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Definitions of Routines Revisited

Do Hyung Ryu
(Kookmin University)

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The purpose of this paper is to reconsider current definitions and research directions about routines. In this paper, a problem statement about scholars' research findings about routines is made. It is pointed out that their interpretations of routines lack psychological reality. They believe that routines would be perceived as single language units which are then useful in communication. However, it could be said that people don't use routines because of their usefulness; the use of routines is habitual and natural and they are used regardless of usefulness. Based on a literature review of recent research, how routines are generated and developed will be considered. Also the new concept of routines will be proposed as the relationship between lexical units and chunks. Lastly, in regard to educational implication, it is suggested to teach English with movies to maximize the social features and developmental effects of routines. Movies are a kind of society in which there exist social values. To discover social values in movies is to get close to routines, which leads to language development. Further research should be undertaken in order to learn more about the relationship between language users and the routines they use.

[routines/lexical units/language development]

I. INTRODUCTION

According to Brown (2007) one of the normal phenomena of novice L2 learners is to memorize routines. He said that routines are stereotyped 'stock phrases' and L2 beginners can use these easily because there is no need for grammatical knowledge in the inner structure of those phrases. Once learners learn these phrases by heart and have those in their brains, they could use the expressions accordingly whenever they encounter the appropriate situations. In other words, these phrases are considered to be

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linguistic forms that are usable as kinds of conversational strategies and are easy to use as language forms.

Several researchers who have studied the relationship between routines and language development have recognized routines as playing a crucial key role in language development. These researchers estimate the value of routines to be higher than Brown (2007) does. Palloti (2001) observed that a five-year-old child added a negative to the routine expression that he had learned. He didn't emphasize that learning routines could accelerate language development but it can be said that he implied this.

Y. J. Lee (2014) observed that a twenty-one-year old acquired routines regarding an online game while he played it and then as time went on, his language developed gradually. His findings show that the learning of routines has something definite to do with language development. Therefore the definition of routines defined in his research is different from that of Brown (2007). Brown (2007) defined routines as fixed expressions when these are focused on the linguistic form but Y. J. Lee (2014) also considered 'unfixed' expressions in terms of language form to be routines. That is, he emphasized that routines are made of 'chunks', which are the smallest units, word combinations, while in the existing research chunks are considered to be the same as routines. Compared to existing researches in which no distinction is made between routines and chunks (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Myles, Hooper, & Mitchell, 1998; Wildner-Bassett, 1994; Wray, 2000), it can be said that his definition of routines is meaningful. Furthermore, while existing research has mainly studied the functional value of routines, Y. J. Lee (2014) focused on routines in language development and made the distinction between routines and chunks.

In the field of English education, the notion of routines is a blurred concept, suggesting practical expressions with teachers using the word 'routines' mixed with 'practical expressions', that is chunks. However, teaching only practical expressions is not enough for students, because there are not so many practical expressions that can be split off and can be used and applied for making other sentences. These practical expressions cannot give students the chance to develop language ability. For example, the routine 'How are you?' has a simple linguistic structure and cannot be split off. And the memorization of this routine cannot strengthen language development except in that it can be easily used when saying hello. Seo (2013) asserted that memorization of expressions that can be split off into a few small units could strengthen language development. Just memorizing the practical expressions doesn't help language acquisition. That is the reason why routines are underestimated. The definition of routines in the narrow sense could lead to a misleading concept of routine and the key role of routines in language acquisition could be overlooked.

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Bishop (2004) asserted that many L2 learners don't know the distinction between routines and word groups, which could influence language learning and development. It is also necessary to know how the distinction and boundary between routines and practical expressions could influence learners' language development. To take routines as practical expressions or idioms to be memorized could underestimate the importance of routines. Beyond this narrow point of view about routines, it is necessary to study their correlation to language development. And to define the routines in a narrow sense has minimized the roles of routines. Yorio (1989) maintained that different interests in routines mean a lack of consistent theory about routines and it is hard to find a consistent theory and a definite examination of the roles of routines. In the situation of teaching English as a foreign language, routines play an important role in learning and teaching. An examination of the definition and important role of routines should be considered in a broad sense which could give researchers and teachers new points of view about language development in EFL contexts.

