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Redundancy in ELF: A Corpus-Based Study on Negative and Modal Concord

Abstract: English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) is a contact language that has attracted great attention due to its unique global role. Thus, numerous studies have been conducted to determine its characteristics, among which research on such processes as, for example, simplification, added prominence or redundancy underlying language use in the ELF context is of the main interest. Therefore, the paper aims to broaden the perspective on redundancy in ELF, focusing on negative and modal concord in spoken and written data. With the reliance on *VOICE*, *ELFA*, and *WrELFA* corpora, the analysis shows that both phenomena are noticeable in ELF; however, while redundancy in terms of modal concord appears in spoken and written ELF, negative concord is characteristic only of spoken data.

Keywords: English as a lingua franca, contact languages, redundancy, negative concord, modal concord

1. English as a lingua franca

English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) is an example of a contact language that has spread on a global scale (Seidlhofer 2005; Hülmbauer et al. 2008; Mauranen 2015; Christiansen 2016). Although initially treated as a deviant phenomenon from the English language (Firth 1990; 1996), ELF has started to be perceived as a variety in its own right (Fiedler 2011), the analysis of which may shed light on how language is used among people in the context of a global lingua franca. Therefore, numerous studies have been conducted on ELF in relation to both its general tendencies (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2004) as well as dominant features in a given domain, e.g. business (Pitzl 2010; Martins 2017), education (Si 2019; Lai 2020), internet communication (Ke and Cahyani 2014; Chen et al. 2015),

or academia (Björkman 2013; Wang 2018; Sung 2019). In fact, ELF research is constantly developing and has become a “vast, widely known and largely accepted research field” (Jenkins et al. 2018, 1). However, despite the growing number of scholars focusing on written ELF (Önder 2012; Mur-Dueñas 2015; Yilmaz and Römer 2020), previous research has mostly been concerned with spoken data (Laitinen 2020).

The beginnings of ELF research emphasizing its uniqueness focused on the description of emerging elements that do not lead to communicative problems among ELF speakers. To illustrate this, it has been found they tend to rely on the non-standard use of, among others, articles, prepositions, adverbs, and relative pronouns as well as the omission of the third person singular *-s* in present tense verbs or objects of transitive clauses (Erling and Bartlett 2006; Dewey 2006). On the other hand, great attention has been paid to establishing underlying mechanisms that motivate this type of language use. One of the proposals is offered by Cogo and Dewey (2006; 2012), who state that the use of ELF is characterized by such motives as exploiting redundancy, regularization, added prominence, explicitness, clarity of proposition, as well as accommodation. However, with reference to redundancy, a certain discrepancy may be noticed as researchers emphasize ELF speakers’ tendency to either avoid or rely on elements considered redundant to achieve mutual understanding. Nevertheless, before moving to a description of how redundancy is presented in ELF research, let us have a brief look at how redundancy may be defined.

2. Redundancy in ELF

As stated by Leufkens (2013, 338), redundancy “involves constructions or sentences in which one pragmatic or semantic unit has more than one formal equivalent” and may be exemplified by, for instance, negative or modal concord (Leufkens 2015). As for the former (see Anderwald 2005; Giannakidou 2006; Van der Auwera et al. 2016), it emerges when one semantic negation is expressed two or more times in one clause (Martínez 2013), e.g. *I do not know nobody*, in which it is achieved by means of the negative indefinite pronoun *nobody* and the negative particle *not*. The latter (see Kratzer 1991; Huitink 2012) involves the occurrence of two modal elements which refer to one semantic modal unit (Zeijlstra 2007), e.g. *They may possibly know him*, in which the modal auxiliary verb *may* is followed by the modal adverb *possibly*, both expressing possibility. Therefore, since ELF interactions are said to be as efficient as possible, one of the theories concerning redundancy in ELF relates to ELF speakers’ tendency to reduce redundant elements so as to increase the clarity of their utterances (Björkman 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2012). In other words, if one semantic unit is expressed in a given clause, it is not repeated by the second element. For instance, the omission of the third person singular *-s* in ELF, whose function in English is often presented in the context of marking

identity (Breiteneder 2005, 5), may result from the fact that the *-s* ending becomes communicatively redundant when a subject is already mentioned in a clause (Cogo and Dewey 2012, 228). What is more, ELF speakers are also said to apply the single demonstrative determiner *this* (instead of *these*) before plural nouns as the plural is expressed in the *-s* inflectional morpheme attached to the noun (Hülmbauer 2010, 84 in Vettorel 2014, 139), e.g. *this dogs*. A similar principle is noticed in relation to existential *there is* (instead of *there are*) since it is commonly followed by a plural noun (Ranta 2009, 97), e.g. *there is people*. On the other hand, if, for example, a plural demonstrative determiner is used, it can precede a singular noun, e.g. *those Christmas drawing* (Vettorel 2014, 143), showing that redundancy reduction may be achieved by means of various strategies.

