Lingue e Linguaggi Lingue Linguaggi 10 (2013), 7-18 ISSN 2239-0367, e ISSN 2239-0359 DOI 10.1285/i22390359v10p7 http://siba-ese.unisalento.it, © 2013 Università del Salento

# CONJUNCTIONS IN ELF ACADEMIC DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS

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Abstract – Conjunctions as fundamental elements in the construction of discourse cohesion represent a relatively neglected research area, due to their complexity and the bewildering number of "conjunctive relations" (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 226) that they may express in context, as also highlighted in Christiansen (2011). In addition to this, there does not seem to be a shared view as far as the classification and denomination of the different kinds of conjunctions are concerned (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Vande Kopple 1985; Martin and Rose 2003; Hyland 2005). The selection of a specific type of conjunction acquires more importance because they are typically open to so many different interpretations, especially when the participants in the speech event come from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds (cf. Guido 2007, 2008; Cogo et al. 2011).

Following the taxonomy provided by Halliday and Hasan (1976) for conjunctions, our study attempts to shed light on the usage of conjunctions by ELF speakers in specific contexts. We shall consider ten transcripts taken from the VOICE Corpus (Seidlhofer *et al.* 2013), namely five interviews and five conversations in multicultural academic contexts (approximately 4,000 words each), and analyze the number of instances for each type of conjunction (additive, adversative, clausal, temporal as well as continuatives) in depth, by adopting a quantitative as well as a qualitative method and by using TextSTAT 2.9 (Huning 2012). We shall then move on to the analysis of conjunctions with respect to their internal properties/collocates and eventually see the occurrence of conjunctions by comparing them with the two different speech events which are chosen as the subject of our study, i.e. interviews and conversations. We shall see the extent to which certain conjunctions are more restricted than others in terms of usage (cf. Leung 2005) in both types of speech events, despite the great number of options available to the speaker, and how some of their properties have become 'hybridized' (e.g. and) in multicultural contexts.

**Keywords:** conjunctions, ELF, VOICE corpus, discourse, cohesion.

#### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this paper is to gain insights into an element playing a pivotal role within the realization of cohesion in discourse, i.e. conjunctions. Cohesion is an important facet of text as it determines how people interpret discourse; it is something especially delicate in the context of English-as-a-Lingua-Franca (henceforth ELF) interaction that has only recently begun to be explored (cf. Leung 2005; Christiansen 2011, 2013) and, more specifically, conjunctions represent a crucial part of cohesion and a basic way of signaling how sentences/propositions are to be interpreted in the context of each other; notwithstanding this, any attempt made by scholars in the field has failed to provide a homogeneous categorization of the different types of conjunctions (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976; Vande Kopple 1985; Martin and Rose 2003; Hyland 2005). For this research we shall use the classic taxonomy provided by Halliday and Hasan (1976), pioneers in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper was originally presented on occasion of ELF6, *The Sixth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca: New Perspectives on ELF*, held at Roma Tre University, 4-7 September 2013.



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field, as it is a reliable classification and more suited to our purposes than, say, the revision of Halliday (2004), a functional approach to language and grammaticalization which is supported by the evidence of large corpora of discourse. We shall analyze a set of transcriptions taken from the *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (Seidlhofer *et al.* 2013, henceforth VOICE), namely five interviews [EDint(number)] and five conversations [LEcon(number)]<sup>2</sup> in academic settings, and see whether there are any differences in the use of conjunctions according to the two speech event types. The study corpus that we considered represents an interesting set of data, for two main reasons: 1) because here speakers from different L1s may share less of the presuppositions that native speakers may (cf. Leung 2005; Christiansen 2011, 2013); 2) because, as mentioned previously, the speech events that we analyzed, i.e. interviews and conversations, display slightly different linguistic/syntactical features in terms of discourse construction. The breakdown of the study corpus including the size of each transcript and the speaker ratio is provided below:

	S1	S2	<b>S3</b>	<b>S4</b>	<b>S5</b>	<b>S6</b>	SS	SX-f	SX1	SX2	SX3	SX4	TOT
EDint328	1146	1984	2274	279		6							5689
EDint330	2167	927	3170										6264
EDint331	4454	1563											6017
EDint604	610		543	363									1516
EDint605	1790				984	56							2830
LEcon8			715	612	445		52	95	60	45	101	55	2180
LEcon22	1617	812											2429
LEcon22	586	275	12	5	-	ł	-						878
LEcon22	1243	1830	90	2			4	3		10			3182
LEcon32	801	1121	1473										3395

Table 1 Breakdown of study corpus (The VOICE, Seidlhofer *et al.* 2013).

