were among the most frequently used types of formulaic

language while idioms and situation-bound utterances occurred a lot less frequently in both Asian and European academic ELF. Furthermore, fixed and semi-fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs occurred more frequently in Asian ELF while all the other types were used more frequently in European ELF. In the third section, the use of formulaic language in social ELF interactions was analyzed based on Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum. The findings revealed that, just like in academic ELF interactions, speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units were the most frequently used groups while situation-bound utterances and idioms occurred much less frequently in both social ELF contexts. In addition, apart from idioms, all the other types of formulaic language appeared more frequently in European social ELF interactions. The findings also revealed that problems with verb use, prepositions, lexis, article use and pluralization were among the main sources of non-standard forms found in the data. Based on the findings above, the next chapter will present the discussion of the results, implications, limitations of the study, and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this descriptive study was to examine the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in two different contexts, namely Europe and Asia, and to this end, ELF speakers' use of formulaic language was investigated. The study addressed the following research questions:

1. How much of ELF talk is formulaic in both European and Asian settings?
2. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in academic interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
3. What are the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language used in social interactions
    a. in European ELF?
    b. in Asian ELF?
4. What are the sources of unconventional formulaic expressions in ELF?

To answer the research questions above, a subset of corpus was compiled from two ELF corpora; the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE) by selecting interactions from academic and social domains. In a dataset of around 160.000 words, the use of formulaic language was investigated using Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum as an analytical framework. The data gathered were analyzed descriptively by means of tokenization and frequency analysis.

This chapter consists of four main sections. In the first section, the major findings emerging out of the study will be discussed in light of the relevant literature. In this section five major findings related to 1) the overall degree of formulaicity in ELF talk, 2) the frequency of the types of formulaic language, 3) the relationship between the tokens and frequencies, 4) the individual formulaic expressions within each of the six categories, and 5) the unconventional forms will be discussed in detail. In the second section, the implications of the study will be introduced. The following section will discuss the limitations of the study, and in the final section, suggestions for further research will be presented.

Findings and Discussion

Overall Degree of Formulaicity in ELF Talk

This study's findings revealed that on average 10.3 % of Asian ELF conversations was formulaic while the percentage was 11.3 in European ELF talk. These findings are in line with what Kecskes (2007) found in his study with 13 adult ELF speakers. Kecskes (2007) found that formulaic expressions accounted for only 7.6 % of the ELF interactions in his database, which he found quite low when compared to native English interactions. Most researchers point out that an immense portion of adult native language is in fact formulaic rather than freely generated (Altenberg, 1990; Erman & Warren, 2000; Fillmore, 1979; Renouf & Sinclair, 1991). Erman and Warren (2000), for example, suggested that the average proportion of formulaic language, *prefabs* as they call it, was 58.6 % in the spoken English discourse that they analyzed. When it comes to the findings of the present study, the relatively low occurrence of formulaic language is not surprising for two main reasons. First, as Wray (2002) suggests, there are two different language processing mechanisms at work for native speakers and non-native speakers of a language.

While native speakers process language holistically making use of prefabricated units, nonnative speakers use an analytical and compositional mechanism, which operates with small elements and allows for more flexibility, hence more errors (Wray, 2002). Second, ELF speakers come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and they lack common ground, that is, shared background knowledge. As Kecskes (2007) suggests, the use of formulaic language requires shared background knowledge, and it is very little among ELF speakers. They prioritize mutual understanding and rely more on semantically transparent expressions rather than figurative expressions, as their meaning is easily understood when broken down into individual elements. This could be the reason why the ELF speakers in the present study relied less on formulaic expressions. They might have done so, not necessarily because they did not know them, but because they feared their interlocutors would not understand them, a possible explanation supported by the results of Kecskes' (2007) study. The think aloud sessions in his study revealed that ELF speakers avoided the use of formulaic expressions not because they did not know them, but because they were worried their interlocutors would not understand them properly. They were reluctant to use language they thought were figurative or semantically less transparent.

The degree of formulaicity in Asian and European ELF contexts. As mentioned earlier in this section, the results showed that the overall degree of formulaicity in European ELF (11.3 %) was slightly higher than the level of formulaicity in Asian ELF (10.3). As the percentages are quite close to each other, it is concluded that there is not a big difference between the degree of formulaicity in Asian and European ELF contexts. However, a number of assumptions are made as to why European ELF is more formulaic than Asian ELF even though the difference

is not very large. To start with, according to the Education First (EF) English Proficiency Index published in 2016, the overall English proficiency level in Europe (55.94) is higher than that in Asia (53.49), and Üstünbaş (2014) and Yorio (1989) found that there is a positive relationship between the speaker's level of language proficiency and their use of formulaic language. The slightly higher level of English proficiency in Europe than in Asia could explain why formulaic language is used more frequently by European ELF speakers than their Asian counterparts. Secondly, nearly all of the first languages of the European ELF speakers in the data such as German, French, Swedish, and Dutch belong to the same language family as English, which is Indo-European. The Asian first languages such as Cebuano, Indonesian, Malay, and Thai, on the other hand, are all Austronesian languages (Finegan, 2007). As Campbell (1998) and Finegan (2007) suggest, languages belonging to the same family share not only phonological but certain linguistic features as well, and it is quite possible that certain multi-word units show similarity in languages belonging to the same family. One possible reason why European ELF speakers made more use of formulaic expressions could be because they have similar units in their first language as opposed to Asian ELF speakers. It must be noted that these are just humble assumptions rather than proven theories.

The degree of formulaicity in academic and social ELF domains. The results showed that 9.5 % of academic ELF interactions and 11.1 % of social ELF interactions in Asian contexts was formulaic. As to the European ELF contexts, the percentage was 10.4 in academic ELF interactions and 12.1 in social ELF interactions. The findings indicate that overall social ELF talk is slightly more formulaic than academic ELF talk in both Asian and European ELF contexts. The findings of the current study may be further support for what Biber (1999) suggested

in their study on lexical bundles. Based on the corpus findings in their study, Biber (1999) suggested that a conversation contained a larger amount of lexical bundles, the term they used for formulaic expressions, than academic prose. Although the academic language that they analyzed was in written form as opposed to the spoken nature of the academic language analyzed in this study, the similarity of the findings may perhaps be related to the language domain.

The Frequency of the Types of Formulaic Language

The results of the present study indicated that the ranking of the formulaic language categories from the most frequent to the least was the same in both academic and social ELF interactions in both Asian and European ELF data. Figure 10 below demonstrates the ranking of the formulaic language categories in the present study from the most frequent to the least.

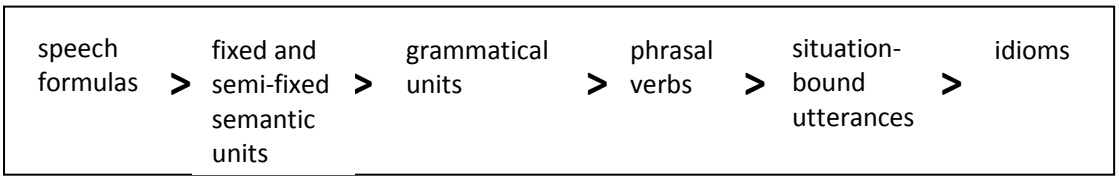


Figure 10. The ranking of formulaic language categories

Two main conclusions can be drawn from this finding. First, ELF speakers' tendency to use certain types of formulaic language more frequently than the others is irrespective of the language use domain. In other words, the lexicogrammatical structure of ELF talk from a formulaic language perspective shows similarities across two different domains. Second, on the surface level ELF talk bears similarities in terms of the use of formulaic language in two different geographical contexts. ELF speakers from two different geographical parts of the world have the tendency to use the same types of formulaic language more often than the others. While speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units are the highest-frequency types of

formulaic language, idioms and situation-bound utterances occurred the least frequently in both Asian and European ELF contexts.

When the high-frequency and low-frequency types of formulaic language are observed, it is seen that semantic transparency plays a decisive role in ELF speakers' preferences in formulaic language use. ELF speakers seem to use semantically transparent expressions, whose meaning can be easily understood by translating the individual elements, such as speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units more frequently than figurative expressions like idioms and situation-bound utterances, whose meaning cannot be derived from the separated individual components (Boers et al., 2006; Kecskes, 2007; Schmidt & Carter, 2004; Wray, 2002; Wray & Perkins, 2000). This finding supports what Kecskes (2007) observed in the think aloud sessions in his study. The ELF speakers in his study reported they preferred expressions whose compositional meaning and actual situational meaning were close to each other because they worried if figurative or metaphorical meaning was involved, their interlocutors would have difficulty understanding what they meant. This finding can also be a further support for what many researchers in the field (Biber et al., 1999; Jabboori & Jazaa, 2013; Mauranen, 2009; Prodromou, 2003, 2008; Wray, 2002; Yuan et al., 2013) discussed about idiomaticity. Mastering idiomatic expressions is problematic for nonnative speakers of English, even highly competent ones, as they involve a high degree of cultural load, and require the speaker to share the sociocultural contexts where the native speakers use such language.

Although there are certain similarities between the two studies, the ranking of the types of formulaic language in this study is not quite parallel to what Kecskes

(2007) found. Figure 11 below shows the ranking of formulaic language types in Kecskes' (2007) study from the most frequent to the least.

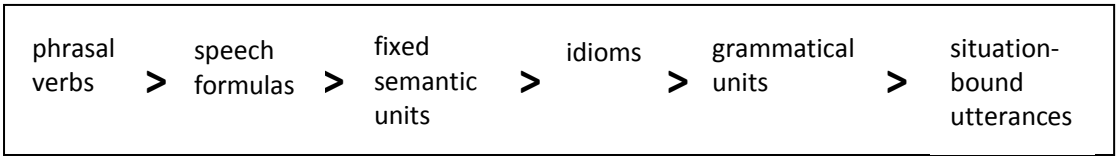


Figure 11. The ranking of formulaic language categories in Kecskes' (2007) study

As illustrated in Figure 10, the most frequently used type of formulaic language in Kecskes' (2007) data was phrasal verbs while it ranks as the fourth most frequent type in the present study. Furthermore, while idioms rank as the least frequent type in the current study, it was the fourth most frequent in Kecskes' (2007) study. One possible explanation as to why there is such a difference between the two studies is that phrasal verbs and idioms are conceptualized differently in the two studies. Kecskes (2007) considered verbs with a preposition such as *be worried about* as phrasal verbs in addition to verbs with a particle such as *go through*. In this study, however, verbs with a preposition are not regarded as phrasal verbs, and therefore lexical units such as *be worried about* are listed under fixed and semi-fixed semantic units instead of phrasal verbs. Another striking difference is that idioms occurred a lot more frequently in Kecskes' (2007) data than the data in this study. While idioms account for around 1 % of the ELF data in this study, they make up of 11 % of all formulaic units in his data. The high frequency of idioms in Kecskes' (2007) data could be due to what he considered as idioms. Kecskes (2007) listed phrasal verbs that have a figurative meaning and function like idioms (e.g., hang out, figure out) under the idioms category. However, in this study they were regarded as phrasal verbs. In addition, many expressions that are somewhat idiomatic but whose meaning can be guessed from at least on word in the unit were not regarded as idioms in this

study. Kecskes (2007) listed expressions like *give someone a ride* and *to make sense* as idioms on the ground that they have a figurative meaning. However, since their situational meaning is related to the semantic word in the unit (*ride* and *sense*) to some extent, such expressions were not regarded as idioms in this study. These reasons might explain at least some part of the differences between the frequencies in the two studies.

The Relationship between the Tokens and Frequencies of Formulaic Language

In order to find out which groups of formulaic language consisted of a wider range of expressions, and the expressions in which groups were repeated more frequently, the tokens of formulaic units and their frequencies, which were presented in the second and third sections of Chapter IV, were summarized below. Table 30 demonstrates the numbers representing tokens, i.e., how many different expressions were found in the data together with their frequencies.

Table 30

The Tokens and Frequencies of Formulaic Language

	Asian ELF				European ELF			
	Academic		Social		Academic		Social	
	Token	Frequency	Token	Frequency	Token	Frequency	Token	Frequency
GU	19	287	14	342	18	345	16	394
FSU	313	934	275	839	274	766	373	1019
PhV	73	185	55	130	64	149	77	155
SF	156	1330	197	1766	208	1606	229	1865
SBU	28	32	39	71	40	76	43	80
ID	14	19	23	31	22	27	20	25

Note. GU: Grammatical units, FSU: Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, PhV: Phrasal verbs, SF: Speech formulas, SBU: Situation bound utterances, ID: Idioms

As illustrated in Table 30, the type of formulaic language which consists of a larger variety of expressions is fixed and semi-fixed semantic units in both academic and

social domains in both ELF contexts. Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units are followed by speech formulas, phrasal verbs, and situation-bound utterances. The type of formulaic language with the narrowest range of expressions is idioms in academic ELF contexts, while it is grammatical units in social ELF contexts in both Asian and European contexts. Although the numbers are quite close to each other, it is not surprising that a wider range of idioms, which are expressions highly tied to situational and sociocultural contexts, occurred in social ELF conversations as the social ELF interactions analyzed took place in a wider range of situational contexts (e.g., dinner table conversations, chatting while travelling, at the airport etc.) when compared to the academic interactions.

The second step of data analysis at this stage was to find out which types of formulaic language were repeated more often than others. To do so, the overall frequency of a type of formulaic language (e.g., N = 287 for grammatical units in Asian academic ELF) was divided by the number of different expressions, i.e. tokens, found in that group (e.g., 19 grammatical units in Asian academic ELF), which gave a rough idea about how many times a formulaic expression was used on average. When the relationship between the tokens and the frequencies was analyzed, two main groups came up; recurrent and non-recurrent formulaic units. Recurrent formulaic expressions were those that occurred at least eight or nine times on average, and were registered in two categories; grammatical units (repeated nearly 15 times) and speech formulas (repeated nearly 9 times). Non-recurrent formulaic expressions, on the other hand, appeared once, twice or three times and were found in four types of formulaic language; fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, situation-bound utterances and idioms.