Apart from this, routines need to be redefined, which could shed new light on their place in language learning. This needs to be done in a broad sense, based on the flexibility of routines (Wray, 2002) and their correlation with language development (Y. J. Lee, 2014; Seo, 2013). The purpose of this study is to reconsider the definition and research directions of routines. Beyond setting down the criteria of what routines are and are not, as well as their limited, narrow definitions, the study will seek the identification of routines leading to the language development of English learners. Also how this applies to English classrooms and teaching methods will be suggested.

II. TERMS SIMILAR TO ROUTINES

There are many terms used to describe routines. From this, it is possible to infer that it is not easy to define routines. Wray (2002) listed the terms used to describe aspects of formulaicity as follows:

FIGURE 1

Terms Used to Describe Aspects of Formulaicity. (p. 9)

amalgams – automatic – chunks – cliches – co-ordinate constructions – collocations – complex lexemes – composites – conventionalized forms – F[ixed] E[xpressions] including I[dioms] – fixed expressions – formulaic language – formulaic speech – formulas/formulae – fossilized forms – frozen metaphors – frozen phrases – gambits – gestalt – holistic – holophrases – idiomatic – idioms – irregular – lexical simplex – lexical(ized) phrases – lexicalized sentence stems – listemes – multiword items/units –

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multiword lexical phenomena – noncompositional – noncomputational – nonproductive – nonpropositional – petrifications – phrasemes – praxons – preassembled speech – precoded conventionalized routines – prefabricated routines and patterns – ready-made expressions – ready-made utterances – recurring utterances – rote – routine formulae – schemata – semipreconstructed phrases that constitute single choices – sentence builders – set phrases – stable and familiar expressions with specialized subsenses – stereotyped phrases – stereotypes – stock utterances – synthetic – unanalyzed chunks of speech – unanalyzed multiword chunks – units

These terms can be said to be based on linguistic considerations or, language forms. In domestic research trends in English teaching, routines have been described using many different terms, such as lexical chunks (Jean & Jeong, 2007; Kim, 2010), lexical bundles (Kim, 2013), chunks (Choi, 2011; Kim & Dirks, 2011), and routine formulas (Yang, 2005). Even though researchers have tried to define routines and study their effects, the results have been limited to language forms such as those pointed out by Wray (2002). It is difficult for these terms to be classified because the criterion of defining routines is based only on a linguistic point of view.

Terms such as chunks, routines, expressions, and units, are used randomly in the above figure. This multiplicity of terms indicates that there have been many attempts to define routines; however it can be said that they haven't been able to get to the core of routines. According to Okuwaki (2012, p. 1) "in the literature, it is also referred to as formula, lexical phrases, multiword units, phraseology (Granger & Meunier, 2008), prepackaged (Clark, 1974), ready-made (Weinert, 1995), unanalyzed (Fillmore, 1979), and prefabricated (Brown, 1973; Hakuta, 1974; Krashen & Scarcella, 1978)". He also pointed out that these terms are based only on interest in the linguistic features of routines.

Similarly, Granger and Meunier (2008) defined routines as the study of fixed expressions. They also focused on collocations, similes, idioms, routine formulae, and multiword units. These recent researchers didn't show any new points of view about routines and they have still focused only on language forms.

There is a lack of clarity in the terms above, especially if we try to find the difference between routines and chunks. This confusing terminology means that routines are exactly the same thing as chunks and it means that routines and chunks have the same meaning, the smallest linguistic unit that cannot be divided and analyzed anymore. In this paper, the terms chunks and routines are mainly used. However, chunks and routines are not the same concepts, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Clark (1974) observed that when children say something, they use what others have said before, what they have listened to before, and do not make sentences using

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grammatical rules. She then defined routines as prepackaged expressions. Weinert (1995, p. 180) used the term, "ready-made chunks of unanalyzed language". He also looked at routines as sentences that were unanalyzed in terms of language forms.