However, as claimed by Seidlhofer (2013), while “ELF usage reduces redundancy in some aspects of the language, it increases it in others”. Thus, another view is offered by scholars who pay attention to the use of redundant elements in ELF to increase clarity and explicitness. For instance, redundancy in ELF is presented in relation to comparatives and superlatives, e.g. *more bigger*, *the most cheapest*, prepositions, e.g. *to return back*, and nouns after semantically transparent units, e.g. *black colour* (Seidlhofer 2013; Formentelli 2017, 27). In other words, while a comparative form is commonly realized by both an adverb and an inflectional morpheme, transparent words are often followed by lexical units having meanings which are expressed in preceding words. Therefore, it clearly indicates that the strategy of ELF speakers to increase the clarity of interactions is analyzed with reference to either reduction or application of redundant elements. At the same time, since ELF is considered an example of a contact language, studies focused on redundancy reduction present their findings in the context of research on other contact languages which emphasizes this type of mechanism as well (see Mackenzie 2014). Admittedly, such a point of reference is relevant since “ELF may manifest features akin (...) to contact languages” (Ranta 2013, 64) with which it is connected by the same developmental processes (Doyle 2013, 14). However, despite the widely described preference to avoid redundancy, there are examples of contact languages in which redundant elements can be noticed. Thus, due to the main aim of this paper to broaden the perspective on redundancy in ELF, such studies may function as its point of departure.

3. Redundancy in contact languages

A contact language is mainly defined as an emergent tool of communication among people who do not share a mother tongue (Lindstedt 2009; Matras 2009; Bakker and Matras 2013). Although there are a number of theories as to what examples of contact languages can be proposed since, for example, pidgins and creoles (Sebba 1997), mixed bilingual languages (Thomason 2001), multi-ethnolects (Bakker and Matras

2013), as well as *lingua francas* (Weirong 2017; Mauranen 2018) are suggested, pidgins and creoles are considered the prime examples of contact languages (Garrett 2004; Gilquin 2015). Therefore, I focus on studies devoted to redundancy with reference to the aforementioned two examples of well-known contact languages.

Pidgins are commonly defined as new languages that emerge among people who need to communicate but have no language in common (Sakoda and Siegel 2003; Danladi 2013). Consequently, such definitions seem to be synonymous with the general definition of a contact language. Pidgins, however, exhibit various features that distinguish them from other contact languages, e.g. creoles. In other words, pidgins do not have their native speakers, are used in a limited number of contexts (Velupillai 2015), and are characterized by such processes as simplification and reduction in relation to languages in contact responsible for their emergence (Al-Jasser 2012; Romaine 2017; Day 2019). On the other hand, a pidgin can gradually develop and become a native language of a given community, leading to the emergence of a creole that is perceived as “a pidgin language which has become a mother tongue” (Watts 2011: 86). Hence, due to its transition into a native language,¹ a creole is applied in a great variety of contexts and becomes more complex (in comparison to a pidgin); however, it is still considered simplified with reference to fully-fledged natural languages. On that account, pidgins and creoles are typically characterized by avoidance of redundancy (Crowley 2009; Velupillai 2015). Nevertheless, it has been proved that there are certain cases in which redundancy in both contact languages can be noticed. For example, with reference to negative concord, Leufkens (2013) states that it is a characteristic feature of Diu Indo-Portuguese and Pichi (see Yakpo 2018). Similarly, the same phenomenon has been detected in Cameroon Pidgin (Martínez 2013).