On the left side of Table 1 is the identification code which is attributed to each file in the VOICE; each of them is broken down by speaker (S1, S2, S3, and so forth) and the discourse ratio is also provided, along with the total number of words for each file (on the right). As we can see, the overall number of words as well as the discourse ratio for each speaker is not homogeneous: the former ranging between 878 and 6264 words, the latter including interviews with only two speakers (as is the case EDint331) or more than two (EDint328), and conversations with only two speakers (LEcon227) or more (LEcon8). In addition to this, the total number of words is no indication of the number of speakers involved in the speech event: for instance, in LEcon8 the total number of words is relatively low, although there are 9 speakers involved in the interaction; the same thing for the file displaying the highest amount of words, EDint330, with its only 3 speakers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The choice of the study transcriptions was not randomly-made, but follows the order of appearance in the VOICE, version 2.0 (2013). [EDint(number)] and [Lecon(number)] are the abbreviations which are conventionally used to identify the files in the VOICE.



### 2. Method of analysis

As also stated previously, conjunctions have been treated and categorized differently in the literature – which also makes it difficult to find an adequate point of reference for their analysis. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 227), for example, considers conjunctions to be "a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before"; Martin and Rose (2003, p. 119) classifies them according to their logical relation (addition, comparison, time, consequence), Vande Kopple (1985) conceives conjunctions as 'text connectives', i.e. a way of connecting different parts of a text; Hyland (2005) talks about 'frame markers' when dealing with conjunctions: they are 'markers', in that they 'mark' the different passages in a text (e.g. 'at first' and 'finally'); also markers introducing the aim of a text are included (e.g. 'the aim of this paper is to...'), as they contribute to make the different parts of discourse more cohesive with one another.<sup>3</sup> The issue of conjunctions becomes even more complex, if one thinks about their polysemous properties in context (cf. Caron 1994) and the multifarious interpretations, both at a cognitive-semantic and pragmatic level, which may be attributed to them, together with the lingua-cultural background shared by speaker from different L1s (cf. Guido 2007, 2008; Cogo et al. 2011).

In this study, we shall only consider Halliday and Hasan's (1976) categorization of conjunctions as it appears to be the most thorough, at least if compared to the ones mentioned in the previous section: first, because Halliday and Hasan's classification does not only consider conjunctions *stricto sensu* (e.g. *and*, *or*, *either...or*, *but*), but also adverbs (e.g. *however*, *nonetheless*); second, because it introduces a relatively new category, i.e. *continuatives*, having "fairly indistinct meanings and may even have some of the characteristics of empty fillers" (Christiansen 2011, p. 201). Tables 2-6 provide a readaptation of the different categories of conjunctions as identified by Halliday and Hasan (in Christiansen 2011, pp. 169-208), i.e. *additive*, *adversative*, *causal*, *temporal* as well as *continuatives*.

In the first stages of our research, we predisposed the study corpus for our analysis according to individual speaker, by creating tables in Word which helped us sort out the different sections of the study corpora by speaker (total amount of files: 46). We then eliminated any additional information related to the speaker as well as any conventional signs being used in the VOICE (e.g. 'S1', 'EDintXXX', and so on) and which could distort the number of items found; we eventually used *TextSTAT 2.9* (Huning 2012) in order to automatically extract all the instances of conjunctions in the VOICE; as for multi-word conjunctions (e.g. *for example*), in *Query Editor* in *Concordance* we inserted each multi-word search item; we then took every occurrence of a given conjunction and fitted it into what we judged to be the most appropriate category according to the context in which it occurred; this proved to be a difficult task at times: both in the earliest stages of our research, because although the software could automatically recognize each search item, it could not identify the difference between a conjunction (e.g. *further*, *furthermore*) and an adjective (e.g. *further* information), and