Fillmore (1979) added the importance of learner-centeredness to the definition of routines. From the learner-centered perspective, he defined routines as what learners take whole, without analyzing the assembled word combinations.

Corder (1973) used the term 'holophrase' for the concept of routines. 'Holophrase' is a single word but it can be viewed as one utterance functionally because it expresses single thinking. Keller (1979) used the term, 'gambit' for partially fixed expressions, maintaining that the main role of a gambit is not to send a message but to be strategic. For example, expressions such as 'the main point is…', 'May I interrupt for a moment?', 'That's all I have to say about that', have strategic functions but don't have message-sending functions (Dufon, 1995). According to Peters (1983), routines are 'speech formula' and a speech formula is a multimorphemic phrase or sentence, which can be learned by others in social relationships or made creatively by learners themselves. Also he said that these speech formulas are stored in the learners' brains as 'single prefabricated items'.

Weinert (1995) asserted that whatever the terms for routines are used, the intentions of the researchers who made these terms are all the same. On the other hand, Yorio (1989) said the reason why routines are called many different terms is that all researchers have performed their studies in different ways. He also criticized the lack of consistency about research into routines.

Wray (2002) warned against using different terms. "The label used by a given commentator may reflect anything from the careless appropriation of a nontechnical word to denote a specific meaning, to the deliberate selection of a particular technical term along with all its preexisting connotations (p. 8)". In this Wray (2002) means that researchers could have a prejudice about terms because of their original meaning, so he contended that in order to avoid this kind of prejudice a new term needed to be made. His new term was, 'formulaic sequence' and he said that "The word *formulaic* carries with it some associations of 'unity' and of 'custom' and 'habit', while *sequence* indicates that there is more than one discernible internal unit, of whatever kind (p. 9)". This term will be applied in this paper because the concept of routines in this paper also has internal structure. However, in this paper the term 'routine' is used because it is more familiar than 'formulaic sequences'.

Earlier research tried to draw the line between routines and simple assembled combinations. Cowie (1988) asserted that when an assembled combination sounds understandable in a pragmatic way, it is a routine. For example, in Korean greetings, there is the expression, "Did you eat breakfast?(아침 드셨습니까?)". This expression is

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not a question about what you ate for breakfast. It is a morning greeting that has a pragmatic intention so it would be classified as a routine.

Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) similarly analyzed two sentences as example of routines: 1) '*If I were* you/the king/the president' and 2) '*If I were* the one that she really wanted to talk to (pp. 12-13)'. They said that the lexical phrase, 'if I were~' of 1) is a routine, but that 2) is made from grammatical rules, so it cannot be a routine. It can be said that 1) expresses pragmatic competence but 2) expresses grammatical competence.

Wray (2002) defined the scope of routines as a continuum. He said that depending on the decisions of language users, the assembled word combinations can range from whole routines to partial routines. If language users take the assembled word combinations as having one single meaning, they can be whole routines. If the language users split these units off and extract the meaning from the partial assembled combinations, they can be basic routines. Also Pawley and Syder (1983, p. 205) made a suggestion similar to Wray (2002), using the term 'novelty scale'. If learners memorize the assembled combinations as one whole unit, it is not about the novelty, making a totally unique new unit. If the learners split these units off and recognize these as small parts and analyze them accordingly, this is an act of making a new unique expression. That is, if the learners use the exact expression that someone else has said, it is not a new construction. If, however, the learners utilize part of what the other person has said and reassemble these parts into new sentences, it is at the level of 'novelty' raised. This learner could be said to extract the syntactic structure from what he or she has heard to substitute these in different ways, and to acquire this syntactic structure in the end. For example, once the learner takes the syntactic structure, 'I would like to~', he can fill in new words following 'to~' and make new sentences.