Therefore, the first question arises whether ELF can also be characterized by negative concord, which, consequently, may broaden the perspective on the occurrence of redundancy in ELF. However, as suggested by Geurts and Huitink (2006), “the most widely studied concord phenomenon is undoubtedly negative concord”. Thus, it seems crucial to go beyond the most prototypical focus of studies and pay attention to, for instance, the above-mentioned modal concord, data of which is considered scarce (Leufkens 2015). Hence, in view of the above discussion, the subject of the study is negative and modal concord, which, first of all, allows for answering the question of whether negative and modal concord can be found in ELF. At the same time, it may also contribute to the general understanding of modal concord in contact languages.

4. Methodology

Before establishing whether ELF, as one of the contact languages, can be characterized by means of negative and modal concord, which, subsequently, may

shed light on redundancy in ELF, methodological underpinnings of the study should be delineated.

First of all, due to the fact that negative concord is commonly described with reference to the co-occurrence of negative indefinite pronouns and negative particles (see Leufkens 2013; 2015; Déprez and Henri 2018), I limit my analysis on negative concord in ELF to the co-occurrence of a negative indefinite pronoun *nothing/nobody* and the negative particle *not* attached to the auxiliary verb in one clause. Modal concord, however, is tested on the basis of the co-occurrence of the modal adverb *possibly* and modal auxiliary verbs *can/could/may/might*, which Quirk and Greenbaum (1990, 61-62) define as modal verbs of possibility. What is more, owing to the indicated disproportion between the studies on spoken and written ELF, the study focuses on both types of data and relies on the most popular ELF corpora, i.e. *VOICE*, *ELFA*, and *WrELFA*. The *Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)* is the first computer-readable inventory of ELF (in total 1 023 127 words) which includes the transcript of spoken interactions derived from approximately 1 260 speakers of 50 different native languages in various contexts (the most dominant are education and leisure). The *Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA)* is a 1-million-word corpus of spoken academic ELF. The transcript is derived from approximately 650 speakers of 51 different first languages in numerous domains, among which social sciences and technology are the most prominent. The *Written Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (WrELFA)*, which consists of 1 533 328 words, is a written complement to the *ELFA* corpus. It contains the data from speakers of at least 35 different mother tongues in the disciplines of science, social science, as well as humanities, in which natural sciences are the best represented. In order to extract data from the corpora, two tools are applied – a word search engine available at the website of the *VOICE* corpus (<https://voice.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/index.xql>) as well as AntConc (Anthony 2019), freely available corpus software, applied to the *ELFA* and *WrELFA* corpora. It is worth noting, however, that the study does not intend to perform a statistical analysis but aims at spotting the features of ELF which may offer tentative tendencies concerning negative and modal concord in ELF.

Overall, three main questions form the basis for the empirical part of this article:

1. Does ELF exhibit redundancy in terms of negative concord?
2. Does ELF exhibit redundancy in terms of modal concord?
3. Can such phenomena be found only in spoken or written ELF or are they noticeable in both spoken and written ELF data?

5. Findings

The section describes the findings concerning negative and modal concord in spoken and written ELF. At first, the examples extracted from the corpora in relation to negative concord are presented. Then, they are followed by examples related

to modal concord. The occurrence of a given phenomenon in spoken and written data is summarized in Table 1, where (+) stands for the occurrence and (-) for the non-occurrence of a given phenomenon in the corpora. Due to space limitations, many of the presented examples are only selected fragments of a given utterance exhibiting the subject of the analysis and are as follows:

a) Negative concord (*VOICE*)

- (1a) EDsed251:191 S12: PROfessionally it **doesn't** er bring **nothing** to me because hh <9> e:r </9> when i want to be a good lawyer in slovakia i need to know slovak law (.)
- (1b) EDsed251:249 S12: it (.) **doesn't** bring (.) really hh **nothing** to me to (.) go somewhere abroad and to study (.)
- (1c) EDsed363:2 S1: you don't have to worry **nothing** (er) <8> **will not** (.) be handed to </8> the secret service or <9><@> something </@></9>
- (1d) PBmtg269:788 S3: <6> it </6> (.) it's simply **does not** have **nothing** to do with the consumer.
- (1e) PRint597:154 S9: yeah but (.) i **didn't** (.) shop (1) er **nothing** so (1)
- (1f) PRint597:202 S9: er (.) actually well @ (.) <2> i- (.) <loud> i **didn't** find </loud></2> **nothing** that (1) i like (.) really @@@
- (1g) POWsd374:101 S3: the situation of some immigrants who actually **didn't** know (.) **NOTHING** about the country or NOTHING about the the social
- (1h) POWgd14:309 S1: on a joint er master i:- **is** in in per se **not** worth **nothing** more than (.) the joint program
- (1i) POWgd325:1858 S12: and you need this requirement </3> in the humanities <slow> **it is** </slow> **not nothing** we we can't invent e:r

b) Negative concord (*ELFA*)