The fact that grammatical units and speech formulas were repeated more often than the other types of formulaic language can be explained by the low semantic load of those expressions. Grammatical units such as *have to* and *be going to* and speech formulas like *you know* and *sort of* can be uttered in almost any topic of conversation as they are context-independent expressions. They are used to perform certain communicative functions rather than convey semantic meaning. Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, and phrasal verbs, on the other hand, are mostly composed of content words, and are selected based on the topic of conversation or the meaning intended to convey. As for situation-bound utterances, they are rather conventionalized units which are tied to certain conversational situations (Kecskes, 2010). It is quite unlikely that a situation-bound utterance such as 'Could you please pass me the salt?' will be repeated during conversation as many times as the grammatical unit 'there are' is. Idioms, on the other hand, express an idea metaphorically, and using them requires shared cultural knowledge within a language community (Wray, 2002). According to Ortaçtepe (2013) and Wray (2008), they are not used as frequently as other types of formulaic units, which is confirmed by the findings of the present study. The findings also support Wright (2007), who focused on the use of English within European institutions and reported that the English spoken in the European Parliament was limited in terms of metaphor.

Major Findings Related to the Frequency of Individual Formulaic Expressions

The parallelism between the two ELF contexts in the highest-frequency expressions. When the highest-frequency formulaic expressions in each of the six categories were examined, it was observed that most parallelism or overlap occurred in two categories; grammatical units and speech formulas (see Tables 9, 12, 15 and 18 in Chapter IV). The most frequent grammatical

expressions were *there [be]* and *have to* in both academic and social interactions in both ELF contexts. As for the speech formulas, the highest frequency expressions were *you know* and *I think*. As far as the other four types of formulaic units (fixed and semi-fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, situation-bound utterances and idioms) are concerned, no such parallelism was observed, that is different idioms took the lead in each group (*out of tune* in Asian academic ELF, *off the record* in European academic ELF, and so on). It is important to note that the types of formulaic units in which the highest-frequency expressions overlap across domains and contexts were earlier determined as recurrent formulaic units (see the previous sub-section) and the other four units were described as the non-recurrent ones.

The fact that there is parallelism in the highest-frequency grammatical units (*there [be]* and *have to*) and speech formulas (*you know* and *I think*) across ELF domains and contexts can be explained the same way the recurrent formulaic units were. Such units can be uttered in any conversation topic or speech context, hence the frequency. The excerpt below shows how many times a grammatical expression is used repeatedly as opposed to more semantically loaded expressions such as fixed semantic units.

Table 31

Excerpt 6: The Use of 'There Are' and Three Fixed Semantic Units

...however **there are** very good practices in pilot pilot schools. third they also involve community just like in other countries and they e:r developed materials locally. so some of the challenges they have shared with us (.) erm budget and then staff (.) **there are** too many work to do but er **there are** also many needing their attention in terms of <spel> m t b m l e </spel> development. so would you like to have clarification yes madam?

Note. Grammatical units are bolded, and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units are underlined.

As seen in Excerpt 6, three grammatical units and three fixed semantic expressions were recorded in a piece of speech of about seventy words. When the expressions are observed, it can be seen that the same grammatical expression *there are* occurred three times while each of the fixed semantic units is a different expression. The above excerpt is just a sample to show how frequently a grammatical expression or a speech formula occurs as opposed to more semantically loaded expressions such as fixed and semi-fixed semantic units or phrasal verbs. Although the same number of grammatical units and fixed semantic units were recorded in the same piece of text, the same grammatical expression occurred more frequently than a single fixed semantic unit.

The case of 'Be gonna'. The frequency analysis of grammatical units in ELF interactions in both Asian and European contexts revealed that *be going to* occurred almost equally frequently in academic and social interactions in both ELF contexts (see Table 9 and Table 15 in Chapter IV for detailed information regarding

frequencies). On the other hand, *be gonna*, which is the short form of *be going to* and associated mostly with informal spoken language, occurred 15 times in European academic ELF interactions while there was no occurrence of the structure in Asian academic ELF. One possible explanation for this difference could be the geographical proximity of European ELF speakers to English speaking countries. They may have had more exposure to such daily language routines which are inherent in native language use when compared to Asian ELF speakers who have rather limited contact with native speaking countries. Alternatively, the ACE transcription team might have transcribed all *be gonna* incidences as *be going to*, and therefore there could be no sign of the structure in Asian academic ELF even though it occurred in the interactions. Unfortunately, the audio files of the conversations are not available on ACE website, so it is difficult to make a claim about the occurrence of *be gonna* in academic Asian ELF interactions.

Phrasal verbs with 'Come' and 'Go'. Out of all the phrasal verbs recorded in the ELF data, *go* + *particle* and *come* + *particle* combinations were the most frequent. Phrasal verbs composed of the verb *come* and *a particle* (e.g., *come back*, *come from*) accounted for 18 % of all phrasal verbs recorded in the whole dataset while those composed of the verb *go* and *a particle* (e.g., *go out, go back*) made up of 17 % of all phrasal verbs. This finding is in line with what Biber et al. (1999) found in their corpus study on English as a native language (ENL) varieties. They reported that the phrasal verbs *come back*, *come down*, *come in*, *come out*, *come to*, *come up*, *do something with*, *go back*, *go down*, *go in*, *go out*, *go to*, *go up*, *live in*, *put something in*, *put something on*, and *return to* recurred over 40 times per million words. They added that the verbs *come* and *go* with a particle, in particular, were among the most frequent phrasal verbs in their data (Biber et al., 1999).

I- utterances. I- utterances (e.g., *I think*, *I know*, *I agree* and *I mean*) are frequently used in complement clause constructions to express stance, show agreement or signal rephrasing. According to Baumgarten and House (2009), *I think* and *I don't know* are among the most frequent I- utterances in American and British English varieties, and *I think* is the single most frequent I- utterance in spoken L1 English. Baumgarten and House (2009) investigated the use of *I think* and *I don't know* in L1 English and ELF, and focused on the frequency of the two expressions in relation to all I- utterances. Their findings revealed that *I think* accounted for over 50% of all I-utterances in ELF while it made up of only 17.5% of the I + verb combinations in L1 English. In other words, *I think* occurred more frequently in ELF than in L1 English. The findings of the present study can be further support for what Baumgarten and House (2009) found in their corpus-based research. *I think* is the most frequent speech formula in both Asian and European ELF data in the present study. When it comes to *I don't know*, it is recorded as the third (in European ELF) and fourth (in Asian ELF) most frequent speech formula in the present study. In their research, Baumgarten and House (2009) found that *I don't know* was more frequent in L1 English (20% of all I- utterances) than in ELF (5% of all I + verb combinations). Although the present study does not make a comparison of ELF and ENL, the lower frequency of *I don't know* in the dataset could be further support for what Baumgarten and House (2009) found.

The second most frequent I-utterance in the speech formulas category was *I mean*, mainly used as a rephrase signaling device. This high frequency occurrence of *I mean* in the current study supports what Mauranen (2007) found in her research. She reported that *I mean* as a "rephrase-flagging" expression, was used several times more by ELF speakers than native speakers of English. It is quite natural that *I mean*

as a rephrase signaling device occurred highly frequently in ELF interactions. Speaking different first languages, ELF speakers are rather task-oriented and primarily concerned with expressing meaning. In ELF interactions, where mutual understanding is the main communicative goal, making meaning clear is of utmost importance, and it is quite natural that rephrasing is frequent in ELF talk, hence the frequency of the rephrase signaling device *I mean*.

General extenders. According to Overstreet (1999), general extenders are discourse markers which indicate additional members of a list, such as *stuff like that*, *and so on*, and *and all that*, and they typically occur in clause-final position. Furthermore, they indicate assumption of shared knowledge between the speakers. Such expressions are generally used when the speaker lacks the target word or specific terminology (Metsä-Ketelä, 2006). According to Cook et al. (1998), nonnative speakers use expressions of vagueness a lot more often than native speakers do.

General extenders such as *things/something/stuff like that*, *whatever*, *and so on*, and *or something/anything* are among the most frequent speech formulas in the data of the present study. The most frequent of those in both ELF contexts is recorded to be *things/something/anything/stuff like that*. This finding is in line with what Fiedler (2011) found in her study focusing on phraseology in ELF. Arguing that constructions of vagueness can be ELF-specific features given the difficulty and the lexical gaps nonnative communication involves, Fiedler (2011) found that *things like that* and *and so on* were the most frequent extenders used by the ELF speakers. Unlike what Fiedler (2011) found, *and so on* in the current study did not occur as frequently as other general extenders did. The expression occurred 13 times in the whole dataset. Overall, the high frequency of general extenders shows that the ELF

speakers, just as Fiedler claims, experienced situations where they lacked the appropriate word and preferred not to ask for lexical help.

The Unconventional (or Non-Standard) Forms

The findings of the current study revealed that overall the percentage of non-standard formulaic expressions to all the formulaic units was higher in Asian ELF (2.41%) than in European ELF (1.04%). Even though the difference is small, this higher percentage of non-standard forms in Asian ELF can be explained by two possible factors. First, as mentioned before, most Asian first languages analyzed in the data belong to a different language family than English. While the Asian languages such as Malay, Thai, and Lao belong to Austronesian language family, English is an Indo-European language. Most of the European ELF speakers in the data speak first languages belonging to the same language family as English. Languages such as German, Italian, and Spanish share certain lexical, syntactic and grammatical features with English, which might be the reason why European ELF speakers used non-standard forms to a slightly smaller extent than Asian ELF speakers. Most Asian languages, for example, lack inflection (Kortmann, 2010; Takeshita, 2010), which might have led the Asian ELF speakers to get rid of plural marking or articles, and led to non-standard formulaic expressions like *speak fluent*, and *have idea* (More detailed information regarding the sources of non-standard forms will be discussed in the following sub-section). Such examples exist in European ELF data, too, but a higher number of morphosyntactic or lexical differences between languages belonging to different families might explain why non-standard forms occurred more frequently in the Asian ELF data than in European ELF.

The second possible reason why unconventional forms occurred more frequently in Asian ELF interactions could be due to the relatively lower English proficiency level of Asian speakers when compared to their European counterparts. As mentioned earlier in the section discussing the degree of formulaicity in Asian and European ELF, the overall English proficiency level in Asia (53.49) is slightly lower than that in Europe (55.94) (Education First (EF) English Proficiency Index, 2016). This small difference in the overall English proficiency level of Asian and European speakers might explain why Asian ELF speakers deviated from standard forms to a slightly greater extent than European ELF speakers did.

It is important to mention a few issues regarding the percentage of unconventional forms within each formulaic language category. When the percentages are observed, it is seen that the highest amount of non-standard forms occurred in the idioms category (See Table 23 in Chapter IV). However, it must be noted that the number of non-standard idioms in Asian academic ELF, Asian social ELF, and European social ELF was 1, 5, and 3 respectively (see Appendices G and H). Due to the small number of idioms used in each ELF contexts, such few non-standard forms seem to account for a large percentage. Apart from idioms, overall the highest amount of non-standard forms seems to be recorded in fixed and semi-fixed semantic units. The highest of all seem to be in Asian academic ELF interactions, where a total of 51 semantic units out of 934 deviated from standard forms (see Appendices G and H). The least number of non-standard forms seem to have occurred in grammatical units and speech formulas overall. However, although the percentages are low due to the overall size of the category, a large number of unconventional speech formulas occurred in each category. The sources of non-standard forms will be discussed in the following sub-section.

Sources of unconventional forms. The findings of the current study revealed that the non-standard forms of formulaic expressions were largely due to problems with verb use (e.g., overuse or omission of copula 'be'), prepositions (e.g., omission of prepositions when necessary), lexis (e.g., failing to use the correct word form), article use and pluralization (See Table 29 in Chapter IV for the full list of sources of unconventional forms together with examples). The findings of the present study regarding the sources of non-standard forms are in line with what previous studies in the literature found. Investigating the lexicogrammatical features of ELF, a number of researchers reported that among typical ELF features are zero marking of the 3rd person present tense –s, non-standard use of copula 'be', omission or redundant use of prepositions, non-marking of plural –s or pluralizing uncountable nouns, and overuse of common verbs like do, take and get (Björkman, 2008; Breitender, 2005; Cogo & Dewey, 2006, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2013; Seidlhofer, 2004). In addition to the most common lexicogrammatical features of ELF, the current study found that using non-standard word forms (e.g., injust, speak fluent), using gerund and infinitive forms of verbs interchangeably (e.g., go to swim) and using redundant possessive adjectives (out of my curiosity) are among other typical lexicogrammatical features of ELF.

The present study also found that Asian speakers used more non-standard forms than European ELF speakers in the following areas; failing to use the correct verb, overuse or omission of copula 'be' where it is obligatory in ENL, dropping 3rd person singular present tense –s, omission of prepositions where necessary in ENL, inserting redundant prepositions, using creative expressions, using redundant possessive adjectives, and using gerund and infinitive forms of verbs interchangeably. A few of the findings verify what Kirkpatrick (2013) found based

on the preliminary corpus findings from ACE and VOICE. He found that the omission of copula 'be' was a lot more frequent in Asian ELF than in European ELF. He also reported that Asian ELF speakers omitted the articles and the plural –s more often than the European ELF speakers, but the findings of the present study shows that such non-standard forms almost equally occurred in both ELF data. Furthermore, no type of unconventional forms occurred significantly more frequently in the European ELF data than the Asian one.

Pitzl (2009) suggests how idiomatic expressions show linguistic variations in ELF interactions. She found that the idiomatic expressions in ELF can be entirely novel, related to existing idioms in ENL, or created by transplanting words from other language idioms. The creative idioms found in the present study support what Pitzl (2009) discussed. The unconventional idioms in the data include an entirely novel expression (*telling in the wind* instead of *wasting your breath*), expressions formally related to an already existing idiom (*the birds of the same feather gather together* instead of *birds of a feather flock together*, and *come to think of this/that* instead of *come to think of it*) and an idiomatic expression possibly formed by transplanting words from the speaker's first language (*ankle water feet swimming*). Just like Pitzl (2009) pointed out, none of these unconventional idiomatic expressions caused communication breakdown during the interactions.

