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UPORABA FORMULAIČNIH IZRAZA U NASTAVI ENGLESKOGA JEZIKA U SREDNJIM ŠKOLAMA

(**Diplomski rad**)

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THE USE OF FORMULAIC LANGUAGE IN EFL HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOMS

(Graduation thesis)

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Abstract

Formulaic sequences are essential for the students who are learning English to sound fluently. This thesis focuses on the types and frequency of formulaic expressions used in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom. Although the field of formulaic language has already been researched, it has not yet been profoundly explored or measured in the context of Croatian high schools, especially in a rather spontaneous discourse and non-influenced classroom conditions. Besides dealing with extensive classification and exposition of the most frequent types, this thesis aims at displaying some of the mistakes that students make when they use formulaic expressions as well as some strategies they employ to cope with communicative demands. The results have shown that, overall, the students mostly rely on lexical bundles, collocations and inserts, since they still have more confidence in using expressions with literal than idiomatic meaning. Various activities and forms of class structure are also mentioned as proven to lead to greater formulaic use; however, formulaic expressions are still on their path of receiving sufficient attention in foreign language instruction.

Keywords: formulaic sequences, formulaic language, EFL, EFL teacher

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1. Introduction

Communicative competence appears to be the ultimate goal when teaching or learning any new language. It is considered to be the skill most responsible for a non-native speaker (NNS) to sound natural and fluent or, in other words, sound like a native speaker (NS). Within the realm of this competence, a very significant place is occupied by formulaic expressions, that is, their fluent use. This term refers to prefabricated (stored and retrieved as a whole from memory at the time of use) or fixed chunks and a combination or sequence of words that are widespread and commonly used in everyday life, both in written and spoken form.

Formulaic expressions are ubiquitous in language use and make up a large portion in any discourse. In their study reports, Conclin and Schmitt (2008) found that even 1/3 to 1/2 of NS speech is formulaic. Being so widespread in native English discourse, the assumption is that proficient English speakers and the students of English language as their second language (L2) also need to demonstrate mastery of those sequences at some level at least.

Formulaic language provides significant benefits for language users both in L1 and L2, such as reducing processing load in mind (Conklin and Schmitt 2008; Sinclair 1996), maintaining social interaction and enhancing fluency which manifests as „naturalness of flow of speech or speed of oral performance“(Wood, 2010, as cited in Ustunbas, 2014, p.2). Formulas are, as single memorized units, processed faster and more efficiently than nonformulaic expressions or sequences of individually produced words (e.g. Pawley and Syder, 1983; Raupach, 1984), and, as some studies show in the case of L2 learners, with even less errors than the rest of their speech.

A formulaic expression is more than a unit; it is, in Wray's words (2002), "a tool with many uses and many agendas". Recent linguistic studies suggest that fluent speaking and writing both owe greatly to the internalization of institutionalized utterances or lexical phrases. Also, inferior performance in language is blamed on the lack of those fixed/semi-fixed expressions which are stored in our memory and instantly recalled in the moment of speech. Formulaic language is not only useful, but given that our interlocutors actually expect them in certain social contexts, it often represents the appropriate way of language use and a norm.

The group of formulaic expressions is also known as extremely diverse and heterogeneous in nature, whether in terms of forms and functions they cover or in their variable level of transparency and fixedness. They closely relate to sociocultural and pragmatic

competence, carry their stylistic appropriateness and politeness potential, as well as allow for much greater efficiency in the process of communication.

This study examines the use of formulaic language, i.e. their types and frequency of occurrence among second language learners of English in Croatian high school classrooms, as well as parallels them to the teacher's use. Also, the research demonstrates which formulas the students used to meet communicative demands as well as some of the errors they still made in formulaic language production (non-native like constructions). The data that was collected from the audio-recordings of the lessons and further analysed, served to obtain insight into the complexity of this linguistic phenomenon.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Definitions and terminology used

As language became increasingly viewed as a dichotomy which implies frozen vocabulary against the one generated 'from scratch', Krashen and Scarcella added a third category, semi-fixed phrases or 'formulaic frames with analysed slots' (Wong-Fillmore, 1979).

The example of such lexicalized sentence category or semi-fixed phrase can be found in:

a) *I'm sorry to keep you waiting.*

b) *I'm sorry to have kept you waiting.*

c) *Mr X is sorry to keep you waiting all this time.*

where all these are derived from the 'base' LSS of: NP *be*- TENSE *sorry to keep*- TENSE *you waiting* (Skehan, 1998, p.36).

The basic and most prominent definition of those sequences was given by Wray:

> Formulaic expressions are multiword expressions or continuous/discontinuous word sequences that are "stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use as a single unit in the mind, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar." (Wray, 2002, p 9, as cited by Jiang, Nekrasova, p.434).

Numerous terms were recorded to have been used to denote formulaic language and one could assume that the great significance and multi-faceted nature of this phenomenon lie behind such

a number of terms invented for it. It is sometimes known as automatic speech and embolalia[1] which refers to the verbal expressions that are fixed in form and often non-literal in meaning and verbalizations that occur without conscious effort by the individual.

In addition, Mel'cuk (1995) used the term 'phraseology', while in her crucial work and lengthy treatment of this subject, Wray (2002, p.9) listed over forty terms that had been used in literature to describe the phenomenon of formulaic language, for instance: unanalysed chunks, formulas, phrases, fixed expressions, multiword units, conventionalized forms, formulaic speech, collocations, prefabricated routines, ready-made utterances, holophrases, gambits, composites, fossilized forms, schemata, ready-made expressions, etc.

Kuiper's (1996) reasoning, on the other hand, led to only two terms – 'phrasal lexical item' and 'phrasal lexeme' to denote the distinction between the properties of this language phenomenon, the first being that the units of formulaic language are not merely any sequence of words but phrases, and the second that they are lexical items just like other words. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) use 'lexical phrase' to emphasize the relationship between formulaic language and functional language use, while Schmitt and Carter agree on the term 'formulaic sequence' believing it to be most comprehensive, all-encompassing term (Schmitt, 2004, p.4). 'Formulaicity' as a term is also used to describe those expressions, and to encompass all the basic characteristics of formulaic sequences, and Perkins defines it as follows: "manifested in strings of linguistic items where the relation of each item to the rest is relatively fixed, and where the substitutability of one item by another of the same category is relatively constrained." (Wray, Perkins, 2000, p.1)

2.2 Key characteristics, roles and functions

The diversity of formulaic sequences makes them also sometimes difficult to characterize and such lack of clear definition remains one of the yet unsolved problems in the observation. Of course, some pre-established criteria still exists. Pawley and Syder (1983) discuss what makes an expression a lexical item and what makes it a part of their speech community's common dictionary. They list the following characteristics of a formulaic sequence. First, the meaning of the expression should not be entirely predictable from its form. Secondly, it should behave as a minimal unit for certain syntactic purposes, and third, it should

[1] Embolalia is yet considered a narrower term which is more connected to hesitation forms in speech, or meaningless fillers, stammerings such as: um, like, uh, you know, okay, sort of, well, etc.

be a part of social institution. When applied to such conventionalized social situations, Dechert (1980) calls them 'islands of reliability'. Moon (1997, 44p) further similarly suggests that the key characteristics of formulaic sequences are: institutionalization or frequency of occurrence, fixedness/idiomaticity and non-compositionality.