- (2a) ULEC020 S1: funny to look at, if i if if you **don't** have **nothing** else to do in the evening
- (2b) USMED190 S16: ally know what's citizenship education because we **don't** have **nothing** like this in spain bu er
- (2c) USEMP12A S2: at cytokinin signalling is inhibiting this but we **don't** know **nothing** about the molecular nature about it
- (2d) USEMD230 S13: commons which in strict sense **aren't** owned by **nobody** not even the state remember there is land that
- (2e) CPRE09C S6: no major issue or the or the state feels that er it's **not nothing** is special
- (2f) CPRE06C S15: trials and of course we found out that (xx) **nobody** knew **nothing** that

Examples 1a–i and 2a–f present redundancy in ELF in terms of negative concord based on the *VOICE* and *ELFA* corpora. No results have been found in the *WrELFA*

corpus, which may initially suggest that negative concord is characteristic only of spoken data. In example (1i) only the co-occurrence of the negative pronoun *nothing* and the negative particle *not* in the same clause is taken into account. What is more, due to the adoption of a perspective in which negative concord is analyzed on the basis of the indefinite pronouns *nothing/nobody* and the negative particle *not* attached to an auxiliary verb, example (2f) is not taken into consideration in the analysis. However, it has been included for the sake of presentation of possible realizations of negative concord as it has been extracted as one of the hits in the word search engine by means of the indefinite pronoun *nothing*.

Based on the examples above, it may be inferred that negative concord is not the dominant regularity in the two corpora, which, at the same time, may suggest that it is also not the dominant feature of ELF speakers' interactions. Nevertheless, despite the small number of hits presenting the subject of the analysis, certain tendencies can also be found. First of all, a preference to apply two units with a negative meaning in the present tense clauses is noticeable (10/14 occurrences), in which a negative particle is rarely attached to a modal auxiliary verb (1/14 occurrences). Secondly, the subjects of the clauses in which negative concord occurs are mostly expressed by personal pronouns (10/14 occurrences). Additionally, there are only two cases in which negative concord occurs in the passive voice.

The following set of examples concerns modal concord in ELF, in which certain regularities can also be delineated.

c) Modal concord (*VOICE*)

- (3a) EDsed301:320 S2: they would (.) USually not er <soft> er er </soft> sort of achieve the number of of of of cows that er **could possibly** be er be held (.)
- (3b) EDsed301:376 S2: but you **can't possibly** sort of sustain the system say well these these are ten ten countries that are for some reason different
- (3c) EDsed363:254 S3: his PHOTOGRAPHS can be art (.) his (.) like the documentation **COULD possibly** be (tried) as art in literature
- (3d) EDsed303:574 S17: so i do agree with [S13] that e:very language **can possibly** become a lingua franca <8> and it('s) </8> depends on the historical STAGE
- (3e) POMtg315:902 S3: if it takes up too much time now (with) thinking how we **can possibly** arrange it according to a chronological order
- (3f) POMtg447:394 S2: or you </7> can (.) **possibly** you **could** <8> try it </8> in French and <1> spanish </1> or <2>SOMETHing </2>
- (3g) PRcon534:75 S2: and then to show that (.) the other one cannot be constructed pos- (.) **cannot possibly** be constructed
- (3h) PRcon550:36 S2: problem is that it would be a little too difficult maybe to fit (.) (although) **possibly** i **could** (.)
- (3i) PRcon550:38 S2: both visits in (.) two thousand seven (.) **possibly** i <1> **could** because <1> let's say two month er in your <2> place

d) Modal concord (*ELFA*)