The effect of unconventional forms on mutual understanding. In the data analyzed, the ELF speakers used a number of non-standard forms at various linguistic levels. However, no indication of communication breakdown was observed. Just as many scholars (e.g., Björkman, 2008; Hülmbauer, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2004) have earlier pointed out, the expressions which would be regarded incorrect according to ENL norms did not inhibit understanding in lingua franca

communication. In the interactions analyzed, it was obvious that the main purpose of the ELF speakers was to achieve mutual understanding, and linguistic correctness was not their priority. In the instances of unconventional forms, the ELF speakers employed several communication strategies like self-repair, repetition, asking for clarification, or simply let it pass.

Pedagogical Implications of the Study

The findings of the present study point out important pedagogical implications both for language teachers and curriculum developers all around the world. First and foremost, the findings of the current study revealed that there was no significant difference in terms of the level of formulaicity and the frequency of the types of formulaic language used in ELF talk in two different parts of the world, namely Europe and Asia. From a formulaic language perspective, this finding suggests that the lexicogrammatical features of English as a lingua franca show a great degree of similarity in different parts of the world, which strengthens the ideas regarding the global status of English. As Seidlhofer (2011) suggests, English in our modern world has gained a truly global status across continents and social strata. The fact that the lexicogrammatical features of ELF show similarities in two different geographical regions might suggest the existence of a uniform language with its own linguistic and pragmatic conventions across the globe.

One other implication emerging from the findings of the current study might be for curriculum developers. The present study found that speech formulas (e.g., I believe that…, you know, stuff like that) and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units (e.g., in terms of, at least, for example) are the most frequently used types of formulaic language. Situation-bound utterances (e.g., You're welcome!, Enjoy it!) and idioms (e.g., a stepping stone, cut the long story short) are the least frequent

types of formulaic language in intercultural communication in English. To this end, while designing their curricula, curriculum developers might prioritize speech formulas that help formulate and organize speech and semantic units over other types of formulaic language (grammatical units, phrasal verbs, situation-bound utterances, and idioms) as those are the two types of formulaic language that help speakers in cross-cultural communication more often than the others. In addition, curriculum developers might allocate less time for the teaching and practice of idioms and situation-bound utterances in their designed curricula since they appear relatively rarely in intercultural interactions.

One last implication that might be inferred from the findings of the present study is for language teachers. The current study found that non-standard expressions based on English as a native language (ENL) norms in fact do not hinder communication in intercultural interactions in English. The formulaic expressions that lingua franca speakers use might occasionally deviate from standard forms in terms of article use, pluralization, or verb use. However, they do not cause breakdowns during communication. Even though a speaker had great difficulty in putting the right expression together, or choosing the correct word form, the speakers employed several communication strategies in order to ensure mutual understanding. Based on this finding it might be inferred that language teachers should prioritize communicative competence over linguistic accuracy in their classes. The ultimate goal of the ELF speakers in the data seemed to be achieving mutual understanding, and most probably linguistic correctness was of less importance. Language teachers should equip their learners with communicative strategies that will help deal with possible difficulties in intercultural communication rather than focusing on linguistic correctness.

Limitations of the Study

The findings of the present study should be interpreted with caution as there are several limitations of the study. To start with, the dataset analyzed in this study comprised around 160.000 words. Even though the data size is larger than previous studies exploring the use of formulaic language in ELF (Kecskes, 2007), it can still be regarded small. It is difficult to make generalizations about two different geographical contexts based on a corpus of around 80.000 words in each. Furthermore, as far as the different speech domains, academic and social, are concerned, the data size for each domain in each ELF contexts is only about 40.000 words, which is another constraint that makes it difficult to make generalizations.

Another limitation of the study is related to the formulaic continuum used in the analysis of data. Kecskes' (2007) formulaic continuum was used as an analytical framework in this study; however, there are many other continua or categorization of formulaic language in the literature. The use of a different continuum or categorization of formulaic language could have led to different results. Therefore, it is difficult to make conclusive remarks about the use of formulaic language in ELF. Second, there were cases when it was difficult to decide which category an expression fitted in. One expression could be listed under two different categories for different reasons. For instance, it was difficult to decide if *thank you* was a speech formula or a situation-bound utterance or whether *as well* was a fixed semantic unit or a speech formula. In that sense, the categorization of formulaic expressions was, to a certain extent, based on the subjective judgment of the researcher.

Suggestions for Further Research

On the basis of the findings and limitations of the present study, some suggestions might be provided for further research. To begin with, the present study

investigated the similarities and differences between the lexicogrammatical features of ELF spoken in Asian and Europe. Further studies can explore other linguistic or pragmatic aspects of ELF in Asia and Europe. For instance, the similarities and differences between the communicative strategies used by Asian and European ELF speakers could be explored. Secondly, the use of *be gonna* in Asian ELF and European ELF could be explored in detail. The present study found that *be gonna* occurred a lot more frequently in European ELF than in Asian ELF. Furthermore, while it appeared 6 times social interactions, no occurrence of the expression was recorded in academic interactions in Asian ELF. Future studies could investigate in what speech contexts the expression *be gonna* is used in both ELF contexts, and what might account for the higher frequency of the expression in European ELF than in Asian ELF.

Another suggestion for future studies is to explore the use of ELF in other parts of the world. This study investigated the use of ELF in Asian and European settings. However, not much is known about the use of ELF in Africa, for instance. Future studies can explore the use of ELF in African settings, and compare certain aspects of it with European or Asian ELF and see to what extent the linguistic aspects of ELF bear similarities around the globe.

One other suggestion is regarding a comparison of formulaic language use in ELF and English as a native language (ENL). This study explored the use of formulaic language in lingua franca interactions; however, did not compare it to the use of formulaic language in ENL. How frequent each type of formulaic language can be explored in ENL. Furthermore, native speakers were existent in the lingua franca interactions analyzed in this study. However, their use of formulaic language was not analyzed separately. Future studies can investigate the level of formulaicity

in the native speakers' talk in lingua franca communication as opposed to native language communication, and see if there are any changes in the level of formulaicity in their language.

Conclusion

The current study explored the lexicogrammatical features of ELF in Asian and European settings, and to this end, investigated the use of formulaic language in a dataset of 160.000 words collected from two ELF corpora; the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE). The findings revealed that the level of formulaicity both in Asian and European ELF was quite low, more specifically around 10 percent, suggesting that ELF talk is not as formulaic as native language use (Altenberg, 1990; Erman & Warren, 2000; Fillmore, 1979; Renouf & Sinclair, 1991). Furthermore, the study found no significant differences between Asian and European ELF in terms of the frequency of types of formulaic language used. In both ELF contexts, speech formulas and fixed and semi-fixed semantic units were highly frequent whereas such as idioms and situation-bound utterances occurred quite rarely, which could suggest that semantic transparency plays a decisive role in lingua franca interactions (Boers et al., 2006; Kecskes, 2007; Schmidt & Carter, 2004; Wray, 2002; Wray & Perkins, 2000).

The study also found that the non-standard formulaic expressions were largely due to problems with verb use, lexis, article use, prepositions, and pluralization, which is in line with the existing literature (Cogo & Dewey, 2006, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2013; Seidlhofer, 2004). However, none of these non-standard or unconventional forms caused breakdowns during communication. As many researchers previously stated (Hülmbauer, 2007; Mauranen, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2004), the main goal in ELF communication was to ensure mutual understanding rather than

linguistic accuracy. To conclude, it is hoped that the findings of this study and the emerging pedagogical implications will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of ELF, and more importantly help raise awareness of the current status of English as a lingua franca.

REFERENCES

Altenberg, B. (1990). Speech as linear composition. In G. Caie, K. Haastrup, A. L. Jakobsen, J. E. Nielsen, J. Sevaldsen, H. Specht, & A. Zettersten (Eds.), *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies, Vol. 1* (pp. 133-143). Department of English, University of Copenhagen.

Ammon, U. (1996). The European Union: Status change during the last 50 years. In J. Fishman, A. Conrad, & A. Rubal-Lopez (Eds.), *Post-imperial English* (pp. 241-267). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (2006). Language conflicts in the European Union: On finding a politically acceptable and practicable solution for EU institutions that satisfies diverging interests. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 16*, 319-338.

Ahtiainen, J. (2013). *Title and name in the ELFA and VOICE corpora* (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/43055

Baker, W. (2009). The cultures of English as a lingua franca. *TESOL Quarterly, 43*(4), 567-592.

Baker, W. (2011). Global cultures and identities: Refocusing the aims of ELT in Asia through intercultural awareness. In T. Muller, S. Herder, J. Adamson, & P. Shigeo Brown (Eds.), *Innovating EFL education in Asia* (pp. 49-62). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baumgarten, N. & House, J. (2010). 'I think' and 'I don't know' in English as lingua franca and native English discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*, 1184-1200.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., & Finegan, E. (1999). *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. London, UK: Pearson Education

Björkman, B. (2008). 'So where are we?' Spoken lingua franca English at a technical university in Sweden. *English Today, 24*(2), 35-41.

Björkman, B. (2009). From code to discourse in spoken ELF. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 225-254). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Björkman, B. (2011). Pragmatic strategies in English as an academic lingua franca: Ways of achieving communicative effectiveness. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(4), 950-964.

Björkman, B. (2014). An analysis of polyadic English as a lingua franca (ELF) speech: A communicative strategies framework. *Journal of Pragmatics, 66*, 122-138.

Boers, F., Eyckmans, J., Kappel, J., Stengers, H., Demecheleer, M. (2006). Formulaic sequences and perceived oral proficiency: Putting a lexical approach to the test. *Language Teaching Resource, 10*(3), 245-261.

Boers, F., & Lindstromberg, S. (2012). Experimental and intervention studies on formulaic sequences in a second language. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 32*, 83-110.

Breiteneder, A. (2005). The naturalness of English as a European lingua franca: The case of the 'third person –s'. *Vienna English Working Papers, 14*(2), 3-26.

Breiteneder, A. (2009). English as a lingua franca in Europe: An empirical perspective. *World Englishes, 28*(2), 256-269.

Cambridge dictionaries online. (Updated Edition). Retrieved from http://dictionary.cambridge.org/

Cambridge phrasal verbs dictionary (2006). (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, L. (1998). *Historical linguistics: An introduction*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2007). Lingua franca English, multilingual communities and language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal, 91,* 923-939.

Carey, R. (2013). On the other side: Formulaic organizing chunks in spoken and written academic ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, 2*(2), 207-228.

Carey, R. (2014). A closer look at laughter in academic talk: A reader response. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 14*, 118-123.

Cenoz, J., & Jessner, U. (Eds.). (2000). *English in Europe: The acquisition of a third language*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Cenoz, J. (2006). Across the assessment gap: Challenges for practice and research. In R. Wilkinson, & V. Zegers (Eds.), *Bridging the assessment gap in English-medium higher education* (pp. 281-291). Nijmegen: AKS-Verlag Bochum.

Cogo, A. (2009). Accommodating difference in ELF conversations: A study of pragmatic strategies. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 254-273). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Cogo, A. (2010). Strategic use and perceptions of English as a lingua franca. *Pozna´n Studies in Contemporary Linguistics, 46*(3), 295-312.

Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. (2006). Efficiency in ELF communication: From pragmatic motives to lexicogrammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies, 5*(2), 59–94.

Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. (2012). *Analysing English as a lingua franca: A corpus-driven investigation.* London, UK: Continuum.

Cogo, A., & Pitzl, M-L. (2016). Pre-empting and signaling non-understanding in ELF. *ELT Journal, 70*, 1–7.

Collins Cobuild idioms dictionary (2002). (2nd ed.). Glasgow, UK: Harper Collins Publishers.

Coskun, A. (2010). Whose English should we teach? Reflections from Turkey. *ESP World, 1*(27). Retrieved from http://www.esp-world.info/contents.htm

Coulmas, F. (1979).On the sociolinguistic relevance of routine formulae. *Journal of Pragmatics, 3*(3), 239-266.

Coulmas, F. (1991). European integration and the idea of a national language. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *A language policy for the European community: Prospects and quandaries* (pp. 1-28). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Deterding, D., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2006). Intelligibility and an emerging ASEAN English lingua franca. *World Englishes, 25*(3), 391-410.

Deterding, D. (2010). ELF-based pronunciation teaching in China. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics, 33*(6), 3-15.

Dewey, M. (2007). *English as a lingua franca: An empirical study of innovation in lexis and grammar* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). King's College London, London, UK.

Du-Babock, B., & Tanaka, H. (2013). A comparison of the communication behaviours of Hong Kong Chinese and Japanese business professionals in

intracultural and intercultural decision-making meetings. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication, 27*(3), 263-287.

Education First (EF). (2016). *English Proficiency Index* (6th ed.). Retrieved from http://www.ef.com/__/~/media/centralefcom/epi/downloads/full-reports/v6/ef-epi-2016 english.pdf

Ehrenreich, S. (2009). English as a lingua franca in multinational corporations. Exploring business communities of practice. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 126-151). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Ehrenreich, S. (2010). English as a business lingua franca in a German multinational corporation. *Journal of Business Communication, 47*(4), 408-431.

Erman, B., & Warren, B. (2000).The idiom principle and the open choice principle. *Text, 20*(1), 29-62.

Fiedler, S. (2011). English as a lingua franca - A native-culture-free code? Language of communication vs. language of identification. *Journal of Applied Language Studies, 5*(3), 79-97.

Fillmore, C. J. (1979). On fluency. In C. J. Fillmore, D. Kempler, & W. S-Y Wang (Eds.), *Individual differences in language ability & language behavior* (pp. 85-101). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Finegan, E. (2007). *Language: Its structure and use* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Firth, A. (1996). The discursive accomplishment of normality: On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics, 26*(2), 237-259.

Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English?* London, UK: British Council.

Graddol, D. (2006). *English next: Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a foreign language*'. London, UK: British Council.

Gu, M., Patkin, J., & Kirkpatrick, A. (2014). The dynamic identity construction in English as lingua franca intercultural communication: A positioning perspective. *System, 46,* 131-142.

Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (4th ed.) New York, NY: Routledge.