Apart from these common ground points, the phrases can, as mentioned, differ among themselves considerably. They can be long (*You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink*) or short (*Go away!*), they can express a certain message and idea (*Early bird gets the worm*) or they just serve to social solidarity and contain pragmatic potential (*I know what you mean*=agreeing with the interlocutor; *How are you doing?*=longer greeting and interest in the person).

Even the span of fixedness is very wide, that is, although some are totally fixed in form (*ladies and gentlemen*), many sequences are rather flexible with open slots (*make it plain that*_____). Sometimes fixedness is an advantage. For instance, *Watch out!* provides an instant, recognizable, conventionalized warning likely to be a lot more effective than, for e.g. *Watch out the car coming behind you.* The positive side with flexible formulaic phrases is that they are multi-adaptable and they can fit a number of different situations. However, there are also some semantic limitations for the slots in those sequences - the example is the phrase one uses when they wish to express that some activity is unusual or unexpected: *Diane thinks nothing of driving 100 miles per hour on the freeway.* The underlying structure to these sentence is '_____*thinks nothing of* _____.', which allows the flexibility to express the notion of unexpectedness in a number of situations. On the other hand, the sentence *She thinks nothing of sleeping 8 hours per night* sounds odd and wrong given the context since this amount of sleep is normal. Therefore, L2 student needs to be careful when to use certain structure with open slots and what to fill it with. This paper also investigates how students cope with those limitations and if they are able to use the correct semantic component in a given slot. The scaffold can, everything considered, aid fluent language users, because some of the language is already preassembled, and they have already a number of building blocks to start with.

Furthermore, although formulaic sequences express a single meaning, these multi-word units, differ in terms of level of transparency/opaqueness. In terms of inferring meaning, many sequences (especially the ones containing slots) are quite semantically transparent (*my point here is that*____), unlike idioms or proverbs which lie on the obscure/opaque end, i.e. possess the entirely fixed strings of words and their component words do not indicate the exact meaning when observed alone (*I have a lot on my plate*).

Recurring social situations and contexts require certain responses from people and the role of formulaic expressions is to fulfil those social communication requirements. Their functions in the social world often include speech acts, such as apologizing, making requests, giving directions and complaining. Kecskes (2003) even describes them as social lubricants. Since formulaic phrases are conventionalized, that is, members of the community are aware of those expressions, they serve as a quick and practical way to achieve a speech act. For instance, the phrase *I'm very sorry to hear about*_____ expresses sympathy, while *I'd be glad to*_____ is used to comply with a request. People over the world engage in 'light' conversation for pleasure or to pass the time or because social norms sometimes make silence uncomfortable. In these cases, the purpose of communication is less about the content and exchange of information and more about relying on the set of conventionalized phatic phrases. Examples include comments about the weather (*Nice weather today; Cold, isn't it*), agreeing with your interlocutor (*Oh, I see what you mean, I've got it*), providing backchannels and positive feedback to another speaker (*Really?, How interesting*), or in other basic everyday scenario when we want to decline an offer of assistance from a shopkeeper (*I'm just looking, thanks*) (Schmitt, 2004, p.10). Aside from maintaining social interaction, another important function of formulaic expressions is discourse organization. Just as they are valid in written form, these are used in spoken discourse as organizing phrases: *In other words, to put in another way (*re-phrasing), *on the other hand (*expressing an alternative viewpoint*), First and foremost (*announcing the first and most important of the points*), in conclusion, all in all* (summing up), *speaking of which, as I was saying* (providing links to the previous utterances). Phraseology and formulas are much needed, not only in everyday communication, but in technical fields as well, to avoid any possible misunderstanding. For instance, *cleared to land* gives the pilot very specific information and rights/authorisations (Schmitt, 2004).

Wray and Perkins mention three central functions of formulaic language in social interaction which relate to the speaker's manipulation of his/her world, asserting their individual identity, and their group identity (See Figure 1). For the manipulation, we use commands, requests, bargain structures and the range of markers (for e.g. politeness): *how about a___; I'll give you ___for that; you wouldn't mind_____, wouldn't you?* etc. Expression of our individual and group identity, on the other hand, serves to ensure that "we neither become subsumed within nor are excluded from the social networks which we feed off emotionally." (Wray, Perkins, 2000, p.13)

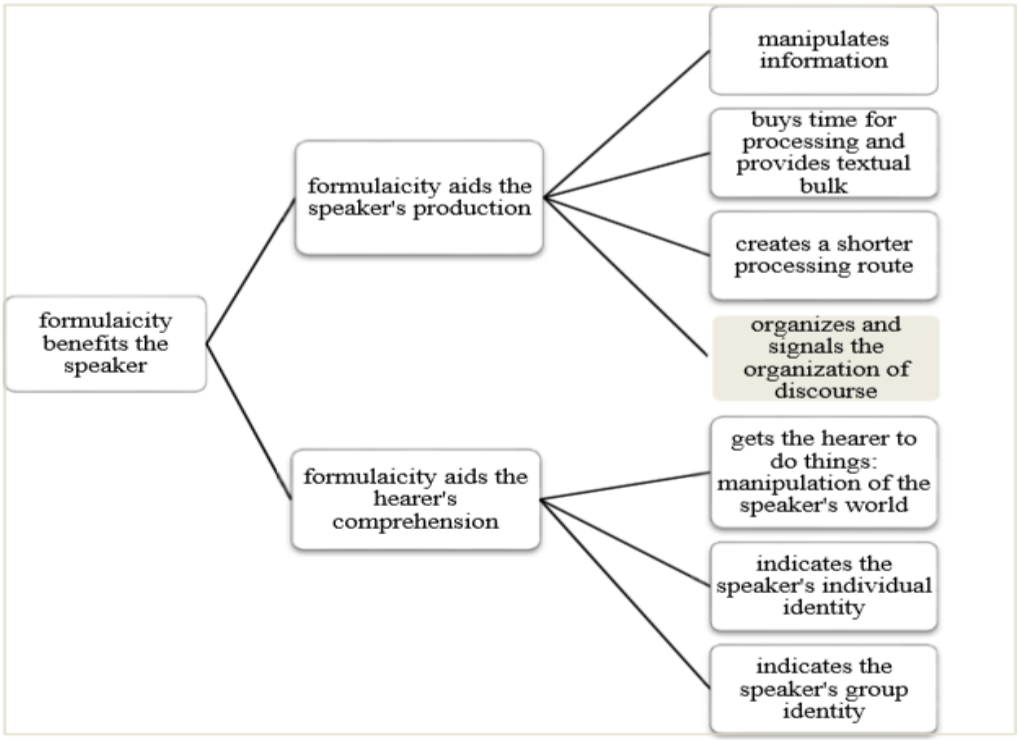

Figure 1. The roles and functions of formulaic sequences in benefiting the speaker. Adopted from Wray (2000), p. 478

Social linkage relies on consensual interpretation. Beside a speaker, it is important to note that hearers also have the processing burden. For them too, if the lexical phrase is recognized, there is no need to analyse language exhaustively so they rather process the incoming language by 'matching' strategy. Therefore, the function of the formulaic expressions is relieving of both the speaker's and hearer's burden. However, if the used phrase is not partly socially accepted or is not a part of the listener's idiolect, sometimes it may create more problems than it solves.