Other classifications of conjunctions also include the one suggested by Rouchota 1998 (cit. in Leung 2005), a supporter of the *Relevance Theory Framework* (RTF) who, unlike Halliday and Hasan (1976) who consider conjunctions to be "linguistic devices that create cohesion", considers them to have a meaning which is strongly related to some procedures taking place in the mind of the speaker. Leung also notices the extent to which this is in line with the RTF principle according to which conjunctions incorporate concepts, expectations and mental assumptions.



because of the sometimes bewildering number of semantic nuances that each conjunction could display in conversational settings (as we can also see in the tables above, where the same conjunction can fit more than one category). A special case is represented by *I mean*, which can fit two different categories according to Halliday and Hasan's classification: one is additive/internal-only/expository, whilst the other is adversative/internal-only/corrective. In such a case, we had to look at each instance in its context and decide how to associate it with the most appropriate category.

	Conjunctions
Additive	and, also, and too, and as well, nor, neither, not, either, or, or else, nor, further, furthermore, in addition, besides, additionally, moreover, and another thing, add to this, alternatively, in other words, incidentally, by the way, that is to say, that is, I mean, in other words, for example, thus, for instance, likewise, similarly, in the same way, on the other hand, by/in contrast, conversely.
Adversative	yet, though, only, but, nevertheless, however, despite this, all the same, in any case/event, in either case/event, any/either way, whichever, anyhow, at any rate, in any case, that may be, and, on the other hand, at the same time, as against that, in fact, as a matter of fact, actually, to tell the truth, in point of fact, instead, rather, on the contrary, at least, rather, I mean.
Causal	So, then, thus, therefore, hence, consequently, because of this, then, in that case, in such an event, under those circumstances, under the circumstances, otherwise, under other circumstances, it follows, for this reason, arising out of this, to this end, for, because, in this respect, for, because, in this respect, in regard to this, in other respects, apart from this.
Temporal	Then, next, afterwards, just then, at that moment, previously, before then, first, second, at first, in the end, finally, at last, eventually, at once, there upon, soon, presently, this time, next time, next day, 2 minutes later, meanwhile, all this time, by this time, up until then, next moment, at this point, secondly, firstnext, in conclusion, up until now, hitherto, at this point, here, from now on, henceforth, to sum up, to resume.
Continuatives	now, of course, anyway, surely, after all.

Table 2
Halliday and Hasan's classification of conjunctions: an overview (re-adapted from Christiansen 2011).

Once each search item was identified and inserted into a specific category of conjunction, we used a formula whereby the number of instances found was divided by the number of words in that section of the corpus. Hence, for instance: if conjunction *then* was found 23 times, and the relevant section of the corpus (EDint328) was found to have 5689 words, then (23/5689) = 0.0040428; we finally multiplied the result by the arbitrary number 1000, in order to provide a more convenient figure to plot on a graph (e.g. 0.0040428\*1000 = 4.0428).



### 3. Analysis 1: an overview of conjunctions in the study corpus

In this section, we shall examine results for each type of conjunction, with respect to the specific sections of the VOICE that constitute the object of our study, and to the two different typologies of discourse, i.e. conversation and interview. Hence, Table 3-7 provide a general overview of the different types of conjunction in each corpus file that we analyzed. For reasons of available space, we shall only report those conjunctions which occurred most in the VOICE sections we analyzed, and not provide those ones for which no item was found whatsoever. Moreover, the results in the following tables are weighted against the number of words in the VOICE (see the *Method of Analysis* section above), hence the ratio as well as the average for each section and for the whole corpus are included. Table 3 illustrates the breakdown of additive (ADD) conjunctions in the VOICE:

ADD	EDINT								Mean			
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329	Int	Con
and	17.4	24.42	25.43	18.47	12.01	21.1	32.52	72.89	20.11	36.82	19.55	36.69
also	.53	.80	.83	1.32	0	1.83	4.53	0	0	.59	.70	1.39
as	.88	1.6	.33	.66	.71	.46	0	0	0	1.77	.84	.45
well												
neither	.53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.11	0
or	5.62	7.18	2.66	7.26	4.59	7.8	4.12	28.47	7.86	2.95	5.46	9.06
Mean											2.12	3.57
SpEv												

Table 3 Ratio and average for *additive* conjunctions in the VOICE.