Hartmann, R. (1996). Introduction. In R. Hartmann (Ed.), *The English language in Europe* (pp. 1-2). Oxford, UK: Intellect.

House, J. (1999). Misunderstanding in intercultural communication: Interactions in English as lingua franca and the myth of mutual intelligibility. In C. Gnutzmann (Ed.), *Teaching and learning English as a global language* (pp. 72-88). Tübingen, Germany: Stauffenburg.

House, J. (2002). Developing pragmatic competence in English as a lingua franca. In K. Knapp, & C. Meierkord (Eds.), *Lingua franca communication* (pp. 245-267). Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang.

House, J. (2013). Developing pragmatic competence in English as a lingua franca: Using discourse markers to express (inter)subjectivity and connectivity. *Journal of Pragmatics, 59,* 57-67. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.03.001

Howarth, P. (1998). Phraseology and second language proficiency. *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 24-44.

Hülmbauer, C. (2007). 'You moved, aren't?' – The relationship between lexicogrammatical correctness and communicative effectiveness in English as a lingua franca. *Vienna English Working Papers, 16*(2), 3-35.

Hülmbauer, C. (2009). "We don't take the right way. We just take the way that we think you will understand"—The shifting relationship between correctness and effectiveness in ELF. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 323-347). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hyland, K. (2012). Bundles in academic discourse. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 32*, 150–169.

Hymes, D. H. (1962). The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin, & W.C. Sturtevant (Eds.), *Anthropology & human behavior* (pp. 13-53). Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington.

Hynninen, N. (2010). "We try to to to speak all the time in easy sentences" – Student conceptions of ELF interaction. *Helsinki English Studies, 6*, 29-43.

Hynninen, N. (2011). The practice of 'mediation' in English as a lingua franca interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(4), 965-977.

Hynninen, N. (2013). *Language regulation in English as a lingua franca: Exploring language-regulatory practices in academic spoken discourse* (Doctoral dissertation) Retrieved from http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-10-8639-7.

Incelli, E. (2013). Managing discourse in intercultural business email interactions: A case study of a British and Italian business transaction. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 34(*6), 515-532.

Jabboori, A. T., & Jazaa, R. A. T. (2013). Native and non-native speakers' use of English idiomatic expressions: A syntactic and pragmatics study. *Journal of Al-Frahids Arts, 15*(15), 2-31.

Jenkins, J. (2000). *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J., Modiano, M., & Seidlhofer, B. (2001). Euro-English. *English Today 68, 17*(4), 13-19.

Jenkins, J. (2006). Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 16*, 137-162.

Jenkins, J. (2007). *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2009). English as a lingua franca: Interpretations and attitudes. *World Englishes, 28*(2), 200-207.

Jenkins, J. (2011). Accommodating (to) ELF in the international university. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 926-936.

Jenkins, J., Cogo, A., & Dewey, M. (2011). Review of developments in research into English as a lingua franca. *Language Teaching, 44*(3), 281-315.

Jenkins, J. (2012). English as a lingua franca from the classroom to the classroom. *ELT Journal, 66*(4), 486-494.

Jenkins, J., & Leung, C. (2013). English as a lingua franca. In A.J. Kunnan (Ed.), *The companion to language assessment* (pp. 1605-1616). Chichester, Wiley Blackwell.

Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification, and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk, & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The alchemy of English*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.

Kachru, B. B. (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd Ed.). Urbana, IL: University of Illionis Press.

Kankaanranta, A., & Planken A. (2010). BELF competence as business knowledge

of internationally operating business professionals. *Journal of Business Communication, 47*(3), 380-407.

Kankaanranta, A., & Lu, W. (2013). The evolution of English as business lingua franca: Signs of convergence in Chinese and Finnish professional communication. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication, 27*, 288-307.

Kappa, K. (2016). Exploring solidarity and consensus in English as lingua franca interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics, 95*, 16-33.

Kaur, J. (2009). Pre-empting problems of understanding in English as a lingua franca. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 107-123). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kaur, J. (2011). Raising explicitness through self-repair in English as a lingua franca. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 2704-2715.

Kaypak, E. (2012). *The interconnectedness of English as a lingua franca (ELF), study abroad, and language learner beliefs* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from http://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/handle/11693/15281

Kecskes, I. (2007). Formulaic language in English lingua franca. In I. Kecskes, & L. R. Horn (Eds.), *Explorations in pragmatics: Linguistic, cognitive and intercultural aspects* (pp. 191-218). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kecskes, I. (2010). Situation-bound utterances as pragmatic acts. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*, 2889–2897.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2004). English as an ASEAN lingua franca: Implications for research and language teaching. *Asian Englishes, 6*(2), 82-91.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2006). Oral communication and intelligibility among ASEAN speakers of English. In J. Foley (Ed.), *New dimensions in the teaching of oral communication* (pp. 33-52). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2007a). The communicative strategies of ASEAN speakers of English as a lingua franca. In D. Prescott (Ed.), *English in Southeast Asia: Varieties, literacies and literatures* (pp. 118-137). Cambridge Scholars, Newcastle.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2007b). *World Englishes: Implications for international communication and English language teaching*. Cambridge University Press.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2008). English as the official working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN): Features and strategies. *English Today, 24*(2), 37-44.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2010). Researching English as a lingua franca in Asia: the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) project. *Asian Englishes, 13*(1), 4-18.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2013). The Asian corpus of English: Motivation and aims. In Shin'ichiro Ishikawa (Ed.), *Learner corpus studies in Asia and the world* (pp. 17-30). Kobe, Japan: Kobe University Press.

Kirkpatrick, A., & Subhan, S. (2014). Non-standard or new standards or errors? The use of inflectional marking for present and past tenses in English as an Asian lingua franca. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffman, M. Huber, & A. Kautsch et al. (Eds.), *The evolution of Englishes* (pp. 386-400). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Klimpfinger, T. (2009). "She's mixing the two languages together"— Forms and functions of code-switching in English as a lingua franca. In A. Mauranen, &

E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 348-371). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Knapp, A. (2011). Using English as a lingua franca for (mis-)managing conflict in an international university context: An example from a course in engineering. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*, 978-990.

Komori-Glatz, M. (2015). Exploring the roles of English: English as a lingua franca in master's programmes at WU Vienna University of Economics and Business. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 173*, 119-124.

Konakahara, M. (2015). An analysis overlapping questions in casual ELF conversation: Cooperative or competitive contribution. *Journal of Pragmatics, 84*, 37-53.

Kortmann, B. (2010). Variation across Englishes: Syntax. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 400-424). London, UK: Routledge.

Lichtkoppler, J. (2007). 'Male. Male.' - 'Male?' - 'The sex is male.' The role of repetition in English as a lingua franca conversations. *Vienna English Working Papers, 16*(1), 39-65.

Longman dictionary of contemporary English online. (Updated Edition). Retrieved from http://www.ldoceonline.com/

Lorés-Sanz, R. (2016). ELF in the making? Simplification and hybridity in abstract writing. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, 5*(1), 53-81.

Luzon, M-J. (2016). Features of ELF interactions in travel blogs: Travelers doing interactional work. *Iberica, 31*, 127-148.

Matsumoto, Y. (2011). Successful ELF communications and implications for ELT: Sequential analysis of ELF pronunciation negotiation strategies. *Modern*

Language Journal, 95(1), 97-114.

Matsumoto, Y. (2015). *Multimodal communicative strategies for resolving miscommunication in multilingual writing classrooms* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/26487

Mauranen, A. (2003). The corpus of English as lingua franca. *TESOL Quarterly, 37*(3), 513-527.

Mauranen, A. (2006). Signaling and preventing misunderstanding in English as lingua franca communication. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2006*(177), 123-150.

Mauranen, A. (2007). Hybrid voices: English as the lingua franca of academics. In K. Flottum, T. Dahl, & T. Kinn (Eds.), *Language and discipline perspectives on academic discourse* (pp. 244-259). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Mauranen, A. (2009). Chunking in ELF: Expressions for managing interaction. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 6*(2), 217-233.

Mauranen, A. (2010). Features of English as a lingua franca in academia. *Helsinki English Studies, 6*, 6-28.

Mauranen, A. (2014). Lingua franca discourse in academic contexts: Shaped by complexity. In J. Flowerdew, (Ed.), *Discourse in context: Contemporary applied linguistics, 3*, 225-245. London; New York: Bloomsbury.

Meierkord, C. (1998). Lingua franca English: Characteristics of successful non-native-non-native discourse. *Erfurt Electronic Studies (EESE), 7*(98). Retrieved from http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/edoc/ia/eese/artic98/meierk/7_98.html

Meierkord, C. (2000). Interpreting successful lingua franca interaction. An analysis

of nonnative-/non-native small talk conversations in English. *Linguistic Online, 5*(1). Retrieved from http://www.linguistik-online.de/1_00/MEIERKOR.HTM

Metsä-Ketelä, M. (2006). "Words are more or less superfluous": The case of more or less in academic lingua franca English. *Nordic Journal of English Studies, 5*(2), 117-143.

Moon, R. (1997). Vocabulary connections: Multi-word items in English. In N. Schmitt, & M. McCarthy (Eds.), *Vocabulary: description, acquisition and pedagogy* (pp. 40-63). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moon, R. (1998). *Fixed expressions and idioms in English.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Murata, K. (Ed.). (2015). *Exploring ELF in Japanese academic and business contexts: Conceptualisation, research and pedagogic implications.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Nattinger, J. R., & DeCarrico, J. S. (1992). *Lexical phrases and language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Negretti, R. & Garcia-Yeste, M. (2015). "Lunch Keeps People Apart": The Role of English for social interaction in a multilingual academic workplace. *Multilingua, 34*(1), 93-118.

Ollinger, A. (2012). *The good ELF user: A qualitative meta-analysis of strategic language use behaviours in English as a lingua franca* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.

Ortaçtepe, D. (2012). *The development of conceptual socialization in international students: A language socialization perspective on conceptual fluency and*

social identity (Doctoral dissertation). University at Albany, State University of New York, NY, USA.

Ortactepe, D. (2013). Formulaic language and conceptual socialization: The route to becoming nativelike in L2. *System, 41*(3), 852-865.

Osimk, R. (2007). *Aspiration, [θ]/[ð] und /r/ in Englisch als Lingua Franca – eine psycholinguistische Pilotstudie zu drei Vorschlägen des Lingua Franca Core* (Master's thesis). University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.

Osimk, R. (2009). Decoding sounds: An experimental approach to intelligibility in ELF. *Vienna English Working Papers, 18*(1), 64-89.

Ostler, N. (2010). *The last lingua franca: English until the return of babel*. New York, NY: Walker and Company.

Öztürk, H., Çeçen, S., & Altınmakas, D. (2009). *How do non-native pre-service English language teachers perceive ELF? A qualitative study.* Paper presented at the English as an International Language Conference, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir, Turkey.

Overstreet, M. (1999). *Whales, candlelight, and stuff like that: General extenders in English discourse*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Pennycook, A. (2012). Lingua francas as language ideologies. In A. Kirkpatrick, & R. Sussex (Eds.), *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education* (pp. 137-154). New York, NY: Springer.

Pickering, L. (2009). Intonation as a pragmatic resource in ELF interaction. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 6*(2), 235-255.

Pitzl, M-L. (2005). Non-understanding in English as a lingua franca: Examples from a business context. *Vienna English Working Papers, 14*(2), 50-71.

Pitzl, M-L. (2009). ‘We should not wake up any dogs’: Idiom and metaphor in ELF. In A. Mauranen, & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 298-322). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Pitzl, M-L. (2012). Creativity meets convention: idiom variation and re-metaphorization in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, 1*(1), 27-55.

Planken, B. (2005). Managing rapport in lingua franca sales negotiations: A comparison of professional and aspiring negotiators. *English for Specific Purposes, 24*, 381-400.

Prodromou, L. (2003). Idiomaticity and the non-native speaker. *English Today, 74*(2), 42-48.

Prodromou, L. (2005). *'You see, it's sort of tricky for the L2-user': The puzzle of idiomaticity in English as a lingua franca*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/11180/1/423643.pdf

Prodromou, L. (2008). *English as a lingua franca: A corpus-based analysis*. London: UK. Continuum.

Ranta, E. (2006). The 'attractive' progressive – Why use the -ing form in English as a lingua franca? *Nordic Journal of English Studies, 5*(2), 95-116.

Ranta, E. (2009). Syntactic features in spoken ELF – learner language or spoken grammar? In A. Mauranen & E. Ranta (Eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings* (pp. 84-106). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Renouf, A., & Sinclair, J. (1991). Collocational frameworks in English. In K. Aijmer, & B. Altenberg (Eds.), *English corpus linguistics: Studies in the honour of Jan Svartvik* (pp. 128-143). London, UK: Longman.

Rischner, C. (2006). *Communicative cooperation in interactions in English as a lingua franca* (Master's thesis). University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.

Schmitt, N., & Carter, R. (2004). Formulaic sequences in action: An introduction. In N. Schmitt (Ed.), *Formulaic sequences: Acquisition, processing and use, 9*, 1-23. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Seidlhofer, B. (2001). Closing a conceptual gap: The case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 11*(2), 133-158.

Seidlhofer, B. (2004). Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 24*, 209-239.

Seidlhofer, B. (2011). *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Sharma, B. K. (2008). World Englishes, English as a lingua franca, and English pedagogy. *Journal of NELTA, 13*(1), 121-130.

Siefring, J. (Ed.). (2005). *Oxford dictionary of idioms* (2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Smit, U. (2010). *English as a lingua franca in higher education.* Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.

Sung, C. C. M. (2016). ESL university students' perceptions of their global identities in English as a lingua franca communication: A case study at an international university in Hong Kong. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher, 25*(2), 305-314.

Suviniitty, J. (2012). *Lectures in English as a lingua franca: Interactional features* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/37615

Tannen, D., & Oztek, P. C. (1981). Health to our mouths: formulaic expressions in Turkish and Greek. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routine* (pp. 37-55). Netherlands: Mouton Publishers.

Takeshita, Y. (2010). East Asian Englishes: Japan and Korea. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 265-281). London, UK: Routledge.