Howarth (1998) suggested an argument similar to this. He said that the scope of routines is different depending on the binding force of the words. The assembled word combinations range from those with strong binding force to those with weak binding force. When the assembled combinations have strong binding force, the cohesiveness between words is strong and learners don't need to rely on grammatical rules. For example, in the sentence, 'I eat breakfast', breakfast has binding force with 'eat' and there is no need for grammatical analysis. On the other hand, when the binding force of words is weak, grammatical analysis is involved in the process of binding the words. Based on his findings, it can be said that the binding force of words comes from social cognition, so when the words have binding force, these become routines. When the words do not, these do not follow the concept of routines and rely on grammatical rules.

Givón (1989, p. 258) suggested the term, "automaticity continuum". When words go through an automatic process, these become whole routines. When words go through a conscious process, these can be looked as least and partial routines. For example,

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‘점입가경’ in Korean is a whole routine because this expression goes through an automatic process. But when this expression is translated into English, it becomes the sentence, ‘The story becomes more and more interesting’, which does not go through an automatic process. This English sentence cannot be cognized as one concept or one meaning but the phrase, ‘more and more’ could be considered to be a small chunk.

Peters (1983, p. 2) used the terms, “cultural formulas” and “idiosyncratic formulas”. The former describes word combinations used by many people, while the latter is about word combinations used only by specific individuals. The former is a socially approved routine but the latter is an arbitrary and tentative routine according to personal interest. Pawley and Syder (1983) named this ‘nonce form’ and stated that this nonce form could be imprinted as a lexical sentence stem or could perish according to circumstances.

To sum up, Cowie (1988), and Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) classified routines as ‘the routines’ and ‘not the routines’. On the other hand, Pawley and Syder (1983), Peters (1983), Givón (1989), Howarth (1998), and Wray (2002) defined routines on a line of continuum and classified them as ‘the whole and complete routines’ and ‘the partial and incomplete routines’.

From the point of view of the language development, Brown (1973) used the term, ‘prefabricated routines’. He said that children learning their first language first use high-frequency expressions and then they divide these into small units and use these units to build up their own grammatical systems. His research results can be said to verify the view that routines are related to language development. Hakuta (1974), like Brown (1973), used the same term, ‘prefabricated’, and in second language learning children, he observed a process similar to what Brown (1973) observed in children’s first language learning. He made the step of routine research, transferring it from first language acquisition to second language learning. Krashen and Scarcella (1978) said that ‘prefabricated routines play an important role in both first language acquisition and second language learning. In Richards and Rodgers (2001) the point is summed up as, “the role of lexical units has been stressed in both first and second language acquisition research. These (lexical units) have been referred to by many different labels, including “holophrases” (Corder, 1973), “prefabricated patterns” (Hakuta, 1974), “gambits” (Keller, 1979), “speech formulae” (Peters, 1983), and “lexicalized stems” (Pawley & Syder, 1983) (p. 132)”. Whatever terms these lexical units are called, though, it is apparent that they are essential to language acquisition.

Y. J. Lee (2014) used the terms, ‘high, middle, low deleted routines’ when considering routines in the process of language development. For example, he classified ‘one-word utterances’ of learners as ‘high deleted routines’ and ‘two- or three-word utterances’ as ‘middle deleted routines’. Utterances with subjects and verbs but without complements and objects are called ‘low deleted routines’. He argued that routines can be divided into

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word combinations, that is, chunks, and these chunks can be assembled and become new sentences. His definition is different from the definitions of other researchers, which is to regard routines to be the same as chunks. He stated that routines are composed of one or more chunks, and that they are expressions uttered in one try and without hesitation through the memory. One utterance of one word is called a 'high deleted routine' and one utterance using several word combinations is called a 'low deleted routine'. His definition of routines and their place in the process of language development will be discussed in the next section.