Results in Table 3 are broken down by file, and their ratio is accompanied by the average ratio for each conjunction according to the different typology of speech event (see Mean/INT and Mean/CON above). As we can see in the table, the most recurrent additive conjunction in the VOICE is conjunction and (with a 72.89-peak in LEcon228); also or appears to be frequent across the corpus sections we analyzed, albeit with relatively lower figures (28.47). The average according to speech event (Mean/Sp.Ev) backs up the results we found, i.e. conjunction and is the most frequent, but the results broken down by speech event also enabled us to understand in which discourse typology conjunctions are more likely to be used: in this very specific case, additive conjunction and seems to be more frequent in conversational settings (36.69) rather than in interviews (19.55), whilst figures for other additive conjunctions (e.g. also, as well, neither) oscillate between 0 and 2.07, the only exception being represented by conjunction or – as also stated before – with an average frequency of 5.46 in interviews and 9.06 in conversations. To sum up, in the bottom-right corner is a final calculation of average ratio for each conjunction, confirming that additive conjunctions are more likely to appear in conversations (3.57) rather than in interviews (2.12).

Table 4 provides results for adversative (ADV) conjunctions, following the same methodology adopted previously for the identification of additive conjunctions.



ADV		]	EDINT					Mean				
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329	Int	Con
But	4.75	17.24	9.31	11.87	5.3	12.84	18.11	21.64	16.97	7.36	9.69	15.38
I mean	11.25	6.23	0	4.62	.70	.46	.41	1.14	.31	2.95	4.56	1.05
Only	.7	2.08	1.33	0	2.83	3.67	.41	0	.94	1.18	1.39	1.24
Though	0	.16	.17	4.32	0	.46	.41	0	0	.59	.93	.29
Actually	0	0	1.33	1.98	0	1.84	2.06	10.25	0	0.29	.66	2.89
Mean											3.45	4.17
SpEv												

Table 4 Ratio and average for *adversative* conjunctions in the VOICE.

As we can see, the most recurrent adversative conjunction is represented by *but*, which is the also the most frequent adversative conjunction in each section of the study corpora – except for EDint328, where *I mean* clearly displays higher figures (11.25 of *I mean* vs. 4.75 for *but*). If we have a look at the two typologies of speech event, here again we can see the predominance of *but* in conversational settings, rather than in interviews (15.38 vs. 9.69). As regards the general use of conjunctions across the study corpora, the average figures seem to favour the use of conjunctions in conversations.

Table 5 and 6 summarize the findings for *causal* (CAU) and *temporal* (TEM) conjunctions:

CAU					Mean							
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329	Int	Con
So	10.55	14.05	9.14	9.23	5.65	14.22	17.7	11.39	8.49	16.49	9.72	13.66
Then	4.04	5.59	3.82	3.96	.35	1.83	7.41	6.83	0	3.83	3.55	3.98
because	9.32	6.86	6.98	3.3	2.12	3.21	3.71	5.69	5.97	9.72	5.72	5.66
Mean											6.33	7.77
SpEv												

Table 5
Ratio and average for *causal* conjunctions in the VOICE.

TEM		]	EDINT						Mean			
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329	Int	Con
Then	10.32	14.25	10.78	2.99	2.51	11.72	17.45	13.28	12.47	13.97	8.17	13.78
Next	4.90	5.77	2.65	.96	.16	2.34	6.21	5.55	0	3.98	2.89	3.62
By this	8.89	4.98	7.7	.55	.36	2.32	6.64	2.91	7.97	4.46	4.5	4.86
time												
Mean											5.19	7.42
SpEv												

Table 6
Ratio and average for *temporal* conjunctions in the VOICE.

As far as causal conjunctions are concerned, the most recurrent one is so, which is also more likely to occur in conversation (Mean/CON = 13.66) rather than in interviews (Mean/INT = 9.72); as for Table 6 and temporal conjunctions, then displays the highest figures; an interesting case is also represented by conjunction by this time (Mean/CON = 5.66), which appears to be more frequent in conversations rather than interviews (4.86 vs. 4.5) – a finding that was also found in our previous analyses of additive and adversative conjunctions (see Tables 3 and 4).