- (4a) ULEC180 S2: then you can project the M-E-G data down to that (xx) what **could possibly** come there
- (4b) CDIS01C S6: you **can't possibly** fail to be aware er of the er extremely long history of er white er er or european and native interaction in the north
- (4c) CPRE01B S2: the meeting point between true wilderness we **might possibly** have american indians because this is also it's conceived as part of the wilderness
- (4d) ULEC180 S2: first i want to show how we **could possibly** study this so what wh- what i did when i was working in in helsinki
- (4e) USEMD26A S1: because in finland you you **could not possibly** you couldn't do that you know
- (4f) ULECD060 S1: the species' probabilities of occurrence were negatively related to local probabilities of extinction so can er **could** we **possibly** use er this kind of information forreserve planning
- (4g) USEMD26A S1: but there is a link what is that link **possibly** you **might** know this

e) Modal concord (*WrELFA*)

- (5a) B22F: For very high massive excitations this **cannot possibly** apply.
- (5b) UDEFS238: In conclusion, I do not see how this thesis **can possibly** be accepted without a major reworking
- (5c) UDEFS121B: Could these two tables be presented next to each other or **could** they **possibly** be combined?
- (5d) UDEFS212B_eng: An exploration of these issues, the answers of which **may possibly** be found from the author's data if they were approached from a new perspective, could produce important research results.
- (5e) SSH11: the reader-imager comes as close as one **possibly can** to forgetting that the experience was in fact mediated by a string of words on a page.
- (5f) SSH11: I have also proposed that description-imagery, amounting to visualisation from the perspective of an extraneous spectator, is most reliably prompted by descriptions (detailed) of inanimate objects, which **cannot possibly** be imaged from
- (5g) SSH70: Even if the Student's love to the Young Girl is rendered as serious and devoted it **cannot possibly** carry associations like these
- (5h) UDEFS167B: This **may** be **possibly** correct if we only look at the twenty years that have passed since the end of the cold war.
- (5i) Sci30: RCTs **could possibly** demonstrate which subgroups (such as highly myopic and perhaps even paediatric cases) of RRD eyes could benefit from statin medication
- (5j) B22E: But he pointed out how a fine report to which he collaborated shows that no black hole **could possibly** form swallowing Earth

- (5k) UDEFS157: And to the extent that such material has been available to the candidate, it **could possibly** have been used more systematically throughout the dissertation
- (5l) B34A: concentration was found at a depth of 30 to 50 cm and **could not possibly** have originated from Chemie-Pack.
- (5m) BDIS39 C2: Your normal brain **couldn't possibly** look down at yourself from outside of itself.
- (5n) UDEFS163A: The paper **could possibly** provide the reader with a material that is somewhat easier to chew.
- (5o) SSH23: I must say I fail to see how it **could possibly** serve e.g. semantical anti-realism \xE1 la Dummett.
- (5p) BDIS_TRF12 B1: I don't understand in what sense you **could possibly** say that it just rewrote some things that physicists knew.
- (5q) UDEFS153B: I can clearly see how it fits in the overall dissertation, but **possibly this could** have linked more intensely and explicitly to the other chapters.
- (5r) BDIS_TRF09 C15: For 5. the only way a photon or any other particle **could possibly** travel at the speed of light is to have no mass.
- (5s) BDIS_TRF12 B1: I understand that you **can't possibly** understand why my conclusion is very thoughtful and rational if you don't have an idea about the maths

Examples 3a–i, 4a–g, and 5a–s illustrate the occurrence of modal concord in ELF. First of all, the apparent difference between negative and modal concord is that modal concord in ELF is not limited to spoken data. Nevertheless, similar to negative concord, modal concord does not seem to be a dominant phenomenon, certain tendencies of which, however, can be inferred. As the analysis focuses on modal concord in terms of the co-occurrence of a modal verb *can/could/might/may* and the modal adverb *possibly*, the first emerging tendency is related to the application of a given modal verb with the aforementioned adverb. The most frequent co-occurrence concerns *could + possibly*, which appears 11 times in written data (11/19 occurrences) and 9 (9/16 occurrences) in spoken data. In written data, the co-occurrence of other examples is as follows: *can + possibly* (6/19 occurrences), *may + possibly* (2/19 occurrences) and no results of *might + possibly* (0/19 occurrences) have been found. In spoken data, *can + possibly* occurs 5 times (5/16 occurrences), but, conversely to written data, there are two examples of *might + possibly* (2/16 occurrences) and no results of *may + possibly* (0/16) have been detected (in (3f), due to the ambiguous example because of the presence of *can* and *could* in one clause, only the co-occurrence of *could + possibly* has been taken into consideration). Secondly, in both types of data, there are fewer negative clauses (6/19 occurrences in written and 4/16 occurrences in spoken data) as well as clauses in the passive voice (5/19 occurrences in written and 3/16 occurrences