Tannen, D., & Oztek, P. C. (1981). Health to our mouths: Formulaic expressions in Turkish and Greek. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routine* (pp. 37-55). Netherlands: Mouton Publishers.

The Asian Corpus of English (ACE). (2014). Director: Andy Kirkpatrick; Researchers: Wang Lixun, John Patkin, Sophiann Subhan. http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/

The Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA). (2008). Director: Anna Mauranen. http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/elfacorpus.

The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). (2013). (version 2.0 XML) Director: Barbara Seidlhofer; Researchers: Angelika Breiteneder, Theresa Klimpfinger, Stefan Majewski, Ruth Osimk-Teasdale, Marie-Luise Pitzl, Michael Radeka. http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/

Toby, J. (Ed.). (2001). *Oxford idioms dictionary for learners of English* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tsuchiya, K., & Handford, M. (2014). A corpus-driven analysis of repair in a professional ELF meeting: Not 'letting it pass'. *Journal of Pragmatics, 64*, 117-131.

Üstünbaş, Ü. (2014). *The use of formulaic language by English as a foreign language (EFL) learners in oral proficiency exams* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from http://repository.bilkent.edu.tr/handle/11693/15985

Vettorel, P. (2014). *English in wider networking. Blogging practices*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton the Gruyter.

Watterson, M. (2008). Repair of non-understanding in English in international communication. *World Englishes, 27*(3-4), 378-406.

Wood, D. (2002). Formulaic language in acquisition and production: Implications for teaching. *TESL Canada Journal, 20*(1), 1-15.

Wood, D. (2010). *Formulaic language and second language speech fluency: Background, evidence, and classroom applications*. London, UK: Continuum.

Wray, A. (2000). Formulaic sequences in second language teaching: principle and practice. *Applied Linguistics, 21*(4), 463-489.

Wray, A., & Perkins, M. R. (2000). The functions of formulaic language: An integrated model. *Language & Communication, 20*, 1-28.

Wray, A. (2002). *Formulaic language and the lexicon*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wray, A. (2008). *Formulaic language: Pushing the boundaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wray, A. (2012). What do we (think we) know about formulaic language? An evaluation of current state play. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 32*, 231-254.

Wright, S. (2007). English in the European Parliament: MEPs and their language repertoires. *Sociolinguistica, 21*, 151-165.

Yorio, C. A. (1980). Conventionalized language forms and the development of communicative competence. *TESOL Quarterly*, *14*(4), 433-442.

Yorio, C. A. (1989). Idiomaticity as an indicator of second language proficiency. In K. Hyltenstam, & L. Obler (Eds.), *Bilingualism across the life-span* (pp. 55-86). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Yuan, C. W., Setlock, L. D., Cosley, D., & Fussell, S. R. (2013). Understanding informal communication in multilingual contexts. *Proceedings of CSCW 2013* (pp. 909-921). New York, NY: ACM Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Formulaic Language Chart

Conversation: _____

Grammatical units	F	Fixed semantic units	F	Phrasal verbs	F	Speech formulas	F	Situation-bound utterances	F	Idioms	F

Appendix B: Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency	Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency
lots of/a lot of …	80	for example	43
as well	35	a (little) bit	32
some of (the) …	32	a lot of/lots of …	31
in terms of	28	as well	25
because of	23	all the	18
a (little) bit	22	(it) depends on …	16
all the	20	part of …	15
one of (the) …	17	so that	14
for example	17	one of (the)…	13
most of (the) …	13	a/the/that/this kind of …	12
so many/much	12	loss of	12
part of	12	so many/much	10
a/this/that/the same kind of …	12	point(s) of view	10
what kind(s) of …	12	something/somebody else	10
even if/though	12	(a/the) way of … / ways of …	10
this and that	11	at one/that/a certain time	9
(quite) a lot	10	in order to	9
find something (hard/amusing etc.)	9	because of	8
right now	9	first of all	8
rather than	8	get/have/receive feedback	8
(it) depends on	7	even if	8
a sign of …	6	at least	7
at least	6	be supposed to	7
compared to	6	be interested in	7
have (a lot of/free) time (to/for)	6	have access to	7
be supposed to	6	as … as possible	7
go to work/school/university	6	some sort of …	6
the question of …	6	at/till the end of …	6
(a/the/one) way of …	6	some of (the) …	6
(totally) different (from)	5	on time	6
in the future	5	do/give/have/prepare/make a	6
in a/this way	5	presentation	
most of the time	5	no/not … at all	5
all the/that time	5	be based on	5
provide assistance	5	in/at the beginning (of)	5
collect data	5	a lot	5
find/start a job	5	according to	5
nothing/anywhere/somebody else	5	very well	5
at the end (of)	5	type/types of …	4
based on	5	take care of	4
at first	5	most of the …	4
(the) number of …	5	in charge of	4
every year/day	4	to be good at …	4
a few of (the) …	4	learn languages /a language	4
so that	4	complain about	4
too many/much	4	in fact	4
have a degree	4	any more	4
according to	4	awareness raising	4
old fashioned	4	sort of	3
at that/the same time	4	such a	3
the first time	4	a number of …	3
in fact	4	many of …	3

a couple/ couples of	3	in general	3
in general	3	a group of …	3
have … experience	3	at first	3
have difficulty in	3	amount of …	3
lack of …	3	not at all	3
instead of	3	as soon as possible	3
type(s) of …	3	get information	3
in order to	3	far from	3
be interested in	3	in this case	3
take/have a (coffee) break	3	pay for	3
play the guitar/piano	3	have … experience	3
get/gain (some) experience	3	to give advice	3
speak (English) fluently	3	get a response	3
take care of	3	find/get a job	3
take (the) bus/train	3	have the choice to …	3
do sports	3	apart from	3
go home	3	the number of …	2
do internship	3	for instance	2
do military service	3	all of …	2
be exposed to	3	instead of	2
many/several times	3	as such	2
(It's) my/the first/second time	3	a little bit of …	2
the same as	3	more than	2
the idea of …	3	mass of …	2
a fear of …	3	more or less	2
in the south	3	the south of …	2
have choices	3	a lot more	2
first of all	2	depending (on)	2
a little/bit more	2	opposite of	2
rest of …	2	nobody/nothing else	2
batch of …	2	one and a half	2
all of …	2	right/left-wing	2
for instance	2	the way …	2
have opportunities	2	find a balance	2
have a problem with …	2	at the moment	2
for a short period of time	2	couldn't/cannot afford	2
as long as	2	to have confidence	2
for a long time	2	home-made	2
more and more	2	apart from that	2
except for	2	once again	2
have sex with	2	all the time	2
make a comment/statement	2	a long time ago	2
make a U-turn	2	save money	2
be in line with	2	take advantage of …	2
build/start a career	2	have time	2
tell someone the truth	2	be used to	2
take initiatives	2	make a summary	2
in the first place	2	for free	2
get married	2	go for a drink	2
learn from each other/one another	2	provide access to …	2
shape/embrace one's identity	2	have/make suggestions	2
more/less than that/before	2	be proud of	2
by myself/yourself	2	goal-oriented	2
related/in relation to	2	at the same time	2
other than	2	to be the case	2
at the age of …	2	step by step	2
(not) very well	2	on top of (that)	2
no … at all	2	spend money on	2
the way …	2	glass of …	1

launch a project	2	a set of …	1
center around/on	2	a team of …	1
sing a song	2	aside from that	1
take courses/classes	2	for the first time	1
go straight	2	quite a long period	1
turn right	2	both of …	1
graduate from	2	on purpose	1
be familiar with	2	in terms of	1
expose someone to	2	such as	1
a combination of …	2	much of a …	1
one to one	2	all of a sudden	1
job/work experience	2	in comparison to	1
happily ever after	2	pay attention to	1
at the/this moment	2	on the one hand	1
back then	2	connected with	1
be used to	2	from the point of view of someone	1
a sense of …	2	a little	1
get in the way	1	a need for	1
not that much	1	get money from	1
face a problem	1	give birth	1
take actions	1	invest time	1
adopt children	1	have struggles	1
adopt a religion	1	make changes	1
put emphasis on …	1	in the presence of …	1
in favour of …	1	in a sense	1
all the way	1	have a positive attitude towards	1
embody principles	1	on the contrary	1
at a young age	1	stress the importance of	1
in the morning	1	in favor of	1
get something to work	1	have discussions	1
can't help laughing	1	go shopping	1
complain to someone about …	1	make a contribution	1
improve (English) skills	1	ask a question	1
the old way	1	go for holiday	1
hold a position	1	well-prepared	1
gain insights	1	at a certain point	1
something going on	1	have an impression	1
nothing special	1	get in contact with	1
take a look at	1	have contact with	1
pass the exam	1	brand new	1
give your opinion	1	going in the right direction	1
be proud of	1	wherever you go	1
for fun	1	have no alternative	1
similar to	1	get opinions	1
afraid of	1	have an opinion	1
get something wrong	1	on foot	1
go overseas	1	work in a (different) way	1
live abroad	1	have a good command of …	1
wash one's face	1	on a day-to-day basis	1
take a shower	1	on a certain level	1
spend (too much) time	1	make sense	1
take a picture	1	make a point	1
start a life	1	pretty much	1
take attendance	1	except for	1
take advantage of	1	never in my life	1
attend a meeting	1	the other way round	1
graduate from	1	make a move	1
give support to	1	be in a hurry	1
be aware of	1	exactly the same	1

cost money	1	the same stuff	1
be happy with	1	small talk	1
share experiences	1	to some degree	1
do well	1	have a rest	1
refresh the memory	1	have knowledge	1
pose a question	1	rather than	1
benefit from	1	for sure	1
advocate for your rights	1	none of …	1
raise the question	1	as a matter of fact	1
the other side	1	all over EU	1
be supportive of	1	from all over (Europe)	1
show gratitude	1	all over the world	1
serve the purpose of …	1	after all	1
be attracted to	1	more than ever	1
give some recommendation	1	more and more	1
go to the seaside	1	come true	1
correct mistakes	1	in the case of …	1
be in a rush	1	a way to …	1
be good at something	1	half of the ...	1
do a PhD/masters	1	a couple of	1
do (my) own thing	1	quite a	1
earn money	1	an awful lot of	1
in the first place	1	too much	1
get it	1	what kind of …	1
overcome fear	1	much less than	1
have a (good) reputation	1	a bottle of …	1
have a passion	1	bar of (soap)	1
have trust issues	1	source of …	1
have high hopes	1	lack of …	1
have a masters	1	tool for communication	1
have a desire to	1	mix of …	1
have an idea	1	in case	1
make a list	1	as long as	1
waste of time	1	as if	1
over time	1	going to bed	1
have limitations	1	for a while	1
by the way	1	for a lot of reasons	1
later on	1	each and every	1
no more than	1	like that	1
take time to	1	right here	1
to the best of …	1	for a whole year	1
at different levels	1	aspects of	1
concerned about	1	in anyway	1
as much ... as possible	1	put responsibility on	1
up to now	1	with respect to	1
in front of the …	1	this and that	1
up to	1	something like ….	1
for long	1	the idea of	1
try hard	1	everybody else	1
so called	1	back home	1
on time	1	something called	1
towards the end of…	1	know-how	1
no time to	1	have an open mind	1
all my life	1	first impression	1
have plans	1	have the pleasure to	1
have nothing to do	1	some other	1
have expertise in …	1	to do all right	1
have a framework	1	play the piano	1
make a decision	1	have a shower	1

make a presentation	1	immediately after	1
make changes	1	take a step	1
be involved in	1	on the map	1
pay attention to	1	turn left	1
get access to	1	go around the corner	1
work overtime	1	a matter of fact	1
at the beginning	1	get lost	1
no longer	1	have an idea	1
in other words	1	give birth	1
due to	1	on the north	1
both of …	1	by yourself	1
once upon a time	1	go and have a look	1
a number of	1	new year's eve	1
a little bit of	1	over there	1
the other way round	1	independent of	1
a need for	1	open-minded	1
just a little	1	have problems	1
many of …	1	cost nothing	1
amount of …	1	somewhere here	1
a bowl of …	1	take the underground	1
a drop of …	1	have more to say	1
stack of …	1	have university degrees	1
kinds of …	1	in the middle of …	1
more of a …	1	get a certificate	1
pretty much	1	go abroad	1
something (funny)	1	in the future	1
have a hard time	1	give examples	1
aspects of	1	mark (that) distinction	1
have practice	1	two sides of the story	1
have the possibility to …	1	find something (good)	1
not any more	1	have ... to do with	1
such as	1	get to know	1
apart from that	1		
again and again	1		
for the first time	1		
all over the world	1		
on your right	1		
financially stable	1		
perfect for me	1		
the down side	1		
well educated	1		
do some business	1		
dream about	1		
difference between .. and …	1		
in this case	1		
Deviations from conventional forms			
give comment on	3	put in disadvantage	2
ankle wetting	3	the way how we	1
as compared to	3	have a success	1
have the rights to	2	in the front of the chair	1
speak fluent	2	learn language	1
undergo a program	2	at the middle of (january)	1
perform/do demonstration	2	on the start	1
give … impression	2	depends from	1
make use something	2	point of views	1
go to shopping	1	make mistake	1
ankle water feet swimming	1	do researches	1
in a regular basis	1	turn to the right	1
be interested to know	1	apart that	1

duck walking	1	in the consequence	1
free of speech	1		
a lots of	1		
meet problems	1		
a signs of	1		
out of my curiosity	1		
in a form of a …	1		
get contact with	1		
have a permission	1		
have idea	1		
to a huge extent	1		
at the same times	1		
for short period of time	1		
in generally	1		
have conversation	1		
give birth four children	1		
get credit	1		
a varieties of	1		
get opportunity to …	1		
raise question	1		
have opportunity to …	1		
ask permission from	1		
give effort to …	1		
i am envy of you	1		
follow one's passion	1		
not that older	1		
		TOTAL	
313	934	274	766