They also facilitate conversational development and make verbal content appear less threatening, which is best reflected in the 'smooth talkers' speech. The politicians, for instance, are very much aware of the benefits of using formulaic expressions in their public speeches, whereas auctioneers and sportcasters use a great deal of formulaic language in order to successfully transmit large amounts of information under given time constraints.[2]

[2] Koenraad Kuiper's investigation (in Schmitt, 2004, p.40) into speech production relied on two professional groups for evidence - auctioneers and sports commentators since some sports are fast-paced and place great pressure on speakers to follow all that is going on.

These expressions are also very efficient in many of their functions like the aforementioned apologies, requests or topic shifting, like *by the way*. Formulaic sequences often take the form of conversational ellipsis containing social implications in language and resorting to formulas is often a safe ground (especially if one has nothing to say and yet has to say something in conversational rituals and norms). Language is arbitrary, and just like a sign is assigned to a sound, certain situations ask for a certain phrase. For instance, if someone achieves something great, the first thing we would normally say is not *I admire you*, though it would not be grammatically wrong, but we rather follow a norm by first saying *Congratulations!* or by employing more informal formulas - *thumbs up* and *way to go*, and then possibly add other elements. In the same manner of formulaic adoption, we tend to say Merry Christmas, which is a frozen phrase (we cannot creatively construct Happy Christmas*).

Furthermore, internet communication and jargon is largely based on these phrases and in the time of fast chat on social networks and forums, it has become an essential obligation to be acquainted with the abbreviations of such expressions or the time saviours – e.g. BRB (*be right back*), IDK (*I don't know)* IMO (*in my opinion*), FYI (*for your information*), BTW (*by the way*), AKA (*also known as*), IRL (*in real life*), etc. Sometimes these abbreviations are conversely used in real conversation as well and, as such, are an indication that formulaic expressions have to get more attention in classroom instruction.

2.3 Types

Formulaic sequences are, besides being defined differently by various experts, also categorized differently. For instance, Wray (2008, p.12) stated that even a single word unit can be a legitimate formulaic expression, while Fernandez-Parra (2008, p.52) refused the possibility of one word belonging to the class of formulaic expressions. Biber et al. (1999) classified the formulas in the following manner focusing mainly on the form as the point of categorization (the extended version):

- collocations - (*vivid imagination, heavy rain, take a shower, in return*)
- lexical bundles - (*as soon as possible, beside the point, so far so good, for your information, just in case)*

- binomial expressions (*here and there, now and then, day and night, bow and arrow, ham and eggs*)
- idioms - (*fly on the wall*-secret observer; *tie the knot*=get married, *put someone out of posture*=to retire somebody)
- proverbs - (*Too many cooks spoilt the broth*- Too many people cannot be included in one assignment because there is no agreement , *Don't judge a book by its cover*- Don't be superficial)
- expletives or curses and exclamations - (*Darn! You kidding, right? Oh my God!*)
- pause fillers and inserts - (*uhm, OK, well, so, you know, I mean, honestly, basically)*
- relatively fixed phrases- (*the____er, the ____er, a___ago)*

The feature of cross-functioning adds to their complexity, "the phenomenon of an expression being used with a function additional to its primary one" (Moon, 1992, pp- 21-22). Also, beside more explicit messages about the texts, formulaic expressions often carry the subtle subtextual information which makes their categorizing even more demanding.

Though it has not proved to have been an easy task and no proposition has generated unanimous agreement, many linguists have offered ample categorizations of formulaic sequences in adult native language. Becker (1975) provides six-category taxonomy that is mostly form-based and includes:

- polywords/multiword items (*to blow up, for good, powder room, to tie the knot*) – short, fixed phrases like idioms, phrasal verbs, compound nouns etc. whose meaning is not analysable by the rules of syntax, but can substitute for single words so are treated often as regular vocabulary and function like individual lexical items
- phrasal constraints (*by sheer coincidence, until later, you creep, down with the king*)- short, relatively fixed phrases with slots that permit some variation
- meta messages (*for that matter* = 'I just thought of a better way of making my point')
- sentence builders (*A gave B a long song and dance about_____, not only X but also Y*) – highly variable, up to sentence length, containing slots for parameters or arguments, non-canonical and discontinuous, and since they provide a skeleton for idea expression, they are used in a variety of social contexts
- situational utterances (*how can I ever repay you?, how are you today?, what's new?*) – usually complete sentences, amenable to the regular rules of syntax which provide a

framework for particular social interactions like greetings, partings, politeness routines, questions…

- verbatim texts (*better late than never, a rolling stone gathers no moss, the ballot is stronger than the bullet*). – entire texts of different length with extremely low variability, used for quotation or direct use, comprise numbers, alphabet, days of the week as memorized sequences or proverbs and aphorisms.

In another division, instead of meta messages, Nattinger (1980) uses 'deictic locutions' - short to medium length phrases of low variability, consisting of clauses or entire utterances, essentially, monitoring devices used to direct the flow of conversation (*as far as I know, if I were you, don't you think*) or to exercise social control (*hey, wait a minute, now look, see here, and then what*).

While later drawing heavily upon Becker's categorization, Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) offer yet another, more detailed approach, and rather than being form-based, focus on function-based accounts. Their major divisions focused on English for L2 learners are:

- Social interactions:
    - conversational maintenance
        - summoning (*how are you?, I didn't catch your name*)
        - clarifying (*what did you mean by X?*)
        - shifting turns (*could I say something here?*)
    - conversational purpose
        - questioning (*Do you X?)*
        - refusing (*I'm sorry but X*)
        - expressing sympathy (*I'm very sorry to hear about X*)

- Necessary topics (lexical phrases that mark topics about which learners are often asked):
    - autobiography *(my name is* ____)
    - time (*what time X; a* ____ *ago*)
    - location (*what part of the* ____)
    - weather (*it's very*____ *today*)

- Discourse devices:
    - temporal connectors (*the day/week/month/year before/after*__)

- exemplifiers (*in other words; it's like X*)
- summarizers (*to make a long story short; my point is that X*)

(Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, pp.60-66)

Following function-based approach, Aijmer's (1996) organized the classification around thanking, apologies, requests and offers as the major groups with multiple divisions. Most of the existent typologies or categorizations, however, suffer from the problem of having a large number of subtypes and, this way, sometimes lose usefulness as a descriptive tool (Wray, Perkins, 2000, pp-7-8). They also display difficulties in teasing apart form and function. Therefore, Bolinger (1976) proposed a categorization according to the extent of formulaic language fixedness which leads to the combination of form-based and function-based categories. Howarth (1998) also favours a continuum (from non-idiomatic to idiomatic) description and also finds it necessary to identify some word combinations in terms of their function, although his primary emphasis is form. His classifications are as follows: functional expressions – sequences with a discourse role like openers, slogans, proverbs; composite units – they retain a syntactic function; lexical collocations – consisting of two open class items (*ulterior motive*); grammatical collocations – consist of one open and one closed item (*in advance*) (Wray, Perkins, 2000, p.5).