To conclude, the following Table 7 provides a general overview of continuatives (CONT) – an interesting area to look at, as also defined by Christiansen (2011, p. 201), "continuatives have fairly indistinct meanings and may even have some of the characteristics of empty fillers".

CONT	EDINT						]	LECON	Mean			
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329	Int	Con
Now	6.68	1.92	3.16	2.64	0	3.21	5.35	6.83	3.77	6.19	2.88	5.07
Well	3.16	3.35	4.49	2.64	0	4.13	1.65	4.56	.31	.88	2.73	2.31
Of course	1.05	.32	1	2.64	0	2.29	0	0	.63	0	1	.58
Surely	0	0	0	.66	0	0	0	0	0	0	.13	0
Anyway	.18	.48	0	0	0	.92	0	0	.31	0	.04	.25
Mean SpEv											1.36	1.64

Table 7 Ratio and average for *continuatives* in the VOICE.

Here the results are slightly diversified, *now* being the most prevalent continuative used (with values going from 0 to 6.83), followed by *well*, which is the another occurring continuative together with *of course* in EDint604 (2.64); *well* is also more frequent than *now* in LEcon8 (and is also the most present continuative in interviews alongside *now*, with its 2.73), although the overall general trend is – once again – to attest the prevalence of continuatives in conversational settings (Mean/CON = 1.64).

# 4. Analysis 2: Additive conjunctions in ELF speakers: a case study of their use and functions

As we have seen in the previous section, the general trend in the study sections of the VOICE is to privilege additive conjunctions (Mean/CON = 3.57) over any other conjunction types and, more specifically, conjunction *and* appears to be the main linguistic device for the construction of discourse cohesion (with a mean of 36.69 in conversations vs. 19.55 in interviews). More generally speaking, the trend for additive conjunctions is found to be in line with the findings for the other categories of conjunctions (adversative, causal, temporal and continuatives), which seem to be more likely to appear in conversational settings rather than in interviews. In this specific section of our study, we shall have a closer look at additive conjunctions because – as said before – they are by far the most recurrent of all 'conjunctive relations' (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 226). We shall then take into consideration one speaker for each extract and, where possible, <sup>4</sup> consider speakers with different L1 backgrounds (Table 8).

Of all additive conjunctions, and is definitely the most frequent across each extract, and the speaker whose L1 is Danish appears to be the one to use it most (3.33), followed by Maltese in LEcon329 (2.41); '\*\*\*' represents the number of different (not repeated) conjunctions being adopted in each section of the corpora, and the number in brackets (9) is the overall number of possible additive conjunctions: here results are quite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It was not always possible to choose a speaker with a different L1, especially for interviews, where there were just a few people involved in the speech event (predominantly having Maltese as L1), one of which was the interviewer. The latter (generally labeled S1) was not considered as relevant for the purposes of our analysis, because of his/her sporadic appearance in the speech event, confined to the formulation of questions and some very short comments.



differentiated, ranging from only 2 different additive conjunctions being displayed in EDint328 by the Maltese speaker, to 7 different ones used by the other Maltese speaker in EDint330; what is interesting about these findings is that if, on the one hand, the Danish speaker in LEcon227 is the one using conjunction and the most, on the other he seems to have a limited 'conjunctive repertoire' at his disposal (4/9), and so does the Maltese in LEcon329; another interesting case, albeit with very low figures, is represented by and...too and as well: and...too is only present in one extract, i.e. EDint330, and only one item is found (0.11 being its ratio), whilst as well is relatively more frequent in more extracts (EDint330, EDint331, EDint605, LEcon8, LEcon329). This very last finding provides support for the idea that and exhibits a far higher degree of flexibility in the construction of discourse on the part of speakers: and can be easily put either in an intersentential position or at the beginning of the sentence in a very systematic way, whereas and...too might be a difficult construct at times for ELF speakers, especially in cases in which one has to deal with such very long sentences that the speaker easily either forgets adding ...too at the end of the sentence or simply does not have any idea where to put it without splitting the whole sentence.