Appendix C: Phrasal Verbs in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Phrasal verbs	Frequency	Phrasal verbs	Frequency
pick up	19	come from	16
come from	15	think of	11
deal with	12	write down	11
think of	10	go on	6
go back to	7	look for	5
come back	6	sign in	5
come out	5	put down	5
come up with	5	come up	4
go through	5	fill out	4
find out	5	fill in	4
get in	4	come back	4
come over	4	go back	4
go out	3	give up	3
look for	3	go into	3
bring up	3	get up	2
figure out	3	deal with	2
take up	3	go through	2
keep on	3	go with	2
grow up	3	stand by	2
go on	2	head towards	2
look into	2	made of	2
look down on	2	find out	2
go for	2	stick to	2
go into	2	look forward to	2
pass away	2	go out	2
reach out to	2	hear from	2
stick to	2	leave out	2
get to	2	get into	2
stand for	2	go for	1
switch off	2	go ahead	1
come together	2	come back to	1
take over	2	get by	1
get away	1	come in	1
get over with	1	ask for	1
go along	1	carry out	1
go out of	1	made out of	1
go beyond	1	check out	1
look at	1	come over	1
look out	1	sign out	1
go down	1	send in	1
go up	1	send out	1
think back	1	bring back	1
lead to	1	bring together	1
bring out	1	bring up	1
catch up with	1	bring in	1
carry on	1	break down into	1
close down	1	back up	1
clean up	1	get across	1
end up	1	hurry up	1
come out of	1	walk away	1
get into	1	settle down	1
hear from	1	take up	1
plan on	1	come up with	1

get across	1	come out	1
get out of	1	go down	1
hang out with	1	go together	1
mix up	1	look at	1
move around	1	split out	1
set out	1	take away	1
sit down	1	feed in	1
scale down	1	hand in	1
touch on	1	split up	1
turn over	1	catch up	1
turn on	1		
wake up	1		
come across	1		
send back	1		
come to	1		
come at	1		
go off to	1		
Deviations from conventional forms			
go beyond of	1	show up	1
stick on to	1		
look up on	1		
TOTAL			
73	185	64	149

Appendix D: Speech Formulas in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Speech formulas	Frequency	Speech formulas	Frequency
you know	196	I think …	186
I think	130	you know	155
like	86	I mean	121
maybe	81	like	120
right	68	maybe	69
and then	62	of course	52
well	42	thank you (so/very much)/thanks (a lot)	48
thank you (very much)/thanks	42	and then	48
I mean	38	it's like	40
I see	38	well	33
that's why	29	exactly	23
How/what about …?	23	all right	21
(it's/that's) all right	21	sorry/ oh sorry / I'm sorry	20
(oh) really	21	I don't know	20
(things/something/stuff) like that	20	kind of	20
sorry/ I'm sorry	19	(that's) (very)nice/good/great	20
of course	19	I guess/suppose/assume	19
(that's/oh) good/great/nice	15	(or) something/anything/things /stuff like that	19
I don't know	15	I/we would like to …	17
sort of	13	right	15
(oh) my god	11	I see	14
It's like	11	or/and something/anything/ everything	13
say /let's say	10	so	13
kind of	8	sort of	11
I feel (like)	8	that/this's why	11
Let's …	7	Do you think …?	10
or something/anything	7	really	10
I'd rather/I prefer	7	I'm (not) sure / not sure /I'm not quite sure	10
What else?	6	it doesn't (really) matter	10
I guess /I suppose	6	it's (not) just	10
anyway	6	whatever	9
I'm (not) sure	6	I know	9
that's it	6	(oh) (my) god/gosh	9
(it's) true	6	I'm/I/you/I'll/we'll just …	9
I'd like to	6	I don't think …	8
(I) don't care	6	I/she/it was like	8
perhaps	5	i agree (with you/that)	8
that's all	5	let's say	7
I/you understand	5	I hope (that)	7
I think so /I guess so	4	Shall we/I…	7
you mean	4	it/that's true	7
I/we hope (to/that …)	4	What/how about …?	7
actually	4	that's/it's right	7
I thought …	4	no problem	6
I'm/He's/ We're like …	4	sure	6
sure	4	you see	6
How come …?	4	it/that's fine	6
I say / I must say / I said …	4	the (other/only/good) thing is that...	6
you know what	4	I/we don't know whether/why/if/	6
How to say / how can I say …?	4		
the thing is …	4		
me too	4		
when it comes to…	3		

It's weird/amazing/unfair	3	what …	
why not?	3	actually	5
We'll see	3	and so on	5
from what I know/understand	3	(It) depends	5
(it) depends	3	Yes, please	5
How do you know …?	3	not really	5
I (strongly) believe (that) …	3	don't worry (about the …)	5
Do you think …?	3	I would rather …	5
Why don't you/we… ?	3	that's it	5
like I/you/someone said	3	please	4
that's/oh right	3	I think so	4
I know	3	Let's …	4
not really	3	you're right	4
It's just that	3	perfect	4
I/I'm just …	3	that's okay/it's okay	4
and so on	3	Jesus	4
Shall we …?	3	as you/we said before	4
please	3	when it comes to …	4
it's like that	2	It's up to you/them	4
just like that/when	2	(I/he/they) said/told me that	4
it's good that/to …	2	What's that/it?	4
that's/it's fine	2	I don't understand/see (why)	4
pardon	2	pardon	4
I don't think …	2	perhaps	4
it's not like	2	you mean	4
it's just	2	that's interesting	4
so	2	the problem is (that) …	4
I wish /if only	2	how to say / How can I say …?/	4
I don't know why/whether …	2	How do you say …?	
I like to know/show you	2	I've (not) been to …	3
doesn't matter	2	what I meant was/mean is that	3
imagine that/suppose…	2	How old/tall is …?	3
what if ..	2	that's because	3
I agree that …	2	wait	3
honestly/to be honest	2	Why not …?	3
I haven't been there yet/I have never been to …	2	Can I ask you one question/ something?	3
what I might/we could do is …	2	that's something	2
other than that	2	something like	2
What's the name of …?	2	What do you mean?	2
What is it/that?	2	I'm sorry but	2
What's the point?	2	Do you want (me) to…?	2
I'd like to know	1	that's the/a point	2
I like to …	1	so to say	2
I wish to …	1	If I may say so	2
I appreciate that	1	it's hard to say	2
Let me…	1	It would be/was (very) interesting to…	2
kinds of	1		
whatever	1	definitely	2
Would you like to …?	1	What's the name for/of …?	2
alright then	1	Have you ever been …?	2
I was about to …	1	like somebody said	2
What do you think?	1	what I want to say is /I have to say …	2
in my opinion	1		
no problem	1	it's not so bad	2
just like	1	It's good that …	2
it's not that	1	I (just) thought	2
they'd love to	1	that's a good idea	2
I just want to ask you…	1	say	2

I felt that	1	what i think is …	2
I heard (recently) that …	1	anyway	2
absolutely	1	I propose/suggest that …	2
Have you been to …?	1	What I'd propose/suggest to do is that …	2
and all that	1		
something like …	1	Are you sure	2
my concern is…	1	just one/a question	2
I know what you're talking about	1	it's nice/better to …	2
the problem is …	1	some kind of	2
What does it mean?	1	not necessarily	1
that's a good idea	1	Why should I …?	1
it is essential to	1	don't misunderstand me	1
what I'd say is that	1	… is a valuable point	1
what i mean is ..	1	May I tell you …	1
if you know what I mean	1	I understand that …	1
generally speaking	1	the comment that I'd like to make is that …	1
it's ok for (us)	1		
never mind	1	I believe that…	1
it's about	1	my question is…	1
forget it	1	the point is…	1
that's the way …	1	If I understand that correctly	1
because of that	1	it looks like	1
up to you	1	say again	1
crazy	1	I don't care	1
come on	1	It turns out that…	1
oh no	1	I can say that	1
another thing I'd suggest is …	1	you're like	1
all you need to do is …	1	sort of like	1
that's the thing	1	kind of like	1
what makes it special is that …	1	Is it like …?	1
the ironic thing is that …	1	it's not like	1
kind of thing	1	not good	1
How long does it take…?	1	probably	1
It's said that	1	we're free to …	1
Why didn't you tell me?	1	it's nothing really	1
to me	1	exactly the same	1
sad to say	1	i don't completely agree with …	1
yes please	1	just a moment	1
		i didn't completely get that	1
		it says …	1
		What can I do about it?	1
		if you're interested	1
		Can you tell me where …?	1
		i remember that	1
		he kept telling	1
		Why don't we...?	1
		Would you mind …?	1
		Do you think so?	1
		Would you like to …?	1
		let me …	1
		let me see	1
		cool	1
		It was meant to be …	1
		correct	1
		it's your choice	1
		Do you agree?	1
		I mean it	1
		Do you know …?	1
		Could you please …?	1

		Do you mean …?	1
		We're not aware that …	1
		I'd like to know	1
		that's all	1
		we'll see	1
		not at all	1
		I appreciate it	1
		we say	1
		I didn't hear that	1
		it'd be a good idea to …	1
		Is it clear?	1
		it's important to	1
		am I right	1
		not just that	1
		that's clear	1
		if you like	1
		Where is … from?	1
		works in different ways	1
		we call it …	1
		What does it mean?	1
		What time?	1
		it means that …	1
		that's probably not …	1
		What do you mean?	1
		that's the reason …	1
		I heard that …	1
		I know what you mean	1
		Could we say that …	1
		I would say	1
		it must be good	1
		What else …?	1
		I've already done that	1
		no way	1
		thank god	1
		it would be useful to know	1
		I prefer…	1
		imagine	1
		I'm pretty sure that	1
		that's too bad	1
		it doesn't make sense	1
Deviations from conventional forms			
it's mean	2	it's very interesting point	1
I'm not too sure	2	basically speaking	1
What you mean ?	1	I don't know what are you thinking	1
it doesn't means that …	1	but …	
it'd be interested for .. to look at ..	1	it's no point in …	1
It's seem that	1	somehow or another	1
do you prefer … than …	1	that's good that …	1
she feel like	1	I just was trying to	1
		thanks you	1
TOTAL			
156	1330	208	1606

Appendix E: Situation-Bound Utterances in Academic ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Situation-bound utterances	Frequency	Situation-bound utterances	Frequency
It's sad	3	Hello/hi!	15
How/what about you?	2	Come on	7
There you go	2	Say no more	6
What's wrong?	1	You're welcome	4
if you don't mind	1	Good morning (everyone)	3
Thanks for the time	1	We are happy/glad to be here	3
Hello!	1	What's the name/surname?	3
Let's move on!	1	Sorry to interrupt but/sorry but	2
Please give me advice!	1	Bye-bye!	2
Who'd like to answer that?	1	That's sad but true	1
Let's listen to …	1	That's life	1
Is it a suggestion?	1	Good luck!	1
One more question	1	all over again	1
Well done!	1	Do you need some?	1
How about that?	1	like I know	1
Let me rephrase the question!	1	Can I help you?	1
Just a couple of minutes	1	Good for you	1
It's just about time for lunch	1	Take your time	1
Enjoy your lunch!	1	That's what I told you	1
Please be seated!	1	Ladies and gentlemen!	1
Anybody who'd like to ask something?	1	Do you want some?	1
		Welcome to (the meeting)	1
Thank you very much to Mr. …	1	How are you?	1
Thank you for your question	1	May I start with you?	1
Let's give them a warm round of applause	1	It's nice to be here	1
		Can you tell me your name?	1
I get you	1	You're the best!	1
I'm late, sorry!	1	And your name?	1
Take it easy	1	Is that a problem?	1
		That's the problem	1
		Can I have your name again?	1
		Can you please fill in the …?	1
		I didn't mean it	1
		It's happening already	1
		I'll be back	1
		Excuse me!	1
		Could you repeat it?	1
Deviations from conventional forms			
Congratulation!	1	I would kindly give the word to somebody else	1
		Maybe i see you again	1
		It's totally different thing	1
TOTAL			
28	32	40	76

Appendix F: Fixed and Semi-Fixed Semantic Units in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency	Fixed and semi-fixed semantic units	Frequency
a lot of / lots of	61	as well	58
do/take/have/give/pass a test	29	a lot of (the) /lots of	39
this/any/the/that/a/the same/some kind of …	23	a (little) bit	32
		one of (the/them/their) …	20
(quite) a lot	21	(quite) a lot	18
because of	17	in the evening/morning/afternoon	16
most of (the)	13	look like …	16
have a baby	13	all the …	15
one of my/them/the/her/his …	13	at/in the beginning/end (of)	14
at home	12	at least	13
take care of	12	over there/here	13
no/not … at all	12	for example	13
at the/that/the same time	12	(way/a bit) too much /that much	11
a (little) bit	12	because of	11
full/part-time	11	be supposed to	10
the first/second/third/last time	10	(much) more/less than	10
too much/many	10	in fact	10
get/have a (bachelor's/master's) degree	10	so many/much	9
		a lot/much/a bit/one more	9
for example	10	a (little) bit of …	8
per hour/week /month	9	put something in the oven/ microwave	8
do/take a course	9		
every day/morning	8	not anymore	8
as well	8	not/nothing … at all	8
all of (the)	7	very/really well	7
so much	7	at home	7
once/twice/three times a week/month	7	get/be used to	7
day off	7	by the way	7
in the morning/afternoon/evening /weekend	7	some of the/them	7
		next/this/any time	7
go to/finish school	7	(the/this/some/the same) kind of	7
do/give homework	7	all the time	6
in fact	6	anything/everything/something/ nothing else	6
(not) good enough	6		
(totally) different (from)	6	something different/tacky/…	6
(it) depends on …	6	all of (them)	6
pay for	6	by bus/train/ferry	6
save/earn/spend/make money	6	go straight (ahead)	5
do/take/find/apply for a job	6	out of	5
work permit	5	far from/away/away from	5
distance program	5	take the bus	5
more/less than	5	pass/do/take an exam	5
one/two and a half	5	in the middle of	5
go to/into university	5	a/the/this/some sort of …	5
that old/hard/well/much	5	such a	5
have (free) time	5	even though/if	5
waste/find/save/take time	5	have problems/ a problem	4
for a long/short time	5	have a good sense of direction	4
even though	5	participate in/do a project	4
(a) part of	4	different from/than	4
both of (the)	4	be allowed to	4
some of (the)	4	in a way	4