To put it all together or to expand on Nattinger and DeCarrico's classification with providing more examples, polywords that are often used include: *in a nutshell, beside the point, so far so good, once and for all, at any rate, by all means, by the way, what on earth, all in all, so long, so to speak, for that matter, for the record, goes without saying,* etc. Another group is institutionalized expressions with pragmatic function i.e. those used in various social contexts and interactions, such as: *How do you do? Nice meeting you, Need a hand?, I'd be glad to, Can I come in?, Of course not, No way, Get a life, It's on the tip of my tongue…*Also, we tend to use a number of sentence heads or frames containing slots for speech parameters. The examples are: *My point here is that X, Have you heard about X, That reminds me of X, What did you mean by X…* Similar to these are phrasal constraints, short to medium-length phrases, such as *a_____ago, as good _____ as, as far as I _____, the_____er the _____er,…* Within the sphere of formulaic language types, the speaker also resorts to various discourse connectors, logical (*as a result of, because of, nevertheless, in spite of*), temporal (*the day after X, the next is X*) or spatial (*over here, around here*), fluency devices *(and so on, it seems to me, you see, I think, as a matter of fact),* exemplifiers (*in other words, for example*), relators (*not only X but*

also Y) , qualifiers (*it depends on X*), evaluators (*as far as I know, there's no doubt that*) or summarizers (*all in all, OK, so*) (MacKenzie, 2000, p.174).

	Collocations	Phrasal verbs	Idiomatic phrases	Lexical bundles	Formulaic language
Academic prose	97,406 (9.72%)	5,321 (0.53%)	29,288 (2.92%)	193,092 (19.27%)	325,107 (32.44%)
Fiction	61,375 (6.04%)	12,405 (1.22%)	26,314 (2.59%)	261,601 (25.75%)	361,695 (35.60%)
Newspaper language	72,261 (7.52%)	8,513 (0.89%)	21,999 (2.29%)	132,157 (13.76%)	234,930 (24.46%)
Spoken conversation	69,102 (6.82%)	13,319 (1.31%)	24,216 (2.39%)	590,770 (58.29%)	697,407 (68.81%)
BNC *Baby*	300,144 (7.52%)	39,558 (0.99%)	101,817 (2.55%)	1,177,620 (29.49%)	1,619,139 (40.55%)

Table 1. Frequency of formulaic categories in the BNC Baby corpus[3]; adopted from: Vilkaite, L. (2016)

2.4 Formulaic language in L2 and ESL classrooms

Teachers have often recognized the need to include more than single words in their lessons. Lexical items lead to fluency but are taught also because they provide raw material for later analysis and segmentation. In his highly influential book *The Lexical Approach*, Lewis (1993) offered a ground-breaking view on L2 asserting that large knowledge of vocabulary and a strong understanding of grammar did still not entail that the student would be able to speak effectively and fluently. Therefore, he advocated a shift from teaching isolated grammar and vocabulary to teaching lexical items. Calling for acquisition of formulaic sequences was necessary because although NNS are able to creatively produce grammatically correct sentences, these sometimes sound unnatural and odd. Lewis stresses that formulaic sequences are already grammaticalized, thus, he speculated that their use could result in NNS producing more grammatically accurate language. In fact, not only do these expressions enable students

[3] BNC Baby is a collection of corpora and sofware designed to demonstrate the full potential of corpus linguistics in the teaching of English language and literature.

to speak faster and with fewer errors, but as they are able to constantly monitor their grammar, they also become even more cautious and feel safer about producing language.

EFL students, especially in their early stage of acquiring the language, have shown a number of difficulties in producing natural fixed expressions, if they would resort to such, in the first place. In the latter stage of their language learning, they usually display greater freedom and confidence in the use of formulaic expressions, especially regarding collocations and lexical bundles. But still there are a few types they still mainly do not "dare" to use (e.g. idioms since both their form and literal meaning in L2 usually have no connections with their form in mother tongue).

Formulaic sequences appear to be stored in the mind as holistic units, but they may not be acquired in an all or nothing matter. Many formulaic sequences are partially known for a number of exposures until they become entirely mastered. Many researchers agree (Wray, Peters) that when formulaic sequences are learnt gradually and over time (as in the L1 case), the later stages of acquisition consist of 'filling in' the gaps in the initial incomplete rendering of the sequence. Peters (1983) suggests that some elements of syntactic structure of formulaic phrases may later be extracted through a process of segmentation. Similar scenario of 'filling in' the gaps could apply to L2 learning. Flexible slots that some formulaic sequences contain which can be filled with semantically and contextually suitable words or phrases, have been proven to aid the learning process. This property of flexibility and usually semantic transparency, makes them easier to learn and use, since it allows for the more liberate compositions. This question of incremental acquisition, as opposed to the holistic acquisition, is interesting inasmuch as it also determines which formulaic sequences are practical to teach to L2 learners.

There were some important experiments conducted to examine the ties between explicit instruction of formulaic sequences to L2 students and their fluency in spontaneous conversation. The results of the Boers et al. (2006) study suggested that even simply teaching the students to notice formulaic expressions in a given co-text will improve their fluency. The experimental group of students which was introduced to the fixed expressions from their materials, in the interviews that followed, also displayed the ability to recycle a great number of those expressions from the article that they had read. It was not clear whether the students utilized those items also in the spontaneous conversations outside the classroom after the post test, but they certainly demonstrated better results in class. The relationship between the NNSs' knowledge of formulaic expressions and their spoken fluency or communicative competence

was also researched by Hsu&Chiu (2008) who holistically measured audio recordings of participants' monologues before and after the students took part in a six-week workshop focused exclusively on teaching formulaic sequences. Besides showing the substantial fluency and the increased use of formulaic expressions, the study also stressed that only 30% of the entire amount of formulaic sequences the student used in the post-test was introduced in the course, and the rest was acquired by students on their own. It is of great importance to know that explicit teaching of formulaic structures to L2 students also teaches them to notice those items on their own, and to gradually incorporate those into spontaneous conversations.

In recent years, the focus of language teaching has, as mentioned, shifted from language-based teaching to communication-based teaching and formulaic language is now included in the curriculum of language programs. Communicative based teaching (CLT) emerged thus as one of the approaches which aimed at developing "a functional communicative L2 competence in the learner" (Dornyei, 2009, p. 33; Ustunbas, 2014, p. 28). CLT does not principally focus on knowing rules, but a stock of partially preassembled patterns, formulaic frameworks (Dornyei, 2009, pp 39-40).

In addition to and in the aftermath of Boers' study that revealed how noticing activities that focus on formulaic expressions help students to use them more, Webb, Newton and Chang (2013) have proposed that collocations can be acquired after 15 times of encounters, thus requiring much of repeated exposure. Many studies showed that learners were more likely to know the words which they would encounter more times.

Logically, greater exposure to language enhances the likelihood of using the formulaic expressions and chunking which finally enables learners to obtain native-like fluency. The findings often revealed that the more exposed to the formulaic language the students were in their textbooks, the more they would use them in their oral exams, but also they displayed more frequent use of those expressions in paired tasks when they were expected to conduct a dialogue, rather than in conducted monologues. (Üstünbaş, Ortaçtepe, p. 8-9). "On the spot" language production, various in-class debates and discussions and student individual as well as group presentations on a given topic have proven to promote the use of formulaic language.