			EDINT				LECON			
	328	330	331	604	605	8	227	228	229	329
	(S2)	(S2)	(S2)	(S3)	(S5)	(S3)	(S2)	(S2)	(S2)	(S2)
	MT	MT	RS	Ger	MT	KG	DK	FIN	ES	MT
				AT						
And	1.41	1.83	2.05	1.84	1.42	1.54	3.33	1.45	1.42	2.41
Also	0	.11	.06	.18	0	.14	.74	0	0	.09
Andtoo	0	.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
As well	0	.22	.06	0	.10	.64	0	0	0	.18
Or	.55	.32	.32	.37	.71	1.12	.37	1.82	.71	.27
That is	0	.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
F. example	0	0	.06	0	.61	0	.12	0	.27	0
F. instance	0	.11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Or else	0	0	0	0	.10	0	0	0	0	0
***	2(9)	7(9)	5(9)	3(9)	5(9)	4(9)	4(9)	2(9)	3(9)	4(9)
Mean		•	1.71					2.03		

Table 8
Frequency ratio for *additive* conjunctions in selected ELF speakers from the VOICE.

Looking now at the different uses of and across the study corpus sections,<sup>5</sup> the following table includes the breakdown of *and* and its collocates (KWIC, aka *Key Words in Context*). Each instance of *and* was extracted by means of *TextSTAT*, and the findings are here reported. For the classification of the different typologies of *and* across the corpus sections, we adopted Biber *et al.*'s (1999, pp. 53-55) terminology concerning their function, i.e. *and as phrase-connector* (thus linking nouns) and *and as clause-connector* (linking different clauses).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The study corpus sections are here the previous sections that we analyzed (those with selected speakers).



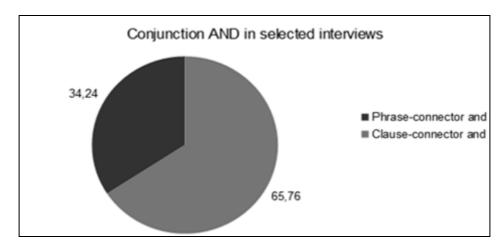


Fig. 1 Conjunctions *and* in selected interviews: *phrase connector* vs. *clause connector*.

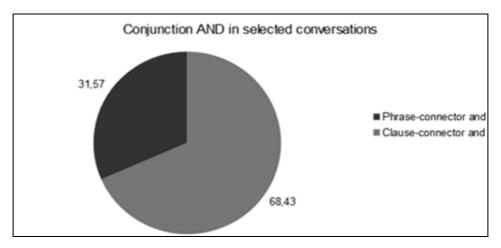


Fig. 2 Conjunctions *and* in selected conversations: *phrase connector* vs. *clause connector*.

As we can see, both in interviews and in conversation, the general trend is to favour the use of *and* as a clause-connector (65.76% in interviews and 68.43% in conversations) thus linking different clauses, whereas the percentage for *and* as phrase-connector is lower (respectively 34.24% and 31.57%). In addition to this, in most cases additive conjunction *and* appears to be accompanied by the use of what Biber *et al.* (1999, p. 115) defines as 'coordination tags', e.g. *er*, *em*, *stuff like that*, which "are best regarded as some kind of vagueness markers or hedges". Let us have now a closer look at the coordination tags for *and* across the study corpora (Table 9).

As we can see in Table 9, coordination tag *er* is relatively the most frequent coordination tag in conversation, followed by only 7 tokens in interviews. The overall percentage for coordination tags confirms once again the extent to which they are more frequent in conversational settings rather than in interviews. This might be due to the slightly different nature of the two speech events, i.e. interviews and conversations: in the former, the participant is in fact asked to answer specific questions and/or specific tasks (filling in the spaces with information concerning their jobs, family, profession, education, etc.), with a relatively low degree of uncertainty and hesitation; in the latter, the participant is asked to talk about a general topic (in this very specific case, the 'LE' code



indicates that the topic is concerned with leisure) and to compare ideas – hence, no particular indication on how the conversation has to be conducted is provided *a priori*, and the speaker is somewhat forced to make impromptu adjustments and is more likely to overdo explicitness.