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN ROUTINES AND CHUNKS

So far the various terms used to describe routines have been examined. Now the components of routines will be discussed. In particular, the research that has divided routines into small units and tried to define these small units will be studied. These small units can be standardized as one term, lexical units. Many researchers have used this term to describe the basic components.

First, Moudraia (2001) mentioned there are two meanings for lexical units: individual vocabulary (Kim, 2008; Park, Lee & Lim, 2008; Son, 2007) and lexis. He further argued that lexis means word combinations which are the fundamental basis of language.

Keller (1981) examined 500 strategic lexical units in North American English speech and stated that, based on these, there are 4 functions. The first of these is 'semantic introducers,' that is the expressive function of a person's points of view in conversation. "The way I look at it", "I have reason to believe" etc. (p. 94) are examples of this function. The second function is 'the social context,' which is to take or yield the turn to talk during conversations. The third function is 'state of consciousness' which is used to show willingness to take what the other interlocutor has said, expressed in phrases such as "I'm not really interested in that," or "Why don't you just leave me alone?" (p. 94) etc. The fourth function is 'communicative control', seen in expressions such as "you know" or "you see" (p. 94) etc. that are used when holding the talking turn. Keller (1981) studied lexical units focusing on their strategic levels and determined that strategic lexical units can make an interlocutors' conversation progress with ease.

Peters (1983) studied the minimal units of speech and pointed out that the existing research into child L1 acquisition has been misled by using adult language as its basis, claiming that language research based on adults can't explain the early utterances of L1 children. For example, it is misleading to research into when and how the syntactic structures observed in adults occur. He said that L2 children make many utterances that cannot be recognized and classified from the linguistic point of view of an adult. Peters

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(1983) presented ‘the speech formula’ and criticized the limited nature of existing language research. In the existing research, minimal units, such as the distinctive features of phonology and morphemes, could not be minimal units in authentic utterances. In authentic utterances, units being bigger than this minimal unit were the basic units which he called ‘the speech formula’. Nagy (1978), who opposed the grammar-based minimal units of existing research, also called basic units in the utterances ‘prefabricated chunks’ (p. 289).

Peters (1983) divided ‘the speech formula’ into two concepts. The first, ‘cultural formula,’ is learned when the person enters into a specific cultural and social milieu, and the second, ‘idiosyncratic formula’, is used by specific individuals as ‘prefabricated formulas’.

Pawley and Syder (1983) argued that lexical units should be explained linguistically. They said that native-like selection and fluency of language cannot be said to be ascribed to transformational generative grammar. For example, in order to have native-like language selection and fluency, expressions should be grammatical and contain idiomatic feeling. However, the transformational generative grammar of Chomsky (1957, 1965) is not related to the naturalness of expressions. In order to explain this, Pawley and Syder (1983) proposed ‘a lexicalized sentence stem’ which can be longer than a clause. The grammar form or lexical content of ‘a lexicalized sentence stem’ is already fixed conventionally. That is, the language form used and its meaning are considered to be one single concept. For example, the language form and meaning of the expression, “How are you this morning?” is simply a morning greeting. These grammar forms and lexical content are already determined culturally. They argued that the meaning of these forms should be explained by finding out how they can be learned and generated.

Pawley and Syder (1983) presented another concept, ‘memorized sequences’. When ‘a lexicalized sentence stem’ is acquired, ‘memorized sequences’ are used by the person as needed individually and treated as whole single lexical units. Peters ‘cultural formula’ and ‘idiosyncratic formula’ (1983) can be recognized as similar concepts.

Yorio (1989) said that learning ‘formulaic language’ could be a useful strategy for L2 learners. In conversation, using ‘formulaic language’ saves processing time and effort in memory recall. Yorio (1989) also compared native speakers with L2 learners when using ‘formulaic language’. He examined how advanced ESL learners can use ‘formulaic language’ and maintained that acquiring and using formulaic language could be an indicator of L2 proficiency.