Problem management is a salient feature of L2 speech that occurs at many levels of the production process and is, to a large extent, tied to formulaic language use. When the speakers meet the difficulties in lexical retrieval, they abandon or change the original plan or they keep the macro-plan and modify the preverbal message which results in message reduction or

message replacement (Dornyei, Kormos, 1998, p. 361). There are various ways speakers manage problems and overcome difficulties in L2 communication. Following Dörnyei and Scott (1997), we distinguish four main sources of L2 communication problems: (a) resource deficits connected to lexical, phonological and grammatical problem solving mechanism, (b) processing time pressure connected to time gaining and stalling mechanism, (c) perceived deficiencies in one's own language output when a speaker resorts to self-correction, and (d) perceived deficiencies in the interlocutor's performance related to meaning negotiation.

There is a wide range of coping mechanisms associated with these problem areas (e.g. communication strategies, meaning negotiation mechanisms, hesitation devices, repair mechanism: *Sort of, what I'm trying to say…)* (Dornyei, Kormos, 1998, pp. 349, 368). In this paper however, the focus was placed on those related to formulaic language use when encountering an issue of time pressure, meaning negotiation and, at times, resource deficit. With relation to the first problem, in order to gain time and devote additional attention to processing, L2 speakers can employ various formulaic stalling or hesitation devices. Meaning negotiation is yet another type of a strategy in situations when a speaker wants to avoid misunderstanding or ask for clarification while repair mechanisms are used when a speaker directly or indirectly appeals for verbal help from an interlocutor.

3. Previous research

Earlier L2 research in the 1970s and 1980s displayed the frequency and level of use of multiword units i.e. formulas in the L2 acquisition (Hakuta, 1974, Fillmore, 1979, Ellis, 1984). There has also long been an interest in the use of formulaic language by L2 learners among other linguist researchers like Krashen and Scarcella (1978), Schmitt and Carter (2004), while the studies of identification and classification of formulas offered a functional or pragmatic perspective (Girard and Sionis, 2003; Kecskes, 2000). Also, some of the recent studies explored the topic from a perspective of deeper insight into the processing of formulas by second language speakers in EFL classrooms; for instance, such are the works by Dornyei and Kormos (1998), Jiang and Nekrasova (2007), Ustunbas (2014), Neno and Agustien (2016) and Le-Thi, Rogers and Pellicer-Sanchez (2017).

Through their conducted experiments, the findings supported the idea that both native and non-native speakers or L2 learners responded with formulaic sequences significantly faster than with non-formulaic ones (Jiang, Nekrasova, 2007, p.433). The prefabricated sequences

have both the advantage of more efficient and faster retrieval and relieve the learner of concentrating on each individual word component by permitting the speaker to focus attention rather on the larger discourse structure and social interaction (Nattinger, pp.75-77). As Ellis (2008) mentions, learning the form of formulae is simply the associative learning of sequences, easily understood through the process of chunking and proceduralization.[4] L2 learners face a major challenge of reorganizing communication across the connections which they mostly solve by relying on these processes.

Researchers like Boers, Eyckmans, Kappel and Stengers (2006) or Hsu&Chiu (2008) have noticed and proved in their experiments that in order to use formulaic expressions appropriately, students first need to get sufficiently exposed to them, and then are able to notice them. These are the two essential prerequisites for achieving oral proficiency. Therefore, adequate amount of input needs to be provided through classroom activities (aside from the teacher and other sources of exposure - textbooks, which use only a limited number of frequently used expressions). When discussing different types of tasks which are known to affect learners' performance, Okada and Greer (2013) suggest these tasks include news-telling and role-playing tasks, which would promote natural flow of conversation and serve well for the pragmatic function. Furthermore, Tekmen and Daloglu (2006) stress the importance of incidental learning and extensive reading in order to achieve the necessary frequency of encounters.

All the earlier mentioned findings combined with the findings of this study as well, still do not solve the issue of an open question – which formulaic sequences to teach, since it is impossible to include them all, given their multitude and diversity. One pedagogical approach is to teach the groups which offer the most coverage in language in the sense they are most useful and feasible. The two major and broadest types of formulaic expressions, lexical bundles and collocations are considered the category that should get the most of classroom time. However, given their transparency in meaning, they obviously do not always have to be taught directly or on the receptive level (reading and listening), but if teachers wish their students to

[4] Chunking implies the ability to build up chunks (units of memory organization composed of pre-formed elements) recursively, thus leading to a hierarchical organization of memory (Ellis, 2008, pp. 70-76), while proceduralization (Anderson, 1993) refers to a cognitive process that transfers newly learned material into a smoothly operating procedure which then requires minimal attentional control.

use lexical bundles productively (in speaking or writing) then they are faced with a challenge of selecting which lexical bundles to teach.

Unfortunately, there are no lists of general language and ready guidance. In solving this problem of selecting items to prioritize, Simpson-Vlach and Ellis created Academic Formulas List, and Shin and Nation (2008) developed a list of most frequent collocations. In the case of idiomatic phrases (more frequent than core idioms) and phrasal verbs, the situation is quite the opposite. They cover much less percentage of the language (around 3%) and they are non-transparent in meaning, so their most frequent examples need attention both on the receptive and productive level. Grant and Nation (2006) and Garnier & Schmitt (2015) created the lists that could be useful as a starting point for pedagogy (Vilkaite, 2016, pp. 19-20).

4. Study

4.1 Aims

Formulaic expressions are, as has been established, essential for EFL students to appear natural and fluent in their oral performance. The main research questions were:

1) What are the types of formulaic language that L2 students used in a classroom, what is their frequency of occurrence and how do they differ from their teacher's use?

2) Do students make mistakes when resorting to formulas and (semi)fixed phrases and what type of mistakes do they make?

3) How does formulaic language help in negotiation of meaning and as a part of communication strategies the students rely on?

This study aimed at determining the types of formulaic expressions used by the students, their frequency and the probable reasons behind choosing the particular types as well as the students' problems and their strategies to cope with communicative demands. I also mentioned the mistakes the students made most frequently in employing a formula or a phrase and explained the correction of their odd or wrong constructions. The classes were composed of various speaking, listening, reading and writing tasks, but this paper focused on the spoken content in spontaneous/natural situations exclusively (when a student was composing a sentence at that exact moment, that is, on the spot), such as in-class discussions, debates (which

proved most useful as a type of a task in which learners use formulaic language), oral examinations or any type of student-to-student or student-to-teacher formal or informal conversation that would occur in English.

4.2 Methodology and research participants

Cross-sectional approach, which was adopted in the study, entailed the observation of a different subsets of a population all at the same time. This study was based on classroom discourse analysis which used mostly quantitative approach and then descriptive approach. The research was conducted on 75 students and research subjects/participants were third and fourth graders in Croatian (Zagreb) high schools – the observed age group was 17-19 years old. The data were obtained by recording their interactions for 1-2 hours each group both in gymnasiums and vocational/technical schools of Zagreb. It is important to note that the students were deliberately not informed about the topic of the research in order to obtain the most spontaneous, least controlled and least self-aware language production. Students were informed about a general aim of the study and they gave their consent to be researched. In the description of the results of this study, I concentrated on the assessments of the audio recordings. The recordings were transcribed and, after all data were collected, they were analysed and categorized mostly based on Biber's et al. (1999) corpus linguistics and Nattinger and DeCarrico's classifications (See Appendix for selected extras).