in spoken data). Moreover, there are only two examples in written data in which a modal auxiliary verb and a modal adverb are followed by a perfect infinitive. At the same time, while in written data there are fewer clauses in which the subject is expressed by means of a personal pronoun (6/19 occurrences), there is, similar to negative concord in spoken data, a greater number of clauses in which such a tendency is found in the *VOICE* and *ELFA* corpora (11/16 occurrences). Therefore, although further research is undoubtedly needed to test this regularity, it may initially suggest that the characteristic of redundancy in spoken ELF data is its more common occurrence in clauses in which the subject is realized by a personal pronoun. Additionally, with reference to the co-occurrence of a modal verb and a modal adverb together with a personal pronoun, it is worth noting that, in example (5c), there are two clauses with the modal verb *could*; however, the modal adverb *possibly* is applied only in the clause in which a personal pronoun is anaphorically used.

Table 1. Negative and modal concord in three ELF corpora

	Negative concord	Modal concord
VOICE	+	+
ELFA	+	+
WrELFA	-	+

6. Conclusion

The paper focuses on the occurrence of redundancy in ELF. While it has been stated that interactions of speakers in the context of a global lingua franca can be characterized by means of both the reliance and omission of elements treated as redundant to achieve mutual understanding, the author aims to broaden the perspective on redundancy in ELF and pays attention to phenomena recognized as the examples of redundancy that have not yet been presented in ELF research. With the reliance on previous studies on redundancy in other contact languages as well as research on concord phenomenon, the performed analysis has allowed for delineating tentative regularities concerning negative and modal concord in ELF.

With the support of the *VOICE*, *ELFA*, and *WrELFA* corpora, it has been shown that redundancy in terms of both negative concord, analyzed by means of the co-occurrence of a negative indefinite pronoun *nothing/nobody* and the negative particle *not* attached to the auxiliary verb in one clause, and modal concord, analyzed by means of the co-occurrence of a modal auxiliary verb *can/could/might/may* and the modal adverb *possibly* in one clause, occurs in ELF corpora but there are only a few examples illustrating the aforementioned phenomena. However,

despite its lack of prominence in the three ELF corpora, a number of initial tendencies can be proposed, which may also contribute to the general understanding of modal concord in contact languages. To begin with, the analysis has indicated that while modal concord is noticeable in both spoken and written data, negative concord is limited only to spoken corpora (the results are summarized in Table 1). What is more, redundancy in terms of negative concord occurs mostly in the present tense, in the active voice and in clauses in which the subject is expressed by a personal pronoun. With reference to modal concord, in both spoken and written data, it mostly concerns the co-occurrence of the modal auxiliary *could* and the modal adverb *possibly*. Moreover, in written data, there are examples of the co-occurrence of *may + possibly* but no results of *might + possibly* are found. On the contrary, there are examples of the co-occurrence of *might + possibly* in spoken data and, at the same time, no results of *may + possibly* are detected. Additionally, similarly to negative concord, most of the examples concerning modal concord appear in the active voice in spoken and written data. Likewise, there is a greater number of examples illustrating modal concord in clauses in which the subject is realized by means of a personal pronoun in spoken data whereas such a tendency in written data is not noticed.

On the other hand, as the findings can only be considered indicative rather than representative, they may function as a reference point for further research on redundancy in ELF. First of all, since the analysis has initially shown that negative concord appears only in spoken data in ELF, it seems crucial to determine whether there are certain regularities which could be treated as examples of redundancy specific to written ELF. Additionally, if the use of redundant elements is said to have a function of marking identity, subsequent studies on redundancy may shed light on the way in which redundant elements specific to ELF have such a function as well. To put it differently, since ELF speakers are becoming to be treated as an imagined community that need not be in physical proximity but feels the membership to such a group (Mauranen 2018), research on redundant elements characteristic of ELF may also function as a background on which theories focused on the appearing ELF speakers' identity may be based.

Notes

- 1 While most theories emphasize that a creole is a nativized pidgin, a pidgin does not have to evolve into a creole (do Couto 1996) and, at the same time, the emergence of a creole need not be based on the input from a pidgin only (Mather 2006).

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