In summary, research into lexical units can be expressed as Ortaçtepe (2013, p. 852):

> “Formulaic expressions, which are multi-word utterances that are stored and retrieved holistically from memory (Wray, 2000, 2002), have long received the

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> attention of researchers due to their dominance over freely generated utterances (e.g., Coulmas, 1979, 1981; Erman & Warren, 2000; Ortaçtepe, 2012), and their role in not only reducing the processing-load (e.g., Jiang & Nekrasova, 2007; Kecskés, 2007; Pawley & Syder, 1983; Wray, 2002) but also enabling fluency in communication (e.g., Boers, Eyckmans, Kappel, Stengers, & Demecheleer, 2006; Myles & Mitchell, 1998; Wood, 2006). The use of formulaic expressions indicates a speech community's preference of language use in certain situations (e.g., Kecskés, 2007; Tannen & Oztek, 1981), thus makes "language performance appear 'native-like'" (Yorio, 1989, p. 56). Researchers have long argued the role of formulaic expressions in the development of second language (L2) proficiency through longitudinal studies of exposure to the target language or through (quasi-) experimental studies that drew L2 learners' attention to these multi-word units (see Boers & Lindstromberg (2012) for a review of these studies). There is also a plethora of studies that explored the differences between non-native and native speakers' use of these expressions (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 2009; Conklin & Schmitt, 2008; Siyanova & Schmidt, 2008; Siyanova-Chanturia, Conklin, & Schmitt, 2011; Underwood, Schmitt, & Galpin, 2004)".

From this, it is clear that lexical units are used frequently in conversation - making conversation easier and more fluent than recalling words one by one. They are characteristic to specific social groups and are the basis of achieving native-like proficiency.

Y. J. Lee's (2014) subject unconsciously found the small unit, chunks from routines. The subject showed that he could use chunks learned from this process in order to express his thinking and consequently his expressive ability increased. J. W. Lee (2014) asserted then that routines are the first step of language development. He considered that learning lexical units was a kind of qualification to get into a particular society and were not just the linguistic features or pragmatic effects of lexical units from other research. This can be described as culture-based research into routines.

Now a new concept of routines can be tentatively proposed. The basic units often mentioned in research are routines, which can be called lexical units. These lexical units are the smallest and the most basic unit and cannot be the same as routines. Routines must include whole utterances and expressions, so lexical units are smaller than routines. Chunks are also small units which could be the same as or smaller than routines. Chunks can be said to be the same as lexical units. The existence of chunks and lexical units are considered to be a sufficient condition for routines. This relationship can be shown in diagram form as follows.

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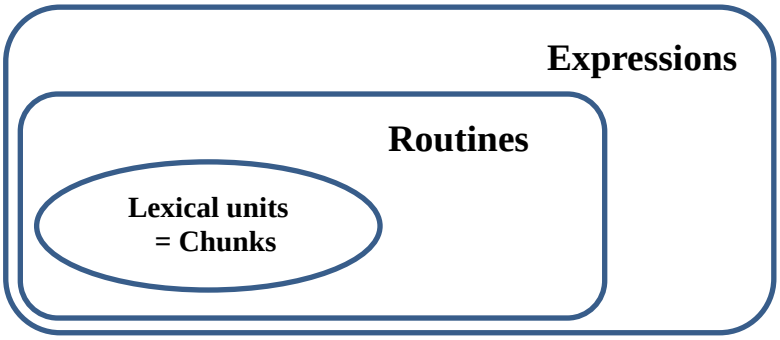
FIGURE 2
Relationship between Chunks and Routines



IV. ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF ROUTINES

There have been a great deal of terms about routines and there have been a lot of tries to inquire and establish the concepts of routines and many method researches. Based on the literature review so far, the concept of routines needs to be revisited cautiously. Because there are so many theories about routines, the research about routines tends to give the impression of being out-of-date or having nothing new to say. However, routines are related to L1 and L2 language development. This needs to be examined and verified. Also to search for this relationship, it is appropriate to consider how and why routines were originally created. Understanding this can make chaotic studies of routines gotten into shape.