It is my belief that the results provide an interesting insight into the use and treatment of formulaic sequences in schools, especially considering that students themselves were sometimes not aware of how much they do or do not produce them. I also hope that the study highlighted the importance of this phenomenon. However, it is only a path for further measurements and analyses, because teaching formulaic language in schools and second language program is yet to be further developed and implemented as it best fits to students and teachers (through implicit or explicit instruction).

4.3 Results and discussion

4.3.1 Most common types used in a classroom

The following tables serve as the answers to the first research question and demonstrate the frequency of the types of formulaic language in the observed EFL classrooms according to two categorizations: form-based and function based, and the compared student-teacher use of the most repeated formulas.

Form-based types of formulaic expressions	**Times spoken (321)**	**Percentage**
Lexical bundles	128	40 %
Collocations	52	16 %
Polywords/multiword items	6	2 %
Binomial expressions	4	1 %
Relatively fixed phrases or phrasal constraints	27	8 %
Idioms and idiomatic constructions	7	2 %
Proverbs	-	0 %
Verbatim	6	2 %
Expletives	-	0 %
Inserts and pause fillers	80	25 %
Phrasal verbs	11	4 %

Table 2. The frequency of form-based types of formulaic expressions in EFL classrooms in the observed Croatian high schools.

Function-based types of formulaic expressions	**Times spoken (216)**	**Percentage**
Social interactions • conversational maintenance (summoning, clarifying, shifting turns and topic) • conversational purpose (questioning, situation bound utterances)	14 23	6% 11%

Necessary topics • autobiography • time/location/weather	 12 -	 6% 0
Discourse devices • temporal connectors • quantifiers • logical connectors • summarizers • exemplifiers • fluency devices, discourse organizers /stylistic formulas (including meaning negotiation, sentence heads) • pause fillers	 17 17 4 11 3 35 80	 8% 8% 2% 5% 1% 16% 37%

Table 3. The frequency of function-based types of formulaic expressions in EFL classrooms in the observed Croatian high schools.

Most repetitive formulaic expressions	**Student use (107)**	**Teacher use (68)**
OK	7	5
So	17	11
Well	6	-
Like	14	-
As….as	4	3
Let's	1	3
Of course	2	3
Finally	2	1
I think	5	-
Looking forward to	-	3
Obviously	4	-
A lot of	5	-
In the end	1	2

At least	-	3
When it comes to	2	2
Hello, my name is	12	-
That's it/all	4	-
Can you (please) tell me	-	5
I'd like you to	-	3
What about	-	3
What else	-	4
And then	6	-
First of all	3	1
Sort of/kind of	3	-
Maybe (even)	4	3
Each other	2	1
Basically	3	-
Go on	-	3

Table 4. The comparison of student-teacher use of formulaic expressions in EFL classrooms in the observed Croatian high schools.

The goal of this study was, broadly speaking, to investigate the use of formulaic language in EFL classes in Croatian high schools, or more specifically, to observe which types are used, at what frequency, in which situations the students resort to formulas (which strategies they apply in order to sound fluent or to avoid time pressure as well as to avoid straight answers or alleviate any direct statements, to be socially accepted, etc.). It should be noted, however, that the types of lectures varied (from more debate type of a format to more task-oriented format), so the whole potentially coincidental context (perhaps the lectures are not always like that) should be taken into account.

The analysis of the in-class recorded material for this study showed that the students do use formulaic sequences, although with variable level of frequency and correctness. Frequency of usage is most connected to the perceived freedom of oral expression and the time the students are given to state their point in classroom discussions. It is also tightly related to the topic selection – if they can relate to it from the personal experience and then connect them to the echoes and patterns of the previous conversations on such a topic to pull the schemes from. The

theme of something they already have an opinion on usually gives them more liberty and relaxation to resort to the formulaic phrases, for instance, whether the period of being a teenager is the best period in their lives, or when they would need to give their task partner an imagined tour around their school, or discussing media and TV commercials. The degree of formality in discourse also influences the choice of their formulaic expressions if they do resort to them. Aside from an open discussion in which a student is encouraged to speak on a topic by using several sentences and not only short, one-sentence answer (as always, thus in the case of encouraging spoken formulas as well, Ts should use open questions, not yes-no), there is a considerable amount of formulaic expressions noted at the beginning of a class, in-between tasks or at the end of lectures when the teacher makes the introductory preparation of the class and gives the directives and instructions for the assignments.

Also, the format of oral discussion showed that giving each student enough time to express themselves, will more likely lead to the use of formulas. The more they talk, the greater the chances they will use a formulaic expression because then they stop thinking heavily about whether they fill in the slots properly, etc.

321 case of formulaic expressions' use was noticed in totality of classes listened (given that some were repeated so it does not equal the number of how many different expressions were used in class). In total, they took up around 15% of the entire class discourse. As for the most common and least common types used regarding form-based classification (Table 2) for which I applied Biber's et al. typology (and expanded where I saw necessary), the results showed that the students used collocations, lexical bundles, inserts, idioms, and binomial expressions. The most frequent types were collocations, lexical bundles and inserts since the students were more familiar with their more transparent meaning unlike semantically obscure idioms. As for the function-based categories (Table 3) I used Nattinger and DeCarrico's classification adding elaboration of MacKenzie's work. It is important again to note that it was possible that the instances in both form-based classification and function-based one overlap sometimes, and that they take more than one position. The most basic example is with *OK* which can act as an insert and summarizer. Also, the number of spoken items lessened when applying function-based classification, because it excludes forms like phrasal verbs, collocations and polywords. Table 3 showed that pause fillers in this classification took up the largest amount, then followed by fluency devices and stylistic formulas, after which conversational purpose and maintenance step in with regard to their percentages. In Table 4,

one can see the extraction of the most repetitive examples from those types mentioned above. I took the ones that were uttered more than 2 times in classrooms. For the comparison, alongside the students' use, I placed the teacher's uttering of those same ones, and vice versa.

In gymnasium schools, the students tend to speak more freely and openly than in vocational schools. Gymnasium schools and vocational ones differed in their usage of formulaic sequences; for example, in the former case, the students displayed greater freedom and confidence in producing longer sentences which also contained more formulas, whereas in vocational schools they would mostly stick to the short answers without much elaboration. I decided that comparison between the schools will not be made, but rather I opted to give the average picture of pervasiveness of formulaic languages in all high schools. The occasional unnatural production of some phrases owed to the interference of L1 into the L2 production or mixing of different phrases into one which ended in odd construction sometimes. However, it should be emphasized that less mistakes were made in the structure of formulas then in other constructions which are mostly likely made from scratch.

The last aspect concerning the types of formulas related to observing which ones are the most and least encouraged types of formulaic expressions in a classroom – for instance, 'like' or 'and stuff' being rather discouraged. One teacher even implemented a method of throwing 1kuna in a so-called 'like jar' every time a student used that word as a pause filler. And it seemed to be working - students seemed more capable of monitoring their output. On the other hand, teachers encouraged more situational utterances, and more formal forms, such as *may I* instead of *can I* in making requests. As exemplified, teachers also mostly refrained from using inserts as formulaic types in their classroom speech.

4.3.2 The most frequent mistakes including formulaic phrases

The mistakes that were noticed in Ss' language production fell into the following categories: the choice of a wrong or invented expression which leads to odd constructions, the emission of articles, the choice of a wrong preposition (including those within phrasal verbs), missing subject (they would start a sentence with a verb), or with reported questions where there is no subject-verb inversion. When further analysed and narrowed down, the three largest groups of mistakes concerned the wrong choice of entire expressions or were related to prepositions and articles.

