

Formulaic Speech and Its Importance in Teaching English¹

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In natural language, there are many instances which show that knowing only the grammatical rules and vocabulary will not necessarily lead to the correct production and understanding of sentences. For example, an idiomatic expression such as "by and large" is not generated by grammar itself. Furthermore, the interpretation of an idiom like "kick the bucket" is impossible unless we have previously heard it and simply know its meaning as an idiom. In our daily use of language, we can also find many highly conventionalized and situationally-determined speech patterns such as the greeting expression, "How are you?" and its response, "Fine, thank you. And you?" These more or less fixed or prefabricated expressions are called speech formulas or formulaic speech. Items such as idioms, clichés, stock phrases, aphorisms, collocations, situational formulas, response cries, etc. are included under this category.

Formulaic speech is important socially since many of the expressions are used only as a part of a social act rather than a linguistic act which communicates ideas or thoughts. Their function allows the speaker to take part in social exchange or interaction more freely and comfortably. Formulaic speech is also important communicatively since it performs a role as a conversational oil to lubricate both social and linguistic exchange and it certainly enhances fluency.

What we usually teach in foreign language classrooms is how to produce and understand grammatical or productive sentences and for-

¹ This is the enlarged version of the original paper presented at the 16th Annual JACET Meeting held at Seijo University on Sep. 30th, 1977.

formulaic speech is not given much attention. Considering communicative competence, however, formulaic speech should be given as much attention as productive speech, since grammatical study does not necessarily guarantee communicative competence. In this paper, recent studies concerning formulaic speech, especially Fillmore and Fillmore's treatments, are reviewed and their implications in teaching English are investigated.

I. Two Theoretical Issues Concerning the Nature of Language.

A. Formulaic Speech and its Status in Descriptions of Language.²

The importance of formulaic speech has been recognized by many linguists. For instance, a traditional grammarian, J. O. Jespersen in his *Philosophy of Grammar*,³ and modern grammarians such as Quirk, *et al.* in *A Contemporary English Grammar*,⁴ made several important observations concerning formulaic speech, but their treatments were quite fragmentary and therefore cannot be considered as adequate descriptions.

Generative transformational grammarians also recognized the importance of idiomatic expressions in language and believed that idioms, one of the kinds of formulaic speech, could be dealt with adequately within the framework of generative grammar. Weinreich added a special dictionary which he called "Complex Dictionary" to his generative model;⁵ Fraser proposed an extension of lexical rules and a marking

2 Because of the limited space I am allowed to use, I cannot touch upon this issue in detail here. Those who are interested, see my article, "Formulaic Speech and its Implications in Linguistic Theory," *Journal of Cultural and Social Science*, Vol. XIII, University of Tokushima, 1978, pp. 75-94.

3 J. O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (Norton Library Edition), New York, Norton, 1965, pp. 18-24.

4 Randolph Quirk, *et al.*, *A Grammar of Contemporary English*, New York, Seminar Press, 1972, pp. 411-414, 470-471.

5 Uriel Weinreich, "Problems in the Analysis of Idioms," in J. Puhvel (ed.), *Substance and Structure of Language*, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 23-81.

convention.⁶ In contrast with these two which remained within the traditional Chomskyan model, Chafe proposed a generative semantic model with new notions such as idiomaticization, literalization, post-semantic arrangements, symbolization, etc.⁷ All of these grammarians tried to explain the phenomenon of idioms by incorporating or forcing it into the rigorous framework of grammatical rules.

In contradistinction to the position of the above generative grammarians, Bolinger asserts the importance of memory and criticizes the recent trend of putting too much emphasis upon grammatical rules. He believes that "speakers of natural language do at least as much remembering as they do putting together,"⁸ and he demonstrates this by reference to the idiomatic aspect of language. He further believes in heterogeneity in language, i.e., the idea that language is made up of differently organized subclasses, which require an *ad hoc*, separate description for each part. This position of Bolinger's is supported as reality by the evidences given in neurolinguistics, especially in aphasiology, as summarized by Lancker,⁹ and his position is also reflected in Becker's Phrasal Lexicon.¹⁰

If we admit that there are two kinds of speech, automatic and productive, and that formulaic speech belongs to the former, then matters concerning formulaic speech are not any longer those of production, i.e., not the matters of grammar and lexicon, but those of an entirely

6 Bruce Fraser, "Idioms within a Transformational Grammar," *Foundations of Language*, 6.1., 1970, pp. 22-42.

7 Wallace Chafe, "Idiomaticity as an Anomaly in the Chomskyan Paradigm," *Foundations of Language*, 4.2., 1968, pp. 109-127.