Many studies and researches in the world cannot be deviated from the understanding of human beings. All the studies in the world must focus on the human. It is not desired that studies go on only for studies' sake. The researches about routines also need to focus on language users and learners. For this it is necessary to contemplate the original purpose and creation of routines.

Why are the lexical units created and used for human communication? As for the reason of creating lexical units, there has been no evidence and definite explanation. So, speculative arguments through literature review will be discussed.

Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) stated that humans are creatures of habit and humans follow conventional language habits. Their arguments can be interpreted as indicating that lexical units are the results of habits. Coulmas (1981) asserted that humans do the same actions repeatedly. When a person meets one of his or her friends, they repeatedly go through the same actions. Through repeating the same actions, they repeat what they

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said during that action. It can be assumed that, during these repetitions, lexical units are formed. In the end, lexical units are the result of repeated actions. However, his argument missed the logical reasoning of how lexical units occur from the repeated meetings. Pawley and Syder (2000) said that we tend to use the same forms of words repeatedly, repeating what we have said before or mimicking what others have said. They also are unable to explain how lexical units are made.

Kecskés (2007) argued that formulaic expressions are created as they are the specific and preferred forms of words in specific situations or a speech community. He used the term formulaic expressions instead of lexical units and specified three reasons for preferring formulaic expressions. The first reason is to lessen the burden of processing speech in the brain. Miller and Weinert (1998), and Wray (2002) also mentioned this. The second reason is for lexical units to be used like a 'frame'. This means that knowledge of certain fields can be associated in the brain. Kecskés (2007) used the following story as an example of the process: If a police car stops your car on the road and the policeman says ''Step out of the car, please," this expression gives you 'the frame' of making this situation understood and of letting you know what to do. The third reason is that formulaic units make life easier because they automatically allow people to share cultural or conceptual values used conventionally in their community. Tannen and Öztek (1981) stated that part of culture is to offer formulas and once these formulas are acquired, conversations progress naturally and their purposes are easily fulfilled Finally, Kecskés (2007) summed up the reason for using formulaic expressions as ease of use and usefulness.

It could be argued that these reasons are based on an overly practical point of view. In *Conversations of Goethe with John Peter Eckermann*, Goethe discussed why bulls have horns. Did God equip the bull with horns so he can defend himself? Or does the bull defend itself because it has them? Goethe summed this up by saying that if he asks how the bull got its horns, this will lead him to an understanding of its organization. From this concept, it can be seen that the conventional custom is that humans use lexical units for communication. When using lexical units, we are not conscious of their linguistic form or content. Therefore, it would be rational to examine how the lexical units are used and organized, instead of why they appeared.

Peter (1983) asserted that 'the speech formula', his term for lexical units, is made in one of two ways. One is to take whole word combinations when listening to others. The other is to take parts from what others have said. He didn't mention how this speech formula develops, however. On the other hand Y. J. Lee (2014) showed evidence for the development of lexical units by his adult subject who had acquired game terms like the one-word utterances of one-year-old L1 children. Carroll (2008) said that children learn nouns first, as they are the referents that children see in their environment all the time. Y.

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J. Lee's subject was twenty-one-years-old and, like an L1 child, he uttered the nouns related to the game he played. His utterances were just one-word nouns, but functionally these nouns have expressive functions. It can be said that they have a function similar to 'the holophrase', Corder (1973)'s term for lexical units. Carroll (2008) said that children put a name to the phenomena around their environment and this is part of their interaction with the world. Likewise, to the subject of Y. J. Lee (2014), the game terms were just nouns but they provided the means to enter into the game world with other game players. The holophrase functions like a routine sending a message, even though they are only one-word utterances. Right after using one-word utterances, his subject started to use two-word utterances, which is similar to the language development of L1 children in Carroll (2008). According to Carroll (2008), L1 children utter nouns first around twelve-months and then utter multi-word combinations in one year and 6 months. From this example it can be said that L2 adults show a similarity to L1 children in language development.