Coordination tags (Biber <i>et al.</i> , 1999)	Interviews (EDint)	Conversations (LEcon)
Er	7	16
All that so	0	1
All that stuff	0	1
Yeah er yeah	0	1
I think er	0	1
Yeah	0	2
You know	0	2
Yes	1	0
That erm	2	0
Overall % of coordination tags	13.7	25.26

Table 9 *Coordination tags* (Biber *et al.*, 1999) for and in the VOICE.

In order to identify the functions carried out by conjunction *and* in ELF academic settings, we adopted the same methodology which has contradistinguished our research so far: hence, we chose *and* as a search-word in *TextSTAT* and conducted a context-related analysis. We managed to identify four functions of *and*, some of which deviating from standard usage as coordinator: 1) coordinating *and*; 2) cumulative *and*; 3) adversative *and*; 4) 'situational tagging' *and*. The following table provides an exemplification accompanied by an example taken from the selected corpus sections of the VOICE:

Typology of function	No. of items
Coordinating and (linking nouns and clauses) Example: The same thing Maltese and English	59
Cumulative and (adding information)	
Example: <b>and</b> er you think you are the x <b>and</b> you must to defeat all the Muslims <b>and</b> so on <b>and</b> all the English er ships <b>and</b> er all the French Napoleonic troups	31
Adversative and (contrasting ideas) Example: And I mean these teachers are th-the children and they are giving them what they have its not what th- t the proper English is maybe	21
<b>'Situational tagging' and</b> (turn-taking) Example: Does anyone want two bread because xxx she doesn't eat she eats only vegetarian so I thought maybe she is a Muslim <b>and</b> then I look at you	7

Table 10 Functions of *and* in ELF settings.

As we can see from the examples provided in Table 10, among the functions being attributed to conjunction and in ELF academic contexts coordinating and cumulative



properties undisputedly occupy the first two positions (respectively 59 and 31); what is actually interesting about the findings are the last two functions which we identified, namely *adversative* and *situational tagging*: the former used for contrasting ideas in interaction, the latter for turn-taking among participants (21 and 7 items) – two properties which are not generally to be attributed to additive conjunctions, especially the adversative one (which one normally attributes to conjunction *but* or any other conjunction under that label).

#### 5. Conclusions

To summarize, the present study was an attempt to provide an overview of the use of conjunctions made by speakers in ELF academic contexts. We found out that conjunctions are more likely to occur in conversational settings rather than in interviews: the prevalent conjunction type being additive *and* accompanied by coordination tags, such as *er*, *I mean yeah*, *erm*. We also pointed to two additional functions of additive conjunctions, i.e. *adversative* and *situational tagging* (beside the commoner coordinating and cumulative ones), which are generally attributed to other types of conjunctions (e.g. *but*). Moreover, it also emerges the fact that ELF speakers in academic contexts tend not to take advantage of the entire 'conjunctive repertoire' at their disposal, but rather seem to use certain patterns of conjunctions rather than others, hence limiting the options available in a sort of hybridization process of conjunctions.

Of course much of what has been discussed here cannot be generalized, especially given the relatively restricted corpus which was taken as a point of reference for our research: in addition to this, the VOICE corpus undergoes an annual updating/adjustment process every year, with the addition of new files to the previous versions available on the internet; besides, we only considered two typologies of speech event, i.e. interviews and conversations, but the VOICE corpus also includes a great number of additional speech events (to name but a few: seminars, workshops, etc.). Hence, there is a need to investigate some aspects into more detail: for instance, it might be well worth seeing whether the hybridization of conjunctions might affect categories other than additives and whether such a phenomenon depends, as was the case of our study, on the different nature of interviews and conversations (specific tasks/questions vs. more general topics/compare ideas, cf. Leung 2005); it would also be interesting to have a closer look at the different uses made by 'multifunctional and speaker-friendly' conjunction and with respect to and...too/and...as well and also look for any more idiosyncratical uses of conjunctions made by ELF speakers. Another area for further research may be represented by the exploration of speakers' L1s to look for interferences in the use of conjunctions, by means of the construction of parallel corpora in different languages.



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