8 Dwight Bolinger, "Meaning and Memory," *Forum Linguisticum*, 1.1., 1976, pp. 1-14. Quotation here is on p. 2.

9 Diana Van Lancker, *Heterogeneity in Language and Speech: Neurological Studies*, UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics, #29, pp. 110-149, and "Language Lateralization and Grammars," in J. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. II, New York, Seminar Press, 1973, pp. 197-204.

10 Joseph D. Becker, "The Phrasal Lexicon," in R. Schank and B. L. Nash-Webber (eds.), *Theoretical Issues in Natural Language Processing*, Bolt, Berenek and Newman, 1976, pp. 60-63.

different facet of language, those which involve native speakers' knowledge concerning the correct use of formulaic speech in particular situations. Thus, the studying of formulaic speech *per se*, especially in terms of the relationship between the use of formulas and their appropriate settings of use, and in terms of participants, functions, forms, etc. is called for. In this sense, Fillmore and Fillmore's approach is the first extensive attempt along this line to explain the facts concerning how one is able to use formulas appropriately in actual situations. Many of my examples are, therefore, taken from Fillmore and Fillmore's lecture at the 1977 Linguistic Institute.

B. Language and the Teaching of it.

The second issue involves language and its teaching. Although the concept is not new, it is worth reviewing. As K. Nelson noted, there are "two aspects of language which are inseparable in practice but often separated in theory, namely its cognitive basis—that is, the expression of ideas in a symbolic system—and its social base, involving the communication of those ideas to others."¹¹ If we apply this concept to the teaching of English, that which we should teach involves both the ability to express one's ideas or thoughts through language and to communicate them in actual situations using language. In other words, only teaching grammar and vocabulary is obviously not sufficient, but the use of language in its actual situation or context should also be taught. The ultimate goal of teaching English is to communicate and, in this sense, English teaching essentially has a pragmatic character involving the sociolinguistic aspect of language use as well as the cognitive aspect of the rules of language. English teachers, therefore, "ought to sensitize the student to the social implications of language use,"¹² too.

11 Katherine Nelson, "First steps in language acquisition," unpublished paper, pp. 4-5.

12 Richard B. Applegate, "The Language Teacher and the Rules of Speaking," *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Sept., 1975, pp. 271-281.

II. Formulaic Speech in the Context of Teaching English.

As once noted by E. A. Richter in his comments on English teaching in Japan and cited in my article, Japanese students are said to be “linguistically sick and grammatically injured, and in many cases communicatively impotent.”¹³ The first two shortcomings may be remedied by putting some emphasis on linguistic and grammatical study, but the last, i.e., communicative impotence, cannot be remedied so easily, since linguistic and grammatical study does not necessarily guarantee communicative competence. What we usually teach or learn in an English teaching classroom is how to produce and understand grammatical sentences, but it follows in actuality that it is very difficult to transfer them into conversational situations. We can presume that this is more or less the experience of all English students and teachers. This means that we should take a rather different step to enhance our communicative competence.

A. Formulaic Speech as a Social Act.

Formulaic speech may help a great deal to enhance our communicative competence, since it is socially important because of its character as a social act rather than a linguistic act in which to communicate ideas or thoughts. By a social act is meant the establishing of the proper relationships between people, particularly in social and linguistic exchanges. This act of establishing relationships is the essential premise for communication; we have to know how to open a channel; if need be, we have to know how to get to the point of transaction where we can express our thoughts or ideas by making full use of our knowledge of grammar and vocabulary; and we have to know how to close the transaction or channel.