Examples of odd constructions:

"My parents are extremely liberal **as my bringing up goes"** - The intended expression was probably: **As far as my bringing up is concerned**

"I am already lost for the world, it's going down**" –** The intended expression was probably: **It is already too late for me / I'm a lost case**.

"(…)Windows that **believed to be** hundred years old, **maybe even longer**" – The intended expression was: **that are believed to be** and **maybe even older**.

"From my personal knowledge, (…)." - Rather: **From my own experience; As far as I know/can tell; To (the best of) my knowledge**

"I thought that I can **do something of myself** when I could…" – The correct expression would be **make something of myself.**

Examples of wrong prepositions:

"First, Santa Claus isn't connected **with** Christians and religion"- The intended preposition would be **to.**

"I feel like I don't wanna **look in** that."- The intended phrasal verb is **look at,** and the preposition is **at.**

"There's a staircase so I can **fall off, fall down**" - Here, self-correction was at work. The correct phrasal verb is on the second place with the preposition **down.**

"Up until the age of 16 we are allowed to **stay** until 2 am."- Missing preposition in a phrasal verb which is supposed to be **stay out.**

"So, when it **comes up to** Santa and his gifts (…)"- The extra preposition is **up,** the intended phrasal verb is only **comes to.**

"And as for the eating habits, eating junk food for one day a year is really not a bad habit, we only know about Santa that **he's eating cookies** for one day **in** the year" – The wrong preposition **in** should be substituted with the preposition **of** or indefinite article **a :** one day **a** year, **of the** year + wrong tense (present simple, not present continuous).

"Teenagers have to **decide** their career path and with that, their future life."- The missing preposition is **on,** in order to have **decide on something.**

Examples of missing articles:

"To us it's **(a)** secret"

"We can see **(a)** positive review."

"They almost never show **(the)** people, only **(the)** hand."

"We can learn from Santa that giving not only makes us **(a)** better person, but also **(a)** healthier person."

Mistakes belonging to other categories:

"And the last question was why **is** this message sent." - Inversion gets lost in the reported questions, so the sentence would be: And the last question was why this message **is** sent.

"This message was sent so that women can **easier** clean the mess." - Adjective is mistaken for an adverb, so the correct sentence would be: This message was sent so that the women can clean the mess **more easily**.

"Like, **want** us to go to Erste bank and just sign in and also use this D-Tuesday." – There is an emission of a subject which needs to be present before the verb and the wrong 3rd person verb form; the correct sentence would be: **She wants** us to go to Erste bank (…).

"We think twice about things we **done**."- Wrong tense format; if present perfect is used, there is a part of the verb which is missing before past participle- **have -> have done**.

When approaching the errors in analysing student's linguistic material the question was also if the Ss were afraid of making a mistake. And to which degree that would affect their overall performance. Some groups were rather shy to speak in general and some were speaking

only through short answers. From the teacher's side, asking them to reply in full sentences is potentially beneficial for linguistic development in formulaic sense.

The example of short answers where a student does not fully exercise the linguistic performance:

P: "Do you agree with this message?"

Ss: Yes.

P: What is your favourite season?

Ss: Summer.

4.3.3 Formulaic language as a problem-solving mechanism and communicative strategy

Several communication strategies and problem solving mechanisms were employed in EFL classrooms of Croatian high schools. Since L2 speakers naturally face delayed production, in order to avoid lengthy silent periods in conversation, the students applied stalling mechanisms or time-gaining devices. These time pressure dealing mechanisms in the observed schools involved lexicalized phrases or formulaic fillers such as: *well, you know, I think, actually, basically, OK, so* etc.

Negotiation of meaning as another strategy was employed when the speaker was concerned that the parties do not share the same frames or scenarios. When the speaker wanted to ask for repetition or clarification from the interlocutor because they were sometimes unable to infer conversational implication or indirect speech acts, formulaic phrases like *Excuse me?, I beg your pardon?* (the formal ones mostly used by the teacher), *Sorry? What do you mean?, Could it be a…, Are you trying to say that…* were used to politely avoid misunderstanding.

Ss also often resorted to a direct or indirect appeal for help (from the listener) and the formula examples of such phrases are *He was a …what's the name* or *You know this thing?, …but you see where I'm going/ You know what I mean.* This is a part of a tip of the tongue phenomenon, when one resorts to formulaic phrase when trying to induce some help from the addressee in the process of articulation, such as *It's some kind of a/ sort of a …* and there were several examples of that in the observed schools.

These mechanisms could even out or hide the problems when the appropriate formulas were applied, with their vast potential and power for rendering any speech more illustrative and fluent.

5. Conclusion

Many researchers on the subject argue that when we discuss improvisation and creativity in language, the phrases and sentences are often not produced *ex nihilo* or from scratch (from an individual repository of about several thousand words), but that they are often prefabricated and largely fixed.

It is now certain that the vast amount of our mental lexicon is composed of lexical phrases. Thanks to formulaic sequences, we retain language in chunks, we generate locutions and produce far longer fluent, effortless, pause-free, multi-clause utterances spontaneously in speech precisely because we employ and rely on so many institutionalized phrases. Since they are ready made, they need little encoding work, and thus, the speaker can concentrate on a larger discourse purely by expanding on those chunks. It also allows the addressees to focus their attention to the larger structure and content of the discourse rather than on individual words.

The purpose of this study was to explore formulaic language use in L2 production, namely, in Croatian high schools through students' spontaneous and unaffected spoken production. The aim was also to point to the most and least common types as well as to their frequency of occurrence and which activities and class format could prove useful for the encouragement of using those formulas.

The results of form-based classification showed that the students most frequently used collocations, lexical bundles and inserts since they were more familiar with their rather transparent meaning unlike semantically obscure idioms. When it comes to function-based classification, discourse devices (with pause fillers as their most dominant subtype) appeared as most numerous. Altogether, formulaic expressions took up around 15% of the entire classroom discourse.

Formulaic expressions, as it has been earlier exposed, act as a set of conversational strategies themselves; for instance, in order to avoid lengthy silent periods in conversation, the

students applied stalling mechanisms which involved lexicalized phrases or formulaic fillers. Furthermore, there has been a recorded usage of formulas as a strategical negotiation of meaning and a direct or indirect appeal for help (from the listener). Naturally, there were some errors when producing formulas, though when compared to creative/analytical language production, students were less likely to make a mistake when they used formulaic language.

The activities like structured debates and discussions, student oral presentations on a given topic and role-playing tasks have proven most successful in promoting the use of formulaic language in a class. With their valid application and infusion in the syllabi, formulaic expressions are potentially on the right direction to enter Ss' L2 linguistic registers.