in order to	4	be stressed out/worried/confused/	4
in one time	4	surprised	
be/get used to	4	get married (to)	4
spend time (on)	4	half an hour	4
collect/analyze data	4	last night	4
work as/for	4	every day/year	4
come/get/walk back home	4	right now	4
receive/borrow/get (some) money	4	rather than	4
from		(in) the south/north of …	4
no need to	4	most of the/them	4
after/before that	4	a few (of)	4
(for) as long as	4	next to	4
by myself/yourself	4	for some/a long time	4
get married	4	the first time	4
have/get experience	4	half of (the)	4
(just) a bit	3	put/raise one's hand up	4
all the time	3	go/get/come home	4
a little of …	3	take a photograph/some pictures	4
bits of …	3	the same (….) as	4
in terms of	3	at the same time	3
this/the type of …	3	quite a	3
at the moment	3	buy/get a ticket	3
much better (than)	3	have (free) time	3
write/make a proposal	3	what/which kind of …?	3
be interested in	3	(this) part of	3
make sure	3	(a) couple of	3
be good at	3	do well	3
on time	3	in general	3
lock/close the door	3	win a prize	3
look up in the dictionary	3	surf the internet	3
be made of	3	in a funny/different/the same way	3
after lunch (hour)	3	on the way (back)	3
find something difficult	3	overlap with	3
do research	3	take (too) long/ … hours	3
at/in the end/beginning of	3	wait for	3
control myself/yourself	2	better than	3
something new	2	be/get in a bad mood	3
very well	2	be in a hurry	3
everyone else	2	go to university/school	3
a good/nice way of …	2	vote for	3
same as someone	2	take care of	3
on the/their way to …	2	be in charge of	3
at night	2	exactly the same	3
be under pressure	2	all over the city/EU/Barcelona	3
develop a cyst	2	down/over the hill	3
let someone go	2	somewhere here/close	3
half of (the)	2	three and a half	3
(a) set of	2	more or less	3
right now	2	have a debate	3
worry about	2	loads of	3
free time	2	apart from	3
one hour and a half	2	go and see/show	3
get into university/college	2	all (the) day/afternoon	3
run/start a project	2	types/a certain type of	2
get a (low) grade/score	2	in order to	2
have an exam	2	for sure	2
graduate from	2	pretty much	2
instead of	2	all sorts of	2
as if	2	not have (much) time (for)	2

work hard	2	have a surprise for …	2
hard work	2	make a cake	2
have relationships	2	have a good memory	2
have problems	2	somewhere else	2
make friends	2	somebody/anybody else	2
make sense (of)	2	a couple of/several times	2
go upstairs	2	rent a car/an apartment	2
get mileage (from)	2	go sailing/fishing	2
take the cab/bus	2	make noise	2
far away (from)	2	adopt children	2
attend the workshop/class	2	win the votes	2
at least	2	fish and chips	2
amount of	2	one-way	2
a little	2	sing a song	2
for a while	2	divide into/ split in groups	2
ground floor	2	put on the seat belt	2
have a meeting	1	on the left (side)	2
set tasks	1	by yourself/ourselves	2
on sabbatical leave	1	on my/his own	2
break one's leg	1	at one point	2
no chance for someone to …	1	go upstairs/downstairs	2
go to work	1	get up and down the stairs	2
be out of money	1	upside down	2
be afraid of	1	completely different	2
hard working	1	go to bed	2
be supposed to	1	be interested in	2
pay attention to	1	after lunch	2
give birth to	1	express myself/yourself	2
take part in …	1	respect/protect one's privacy	2
be okay with	1	write an e-mail	2
be based on	1	extend one's permit	2
be allowed to	1	have something to do with …	2
be satisfied with	1	concentrate on	2
be fond of	1	per week/day	2
be in the mood to	1	make a decision	2
be about to	1	go wrong	2
get inspiration from	1	search for	2
have a license	1	write a book	2
have a race	1	just right	2
have a plan	1	find something boring/ interesting	2
have a vacation	1	for free	2
have dinner with	1	in a row	2
keep in touch	1	listen to (… on) the radio	2
make improvements	1	do the washing	2
have a discussion	1	(just) a little	2
make use of	1	lots and lots (of)	2
get something wrong	1	… side of	2
get confused	1	plenty of	2
do shopping	1	none of …	2
do well	1	a glass of	2
do business	1	a list of	2
do good	1	compared to	2
ask someone for help	1	at times	2
differentiate between	1	similar to	2
feel better	1	millions/hundreds of	2
can't afford	1	get rid of	1
pay a visit to …	1	one time	1
spend too much	1	the (whole) idea of	1
stay late	1	do some shopping	1

miss the bus	1	go to the supermarket	1
get hungry	1	on the wrong side	1
go travelling	1	so-and-so	1
take long	1	other than	1
be on board	1	get citizenship	1
build one's life	1	to date	1
write a letter	1	under construction	1
experience difficulty	1	well-known	1
gain weight	1	receive an e-mail from ...	1
high blood pressure	1	make mistakes	1
in a different way	1	make luggage	1
in front of	1	in some respect	1
in the future	1	take class	1
fight a war	1	once again	1
soon after	1	all-inclusive	1
well organized	1	follow the instructions	1
batch of	1	as part of …	1
chops of …	1	in front of the …	1
a group of	1	learn a language	1
just a few	1	the other day	1
a few of	1	go on a vacation	1
a pinch of …	1	suffer from	1
a dash of …	1	refrain from	1
a teaspoon of …	1	go out for dinner	1
in order that	1	be good for	1
according to	1	in a good way	1
as usual	1	a good way to …	1
apart from	1	go on picnics	1
most of the time	1	open the door	1
in a way	1	in the center	1
at once	1	meet people	1
What kind of …?	1	come over for dinner	1
all kinds of …	1	smoke cigarettes	1
take a long time	1	well-done	1
different types of	1	be famous for	1
from time to time	1	the rest of	1
a period of time	1	a set of	1
at all times	1	a pile of	1
long time ago	1	a piece of	1
many times	1	cups of	1
spend time and money doing …	1	any of …	1
two times a month	1	a maximum of …	1
many of …	1	a sufficient quantity of …	1
nothing at all	1	half a …	1
better than before	1	except for	1
study abroad	1	so that	1
end of the	1	in terms of	1
send an abstract	1	at first	1
follow the book	1	according to	1
do presentations	1	if only	1
do exercises	1	as soon as	1
leave it up to someone	1	as well as	1
promote someone to another position	1	thanks to	1
show someone around	1	in short	1
set an example	1	as long as	1
buy a new one	1	weep blood	1
receive the call	1	take a sample of …	1
train hard	1	do a promotion	1
watch a film	1	one the … level	1

feel dizzy	1	semi-final	1
learn from one's mistakes	1	work for	1
next to	1	perfectly fine	1
all over the world	1	a good experience	1
exactly the same	1	law and order	1
over there	1	compete with	1
as many as she can	1	be accustomed to	1
so hard	1	cooperate with	1
too young to …	1	go sideways	1
step by step	1	pay your rent	1
a face-to-face conversation	1	communicate with	1
grown up	1	prolong one's visa	1
son in law	1	at some point	1
on top of it	1	for some reason	1
next to	1	in a week's time	1
in a row	1	at that time	1
one by one	1	in comparison to	1
as soon as possible	1	just a tiny bit	1
similar to	1	do penance	1
so that	1	do your part	1
rather than	1	get drunk	1
as soon as possible	1	renew one's passport	1
for sure	1	after party	1
		so few	1
		so far	1
		spend the whole day	1
		by the sea	1
		around the edges	1
		nothing but	1
		have a walk	1
		for over a year	1
		for the second time	1
		make sense	1
		take a deep breath	1
		follow the tradition	1
		do an interview	1
		as ... as I can	1
		busy with	1
		have quizzes	1
		off the road	1
		feel sick	1
		open the windows	1
		the conflicts between	1
		refuse one's identity	1
		in the … sense	1
		on the top	1
		wash one's hands	1
		be full of	1
		be accompanied by	1
		be made of …	1
		be influenced by	1
		more and more	1
		a little too …	1
		more like a	1
		many of the …	1
		be married to	1
		be in love with	1
		be prepared to	1
		get mad	1

	get cold	1
	get in a fight with someone	1
	get fresh air	1
	get your PhD	1
	do research	1
	for now	1
	for the rest of your life	1
	all my life	1
	all year long	1
	in the central part of …	1
	for the last …years	1
	start university	1
	each and every	1
	every single	1
	so-called	1
	all of a sudden	1
	most of the time	1
	have a weekend	1
	have a choice between …	1
	have secrets	1
	have an election	1
	have a wedding	1
	have access to …	1
	have a night out	1
	have the opportunity to …	1
	have a beautiful view	1
	have a degree	1
	have competitions	1
	have a coffee	1
	have conversations	1
	have a lot of fun	1
	have an appointment	1
	have dinner	1
	make the distinction	1
	get an idea of	1
	give someone a discount	1
	time span	1
	wave flags	1
	swim in the sea	1
	full-time	1
	point of view	1
	all together	1
	put someone under pressure	1
	build a house	1
	hold your breath	1
	make sure	1
	the right thing to do	1
	a safe choice	1
	die of …	1
	not yet	1
	be late	1
	drink too much	1
	get a job	1
	two days a week	1
	hand made	1
	release an album	1
Deviations from conventional forms		

say lie	2	lot of	3
by our/your own	2	make a project	2
it's depends on …	2	of my/your own	2
use of the time	2	different to	2
get into the university	2	find something injust	1
go to swim	2	up to dates	1
find job	1	rise one's hand	1
earn the money	1	on the long term	1
be interested to	1	take rest	1
have something for your lunch	1	jump from the window	1
keep contact	1	little bit	1
study my PhD	1	for certain time	1
lose the contact	1	do hunting	1
have the freedom	1	it depends something	1
have the difficulty	1	do laundry	1
make appointment with …	1	drink a beer	1
get a conversation	1	serve for … purposes	1
get annoyance	1	hold an activity	1
do mistake	1	turn to the left	1
go to gym	1	have a problems	1
lose my body weight	1	have quiz	1
ask their permission	1	have a good fun	1
lot and lot of	1	have a time to …	1
enter the university	1		
		TOTAL	
270	839	363	1019

Appendix G: Phrasal Verbs in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Phrasal verbs	Frequency	Phrasal verbs	Frequency
deal with	16	go out	14
go back	11	come from	12
go back to	11	think of	5
work on	10	get out	5
ask for	9	get to	4
come back	7	go through	4
come from	4	fill in	4
look up	3	take out	4
send in	3	take over	4
cope with	3	come back	4
get back to	2	pass away	4
get into	2	wake up	3
wake up	2	go back	3
break up	2	go on	3
get out	2	pick up	3
pick up	2	look for	3
think of	2	look up	2
fill up	2	look forward to	2
move around	1	look back	2
move out	1	fill up	2
look at	1	find out	2
look for	1	fold up	2
look after	1	put on	2
look into	1	go away	2
listen in	1	go around	2
lie down	1	come along	2
break in	1	write down	2
hang out	1	come out	2
hang around	1	come out of	2
head to	1	switch off	2
fall down	1	sit down	2
find out	1	ask for	1
pay off	1	take off	1
call back	1	take up	1
grow up	1	turn on	1
give up	1	turn in	1
come out	1	turn over	1
come in	1	turn around	1
come over	1	chop up	1
go out	1	clean up	1
get out of	1	cut out	1
get off	1	look around	1
breathe in	1	come in	1
breathe out	1	get into	1
go down	1	get out of	1
get up	1	look through	1
get along	1	fill out	1
sleep in	1	deal with	1
stand up	1	put aside	1
stick with	1	bring up	1
tie up	1	cool down	1
take back	1	give in to	1
turn off	1	hear of	1

get back	1	hurry up	1
		long for	1
		head towards	1
		lead to	1
		pay back	1
		print out	1
		stay over	1
		switch on	1
		make up	1
		miss out	1
		open up	1
		try out	1
		work out	1
		work at	1
		come together	1
		go for	1
		come across	1
		come over	1
		come around	1
		go down	1
		go ahead	1
Deviations from conventional forms			
move out from	1	come out from	1
		mix up with	1
		look forward	1
TOTAL			
55	130	77	155