In order to clarify this point, let us consider an example of a case where formulas are used for managing activities. Think about the

13 Cf., JACET News, No. 15, p. 6, and Junsaku Nakamura, “Man and Language in the Context of Language Teaching,” *JACET BULLETIN*, No. 5, 1974, p. 66.

situation of playing cards. First of all, you have to know the exact rules of the game. You have to know the names of the cards and the names of the particular combinations of the cards, and you have to know how to start, how to proceed and how to end the game. By using your knowledge of the rules to the full extent, you can be creative in developing the tactics by which to win the game. Unless you know the rules, you simply cannot play the game.

In addition to a knowledge of the rules, you also have to know some specific formulas relating to the management of the game such as listed in (1):

(1) Expressions used in card games:

I pass; You deal; Whose deal?; Who dealt?; No trump!;
What's trump?; Dealer's choice; Hit me again!; My turn;
(It's) Your turn; Down and dirty!; etc.

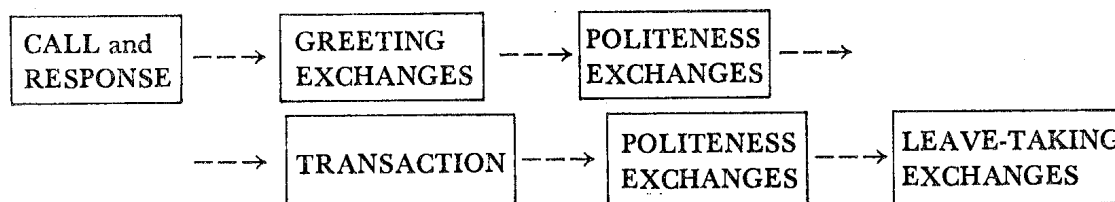
Some of these are directly related to the rules of the game and others are used only for smoothing the procedure or expressing one's attitude or feelings toward the ongoing game. Notice that these more or less fixed or prefabricated expressions are not directly related to the tactics in which one can show his creativity to win the game, but rather a necessary routine in conducting the game. Nonetheless, they are very important.

Knowing the rules of the game is comparable to knowing grammar and vocabulary in language, by which we can produce or create an infinite number of sentences for expressing ideas and thoughts. Formulas in both cases function differently from the handling of the cards according to the rules of a card game, in the one case, and the production of propositional sentences according to grammar and vocabulary, in the other, in the sense that they are a necessary routine by which to conduct the game or to communicate one's ideas or thoughts.

To illustrate this last point concerning the function of formulaic speech in language, let us take a prototypic situation of "encounter"

for example. According to Fillmore and Fillmore, the prototype of “encounter” is schematized as in (2):

(2) Prototype of “Encounter”:



An item by item explanation is in order now, giving concrete examples.

First of all, if we want to talk with somebody, we have to say something to attract the attention of that person. We may use expressions like (3)-a. If we know the name of that person, we may simply address him by saying his name such as (3)-b. If we want to show familiarity, one of the expressions in (3)-c is used, or if superiority, (3)-d. In a case where we call at someone's home and we do not first see anyone, the expression such as (3)-e may be used. In some abnormal situations, alarm calls such as (3)-f are used.

(3) Expressions used for calling attention:

- a. Excuse me!; (Oh,) Sir?; Miss?; etc.
- b. Mr. So-and-So!; Miss So-and-So!; etc.
- c. Hey, buddy!; Hey, there!; etc.
- d. Hey, you!; Hey, boy!; etc.
- e. Anybody home?
- f. Help!; Fire!; etc.

Answers or responses are different depending upon the situation and the expression used. “Yes” may be used in many cases. Sometimes the question word “What?” is also used. To the expression, “Anybody home?,” the answer is usually “Who's that?” or “Who's there?”

After getting the attention of the interlocutor, we go on to greeting exchanges such as listed in (4)-a:

(4) Expressions used in greeting exchanges:

- a. Hi!; Hello!; Good morning!; Good evening!; Greetings!;
Howdy!; How ya doin'?; How's it?; How's it going?;
What's doing?; What's with you?; What's new?;
What's happening?; etc.
- b. Not much; Nothing much; Same old thing;
Nothing in particular, but ; etc.

Many of the expressions are answered symmetrically by using the same formula, but some have a specific fixed expression such as (4)-b in response to "What's new?" or "What's happening?"