Abbreviations and transcription symbols

L1- first language

L2- second language

S- student

Ss- students

T- teacher

NS- native speaker

NNS- non-native speaker

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Appendix:

Extracts from class discourses in four high schools (October – December, 2017)

Example 1 (debate):

- S1: We enjoy physical aspect of things. We don't get **as** ill **as** adults do, our metabolism is much better, much (*inaudible*) because we're younger, **obviously**, it's biological. **It's believed** we enjoyed life **much more than** mature people do, which is obviously true because we don't have as much responsibilities. Our only responsibility is, **basically,** being a good student, going to school, taking care of ourselves **in that aspect**. We are financially dependent on our parents, **but then again** you can get a job, you can earn money which you can spend on the things that you like. And **a lot of** parents will give you money and they won't ask for much **in return,** maybe to be a good student and maybe to help with a little housework which is **not a big deal** if you compare it to their responsibilities. We have a lot of freedom, **up until the age of** 16 we are allowed to stay until 2 am. Many say that we don't have much liberty **in that sense. When you turn** 18, your parents don't really **have a say in it anymore.** And you're allowed to stay out **as much as** you want**. And obviously, it's just…it all comes down to** a good relationship with your parents, your will to think as an adult, think logically. We are not responsible for most of the things that happen to us, our parents **take care of** most of the things. We don't have to decide what career you want to pursue; nobody is forcing you. Nobody said that you need to start **this and this** at the age that and that. If you start early, it can bring you benefits, but nobody is forcing you to do something you don't want.

Example 2 (role-playing task):

- S1: **So, as soon as** (*inaudible*) this academic building, we can see our first artefacts. This modern, equipped and ground-breaking machine was bought by the school's CEO this very year.
- S2: **Oh my god**, does it work **all the time**?

- S1: 75% of the time.
- S2: Is the coffee really good, is it **worth it**?
- S1: **Of course** it is, it's the original ancient Mayan beverage. And here is what the students called the standard the infamous teta Biba, it sells everything, **from sandwiches to** some other sandwiches. It's really crowded there, but is she, **like,** yeah. (*laugh, inaudible*) Is she **friends with** the students, **tell me more about her. Well**, she is the semi-mythical persona of the school.
- T: Semi-what?
- S1: Semi-mythical.
- S1: And if we go into the toilets we can notice that some elements are missing, **shall we say**.
- S2: **Which ones** are missing?
- (…)
- S1: Recently, our school got a generous donation from infamous Mr Bandić and equipped the modern hall with lights.
- S2: I didn't know that the mayor cared **so much** about the school.
- S1: Yes, he's exquisite and very generous, but sadly, the lights don't really point to the stage. And this is the invention of professor (…), the 'like jar'. (*crosstalk*)
- S2: **Oh my god,** I really like this school, I think it's really unique.
- T: Very very nice. **Ok, anyone else,** who would like to, uhm, share? Ok, S1 and S3. Listen, we still have 5 minutes.
- S4: [Ajde.]
- S5: **Hello, welcome to** (*name of the school*). We have a rich history... (*inaudible, laugh*). Our beautiful bathroom's missing sinks where in a war-
- S6: Well, you have a sink, but you can't, **like**…
- T: You can't 'like'?
- S6: The water doesn't work. It's magical, because you see, some things, they exist but they don't have water, and other things don't exist **at all.**
- S5: There was a great war between (*name of the school*) and (*name of the school).* We lost. It was a brutal defeat, many casualties. (*inaudible).*
- S3: Ok, on the second floor, female bathroom, there is a missing sink because someone broke it and then stole it.
- T: What?

- S3: [Samo neke priče.]
- S5: Than we have a creepy side of our beautiful school, the broken projectors, they don't work obviously, but in the night you can still see some light through the windows. Nobody can explain it. Not even the biggest scholars of (*name of the school*). Not even (*name of the principal*). But that mystery died with him. (*inaudible*). It was repainted, **like**…
- T: Like?
- S5: Where is it?
- S: It's here.
- S5: [Daj, ja trebam zamijenit, onak…] The paintings were all unfortunately repainted at the start of the year but new paintings emerged. (*laugh*)
- Then we have the infamous **air conditioning**. (*crosstalk*) It's quite an amazing story. There is **a folk tale** that Marie Curie had her original experiments here and that the air conditioning still has the poisonous gases. Nobody dares to turn them on because the risk is too high.
- And we come to the biggest accomplishment that our (*name of the principal*) invented, the toilet paper. It was Golden age for (*name of the school*). THE Golden age. And our lord gave us the presence…(*laugh*) I'm sorry.

Example 3 (group presentations):

- T: Guys, please come **over here** and take your ads.
- S1: (*Inaudible)*
- T: Oh you don't like this one, you will tell me why. Who created this one, this message?
- S2: This is created by Erste bank. **Well**, we can see a woman in a uniform and she is pointing her finger at us. Like, she want* us to go to Erste bank and just sign in and is* also use this D Tuesday. And some people see it**, like,** she is telling us „you need to do it", and it can scare you, some people, but also some people see it as a good decision.
- T: Is it really for the bank or something else? What is D utorak?
- S2: The day when we get some discounts.
- T: If you use…which card?
- Ss: Diners card.
- T: **Ok so**, what values and lifestyles are represented in the message?
- S2 and 3: **You can get a discount**.

- T: But what is it promoting?
- S2: Buying.
- T: Yes, buying, shopping, consumerism, buy, buy. And you said that you didn't like the ad, why?
- S1: Yes, because, **I think,** we see it on TV, it's, **like,** stupid, they are running and yelling and **it doesn't make any sense**, it's not really connected to the thing they are representing.
- T: But if you run fast you can get all the discounts if you're **in a good shape.**
- S1: Yes, they wanted to [pripremiti], uhm, prepare us to go to all these thousand different shops where you can get a discount.
- T: This is like Uncle Sam's "I want you to join the US Army". So they are playing with some historical things from the past. And do you feel like going to shopping when you see her?
- S1: No.
- T: **How do you feel**?
- S1: I feel like I don't wanna look in* that. And irritated.
- T: Ok, **any questions**? Ladies, would you please come out? You can keep this.

Example 4 (oral examination):

- S1: Can I go to the bathroom?
- T: Yes, **go ahead.** Grammar part and vocabulary part, **as always.** But before that, I need to talk to Ana. **The rest of the class** will open their books… Tomorrow we're going to do your vocabulary and grammar test.
- We'll evaluate everything after I'm done here with S2. So what are you supposed to do **in the meantime**? Open your workbooks and look at the vocabulary part and grammar part. We should have at least **one workbook per desk**.
- Ss: (*inaudible*)
- T: So, S2, **can you tell me everything you know about** Othello?
- S2: It's a tragedy, the **plot is based on** Othello who is Moreish, means he's a black man **of** Arab **descent**. He's the main character. Iago is jealous of him, he **tricks him into thinking** his wife is cheating on him, so he kills her. Than he realized that it was bad.
- T: **And what happens in the end**? What does Othello do?
- S2: He kills himself.
- T: Yes, but what is the main theme of the play?

- S2: Racial prejudice
- T: Racial prejudice, but **something else.**
- S2: Jealousy.

(…)

- T: **Ok, who's next?** And **that's it**, you're **the last one, right**?
- T: What can you tell me about Elizabethan era in general?
- S3: Uhm, Elizabethan era is a part of English Renaissance during Queen Elisabeth I who was the queen. Writers of that time were Marlowe and Shakespeare.
- T: **What was it like at that time**? What did the people do?
- S3: People mostly lived in small towns, usually **farmers-**
- T: What was their **way of life**?
- S3: They, uhm, they were craftsmen, they were butchers or would make leather work, etc. London at that time was overpopulated. They didn't have proper **sewage systems** so they had lots of **outbreaks of diseases** like the plague. They had many theatres, **both private and public ones.**