Appendix H: Speech Formulas in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Speech formulas	Frequency	Speech formulas	Frequency
you know	244	you know	151
right	170	I think	149
and then	106	like	130
I think	92	well	110
like	85	and then	86
like this/that	77	I mean/meant	83
maybe	58	maybe	64
that's why	55	thank you (very/so much) / thanks	53
I mean/meant	44	(a lot)	
I see	43	(oh) really	43
it's/that's okay	33	I don't know	36
(it's/that's) (so/very/still/quite/not)	31	that/it/he is/was (just/more) like	35
good/nice/great		(it's) alright	33
thank you (very/so much) /thanks	27	exactly	28
(for…)		right	28
(oh) really	26	(that's/it's) great	27
of course	25	of course	26
well	25	actually	25
you see	25	that's /it's (absolutely) true	24
(oh) my god/goodness	24	I know	23
I/he said	23	(oh) (my) god/gosh/goodness	21
you know like	22	(that's/it's)(quite/really) cool/ good/	21
it's (just/not)/ that's like	21	nice (to/that…)	
How/what about …?	19	or/and something/anything/	21
no problem (at all)	17	everything	
I don't know	16	(I'm) sorry (but…)	21
(I'm) (so)sorry	16	I (just/always/never) thought …	19
(it's) alright	14	sort of	18
I know	13	that's why	18
actually	12	shall I/we …	17
why not?	12	anyway	17
I'm/I'll/I just	11	I guess	16
you mean	10	it's not like	16
exactly	10	it's (not) just	14
I hope (so/that)	10	I see	14
I'm (not) sure	10	let's	13
it/that/this means (that)	10	(and/or) something/stuff/things like	13
(or) something/anything like that	10	that	
or/and something/everything	10	I don't know if/whether/why…	12
I/they/she/he 'd like to …	9	I'm (not) sure (if ...)	12
that's the reason why …	8	it/that/this is okay	11
Why don't you …?	7	and stuff	10
I (don't) think so	6	no problem	9
sure	6	I don't think (that) …	8
that's /it's /this is right	6	sure	8
how to say	6	I was like	8
I thought	5	How much is/was …?	7
I don't think	5	come on	7
the thing is that ..	5	pardon	7
… is too much	5	I'm (so) glad (that) …	7
I don't know whether/if/why…	5	you see	7
that's it	4	that's it	6
it's about …	4	the thing is (that) …	6

not really	4	if you wish/like/want	6
I hate that	4	I can imagine	6
anyway	4	please	6
kind of	4	kind of	6
please	4	I hope (so/to)	6
it's just (that)	4	that's/it's fine	5
What time …?	4	What do you think (of/about ..)?	5
not (really) sure	3	Do you want to/wanna …?	5
How do you find … (so far)?	3	Do/don't you think (so/that...)?	5
Am I correct/right?	3	and so on	5
I/they don't mind	3	you mean	5
I don't care	3	you know what	5
that's (not) the way	3	thank god/goodness	4
come again	3	I don't think so	4
it's / that's funny	3	that's the (only) reason (why) …	4
(okay/or) whatever	3	Why don't we/you …?	4
it doesn't mean that	3	(it) doesn't matter (to me)	4
I don't know how to …	3	the problem is …	4
I/they/we love to …	3	you think	4
she's/he's/they're like	3	or what	4
I wish	2	it's called	3
Do you think/believe …?	2	mind you	3
this/that is just	2	I prefer to …	3
it's nice to …	2	thank you/thanks for …	3
perhaps	2	I think so	3
just like	2	(or) whatever	3
let's see	2	just like (that)	3
I'm afraid (that)	2	I don't feel like …	3
the problem is (that) …	2	it seems to be (that) …	3
that's the problem	2	What's this/it?	3
it depends	2	How long …?	3
I/you feel	2	I have/need to tell you/say	3
you know why/what	2	How old …?	3
Why should I …?	2	I don't mind	3
How do you say (…/that in ...)?	2	it's better to/it'd be good to …	3
Would you like to …?	2	don't worry	3
What does that/it mean?	2	that's right	3
What's wrong/the problem with..?	2	How do you say …?/ How to say..?	3
I'd rather …	2	I guess so	2
I (don't) feel like	2	I'm/'ll just	2
unfortunately	2	and all	2
when it comes to …	2	they were like	2
it's better if …	2	You know what …?	2
I've been to	2	We're okay/fine	2
it's (just) so funny	2	let me see	2
the fact that	2	let's say	2
believe it	2	I can't believe …/it	2
I (have) heard	2	that was it/all	2
it's because	2	some (people) say that …	2
be ready to	2	I'd like to …	2
I prefer to …	1	never mind	2
… 'd love it	1	not really	2
I like to …	1	wait a second/minute	2
They'd love to…	1	sounds (very much) like …	2
if you're interested	1	it's not that …	2
if you like	1	Why not?	2
it's nothing	1	it's because	2
that's so exciting	1	(that's what) I'm telling you	2
it sucks	1	that's my/the point	2

because of that	1	that's what I/you mean	2
that's your decision	1	the point is …	2
Are you serious?	1	it means that	2
that's true	1	Would you prefer …?	2
Is that right?	1	How do you like …?	2
definitely	1	that's a nice/not a bad idea	2
apparently	1	it depends	2
I was like	1	feel free (to) …	2
after that	1	Have you been (to) …?	2
something like	1	I have (never) been in…	2
never mind	1	it's annoying/interesting that …	2
I guess	1	that's/it's good for you/me	2
sorry about that	1	I didn't know that	2
if I'm not mistaken	1	I wonder if/how …	2
as far as I know	1	I have no idea	2
I agree	1	I was wondering …	2
what the heck …	1	gross	2
let me …	1	it's (not that) strange	2
let me see	1	that's/it's not good	2
let's	1	I don't know the word but…	1
I suppose	1	I see but …	1
How's your …?	1	sort of thing	1
that's all	1	it's up to you	1
that'd be very good	1	if you don't mind	1
what!	1	Do you mind if I …?	1
I see your point	1	I'd rather	1
then	1	Do you like …?	1
I believe that	1	Would you like to …?	1
crazy	1	Am I right?	1
Why do you think that?	1	you are probably right	1
What do you think about …?	1	Do you mean …?	1
How often do you …?	1	What do you mean?	1
Do you mind ?	1	What are you trying to say?	1
Is it okay if …?	1	that doesn't mean that …	1
How long …?	1	I must admit	1
Are you planning to …?	1	What else …?	1
How many times …?	1	How big is …?	1
Have you ever …?	1	How about …?	1
How long have you been here?	1	it doesn't make a difference	1
How is … different from …?	1	my theory is that …	1
What's that?	1	that's the problem	1
What's the word?	1	it's hard to …	1
How old is …?	1	What a nice idea!	1
How much is …?	1	that's not too bad	1
I'm praying that …	1	How do I know?	1
it's good for you	1	How do you know?	1
pardon	1	it'd be nice if …	1
that's what we …	1	I've never heard of that before	1
the good thing is that …	1	that's correct	1
like I said	1	that's funny	1
it's easy to understand	1	I'm beginning to believe that …	1
that's a lot	1	can you imagine	1
oh no	1	I can't stand …	1
you're right	1	this can't be happening	1
it seems that	1	let's suppose that …	1
don't worry	1	I wish	1
and all that	1	I suppose	1
it's not worth	1	so to say	1
that's all we have	1	to me	1

what I do is that …	1	oh no	1
that's exactly the thing I'd like to..	1	who cares	1
		as I was saying	1
		I was like what!	1
		everyone was like	1
		I felt like	1
		it was like that	1
		I feel that	1
		it feels like	1
		the only thing is that …	1
		What does … mean?	1
		no way (I'm …)	1
		it's not worth	1
		I heard …	1
		it says	1
		there is no other way to …	1
		that's the way	1
		not the way like	1
		what happens is that …	1
		what happened was …	1
		How long does it take to …?	1
		What you need to do is …	1
		What's the purpose of …?	1
		What's the point?	1
		something like	1
		What time is …?	1
		What's the time?	1
		tell me about …	1
		it looks like …	1
		it seemed like…	1
		that sounds good	1
		can't blame him	1
		and all of that	1
		looks like …	1
		as the night went on	1
		we hope	1
		who knows	1
		What's the name of …?	1
		let me say	1
		let me …	1
		seriously	1
		honestly	1
		generally speaking	1
		basically	1
		oh cool	1
		Are you sure?	1
		that's all	1
		I'm okay with …	1
Deviations from conventional forms			
How many years have you …?	4	thanks you	1
that's the way how …	3	oh my goodness sake	1
it mean that	3	I can't say I'm agree or I'm disagree	1
How many time a month …?	2	How do you call this in …?	1
that's mean	2	next step is that	1
it's mean	2	Das ist a good question	1
it's mean that	2	it's why …	1
it mean	1		
I'm for sure	1		
I'm not sure that whether	1		

it depend	1		
it's depend	1		
I afraid	1		
like that way	1		
Why we don't …?	1		
What happen if …?	1		
it's long time that …	1		
I don't mind for	1		
		TOTAL	
190	1763	222	1864

Appendix I: Situation-Bound Utterances in Social ELF Interactions in Asian and European Settings

Asian ELF		European ELF	
Situation-bound utterances	Frequency	Situation-bound utterances	Frequency
I'm full (now)	9	Hi/hello!	8
Enjoy your meal/lunch/food!	5	Would you like some (wine)/	6
Excuse me!	4	something to drink?	
You too!	4	(It's been) nice meeting you!	5
Bye-bye! / Goodbye!	4	Poor thing /you/me!	5
Good luck!	3	Don't panic!	4
Hi/hello!	3	Could you pass me …, please?	4
Me too!	3	Let's go!	4
(Please) enjoy it	2	Take your time	3
Oh honey/dear!	2	Bye!	2
Listen to me!	2	I'm (name)	2
I am good/fine (today)	2	How are you?	2
What about you?/And you?	2	(I) hope to see you again	2
Good luck to you!	1	Wish you a great time here	2
Just kidding	1	Enjoy your time / it	2
This is (name)	1	Welcome!	1
What's up?	1	I wish you the same	1
Is it time?	1	Have fun with …	1
I'll see you!	1	Good luck!	1
You're welcome!	1	You'll be fine	1
I'm sorry to hear that.	1	Oh come on!	1
That's the reality.	1	I hope you have a great time	1
What's the problem?	1	Can i get some …?	1
And something else?	1	See you!	1
Why don't you have some…?	1	Do you want some more?	1
No, thank you!	1	Here you go!	1
Thank you for coming	1	Anyone like anything else?	1
You can drink coffee	1	Make yourself at home	1
Are you full now?	1	Help yourself	1
My baby!	1	It's a pity	1
Don't worry! I know you can make	1	You're welcome!	1
it		Thanks for having us	1
I'm (name)	1	Thanks for asking	1
How are you today?	1	Excuse me!	1
Just let me know	1	What a small world	1
Just wondering	1	Guess who's here	1
Are you okay?	1	That's too bad	1
I have a similar situation	1	Let's face it	1
		Fair enough	1
		Just looking	1
		It was nice of you	1
		It's something	1
		What a hard life!	1
		We will be back soon	1
Deviations from conventional forms			
Good lucks for you	1		
I catch you later	1		
TOTAL			
39	71	43	80

Appendix J: Non-Standard Formulaic Expressions in Academic ELF Interactions

	Asian academic ELF		European academic ELF	
	Expression	f*	Expression	f*
Grammatical units	do able to	2	Don't has to	1
	(you) able to	1		
	will able to	1		
	very difficult than	1		
		5		**1**
Fixed and semi-fixed units	give comment on	3	put in disadvantage	2
	ankle wetting	3	the way how we	1
	as compared to	3	have a success	1
	have the rights to	2	in the front of the chair	1
	speak fluent	2	learn language	1
	undergo a program	2	at the middle of (january)	1
	perform/do demonstration	2	on the start	1
	give … impression	2	depends from	1
	make use something	2	point of views	1
	go to shopping	1	make mistake	1
	ankle water feet swimming	1	do researches	1
	in a regular basis	1	turn to the right	1
	be interested to know	1	apart that	1
	duck walking	1	in the consequence	1
	free of speech	1		
	a lots of	1		**15**
	meet problems	1		
	a signs of	1		
	out of my curiosity	1		
	in a form of a …	1		
	get contact with	1		
	have a permission	1		
	have idea	1		
	to a huge extent	1		
	at the same times	1		
	for short period of time	1		
	in generally	1		
	have conversation	1		
	give birth four children	1		
	get credit	1		
	a varieties of	1		
	get opportunity to …	1		
	raise question	1		
	have opportunity to …	1		
	ask permission from	1		
	give effort to …	1		
	i am envy of you	1		
	follow one's passion	1		
	not that older	1		
		51		
Phrasal verbs	look up on	1	show up	1
	go beyond of	1		
	stick on to	1		

		3		**1**
Speech formulas	it's mean	2	it's very interesting point	1
	I'm not too sure	2	basically speaking	1
	What you mean?	1	I don't know what are you thinking but …	1
	it doesn't means that …	1		
	it'd be interested to look at ..	1	it's no point in …	1
	it's seem that	1	somehow or another	1
	do you prefer … than …	1	that's good that …	1
	she feel like	1	I just was trying to	1
			thanks you	1
		10		**8**
Situation-bound utterances	Congratulation!	1	I would kindly give the word to somebody else	1
			Maybe i see you again	1
			It's totally different thing	1
		1		**3**
Idioms	Open-mind	1		
		1		**0**
Total		**71**		**28**

*f: Frequency

Appendix K: Non-Standard Formulaic Expressions in Social ELF Interactions

	Asian social ELF		European social ELF	
	Expression	f*	Expression	f*
Grammatical units	(you) no need to	3		
		3		**0**
Fixed and semi-fixed units	say lie	2	lot of	3
	by our/your own	2	make a project	2
	it's depends on …	2	of my/your own	2
	use of the time	2	different to	2
	get into the university	2	find something injust	1
	go to swim	2	up to dates	1
	find job	1	rise one's hand	1
	earn the money	1	on the long term	1
	be interested to	1	take rest	1
	keep contact	1	jump from the window	1
	study my PhD	1	little bit	1
	lose the contact	1	for certain time	1
	have the freedom	1	do hunting	1
	have the difficulty	1	it depends something	1
	make appointment with …	1	do laundry	1
	get a conversation	1	drink a beer	1
	get annoyance	1	serve for … purposes	1
	do mistake	1	hold an activity	1
	go to gym	1	turn to the left	1
	lose my body weight	1	have a problems	1
	ask their permission	1	have quiz	1
	lot and lot of	1	have a good fun	1
	enter the university	1	have a time to …	1
		30		**28**
Phrasal verbs	move out from	1	come out from	1
			mix up with	1
			look forward	1
		1		**3**
Speech formulas	How many years have you ...?	4	thanks you	1
	that's the way how …	3	oh my goodness sake	1
	it mean that	3	I can't say I'm agree or I'm	1
	How many time a month …?	2	disagree	
	that's mean	2	How do you call this in …?	1
	it's mean	2	next step is that	1
	it's mean that	2	Das ist a good question	1
	it mean	1	it's why …	1
	I'm for sure	1		
	I'm not sure that whether	1		
	it depend	1		
	it's depend	1		**7**
	I afraid	1		
	like that way	1		
	Why we don't …?	1		
	What happen if …?	1		
	it's long time that …	1		
	I don't mind for	1		
		32		

Situation-bound utterances	Good lucks for you I catch you later	1 1		
		2		**0**
Idioms	the birds of the same feather gather together	1	not in my taste	1
			I had my way with her	1
	blind talk	1	There's no place in your head to remember	1
	come to think of this	1		
	come to think of that	1		
	telling in the wind	1		
		5		**3**
Total		**73**		**41**

*f: Frequency