Politeness exchanges following greetings are usually expressions asking about the weather or the interlocutor's health, family, etc. and the responses to the inquiries as in (5):

(5) Expressions used for politeness exchanges after greeting:

- How are you?; Fine, thanks! And you?
- How's the family?; Fine, thanks! And how's yours?
- How have you been doing?; So-so.
- How's everybody?; (It) Sure is hot/cold today, isn't it?; etc.

Transaction is where grammar and vocabulary are mainly involved to express one's ideas and thoughts. For this, we have to create novel sentences each time the need arises, but formulas play a very important role here, too, as will be discussed in the following section.

We have to have some ways to terminate transaction. Politeness exchanges following transaction will play this role. The expressions such as (6) are used for this purpose.

(6) Expressions used for politeness exchanges after transaction:

- (It's really been) Nice talking to you!;
- I've enjoyed talking to you; I'm glad to have met you;
- I'd better be going now; We've got to get together sometime; etc.

We then go on to leave-taking exchanges. Expressions such as listed in (7) are used.

(7) Expressions used for leave-taking exchanges:

So long!; Good-bye!; See you later!; See ya!; See you again!;
Be seeing you!; Take it easy!; Farewell!; Hang loose!;
Have a good time!; Have a good day!; (Have) Good luck!;
etc.

As in the case of greeting exchanges, many of these expressions are responded symmetrically.

Thus, although each step in this prototype of "encounter" is optional, i.e., we usually skip many of the steps in our daily use of language, and is usually not so clear-cut, i.e., many times, overlappings, repetitions, interruptions, sudden changes, etc. are involved, these ritualistic exchanges of formulas are definitely necessary and play an important role for the managing of interpersonal activities such as linguistic or social transactions, just as some formulas are necessary for playing cards. In other words, to get into an appropriate relationship with the interlocutor in order to engage in transaction, we need rituals which allow the speaker to take part in it more freely and comfortably. One of the reasons why we cannot put ourselves into conversational situations so easily may be ascribed to the lack of this ready-use stock of formulas.

There is one thing that must be emphasized here since it presents a great difficulty or trouble to the foreign learners of English. That is the fact that these expressions are used only as rituals and we must treat them as such. The following quotation from Applegate will clarify this point.

For the student whose grasp of the formulaic conventions in a second language is still weak, there are the twin dangers of taking a formula literally and of reading a purely conventional meaning into an utterance intended literally. In response to the greeting

“How are you?,” the American expects to hear “fine” or “OK” rather than a complete catalogue of woes. In fact he may respond with this automatic “fine” when asked seriously “How are you today?” by a doctor or nurse during an office call.

When a host says to his departing guest “We’ll have to get together again sometime,” the guest knows not to take this too literally unless the host sounds particularly earnest or specifies a time: “Let’s get together again next week.” A Punjabi told me how he had once received a similar send-off; when he came back the next day, he couldn’t understand the host’s look of consternation.¹⁴

B. Formulaic Speech in Transaction.

In addition to addressing, greeting, leave-taking and politeness exchanges discussed as a part of “encounter,” formulas play a significant role in transaction. To open up a conversation, children usually use an expression such as (8)-a and adults perhaps use expressions such as (8)-b.

(8) Expressions for opening up a conversation:

- a. Guess what!
- b. (You) Got a minute?; Have you got a minute?;
(I’ll) Tell you what!; Do you know what happened?;
Hey, did you hear . . . ?; You won’t believe this, but
. . . ; etc.

To open up again after conversation is interrupted or to resume conversation, expressions as in (9) may be used.

(9) Expressions for resuming the conversation:

As I was saying (before I was so rudely interrupted), . . . ;

14 Richard B. Applegate, *op. cit.*, pp. 275–276.

As I was starting,; Have you quite finished?;

If I may continue,; etc.

Changing the subject is also taken care of by formulas as in (10):

(10) Expressions for changing the subject:

That reminds me of; By the way,; Incidentally,; Not to change the subject, but; Moving right along,; Have you heard?; Did you know that?; Say!; etc.

In response to the interlocutor's discourse during transaction, we may perhaps use one of the expressions listed in (11) for approving, disapproving, showing doubt, trivializing, etc.