Simply put, routines function as the gateway to enter into society, which is their original purpose. For example, when we are at the restaurant, we need to learn how to order food. At a restaurant, a kind of society, we need to know the essential routines for ordering food and before that we need to know many nouns for food. There are different kinds of society and in order to enter into those societies, we need to know the nouns and then routines used in these societies. Routines are not just basic knowledge for language learners, but a requisite for human social life. In order to survive and live in some societies, humans need to use routines. Routines are not survival expressions for second language learners, but the starting point for adapting to the world. This kind of understanding of the purpose of routines needs to apply to language learners.

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR CLASSROOM

Through the literature review, the broader definition of routines and chunks has been suggested. Routines are made of chunks - one chunk can be one routine and several chunks can be one routine, so chunks are the smallest lexical units and each chunk is a unit of meaning. Routines can be split into several chunks but chunks cannot be split any further. The definition of routines needs to deviate from a purely linguistic view. Also routines must be related to contents and meaning, not just situations or functions. So far, routines have been classified and categorized into situations and functions, which highlights their linguistic level. However, a content-centered view of routines can give prominence to the contents and meaning, including the situation and function of the routine.

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The origin of routines is from social and conventional necessity. They are for surviving in society, not for fluent conversation. Routines are natural, not artificial. A content-centered view of routines can help students to focus on the content and meaning which helps in long-term memory. The content of routines can connect language forms and meaning to a situation. This matching can accelerate the memory and make it long-term. To reinforce this, first of all, teachers should emphasize the content of routines. They need to avoid explicit grammar explanation about routines as this distracts students from the contents. Some activities, such as asking and answering about contents, role playing with emotions, completing dialogues, would help to focus on the contents. Students have to be guided to be aware of contents and the best materials for this are movies and TV dramas. In movies and TV dramas there are different real world societies depicted. Watching these, viewers can go into a specific society indirectly. These indirect experiences facilitate students' understanding the contents of routines and the concentration of routines in movies and TV dramas can help students recognize the concepts of the lexical units (Im, 2014; Kim, 2014; J. H. Lee, 2014).

Secondly, routines need to be considered as the first step of language development. It is believed routines are useful for just the beginning levels of learning a second language and considered to be primarily survival expressions for travel and small talk. It is rarely thought that memorizing routines will lead to acquiring the second language in the same way as the first language. Still, people think that learning grammar rules and memorizing lots of vocabulary enables them to acquire a second language, but the reality is that it does not. At some level of learning a second language, learners stop memorizing routines and keep focusing on reading, grammar rules and vocabulary and then try to assemble these pieces into sentences. They tend to separate linguistic features from meaning, content, and context. This leads to learning English just for English sake, not for communication, entering into society, experiencing cultures, and understanding the world.

When we learned our first language, we didn't memorize grammar rules or vocabulary. Even though we can't remember what we did in order to learn our first language, we know that we didn't suffer from learning and didn't focus on the language forms or linguistic features. The mysteries of language acquisition have not been revealed. When we listen to expressions, our brains process these unconsciously and automatically. We can assume that the process of second language acquisition would not be different and is similar to the L1 acquisition of children. Therefore the concept that routines are the first step for language acquisition must be a basic premise for teaching. We process them automatically and teachers can help this process by focusing on the contents and meaning of routines and letting students experience this process. Through 'content-consciousness-raising' activities students will take part in and play many routines,

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becoming involved in this process. Considering how we acquire our first language, the values of routines should not be underestimated. Further investigations may wish to pursue the various levels of learning routines through contents.

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Examples in: English
Applicable Languages: English
Applicable Levels: Secondary, College

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Do-Hyung Ryu
English Education, Graduate School of Education
77 Jeongneung-ro, Seongbuk-gu,
Seoul 136-702, Korea
Tel: (02) 910-5479 CP:(010)-8887-1104
E-mail: dohyryu@kookmin.ac.kr

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