(11) Expressions used in response to the interlocutor's discourse:

- a. (Approving) Yes!; Yeah!; I see!; All right!; O.K.!; Certainly!; Absolutely!; Right!; Right on!; I'll say!; I'll bet!; I was just gonna say!; You said it!; And how?; I tell you!; You can say that again!; For sure! You took the words right out of my mouth; You ain't kidding!; etc.
- b. (Disapproving) No!; Certainly not!; Definitely not!; Not likely!; Come on!; I beg to differ; Knock it off!; No way!; etc.
- c. (Showing doubt) No lie?; Are you kidding/fooling me?; Oh, yeah?; No fooling?; etc.
- d. (Trivializing) Good for you!; So what?; Then what?; Big deal!; So what else's new?; etc.

In order to express a kind of amazement or surprise at what the interlocutor has just said, expressions such as in (12) are used.

(12) Expressions for amazement or surprise:

Wow!; My!; (By) Golly!; (Good) Heavens!; God!; Good Lord!; How 'bout that!; How do you like that?; Son of a

gun!; You don't say!; (Oh,) My goodness!; Goodness gracious!; I do declare!; (My, my,) Isn't that interesting?; As I live and breathe!; Holy cow/cats!; No kidding!; Is that right?; Well, I'll be damned!; No shit!; Well, I'll be a monkey's uncle; Well, I'll be dipped (in shit)!; etc.

When we want to be emphatic about what we are saying or going to say, we must use the expressions like (13):

(13) Expressions used for emphasizing:

Look!; Listen!; Mind you, . . . ; I'm telling you . . . ; etc.

Various kinds of pausers are also a part of conversation to organize our ideas or thoughts. We all know that oftentimes we consciously or unconsciously use pausers such as (14):

(14) Pausers:

You know?; Don't you know/see?; The thing is ;
What I mean is ; etc.

For concluding or closing a conversation, the items in (15) are readily to be used.

(15) Expressions for concluding or closing a conversation:

(Well,) Anyway; Well, whatever!; The way I see it;
The way I look at it; The way I analyze the situation is; etc.

As these examples show, many formulas are needed to manage conversations.

Formulas play an important role not only in the management of conversations as seen above, but also in the use of expression affecting or involving the relationships between the speaker and the interlocutor, i.e., "relational utterances," to use Masanori Higa's terminology. Topical categories of relational utterances include such items as listed in (16), in addition to greeting, leave-taking, expressing surprise, com-

menting such as approving, disapproving, expressing doubt, trivializing, etc. which have been already discussed above.

- (16) Topical categories of “relational utterances”:¹⁵
 introducing, getting acquainted, getting accepted,
 requesting, commanding, giving, receiving, thanking,
 praising, congratulation, flattering, sympathising,
 rejecting, warning, scolding, insulting, threatening,
 cursing, apologizing, arguing, asserting, quarreling,
 complaining, etc.

It is not at all clear how many categories we can itemize, but utterances or sentences of this sort used by native speakers are more or less fixed formulas. Unless one has heard the patterns used before and has memorized them together with their appropriate situation of use, one does not have any means by which to reproduce these relational utterances.¹⁶ Productive or propositional speech is not of much help since formulas are not generated by grammar and vocabulary, but rather taken out of memory storage as memorized or overlearned automatic patterns.

Thinking along this line makes us realize the ubiquity of formulaic speech in our daily use of language, particularly in conversation. We do not know how much speech is formulaic and how much speech is creative or grammatical; that is to say, the density of formulaic speech is very difficult to measure. But the telephone conversation between

15 Mostly from the handout distributed by Masanori Higa at the lectures of the 1974 JACET Summer Seminar, Tokyo, 1974.

16 Dr. Masanori Higa's position is different from mine in the sense that he emphasizes the discovery of appropriate rules for using relational utterances, probably of a socio-linguistic kind. I emphasize the importance of memory, but the meaning of “rote-memory” is not intended here. What I want to make clear is that we have to “know” the expressions together with their situations of use through our experience, i.e., to hear or to read someone using them in concrete situations. Formulaic speech by its definition requires the users to use it as a fixed (not free) pattern, something that is impossible without the use of memory.

ex-President Nixon and Haldeman,¹⁷ as discussed and analyzed by Fillmore and Fillmore, shows that we can pick out about 105 examples of expressions that seem formulaic out of 111 utterances which are sometimes very long, sometimes very short and oftentimes incomplete. These figures may be a valid evidence that many utterances we use are formulaic. It is quite natural, therefore, that we should have to face great difficulty in conversational situations since we are constantly lacking a ready-use stock of formulas.

C. Formulaic Speech and Situation.

In this context, one more thing should be mentioned, which is inseparably connected with the use of formulas; that is the fact that formulas are always used in close association with situation context. In other words, they are the "utterances which are known to be appropriate things to say in certain circumstances."¹⁸ We have to choose formulas in their proper settings of use, and this also presents a great difficulty to the foreign learners of English.

Let us consider some examples to illuminate this point. The simplest example is from the usual greeting expression, "Good morning!" The occasion for using this formula seem very obvious to native speakers of English, but in fact they are really complicated, as noted by Charles Ferguson. He says:

The appropriate time of day for *good morning* varies regionally but generally is between waking up in the morning and the midday meal. It is only said on the first encounter of two people in the morning and is not repeated at subsequent encounters. Its use implies a certain degree of formality in the occasion, and hence it

17 Richard M. Nixon and H. R. Haldeman, Telephone Conversation of April 14, 1973 (11:02—11:16), taken from *The White House Transcripts*, The New York Times, 1974, pp. 412–417.

18 Diana Van Lancker, "Language Lateralization and Grammar," *op. cit.*, p. 201. See also Joseph D. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Lancker, *Heterogeneity in Language and Speech*, *op. cit.*, p. 131; and Quirk, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 411–412.

is not normally appropriate for two university students seeing each other for the first time that morning, walking from one class to another. And, of course, it can be used metaphorically, or by displacement, on a wrong occasion to point up a particular aspect of the encounter. So we can say *good morning* sarcastically to someone who oversleeps and wakes up in the middle of the afternoon, or to someone who comes home at 2 a.m. when expected the previous evening.¹⁹

So when we want to use some of the greeting expressions as in (4), we must know that, in addition to the appropriate time of the day, “depending on the formality of the situation and the age and mood of two acquainted parties, there is a wide range of possible greeting formulas.”²⁰ All these appropriateness conditions must somehow be acquired by native speakers of English and are correspondingly great problems for the foreign learners of English.

Likewise, for most of the situational formulas, the situation, as their name suggests, is quite limited or restricted. Take for example, the expression “Speak of the devil (and he appears)!” We use this formula, which expresses surprise, only in a case where the person who has just appeared unexpectedly is the person who is the topic of the ongoing conversation. Another situational formula, “It’s not what you think,” is used only in the situation in which something that the interlocutor sees appears to be incriminating the speaker, but it really should not be. “It” in this case refers to the situation that the interlocutor has just observed and the speaker means that it should not be given the interpretation that the interlocutor might have given to it.

Furthermore, the factor of the participants is sometimes rigidly fixed in the particular setting. For instance, an expression like “Why don’t you pick on somebody your own size?” requires the setting of a fight

19 Charles A. Ferguson, “The Structure and Use of Politeness Formulas,” *Language in Society*, Vol. 5, 1976, p. 142.

20 Richard B. Applegate, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

which looks obviously unfair; that is to say, a speaker is attacking or accusing an interlocutor who is involved in the fight, but the interlocutor in this case should be obviously stronger or bigger than his opponent. The speaker is saying to the interlocutor, "It's not fair for you to fight with somebody whom, you know, you can beat easily." Thus, formulas require a particular setting in which the roles of the speaker and the interlocutor are quite rigidly fixed. This means that to use these formulas correctly or to understand them correctly is to know the variables concerning the particular settings and participants.

Although the situation for using a particular formula is quite rigidly fixed, formulas may be used out of context. The use of formulas out of ordinary context implies wit or humor, or sometimes irony as in the Ferguson's example of "Good morning." Another example of situational formulas used out of context is the expression like "This hurts me more than it hurts you." The prototypic situation where this formula is used involves parents talking to the child when they are giving him punishment and intend to tell the child that he, the speaker, is not enjoying it or not pleased with it. (This is the same kind of expression as "This is for your own good.") We may possibly extend the use of this formula to another occasion such as a professor's giving an examination to his students. This obviously should be understood as a joke since the examination is not such a punishment and professor-student relationships are not such as are expected in the original context.

Usually if we want to use formulas, the whole phrase of sentence should be exactly as everybody else uses it and the speaker has memorized it. However, if some sense of humor or wit is intended, we sometimes can change the forms of the fixed formulas. For example, if someone says, "There's less here than meets the eye," in the situation in which something more is expected than actually being given or seen, then it may be considered funny and witty because the sentence resembles in some way the expression already known, i.e., "There's more here (or to this) than meets the eye," meaning that on the surface, it

seems very simple and innocent, but there is something sinister going on underneath that the speaker can sense. This phenomenon can be considered as a creative departure produced by the change of forms, and this is possible only where the form is rigorously fixed and associated with the prototypic situation.

It has been maintained heretofore that the three factors, i.e., grammar, vocabulary, and situation, are the essential and indispensable part of English teaching. Situation, so far, has been treated in the context of grammar and vocabulary. In other words, it has been argued that grammatical or productive sentences should be properly placed in an actual situation of use. But if we admit that the pragmatic use of language consists in two inseparable facets of language, i.e., productive and formulaic utterances, it may be safely said that it is the formulas that should be properly associated with context. Productive sentences can be used to express one's ideas and thoughts which are mostly independent of concrete situation context. The teaching of situation is necessary especially when formulas are being taught, and this will greatly contribute to sensitize the student to the social implications of language use.

D. Formulaic Speech and Fluency.

Fluency seems to be connected with the use of formulaic speech. We do not know exactly what factors constitute fluency of speech; that is, we do not know what are the ingredients of fluency for different speakers, since fluency seems to differ with particular topics, persons and situations. But one thing that is clear is that if a person only uses creative or propositional utterances, he will be a man of a lot fewer words. People who seem to be fluent have a lot of formulaic speech. Without it, speech would be much slower, since each time the speaker wants to say something, he has to produce and create a sentence out of nothing by making use of his knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. A ready-talk stock of formulas is very important in this sense to enhance fluency. Thus, in English teaching, which aims at pragmatic

attainment of communicative competence, formulaic speech should be given at least as much attention as grammar and vocabulary.

III. Summary and Conclusion.

To summarize the above discussion, speech formulas are a necessary routine which allows the speaker to take part in social or linguistic exchanges more freely and comfortably as is shown by the examples from the prototype of encounter. In our daily use of language, formulaic speech is called for in all kinds of social situations, probably much more than we realize. The examples of formulas in transaction have shown this fact that much of the language we use is formulaic. And it should be noted that formulas are not produced by the grammatical process of using one's knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, but are memorized or overlearned automatic patterns. Therefore, considering communicative competence, formulaic speech should be given as much attention as productive speech, since grammatical study does not necessarily guarantee communicative competence.

Use of language consists in two aspects, i.e., the cognitive and social bases. So far in English teaching in Japan, the cognitive aspect has been paid much attention to through teaching grammar and vocabulary, but the social aspect has been made light of. As language teachers, we have to teach not only the cognitive basis, but also the social implications of language use and the best way to achieve this is through formulaic speech, which is inseparably associated with context of concrete social settings of language use. Formulaic speech also contributes to enhance fluency. Thus, when considering the pragmatic or social aspect of language in the context of teaching English, speech formulas should be given at least as much attention or importance as grammar and vocabulary.

Instead of the three essentials in English teaching so far prescribed, we now must have four basic elements, i.e., grammar and vocabulary, as before, in order to understand and produce propositional sentences,

and in addition, formulas with their associated settings or situations in order to facilitate linguistic and social exchange. Without the teaching of formulas and the proper situations for their use, teaching English as a pragmatic art will not be successful and our students will remain "communicatively impotent," just as diagnosed by the native English teachers. Therefore, formulaic speech must be given a place of strong importance in the teaching of English in Japan.

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